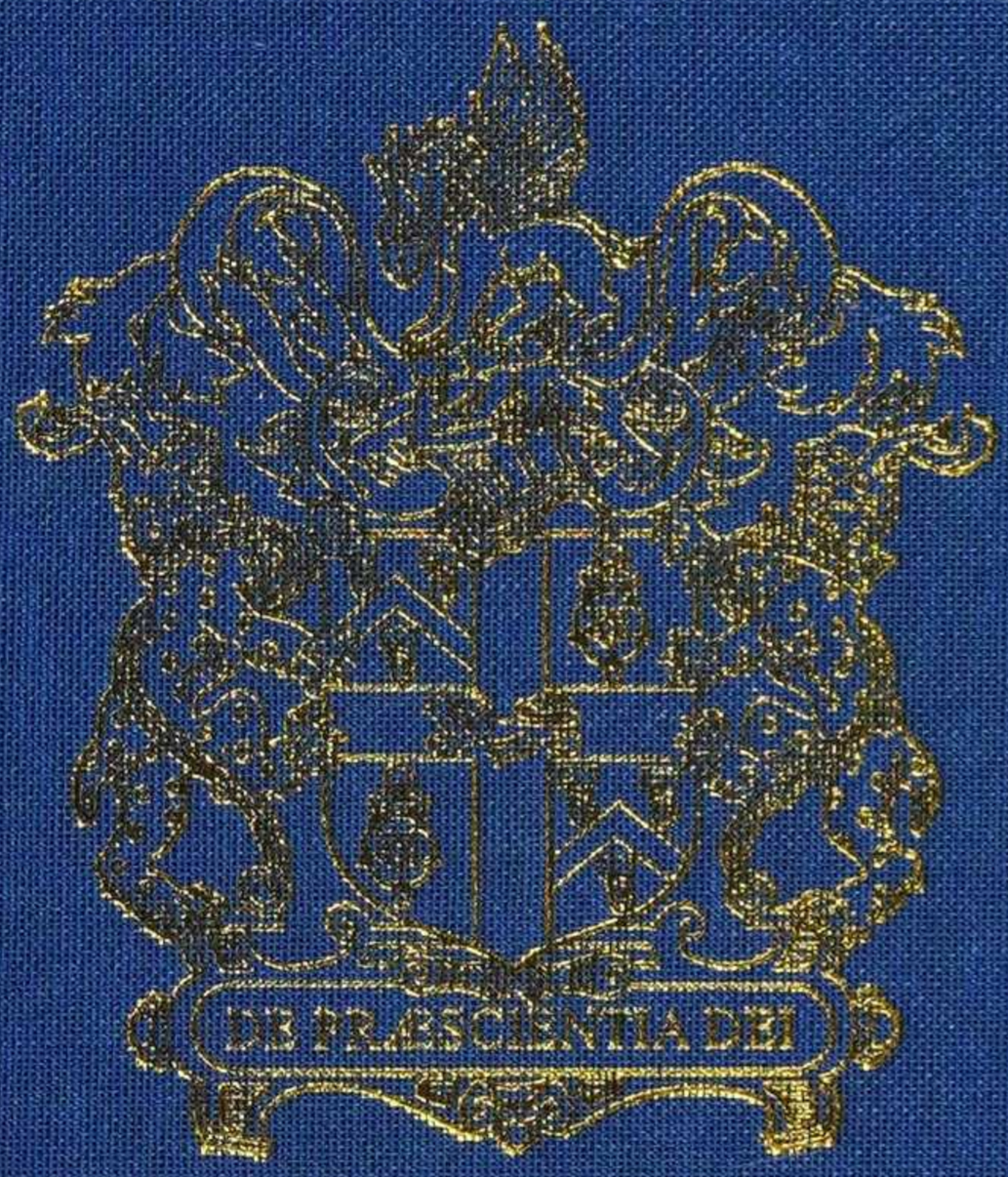

DE PRAESCIENTIA DEI

Queen Mary
University of London

West Smithfield Library

EC1A 7BE

www.library.qmul.ac.uk

+44 (0)20 7882 8800

W240 NOT

QM Library
23 1422030 8

WITHDRAWN
FROM STOCK
QMUL LIBRARY

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/bwb_KV-218-023

Notable Barber Surgeons



Henry VIII and the Barber-Surgeons by Hans Holbein the Younger, showing the King uniting the Company of Barbers and the Guild of Surgeons in 1540. The figures in the front row from left to right are: Thomas Alsop (Apothecary), Sir William Butts (Physician), John Chambers (Physician), the King, Thomas Vicary (Serjeant-Surgeon to the King and Master of the new Company of Barbers and Surgeons 1541-1542, the second of five occasions), Sir John Ayliffe (Surgeon, Master 1538-1539), Nicholas Simpson (Barber, Master 1537-1538), Edmund Harman (Barber, Master 1540-1541), James Monforde (Surgeon and Upper Warden, 1540 and 1543 but never Master), John Penn Barber, Master 1539-1540), Nicholas Alcocke (Surgeon, never Warden or Master) and Richard Ferris (Surgeon, Master 1562-1563).

SUBSCRIBERS

R.F. Ashby
J.F. Avery Jones
J.T. Bach
K.R. Bagnall
R.F. Brown
J.C. Buckland-Wright
S.E. Burdon-Cooper
G.J. Caren
S.P. Carroll
J. Chalstrey
B.W. Cope
C.J. Cradock-Henry
A.G. Dewhurst
P.H. Earnshaw
A.F. Eastburn
A.J. Edmondson
J.G. Fairer
P.C. Forbes
J. Gardner-Thorpe
N.A. Green
P.C. Green
C.R. Hall
B.W. Hall
H.M. Harris Hughes
B.D. Harvey
G.L. Henson
A.E. Hoskinson
M.S.W. Hoyle
B.T. Jackson
R.P.V. Jenkins
D. Kingston
P.S. Lambert
J.W. Last
A.A.M. Lewis
C.W.H. Longley
A.J. Lye
I. McColl
R.A.W. McDowall
R.E.F. Morriss
M.D. O'Brien
S.C. O'Leary
A.M. O'Neill
R.J. Palmer
R.J.C. Pearson
R.J. Pincham
J.J.L. Pincham
A.J. Pope
G.R. Preston
R.M. Price
R. Rawlence
F.N. Read
B.F. Ribeiro
R.H.C. Robins
R.D. Rosin
J.N. Rounce
Royal Medical Foundation
of Epsom College
J.E.L. Sales
M.J.L. Sales
W.S. Shand
R. Simmons
J.C. Smethers
C.J. Spivey
C.W. Sprague
R.G. Springall
P. Squire
M.T.H. Stewart
N. Szembel
R.H. Taylor
J.P.S. Thomson
P.P. Thomson
T.J. Tiplady
J.M. Tomlinson
R.H. Vickers
L.G.R. Wand
M.W.N. Ward
J. Watt
D.J.R. Wells
R.A.F. Whitelocke
G.A. Wickham
J.E.A. Wickham
M. Zatouroff

Notable Barber Surgeons

edited by

Ian Burn

Biographies of Barber Surgeons
who have distinguished themselves
both in medicine and in the wider world

ANNO DOMINI MMVIII

Published by Farrand Press in association with
The Worshipful Company of Barbers
Barber-Surgeons' Hall,
Monkwell Square,
London EC2Y 5BL

© The Worshipful Company of Barbers

All rights reserved
No part of this book may be reproduced or transmitted in
any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical,
including photography, recording, or any information
storage and retrieval system, without permission from
The Worshipful Company of Barbers

ISBN 987-1 85083-048-1 (cloth)
ISBN 987-1 85083-049-8 (quarter leather)
ISBN 987-1 85083-050-4 (full leather)

A catalogue record for this title is available from the
British Library

Typeset in Palatino 10.5pt. Printed on satinmatt natural
by The Lavenham Press, Lavenham. Case binding by
Skyline, Dorking; leather bindings by Grays,
Bookbinders Limited, Mitcham

2008 The Worshipful Company of Barbers



Her Royal Highness Princess Alexandra, Royal Hon. Freeman of the Worshipful Company of Barbers, who has been graciously pleased to accept the dedication of this volume.

Contributors

Ashby, Malcolm Franklin, LDS, RCS. (Deceased 11 January, 2007). Educated at City of London School and Guy's Hospital. Retired Dental Surgeon. Royal Army Dental Corps. Liveryman of the Worshipful Company of Barbers, 1983.

Buckland-Wright, Professor John Christopher, AKC, PhD, DSc, Professor of Radiological Anatomy at the University of London. Head of Department of Applied Clinical Anatomy, King's College, London School of Medicine. Hon. Librarian, Worshipful Company of Barbers from 1985 to 2006; Master 2007-08. Vicary Lecturer 1999.

Burn, Ian, BA MB, FRCS. Retired consultant surgeon. Formerly demonstrator in Anatomy, Cambridge University. Senior Editor of the *European Journal of Surgical Oncology,* 1988-1994. Author and editor of various books. Hon. Editor *The Company of Barbers and Surgeons,* Farrand Press, 2000.

Chalstrey, Sir John, JP, MA, MD, DSc, FRCS. Emeritus surgeon to St Bartholomew's and the Royal London Hospitals. Surgeon in Chief, St John Ambulance. Alderman of the City of London 1984-2001, Sheriff, 1993-94, Lord Mayor, 1995-96. Master of the Worshipful Company of Barbers, 1998-99.

Clarke, Colonel Henry Leslie, MBE, TD, JD, DL. Magistrate, Deputy Lieutenant. Retired voluntary presidential management appointments with Order of St John (Ambulance), YMCA, Scouts Association, Royal British Legion and Army Benevolent Fund, Honorary Curator and Barber Emeritus (2002), The Worshipful Company of Barbers.

Hall, Brian William, LLB. Solicitor in the City of London. Clerk to the Worshipful Company of Barbers, 1975-88. Honorary Secretary, Barbers Historical Group. Alderman, London Borough of Harrow 1974-78. Governor Nower Hill High School.

Harfield, Tessa Judith, LHG. Licentiate of the Institute of Heraldic and Genealogical Studies. A Director of the Association of Genealogists and Researchers in Archives, 2000-06. Widow of Colonel A.B. Harfield, CBE, Clerk to the Worshipful Company of Barbers, 1988-95.

Hill, Professor Dennis Walter, MA, MSc, PhD, DSc, F.Inst.P, FIEE. (Deceased 10 September, 2005). Late Reader in Medical Physics at the Royal College of Surgeons of England and Chairman, Enfield Archaeological Society. Late member of the Samuel Pepys Club.

Hollman, Arthur, MD, FRCP, FLS. Emeritus consultant cardiologist, University College Hospital. Archivist to the British Cardiovascular Society. Honorary curator of the Herb Garden of the Worshipful Company of Barbers of London.

Jay, Professor Barrie, MA, MD, FRCS, FRCOphth, Hon. FRCPCH. (Deceased 10 March, 2007). Formerly Professor of Ophthalmology, London University at the Institute of Ophthalmology and Moorfields Eye Hospital. Dean, Institute of Ophthalmology, 1980-85.

Lettin, Alan William Frederick, BSc(Hons), MS, FRCS. Formerly consultant orthopaedic surgeon to St Bartholomew's, The Royal London and Royal National Orthopaedic Hospitals. Vice-President of the Royal College of Surgeons, 1994-96. Master, The Worshipful Company of Barbers, 1990-91.

McColl, The Rt Hon., The Lord, CBE, MS, FRCS, FRCS.Ed, FACS. Life Peerage, 1989. Formerly Professor of Surgery, London University at Guy's, King's and St Thomas's Hospitals. Surgeon to the International Charity Mercyships. Master, The Worshipful Company of Barbers, 1999-2000.

Missen, Anthony John Bartley, MA, MD, FRCS, FRSA. Retired consultant surgeon. Magistrate, City of London. Formerly Assistant Deputy Coroner, Inner London (North). Master, The Worshipful Company of Barbers, 1997-98.

Murray, Ian, BA. Archivist to The Worshipful Company of Barbers since 1989. Formerly Archivist to the London Borough of Haringay and the Honourable Society of the Inner Temple. Tutor in Palaeography.

Sales, John Edward Lawson, MA, M.CHIR. FRCS. Retired consultant surgeon. Arris and Gale lecturer, The Royal College of Surgeons of England.

Shand, William Stewart, MA, MD, FRCS, FRCS.Ed. Honorary consultant surgeon to St Bartholomew's and the Royal London Hospitals. Master of the Worshipful Company of Barbers, 2001-02. Master of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries, 2004-05.

Sprague, Christopher William, MA. Educated at Oxford University and College of Law, London. A history graduate and qualified solicitor; specialist in Maritime and Insurance Law in the City of London. Master, The Worshipful Company of Barbers, 2004-05 and Chairman, Charity Committee.

Watt, Surgeon Vice-Admiral, Sir James, KBE, MD, MS, FRCP, FRCS, FSA. Formerly Medical Director General of the Royal Navy. President of the Royal Society of Medicine, 1982-84. Author and editor of several books.

White, Harvey, MA, DM, MCh., FRCS. Formerly consultant surgeon to the Royal Marsden Hospital and King Edward VII Hospital for Officers. Publications on the history of surgery and surgical oncology. President, Medical Society of London, 1995-96.

Wickham, Ann, BA(Hons). Curator, Guildford Cathedral Treasury. Honorary Freeman, The Worshipful Company of Barbers and former Chairman, Historical Group, 2003-06. Lecturer in Ecclesiastical History and Silver. Former Chairman NADFAS Church Recorders, 1980-84.

Contents

Contributors ix

Illustrations xvii

Preface
Chris Buckland-Wright xxiii

Introduction
Christopher Sprague xxvii

Chapter 1 Thomas Vicary 1495-1562
Chris Buckland-Wright 1

Chapter 2 Thomas Gale 1507-1587
Ian McColl 23

Chapter 3 Edmund Harman *c.*1509-1577
William Shand 31

Chapter 4 John Caius 1510-1573
Ian Burn 59

Chapter 5 Robert Balthrop 1522-1591
Harvey White 81

Chapter 6 John Banester 1533-1610
Chris Buckland-Wright 95

Chapter 7 William Clowes 1544-1604
Ian Murray 117

Chapter 8 John Gerard 1545-1612
Arthur Hollman 129

Chapter 9 John Woodall 1570-1643
James Watt 153

Chapter 10 Thomas Hollier 1609-1690
Dennis Hill ‡ 179

Chapter 11 Sir Charles Scarburgh 1615-1694
Ian Burn 195

Chapter 12 Jonathan Goddard 1617-1676
John Chalstrey 213

Chapter 13 Richard Wiseman 1620-1676
John Sales 233

Chapter 14 Charles Bernard 1650-1711
Malcolm Ashby ‡ 253

Chapter 15 Edward Tyson 1651-1708
Barrie Jay ‡ 265

Chapter 16 William Cheselden 1688-1752
Alan Lettin 285

Chapter 17 John Ranby 1703-1773
Tessa Harfield 303

Chapter 18 John Paterson 1705-1789
Brian Hall 321

‡ Deceased

Chapter 19 Charles John Shoppee 1823-1897
Ann Wickham 339

Chapter 20 Thomas James Barratt 1841-914
Leslie Clarke 361

Chapter 21 Sidney Young 1843-1914
Christopher Sprague 379

Chapter 22 Alfred Webb-Johnson 1880-1958
John Missen 401

Index 429

Illustrations

Henry VIII and the Barber-Surgeons by Hans Holbein the Younger, showing the King uniting the Company of Barbers and the Guild of Surgeons in 1540. *Frontispiece*

Her Royal Highness Princess Alexandra, Royal Hon. Freeman of the Worshipful Company of Barbers, who has been graciously pleased to accept the dedication of this volume. *Page* vii

Chapter 1

FIG. 1. Thomas Vicary receiving from Henry VIII the Act of Parliament incorporating the Barbers and Surgeons of the City of London into one Company. *Page* 2

FIG. 2. Boxley Parish church, near Maidstone, Kent. *Page* 6

FIG. 3. Most probably the house in Boxley that Vicary purchased from John Joyce, and which he bequeathed to his nephew, Stephen Vicary. *Page* 8

FIG. 4. The first textbook of anatomy in English. This is the title page of the third edition of Thomas Vicary's *Anatomye of Mans Body*, 1586. *Page* 15

Chapter 3

FIG. 1*a*. Edmund Harman, bearded, in the Holbein at Barber-Surgeons' Hall, London. *Page* 33

FIG. 1*b*. Edmund Harman, clean-shaven, in the Holbein at the Royal College of Surgeons of England, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London. **33**

FIG. 1*c*. Edmund Harman in a Bernard Baron print taken from the Holbein at Barber-Surgeons' Hall, London. **33**

FIG. 2. Instruments, including razor, scissors and shears, used by barbers in Tudor times. *Page* 41

FIG. 3. A Tudor comb. *Page* 41

FIG. 4. A barber's bowl found in the surgeon's chest on the Tudor ship, the *Mary Rose*. *Page* 42

FIG. 5. The last page of Henry VIII's will showing the signatures of the King, Edmund Harman and other witnesses. *Page* 50

FIG. 6. The statues, probably Hercules and Antaeus, over the front entrance of Burford Priory. *Page* 51

FIG. 7. The monument erected by Edmund Harman in 1569 in the north aisle of the Parish Church of St John the Baptist in Burford. *Page* 53

Chapter 4

FIG. 1. William Cunningham's plan of the City of Norwich, dated 1558. *Page* 60

FIG. 2. Plaque erected in 1973 to mark the birth of John Caius. *Page* 61

FIG. 3. Andreas Vesalius, from his book on Anatomy, *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* (1543). *Page* 62

FIG. 4. John Caius – aged 53 years. From a portrait at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. *Page* 67

FIG. 5. The Gate of Honour, Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. Courtesy of Gonville and Caius College. *Page* 72

Chapter 5

FIG. 1. St Bartholomew's Hospital Henry VIII Gate. The tower of St Bartholomew the Less is seen on the left. *Page* 82

FIG. 2. First page of Balthrop's will. *Page* 88

FIG. 3. Military chest from *A proved practice for all young Chirurgians,* William Clowes 1588. *Page* 90

FIG. 4. St Bartholomew-the-Less. Memorial plaque of Robert Balthrop. *Page* 91

Chapter 6

FIG. 1. John Banester delivering the Visceral Lecture at Barber-Surgeons' Hall in 1581. *Page* 98

FIG. 2. Central part of the of the title page to Vesalius' *De Humani Corporis Fabrica.* *Page* 104

FIG. 3. Depiction of the human skeleton in the anterior and lateral planes from Banester's *Anatomical Tables.* *Page* 107

FIG. 4. Figure of the nerves of the body from page 59 of Charles Estienne *De dissectionne partium corporis humani,* 1545 and from Banester's *Anatomical Tables,* 1581. *Page* 108

FIG. 5. The muscles of the body; on the left from figure 6.1 of

Juan de Valverde, *Historia de la composición del cuerpo humano...*, 1556 and on the right from Banester's *Anatomical Tables,* 1581. *Page* 109

FIG. 6. The écorché figure of a man and an ivory skeleton contained within Banester's casket.. *Page* 111

Chapter 8 FIG. 1. A metal engraving in the 1597 Herbal by William Rogers showing John Gerard at the age of 52. *Page* 130

FIG. 2. The title page of Gerard's catalogue of his own garden. *Page* 138

FIG. 3. The title page of the 1597 Herbal. A metal engraving by William Rogers. *Page* 142

FIG. 4. A typical chapter in the Herbal describing the Great daisie, *Bellis major*. *Page* 144

FIG. 5. The first illustration of the newly introduced potato plant. One of the few woodcuts made especially for the 1597 Herbal. *Page* 147

FIG. 6. The title page of the 1633 edition of the Herbal, 1633. *Page* 149

Chapter 9 FIG. 1. John Woodall. Line engraving by G. Glover 1639. *Page* 155

FIG. 2. The taking of La Rochelle, 28 October 1628. Engraving by Chavane jeune. *Page* 158

FIG. 3. East India Company Ships, early 17th century. *Page* 160

FIG. 4 A case of scurvy showing the characteristic spongy, bleeding and putrid gums with multiple bleeding points on the lips, vividly described by Woodall. *Page* 167

FIG. 5. The trephine illustrated in *The Surgion's Mate,* 1639. *Page* 170

FIG. 6. Aureolus Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim known as Paracelsus, Watercolour. *Page* 171

Chapter 10 FIG. 1. Portrait of Thomas Hollier painted in approximately 1673 oil on canvas. *Page* 180

Chapter 11 FIG. 1. Gonville and Caius College in the 17th century, view by Loggan. *Page* 197

FIG. 2. Sir Charles Scarburgh – aged 45 years. *Page* 209

Chapter 13 FIG. 1. Richard Wiseman. 1660. Watercolour miniature by Samuel Cooper *Page* 234
FIG. 2. Title page of first edition of *Severall Chirurgical Treatises*. The inscription indicates that the book was presented to Thomas Hatcher by the author. *Page* 240

Chapter 14 FIG. 1. Charles Bernard, Serjeant-Surgeon to Queen Anne. A painting by Thomas Murray. *Page* 260

Chapter 15 FIG. 1. First page of Tyson's syllabus of anatomy lectures. Sloane ms 2770, fl.. *Page* 268
FIG. 2. Edward Tyson, by E. Lilly, *c*. 1695. *Page* 270
FIG. 3. Title page of *Phocæna, or the Anatomy of a Porpess*. *Page* 273
FIG. 4. Title page of *Orang-Outang, sive Homo Sylvestris: or, the Anatomy of a Pygmie*. *Page* 276
FIG. 5. Tyson's note referring to his discovery of the *Glandulae mucilaginosa*. *Page* 278
FIG. 6. Tyson's Memorial. *Page* 281

Chapter 16 FIG. 1. Portrait of Cheselden. *Page* 286
FIG. 2. Cheselden's *Osteographia*. *Page* 292
FIG. 3. The femur – showing the lettering. *Page* 293

Chapter 17 FIG.1. Ranby's Cup, 1745. *Page* 308
FIG. 2. Detail of *The Harlot's Progress*, scene 111, by William Hogarth, 1732. *Page* 312
FIG. 3. The *Portrait of a Man*, by William Hogarth, 1741. *Page* 316
FIG. 4. Detail of *A Rake's Progress*, scene V, *The Marriage*, by William Hogarth, 1735. *Page* 317
FIG. 5. The Tomb of Dr John Ranby at the Royal Hospital, Chelsea. *Page* 319

Chapter 18 FIG 1. Bond dated 16 October 1761. *Page* 328
FIG 2. Allegation supporting the bond dated 16 October 1761. *Page* 328

FIG 3. John Paterson aged 71 years painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds in 1776. *Page* 334

Chapter 19 FIG. 1. Charles John Shoppee. *Page* 340
FIG. 2. La Providence, or the French Hospital, Victoria Park, Hackney from 1865 – 1938. *Page* 347
FIG. 3. Snuff box made from wood from the old hall (1866). *Page* 351
FIG. 4. Warehouses designed by Charles Shoppee and built alongside Barber-Surgeons' Hall. *Page* 352
FIG. 5. Masters' badge designed and presented by Charles Shoppee in 1877. *Page* 353
FIG. 6. Badge designed by Charles Shoppee. (1877). *Page* 354

Chapter 20 FIG. 1a (left). The Lily Langtry advertisement.
FIG. 1b (right). The *Punch* Cartoon, 26 April 1884. *Page* 363
FIG. 2. The Millais *Bubbles* painting. *Page* 366
FIG. 3. John Gibson's statue *The Tinted Venus*. *Page* 374
FIG. 4. The Barratts entertaining the Barbers' Company Court. *Page* 375

Chapter 22 FIG. 1. Sidney Young aged 66 from a pastel drawing by L.M. Fisher, 1909. *Page* 380
FIG. 2. Catalogue of Charters and Bye-Laws. *Page* 384
FIG. 3. Sidney Young from a photograph *circa* 1890. *Page* 388
FIG. 4. Baluster stem cups and one of two silver gilt cockerels presented to the Company by Sidney Young. *Page* 397

Chapter 22 FIG. 1. Photograph taken in 1910 at the opening of the Barnato wing of the Middlesex Hospital. *Page* 403
FIG. 2. Cartoon of Webb-Johnson entitled 'The Groomy D e a n' *Page* 407
FIG. 3. Sir Alfred Webb-Johnson wearing the 'undress' gown of the PRCS. *Page* 417
FIG. 4. Bronze bust of Lord Webb-Johnson sculpted by Laura Bolt – probably 1963/64. *Page* 422
FIG. 5. Stained glass memorial window in the chapel of the Order of St John in Clerkenwell. *Page* 426

Preface

IT GIVES ME GREAT PLEASURE to introduce this collection of essays devoted to the outstanding men who contributed so much to the life of The Company of Barbers and Surgeons. They lived and worked in the City of London during a period of great social change which ran from the Reformation of the mid-16th century to the late 19th century, by which time the influence of the Livery Companies had declined. This volume is the third in a series of books which have been published by The Worshipful Company of Barbers about its history and function. The first volume was a historical account, *Barbers and Barbers-Surgeons of London* by Jessie Dobson and Robert Milnes Walker, published in 1979. *The Company of Barbers and Surgeons*, the second volume, which commemorated the Millennium, contained essays written by members of the Livery. It described the structure and role of the Company in the City of London. Now, eight years later, the publication of this volume is one of a series of events which the Company has organised to celebrate its 700th anniversary, commemorating the first recorded Master of the Barbers' Company, Richard le Barber, in 1308.

Once more the Company is fortunate to be able to draw on the dedication and skill of its Livery in the preparation of this volume. Many of the contributors are members of the Company's enthusiastic Historical Group which regularly undertakes original research into the Company's history. The essays in this book are a welcome extension of the scholarship and dedication of all those who have taken part. They provide an account of the lives of some of the most important people associated with the Company, highlighting their influence both within and beyond its ancient guild into the wider world of social context through their contribution to the general health of society. The Barber Surgeons'

Livery Company has been successful, but never wealthy. The Company's aim, since its medieval origins, has been to care for people's health and improve the quality of their lives. The Company did not engage in a wide variety of economic activities that led to its financial advantage as other City companies have done.

The ethos of the Barbers' Company in caring for others originated, as with other livery companies, in the early medieval period when companies were formed by groups of neighbours coming together for the purpose of promoting social and religious interaction. These organisations began to add to their social and religious objectives one of trade regulation. The performance of the Company depended upon the rules governing its trade or craft as well as encouraging livery men to contribute towards common goals and discouraged the taking advantage of others. Livery companies encouraged the religious lives of their members, in which money played an important role in late medieval Christianity, as redemption after death was for sale. The companies took advantage of the legitimacy of Purgatory to encourage members to act in the interests of this organisation by requiring them to raise large sums of money. The function of their charitable giving was to fund almshouses, administer charitable endowments and maintain pensions for members as well as to support the memorialisation and obits for their deceased.

With the Reformation, in the first half of the 16th century, the government of Henry VIII suppressed superstitious doctrines swiftly and completely. Auditors visited livery companies confiscating all funds collected for pious purposes. In England the Tudor attack upon religious practices disorganised or destroyed the livery companies with the exception of the wealthy and well connected livery companies in cities such as London. The religious upheaval changed society's attitudes to work, leisure and the distribution of wealth. The Protestant religions inspired beliefs about work, austerity and savings that encouraged the accumulation of capital and the expansion of industry. These changes in attitude towards economic activity had the effect of

stimulating economic progress.

The post-reformation period saw the London livery companies flourish socially, economically and politically, despite the profound challenges, not only from the specific crises associated with the Civil War and the Great Fire, but also from the more general shifts in terms of London's size, social structure and economy. The purpose of the companies shifted away from the regulation of craft and trade to the governance of charitable funds. Donating and becoming a benefactor a company fed a man's innate desire for immortality and legacy. Not only were members exposed to the recitation of wills of benefactors, they also read about charitable benefactors on boards in the hall, saw benefactors commemorated in heraldic glass, portraits, company plate and even statuary.

Livery companies became the favoured trustees for the bulk of the endowed charities of London merchants and tradesmen. The incorporated status of companies was attractive to those seeking to establish charities in perpetuity and they offered more security than groups of parochial boards of trustees. Moreover companies had an accumulated stock of experience in the administration of charity, governors were well connected with London lawyers, knew the workings of central government apparatus and, in most instances, the donors knew personally the men administering their benefactions. The charity of the London companies was a key element of the City's identity as a 'Godly' city. The Christian ethos encouraged individuals to cooperate by teaching them the golden rule, *treat others as you want them to treat you.* The functional evolution of the City companies from control of trade to that of charitable organisation revealed that the companies were institutions that were a pillar of society, which were worth supporting in their objectives to benefit their members and the community.

Throughout this period of change from the mid-16th century to the end of the 19th century, the Barber Surgeons' Company did not, as other trade/craft guilds, develop an individualistic framework towards economic activity but tended to retain a

collectivist approach towards its social responsibility. This is exemplified by the men of exceptional quality we encounter in this volume, whose care and concern for their fellow man contributed to improvements in the medical and surgical care of people and also the quality of life within the City.

Just as the Company contained barbers and surgeons, as well as men from other trades during this period, so today the Company contains a blend of professions with a healthy mixture of background and talent of which more than half of those who make regular appearances at the hall are members of the medical and teaching professions. The Barbers' Company continues today its tradition of caring for the needs of others. Its ethos of unselfishness and consideration has resulted in a code of conduct that still fulfils the principle that formed the basis of charitable giving in the 17th and 18th centuries of *treat other as you want them to treat you.* This maxim is as relevant now as it was in earlier centuries in underpinning charitable giving today. During our 700th anniversary celebrations, charity is the principal theme for the year. A number of activities will be centered on increasing the contributions to the Company's charity and it is hoped to foster a trend in giving that will extend well into the future.

Professor Chris Buckland-Wright

Introduction

Christopher Sprague

Notable Barber Surgeons

THE TITLE OF THIS COLLECTION of essays requires some explanation. Of the twenty-two subjects only twelve can be truly described as Barber Surgeons in that they were surgeons who were Members of the Barbers' Company or, as it was called between 1540 and 1745, the Company of Barbers and Surgeons. Of the remainder, four were physicians, one was a barber and four were not medically qualified at all. Lord Webb-Johnson, a surgeon in modern times and the subject of the final chapter, was made an Honorary Freeman of the Company in 1949. What they have in common is that they all, at some time, served or worked as part of the great institution that is the Barbers' Company and played a vital part in its contributions to the City, the Monarchy and Surgery.

The Livery Companies of London

Their origins

The precise origins of the trade guilds out of which the London Livery Companies grew are not easy to determine and there is little evidence relating to them before the second half of the twelfth century. What is known is that the early guilds were benevolent and religious societies. They often incorporated the name of a saint in their titles and were made up of people who lived and worked alongside one another in a particular area of the City. The religious

functions were important. Members paid priests to say masses and pray for their souls and those of their deceased brethren. Praying, sponsoring of masses and the giving of alms were regarded as the most effective ways of redeeming one's soul. Guild members worshipped together and looked after the families of members who had died or fallen on hard times. They undertook public works such as the repairing of roads and the relief of pilgrims. Members paid to belong and the term 'guild' is derived from the Saxon word *gildan* meaning to pay.

People following a particular trade often lived in the same neighbourhood and some of the guilds began to add the governing of trades to their social and religious objects. In doing so they provided the commercial regulation that the courts and the common law, which were only just emerging, could not. This process was a gradual one and it took time for the commercial purposes of these guilds to take precedence over those that were religious and social.

In 1180 King Henry II fined eighteen guilds, the so-called adulterine guilds, which were operating without licences. Of these organisations only four, the Goldsmiths, the Pepperers, the Clothworkers and the Butchers were connected with trades. It is by no means certain that the livery companies which subsequently bore these titles can trace their origins to these particular guilds. But the Grocers (previously the Pepperers) and the Goldsmiths claim to be able to do so.

Of the remaining adulterine guilds, five are referred to as 'guilds of bridge'. It was once supposed that these were guilds operating within the vicinity of London Bridge. However, three years before the fining of the adulterine guilds Peter, Chaplain of St Mary's Church, had started work on the replacement of the old wooden London Bridge with a more durable stone structure. This was regarded as religious work and the Archbishop of Canterbury is said to have contributed 1000 marks to the project. It has been suggested that the five bridge guilds were so called because amongst their religious and social objects they gave regular contributions to this undertaking. It is not possible however to say

whether any of those guilds that did not bear the name of a trade came subsequently to be associated with a craft or trade.

There were at this time, however, some trade guilds which had obtained official recognition. The sheriffs, as the King's officers, appointed bailiffs to collect taxes. Two guilds, the Bakers and the Fishmongers, took over this role so far as their members were concerned. They reached tax farming agreements with the bailiffs whereby they paid a discounted amount in respect of tolls and fines due from their members and on foods that they sold and thereby acquired the right to retain the taxes that they had collected. With such tax farming came, inevitably, control of the craft.

Whilst the Bakers and the Fishmongers acquired their powers, and therefore recognition, from the authorities by agreement, the Weavers obtained similar rights to farm taxes by the grant of a charter from Henry I. The terms of this were confirmed in a second charter granted by Henry II in 1155. It was to be another seventy-two years before the next Royal charters, to the Merchant Taylors, the Skinners and the Girdlers, were granted. The Weavers were a powerful organisation at this time. They were traders as well as craftsmen and clearly wealthy enough to purchase their charter. However, with the grant of self-government to London in 1191 the guilds became answerable to the City authorities, in the form of the Court of Aldermen, rather than to the King. It was the City authorities that allowed cloth merchants, known as burrellers, who employed weavers, fullers and dyers to process cloth for them, to operate in the City. By 1321 the cloth trade had become so important in the City's economy that the authorities set aside the exclusive right of the Weavers by declaring it lawful for all freemen to set up looms and sell cloth, so long as the King received his yearly payment under a tax farming agreement.

Guilds continued to develop in the 13th and 14th centuries and, as before, they started as religious and social organisations. An example of this is the Fraternity of Saddlers which at the very end of the 12th century reached an agreement with the canons of St

Martin-le-Grand. This provided for the Saddlers to attend masses on the feast of St Martin and offer alms. The funerals of all saddlers were held at St Martin's Church and they paid eight pence for the tolling of the bell. The priest remembered the Saddlers at all masses and offered two masses for them during Holy Week. At this time the Saddlers' fraternity appears to have been primarily an association of craftsmen for religious purposes rather than for the supervision of their craft.

By the middle of the 14th century many guilds were recognised by the City authorities and this recognition allowed them rights of self-government and the privilege of participating in the government of the City. Under the City's charter of 1319 membership of a craft guild became the only route to the freedom of the City and the right to carry on trade or to work in the City. This made membership of the appropriate guild essential for anyone wishing to make a living within the City.

In 1351 an attempt was made to give the leading craft guilds the power to elect the Common Council. A summons for this purpose was issued to the thirteen leading misteries of the time. The term 'mistery' was derived from the Latin *misterium* meaning professional skill. This word seems to have been used interchangeably with 'guild'. The guilds that were summoned on this occasion were the Grocers, the Mercers, the Fishmongers, the Drapers, the Goldsmiths, the Woolmongers, the Vintners, the Skinners, the Saddlers, the Taylors, the Cordwainers, the Butchers and the Ironmongers.

During the next twenty-five years elections were through the wards in the City. When the guilds were again, in 1376, invited to elect the Council, the number of guilds recognised by the City authorities as being of sufficient standing had increased considerably. The summons was issued to no fewer than fifty misteries, of which the Barbers were probably one.

The years of growth and prominence

Many guilds had become sufficiently well established and in most

cases prosperous enough to want to ensure continuity and the right to acquire, hold and dispose of land and other property. From 1327 onwards a number of guilds applied to the Crown for Royal charters. For the most part these charters confirmed existing privileges. The early charters granted by Edward III reiterated the social and religious activities of the guilds. The charter of the Fishmongers gave them the right to hold land 'for the sustenance of poor men and women of the said community' and that of the Mercers to relieve 'those who by fire and smoke of quick silver have lost their sight'.

Henry VI granted nine charters to guilds between 1428 and 1452 and Edward IV ten between 1462 and 1482. These and the charters granted by later monarchs tended to have the government of the relevant craft rather than charitable objects as their principal purpose. The charters also gave to the more successful guilds, or companies now that they were incorporated, the formal and permanent structures that they needed to administer their trades effectively and to facilitate the accumulation of wealth and prestige. The obtaining of charters was not always easy. The Pewterers made several attempts over a period of ten years before they were successful.

Companies with charters derived their power directly from the monarch. When incorporation became common in the reign of Henry VI the City authorities were concerned. The City and other civic bodies in England secured, in 1437, an Act of Parliament which required that all incorporated fraternities and companies throughout the country should register their charters with the civic authorities. The power of the City over companies increased further at the beginning of the 17th century when the Lord Mayor claimed to be Master of all Livery Companies. From the reign of James I companies had to obtain a licence from the City before seeking a charter from the Crown.

The companies which were now emerging differed from each other in the nature of their operations and in their make-up. The membership of the Fishmongers ranged from wealthy fish merchants with large estates on the River Thames to poor street

hawkers. The Grocers included a diversity of trades, the pepperers, canvas dealers, spicers and apothecaries. Smaller companies such as the Woolmongers and the Leathersellers consisted of traders in raw materials. However, although traditions and governance varied from company to company, by the 16th century the basic structures of most were the same. They were governed by a Master or Prime Warden and Wardens elected by the Court of Assistants which was elected from the ranks of the liverymen. The livery consisted of shopowners, householders or successful craftsmen who were entitled to wear their company's distinctive livery and vote at Common Hall. Liverymen were selected from among those who had become successful in the company's trade or craft and therefore had the means to bear the expense of being a liveryman. Below them were Freemen who had served their apprenticeship and been admitted to the freedom of the City. Then came the journeymen who were, usually, craftsmen or workmen who had completed their apprenticeship but had not yet obtained the freedom of the company or the City. At the bottom of this oligarchic structure were the apprentices who normally served a master for a period of seven years before being permitted to pursue their trade or craft.

A crucial tool of the livery companies' control over their trades was the right of search. The ordinances of many companies set out the standards required for the manufacture, sale and distribution of commodities and services. A good deal of flexibility seems to have been shown in their enforcement. Workshops and shops would be visited. Shoddy goods would be destroyed and bad practices punished by fines. Suspected offenders would usually be summoned before the company's court and, if found guilty, would be fined. However, the purpose of the fines appears to have been to secure adherence, in the future, to the required standards rather than punishment. On occasions fines were not enforced, an apology and undertaking not to offend again being sufficient. For example, from November 1598 to November 1599 the Company of Barbers and Surgeons imposed twenty-nine fines of which only two were paid, fourteen were reduced and thirteen

forgiven. Sometimes companies had to resort to stronger measures. In the period referred to above, the Barbers (who were clearly having a busy year) had nine people committed to the compter or debtors' prison. Of these, eight were being punished for disrespect to the Master and Assistants and one for not paying a fine. Faced by repeatedly recalcitrant offenders who failed, for example, to pay quarterage (*i.e.* dues) or who were working without having the freedom of the City, companies would on occasions take action in the Lord Mayor's Court or present offenders to the Court of Aldermen.

Their decline and loss of influence

There is no unanimity amongst historians as to when the decline in influence of the livery companies began. The period between 1560 and 1640 has often been described as the golden age of the companies. They were extremely influential throughout the 16th century and there can be no doubt that the most important factors that contributed to their decline occurred in the 17th century. One of these factors, although not the most important, was the increase in the number of people joining companies by way of patrimony or redemption. Originally an apprenticeship was the principal path to the freedom of a company and therefore the City. During the 17th century there was an increasing tendency for some companies to admit members to the freedom either by patrimony (the right of a son born after his father became a Freeman to take up the freedom himself) or by redemption (payment). This practice was especially prevalent in the leading, more prosperous, companies and it led to the admission of many members who had no connection with a company's trade or craft. By the end of the 17th century all but two (the Fishmongers and the Goldsmiths) of the twelve leading companies had given up any attempt at close supervision of their trades. The mercantile interests of these companies became paramount. They retained influence but this lay in the direction of politics and social prestige within the City. Any control of a craft or trade was left to those outside the livery, usually Freemen who

played no real part in the company's affairs.

Between 1604 and 1639 no fewer than nineteen companies received their first charters from James I and Charles I. It might be thought that the early 17th century was a period of prosperity for livery companies and to an extent it was. However, the early Stuarts made repeated demands of the City for funds and some of these, most notably the foundation of the Irish estates by James I in 1609, involved livery companies directly. As the century progressed, there were to be more problems that adversely affected many companies.

Towards the end of the 16th century it had became clear that the square mile of the City could no longer accommodate all those who wished to carry on business there. Immigrants from abroad and from elsewhere in England were already tending to settle outside the City. Some workers left the City to escape crowding and the restrictions imposed there. Life in the newly burgeoning suburbs outside the City had its attractions. It was becoming difficult for the City authorities and the livery companies to exercise control over trades and craftsmen in these suburbs. The City authorities were alert to the problem and in 1632 presented a petition to the Privy Council. This emphasised the fact that the freedom of the City which had been of such great importance would be worth little if the craftsmen and tradesmen in the suburbs were able to enjoy the same benefits as Freemen and citizens of London. It might have been possible for the City authorities to halt this development by seeking to expand its authority beyond the Square Mile. The response of the Privy Council to the City's petition of 1632 was to ask it whether it would be prepared to assume jurisdiction over some of the suburbs. The City considered this proposal on this and two subsequent occasions, one before and one after the Civil War. Common Council concluded that the incorporation of the suburbs or any part of them would not be in the best interests of the City's trading community. It can only be assumed that the City made this decision because it felt unable to take on the administration of so large an area.

The consequences of this decision for livery companies were exacerbated by the Great Fire in 1666. Forty-four livery halls were destroyed and the majority of these was rebuilt at great expense to the companies concerned. Following the destruction of a large part of the City many tradesmen and craftsmen were forced to seek their living outside the City and not all of them returned when rebuilding had been completed. It might be assumed that the companies involved in the building trades such as the Carpenters, Masons, Joiners and Ceilers and Tylers and Bricklayers would have benefited from the extensive rebuilding work that followed the Fire. This was not the case. Parliament suspended freemen's privileges in order to ensure an adequate supply of labour and these companies had difficulty in controlling the labourers who, as a consequence, were brought in from outside London.

All companies suffered from the consequences of the Great Fire but it was the smaller, less wealthy, ones that were affected most. The larger more prosperous companies had property holdings which, eventually, began to yield the returns that they had before the Fire. Their wealth and status continued to attract those wishing to advance their careers in the City. Their principal *raison d'être* became the administration of their very considerable charitable funds. Some companies' trades in effect disappeared, for example the Girdlers (because of changes in fashion) and the Tallow Chandlers (as a result of the introduction of oil lighting and the granting of monopoly patents to street lighting contractors in the 18th century). The smaller companies relied on their membership, fines and dues in order to survive. As companies lost contact with their trades and crafts the need for tradesmen or craftsmen to join the companies relevant to their trade or craft diminished. Many companies had lost contact with their trades by the end of the 18th century and in some cases this had happened even earlier. However, others fought hard to retain their right to compel those practising their particular trades to enrol as freemen. The Corporation assisted many of these companies by compelling workers to do this. This requirement remained in effect until the middle of the 19th century. But in reality the companies were

fighting a losing battle.

From 1835, it was no longer necessary to be a member of a livery company to obtain the freedom of the City and in 1856 the Court of Common Council decreed that all laws and customs which prevented those who were not Freemen from exercising a craft or trading should be abolished. The effect of these developments was of course that it was no longer essential for a craftsman or tradesman to join a livery company or obtain the freedom of the City in order to work within the Square Mile. In the course of the 19th century a number of companies ceased to exist although two of these, the Paviors in 1889 and the Tobacco-Pipe Makers in 1960, were subsequently revived. Others, like the Horners and the Glovers, which were in 1884 recorded by the Royal Commission on Livery Companies as having only seven and fourteen liverymen respectively, must have come close to extinction. That the remaining companies outside the Great Twelve Companies survived was due to their willingness, having lost contact with their trades, to return to some of the objects of the original City guilds: good fellowship, mutual support and charitable giving. To this must be added their largely successful efforts in the 20th century to re-establish contact with, and provide assistance to, their original trades and crafts or modern crafts connected with these.

The Barbers' Company and the Company of Barbers and Surgeons

The early years

The origins of the Barbers' Company are as obscure as those of most of the other ancient livery companies. There is however an early reference to the Company in 1308. In this year Richard le Barber was, on the Tuesday the next after the feast of St Lucy the Virgin, presented by the Barbers of London before Nicholas de Farndon, the Mayor of London, John de Wengrave and other

Aldermen to have supervision over the trade of Barbers. He was admitted and swore that every month he would make scrutiny of this trade to ensure that none of his brethren was keeping brothels or otherwise acting in an unseemly way. This event, which can be dated precisely to 15 December 1308, is significant for several reasons. It is a very early example of the City authorities, as opposed to the Crown, being involved in the affairs of a guild. It is also the first reference to the Barbers in the City as a group. However, the fact that Richard was 'chosen and presented by the Barbers of London ... to have supervision over the trade of barbers' suggests that there was some identifiable group or association of barbers in existence before he was admitted.

There is other evidence to support this proposition. In 1388 Richard II caused an enquiry to be made into guilds and fraternities. The Barbers' return to this writ is one of only five to have survived. Those making the return stated 'they have found a document amongst the articles of their records made of the time to which "memory runneth not" concerning the administration of the fraternity'. The regulations listed in this document related to the need for charity, attendance at funerals and the amicable settlement of disputes and clearly suggest that the organisation was at this time primarily a religious one. By 1308 and the appointment of Richard le Barber, the fraternity had become a trade organisation made up of barbers. It had evolved from the earlier religious and social organisation referred to above which must have had its origins, as was the case with so many other guilds, in the 13th century.

Richard le Barber was a man of some importance in the City. As Sergeant of the Ward of Dowgate he was the representative of the Sheriffs in that ward. He is referred to in September 1276 in a case of 'deodand' where a pear tree, out of which one Adam Schot had fallen and been killed, had been forfeit to the king. His name occurs as a juror in many inquests relating to property in the City. He himself owned a substantial amount of property. His will, enrolled at the court of Husting on 9 March 1310, showed that he had property in the parish of Allhallows, Broad Street, at

Queenhithe and in Cordwainer, Candlewick and Whitecross Streets. These properties were apportioned between his widow, Katherine, his daughter, Johanna, and his apprentice, Thomas de Mangrave. He bequeathed twenty shillings to the fabric of London Bridge and the residue to pious uses.

Barbery and surgery had since earliest times been the province of the monastic clergy. However, the employment of barbers from the communities outside the monasteries had become fairly common by the 12th century. Initially they assisted with the shaving of heads, but in time they came to help the monks in surgical tasks such as phlebotomy and the dressing of wounds The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, presided over by Pope Innocent III, decreed that no sub-deacon or priest should exercise any part of surgery which involved burning or cutting. Innocent III's successor, Honorarius III, prohibited all persons in holy orders from practising medicine in any form. Although it took many years for these edicts to have any effect, the barbers filled the gap that they created, gradually replacing the clergy as surgeons at the same time as continuing as barbers. They became barber surgeons.

But the barber surgeons did not have a monopoly of matters surgical. Quite soon after the Fourth Lateran Council there emerged men who confined themselves to surgery. Many of these learned their trade as army surgeons, for example, John of Arderne who served at Antwerp, Algeciras and Crecy and became surgeon to Edward III. There were others who followed John of Arderne such as Adam Rouse who was described as a surgeon in London when, in 1354, he was sworn before the Mayor and Aldermen to adjudicate on surgical matters. In 1365 he was referred to as one of the sworn surgeons of the City. Although they worked in the City, none of these surgeons was a member of the Barbers' Company.

By the beginning of the 14th century there were two bodies in the City of London involved in surgery. First, there was the Faculty or Guild of Surgeons which subsequently became the Fellowship of Surgeons; its members practised only surgery. Second there was the Barbers' Company the membership of which fell into three categories; those who practised surgery, those who were solely

barbers and those who were barbers and surgeons. The members of the Guild of Surgeons were at this time regarded as the more skilled surgeons.

All surgeons were regarded as socially and educationally inferior to the physicians. Medicine, studied at the burgeoning universities such as Bologna, Paris and Oxford, formed just part of the learning to be acquired by a well educated man. Topics to be studied included astronomy, astrology, alchemy, chemistry, theology and philosophy. With diagnoses and treatment based upon the position of the stars and the presence in the body of the various humours, medicine as practised at this time would not be regarded as a science in the modern sense but the physicians were nevertheless considered to be educated men. The surgeons, on the other hand, were devoid of book learning and unaffected by the standard medical writings. The Middle English word *chirurgian* is derived from the Greek words *cheir*, the hand, and *ergon*, work. The surgeons relied upon practical observation and dealt with the realities – an approach which would find favour even with their much more learned successors today.

The Barbers and the Fellowship of Surgeons

As early as the middle of the 14th century there was clearly an overlap between the authority of the Fellowship of Surgeons and the Barbers' Company. In 1369 three surgeons, John Dunkered, John Hyndstoke and Nicholas Kyldersley, all members of the Fellowship, were sworn as Master Surgeons of the City. They undertook to serve faithfully the people undergoing their cures and to report the defaults of others involved in surgery.

However, only seven years later, in 1376, the Barbers complained to the Mayor and Aldermen about unskilled practitioners in surgery and asked that two Masters be appointed to inspect and rule the craft of barbery and surgery and that none should be admitted to the freedom of the City unless duly examined as to their skills. The ordinances granted to the barbers in response to this petition contain what is probably the first

specific mention of any kind of examination in surgery. It seems therefore that two separate bodies in the City, the Guild of Surgeons and the Barbers' Company now had the power to supervise the practice of surgery.

The Barbers' Ordinances of 1376 were confirmed in 1410 with the significant addition that they should enjoy their powers:

> Without the scrutiny of any person or persons, under any name whatsoever other than the craft or trade of the said Barbers, either as to shaving, making incisions, blood-letting or any other matters pertaining to the art of barbery or surgery, in the craft of the said barbers now practised or to be practised hereafter.

This power granted to the barbers seems to have been directed at the Fellowship of Surgeons which was clearly seeking to exercise control over the practice of surgery in the City. The most surprising thing is that the Mayor and Aldermen were consistently prepared to give these powers to competing bodies.

The early history of the Fellowship of Surgeons is, by contrast to that of the Barbers, shrouded in mystery because none of its records prior to the early 15th century has survived. Members of the Fellowship were usually referred to in City documents as 'Citizens and Surgeons'. They were never incorporated in any way and this is probably because they never numbered more than twenty, but they were undoubtedly ambitious. In particular, they strove to be equal in status to the physicians and they very nearly succeeded in this. In 1423 they persuaded the Court of Aldermen to agree to the formation of a Conjoint College of Physicians and Surgeons. The constitution of the College provided for two surveyors of physic and two masters of surgery to be elected by the physicians and surgeons respectively. Each group was to be self-governing under the Rector, Gilbert Keymer. Physicians and surgeons practising in the City were to be overseen by the Rector together with the two surgeons and the two physicians. The prime movers in this initiative were Keymer himself, who was a physician, and Thomas Morsteyde, a member of the Fellowship of

Surgeons. Morsteyde was probably the outstanding surgeon of the time. He had, like John of Arderne, learned his trade as a military surgeon, in his case in France with Henry V.

But the College lasted only eighteen months. Its collapse was not, as might be expected, due to differences between the surgeons and physicians but because the Barbers' Company saw it as a threat to its control over surgery in the City. The Company petitioned the Mayor and Aldermen in November 1424, the year after the College had been set up, and was rewarded with an order that ratified the powers that it had previously held over surgery in the City which had been granted in 1376 and 1410. Soon after the collapse of the College, in 1425, and possibly as a consolation prize, the Fellowship was granted new ordinances. It was to meet annually to choose masters to govern the craft. The names of the seventeen members of the Fellowship are recorded at the end of the ordinances and this is the earliest record of its membership. These ordinances were to govern the Fellowship for the next one hundred years.

The Barbers' Company in the meantime had reached a crucial turning point in its history in 1462 when it was granted its first Royal Charter by Edward IV. This grant was one of several made in the same year. The Tallow Chandlers, the Ironmongers, the Pewterers, the Dyers, the Carpenters and the Cooks all received their first charters in what appears to have been a move by the Crown to encourage and protect trades and industries in the same way as the great merchant companies had been encouraged in the two previous centuries.

The Barbers' Company still had as members many practising barbers. It had been the custom for a barber and a surgeon to be elected Master in alternate years. But the Charter itself dealt principally with surgery. The Company was given control over surgery and barbery in the City of London and the suburbs. The term 'surgeon' was not defined and the Charter was not specifically limited to surgeons within the Company. It is arguable therefore that the Company's powers extended to members of the Guild of Surgeons as well. The Charter confirmed the right granted to the

Company in 1410 to examine surgeons.

This Charter was another blow to the status of the Fellowship of Surgeons, which no longer seemed to have the status and Royal patronage that it had enjoyed in the days of John of Arderne and Thomas Morsteyde. It is significant that two distinguished royal surgeons who were members of the Fellowship at this time, William Hobbys and Richard Esty, joined the Livery of the Barbers' Company. Hobbys became upper warden in 1458 and he was, incidentally, the first recorded holder of the title of Serjeant-Surgeon to the King, a post to which he was appointed in 1461. Hobbys left five pounds and a silver cup to the Barbers and nothing to the Fellowship. Esty, perhaps even more significantly, left his best seven books on surgery to the Barbers' Company rather than to the Fellowship.

The difficulties created by the existence of two separate bodies in the City claiming the right to regulate surgery came to an end in 1493 when the two bodies reached an agreement concerning the regulation and practice of surgery. Each body was to elect two Masters annually who would be responsible for the supervision of surgery. The Barbers' Company was to remain solely responsible for overseeing barbery. The two organisations were to continue to be entirely separate but they agreed to govern all surgeons in the City jointly. A copy of this agreement was bound together with the Ordinances granted to the Fellowship in 1435 to form the Ordinance Book. This document is the oldest possession of the Barbers' Company. It is bound in leather boards with brass clasps and studs and the pages are of parchment. On its front it has the cognizance or badge granted to the Fellowship by Henry VII in 1492. This consists of a spatter (or spatula) with a red rose surmounted by a crown and flanked by St Cosmos and St Damian, the patron saint of medicine.

At this time there were only twelve members of the Fellowship. The Barbers, by 1537 had 185 members and was the largest livery company in the City. A formalisation of the agreement by way of merger could only be a question of time.

The Barber Surgeons

The merger duly came about in 1540 with the passing by Parliament of the Act of Union, which brought about the joining of the Barbers' Company with the Fellowship of Surgeons to form the Company of Barbers and Surgeons. The fact that the union was by Act of Parliament is unusual. A merger of two city organisations would normally have been sanctioned by the Civic authorities whose control over livery companies had been re-confirmed by a charter granted to it in July 1505. However, there is no evidence that the City authorities played any part in the union of the Barbers and Surgeons.

This momentous step heralded a golden era in the history of the Company. Over the next two hundred years it was to be at the forefront of the development in England of the practice, theory and teaching of surgery. The majority of those covered by this collection of essays were involved in one way or another with these developments at Barber-Surgeons' Hall. An indication of their importance and of the pioneering work that they were doing is given by the facts that no fewer than four of them, Jonathan Goddard, Edward Tyson, Charles Bernard and William Cheselden, were Fellows of the Royal Society and that five of them, Thomas Vicary, Robert Balthrop, Richard Wiseman, Charles Bernard and John Ranby, served as Serjeant-Surgeon to the monarch. In addition, John Gerard, besides being one of the leading surgeons of his day, was author of what was probably the greatest work on herbal medicine ever published.

The merger was commemorated in the painting by Hans Holbein the Younger which still hangs at Barber-Surgeons' Hall. In addition to two of the King's physicians, John Chamber and Sir William Butts and his apothecary, Thomas Alsop, the picture contains five surgeons and three barbers all of whom were, or were to become, members of the Royal Household. They would, at various stages, have had the ear of the King and it is doubtful if any livery company, before or since, has had so many members

who served the monarch.

There has been some dispute as to whether any of the surgeons in the painting by Holbein were members of the Fellowship of Surgeons. Harvey White, in his chapter on Robert Balthrop states that Thomas Vicary and Sir John Ayliffe (who are both in the Holbein) were members of the Fellowship, as well as the Barbers, at the time of the merger. Others have doubted that this was the case. In any event, it can be said that no member of the Fellowship who was not already a member of the Barbers' Company in 1540 appears to have been prominent in the Company at this time or immediately thereafter.

As will be mentioned below, the union emphasised rather than removed the distinction between barbers and surgeons. Its practical effect was to unite the unincorporated surgeons of the Fellowship with the surgeons of the Barbers' Company under the Barbers' roof.

The Act of Union achieved four important things:

First, as has already been stated, it merged the Fellowship of Surgeons with the Barbers' Company to form the Company of Barbers and Surgeons. This was not simply a merger of barbers and surgeons because the Barbers' Company had for over two hundred years had surgeons within its membership.

Second, it stipulated that there should be four Masters, two barbers and two surgeons.

Third, it laid down that no barber was to practise surgery with the exception of tooth drawing and no surgeon was to cut hair.

Fourth, and most importantly, the dead bodies of four malefactors were to be assigned to the Company each year for dissection.

Following the passing of the Action of Union, Thomas Vicary and other prominent surgeons such as Thomas Gale and William Clowes, with the King's physician Sir William Butts, set about establishing a pattern for the formal teaching of anatomy. It was agreed that a senior figure should be appointed as a Reader in

Anatomy. He would be responsible for preparing a syllabus and would preside over four anatomies a year. In practice there was only one anatomy annually. As well as the Reader there were to be four associates who were appointed from the surgeon members of the Company. Two were Stewards who were responsible for the actual dissection and two were Masters, more senior members of the Company, who were to support the Reader. There were three lectures at each anatomy, the visceral, the muscular and the osteological.

It was inevitable that the first Reader would be a physician as they were still regarded as more learned than the surgeons. The person selected was John Caius who combined the post with duties in Cambridge and also with practice in London. He served as Reader for seventeen years. He was followed by many distinguished holders of the post, the careers of four of whom, namely John Banester, Sir Charles Scarburgh, Jonathan Goddard and Edward Tyson are, with Caius, dealt with in this book. Banester had the added distinctions of being a surgeon as well as a physician, and a member of the Company.

Following the Act of Union all surgeons and their apprentices had to attend one anatomy a year. For the barbers in the Company attendance was optional. Many apprentices never completed their seven year apprenticeship. Those who did would, at the completion of their apprenticeship, be examined and, if successful, they would be granted a licence to practise as a surgeon.

By the early Stuart period the Company had established control over naval surgeons throughout England and the Charter granted to the Company by Charles I in 1629 refers specifically to the Company's responsibility for examining naval surgeons, approving merchant ship surgeons and approving all sea-going surgeons' surgical chests. William Clowes had considerable experience as a naval surgeon. John Woodall and Charles Bernard were both involved in the Company's work in examining such surgeons.

The Barbers

Many barber surgeons did not comply with the Act of 1540 which forbade barbers to practise surgery. There are many instances in the Company's records of barbers being penalised for practising surgery. They were, like the surgeons, apprenticed. A seven year apprenticeship was followed by a period as a journeyman before the fully qualified barber could be admitted to the Freedom of the Company and the City with a licence to keep a shop and take apprentices himself. The fall-out rate for apprentices for barbers as well as surgeons was high and by the 18th century many barbers from outside London were being admitted to the Company by redemption rather than apprenticeship.

There seems to be no doubt that after the Act of Union in 1540, which had so much to say about surgery, the surgeons tended to dominate the Company. Such status as the barbers had at the time of the union was probably in large part due to the fact that several leading members of the Company, in particular Edmund Harman, were King's barbers. It is significant that after Harman, who ceased to hold office in 1547, there were only four further King's Barbers in the Company. The last of them, Ralph Foliard (who was Master in 1664), held office in the reign of Charles II. Over the same period the Company had ten Serjeant-Surgeons. So the influence of the barbers within the Company appears to have diminished as the importance of the role of Royal Barbers declined.

The departure of the Surgeons

The Company of Barbers and Surgeons did not suffer a loss of influence in the 17th century in the same way as many other Livery Companies did. Indeed this century saw the Company at its most influential, certainly in one of its crafts. Surgery was a craft which was developing into a profession and the Company, with the powers given to it by the Act of Union and the system of teaching and training instituted by Thomas Vicary and others was at the time, the best place for this development to take place.

The loss of influence, when it came, was sudden. The departure of the surgeons in 1745 is described in detail in the chapter on William Cheselden. Storm clouds had been gathering for some time. The previous two hundred years had seen tremendous strides in the teaching of anatomy and the development of surgery. The surgeons had over the years become well educated and successful. These attributes had brought wealth and social status which the barbers could not match. The Company was becoming a victim of its own success and, as a result, the relationship between the two parts of the Company was becoming increasingly uneasy.

In 1684 the surgeons had prepared a petition to the King, Charles II, which stated that union with the barbers hindered the purpose for which the two bodies had originally been united and asked that the surgeons be incorporated as a separate body. The King ordered the Lord Chief Justice to examine and report on the petition but he apparently did nothing and James II granted the Company a new charter in 1685 without any reference to the petition.

The problem flared up again in 1699 when the surgeons procured the election of three governors in breach of the ordinances which required that only two of the governors should be surgeons, with the remaining two being barbers. The barbers obtained a writ of mandamus from the Court of King's Bench which ordered a fresh election. This resolved the immediate problem but the surgeons did not forget.

By the early part of the 18th century many leading surgeons felt less need of the Company than had their predecessors. William Cheselden, for example, found the ordinances of the Company which stated that dissections should take place only in the Anatomy Theatre at Barber-Surgeons' Hall unduly restrictive. In 1714 he was summoned before the Court because he had been procuring bodies and dissecting them at this own house, in fact on his dining table, thus reducing attendances at the official dissections which were taking place at the same time. He was reprimanded by the Court and gave an undertaking not to offend again. Whether he in fact did so is not recorded but the incident

clearly rankled with him and affected his attitude towards the Company. Cheselden's protégé, John Ranby, was a fashionable, distinguished and successful surgeon who was to become, in 1745, the first master of the newly formed Company of Surgeons. However, his activities, both professional and social, lay outside the City and he appears to have played little part in the affairs of the Company of Barbers and Surgeons

The Barbers' Company again

After the departure of the surgeons, the Company was reconstituted as the Master, Governors and commonalty of the Mystery of Barbers of London. The Company kept the Hall, the silver, the paintings and most, although not all, of the Company's money. The concept of a livery company with its regulations, standards and monopolies became less attractive to the barbers from a commercial point of view. The monopoly of the trade given to the Company under various charters became increasingly difficult to enforce. The barbers in the Company, unlike the surgeons, did not have the sanction of granting licences to practise with which to enforce their control. However, in 1756, eleven years after the split from the surgeons eighty percent of the Company's members were recorded as practising barbery or trades associated with it. The barbers continued to join the Company, if only for social reasons, and during the first half of the 19th century a large majority of those being admitted to the Company as freemen or liverymen was stated to be barbers.

The Company had reverted to some of its original purposes; good fellowship, mutual support and charitable giving. John Paterson, as Clerk from 1745 to 1765, clearly had rather less to do than his predecessors in the office and was able to pursue a successful career in City politics. The Company's fine library of books on surgery and herbalism, which had been put together after an earlier collection was destroyed in the Great Fire, was sold to a bookseller for thirteen pounds. The Anatomy Theatre, which had been constructed to the north of the Hall in 1635 to a design by

Inigo Jones, and for which the Company had no further use, was allowed to fall into disrepair. It was let in 1769 to a carpenter, a Mr Sylvanus Hall, who promptly demolished it and replaced it with two houses.

The chapters on Charles Shoppee and Sidney Young demonstrate that shortage of money was a problem for the Company during the 19th century. The number of members of the Company did not suffer as badly as in some other livery companies. In 1882 it was shown as having ninety-two liverymen.

In the second half of the 19th century the nature of the Company's membership underwent a gradual but definite change. The reasons for this are not readily apparent. There were still a few barbers being admitted to the Livery and the sons of some barbers were being admitted to the freedom by patrimony although in most cases they practised other trades such as house decorators or lightermen. However, a number of merchants, architects, surveyors and solicitors was admitted by redemption as were several doctors and a surgeon (Eldred Smith in 1885).

The coolness between the Barbers and Surgeons since 1745, which had apparently (*vide* the chapter on Sidney Young) persisted until at least as late as 1889, seemed at last to be disappearing. In 1900 the Honorary Freedom of the Company was granted to Sir William MacCormac who was, at the time, President of the Royal College of Surgeons and Serjeant-Surgeon to Queen Victoria.

In April 1907 a motion was passed by the Court in the following terms:

> That in view of the desirability of increasing the Livery of the Company by the admission of members of the surgical profession in larger numbers the General Purposes Committee be asked to prepare and report as to the practicability of that profession being more largely represented on the Court.

Clearly the Court had in mind the impending 600th anniversary of the election of Richard le Barber and the motion appears to have produced results. Early in the following year Sir John Tweedy, a

distinguished ophthalmic surgeon, who subsequently became President of the Royal College of Surgeons, was elected to the Court. He achieved rapid promotion being elected Master in August of the same year.

In 1919 the Company inaugurated a lecture to be given on a historical subject related to surgery. Appropriately it was named after Thomas Vicary who had done so much to bring the Fellowship of Surgeons and the Barbers' Company together in 1540. The inaugural lecture was given in 1919 by Sir John Tweedy who, as already mentioned, had been Master in 1908. This lecture was at the time of its inauguration, and is now, clear evidence of the rapprochement that took place between the Barbers and the Surgeons in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The surgeons were returning to the Company. The Company was to undergo many changes in the 20th century, not least the loss and rebuilding of its Hall, but the later years of the 19th century saw the membership of the Company beginning to take on the form that it has today.

The following authorities have been consulted in the preparation of this introduction:

Beck, R. T. *The Cutting Edge*, Lund Humphries, London, 1974.

Bromley, J. and Child, H. *The Armorial Bearings of the Guilds of London*, Frederick Warne and Co. Ltd, London 1960

Doolittle, I. G. *The City of London and its Livery Companies*, The Gavin Press, Dorchester, 1982.

Herbert, W. *The History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London*, privately published, London, 1887

Kahl, W.F. *The Development of London Livery Companies*, Augustus M. Kelley, New Jersey, 1960.

Sprague, C. W. Lecture delivered at Apothecaries Hall 4th November 2002, unpublished.

Unwin, G. *The Gilds and Companies of London 4th edition*. Frank Cass and Company, London, 1963.

Wallis, P. *Search and Reconciliation in the Early Modern Livery, in Guilds, Society and Economy in London 1450-1800*. Ed. Gadd, I.A. and Wallis, P., Centre for Metropolitan History, Institute of Historical Research, London, 2002.

Wickham, A. *The Origins of the Barbers Company,* in *The Company of Barbers and Surgeons,* Ed. I. Burn, Farrand Press, London 2000.

Young, S. *The Annals of The Barber-Surgeons,* Blades, East and Blades, London 1890.

Young, S. *A Short Account of Richard le Barber,* privately published, 1908.

Chapter 1

Thomas Vicary 1495 – 1562

Chris Buckland-Wright

Introduction

And I doe note fouer things most specially, that every chirurgion ought for to have: The first, that he be learned: The Second, that he be expert; The Third, that he be ingenious; The Fourth, that he be well mannered.
(Thomas Vicary, *The Anatomie of man's body, 1577)*

THOMAS VICARY (FIG. 1) SERJEANT-SURGEON to King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth, was Master of the Barbers' Company, four times Master of the Barbers and Surgeons' Company and Chief-Surgeon to St Bartholomew's Hospital, London. He flourished as England's leading surgeon from 1527 to 1561-2, a time of great upheaval and social reform. Under Henry VII trade and manufacturers, especially in the woollen industry, were encouraged. As the wealth of the country increased, so did that of the new and powerful class of trading families, with names such as Boleyn, Wolsey and Cromwell. With the demand for wool, landlords found it more profitable to turn their waste and tilled land into pasture for sheep. This caused much discontent and unemployment and explains, in part, the popular support which Henry VIII later received when he dissolved the monasteries, which owned most of the land [1].

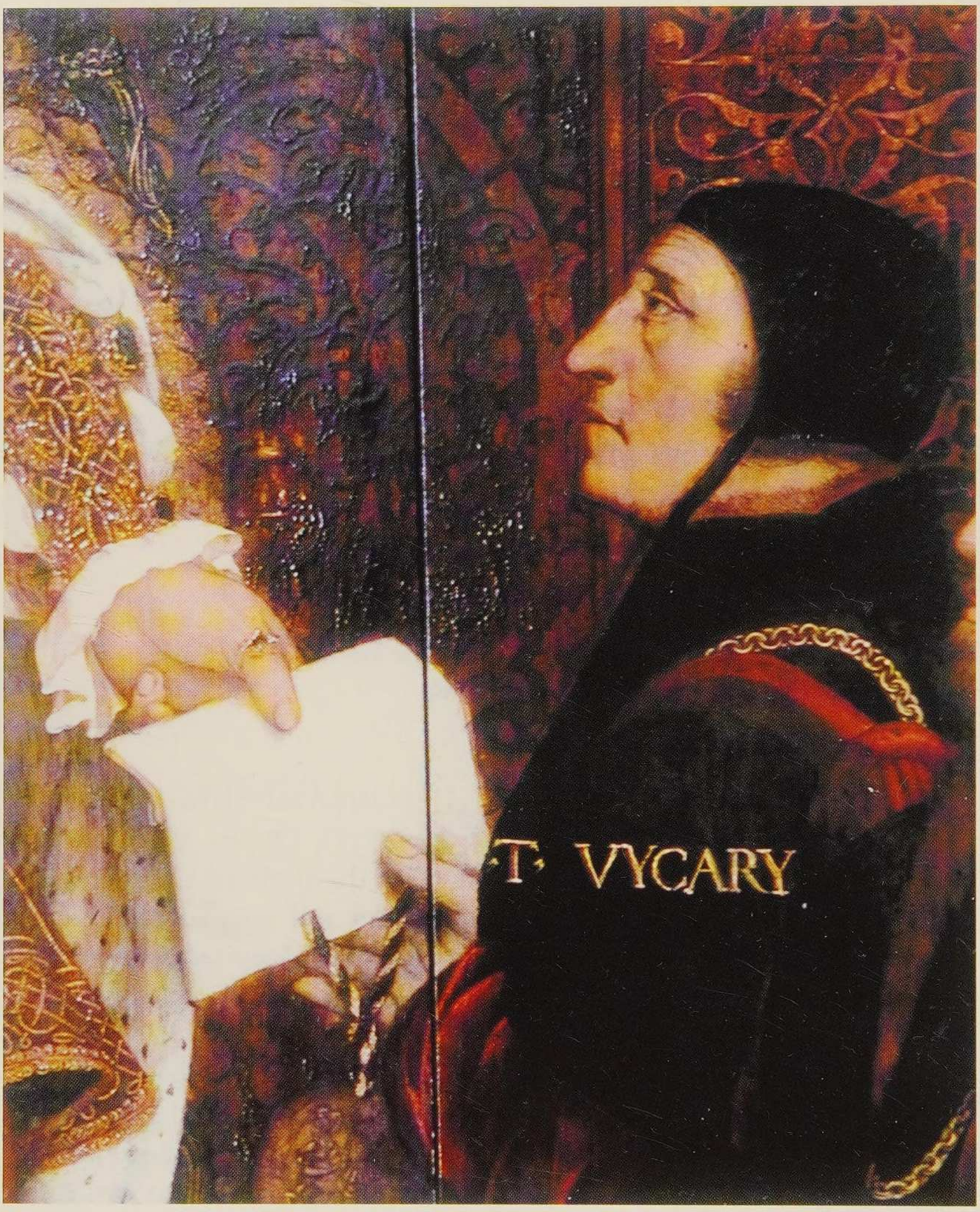


FIG. 1. Thomas Vicary receiving from Henry VIII the Act of Parliament incorporating the Barbers and Surgeons of the City of London into one Company. Detail from the painting by Hans Holbein in Barber-Surgeons' Hall.

The influence of the Reformation

Vicary witnessed the convulsive change produced by the Reformation and the Dissolution of the Monasteries, including the fires at Smithfield in London, the smoke from which smelt of the blood of martyrs. The suppression of the religious houses had the severest of repercussions for the sick, poor and aged, who lived in the more heavily populated areas, such as London. They ended up on the streets subject to the care and attentions of not only 'unlettered persons, common artificers, as smiths, weavers, and women, some being unable to read and yet professing to treat and cure disease' [1] but also of the many ejected priests, who, without much experience, turned to medicine for their livelihood, contributing to the low standards of medical practice in the Tudor period [2, 3, 4].

The influence of the 'English Revival'

To improve the status of medical practice, King Henry VIII passed an Act in 1511 which provided that no one should practise medicine or surgery within the City of London or within seven miles of it, unless he had been granted a licence by the Bishop of London or the Dean of St Paul's Cathedral, following examination by expert persons in that faculty. Although the Barber-Surgeons had issued and continued to issue licences, this reform, which was the beginning of the organisation of the medical profession in England, was undoubtedly due to the influence of Henry's physician, Thomas Linacre [1]. Linacre was a medical graduate of Padua and Oxford, who founded The Royal College of Physicians of London in 1518. He was among a group of three shining intellectual lights in the English Revival comprising William Grocyn (whose pupil was Thomas More) and John Colet, who became Dean of St Paul's Cathedral and who revitalized St Paul's School, London. These men established the learning which characterized the Renaissance in both Oxford University and London. Their lives overlapped with that of Vicary and they must have influenced him, if not directly, certainly indirectly [5]. It is possible that the influence of Linacre would have been the greatest because both he and Vicary

were concerned with people's health. Linacre had been the King's Physician, but was not a contemporary of Vicary, as he died in 1524, four years before Vicary was made Surgeon to the King [5].

Vicary: Serjeant of the King's Surgeons

Surgeon, licensed by the Bishop of London

Thomas Vicary was born between 1495 and 1500, probably in Kent. It is said that he was not gentle by birth or profession, but was one of Nature's gentlemen, possessed of an honest and true heart overflowing with kind feelings towards his fellow men [6,7]. He became a member of the Barber Surgeons' Company of London at about the time that licences to practise surgery were first introduced under the 1511 Act (3 Henry VIII, c. xi). On 28 March 1514 Vicary, with 71 other surgeons, was licensed under this Act to practise surgery by Richard Fitzjames, the Bishop of London [7]. He was examined by four past Masters of the Surgeons' Company and by Dr John Smythe, who later became a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of London [7, 8].

Surgical experience abroad

It has been suggested that Vicary had little experience as a surgeon [9], although Moore [10] showed that he had practical knowledge of the skills and methods required of a good surgeon which Vicary describes in the section 'Remedies for all captaines and souldiers that travell either by water or by Land' which was published in the first English textbook of anatomy [11]. It recommends certain cures for the 'three infirmities that offend the souldiers in the camp: fevers, wounds, and fluxes.' Before he settled in London, Vicary had travelled abroad gaining, as many of his contemporaries had done, significant medical experience in army or naval engagements. He had, he said, cured a Spaniard at Naples, and in 1523 he was at Aleppo and saw a Milanese sick of the plague. The indications are that Vicary had taken part in more

than one expedition, as an army surgeon, to North Africa:

> I have cured hundreds when I was in the warres in Africa in anno 1551 when the said citie was taken and destroyed by the campe of Charles the fyft Emperour. [11]

Charles V of Spain destroyed Tunis in 1535, and Algiers was attacked, but not taken, by him in 1541; the date of 1551 is believed to be a printing error [10]. Vicary was probably with the army on both these expeditions showing that he continued to maintain his professional commitment until his early 40s when his administrative responsibilities at the Barbers and Surgeons' Company and particularly at St Bartholomew's Hospital took over.

The King's Surgeon

In his early years, Vicary was 'at first a meane practiser [had a moderate practice] at Maidstone untill the King advanced him for curing his sore legge' [12]. This incredible lucky break can be dated as taking place in 1525 when the King was staying in Canterbury, Kent [4], during one of his royal progresses through the countryside. In 1526 Vicary was paid a fee as a surgeon to the King [4,13] as detailed in the Accounts of the Royal Household for that year 'Vycars, the King's Surgeon, his fee, £20'.

Vicary's treatment of the King coincides with his advancement in the Barbers' Company. He was Senior Warden in 1528 and was elected Master in 1530 and subsequently Master of the Company of Barbers and Surgeons in 1541, 1546, 1548 and 1557. The year 1530 marked the greatest advance in his fortunes. He received a further mark of the Royal favour, by a Grant dated 29 April, 1530 when he was appointed, following the resignation and death of Marcellus de la More (1536)

> To be serjeant of the King's surgeons, and chief surgeon to the King, with allowances both 'le bouge the Courte' of the King's household, and 'of wine, etc., for cures' with an annuity of 40 marks [9,10, 11, 12,13].

Apart from his responsibilities to the King and the Royal household, the post of serjeant-surgeon had other duties. He was required to attend when a State prisoner was to be tortured or maimed, in order that the punishment was not prolonged to the danger of the victim's life [1].

'For the good service to Us'

Vicary was in a position of great authority: because of his royal appointment he was the principal surgeon in the land and, as Master of the Barbers and Surgeons' Company, he had much to do with the control of those who practised surgery in London and its environs. That he was a good servant to his sovereign is evidenced by the fact that he served in the same capacity under King Edward VI, Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth [5,7, 9]. More than this, there is every evidence that this service was well appreciated, for in 1539 Henry VIII gave Vicary a 21 years' lease of the tithes, glebe and the house of the rectory of Boxley, Kent, with the pieces



FIG. 2. Boxley Parish church, near Maidstone, Kent.

of land, excepting the advowson of Boxley Parish Church and big trees and woods [5,13] (Fig. 2). The King covenanted that Vicary should hold the premises free from other charges and Vicary was required to keep the buildings in good repair, thatch them with straw and to repair the plough and carts [13].

Three years later Henry granted Vicary and his son William 'For the good service to Us' the post of Bailliff to Boxley Manor each, with two annuities of '10L' including all other manors late belonging to the monastery of Boxley 'from the 25 March 1542, for the life of the longest liver of them' [13]. It is possible that Vicary procured for his son the office of one of the king's surgeons [5]. In addition to having an interest in Boxley Abbey, Kent, Vicary also had the tenure of lands in Yorkshire formerly belonging to Riche Abbey [13].

William Vicary, Thomas's son by his first marriage, does not always appear to have got on well with his father. For instance, William had been in the service of Lord Lisle and in 1536 John Husee wrote to his Lordship saying 'Vicars your late Servant, begs you write a letter to his father declaring the course [reason] of his departure else his father will never take him for his son' [13]. Sadly for Vicary, his son predeceased him and apparently died without issue [5]. Nothing is known of Vicary's first wife. His second wife Alice proved his will on 7 April 1562.

Serjeant-Surgeon to their Majesties

In 1553, Queen Mary made a special grant to Vicary of the Arrears of his Chief Court-Surgeon's Annuity of 40 marks. In 1554 he was appointed Surgeon to Mary's husband, King Philip II of Spain and, in 1555, Philip and Mary re-granted to Vicary – his son William being doubtless then dead – the Bailliffship of the Manor of Boxley with the two annuities of '10L', granted in 1542 by Henry [9].

Throughout his life Vicary maintained his duties to the Royal Household and as a practising surgeon, ending up in his later years a wealthy man. In March 1557-8, he could lend his brother-in-law, Thomas Dunkyn £100, a debt from which Dunkyn was

later freed under the terms of Vicary's will [9]. At about this time Vicary also bought a house from John Joyce (Fig. 3) and some land next to Boxley Church (Fig. 2), which he later bequeathed to his nephew Stephen Vicary, son of his brother William, also of Boxley [9].

Although Vicary was always named first in the Crown list of surgeons' fees, his was not the highest figure. Both John Ayliffe



FIG. 3. Most probably the house in Boxley that Vicary purchased from John Joyce, and which he bequeathed to his nephew, Stephen Vicary.

and Richard Ferres received in 1547 30 pounds and 60 pounds per annum compared to Vicary's 20 pounds. Furthermore, when judged against the Royal Physician and, with Harman the Royal Barber, Vicary's pickings from the distribution of monastic spoils was modest. He did not become the lord of a single manor, nor did he receive a grant of arms. Harman achieved both [13]. Vicary's lack of territorial success was in no way due to his lack of scheming, forcefulness and the spirit of acquisition on his part

[13]. The reason may lie in his drive and the directness of manner which may well have annoyed those in a position to help him achieve the rewards he sought. His portrait (Fig. 1) shows a man of energy, great strength of character and of resolution who is determined to succeed in his ambitions. His expression is a rather ill tempered one.

Vicary: Master of the Company of Barbers and Surgeons of London

Union of Barbers and Surgeons

One of the outstanding events in Vicary's life was the union, in 1540, of the unincorporated Guild of Surgeons with their more accredited fellow craftsmen, the Company of Barbers (Act 32 Henry VIII), possibly achieved through his influence with the King. The formation of the Company of Barbers and Surgeons is one of the landmarks in the history of English surgery, but it was of even greater importance in the effect it had on the teaching of anatomy in England, which until then had been almost entirely neglected.

Vicary's influence with both bodies, The Company and the Guild of Surgeons, and at Court must have been an important factor in bringing the union into being. It is significant that in the picture which Holbein painted to commemorate the event (*Frontispiece*), Vicary is the one to whom the King is handing the document, although at the time he was not Master of the Barbers' Company, nor did he become Master of the new Company until September 1541.

Events and influences leading to the union of surgeons

Henry VIII's act establishing the Barber Surgeons' Company in 1540, ensured that the roles of the barber and surgeon were quite distinct. No barber could exercise surgery apart from the letting of blood and drawing of teeth. No surgeon could exercise the craft of

barbery or shaving. The purpose of the act was not merely to unite men expert in surgery in the City of London into one organisation, but to spread their learning throughout the realm. This is embodied in the Act as it states:

> . . . And to make incision of the same dead bodies or otherwyse to order the same after their said discrecions at their pleasure for their further and better knowladge instruction insight learnyng and experience in the sayd scyence or facultie of surgery. [14]

This formal declaration encouraging the study of human anatomy in England was the result of several factors. Henry VIII was aware of the advances taking place on the Continent and wanted to appear as a man of the Renaissance, encouraging the study of medicine and surgery. He was keen to see books on these subjects printed in his country. He also wished to improve the practice of medicine and surgery in England with the intention of obtaining a higher quality of surgery for his army and navy [15]. Leading surgeons, such as Vicary, considered that by bringing all the surgeons together, information would be more readily disseminated across the country. Vicary achieved the union of surgeons through the strength of his personality and his tremendous organizing abilities. Lastly, the extraordinary political events within which Vicary worked would also have contributed to the union of 1540.

The suppression of the religious houses, by Thomas Cromwell, had the severest repercussions for the sick, poor and aged, particularly in the heavily populated areas of London. It was so serious a situation that in 1538, the Lord Mayor, Sir Richard Gresham, petitioned the King. This was followed in 1539 by two further petitions from the Common Council to the King, requesting that the dissolved monasteries and four churches of the friars should be conveyed to them for the relief of the sick and needy [13]. On 10 June 1540, Thomas Cromwell, if not the architect at least the agent for the suppression of the monasteries, ceased to hold office. On 1 August 1540 the City of London offered 1,000 marks to purchase the dissolved houses. The King scornfully

described the offer as 'pynche pence'. It was not until the outbreak of wars with Scotland and France that the King took notice of the various petitions, because he wanted money and credit from the City [1]. The King re-established St Bartholomew's Hospital on the 23 June 1544, without its endowments and property, with the purpose of providing 'comfort to prisoners, shelter to the poor, visitation to the sick, food for the hungry, drink to the thirsty, clothes to the naked and sepulture to the dead' [13]. On 21 December 1546, the King conveyed the Hospital to the Mayor, Commonalty and citizens of London.

Beck [13] has suggested that the union of the Barbers and Surgeons can be viewed as the first step in the reorganization and secularization of the hospitals and that the act of union was a form of conscription for London surgeons, so that they could deal with the emergency caused by the suppression of the religious houses. To relieve them of their civic responsibilities, surgeons, during this emergency, were exempted from watches, inquests and other like duties and were required to hang outside their house a sign that all passers-by might know where to find surgical treatment.

Status of surgical practice prior to the union

Although the reorganization of the hospitals was the result of these events, and was encouraged by the City, there was an even greater need and that was to improve the standards of surgery in London. This was a time when surgery was at a low ebb and commanded little confidence. For example, the Earl of Warwick, whose son married Lady Jane Grey, wrote to the secretary of Protector Somerset on 16 July 1548 begging that the surgeon of Boulogne might remain with his lady who was in great danger by the ill treatment of the London surgeons and 'lokyd owerly to have her legge to be sawed off' [16].

At that time, during the 15th and early 16th centuries, a surgeon learned his trade by apprenticeship to a master surgeon and by consulting the textbooks written by the celebrated 14th century surgeons Gui de Chauliac or Henri de Mondeville. These medieval texts contained a short anatomical preface based on the result

of cursory and incomplete examinations of post-mortem material and were hardly sufficient to provide a proper grasp of anatomy. Hence the opening of the Tudor dynasty in England witnessed physicians and surgeons lacking the essential and fundamental knowledge of the human structure. Relatively unimportant persons dissected the body, whilst the prestigious figure of the anatomy professor concentrated on reading from the written texts. Thus in illustrations of the period we see the body, the dissector and the anatomy lecturer arranged in a hierarchical presentation of knowledge in which authority is vested in the lecturer rather than the activity of the dissection itself. The latter takes place in front, and below his lectern at which the lecturer is on his dais.

Within the framework of medieval practice, it is found that it was the Barber Surgeons of London, a City trade guild, whose members were mostly illiterate (lacking knowledge of Latin) who establish in England the renaissance in anatomy. Although these events occurred some fifty years behind those on the Continent, those at the Company of Barbers and Surgeons preceded the anatomical renaissance that took place at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge and at the College of Physicians of London.

Rediscovery of 'classical' or Greek anatomy. The fall of Constantinople, 1453

To consider the renaissance of anatomy in London within a wider historical context it is appropriate to mention the capture of Constantinople in 1453 by Mehmet II for the Ottoman Empire. This event had the effect of driving the Greek scholars out of Constantinople and into Western Europe. The result was that it was possible, for the first time since the age of Galen (AD 150 – 200), to recover Greek medical texts in all their original 'purity' [17]. It was on the Continent that the classical revival of the Renaissance began which caused the medieval tradition to be replaced by that of classical antiquity. The Renaissance represented an effort to revive the spirit and interests of the classical world. Especially important was the recovery of the Greek language since it made possible the rediscovery of the writings of the great classical

physicians, notably Hippocrates and Galen, who had shown more interest in human anatomy than had the physicians of classical Rome [15]. This revival extended from Italy, northwards reaching England only by the 16th century.

Revival of classical anatomy: the Galenic tradition

The European method of teaching established during the latter half of the 15th century required that the achievements in medicine were subsumed under a system demanding accuracy in transmission. Thus, each 'transmitter' or lecturer was judged on the extent to which he had succeeded or failed in passing on a text which had to be linguistically 'pure', that was uncorrupted by the thoughts and opinions of the lecturer who had access to the Greek 'original'.

In England, it was Linacre's translation from the Greek into clear, straightforward Latin that made a considerable portion of Galen's medical writings available for the first time from 1517 onwards. Although Linacre, the eminent Tudor physician, translated the texts of Galen, the study of anatomy was largely under the control of the less learned and less articulate surgeons. They taught anatomy more as a limited body of technical information required for surgery rather than as a field of knowledge to be studied for itself. In addition, the physicians at that time were not interested in anatomy.

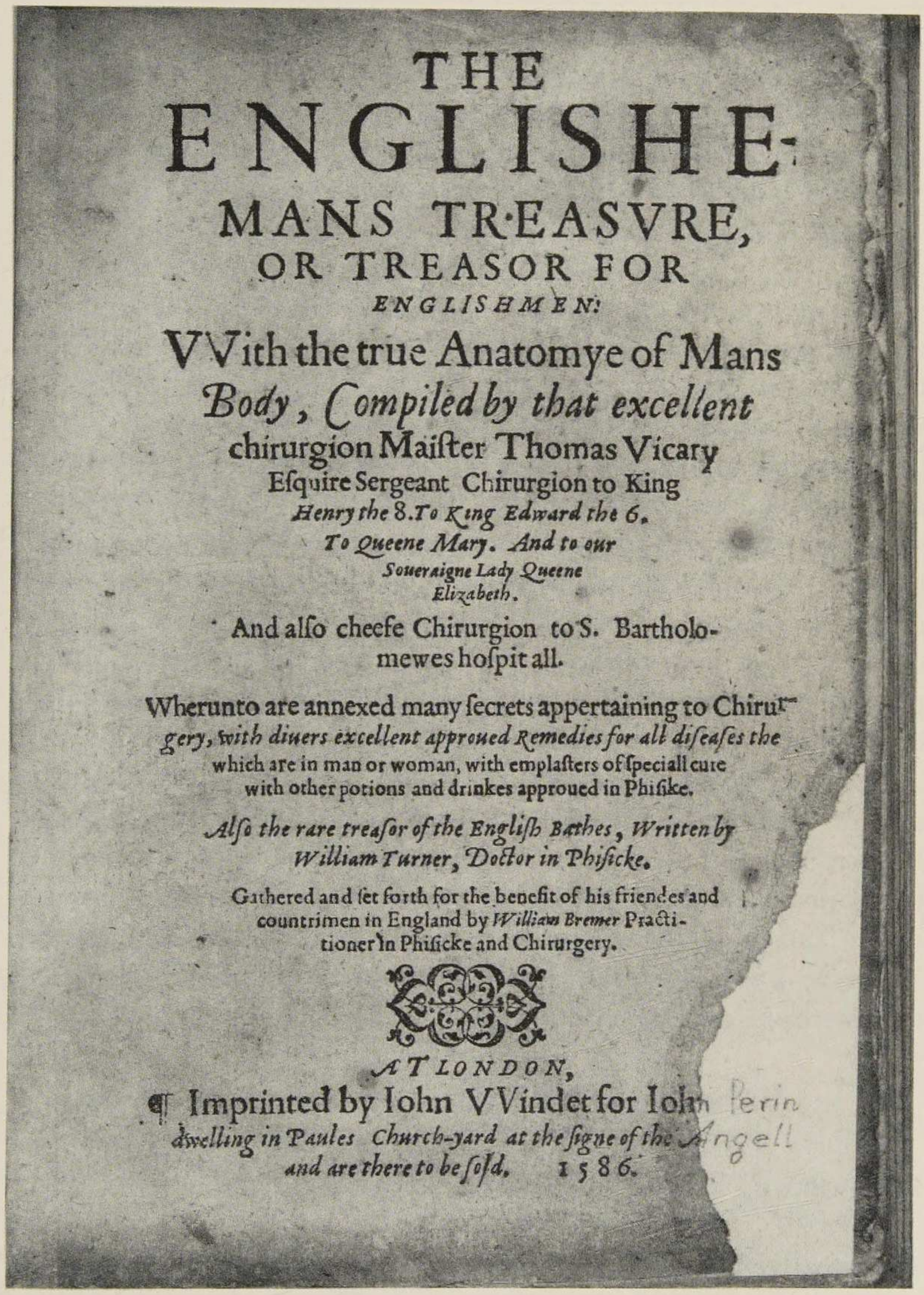
Vicary and Caius

In the mid-16th century, Thomas Vicary was concerned to raise the standards of anatomy and surgery. This is best expressed in his own words when describing the qualities required of a surgeon:

> Also he must knowe his anatomie; for all authors write against those surgions that worke in mans bodie not knowing the anatomie. [10, 11]

So alert were the members of the Court of the Barber Surgeons' Company for the need to train surgeons that they formalised their teaching of Anatomy and Surgery by appointing a Reader of Anatomy to lecture to the surgeons in training and to make available to them books for them to study [18]. In 1546, John Caius was appointed Reader in Anatomy [19]. Although he is the first recorded teacher, there remain six years between 1540 and his appointment in 1546 when it is not certain who taught anatomy, because the Company's records for this period have been lost. It has been argued that Vicary may have been the first reader, because he had been instrumental in both the formation of the United Company and in establishing the need for the regular teaching of anatomy [20]. In addition, Vicary published in 1548 the first English book on anatomy, entitled *A Profitable Treatise of the Anatomie of Mans Body* [13, 21] (Fig. 4). This book was compiled as an introduction for young surgeons, a compendium of essential information. The book's striking feature is that the sound advice and recipes offered to the young surgeons are couched in language quite different from that of the anatomical text [13, 21, 22, 23]. The language of the latter was medieval. It was Dr Frank Payne who discovered that the anatomy was an abridged English version of Henry de Mondeville's 13th century original manuscript [13, 21, 23]. Vicary probably chose this crude, out-of-date text for use in his first regular series of anatomical lectures [20]. The English version was at hand, based on the works of an irrefutable master of anatomy, Henry de Mondeville. Later Vicary's book was reissued by four surgeons from St Bartholomew's Hospital in 1577 and, astonishingly, the book went through a further ten editions [22]. In terms of the anatomical content it was a medieval relic and its effect on the early stages of anatomical teaching in this country was markedly counterproductive [13, 24]. The book held back all developments in this field until 1580.

The appointment in 1546 of Dr John Caius as Reader in Anatomy ensured the continuation of the Galenic or classical tradition of anatomy at the Barber Surgeons' Company. Although a Galenist in his outlook, he made a great contribution to the course of scientific progress through his lectures and demonstrations in



THE
ENGLISHE-
MANS TREASVRE,
OR TREASOR FOR
ENGLISHMEN:
VVith the true Anatomye of Mans
Body, Compiled by that excellent
chirurgion Maister Thomas Vicary
Esquire Sergeant Chirurgion to King
Henry the 8. *To King Edward the* 6.
To Queene Mary. And to our
Soueraigne Lady Queene
Elizabeth.
And also cheefe Chirurgion to S. Bartholo-
mewes hospit all.

Wherunto are annexed many secrets appertaining to Chirur-
gery, with diuers excellent approued Remedies for all diseases the
which are in man or woman, with emplasters of speciall cure
with other potions and drinkes approued in Phisike.

Also the rare treasor of the English Bathes, Written by
William Turner, Doctor in Phisicke.

Gathered and set forth for the benefit of his friendes and
countrimen in England by *William Bremer* Practi-
tioner in Phisicke and Chirurgery.

AT LONDON,
Imprinted by Iohn VVindet for Iohn Perin
dwelling in Paules Church-yard at the signe of the Angell
and are there to be sold. 1586.

FIG. 4. The first textbook of anatomy in English. This is the title page of the third edition of Thomas Vicary's *Anatomye of Mans Body,* 1586.

anatomy. Of these, Dr Bulleyn, a contemporary member of the Company, wrote:

> Whereas through the learned lectures and the secret anatomies by and through the learned, M. Joh. Kaius, reveilling unto this fraternity the hidden jewels and precious treasures of Galenus, showing himself to be a second Linacre. [13]

Vicary's domination of the Company has not always been entirely valued. He owed his position as Master of the Barbers' Company in 1530 to the fact that the King had appointed him his Serjeant-Surgeon in that year. The fact that Vicary was Master of the Barber Surgeons four times is testament to his forcefulness of character and his persistence in dominating the Company. It is significant that few books by surgeons appeared during Vicary's lifetime. Immediately after his death, both Gale and Hall and others, published books on surgery and anatomy. There is no doubt that, as Serjeant-Surgeon, Vicary had the power to hinder or prevent the issue of surgical treatises thus ensuring that his book would be the standard textbook for the Company [13].

Vicary, the administrator, and Caius, the great teacher set the seal on the ancient Galenist style of anatomical teaching at the Barber Surgeons' Company. Caius's influence determined that the teachers of anatomy would be drawn from the ranks of physicians. The reasons for this were not only that they had greater 'learning' in knowing Latin and Greek but also they were more widely travelled.

Vicary and St Bartholomew's Hospital

Re-founding of St Bartholomew's Hospital

However valuable Vicary's service was both to his sovereign and the Company of Barbers and Surgeons, there can be no doubt that his service to St Bartholomew's Hospital was equally distinguished.

Three weeks after Henry VIII had conveyed the Hospital to

the Mayor, Commonalty and citizens of London and two weeks before his death, the King issued, on 13 January 1547, under the Great Seal, letters patent to erect a hospital in West Smithfield, for 100 patients with an endowment of 500 marks, with the City of London expected to contribute a further 500 marks per year. The City found that Henry's endowment was to come from 'certeine of houses, some in great decaye, and some rotten ruynous' and that this endowment had to pay pensions to parsons, the balance being sufficient to keep only as patients, 'thre or foure harlottes, then lieng in chyldbedde' [9, 25]. So the City set to work and raised 1000 pounds for repairs and fittings, enabling the hospital to open for 100 patients. In September of the following year, Thomas Vicary was appointed the Chief-Surgeon and one of the six new Governors of the Hospital. Shortly afterwards he became the Resident Surgical Governor of the Hospital and, in June 1552, was made 'one of the assistants of this house for the term of his lyffe' [9].

Order of the hospital of S. Bartholomewes

An entry in the Hospital minutes for 2 October 1554, describes Thomas Vicary's duties:

> Thys day yt ys orderyd that Mr. Vycary have the oversyte of all suche offycers as be wythin the hospytall, in ye absence of the Governors, and to reforme such thyngs as he seythe amys in any offycer, and to make reporte at the Gouernors at theyr next metyng. [9]

Evidence that Vicary lived in the Hospital, is shown in the notes of sums paid for the repair of the house. Later in 1561 the hospital provides Thomas Vicary, and his wife Alice, with the house at the end of Duck Lane (now part of Little Britain). It was called the 'Corner House in Paradise, which was leased to them for 40 years or as long as they shall live for the rent of £3. 6*s*. 8*d*'. [5, 13].

The hospital journals are full of descriptions of the numerous and varied services which Vicary gave to the Hospital. These are

principally administrative with little or no reference to the performance of any professional duties, suggesting that there is little justification for Thomas Vicary's title of Chief Surgeon which is used on the fly-leaf of *The Anatomie of Man's Bodie* (Fig. 4). Nevertheless, his great skills as an administrator are demonstrated by the publication, four years after his appointment, of the famous *Order of the hospital of S. Bartholomewes in West Smythfielde in London* 1552, which, with other addenda, sets out the duties and terms of service of all those associated with the Hospital. These duties include not only those for the administrative staff such as the Governors, President, Treasurer, but also the medical staff Matrons, Sisters, Chirurgiens including the Hospiteler, Butler, Porter, Biddilles, and 'the visitour of Newgate'. The orders held sway up to the time of the institution of the National Health Service and it is remarkable that every member of staff was appointed, up to 1948, under virtually the same orders as were written by Vicary 400 years previously [5].

Vicary's death and bequests

It is strange that the place where Thomas Vicary died, and where he was buried are quite unknown. There is no burial entry in the parish registers of either St Bartholomew the Less or of Boxley Church [5, 13]. Although he described himself as being 'hole in boddie and in perfect remembrance' at the time of making his second will on 27 January 1560, his death almost two years later appears to have been quite unexpected and may have taken place whilst he was away from the City of London or his property in Kent. He probably died in late 1561 or early 1562, as the last payment to him from the Royal Household of his annuity of 20 pounds was in September 1561 and his widow Alice Vicary proved his will in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on 7 April 1562 [9, 13].

Vicary in his will [26] made gifts to several members of the Court and the clerk of the Barber and Surgeons' Company. He left 'VJs VIIjd' to the Clerk John Johnson; to Robert Balthrop (Junior

Warden in 1560, Master in 1565 and 1573) 'my best gown, velvet coat and a syringe of silver parcel gilt'; to Thomas Bayly (Middle Warden 1559) 'a gown, cassock, plaister box and silver instruments'; to Robert Muddesley (Junior Warden in 1561, Master in 1572 and 1580) his 'gown faced with black satin'; to George Vaughan (Junior Warden in 1558, Master in 1569) 'a crimson doublet'; 'to the Hall of my Company one book called *Guido* (*Cyrurgia, Guido de Cauliaco,* the earliest English edition printed in 1542) a sheaf of arrows, a hand gun and various defensive garments'.

To his apprentice he gave 'VJs VIIJd' and to his servant Henry Picton (Vicary's assistant) 'XXs, one book called Iohannes Vigo' (*Workes of Chirurgerye,* translated by Bartholomew Traherone, London, 1543, or its original), all the residue of his books, 'stuff and instruments appertaining to surgery'.

Vicary's nephew Stephen was left the house and land next to Boxley Church and the leaseholds in Boxley. The residue of his estate he left to his wife Alice.

Vicary and the early Renaissance

Thomas Vicary stands among the leading men of the English Revival who helped to establish the newly formed organisations that characterized the Renaissance in London. Vicary lived at a time of unrest and social upheaval during which the Company of Barbers and Surgeons and St Bartholomew's Hospital were established. During this period, Linacre had established medicine, and Vicary founded surgery as a learned profession. Both men incorporated the new insights of the Renaissance into their organisations. These were devoted to the gathering of information and the dissemination of knowledge. The foundations of western science were laid at this time, reaching its full extent with the creation of the Royal Society in 1660.

References

[1] MacNalty, A.S. *The renaissance and its influence on English medicine surgery and public health*, London, Christopher Johnson, 1946.

[2] Smith, G. The practice of medicine in Tudor England. *Scientific Monthly, N. Y.* (1940), **45**, 65-72.

[3] Edgar, I.I. Medical practice and the physician in Elizabethan England and in Shakespeare's dramas. *Medic. Life, N.S.* (1934), **61**, 331-76.

[4] Dobson, J. The training of a surgeon. *Ann. R. Coll. Surg.* (1964), **34**, 1-36.

[5] Thomas, C.P. Vicary amongst his contemporaries. *Ann. R. Coll. Surg.* (1962), **30**, 137-154.

[6] South, J.F. *Memorials of the craft of surgery in England*, London, Cassell, 1886.

[7] Macdonald, G.G. General medical practice in the time of Thomas Vicary. *Ann. R. Coll. Surg.* (1967), **40**, 1-20.

[8] Poynter, F.L.N. *Evolution of medical practice in Britain*, London, Pitman, 1961.

[9] Furnivall, F.J. and Furnivall, P. *The Anatomie of the bodie of man by Thomas Vicary. The edition of 1548 as re-issued by the surgeons of St Bartholomew's in 1577*, Part I, London, Early English Text Society, 1888.

[10] Moore, N. The physicians and surgeons of St Bartholomews hospital before the time of Harvey. *St Bartholomew Hosp. Rep.* (1882), **18**, 333-358.

[11] Vicary, T. *A profitable treatise of the anatomie of mans body*, London, Henry Bamforde, 1577.

[12] Manningham, J. (1601/2 to 1603) *Diary*, Cited in references [4] and [13].

[13] Beck, RT. *The cutting edge. Early history of the surgeons of London*, London, Lund Humphries, 1974.

[14] Young, S. *The Annals of the Barber-Surgeons of London*, London, East & Blades, 1890.

[15] O'Malley C.D. and Russell, K.F. *David Edwardes 'Introduction to Anatomy 1532'. A facsimile reproduction with English translation and an introductory essay on anatomical studies in Tudor England*, Oxford, University Press, 1961.

[16] State Papers, Domestic, 1547-80, p.9. Cited in reference [13].

[17] Sawday, J. *The body emblazoned. Dissection and the human body in Renaissance culture*. London, Routledge, 1995.

[18] Buckland-Wright, C. and Buckland-Wright, H. The Library of the Company of Barbers and Surgeons. In *The Company of Barbers and Surgeons*, I. Burn (ed), London, Farrand Press, 2000.

[19] Dobson, J and Milnes Walker, R. *Barbers and Barber-Surgeons of London. A history of the Barbers' and Barber-Surgeons' Companies*, Oxford, Blackwell Scientific Publications 1979.

[20] Buckland-Wright, J.C. Readers of anatomy at the Barber Surgeons' Company in the Tudor period. *J. R. Soc. Med*. (1985), **78**, 802-11.

[21] Rolleston, H. The early history of the teaching of: I. Human anatomy in London. II. Morbid anatomy and pathology in Great Britain. *Ann. Med. Hist*. (1939), **3**, 203-238.

[22] Power, D'A. Notes on the biography of three sixteenth-century English books connected with London hospitals. In *Selected writings 1877-1931*, Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1931, pp.109-19.

[23] Russell, K.F. *British Anatomy 1525-1800. A bibliography of works published in Britain, America and on the Continent*, 2nd edn, Hampshire, St Paul's Biographies, 1987.

[24] Elliot Smith, G. The significance of anatomy. *Br. Med. J.* 1926, **ii**, 815-819.

[25] Vicary, T. *Order of the hospital of S. Bartholomewes in West Smythfielde in London*. London, 1552.

[26] Vicary, T. *Will*. Streate, folio 10, leaf 3, Prerogative Court of Canterbury 1560-1. Cited in reference [9].

Chapter 2

Thomas Gale 1507 - 1587

Ian McColl

THOMAS GALE SERVED UNDER Henry VIII as an Army Surgeon, becoming a Master Surgeon in 1561 and Queen Elizabeth's Serjeant-Surgeon. Two years later, in 1563, Gale wrote one of several notable works; *Certaine Works of Chirurgerie, newly compiled and published* which dealt principally with the treatment of wounds, fractures and dislocations. His work was based largely on his experiences of being an Army Surgeon. The same year, he also produced *An Excellent Treatise on Wounds made with Gunneshot* and *An Enchiridion of Chirurgerie*.

Thomas Gale's earlier work can be found in his personal writings of 1544. During this period he was Army Surgeon to Henry VIII's campaigns, which resulted in the capture of Boulogne. His writings detail the horrific scenes that he himself encountered at Montreuil. He recounted that 'sowgelders, tinkers, and cobblers' were forced to take on the duties of the surgeon and styled themselves in such a manner. They were forced to dress and treat wounds with 'dreadful concoctions' based on grease originally used for the treatment of horses' legs, and salves manufactured from 'shoemakers wax and the rust of utensils' [1]. Gale noted that the mortality rate, even from minor wounds, was incredibly high.

Following the war, Gale returned to London. The practical experiences he had gained from such torrid conditions enabled

him to become a highly successful surgeon. Additionally, he was able to become a sound writer and a good teacher. Gale's writings also provide a valuable insight into the maltreatment of the sick and poor which occurred during the Tudor period, in which he practised:

> In the year 1562 I did see in the two hospitals in London called St. Thomas' Hospital and St. Bartholomew's Hospital to the number three hundred and odd poor people that were diseased of sore legs, sore arms, feet and hands, with other parts of the body, so sore infected that a hundred and twenty of them could never be recovered without loss of a leg or of an arm, a foot or a hand, fingers or toes, or else their limbs crooked so that they were either maimed or else undone forever. All these were brought to this mischief by witches, by women, by counterfeit javills that take upon them to use the art, not only of robbing them of their money but of their limbs and perpetual health. And I, with certain other, diligently examining these poor people, how they came by their grievous hurts and who were their chirurgions that looked unto them and they confessed that they were either witches, which did promise by charms to make them whole, or else some women which would make them whole with herbs and suchlike things, or else some vagabond javill which runneth from one country to another promising unto them health only to deceive them of their money. [2]

In time, Queen Elizabeth would appoint Gale her Serjeant-Surgeon.

Gale was rare in his time in that he took on his own son, William Gale, as his apprentice surgeon. Traditionally, surgical apprentices were not from the higher classes but often drawn from the humblest of ranks. They often owed any future success to their own talent, as opposed to social standing. Gale commented on this in *An Institution of a Chirurgion*: '... few that have wel brought up their sonne will put him to the arte, because it is accounted so beggarly and vile.' [2].

Gale's writings indicate that he wrote in English, not Latin. A 1556 ordinance stated that no surgeon should offer apprenticeship

to a boy who did not have knowledge of Latin. Latin at this time was spoken as a living language in grammar schools across the country. The 1556 ordinance attempted to 'filter' out those who did not speak Latin, as it was assumed that this indicated a poor level of education. Evidence would suggest that this ordinance was rescinded the following year in 1557; this became apparent in Gale's 1563 publication, the *Enchiridion of Chirurgerie,* which he dedicated to 'the young men of his Company, students in the noble art of Chirurgerie'. Gale stated that he wrote in English: '... because the books you should use are written in a tongue which the most of you understand not.' [2].

Gale also showed a deep understanding of ethical issues in surgery. At the time, wounds to the heart, lungs, brain, stomach etc. were usually considered to be fatal, whilst amputations and surgery on certain types of cancer often had an uncertain outcome. Gale advised that the surgeon, 'maketh no warrantyse of suche sicknes, as are incurable, as to cure a cancer not ulcerate, or elephantiasis confrimyd: more then arte can performe.' [2]. In essence, advocating the treatment of each case individually and not to guarantee anything more than surgery could achieve. This indicates that Gale believed that medicine and surgery are quite different to prophecy.

Gale was intent on creating a new type of surgeon, advocating the belief that expertise came from experience and from seeing other masters work, as well as through more formal education. Gale stated that 'the surgeon must be expert, that is he must be garnished with much and long experience.' [3].

Gale was incredibly forward thinking in his views on the education of the surgeon, proposing that educating the surgeon with knowledge from the physician would lead to a more effective practice:

> Young men should take council as well of the learned physician as of the learned surgeon, for this art is so joined together that neither may the parts be divided neither yet the instruments without the overthrow and destruction of the whole art. [3]

He elaborates:

> To council with a physician being a grave and learned man in the principles of this art – in matters of weight – I take it to be very necessary; for what is he that is wise that will refuse the council of a wise and learned man, and especially of him that possesseth the principles of the same art? For physiologia, whereof the physician taketh his name, is the first and chiefest part which he that worketh in the art of medicine doth prove for that it doth consist in the knowledge of the several natural things, and in the residue thereto appertaining. But yet this doth not follow that a learned and expert chirurgeon should not use diet and purgations and other inward medicines at all times when need doth require. [2]

The level of insight that Gale's views show is highlighted by the fact that it was not until the time of the great Elizabethan surgeons that pupils began to be taught medicine as they learned surgery.

Gale is considered, along with Thomas Vicary, John Banister, John Hall, and William Clowes, to be one of the English reformers of surgery during the Tudor period. However nothing came of his well-intentioned advice of changing the way surgeons were perceived, as the surgeons remained on a 'lower plane', and when Gale and his fellow reformers died no successors, with the exception of Woodall, carried on their work in England under Kings James and Charles.

William Gale

Thomas Gale had a son, William, who became a Master Surgeon in 1595 and died on 19 December, 1610.

The Arris and Gale lecture

The Arris and Gale lecture is an invited lecture open to either a Fellow or a Member of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, or the Fellowship/Membership of the College's Faculty of Dental Surgery. Thomas Gale's name is associated with the lecture through his grandson John, the son of William. John bequeathed an annuity of sixteen pounds for an osteology lecture at Barber-

Surgeons' Hall, which was transferred to the College of Surgeons. It forms part of a series of Lectures that are awarded by the College's Council, with up to twelve Hunterian Lectures and the Arnott Lecture. Traditionally the Arris and Gale lecture is on a subject relating to Human Anatomy and Physiology.

The lectures will normally be delivered in the United Kingdom. Lectures may, exceptionally, be delivered outside the United Kingdom, subject to the approval of the Lectureships Selection Committee and provided a Member of the Council of the College is present for the lecture.

The origins of the Arris and Gale lecture can be traced back to an anonymous donation of £250 by Mr Edward Arris in 1645 to endow a dissection of the muscles and for six lectures to be conducted at the Company of Barber-Surgeons' Hall. This was originally paid as a deed of 30 pounds each year, but by 1675 Mr Arris made this an annual gift that totalled 510 pounds. Following his death, one of his 23 sons, Dr Thomas Arris, attempted to contest the payment of the annual gift in court, but was unsuccessful.

Mr John Gale was the son of William Gale (Master Surgeon in 1595, and son of Thomas Gale 1507-1587). John Gale was born in 1585 and died at the age of 70 in 1655. It was John Gale who offered the Company of Barber Surgeons an annuity of 16 pounds a year specifically for an osteology lecture that was titled: Gale's Anatomy.

In 1745, the Company of Barber Surgeons separated, with the Company of Surgeons then being formed. It was decided upon separation that the Surgeons would retain the Arris gift of 510 pounds each year, and the Gale Annuity of 16 pounds a year. The Arris and Gale lectures are still given today at the Royal College of Surgeons, with the endowments having been passed on to the College at its foundation in the year 1800.

Since its inception, many famous surgeons have been the Arris and Gale Professor, and delivered the Arris and Gale lectures. Some notable figures throughout history to have done this are:

John Hilton (1804-1878)

Hilton entered Guy's Hospital in 1824. He was appointed demonstrator of anatomy in 1828, assistant-surgeon in 1845 and surgeon in 1849. In 1867 he was President of the Royal College of Surgeons, of which he became member in 1827 and fellow in 1843; he also delivered the Hunterian oration in 1867. As Arris and Gale professor (1859-1862) he delivered a course of lectures on 'Rest and Pain', which have become classics. He was also surgeon-extraordinary to Queen Victoria. Hilton was the greatest anatomist of his time, and was nick-named 'Anatomical John'.

Henry Hancock (1809-1880)

Henry Hancock first learned pharmacy. From 1830 he visited the Royal Westminster Ophthalmic Hospital and later attended George James Guthrie's (1785-1856) lectures on surgery, the other lectures at King's College, and the clinics in Westminster Hospital. In 1832 he became House-Surgeon in the eye hospital and, in 1834, lecturer and prosector of anatomy at the Westminster medical school, where Robert Bentley Todd (1809-1860) taught physiology and Guthrie surgery. In 1863 Hancock became a member of the Council of the College of Surgeons where, in 1865, as Arris and Gale professor, he gave the lecture on the human foot. An improved version of this was published in London in 1873.

Sir James Paget (1814-1899)

Sir James Paget was a British surgeon and pathologist who is best remembered for Paget's disease and who is considered, with Rudolf Virchow, as one of the founders of scientific medical pathology. His famous works included *Lectures on Tumours* (1851) and *Lectures on Surgical Pathology* (1853). In 1847 he was appointed an assistant-surgeon to the hospital, and Arris and Gale professor at the Royal College of Surgeons. He held this professorship for six years and each year gave six lectures in surgical pathology. The first edition of these lectures, which were the chief scientific work of his life, was published in 1853 as Lectures on Surgical Pathology.

Sir Alexander Fleming (1881-1955)

Sir Alexander Fleming, a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons (England), 1909, and a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians (London), 1944, has gained many awards. They include Hunterian Professor (1919), Arris and Gale Lecturer (1929). Fleming is of course most famous for the isolation of the antibiotic substance, penicillin, for which he won a Nobel Prize.

References

[1] Bishop, W.J. *The Early History of Surgery,* The Scientific Book Guild, UK. 1960.

[2] Power, D. The education of a surgeon under Thomas Vicary, *The British Journal of Surgery,* **8**, 240-258. 1921.

[3] Wear, A. *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine, 1550-1680,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. 2000.

The following authors were also consulted in the preparation of this text:

Beck, R.T., *The Cutting Edge; early history of the Surgeons of London,* Lund Humphries, London. 1974.

Cope, Z. *The Royal College of Surgeons of England; a history.* Anthony Blond Ltd, London. 1959.

Dobson, J., Milnes Walker, R. *Barbers and Barber-Surgeons of London,* Blackwell Scientific Publications, Oxford. 1979.

Gale, T. *Certaine Workes of Chirurgerie, newlie compliled and published.* London, Rowland Hall. 1586.

Chapter 3

Edmund Harman *c.*1509 – 1577

William Shand

TO BE PERMITTED TO HOLD a potentially lethal weapon to the throat of one of the most powerful, and perhaps one of the most emotionally unpredictable men in Europe, on a daily basis for a period of some years, speaks volumes about skill on the one hand, about patience and appreciation on the other, but above all about mutual trust. Such was the relationship, in the latter part of his reign, between King Henry VIII and his three barbers, Edmund Harman, John Penn and Nicholas Simpson. To have survived the sometimes alarmingly turbulent life at Court, suggests that each in his own way must have been a remarkable man, but it is upon Edmund Harman that the honour falls to represent the barbers in this volume commemorating some eminent members and associates of the Barbers' Company over the seven centuries since the appointment of its first Master.

Kings' Barbers

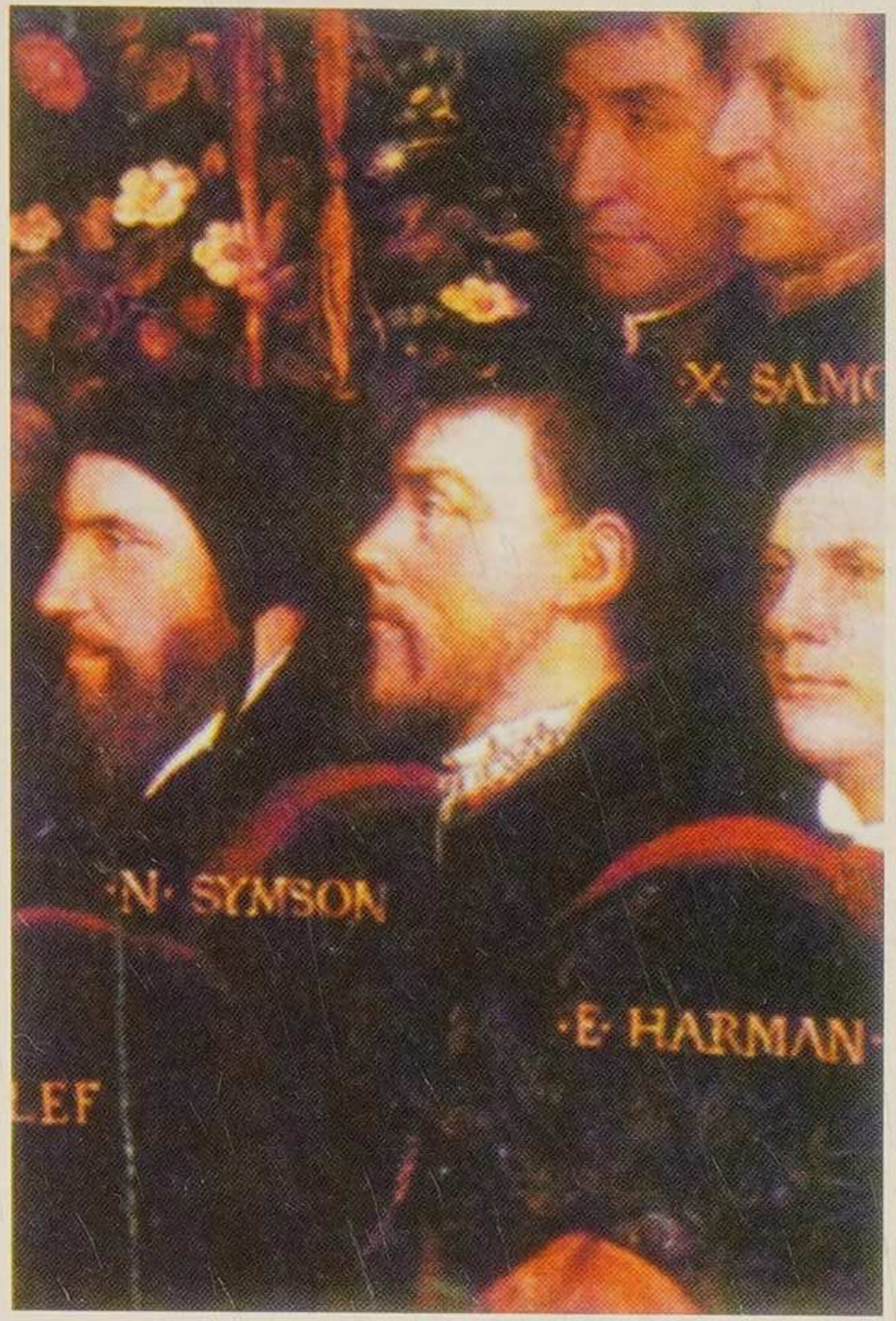
Although it is likely that the Barbers' Company was in existence in the 12th century it is not until 1308, the second year of the reign of King Edward II, that the first extant written record of its existence appears, when Richard le Barber was presented to the Court of Aldermen in the City of London and admitted as Master of the Company to have supervision over the trade of barbery [1]. In 1310, one Gerard le Barber was sworn as Keeper of the Gate at

Newgate, possibly because his knowledge of surgery must have enabled him to detect, and it is hoped therefore prevent, lepers gaining entrance to the City, and there are records of other barbers being appointed to similar posts. Whether Gerard le Barber was a member of the Company is not clear, although it is likely.

In 1376, following a complaint to the Mayor and Aldermen about the activities of unskilled practitioners in barbery and surgery, the Barbers requested that two Masters be appointed annually to inspect and rule the craft. The request was approved and the Ordinance enrolled at Guildhall. Lawrence de Weston and John de Grantone, both barbers, were duly appointed and served as Joint Master for a year. However, perhaps rather surprisingly, there is no record that any of these barbers, or indeed that any other members of the Company, were appointed as barbers to the Royal Household until the 16th century.

During the reign of Henry VIII that honour fell upon three Liverymen, Nicholas Simpson, John Penn, and Edmund Harman the subject of this chapter. In the following century there were four such appointments, Thomas Caldwell (Master 1627 and 1628) and Thomas Davyes (Master 1639) as barbers to King Charles I, and Thomas Lisle (Master 1662) and Ralph Foliard (Master 1664) as barbers to King Charles II. Thereafter there is no further record of any member of the Company being appointed to the Royal Household as barber.

A valuation of the contents of the Hall after its destruction in 1940 lists several portraits which must now be considered lost, among which was a portrait of Thomas Lisle [2]. We are fortunate however that of the remaining six Royal Barbers, three are recorded by Hans Holbein the Younger in his Great Picture of Henry VIII uniting the Company of Barbers (or Barber-Surgeons) with the Guild or Fellowship of Surgeons to form the Company of Barbers and Surgeons in 1540 (*Frontispiece*). In this painting Edmund Harman is shown wearing a beard (Fig. 1*a*), but in Holbein's second painting, at The Royal College of Surgeons of England, he is shown clean-shaven (Fig. 1*b*). A Bernard Baron print of an engraving taken in 1736 from the Barbers' Holbein shows Edmund Harman even more clearly (Fig. 1*c*)



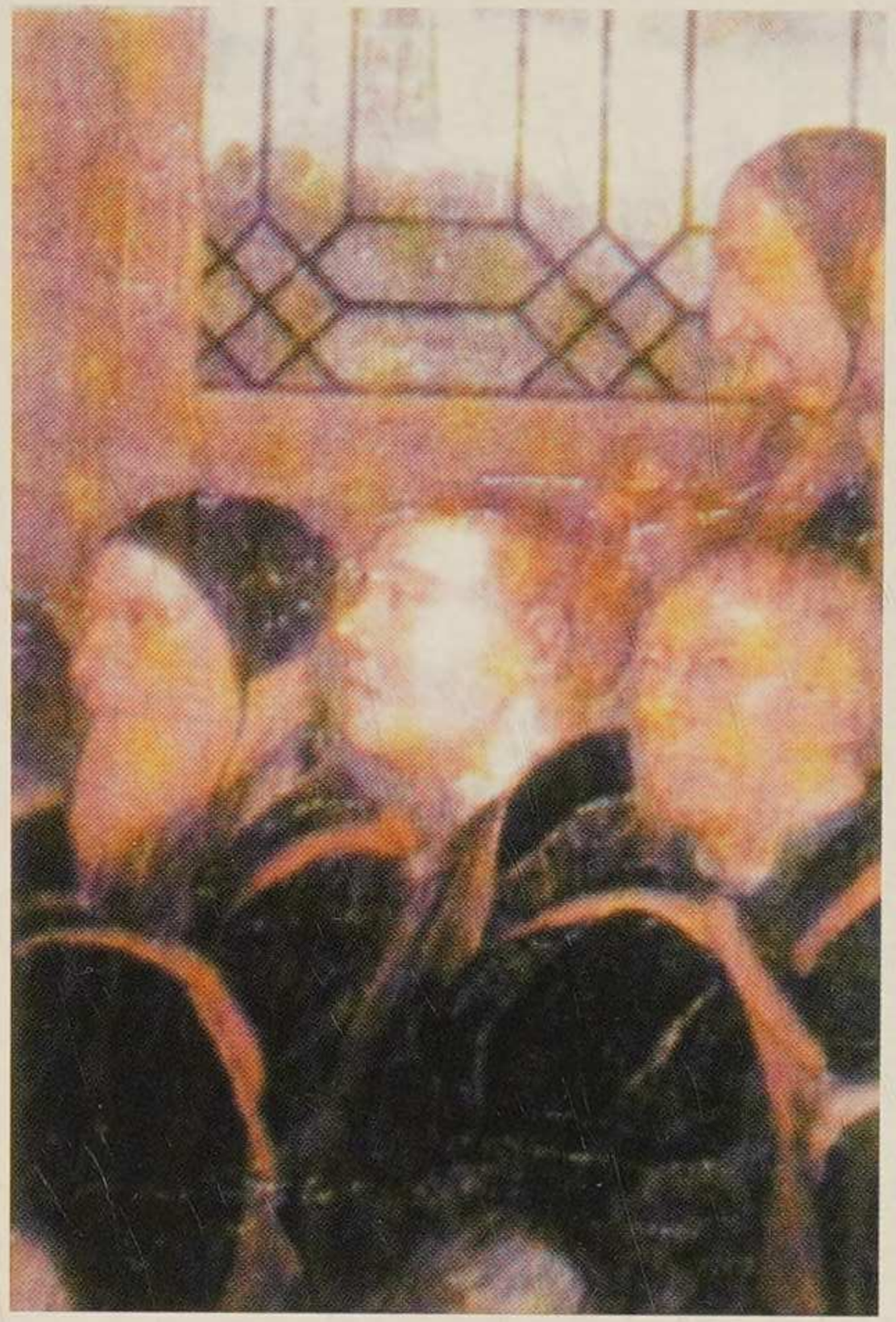




FIG. 1*a*. Edmund Harman, bearded, in the Holbein at Barber-Surgeons' Hall, London.
FIG. 1*b*. Edmund Harman, clean-shaven, in the Holbein at the Royal College of Surgeons of England, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London. (Reproduced by kind permission of the College.)
FIG. 1*c*. Edmund Harman in a Bernard Baron print taken from the Holbein at Barber-Surgeons' Hall, London.

Edmund Harman's early life

The exact date of Edmund Harman's birth can only be guessed at, but nonetheless with some accuracy, for it is recorded in the Register of Admissions to the Freedom of the Barbers' Company that he was admitted to the Freedom of the Company in 1530 [3]. If he obtained his Freedom in the usual way for that period, that is by an apprenticeship of seven years starting at the age of fourteen, his age in 1530 would be twenty-one, which means that he is very likely to have been born sometime in 1509, the year of Henry VIII's accession to the throne at the age of seventeen.

Edmund was the third of the five children, and second of the two sons, of Robert Harman of Ipswich and of his wife Johanne Hewick. His grandfather was Paul Harman, also of Ipswich, whilst his great-grandfather was Peter Harman of the Steelyard. The Steelyard was in London, situated in Lower Thames Street and was the depot of the Hansa Merchants. This is where the King's Beam was kept which was used for weighing imports for duty. It is surmised by D'Arcy Power that Peter Harman, the great-grandfather may have had some official capacity in the Steelyard which was remunerated well enough for his son Paul to move to Suffolk, where the family became prosperous and well known in the county [4]. It is likely that the Hansa merchants also had a small depot at Ipswich which may be of some significance.

Of Edmund's education nothing is known. However, in view of the apparent prosperity of the family it is likely to have been good. It is surprising therefore that he chooses to follow the comparatively lowly occupation of barbery as a career. But this was to prove no bar to his advancement in life, for through hard work and above all through loyalty, he died a very prosperous man.

Only three years after the completion of his apprenticeship in 1530, Harman is mentioned for the first time in State Papers and is thus already in the employ of the King [5]. In December of that year he is recorded as being one of four persons who has 'taken a remain of garderobe stuff ' (presumably superfluous furnishings and clothing) at Parlaunt Park, which was an integral part of an

estate belonging to successive Queens of England including Anne Boleyn and Jane Seymour. The next entry records that on 22 June 1535 'plate was conveyed to Windsor by hands of Edmund Harman'. This was a valuable consignment which included much gold plate and jewellery, two writing-tables and other similar articles. Harman is thus already in a position of trust, obviously having proved himself to be reliable. The next entry in the State Papers which mentions him is dated 24 February 1536 and is of importance. It runs as follows:

> Edmund Harman, the King's Barber and one of the Privy Chamber. To be Bailiff of Hovington, and to have the keeping of the manor-place and the farm thereto belonging, with fees of £5.0s.0d. a year .... with all profits belonging to the said Bailiwick ....

Here for the first time Harman is described as the King's Barber and as a member of the Privy Chamber, positions he was to hold until after the death of the King in January 1547. This is also the first record of many grants from the King for his loyal service.

Between the years 1533 and 1547 Harman is mentioned in State Papers over forty times. On a few occasions he is referred to as Mr Harman or Master Edmund Harman, but on all other occasions as Harman or Edmund Harman and on one occasion simply as Edmunde, perhaps, it has been suggested, because he was of humble birth. But this is not in fact so. His paternal grandfather, Paul Harman, is described as a gentleman in the Harman table of genealogy [6], and there is evidence that his maternal grandfather may have been armigerous [7]. Even so, a young man from the provinces could not have progressed as rapidly as did Harman without a patron, but it is not clear whose protégé he might have been. It has been suggested that Cardinal Wolsey, who also came from Ipswich, is a possibility. However, he fell from power in 1529 and any connection with him could have been a handicap at Court thereafter. A more likely figure is Sir William Sabyn, an Ipswich merchant who owned a house in Ipswich called the Steelyard. Is this coincidence – perhaps not? Sir William was a ship-owner and had naval connections, but he was also a Serjeant-

at-Arms, and as such was responsible for the King's safety. Surely such duties could have included care to see that men who wielded a razor close to the King's throat could be trusted not to cut it. Plainly it would help to choose people with whose background he was familiar. Also it is likely that Sabyn shared Harman's progressive religious views, which as we shall see almost brought the latter's career to a premature end in 1543. It may too be significant that Dr William Butts, physician to the King at this period, seen kneeling on the King's right side in the Great Picture, also came from Ipswich!

Be that as it may, Harman and his two fellow Barbers enjoyed the trust of the King and the privilege of Court life for many years. But under what circumstances did they live and work?

Life in the Privy Chamber

Under the early Tudors the government of England was in two parts, a Council consisting of the Exchequer and a complex secretariat, and the Royal Court or Household [8]. The administrative machine was based in London, but the King, and therefore his Household, was mobile. In the winter the King would live in one of his palaces in or near London, while in the summer he would undertake long hunting expeditions or 'progresses'. These took him either to one of his many palaces up and down the country or to great houses belonging to courtiers or councillors.

The Household or Court was itself also divided into two parts, each with its own staff. One group looked after the Great Hall and adjacent domestic offices such as the kitchen and buttery in whichever palace the Household happened to be, and the other looked after the King's first floor private apartment known as the Chamber. This was the pattern in the majority of the Royal Palaces. Access to the Chamber was strictly controlled, and its staff in the reign of Henry VII consisted of guards, attendants, musicians and so forth, with a smaller group who attended to the King's private needs. Initially the Chamber was just one large room but Henry VII divided it into a suite of smaller rooms, the Great or

Waiting Chamber, the Presence Chamber or Throne Room and the Privy or Secret Chamber. This Privy Chamber was then given its own staff, its head being the 'Groom of the Stool' (or commode). Initially the function of the Groom was to look after the commode and supervise the King's use of it, but in due course he took on responsibility for the organisation of the whole Chamber, regulating admission to it and managing the King's finances – the Privy Purse. In effect he acted as the King's private secretary, in due course acquiring the title 'Chief Gentleman' – a position of immense power.

Henry VII kept the staff of his Privy Chamber to a minimum so that he could get on with his work in private, but Henry VIII expanded the staff, as he liked to have like-minded young noblemen of his own age around him. These were his 'minions' or favourites who in due course were institutionalised with the title 'Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber', around twelve in number initially, but pared to six by Cardinal Wolsey in 1526 in an attempt to reduce the influence of the favourites around the King, a move sold to the King on the grounds of economy. The post of 'Groom of the Stool' however, remained (one of the six gentlemen), as did all the lesser posts – four grooms, two gentlemen ushers, one barber and one page – a total of fourteen in all.

Henry also lavishly enhanced the comfort and grandeur of the rooms of his Privy Chamber. The walls were hung with tapestries, as seen in the Holbein, sideboards were laden with plate and his servants gloriously attired in silk and gold chains. In the Holbein, Harman is seen wearing such a chain, but this may have carried his Upper Warden's jewel, since in the Great Picture he, like his fellow liverymen, is attired in the livery of the Company, a gown trimmed with fur and bearing the livery hood in the Company colours of sanguine or murrey and sable.

Under Henry VIII therefore the Privy Chamber became a channel of access to the Royal ear. Acquisition of a post within it gave enormous opportunity for exercising influence over the King and of obtaining favours for the holder of the post or for his friends. Wolsey had tried to control the power of the Privy Chamber by reducing its size, but when he fell the numbers rose again.

By 1540 the staff of the Privy Chamber had increased to sixteen gentlemen, two gentlemen ushers, three grooms and two barbers as well as seven part-time attendants – three grooms, two gentlemen and two noblemen, one of whom was Thomas Cromwell, a Wolsey man who in due course became Lord Great Chamberlain of England and titular Head of the Privy Chamber. In 1526 the official complement of the Privy Chamber included only one barber. But by 1540 there were two on the payroll and it seems likely therefore that the third barber, Nicholas Simpson, was supernumerary and this is perhaps borne out by the fewer times that he is mentioned in the State Papers. The principal duty of the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber was to entertain the King. He wanted 'pastime with good company' and the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber provided it. However if these young men found favour with the King and also showed practical ability, they would be used to tackle political problems both at home and abroad. The other more humble members of the Privy Chamber performed the daily domestic tasks, such as trimming the Royal beard, but the two categories were not mutually exclusive.

Until 1536, the King's principal residence and administrative centre was the Palace of Westminster [9]. At the fall of Wolsey however the King acquired York House, the London residence of the Cardinal Archbishop of York which had been largely re-built on a grand scale by Wolsey. It was known as the 'new Palace of Westminster' or 'Whitehall Palace', but since it was adjacent to Westminster the distinction was of little importance. Henry built St James's Palace between 1531 and 1536 probably for the Duke of Richmond, but did not live there himself. The Royal Apartments at the Tower of London, were used only in times of emergency or during the preparation for a Coronation.

Early in the reign the Palace at Bridewell was Henry's principal residence but for a few years only. Greenwich was certainly an important Royal residence throughout his reign. Just outside London the principal residence was of course Hampton Court, but Eltham in Kent and Windsor were also much in use. Richmond Palace, a favourite with Henry VII was little used by Henry VIII after he had acquired Hampton Court from Wolsey. In 1538 a new

palace was created, the Palace of Nonsuch in Surrey, and work continued on it until Henry's death. Other smaller houses such as Haworth in Middlesex were also kept in good repair and visited.

Together with residences which were maintained elsewhere in the country for the King and his entourage to use on their 'progresses' in the summer months, the total number of establishments maintained by the King numbered over forty. Wherever the King was he was accompanied by at least some members of the Privy Chamber, but always of course by his personal servants such as his barbers. Edmund Harman and his fellow barbers must have known all these royal residences intimately.

In 1544, the King waged war for the last time, an inglorious campaign in aid of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V against Francis I of France, a campaign which ended however in the capture of Boulogne by an army of 30,000 Englishmen who had landed at Calais. Harman and his fellow barbers, with some members of the Privy Chamber accompanied the King. Harman's personal entourage consisted of four horsemen, six archers and six privates, a slightly bigger entourage than either of his fellow barbers, Penn and Simpson. While this sounds impressive it is also recorded that Dr Butts, the King's physician, had an entourage of no fewer than 36 horsemen, archers and others, and the 'Groom of the Stool' or 'Chief Gentleman' no fewer than 221! [5].

Into this comfortable, stimulating, peripatetic but nonetheless occasionally extremely dangerous Privy Chamber came Nicholas Simpson, John Penn and Edmund Harman. But of what did their work consist?

* Barnet, beard and bath

... he retailed the latest scandal, which he was not slow to make known – in confidence, and in an undertone, of course. He was an intelligent fellow, with wit as keen as his razor, urbane, and having the best of tempers. It has been truthfully said of this old-time tradesman that one might travel from pole to pole and never encounter an ill-natured or stupid barber'.

William Andrews. *At the sign of the Barbers' pole,* 1904. [10]

---

* Barnet = Barnet Fair. Rhyming Cockney slang for 'hair'.

The three Royal barbers worked in a rota, being on duty to attend the King for a month at a time. Whether Harman and Penn shared this duty, with Simpson filling in as necessary, or whether it was a strictly three-way rota is not clear. From the *Liber Niger Domus Regis* (a domestic record of practices in the Royal Household) we learn the precise duties expected of the King's Barber; they were:

> Item, it is also ordained that the King's Barber should be daily at the King's up-rising, ready and attendant in the King's Privy Chamber, there having in readiness his water, basons, knives, combs, scissors, and such other stuff as to his room doth appertain for trimming and dressing of the King's head and beard. And that the said Barber take a special regard to the pure and clean keeping of his own person and apparel, using himself always honestly in his conversation without resorting to the company of vile persons or of misguided women in avoiding such danger as by that means he might do unto the King's most Royal person, not failing thus to do upon pain of losing his room and farther punishment at the King's pleasure. [1]

We know that in 1538 the wages were £10.0*s*.0*d*. *per annum*. Accommodation was provided and 'a bouche of Court', the bouche being an allowance of meat and drink for himself and some attendants. This payment in kind could be converted into money [4]. The State Papers for Lady Day 1538 run as follows 'King's payments. Quarter's wages at Lady Day 1538. Edmund Harman, Groom of the Privy Chamber 50 shillings ...', but indicating the King's sense of priority, it goes on '... Hans Holbein, painter, £7.10.0d: John Ayliffe, surgeon, 100 shillings'. However in 1545 it is recorded that the wage of a royal barber had risen to £20.0*s*.0*d*. *per annum* [5].

With regard to the instruments that the barbers used there was little change in the design of razors between the years 700 and 1700 [11]. The steel blade with a pointed or square end was protected by two 'scales' made of horn, silver, ivory or wood, which are likely to have been decorated. When the blade was

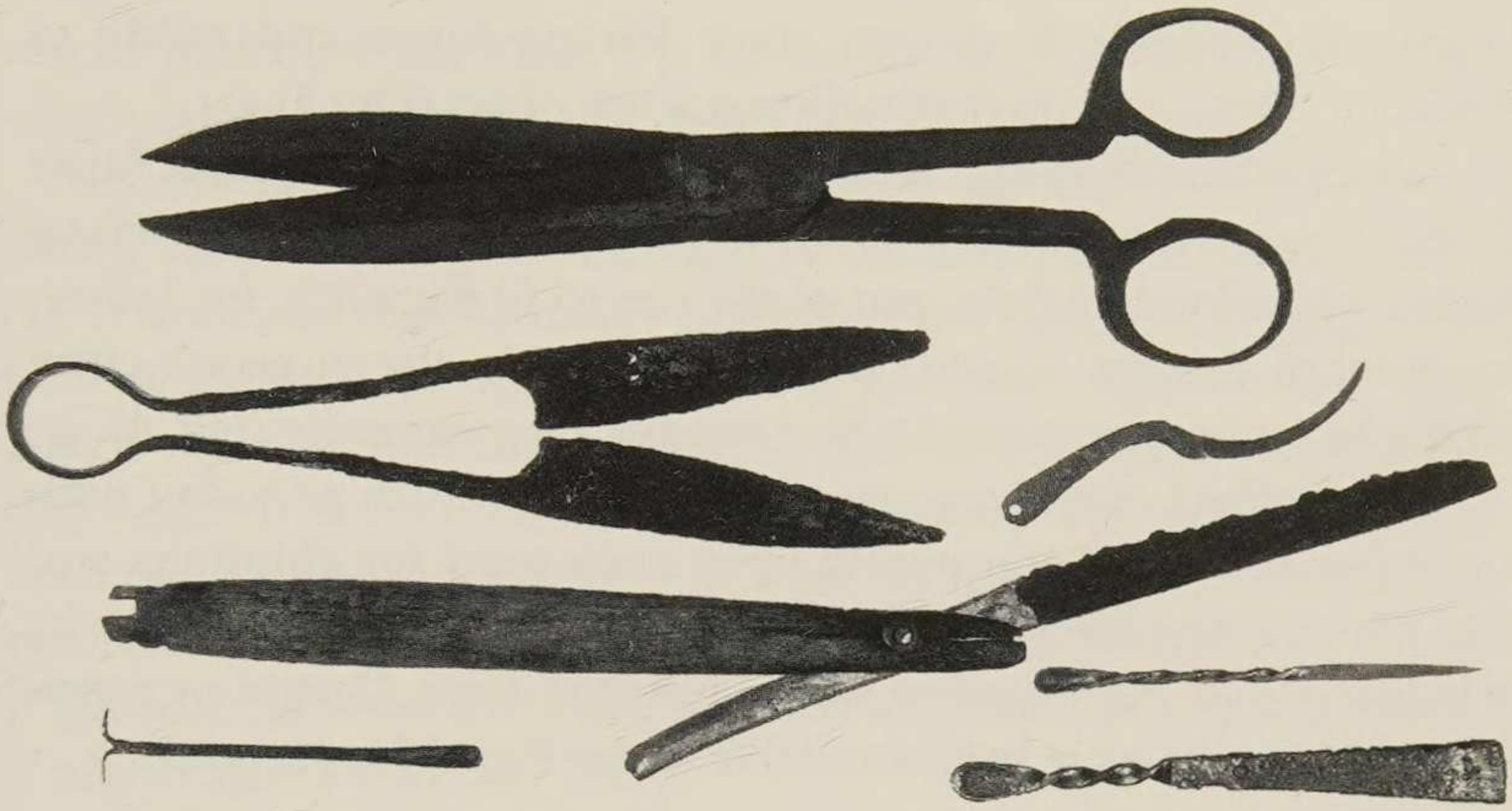


FIG. 2. Instruments, including razor, scissors and shears, used by barbers in Tudor times. (Reproduced by kind permission of The Mary Rose Trust.)

exposed the scales would act as a handle, much like the cut-throat razor of recent times (Fig. 2).

Scissors were of a design much as we know them today and small shears were also available for cutting hair (Fig. 2). Whether the King cut his own finger and toe nails is not known, but it is likely that this task was delegated to his barber. In all portraits of the King his finger nails are certainly well manicured. Combs,

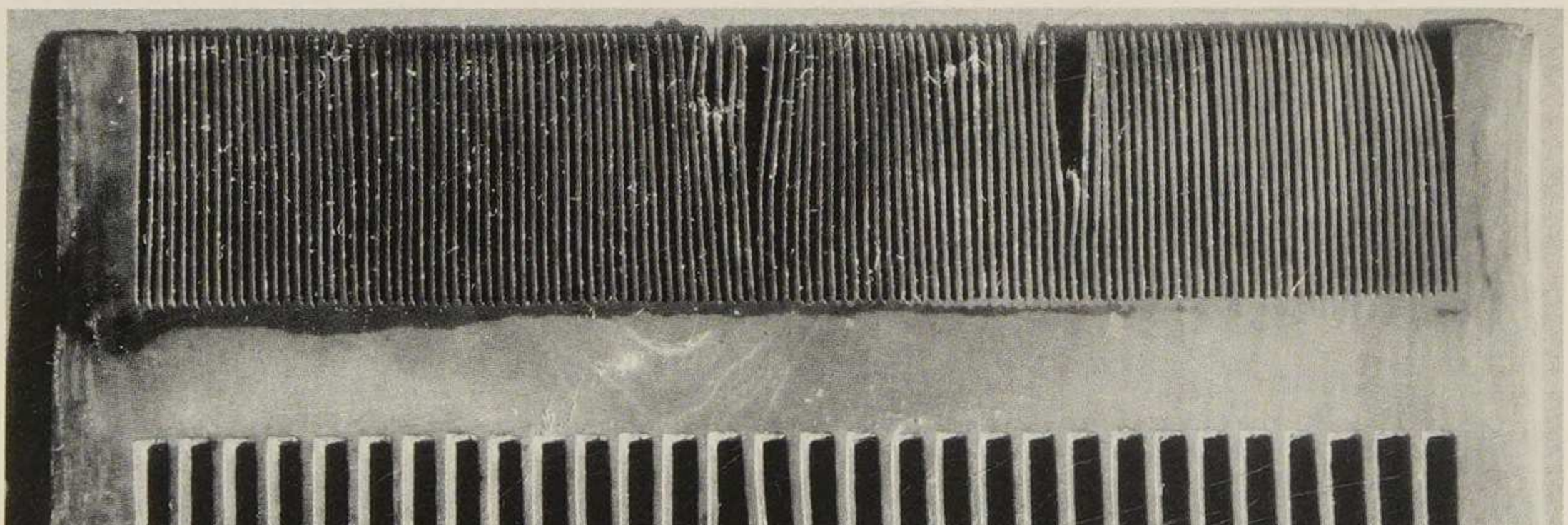


FIG. 3. A Tudor comb. (Reproduced by kind permission of the Museum of London.)

largely unchanged in design since Viking times and made of wood or ivory, were in themselves a work of art (Fig. 3).

Whether the 'basons' which are mentioned in the *Liber Niger Domus Regis* were barber's bowls is not known. Certainly a metal barber's bowl with a 'bite' out of the rim to fit the neck, for lathering prior to shaving, would have been available: the surgeon's chest on the *Mary Rose* contained a fine copper alloy example (Fig. 4).

The method of shaving would have been much as today with a cut-throat razor. Soap would have been used for ablutions and also for washing the hair, possibly as a lather or as a dry pomade. It is likely that high-quality soap imported from Castile or made in Bristol would have been available in the Royal Household.



FIG. 4. A barbers' bowl found in the surgeon's chest on the Tudor ship, the *Mary Rose.* (Reproduced by kind permission of The Mary Rose Trust.)

Barbery has long been associated with music and Henry VIII certainly surrounded himself with musicians. Whether the daily attentions of his barber were accompanied by music is doubtful!

It is clear from the Holbein and other portraits that the King's beard was trimmed regularly and that some facial shaving would have been necessary. In the early years cutting of the head hair would also have been required, but a portrait by Cornelys Matsys in 1544 shows that by that year the Monarch was in all probability completely bald.

It is recorded that on one occasion when the King was suddenly taken ill and Dr Butts was unavailable, Harman came to the

rescue and bled the King [7]. He would undoubtedly have been well qualified to do this as a result of his apprenticeship.

In the *Liber Niger Domus Regis* there can be found an order dating from the reign of Edward IV concerning the King's Barber [1]. It indicates that Saturday night was the King's bath night, that is 'if it pleased the King to cleanse his head, legs or feet' from which we may infer that he did not necessarily bathe every Saturday night! It is also recorded that the Barber was to be rewarded with two loaves and a pitcher of wine for his troubles. We have no record of whether Henry VIII followed the same routine or indeed if his barbers were involved with his ablutions in any way, but it is highly likely that they were.

It is difficult to see how any member of the Privy Chamber could maintain any sort of home life, but as far as the three barbers were concerned their rota system probably saved the day. Edmund Harman married Agnes Sylvester in 1539 and in 1542 his daughter Agnes was born. In due course he fathered fifteen more children, so home life did exist!

The tide of events

For how many servants did he advance in haste . . . and with the change of his fancy ruined again . . .? To how many others of more desert gave he abundant flowers, from whence to gather honey, and in the end of harvest burnt them in the hive?"

Sir Walter Ralegh. *The Historie of the World.* 1614. [12]

Edmund Harman and his fellow barbers were appointed to the Royal Household at a very sensitive period, and they were destined to witness at first hand an astounding tide of events both political and personal for the King and all around him. This was a time of faction both in the Council and in the Privy Chamber. The 'old guard', the supporters of Catherine of Aragon, the circle around Thomas Cromwell and the supporters of Anne Boleyn, all vied for power, a situation exacerbated by the inevitable complications thrown up by the 'old' religion and the 'new'.

As already described the first mention of Harman in State

Papers occurs in December 1533. This is the year therefore when he is likely to have joined the Royal Household and it was a momentous one for the King. Already pregnant, Anne Boleyn had agreed to marriage with the King, which took place in secret on 25 January. The divorce from Catherine of Aragon was finally settled in February. The new Queen was crowned with great pomp on 1 June and her daughter, Elizabeth, was born on 7 September.

Over the next thirteen years Harman and his fellow barbers were in close attendance on the King during all the events surrounding the execution of two Queens, a further divorce, and the joyous birth of a son and heir for the King, followed almost immediately by the death of the child's mother, Queen Jane Seymour. It was a time when few who held posts in the Privy Chamber, or who occupied great offices of State or Church kept their posts, or indeed their heads, for very long. It was a period that saw the execution of Sir Thomas More, the fall from power and execution of Thomas Cromwell and much else besides.

The more menial members of the Chamber however survived, although in the case of Edmund Harman and his wife the year 1543 could have been disastrous. Early in the year the Archbishop of Canterbury was accused of heresy by his own clergy, a charge engineered by the Bishop of Winchester, one of the 'old' guard, but Henry, who always supported Cranmer, put the Archbishop in charge of the investigation into his own case which promptly aborted the attempt by the 'old' guard to regain the upper hand. Having failed to unseat the Archbishop, the 'conservatives' then struck even nearer to the King. They discovered a group of possible heretics amongst the musicians of the Chapel Royal at Windsor and other members of the Household there, three of whom in due course were burnt at the stake – the Windsor Martyrs. Connections were immediately made with the 'radicals' in the Privy Chamber of whom Edmund Harman, a strong adherent of the 'new' religion, was one. However to everyone's amazement the King suddenly married again – Catherine Parr. She was an ardent adherent of the 'new' religion and two months later all the members of the Privy Chamber who had been under suspicion of heresy were pardoned [13]. It seems likely also that Henry was

simply in no mood to have his Privy Chamber emasculated yet again. Edmund Harman and his wife survived therefore, but it had been a close run thing.

One can only guess at the intimate conversations that might have taken place between the Monarch and his barbers during all these momentous events in the life of the Privy Chamber and indeed of the Kingdom. However, since all three barbers were not, like so many others, 'burnt ... in the hive', it is more than likely that their daily attention to the King's Royal person was carried out in total silence!

The King's Barbers and the Company

From the State Papers it is clear that Nicholas Simpson was already in the employ of the King in 1532, one year before Harman. It is likely that with Penn and Harman he remained in the Royal Service until after the King's death in 1547. It is recorded that on one occasion he was paid a fee of 45 shillings for extracting one of the Princess Mary's teeth [2], a task that the Act of Union permitted both surgeons and barbers to undertake. It is of interest that in the Holbein he is wearing a velvet cap, generally regarded as part of the garb of a surgeon, presumably because he had acquired surgical skills as part of his apprenticeship. But it was also part of the garb of someone with a medical degree: Dr Butts on the King's right in the picture is also wearing such a cap (*Frontispiece*).

John Penn was on the royal payroll from 1526, seven years before Harman and we know that he remained in the King's Service until 1547, for like Harman he is mentioned in the King's Will. It is likely that the Union of the Barber-Surgeons and the Fellowship of Surgeons was effected towards the end of his Mastership, since the Royal Assent was given to the Act of Parliament on 25 July 1540, the Mastership changing in September each year in those days.

Penn was succeeded as Master in 1540 by Harman, who joined the Court of Assistants only in 1537 and who was Upper Warden during Penn's Mastership. It seems likely that the Com-

pany accelerated Harman's appointment to the Mastership in order to have the King's ear during the early implementation of the Act of Union [4].

It is interesting to conjecture how it was decided in what order the eight members of the Court of the Company should kneel before the King in the Great Picture. Why, for instance, since Penn was Master of the Company at the time of the union, is it not he rather than Vicary who is receiving the important document? It is likely however that the picture was commissioned in 1540/1541 when Harman was Master [14]. So why is he not receiving it? It must simply be a question of seniority – the surgeons took precedence over the barbers and the Serjeant-Surgeon took precedence over everybody, but not over the physicians it must be said!

The rewards of loyalty

The entries in the State Papers [5] which mention Edmund Harman describe him variously as being 'of the Privy Chamber', 'of the King's Chamber' or just 'of the Chamber', or as being 'of the Household'. On some occasions he is a 'Groom of the Chamber' but is also described as 'Barber', as the 'King's servant', once as 'Keeper of the Wardrobe' and once as one of the 'Pages of the Chamber'. On 16 February 1538 he is included in a list of persons at Court who were 'to be had in the King's most benign remembrance'. It is on this occasion that he is simply listed as 'Edmunde'! It is of interest to note in passing that Penn is mentioned almost as often as Harman but that Simpson is mentioned only 15 times.

The rota system for the King's barbers meant that there was ample time for other employment. One entry in the State Papers dated 7 September 1536 states that Edmund Harman, a Groom of the Privy Chamber, is appointed

> one of the packers of woollen and other cloths, leather, pewter and other merchandise, to be packed, tonned, piped, barrelled, or by any means to be included, chested or trussed in the City of London, with the moiety of fees paid for packing, weighing, and numbering merchandise.

Harman may have been considered appropriate for this appointment given his connection with the Steelyard through his great-grandfather. Thus would the King make use of members of his Privy Chamber to undertake other tasks. The preamble to this particular entry states that collusion between the common packer appointed by the Lord Mayor and merchants had defrauded the Royal Revenue and it seems therefore that Harman was appointed as a trouble-shooter. He held this post for some years and honourable and profitable it must have been. In 1540, at a Privy Council meeting in Dunstable on 1 October, and acting on a complaint from the French Ambassador that a consignment of lead belonging to a merchant of Rouen was being held until 'package money' was paid, Harman was authorised to see that the lead was duly delivered to Rouen without charge, until such time as the Court decided whether 'the treaties and the late proclamation in favour of strangers' allowed such payment or not. He was thus in effect the King's Revenue Officer for exports from the Port of London.

Life in the Privy Chamber must have been difficult on occasion, but the King did reward personal service and loyalty with generous grants. There are several records in the State Papers of Harman having carried out a personal service for the King. The first such grant to him, already referred to, was made on 24 February 1536, giving him the bailiwick of Hovingham in North Yorkshire with fees of £5.0*s*.0*d* a year. In 1538, described as one of the 'Pages of the King's Privy Chamber', Harman was granted

> the annual rent of £24.13.4d… for the fee farm of the borough and all the lands, etc., in Ludlow (except the site of the castle …) and in Staunton Lacey … with arrears of said rent from the Feast of Sts. Simon and Jude.

1543 saw a sharp rise in his income when on 18 November of that year at Ampthill he is given

grant in fee … for £198.6.0½d of the Hospital of St John the Evangelist of Burford, Oxon., with lands (specified and tenants named) in Burford, Upton and Astall, Oxon

together with the fees from property in no fewer than nine other villages in the district. If 1543 had started badly for Edmund and his wife with the accusation of heresy, it certainly ended well, for not only had he obtained an unsolicited pardon, he had obtained a substantial boost to his income and the leasehold of a property which was probably to be his home for a time on retirement.

By the end of 1543 Harman had obtained the leasehold of property and land in Yorkshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Shropshire, Gloucestershire, Middlesex and Berkshire, all of which made him a very wealthy man. On 26 October 1546, however, came what is arguably the most important grant of all.

> Edmund Harman the King's servant. Grant, for his services, of the lordship and manor, the rectory and the advowson of the vicarage of Teynton, Oxon, formerly belonging to Tewkesbury Abbey, Glouc.

This was probably the first grant of freehold, and it is here that the family may have spent their declining years.

Over the course of the thirteen years in the Privy Chamber Edmund Harman's stature and influence gradually increased. One example of this is seen in a petition dated 18 December 1542 at Greenwich, in which the petitioner urges three members of the Privy Chamber, of which Harman is one, to speak to the Lord Chancellor with regard to a servant of his who is persisting in a suit against the writer in spite of a ruling by the Lord Mayor of London at Guildhall.

In 1546 an amusing entry in the State Papers refers to an application by Harman for a passport together with four horses or geldings and £30.0*s*.0*d*. in money for an Italian gentleman from Milan, one Christopher Carcano, from whom the King had bought 7,516 arquebuses! There are several records of grants of various minor positions to others 'at the suit of Mr Harman' and in one there is reference to 'Edmund Harman and the children in his keeping', presumably Court pages. In 1546 he was preferring people for rooms at Court and on 19 December of that year he obtained a position at Court for his brother James.

The King's will

By July 1546 the King's health had begun to deteriorate. Plainly near to death his Will was drawn up towards the end of December. On the 26th of the month the King's condition suddenly worsened and he sent for his Will. Revision was undertaken and it was brought back to him on 30 December when it was witnessed by ten persons of whom Edmund Harman was the second (Fig. 5) [5]. The fact that Harman signed in capital letters is sometimes said to be evidence of poor education, but as surmised earlier this is unlikely, although a document signed in the same year in Burford is said to show an even clumsier signature [7]. It is worth pointing out however that his signature is a great deal clearer than the King's own signature above it. However, if Harman was illiterate he could never have aspired to high office and this could account for his survival at a Court where potential rivals walked on thin ice. Illiterate or not, he did leave £10.0*s*.0*d* a year in his own Will for maintenance of the school in Taynton where he ultimately lived, a school which he is said to have built.

The King's will contains the following clause 'in token of special love and favour these …… servants should receive as follows, viz,…. Edmund Harman … 200 Marks' (£133, which was a considerable amount of money in today's terms). Penn received 100 Marks, Cranmer 500 Marks, and nobles a great deal more. Simpson is not mentioned. It is likely that the will was altered and signed after the King's death with a dry stamp, the signature then being inked in by a calligrapher [8]. The alteration ensured that Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford (later Duke of Somerset), became Lord Protector and Governor of the King's Person.

It is hard to believe that the barbers were not aware of what was going on, as with everything else at Court and in the Privy Chamber over so many years.

Edmund Harman's later life

At the death of the King in January 1547 Harman was only 37

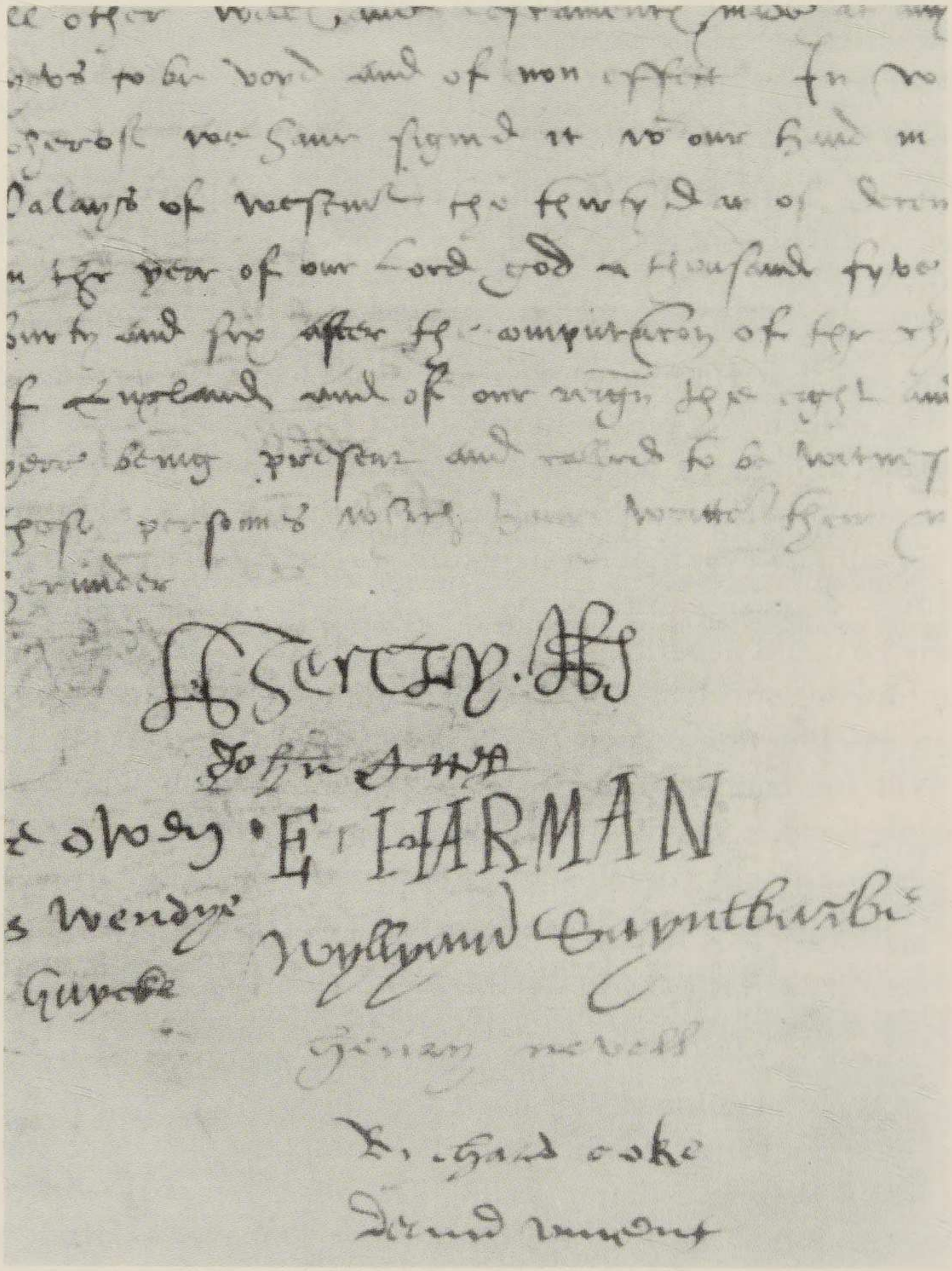


FIG. 5. The last page of Henry VIII's will showing the signatures of the King, Edmund Harman and other witnesses.

years of age, and although his religious views would make his position at Court tenable for the foreseeable future, with a teenage boy on the throne the post of King's Barber would obviously for some time have largely been a sinecure, although it is likely that

the young King would have needed to have a haircut from time to time! Harman's name does not appear on the list of persons discharged from Court after the death of Henry VIII [7], but it is clear that the barbers were paid for only a further two quarters [15]. Nevertheless the State Papers do record that between 10 and 30 October 1547 'fifteen bags, gloves and other articles used in hawking (were) delivered .... to Mr Harman at Windsor', with further deliveries being made to him at Oteland, on 18 December to Nonsuch and after 28 December to Westminster.

However it is likely that very shortly thereafter he retired to live as a country gentleman in the Windrush Valley in Oxfordshire. In Tudor England it was the ownership of land which was the hallmark of status but almost all Harman's acquisitions from the King were entirely leasehold. In April 1546 however, he was already describing himself as 'Esquire', but the value of his moveable



FIG. 6. The statues, probably Hercules and Antaeus, over the front entrance of Burford Priory. (Reproduced by kind permission of the Abbot and the Benedictine Community at Burford Priory.)

goods probably entitled him to do this. Much of the leasehold property was in and around Burford in Oxfordshire, but it is not entirely clear where exactly he went to live on retirement. In his Will he describes himself as being 'of Burford' and indeed he died at Burford. In 1543 he had acquired the leasehold of the ancient priory or hospital of St John the Evangelist in Burford which had formerly belonged to the Abbey of Keynsham in Gloucestershire and he is said to have built a large house here. The present house, which is largely Elizabethan, has over its porch a Coat of Arms with two figures as supporters. These figures may have belonged to the original house built by Harman. One is said to be the giant Hercules and the other, a figure covered in hair (a hairy man) with a hare between his legs, could refer both to Harman's name and to his profession, but is more likely to be the giant Antaeus [16] (Fig. 6). The house is now a Benedictine Priory, where the Harman connection is certainly remembered, for above the mantelpiece in the Parlour there is a small copy of Holbein's Great Picture.

Later however he may have moved to live in Taynton, just west of Burford for here he did own the freehold property having acquired the lordship, the manor, and the rectory in October 1546. Evidence that he did live here are two entries in the church register, one in 1550 recording the christening of his son Edward on 3 October and the child's burial on 14 November of that year [7]. The second is the marriage of his elder surviving daughter Agnes to Edmund Bray of Great Barrington near Burford, on 23 October 1559 [4].

His younger surviving daughter Mary married William Johnson of Leighton Buzzard in 1574 but it is not known where. Neither is anything known of the fourteen other children who probably did not survive childhood – nine sons and five daughters – many of whom were born after he left the King's service.

In the parish church of St John the Baptist at Burford are tombs of members of the Sylvester family, the oldest being the tomb of Edmund Sylvester, the father of Harman's first wife. A year after his father-in-law's death Harman set up in Burford church, in the north aisle, a large monument with a stone vault

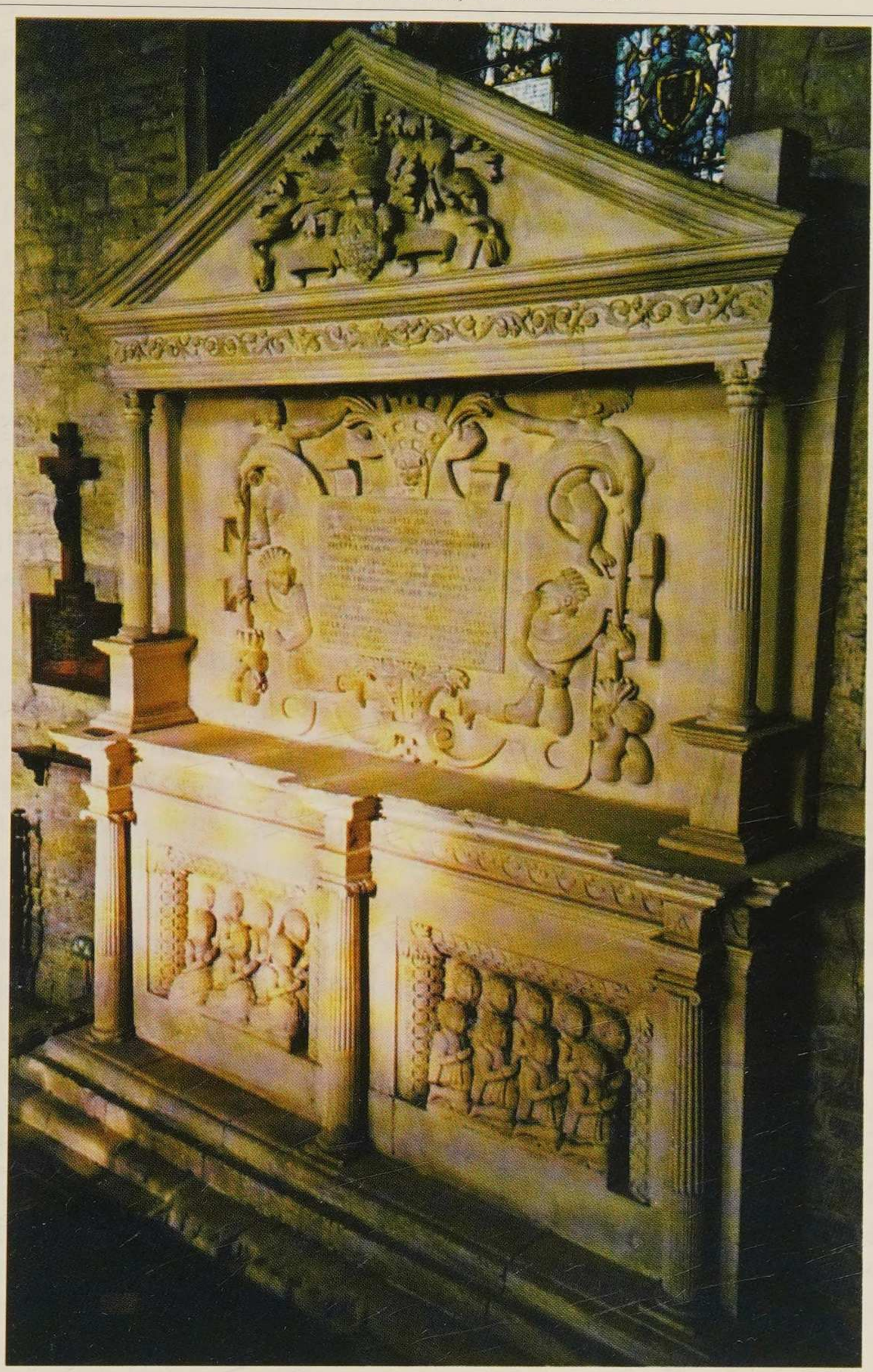


FIG. 7. The monument erected by Edmund Harman in 1569 in the north aisle of the Parish Church of St John the Baptist in Burford. (Reproduced by kind permission of the Vicar and Church Wardens.)

beneath it, also now filled in. Although he may originally have wished to be buried here in due course, it should be regarded as a thanksgiving in stone for his successful life, and is of considerable interest (Fig. 7).

The central panel bears a Latin inscription of which a full translation appears at the end of this chapter. Of particular interest however is the decoration around the inscription. Here are shown four figures which are said to be members of the South American Tupinamba tribe, a cannibal tribe which in the early 16th century inhabited the mouth of the River Amazon. These figures are the earliest representation of American Indians in Britain. The question arises as to why they should appear on this monument. It is thought likely that since it records the benefits which Harman enjoyed throughout his life, the decoration must be relevant to that.

Several trading expeditions went from Britain to West Africa and South America between 1530 and 1544. In 1542 a Dieppe cartographer Jean Rotz presented the King with a sumptuous copy of his *Boke of Idrography,* which contained amongst other things maps of Brazil and a picture of a Tupinamba village. In 1544 Rotz acquired a licence to export wool. It is likely that Harman knew of the book and of the trading licence. It is therefore not unreasonable to assume that he may have been involved financially with these expeditions to Brazil, and there is an oral tradition to this effect in Burford [7].

Below the central panel are the figures, seen sideways and facing right of Edmund Harman's nine sons and seven daughters by his first wife Agnes. As already mentioned only two of the girls are known to have survived infancy. Above the inscription in a pediment is Edmund Harman's Coat of Arms. It is not known when he acquired this. In the first quarter (top left) are three curricombs (a reference to his being a barber). In the second quarter (top right) three martletts, and two fleurs de lys, (which possibly refer to his position as Royal Barber). In the third quarter (bottom left) a chevron and three owls (which may represent Harman's mother whose maiden name was Hewitt – a pun on tu-whit tu-whoo) and in the fourth quarter (bottom right) a dancy

between six cross-crosslets (from the Coat of Arms of the Beauchamp – Nevilles – Warwicks, one-time lords of the manor of Burford). The crest is an arm erect holding in the hand a haulbert (a cross between a spear and a battleaxe).

Plainly there was some difference of opinion about Harman's entitlement to these Arms as a slightly different version appears in the Heraldic Visitation of 1574 and another in the Herald's Report in the Library of Queen's College Oxford [7].

Harman's wife Agnes died in March 1576 and was buried on 30 March in the south aisle of Taynton church in a stone vault, now filled in. Her coffin-plate was still in the church safe in 1988 but at the time of writing is missing. In the autumn of 1576, possibly on 16 November, Edmund Harman married again [7]. His second wife's name was Katherine but her surname is unknown. She died without issue it seems and the date of her death and the place of her internment are unknown. Edmund Harman himself died at Burford on 19 March 1577 aged 68, and was also buried at Taynton on 10 April of that year.

Edmund Harman's Will was drawn up on 17 and 18 March, and is dated 18 March 1577 [17]. Its seventeen pages deal almost entirely with the distribution of income from his leasehold property. Elaborate provision is made for Katherine his wife, his daughters Agnes and Mary, his brother James, other members of the family and servants. Numerous legacies to other individuals and organisations are listed. The Will also provides in perpetuity for two sermons to be preached annually at Burford, four at Taynton, one at Fifield and one at Widford, with appropriate payment for the preachers. The sole executor is his wife, who is to be assisted in her task by two gentlemen, to one of whom is bequeathed 'two stone cuppes with covers, lippes, and foote of silver wholly gilte', and to the other a 'drinking cupp of silver wholly gilte with a cover'. The Will was double-sealed with Harman's Seal in the presence of six witnesses and he died the following day.

Edmund Harman was an honest and capable person who practised barbery with skill. He was the trusted and loyal servant of a powerful King, who was generous to those who served him well. Edmund Harman was a Protestant at a time when it was

dangerous to profess religious views and for which he almost suffered martyrdom. He acquired from the King considerable wealth in the form of income from landed property in various parts of England, notably Oxfordshire, some from confiscated estates, some from dissolved religious houses. He was a good husband and the father of a large family. He was a loyal member of the Worshipful Company of Barbers serving in its highest office and must have been instrumental with Thomas Vicary in effecting the union of the Company of Barbers and the Fellowship of Surgeons in 1540. It is thus fitting that he should be remembered at the opening of the eighth century of the Company's recorded existence, the only barber in the pantheon of members of the Company and its associates to be commemorated in this volume.

Epitaph in Burford Church

(translated from the Latin) [7]

Edmund Harman, Esquire, who God from his earliest years blessed with countless benefits, put up this monument to the Christian memory of himself and of his only and most faithful wife, Agnes, and of the sixteen children whom, by God's mercy, she bore him. 1569

I was not; then by God's will I was born to be a man; and I shall live again from my own seed. In the Great Day, the bodies which we think have perished by decay shall rise again whole at God's word.

Drive out fear from the heart. O my body I believe that you shall appear before God in Christ, for He it is that sustains you and calls you to dwell with Him. Laugh at the threats of disease, despise the blows of misfortune, care not for the dark grave, and go forward at Christ's summons, for Christ will be to each man a kingdom, a light, a life and a crown.

References

[1] Young, S. *The Annals of the Barber-Surgeons of London*, Blades, East and Blades, London. 1890.

[2] Dobson, J. and Milnes Walker, R. *Barbers and Barber-Surgeons of London*, Blackwell Scientific Publications, Oxford, London, Edinburgh, Carlton. 1979.
[3] The Worshipful Company of Barbers, Register of Admission to the Freedom. 1522 – 1665 (C/4/1).
[4] Power, Sir D'A. Some Notes on Edmund Harman, King's Barber 1509 (?) to 1576 (sic). *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 1916; **9**, 67-88.
[5] Brewer, J.S., Gairdner, J. and Brodie, R.H. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII (1509 – 1547)*. Volumes 4 to 21, 1870 – 1910.
[6] The Harleian Society – The Publications of; London, 1871.
[7] Balfour, M. *Edmund Harman, Barber and Gentleman*, Tolsey Paper No. 6, The Tolsey Museum, Burford. 1998.
[8] Starkey, D. *The Reign of Henry VIII – Personalities and Politics*, Collins and Brown Limited, London. 1991.
[9] Loades, D. *The Tudor Court*, 3rd edn, The Davenant Press. 2003.
[10] Andrews, W. *At the Sign of the Barber's Pole*, J. R. Tutin, Cottingham, Yorkshire. 1904.
[11] Sjölin, T. Personal Communication.
[12] Ralegh, Sir W. *The Historie of the World*, Walter Burre, London. 1614.
[13] Fox, J. *Fox's Book of Martyrs*. Volume 2. Company of Stationers, London. 1684.
[14] Clarke, H. L. *The Holbein Painting*, Folio 3, The Worshipful Company of Barbers. 2002.
[15] Starkey, D. *The English Court from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, Longman, London, New York. 1987.
[16] The Prior and the Benedictine Community at Burford Priory. *A Brief History of the House and its Owners*, Parchment, Oxford; 1956.
[17] Public Records Office. Prob. 11/59.

Acknowledgments

I would like to record with extreme gratitude my debt to Liveryman Dr David Starkey for generously granting permission for me to quote from his writings on the Tudor period and also for making available to me his personal notes on Edmund Harman taken from the original State Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.

Chapter 4

John Caius 1510 – 1573

Ian Burn

QUEEN ELIZABETH I REGARDED John Caius as the 'most learned physician of his age' [1]. A study of the life of this very private, lonely and complicated man would appear to give much credibility to this royal opinion.

Robert Kees, a Yorkshireman, and his wife Alice (née Wode) settled in Norwich around the turn of the 16th century. Their son, John, was born in that city on 6 October 1510 (Fig. 1), in the parish of St Etheldreda. A plaque marks the site at the southern end of King Street (Fig. 2). John had one sister who died a short time before his own death in 1573. Little is recorded of the childhood of the young Kees, apart from the fact that he attended school in Norwich and appears to have had a comfortable settled life. Clearly a clever pupil, John was accepted for higher education at Gonville Hall in Cambridge. John Venn, the celebrated biographer, records that Caius entered that College on 12 September 1529, as a classical scholar [2]. There is the suggestion that at that time he had the intention of becoming a theologian.

Upon entering Cambridge, the young Kees, changed his name to the now familiar Latinized CAIUS, and therafter he frequently referred to himself as 'Joannes'. His studies must have been diligent for he emerged as Senior Wrangler in his year in Theology and graduated Pass in January 1532. He continued his education at the College and was elected a Fellow on 6 December 1533.

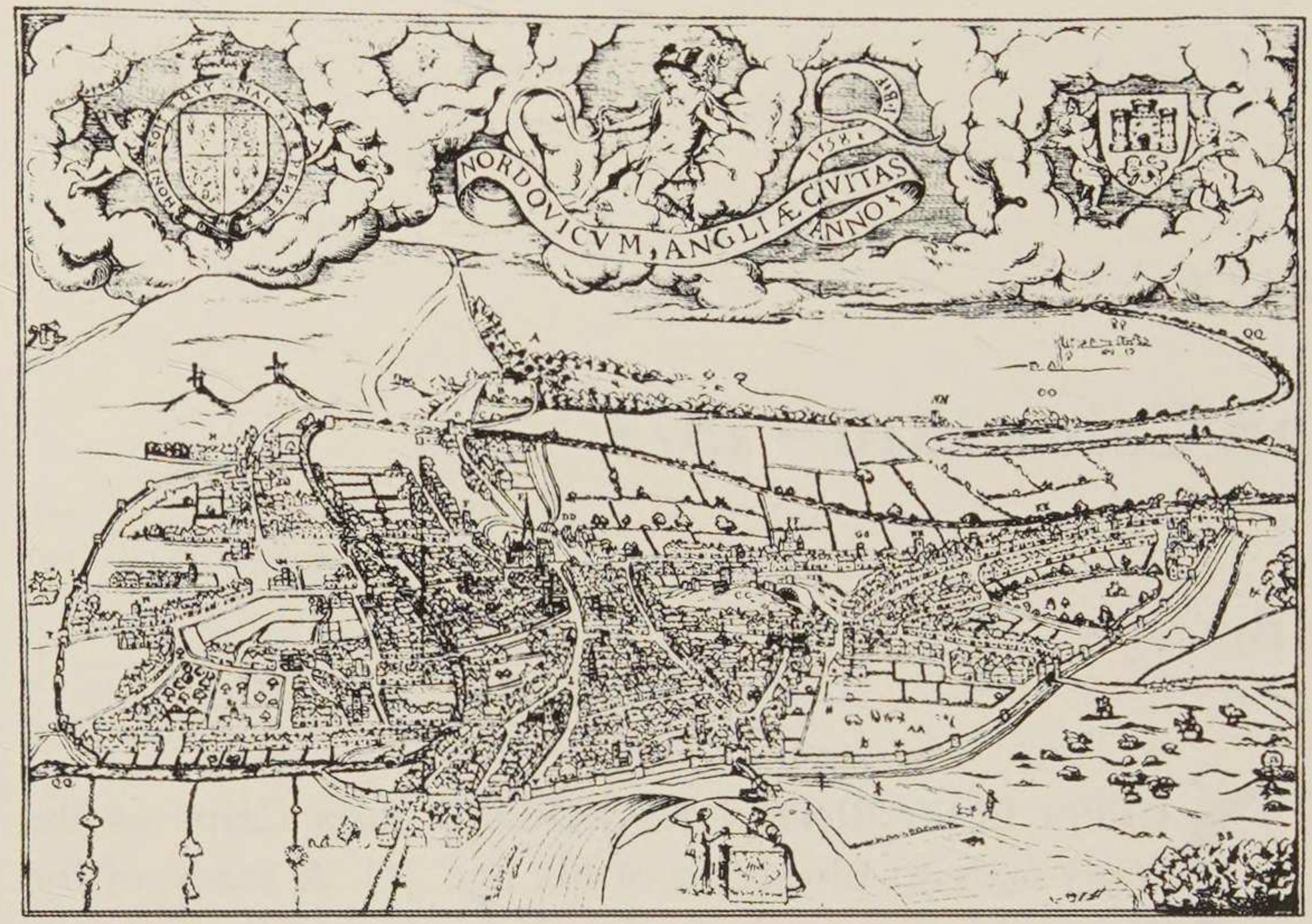


FIG. 1. William Cunningham's plan of the City of Norwich, dated 1558. (Courtesy of the Norfolk County Council Library and Information Service.)

Caius must have pondered his future deeply during the next few years. Presumably influenced by the Reformation and the dissolution of the monasteries, the idea of an ecclesiastical career clearly was unattractive. His profound intellectual powers needed appropriate stimulus and he decided to study Medicine in Continental Europe. His father had died in 1532.

On 17 March 1539 Caius set sail from Dover and travelled to Padua. He took lodgings in that city at the Casa degli Valli near the Ponte delle Paglia [3]. Another lodger in the building at that time was the illustrious Andreas Vesalius. Whether this joint tenancy was by arrangement or simply fortuitous is not recorded. Vesalius, born in 1516 in Brussels, was still youthful with a growing reputation as a Renaissance man. He had recently been appointed Professor of Surgery and Anatomy at Padua.

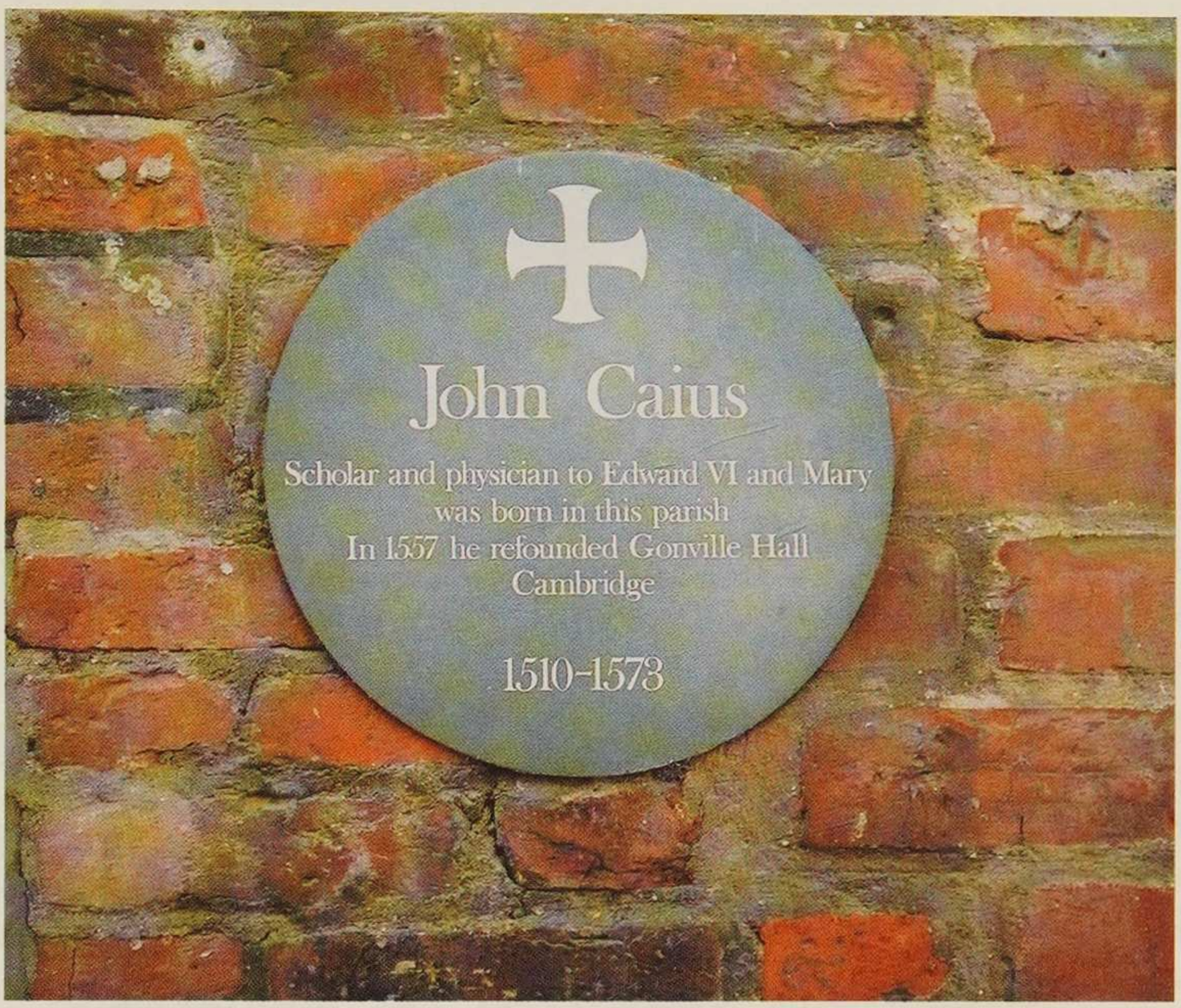


FIG. 2. Plaque erected in 1973 to mark the birth of John Caius.

Foreign travels

Padua

Caius graduated MD on 13 May 1541. During this period his interest in anatomy must have been stimulated by his close association with Vesalius, although his principal teacher was the eminent Joannes Baptista Montanio (born in Verona 1498). Vesalius, who was compiling his monumental *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* was wedded to the importance of human anatomy as an integral part of medical education. He was becoming increasingly critical of the anatomical teachings of Claudius Galen (AD 130-200), principally because this was based on comparative studies,



FIG. 3. Andreas Vesalius, from his book on Anatomy, *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* (1543).

on monkeys and other animals [3]. Vesalius was to become the recognised pioneer of serious human anatomical dissection (Fig. 3). He claimed to have corrected over 200 of Galen's errors [4]. This was refuted by Caius who believed that Vesalius, no Greek scholar, was relying on inaccurate translations into Latin from the original Greek [3].

Caius had a distinct empathy with Galen, possibly as much for his humanistic approach to life as for his anatomical teachings. A rift developed between Vesalius and Caius and the latter moved

out of the Casa degli Valli. Later, Caius would continue to be critical of Vesalius' attitude to Galen, whilst Vesalius responded in kind. It is interesting that in his writings, Caius spells Vesalius' name with a 'W', presumably recognising the family's origin from Weisel in the Rhineland.

After graduating in 1541, the young Caius's academic expertise, fuelled by his Cambridge tuition, was recognised by his appointment as Professor of Greek in Padua (Professor Sophisticue). He lectured principally on the works of Aristotle in the original Greek language. His interest in anatomy continued, however, as reflected in his association with the progressive anatomist, Realdo Colombo. Caius helped Realdo compile the material for his notable *De Re Anatomica Libri,* published subsequently in 1559. Colombo was to be a faithful disciple of Vesalius and supported the importance of a knowledge of human anatomy in the training of doctors. In his writings, Colombo refers to the presence of 'JC' (presumably Caius) at his dissections. Unfortunately few detailed records from Padua for the era exist, but it clearly was a dynamic period in the emergence of human anatomy as a scientific entity.

Italy and beyond

Caius's stay in Padua lasted for four productive years. He left the city in July 1543, with the ambition of making a comprehensive study of the original manuscripts of Hippocrates and Galen. This must have been an exciting time for the young Englishman as he embarked on a journey that was to take him through some of the most impressive cities and universities in Europe. The tour was to take him to the libraries of Florence, Pisa, Sienna, Rome, Basel and other places in Switzerland, Germany and Belgium.

In Florence Caius was able to listen to the prominent Galenist, Matthaeus Curtius (1495-1564), physician to Pope Clement VII and formerly Professor of Medicine in Padua. It is recorded that he also visited the Medici family whilst in that city [3]. The city of Basel also proved to be a rich source of Galenic manuscripts, although unfortunately some had been wantonly destroyed by the

infamous and iconoclastic Paracelsus (1493-1541) [5]. Studiously, Caius continued with his translations from Greek into Latin, often conflicting with Vesalius' own interpretation. Caius, of course, was expert in both languages. There appears to have been no reconciliation between the two great intellects, who went their separate ways. Vesalius continued to bestride the anatomical stage in Southern Europe until meeting an early tragic death at the age of 49, when drowning off the island Zante.

After journeying along the Rhine to Strasbourg and then via Louvin to the coast, John Caius arrived back in England after five formative years abroad. During his travels, the young man had met many illustrious academics. However, it appears that he formed only one lasting friendship, with the eminent Swiss naturalist, Conrad Gesner [2], whom he had met in Basel. Gesner was a prolific author and frequently referred to Caius in his writings. He died in 1565, the same year as Vesalius, at the age of 48, being a victim of bubonic plague. Caius's own intense interest in wildlife was reflected in the contents of his library. He contributed a treatise on *British Dogs*, which was the first authoratitive publication on the subject in England. He also made significant contributions to his friend Conrad Gesner's *Historia Animalium* (Zurich 1551-8): a monumental production, in four volumes, of the 16th century [6].

Caius and the College of Physicians

With his recently obtained Doctorate, Caius settled in London to pursue his career in medicine as a physician. He made his mark early. On 22 December 1547 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, his first English medical qualification. Little is known of his own clinical private practice, but his reputation at the College was such that he was elected President in 1555 and then re-elected to the post annually until 1560. Subsequently he also held the Presidency in 1562, 1563 and 1571; that is nine times in all. There is conflicting evidence that Caius spent some time back in Norwich and Cambridge after his years abroad, before settling in London [2].

Caius proved to be an enthusiastic President of the College, contributing practically in a number of ways. He jealously defended the Physicians' right to prescribe internal remedies, a privilege that continued to be denied practising Surgeons despite their continued protests. Caius was instrumental in this denial, being well aware of the Physicians' superior status in the era. He also set about organising the College's records and was responsible for continuing the *Annals* which dated from 1518 [7].

Ceremonial meant a great deal to John Caius. He provided various insignia for the rituals of the Presidency, including a highly ornamental silver caduceus, a College seal and cushion. These were borne in procession for the first time in January 1557, at the funeral of Balthasar Guersie, a distinguished Italian Fellow of the College [8]. It is also reported that he assisted Lord Lumley to found the prestigious Lumleian lectures, now part of the College's tradition [7]. Caius's eminence as a Physician was recognised nationally by his appointment as Royal Physician successively to Edward VI, Mary I and Elizabeth I. It remains a mystery why he never received a Knighthood. Lasting testimony to his stature as a Physician is the length of his mention in Munks's Roll [9].

Sweatyng sickness

One of Caius's major contributions clinically was his treatise on a prevailing serious illness the 'Sweatyng Sickness'. The disease first appeared in England in 1485, probably introduced into the country from the Continent by Henry Tudor's army of mercenaries at Bosworth Field, when it was known as Picardy Sweat. Numerous epidemics occurred during the next 65 years with high mortality and morbidity. In 1551 the disease hit the West Country. Caius travelled to Shrewsbury to make a detailed study of the illness [7]. His published treatise in 1552, in English, *A boke of Consseil against the Sweatynge Sickness* provided a lasting, authentic account of a malady that had caused widespread fear for half a century. Happily, there were only sporadic outbreaks thereafter.

An interesting connection here was the fact that Caius's publisher was Richard Grafton, who also was treasurer to St Bartholo-

mew's Hospital in Smithfield. He was probably involved in Caius taking up residence within the precincts of the hospital in the early 1550s. This was to remain his London abode until his death in 1573. The premises, consisting of a large hall, a kitchen, two bedrooms and a garret, were situated just inside the main entrance gate to the hospital in Smithfield, on the right-hand side. Opposite was the small hospital church of St Bartholomew's the Less. The rent, at first, was four pounds annually. Caius led a solitary life in his house, with a single maid-servant in attendance.

Portraits of John Caius during these busy middle years of his life show a solemn-looking man with a long but trim typical beard, a high forehead and brooding eyes (Fig. 4). He is reported to have been short in stature, only a few inches over five feet [2]. All writings about him suggest a very private person, very precise and a strict disciplinarian. Some said he lacked the common touch and that, whilst revering events of the past, he was often critical of much of the present, as shown by his views on contemporary youth thus: '... so brought up that if they be not all day by the fire with a toast and butter and in their furs – they be straight sick' [10]. Caius never married and there is no record of any close romantic attachments in his life. He was a man of literature and philology, possessed of an immense intellect. He was a giant in the academic world and his whole life revolved around his work. Caius was accorded a Grant of Arms in 1561 and the documentation signifies his love of learning [8].

A deep insight into the nature of Caius and his pride in his profession was his reverence for the great Thomas Linacre, founder of the College of Physicians in 1518. Linacre died in 1524. Caius investigated Linacre's neglected tomb in St Paul's Cathedral and in 1557 arranged for an appropriate monument to his dead hero. The monument bore the salutation *Vivit post funera virtus. Thomae Linacro clarissimo medico, Johannes Caius posuit, ann. 1557 [8].*

Unfortunately Linacre's tomb was among those destroyed on 4 September 1666 during the Great Fire. Linacre is now remembered on a memorial plaque situated on the right-hand side of the crypt of the restored cathedral, in the company of such luminaries



FIG. 4. John Caius – aged 53 years. From a portrait at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. (By permission of the Master and Fellows of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.)

as Sir Francis Walsingham, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and William Lilly, the first Master of St Paul's School, London.

Caius and the Barber Surgeons Company

Caius's experiences in Padua and his interest in the subject of anatomy stood him in good stead on his return to England. After

the Act of Union of the Barbers and Surgeons in July 1540, the revised Company moved swiftly to increase its role in the medical education of surgeons in training. It was intent on following the Continental emphasis on the importance of an understanding of human anatomy. In 1541 King Henry VIII proclaimed that

> Four persons condemned, adjudged and put to death for felony by order of the King's laws of this realm ... should henceforth be allowed annually ... for anatomies and to make incisions of the same dead bodies ... instruction, insight, learning and experience in the said science, or faculty of surgery.

The Barber Surgeons were to make good use of this new facility, albeit against much local opposition to the practice. To this end, a new post of Reader in Anatomy was introduced by the Company. The first recorded Reader was appointed in 1546. This was John Caius [11] and he was to remain in post until 1563. His tenure of 17 years was exceeded by only one other appointee, Matthew Gwynn who held the post from 1609-1627.

The Anatomy Reader

The inspiration and drive behind the new post was the notable Thomas Vicary (1495-1561) a major figure in the history of British surgery. His influence at Court, as Serjeant-Surgeon to King Henry VIII, and the prime mover in establishing the Act of Union between the Barbers and Surgeons, probably led to the granting of corpses for dissection. It is possible that the eminent physician William Butts, one of King Henry VIII's advisers, was involved in the selection of John Caius as the first designated Reader [8].

Vicary largely followed Galen in his own teaching of anatomy, although he was also a strong proponent of the dissection of human bodies. He would have known of the similar approach by the academic Caius, and the two were ideally suited to take the project forward. Vicary was Master of the Company for the second time in 1546, the year of Caius's appointment. It has been suggested that Vicary himself was the first named Reader and certainly he gave anatomical lectures. Generally, however, his was

a more administrative role, at which he excelled. To Caius must be accorded the status of first recorded Reader and it proved to be a wise choice. The system lasted for the next 200 years and was of inestimable value in the training of surgeons. The post ended only when the Barbers and Surgeons separated in 1745.

The responsibilities of the Reader are somewhat obscure but have been detailed by various presenters of the annual Vicary lecture at the Royal College of Surgeons [12, 13, 14]. Essentially the Reader was expected to present a series of anatomical demonstrations at the Barber-Surgeons' Hall annually, at which training surgeons were expected to attend. The Reader was responsible to the Masters of Surgery of the day within the Company and was assisted by stewards who prepared the body.

There is little actual record of Caius's activities as Reader, but his success may be measured by the length of time he remained in post. It is apt to imagine Caius leaving his rooms at St Bartholomew's Hospital and departing through the exit gate in Little Britain on his way to the Barber-Surgeons' Hall. He took his Galenite views to the anatomy room but also he must have been influenced by his experiences of human dissection in Italy. During his tenure of office, numerous young surgeons would have benefited by his erudition and meticulous attention to detail. It is almost certain that Caius would have made great use of Vicary's important book: *A Profitable Treatise of the Anatomie of Man's Body* [15], compiled from Vicary's own lecture notes at the Hall and published in 1548.

It is of interest that, after Caius eventually relinquished the post, there was a sequence of eminent physicians appointed, some of whom were Cambridge University graduates. This dominance by the physicians continued until the appointment of the first surgeon, John Banester, in 1581. Banester undoubtedly brought a new practical approach to the subject and he was to publish the first Anatomical Text in English in 1578, *The history of Man Sucked from the Sappe of the most Approved Anathomistes* [16].

Caius successfully managed to combine his duties at the Hall with those at the College of Physicians, whilst presumably continuing with his own clinical practice. He appears to have had a

very limited private life outside his completely absorbing medical world. However, there *was* another vital component to his life, which almost certainly meant more to him than anything else: namely Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.

Cambridge

Gonville Hall

Gonville Hall was founded by a priest, Edmund Gonville, in 1347 [17]. The original building was situated at the rear of St Botolphs Churchyard. The first Master, John Colton, was appointed on 4 June 1349. There was a co-founder, William Bateman, then Bishop of Norwich, but whose name was not immortalised. Edmund Gonville died in 1351 and it was left to Bateman, with all his theological influence, to continue the early development of the new college. Bateman temporarily changed its name to the lengthy 'Hall of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary'. The early statutes of 1353 clearly established that the College's prime function was to prepare students for a career in theology. This was extended later to preparation for both law and medicine. The Hall settled in its present site in Trinity Lane in 1353. Bateman died in January 1355.

The College's progress thereafter was not conspicuous, with little income. By the start of the 16th century there were some 40 residents, including about 20 undergraduates ('pensioners') and 5 scholars. The body of students was still quite small when John Caius was accepted as a classical scholar in 1529.

Gonville and Caius

Caius must have renewed his Cambridge contacts after his return from Italy. In his detailed account of the history of Gonville and Caius College, Grierson [17] mentions to the events that led to the change of name and this must have involved considerable negotiation. Whatever the discussions and correspondence that must have occurred [8], on 4 September 1557 Caius obtained from the

Crown his Charter of Foundation. On Lady Day, 25 March 1558, the first year of Queen Elizabeth I's reign, the College was re-dedicated to the Virgin Mary and re-named Gonville and Caius. In 1559 Caius was appointed as the 16th Master of the College. He was to retain this position until his resignation in 1573, despite his other heavy commitments in London.

John Caius clearly had major ambitions for re-structuring the College. His experiences of the magnificent architecture in Northern Italy probably influenced his ideas for the new buildings. A major part of the redesign was the creation of a new court. The foundation stone was laid on 5 May 1565 at 4 a.m. and must have been a momentous occasion for the Master. Grierson [17] describes in detail the designs and their purpose.

Within Caius's architectural plans was the erection of three separate gates, which were to assume a special significance for the College. Also, their inclusion in his plans provides a rare example of humour from this normally austere man. The gates were one of the first examples of Renaissance style architecture in Cambridge. Their symbolism was pure theatre with serious overtones.

The Gates

The three gates were positioned to take the student from the point of entrance to the College to the point of departure. The first, the 'Gate of Humility', situated in Trinity Street, provided a relatively small and austere entrance for the student, embarking on his new academic journey. The gate erected by Caius was removed in 1869 to be replaced by the current entrance arch. The original gate went to adorn the Master's garden.

The second gate, that of 'Virtue', was approached through a wide passage between high walls, with the Master's garden to the South and the Fellows's garden to the North. The 'Gate of Virtue' was completed in 1569 and is a splendid piece of architecture through which the student makes his way to the inner recesses of the College. The gate is adorned with the wry word SAPIENTA on its outer facing panel, anticipating what was to come before the student emerged from the third gate, that of 'Honour'.

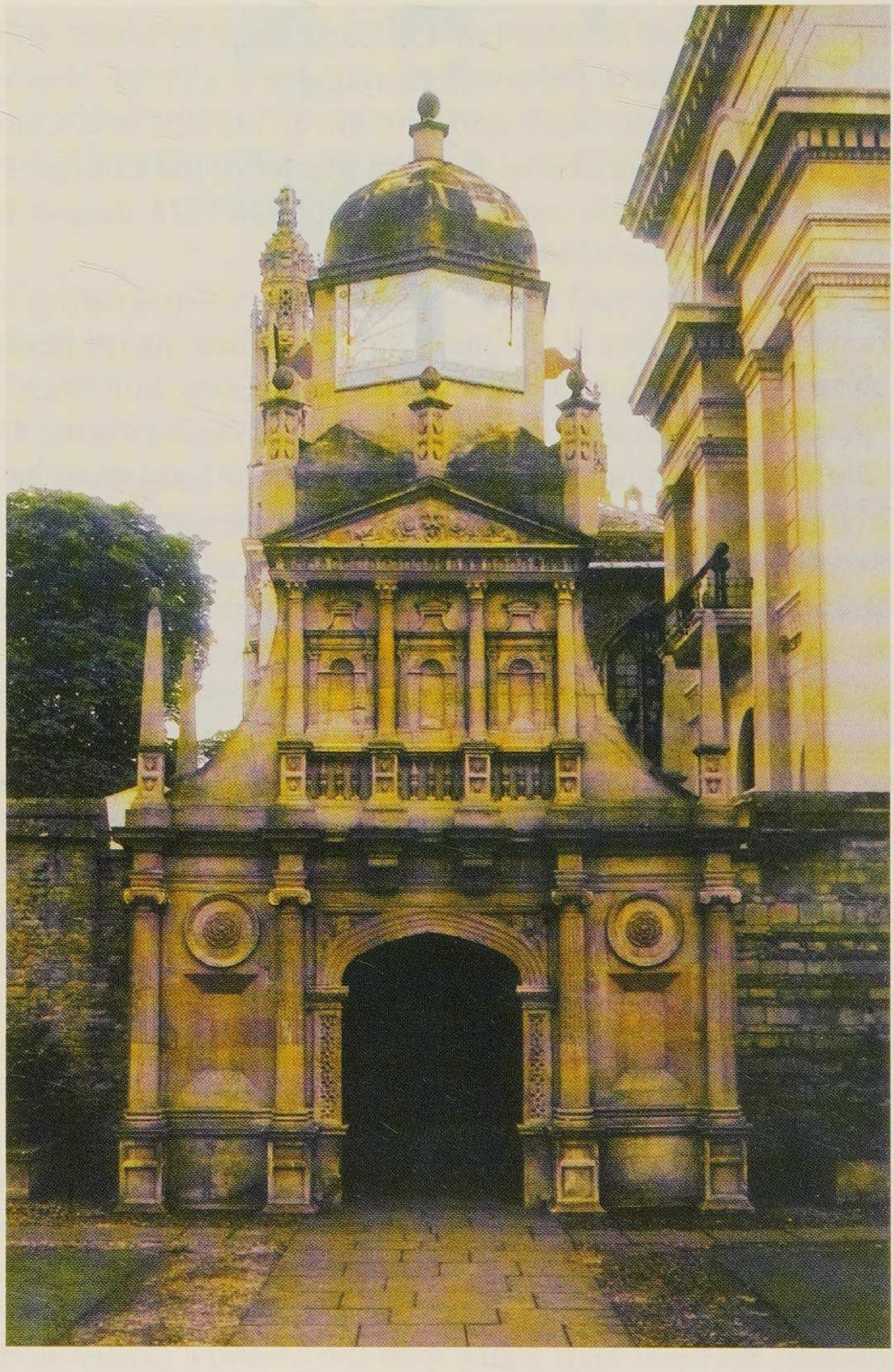


FIG. 5. The Gate of Honour, Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. (Courtesy Gonville and Caius College.)

The 'Gate of Honour' (Fig. 5) is situated in the wall at the rear southern boundary of the College. Through this gate the student leaves on his way to the Senate House. Regretably this architectural

creation with its Ionic columns, constructed to Caius's design, was not completed until 1575, well over a year after his death. The gate has been the subject of various artists' attentions ever since. Caius spent a considerable amount of his own money, over 2,000 pounds, on his architectural changes and further more dramatic changes were not to be made until the middle of the 19th century. To this day, students may not use the Gate of Honour until they have passed their final examinations.

As Master, John Caius busied himself reviewing and revising the statutes of the College and compiling the *Annals*. Jealous of ceremony, as with the College of Physicians, he presented a silver caduceus to Gonville and Caius. He organised a catalogue of the contents of the library in 1569 and worked hard at improving the College's finances. In the early part of the century it had been one of the poorest in the University. Within Caius's time it was to become one of the most prosperous. From its origin, the College had given preference to scholars from its East Anglian environs. Caius himself had benefited from this, and he extended the boundaries a little in the new statutes. The major change in this respect would not come until the 19th century, however.

Anatomy at Cambridge

As well as all his administrative responsibilities, Caius also put his considerable energies towards advancing the academic programmes of the College. Anatomy figured highly in his priorities from the outset. In this he was ably supported by two notable contemporaries, Thomas Lorkyn, who was to become Regius Professor of Physic at Cambridge in 1564, and Thomas Wendy, a former physician to Henry VIII and Fellow of Gonville and Caius.

In 1564 Caius's efforts resulted in Elizabeth I giving Royal approval for the bodies of two felons, executed within the county of Cambridge, to be made available for dissection and the teaching of anatomy. Attendance at these anatomies would become a requirement for students of medicine at the University, as were those at Barber-Surgeons' Hall. A certain sensitivity appears to have surrounded the use of such bodies for dissection. The stat-

utes required that after the event, the body should be buried after an appropriate service at the University's own church of Great St Mary's, with the students in attendance. How much this genuinely was observed is speculative.

Unfortunately, after this innovative era, the teaching of anatomy at the University appears to have declined somewhat. It was not until 1707 that a formal Chair of Anatomy was established at Cambridge [18]. The period of Caius's and Lorkyn's energetic pursuit of the subject has been referred to as a 'False Spring'.

Departure from Cambridge

Despite his notable contributions to the College and University and the undoubted esteem in which he was held by the academic community, John Caius's tenure at Gonville and Caius was a troubled one. A previous Master, John Skipp (1536-1540), had been imprisoned on charges of heresy. The College had become a focus of advanced religious opinion, especially among the younger Fellows. Caius eventually was to fall prey to their fanaticism and his departure from the College and University was to end on an acrimonious, even tragic, note.

Caius's early association with Cambridge University had been as a theology student. It would seem, however, that religion was not a major factor in his life or, if it was, he preferred not to broadcast his beliefs. The dissolution of the monasteries was one of the most important episodes in English history, and the middle of the 16th century was still rife with the consequences. Queen Elizabeth I, who reigned during the whole of John Caius's tenure as Master of Gonville and Caius College, cemented the nation's conversion to Protestantism. The pressure on Roman Catholics in England was enormous. Caius's own position was precarious.

At one time, Caius had come under considerable criticism for his apparent atheism, although there is nothing to suggest he ever expressed such an attitude publicly. Outwardly, and certainly during his period as Master at Cambridge, he seemed to accept the Royal authority without qualms. His library contents did not reveal any single religious preference and in truth showed a

paucity of theological texts [6]. However, the contents of his rooms at the College, and especially certain ecclesiastical ornaments, did perhaps betray an instinctive sympathy with Catholicism. The artefacts concerned may simply have been an expression of his love of symbolism and ceremony. Whether or not he was a genuine crypto-papist must remain in doubt, but there were those in the University who clearly believed he was.

On 13 December 1572, his rooms were ransacked by various Fellows and many of his personal effects destroyed. Implicated were the Master of Clare College, one Dr Byng, who was to declare the finding of 'much popishe trumpery' [7]. Even the Vice-Chancellor of the University was said to be involved. Rumour had it that the whole event was instigated by the then Bishop of London, Dr Sandys [2].

Caius, whose health had been poor for some time, was never the same man again after this insult to his reputation. At six o'clock on the morning of 27 June 1573 he resigned from the Mastership of the College and took refuge in his quarters at Smithfield. His return to Cambridge would not be long delayed.

An ironic postscript to the episode is that the new Master, Thomas Legge, carried Gonville and Caius College to the prime Catholic position at Cambridge. Caius had been granted the privilege of nominating his successor, who already was acquiring a good reputation as a tutor at Jesus College. Legge had no hesitation in showing his opposition to the strong Puritan movement at Gonville and Caius when he became Master. Unfortunately, many students accepted by the College during Legge's tenure, 1573 to 1607, were of strong Catholic persuasion and later suffered as a result. Some were indeed executed by the government. Legge, a formidable personality, brought much prosperity to the College, with an increasing emphasis on medicine in its education programme.

The final months

After leaving Cambridge, a desolate and unwell man, John Caius shut himself away in London. The deterioration in his health was rapid. His sole contact appears to have been with Archbishop

Matthew Parker. The latter had been one of those who was critical of Caius in the 1560s for his apparent atheism, but had come to realise that the great physician had been misrepresented. The two men had become friendly and the Archbishop was to become one of Caius's executors after his death.

In a letter written to Parker towards the end of his life, Caius wrote ... 'I cannot eate ... stomach swells with pain ... afraid to eate'. Caius died alone in his premises on 29 July 1573, only one month after the disgraceful events in Cambridge. The cause of death must remain a matter for speculation. His symptoms suggest a possible gastric lesion, either a giant ulcer or cancer. The profound shock of the violation of his privacy must have hastened his end. Although possibly apocryphal, it has been recorded that Caius had predicted the exact date of his death in his correspondence with Matthew Parker [7].

After his death, the body was disembowelled and the internal viscera interred within St Bartholomew's the Less Church, opposite his premises. Caius had expressed a wish to be buried within his beloved Cambridge College. His many admirers rallied around and the remains were transferred to Cambridge. He was buried in the chapel of Gonville and Caius College with due solemnity under the 'Image of our Ladre', the Virgin Mary, a striking mural monument to the man. The simple epitaph FUI CAIUS – 'I was Caius' – reflects the solitary, yet dedicated nature of this intensely private man. His tomb was inadvertently disturbed by workmen in 1719 and then again during the renovations of 1891, when the remains were evident. A cast of his skull is now encased in a simple transparent container in the old library.

Caius Library

Caius wrote prolifically and contributed over 70 original articles and manuscripts. However, as pointed out by Grierson [6] in his comprehensive account of the contents, his own library was a relatively modest one for such a literary figure. Among its contents was a copy of his autobiography of 1570 *De Libris Propriis*. His penchant for the academic past, and especially the ancients,

was reflected in the volumes by Aristotle and Pliny and, of course, his revered Galen (seven editions). In general he avoided the moderns of the era, but included were works by the physician and naturalist, Leonard Fuchs (1501-1566), Vesalius, and his great friend, Conrad Gesner. Most of John Caius's books and manuscripts were collected by him during his early years and many related to his travels in Italy and middle Europe.

In general, devoted classicist that he was, Caius eschewed literature written in the English language. The library also showed a paucity of writings on theology and the antiquities. Caius's interest principally was in personalities and etymology rather than structures. He loved the written word and its origins. Comparisons have been drawn between John Caius's library and that of his eminent Cambridge contemporary, Thomas Lorkyn (1528-1591). The younger man's library was that of the pragmatic, scientific academic, being large, recent and of immediate practical value [19]. Caius's library to a large extent was concerned with the wisdom and virtues of the distant past.

Matthew Parker, as John Caius's literary executor, took charge of the distribution of the contents of his library according to his wishes. A record of the occasion resides in the Lambeth Palace library. Many volumes were bequeathed to the Gonville and Caius College library and some, especially works by Galen, went to Eton College. Many, however, were sold and dispersed. Caius's only sister had predeceased him and he had no rightful heirs to his possessions.

Caius remembered

Caius is assured of his place in posterity through the Cambridge University College that bears his name. Nothing can dim this, his greatest legacy, whilst the renowned Gonville and Caius College remains a bastion of higher education. The city of Norwich has also recognised the eminent physician by naming an area in the city after him. Caius Court, on Angel Road, was built in 1977.

However, the name Doctor Caius has been immortalised in another less orthodox way [20]. Shakespeare chose the name for

one of his characters in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, written purportedly at the command of Queen Elizabeth herself. The play was first performed in front of Her Majesty, at the Palace of Westminster, on St George's Day in 1597. Shakespeare's irascible physician, Dr Caius, bears little physical or behavioural resemblance to John Caius, but there are valid reasons to believe Shakespeare named the character after his illustrious namesake. Subsequently, in 1893, Verdi perpetuated the name in his magnificent last opera, *Falstaff*.

John Caius was a great favourite of Queen Elizabeth I. She considered him to be 'the most learned physician' of the era. It may have been her own interest in the play that prompted Shakespeare to use the name. Another connection is the 'Sweatyng Sickness' about which John Caius wrote a special treatise. Shakespeare may have been familiar with the publication when he gave the illness publicity in his play, *Macbeth* [21]. In Act V, Scene V, Macbeth talks of the 'famine and the ague eat them up', referring to the scourge that afflicted Henry Tudor's troops at Bosworth Field.

Another possible connection is through John Hall, a practising physician in Stratford-upon-Avon, who in due course became Shakespeare's son-in-law by marrying his daughter Suzanne. Hall had been a student at Cambridge and a contemporary of William Harvey at the University in the late 16th century. The name of the great John Caius would be very familiar to John Hall, therefore, and it is possible he influenced his future father-in-law in the selection of the name.

This is all speculation, of course, and perhaps a more plausible explanation is that John Caius, the consummate philologist, simply appealed to Shakespeare because of his own profound love of words. Whatever the reasons, the inclusion of the character, Dr Caius, has ensured that the name will be perpetuated for as long as there is an audience for the dramatic works of William Shakespeare and the great operas of Giuseppe Verdi.

References

[1] MacNalty, A.S. The Renaissance and its influence on English Medicine Surgery and Public Health. *Ann.Roy.Coll.Surg.* (1947), **1**, 8 – 30.

[2] Venn, J. John Caius, in *The Works of John Caius,* Ed. Roberts, E.S., Cambridge University Press. 1912.

[3] O'Malley, C.D. The relations of John Caius with Andreas Vesalius. *J.History Med.*, (1955), 10, 147 – 172.

[4] Spencer, W.G. Vesalius; his delineation of the framework of the human body in the 'Fabrica' and 'Epitome'. *Brit.J.Surg.*, (1922/3), **10**, 383 – 402.

[5] Singer, C. *From Magic to Science* Ernest Benn, London. 1928.

[6] Grierson, P. John Caius Library, in *Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College,* Vol.VII. 1978.

[7] Langdon-Brown W. John Caius and the Revival of Learning. *Proc.Roy.Soc.Med.*, (1941/2), **35**, 61 – 69.

[8] Exhibition Catalogue, *Caius College and the Royal College of Physicians of London* at the Royal College of Physicians, London. 1973.

[9] Munk, W. *The Role of the Royal College of Physicians of London,* Vol.I. London. 1878.

[10] Langdon-Brown, W. *Some Chapters in Cambridge Medical History* Cambridge University Press. 1946.

[11] Dobson, J and Walker, R.M. *Barbers and Barber Surgeons of London*. Blackwell Scientific, Oxford. 1979.

[12] Power, D'Arcy. The Education of a Surgeon under Thomas Vicary. *Brit.J.Surg.*, (1920), **8**, 240 – 258.

[13] Lett, H. Anatomy at the Barber-Surgeons' Hall. *Brit.J.Surg.*, (1943), 31, 101 – 111.

[14] Thomas, C.P. Vicary amongst his Contemporaries. *Ann.Roy.Coll.Surg. Engl.* (1962), 30, 137 – 154.

[15] Buckland-Wright, J.C. Readers of Anatomy at the Barber Surgeons Company in the Tudor Period. *J.Roy.Soc.Med.* (1985), **78**, 802 – 811.

[16] Copeman, W.S.C. The Evolution of Anatomy and Surgery under the Tudors, *Ann.Roy.Coll.Surg., Engl.* (1963), **32**, 1 – 11.

[17] Grierson, P. Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, in *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Cambridgeshire,* Vol.III, 1959.

[18] Russell, K.F. Anatomy and the Barber Surgeons. *Med.J.Austr.* (1973), **1**, 1109 – 1126.

[19] Jones, P.M. Thomas Lorkyn's Dissections, in *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society,* Vol.IX, Cambridge University Library. 1988

[20] Edgar, I.I. Medical Practice and the Physicians in Elizabethan England and in Shakespeare's Dramas. *Medical Life* (1934), **41**, 331 – 376.

[21] Pomeranz, H. Medicine in the Shakespearean Plays and Era. *Medical Life* (1934), **41**, 479 – 532.

Chapter 5

Robert Balthrop 1522 – 1591

Harvey White

HISTORY CONFINES MANY TO obscurity because they are indeed obscure; with others this sentence is rather unjust and even surprising as in the case of Robert Balthrop. Few Barbers will know much of Balthrop even though he was Master in 1565 and again in 1573. Those who are not Barbers are unlikely to know anything about him at all even if they profess an interest in medical history. Sir Geoffrey Keynes writing on the *History of St Bartholomew's Hospital* from 1123-1700 [1] dismissed clinicians at the hospital before Willliam Clowes [1544-1604) as being of little significance. Although there is no direct evidence that Balthrop ever practised in the hospital, he leased a hospital property from 1559. I believe the fact that he leased a property within the hospital could be regarded as circumstantial evidence that he may have had some occasional clinical duties there. He was involved in the Church affairs of St Bartholomew-the-Less of which the hospital was effectively the parish (Fig. 1).

When walking from his house within the hospital, which was close to the church and within the hospital precinct, he must have cut quite a figure wearing the gown bequeathed to him by Thomas Vicary [2] who had been elected a Governor of the hospital in 1548 and was the first Master of the Barbers' Company. In addition to the gown, he wore on his finger a great ring of gold with a seal of his own arms with five fleurs-de-lis in silver on chevron.



FIG. 1. St Bartholomew's Hospital Henry VIII Gate. The tower of St Bartholomew-the-Less is seen on the left. (Reproduced by kind permission of St Bartholomew's Hospital Archives and Museum.)

The gift of a gown from Vicary was surely of great significance and would have been made only to a trusted colleague and assistant. Balthrop himself bequeathed to his apprentice, John Griffin (appointed to St Bartholomew's Hospital in 1586) a salve box and to the hospital he gave medicine, books and instruments [3].

From Greenwich to Smithfield

In 1417 the Duke of Gloucester had enclosed one hundred and ninety acres of Greenwich Park and in 1437 rebuilt Greenwich Palace which was to be the birthplace of Elizabeth I in 1533. The palace was frequently used for celebrations, jousting, balls and banquets. Such activity would have led to the development of a fashionable residential area in association with the palace and inevitably the prosperity of those like Robert Balthrop's parents who owned property and land there. From Greenwich it was not far for Balthrop to jostle his way between the traders on London Bridge to the north bank of the Thames. From there, he would pass Castle Baynard at Blackfriars. This was originally built by Baynard, a Norman, who came over with William the Conqueror. Elizabeth I was entertained here in Balthrop's time by the Earl of Pembroke. She is known both to have dined there and to have attended a firework display. It was but a further short walk to Smithfield and St Bartholomew's Hospital where he ultimately lived and the Barbers' Hall was within half a mile. To the north was Islington and the fields and forests where Elizabeth used to hunt with Sir John Spencer and where a fireplace of the period remains in a public house in the Essex Road where Sir Walter Raleigh was the Licensee. He named this the Queen's Head in honour of the sovereign [4].

Smithfield had witnessed violent events over the years. Wat Tyler and the rebels had met Richard II (1377-1399) there in 1381 and was stabbed and executed in front of the hospital gates by Lord Mayor Walworth. In Balthrop's time (1538) John Forrest, Prior of the Observant Convent at Greenwich was put in a cage and roasted alive for failing to recognise the king's supremacy. Little is known of Robert Balthrop's parents (Richard and Agnes) or of his siblings (William and Jacomine). The family, however, must have been fairly close knit for Robert – himself without children – left property in Greenwich to his nephews William and Richard who were his brother William's children.

Apprentice and surgeon

Balthrop was apprenticed to Nicholas Alcock, portrayed in the front row of the Holbein picture which hangs in Barber-Surgeons' Hall [*Frontispiece*]. Alcock was surgeon to Edward VI (1547-1553) when the king was only ten years old. Balthrop was clearly regarded sufficiently well by Alcock to have been left his English translation of Guido de Cauliaco and his russet worsted gown trimmed with squirrel fur and velvet. This must have complemented the gown and embroidered velvet coat which, with his silver syringe, he had received from Thomas Vicary in 1561.

Although there is no record of Balthrop having formally been appointed to St Bartholomew's, the records of physicians and surgeons are remarkably incomplete at the time when Balthrop is likely to have been most active clinically amongst the poor before being made Serjeant-Surgeon to the Queen. The hospital records of 1579 show that a certain Dr Lopus would be expected to treat the poor in St Bartholomew's twice a week in exchange for a reduction in rent, implying that those residing within the hospital were indeed expected to undertake some clinical duties. While there is no similar record in regard to Balthrop, his involvement with the parish and therefore the hospital was such that he contributed the significant sum of eight shillings a year to the parish. This and the generous bequest he made of books to the hospital in his Will would not have been the case had he only a tenuous connection.

We gain some idea of the breadth of his clinical interest by the bequests (including books) which he made in his Will not only to the Hospital but also to the Company of Barbers and to individuals. These and the residue of his library show that his library was extensive. It embraced the Arab tradition with Albucasis and Dioscorides and also had many texts in Latin and French. Perhaps the most significant was the anatomy of Geminus. The plates in this book were taken from the anatomy of Vesalius which at that time had not been widely circulated. They are evidence that Balthrop with only a few others had the opportunity of having a

far greater understanding of anatomy than, for example, Thomas Vicary who belonged to the pre-Vesalian era. It is likely therefore that Balthrop was able to use a greater knowledge of anatomy in his surgery than many of his contemporaries.

Barber-Surgeons' Company

The fact that he was twice Master of the Barbers at such an important time in the emergence and acceptance of surgery as a discipline emphasises his prominence. Perhaps it was the demanding life as a clinician coupled with the duties of Master that prevented him from writing any works which have survived although it was known that he translated Tagaultos and Paré into English and helped John Banester write an *Antidotaire Chyrurgucall (1659).*

His involvement with the Company of Barber Surgeons started in 1545 when, on 3 March, he received the Freedom of the Company (just five years after Vicary became the first Master). He was admitted to the Livery on 20 October 1552 and served as Warden from 1560-61 and Master for the first time in 1565 and subsequently in 1573. Five years later he became an Examiner of apprentices. On Balthrop's death The Barbers' Company received as a bequest from him a copy of *Tagaultius* in Latin with his own translation into English and also two books by Ambroise Paré which he had also translated.

Serjeant-Surgeon

Robert Balthrop followed his master, Nicholas Alcock as Serjeant-Surgeon to Edward VI (1547-1553) and ultimately in 1562 he was appointed Serjeant-Surgeon to Elizabeth I (1558-1603). This was three years before he became Master of the Barber-Surgeons' Company. These appointments should have ensured his place in history and are unlikely to have been made without any hospital association. One with royal connections (as St Bartholomew's) would have brought him to the sovereign's notice. The queen was known to surround herself only with those who were worthy of

preferment. The kneeling effigy of Balthrop on the south wall of St Bartholomew-the-Less above his tomb is a fitting monument. Those who kneel beside the plaque today, perhaps at a memorial service for a colleague, may be tempted to regard their own place in history as more significant than his! However, in the context of his generation, Balthrop was prominent and helped surgeons establish themselves as professionals equal to physicians, although surgery in Northern Europe and England was not yet dignified with the stature of a university doctorate [5].

Not being proficient in Latin, surgeons were barred from entry to the ancient universities. Balthrop, however, is known to have been proficient in Latin having translated various Latin texts into English. This suggests that he may have been one of the surgeons of the Fellowship [6] who had attended a university and who sometimes held qualifications in both medicine and surgery. Those known to have been of the Fellowship were Richard Ferris, Thomas Vicary, Sir John Ayliffe and Marcellus de la More. Lesser trained Barber-Surgeons merely had to undertake a nine year apprenticeship to a Master Surgeon. These were in turn more highly trained than the Barbers who merely undertook shaving and trimming.

Sargeantry [7, 8] in feudal times was a form of land tenure which was granted as a reward for some service. This may well have been the origin of Serjeant-Surgeon although it has also been suggested that it is a corruption of *serviens* – serving.

The Medical Court Roll by S.W. Clippingdale [9] in the library of the Royal College of Surgeons suggests that a certain Henry de Sarday was probably the first Serjeant-Surgeon but this is not corroborated. John of Arderne accompanied Edward III (1327-77) to the battle of Crecy in 1346 but does not appear to have received an official title. William Hobbs is generally therefore thought to have been the first Serjeant-Surgeon and was dignified as such in 1461 by Edward IV (1461-83). Among his duties were screening applicants to be 'touched for the cure of the king's evil (tuberculosis) and embalming the royal corpse'. For these duties 14 marks (£26) a year and a living allowance were given. These were increased in times of war to £10 a quarter and 10 pence a day subsistence.

The second Serjeant-Surgeon in 1513 was Marcellus de la More. The third was Thomas Vicary (to Henry VIII, 1509-1547). He is portrayed in the Holbein picture in Barber-Surgeons' Hall. The fourth Serjeant-Surgeon 1562 was Robert Balthrop.

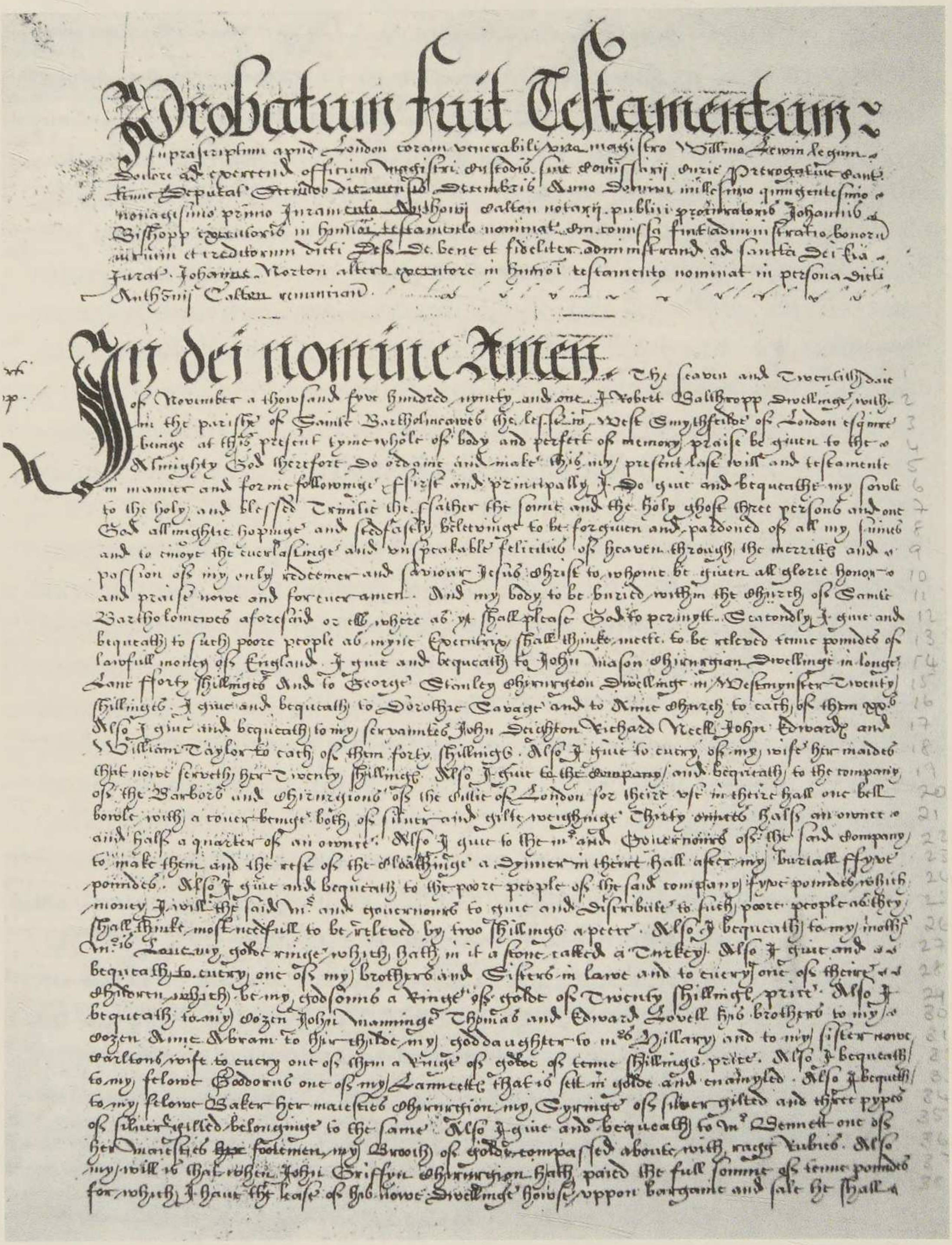
The Barber Surgeons regarded the appointment of Serjeant-Surgeon as a high office and the holders were automatically elected to the first vacancy on the Court of Assistants. When the Surgeons' Company was formed in 1745 as a result of a split between the Barbers and the Surgeons, any Serjeant-Surgeon thereafter was admitted to the Council of the Court of Examiners and regarded as Master.

Balthrop's final years

Robert Balthrop made his will [3] on 27 November 1591 and died twelve days later. It is likely, therefore, that he knew that he was dying and the details of the bequests in his Will are therefore particularly interesting and reflect those people and institutions which were particularly dear to him during his life (Fig. 2). It was clearly drawn up very carefully and with great precision and detail. Of interest initially are those colleagues to whom he made personal bequests. John Mason, a surgeon living in Long Lane, received 40 shillings and another surgeon, George Stanley, living in Westminster 20 shillings. Two of his colleagues, described as Fellows – Goodorus and Baker, surgeon to Her Majesty – received lancets set in gold and syringes of silver gilded and three pipes of silver gilded. His nephew, Richard Balthrop, listed as an apprentice – presumably a surgical apprentice – was to receive £50 and a lesser gold ring with Balthrop's seal of arms at the age of 21. John Griffin, a surgeon, was to receive a fine cloth gown welted with velvet and faced with damask.

The Company of Barbers received a silver and gilt bell bowl with a cover weighing 30½ ounces and the Master and Governors of the Company the rest of his clothing and money to hold a dinner in the hall after his burial. He did not forget the poor people of the Company who were to receive two shillings each.

Appended to the will was a schedule of specific gifts. The



Probatum fuit Testamentum:

Supra scriptum apud London coram venerabili viro magistro Willmo Lewin legum doctore ad procurend officium magistri custodis sive commissarii curie Prerogative Cantuar Deputat Sterndon dioc Sterenbrig Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo nonagesimo primo Juramento Johannis Walton notarii publici procuratoris Johannis Bishopp procuratoris in hac parte testamento nominat cui commissa fuit administratio bonorum jurium et creditorum dicti defunct de bene et fideliter administrand ad sancta Dei ha- Jurat Johannes Norton alter procuratore in hujmoi testamento nominat in persona dicti Authonij Calton renunciand.

In dei nomine Amen

The seaven and twentith daie of November a thousand five hundred ninety and one I Robert Balthropp Dwellinge with- in the parishe of Sainte Bartholmewes the lesse in West Smythfielde of London esquire beinge at this present tyme whole of bodye and perfect of memory praise be given to the Almighty God therefore Do ordaine and make this my present last will and testamente in maner and forme followinge Firste and principally I do give and bequeathe my soule to the holy and blessed Trinitie the father the sonne and the holy ghost three persons and one God allmightie hopinge and stedfastly beletvinge to be forgiven and pardoned of all my sinnes and to enioye the everlastinge and unspeakable felicities of heaven throughe the merrits and passion of my only redeemer and saviour Jesus Christe to whome be given all glorie honor and praise nowe and forever amen. And my bodye to be buried within the churche of Sainte Bartholomewes aforesaid or elsewhere as yt shall please God to permytt. Secondly I give and bequeathe to suche poore people as myne Executrix shall thinke meete to be relieved tenne pondes of lawfull money of England. I give and bequeathe to John Mason chirurgion Dwellinge in longe Lane fforty shillinges And to George Stanley chirurgion Dwellinge in Westmynster twenty shillinges. I give and bequeathe to Dorothie Savage and to Anne Ghyrth to eache of them xx^s. Also I give and bequeathe to my servauntes John Seighton Richard Neele John Edwardes and William Taylor to eache of them forty shillinges. Also I give to every of my wife's three maides that nowe serveth her Twenty shillinges. Also I give to the Company and bequeathe to the company of the Barbors and chirurgions of the Cittie of London for theire use in theire hall one bell bowle with a cover bothe of silver and gilte weighinge Thirty ounces halfe an ounce and halfe a quarter of an ounce. Also I give to the m^r and governors of the said company to make them and the rest of the assistinge a dynner in theire hall after my buriall fyve poundes. Also I give and bequeathe to the poore people of the said company fyve poundes which money I will the said m^r and governors to give and distribute to suche poore people as they shall thinke most needfull to be relieved by two shillinges a peece. Also I bequeathe to my mother in law Lucie my golde ringe which hath in it a stone called a Turkey. Also I give and bequeathe to every one of my brothers and sisters in lawe and to every one of theire children which be my godsonnes a ringe of golde of Twenty shillinges price. Also I bequeathe to my cozen John Manninge Thomas and Edward Lovell his brothers to my cozen Anne Abram to his childe my goddaughter to m^rs Hillary and to my sister nowe Carltons wife to every one of them a ringe of golde of tenne shillinges price. Also I bequeathe to my fellowe Goddarde one of my Lancettes that is sett in golde and enamyled. Also I bequeathe to my fellowe Baker her maiesties chirurgion my Syringe of silver gilted and three pypes of silver gilted belonginge to the same. Also I give and bequeathe to m^r Bennett one of her maesties ~~the~~ footemen my Brooch of golde compassed aboute with eight rubies. Also my will is that where John Griffyn chirurgion hath paied the full somme of tenne pondes for which I have the lease of his nowe Dwellinge house vppon bargaine and sale he shall

FIG. 2. First page of Balthrop's will. (Reproduced by kind permission of the Company of Barber Surgeons.)

most interesting are the books, instruments and surgical chests. From the books we have an insight into his library. John Deighton received books on physic and surgery and two dictionaries which were at that time housed at Mansfield Park in the parish of Taplow. This house appears to have been in his wife's family. Deighton also received the last surgeon's chest and instruments that was made for Balthrop. This contained a number of instruments including a silver salvatory and both catheters and syringes of silver. There was also a silver precipitate box. Lewes Rogers, described as a servant but, perhaps, also an assistant received the greater surgical chest, plaster box and instruments. One silver catheter was specifically donated to Lewes Rogers from the surgical chest given to John Deighton. Supporting the fact that Rogers was not merely a servant was the bequest of books on surgery in French and Latin as well as some books on Arab medicine including Albucasis and Dioscorides.

John Edwards, also described as a servant, received the last surgery chest which was in daily use at Court, including the contents specifically listed, and amongst these were a plaster box of leather with gilt lock and hinges of silver, all the instruments and a number of English books.

The Barbers' Company received important books including Guido's *Surgery* and books by Lanfranck, Paulus, and Tagaltius containing surgical notes of several eminent surgeons together with the anatomy plates of Geminus. The last book listed which was bequeathed to the Company was by Ambroise Paré which Balthrop had translated into English so that those not understanding Latin could have daily readings in the Hall.

Confirming his associations with both St Bartholomew's and St Thomas's Hospital he left them the residue of instruments, bottles and pots and those surgical instruments not included in the detailed schedule of bequests.

Surgical chests (Fig. 3)

The contents of surgical chests which contained instruments and medicines are well documented in *The Surgion's Mate* by John

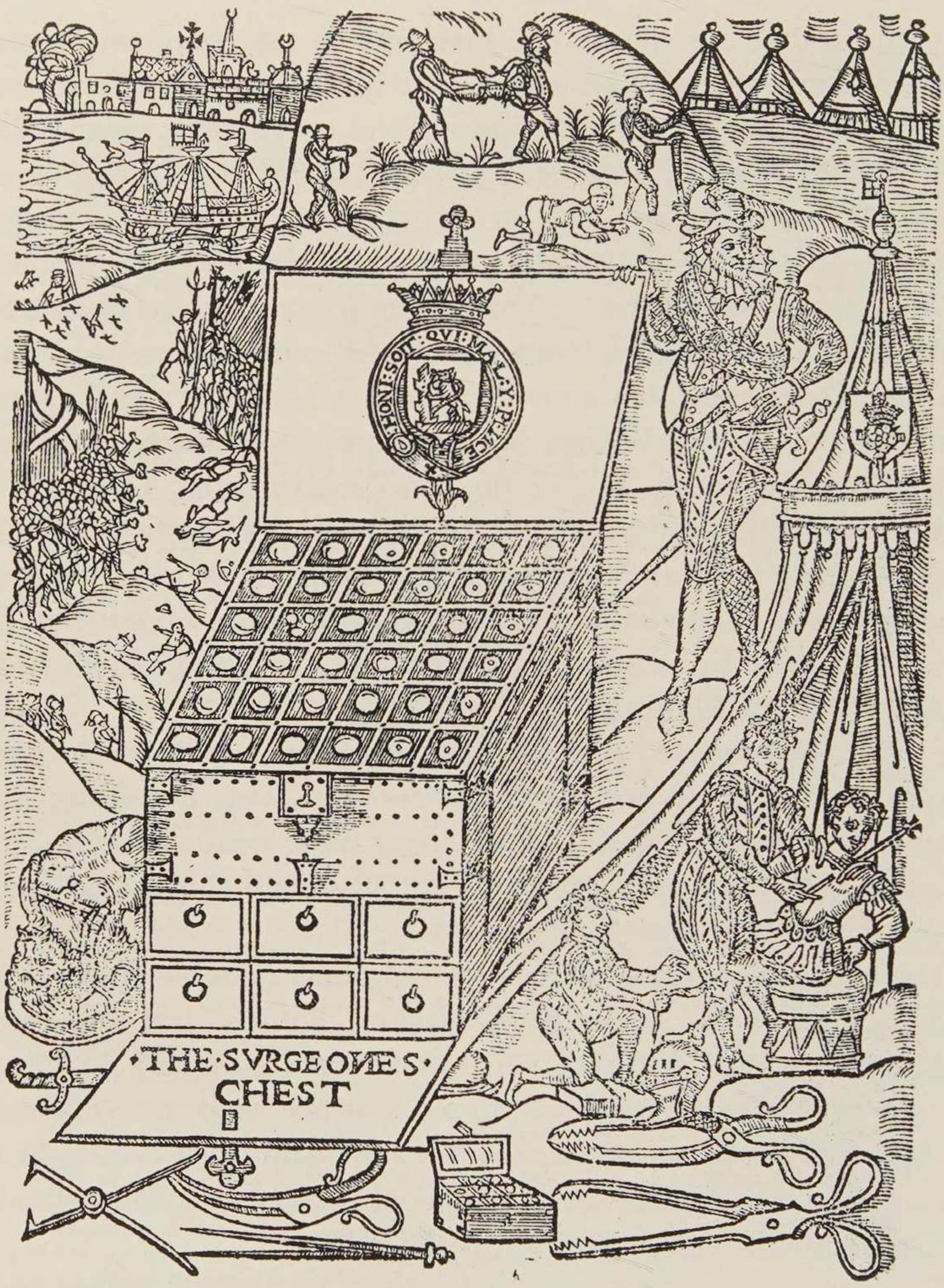


FIG. 3. Military chest from *A proved practice for all young Chirurgians,* William Clowes 1588. (Reproduced by kind permission of the Royal College of Surgeons.)

Woodall published in 1617 [10] just twenty-six years after Balthrop's death. They had been refined and developed by Woodall during his appointment as the first surgeon to the East



FIG. 4. St Bartholomew-the-Less. Memorial plaque of Robert Balthrop. (Reproduced by kind permission of St Bartholomew's Hospital Archives and Museum).

India Company and his book *The Surgion's Mate* gave written instructions about the use of these instruments and medicines and

the need to keep a journal of clinical notes. A fine example of a Tudor surgeon's chest can be seen in that recovered from the *Mary Rose* [5] constructed under Henry VIII in 1536. The chest was made of walnut four feet long and one foot nine inches wide. It contained ceramic jars of medicine, wooden boxes containing ointment, bandages and several instruments including syringes, a feeding bowl, a mortar and knives with a whet stone and a brass shaving bowl.

Burial

Robert Balthrop was buried in St Bartholomew-the-Less on 12 December 1591 having died three days previously. He was, therefore, buried within the hospital precincts where he had lived and with which he had a long association. Records confirm that the Governors undertook repair to Balthrop's house in 1576 and to the pavement outside it in 1582. He was therefore resident there when he was Master of the Barbers' Company. The repairs undertaken are likely to have been in recognition of services rendered to the hospital and also in recognition of his distinction as Master.

He was regarded as sufficiently important by the hospital to merit an elegant plaque with an epitaph in the hospital parish church of St Bartholomew-the-Less (Fig. 4):

> Here Robert Balthrope lyes intombed, to Elizabeth our Queene,
> who Sergeant of the Surgeons swore neere thirtye years hath been
> He died at syxtie-nine yeares, December's ninthe the daye, The
> Yeare of Grace eight hundred twice, deducting nine away [i.e.1591].
> Let here his rotten bones repose, till angell's trumpet sounde, to
> warne the worlde of present chaunge and raise the dead from
> grounde.
>
> VIVIT POST FUNERA VIRTUS

References

[1] Keynes, G. *In* Medvei, V.C. and Thornton, J.L. Eds. *The Royal Hospital of St Bartholomew*, London, 1974.

[2] Moore, Norman, *The History of St Bartholomew's Hospital*, C. Arthur Pearson, London, 1918.

[3] Balthrop, Robert, Will, 27 November 1591, PCC PROB 11/78.

[4] Faith, L., *Royal Islington*, Islington, (1992), 26.

[5] Händel, Georg, The Barber-Surgeon Father of George Frederic Handel, *Journal of Medical Biography*, (2005) **13**, 142-149.

[6] Watt, James, The *Mary Rose* and Tudor Surgery, *Journal of Naval Service*, **80**, 156-165.

[7] Slack, William, *Sergeant-Surgeons to the Crown, Henry III-GeorgeV*, 1992, Vicary Lecture, Royal College of Surgeons of England.

[8] Slack, William, *The Sergeant-Surgeon, the Monarch and the Barber's Company*, 1999 Lionel Denny Lecture, Barber-Surgeons' Company.

[9] Clippingdale, S.W., *The Medical Court Roll*, (N.D.) Royal College of Surgeons of England.

[10] Woodall, J. *The Surgions Mate*, Edward Griffin, London, 1617.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Mr Ian Murray, Archivist for obtaining Balthrop's Will, Mrs T.J. Harfield, Freeman, for translation and Dr G.C. Rivett for the digital print.

Chapter 6

John Banester 1533 – 1610

Chris Buckland-Wright

Introduction

. . . it is mad dotage to part that which cannot be separated. How, can physic be praised and surgery discommended? Can any man despise surgery and not defame physic? No, sure, he that speaketh evil of the one slaundereth both, and he that robbeth the one spoileth the other. For though they be at this time made two distinct arts and the artists severally named, yet sure the one cannot work without somme aid from the other, nor the other practise without the aid of both.

(John Banester, cited in [1])

JOHN BANESTER PRACTISED DURING the Elizabethan age between 1560 and 1610, which was a time of world exploration and discovery, and the renaissance of ideas in art, science and literature. During this time England prospered under a queen who excelled at monarchy and statecraft. As a medical practitioner John Banester was exceptional in that he was qualified both as a surgeon and physician. He was able to study the anatomical and surgical texts in their original Latin. Fired by the desire to improve the practice of surgery in England, he published compendia of the translations of these works in the English language. He was also the first surgeon to be appointed Reader of Anatomy to the Barber-Surgeons' Company. As one of a small group of enlightened Elizabethan surgeons, he became, through his conviction and strength of personality, the principal advocate

for raising the standards of practice in surgery by arguing for the inclusion of the study of medicine as part of the training of a surgeon.

Physicians' dominance over surgeons

The difference between physician and surgeon was not clearly drawn under the Tudors. The Physicians' Act of 1540 (32 Henry VIII) gave the physicians the right to practise medicine as well as surgery when and where they liked. It also stated:

> No common surgeons may administer medicine outward . . . for although the most parte of the said craft of surgeons have small cooning, yet they would take great soomes of money and doo little therefore; and by reason thereof they doo oftentimes impaire and hurt theyre patients, rather than do them goode. [2]

Thus physicians could treat patients with medicines as well as undertake surgical procedures but surgeons were not permitted to give medicines, although many did do so [2].

Surgery in England had always been subservient to medicine and was to remain so for centuries. The physicians, oppressed by the weight of tradition, were bound by the fetters of the various sects or factions that arose successively in medicine. Surgeons on the other hand were brought face to face with wounds and injuries, which needed practical solutions [1]. The Tudor surgeon had to be resourceful and have a fair degree of manual dexterity. He had some knowledge of herbs and simple medicines which he would find described in the 'antidotary' or collection of prescriptions, which had proved useful to and had been passed on to him by his predecessors [1]. His approach to his craft was empirical and practical, he did not have any knowledge of medicine.

The great Elizabethan surgeons, Thomas Gale, John Banester, John Read and William Clowes, were conscious of the deficiencies in their surgical education. They believed that if their pupils could be taught medicine as they had learned surgery they would be better qualified to treat patients more effectively. Gale wrote

'Young men should take the concel as well of the learned physician as of the learned surgeon, for this art is so joined together that neither may the parts be divided' [1]. The surgeon's aims were frustrated, not only by the physician's intolerance of surgeons, but also by the physician's lack of interest in anatomy. This apathy, even hostility, of physicians towards anatomical studies was an obstacle that had been experienced earlier on the Continent and had been described by Vesalius [3]. It was not until 1565 that the physicians became involved professionally in anatomical studies, when Elizabeth I granted the College of Physicians of London four bodies annually for anatomical purposes [4], 25 years after the Company of Barbers and Surgeons had been granted a similar privilege by King Henry VIII.

The surgeon's need for anatomical texts in English

Advances in Tudor surgery were dependent upon the availability of anatomical texts. For people in England who were interested in anatomy, it was easier to import the more advanced and elaborate continental texts. Even with these advanced contemporary works available, many surgeons continued to republish obsolete anatomico-surgical treatises of the late medieval times. In 1545 the Flemish engraver Thomas Lambrit, better known under the pseudonym of Geminus, published his *Compendiosa totius Anatome delineatio* comprising a series of anatomical figures, engraved on copper, which he plagiarized from *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* and the *Epitome* of Vesalius [3, 5, 6, 7], together with the text of the *Epitome* [3, 5]. The fact that it was in Latin, which many if not most English surgeons could not read, rendered this volume of little value. It was partly for this reason that Thomas Vicary issued in 1548 the first anatomical text in English entitled *A Profitable Treatise of the Anatomie of Mans Body* (see Chapter 1). In 1553 Geminus published an English edition for the use of students. This edition had an inferior anatomical text, based extensively upon Vicary's *Anatomie of Mans Body*, written for Geminus by his friend Nicholas Udall, who was headmaster of Eton, and who confessed to having no knowledge of anatomy [3, 5, 7].

At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign the leading surgeons of the time, as members of a trade guild in London, were keen not only to gain greater insight and understanding of their craft through their association with physicians, but also to make available to their students the anatomical texts which were available on the Continent.

John Banester, The Surgeon



FIG. 1. John Banester delivering the Visceral Lecture at Barber-Surgeons' Hall in 1581. The two masters of anatomy are distinguished by their badges and stand beside Banester, one with a scalpel, the other with a probe. The two stewards of anatomy are on the opposite side of the table. They are all wearing protective sleeving, the artist has omitted their white aprons so as to show their badges of office. To the right is the Master of the Company, Robert Mudesley, in a furred gown. (Courtesy Hunterian Library, Glasgow.)

The frontispiece illustration to *Master John Banester's Anatomical Tables* (Fig. 1) shows John Banester giving the Visceral Lecture at Barber-Surgeons' Hall in 1581. The picture records his age as 48, indicating that he was born in 1533. His armorial bearings (Argent a cross fleury sable and for crest: a peacock sitting, taking into its beak a serpent twined around its neck all proper) show that he was the second son of John Banester of Cobham, who was one of the Barons of the Exchequer [8, 9]. Apart from this link with the southern counties of England, it appears that Banester lived for many years in Nottingham. This evidence comes from his publications in which Banester gives Nottingham as his address. In addition, it appears that he had relatives in that city, for the Chamberlain's accounts for 1573 record: 'Item, given the same day [July 17, 1573] a pottell of wyne and half a lb of sugar unto Maister Banyster the Preacher' [8, 9].

'Surgeon to the Forces'

The first record of Banester states that he acted as 'Surgeon to the Forces' in 1563, in the Earl of Warwick's ill-fated army in Normandy. In the previous year, Elizabeth had signed a treaty with Conde, the leader of the French Huguenots and had dispatched Warwick's army to aid in their struggle against the French King. Meanwhile, the rival parties in France, following the capture of Rouen by the Royalist troops, had come to terms and had united to throw out the English 'invaders' besieged in Le Havre. Plague and scurvy decimated Warwick's troops. Storms in the Channel scattered the ships which attempted to bring food and reinforcements. Following a bitter siege the English surrendered Le Havre to the French in 1564.

Also serving with the Earl of Warwick's army was a fellow surgeon William Clowes, with whom Banester began a life-long friendship. In a letter by Clowes, which Banester published in his *Antidotary* (1589), to 'Master Banester, my deare and loving friend,' Clowes enumerates the reasons of their friendship, and concludes; 'but chiefelie for that we both serve under the Right Honorable Earle of Warwick our verie good Lord and Master,

whom God long preserve in health.' [10]. Banester came to London to practise and he and Clowes were often associated with the treatment of cases. One patient 'T.P.', whom they cured, praises them in a set of verses, which so pleased Clowes that he included them in the preface to one of his books:

> Amongst which sort myself although the last,
> Yet not the least part of their cure did find,
> Whose arm past cure an atrophy did wast,
> And sinews shronke contracted out of kind,
> Which past all skill, unskilled surgeons thought,
> To health by skillful surgeons brought. [11]

Banester saw active service again at the age of 52 when he served as surgeon on board ship during the Earl of Leicester's 1585 expedition to the Low Countries. The purpose of this was to assist the Dutch in their campaign against the rule of King Philip II of Spain.

Surgeon in the City of London

In 1572 Banester became a member of the Company of Barbers and Surgeons. The note in the records states:

> Mr. Banester of Nottingham was sworn and admitted a brother of this mystery. Whereupon he hath granted to the House yearly twenty shillings so long as he liveth and to be liberal and commodious in this house in that he may, and will yearly send a buck or two and hath paid ten shillings and shall have his letter of licence'. [12]

Apart from this note being unusual in its own right, it shows that Banester was a man of some substance and influence [9]. Not everyone living at that time, or in the neighbourhood of Sherwood Forest, could promise to send yearly 'a buck or two' for the rest of his life.

From 1572 Banester worked in London; possession of the licence was necessary for him to practise in the City. That he was already a qualified surgeon is evidenced from both his appoint-

ment to the Earl of Warwick's forces as well as from the high regard in which William Clowes held him. It is possible that as a young man Banester was apprenticed to a master surgeon in Nottingham. There is no evidence of his having been an apprentice to a member of the Company of Barbers and Surgeons in London. His admission to the Company in 1572 would have been as a 'foreign brother' which may well have been gained through either his friendship with Clowes, or Banester's own family's influence.

John Banester, the physician

In 1573, Oxford University granted John Banester a licence to practise medicine. The records state: 'Banister John after seven years in medicine supplicates for a licence to practise medicine 30 June 1573'. This note suggests that, following his experiences as a surgeon to the expeditionary forces to Le Havre, Banester became aware of the need to draw on the skills of a physician in order to be more proficient when treating patients. This insight led him to develop the principles, which he was later to expound that surgeons in training should be taught medicine whilst they had learned surgery, and so be able to treat patients more effectively. He later wrote 'one cannot work without somme aid from the other, nor the other practise without the aid of both' [1]. With his medical qualification, he was able to practise as physician and surgeon, a most exceptional combination at the time, when surgeons were still dominated by physicians [9]. The degree of learning which he acquired during his studies in medicine would have led to John Banester's appointment as Reader in Anatomy at the Barber and Surgeons' Company. He could read and translate for the assembled pupils the advanced Renaissance anatomical texts that had been published on the Continent.

Physician in the City of London

Throughout John Banester's professional life he had been harassed and annoyed by physicians who published defamatory remarks

against him practising 'physick'. They regarded him as being nothing more than an uneducated surgeon. In his declining years, when he was less able to undertake the physical demands of surgery, he found that the attitude of the members of the Royal College of Physicians hindered him in his desire to continue his work as a physician. As a result of his influence, and that of his friends at Court, he was, on 15 February 1593-4, licensed to practise medicine by the Royal College of Physicians of London in obedience to a letter from Elizabeth, in which she wrote:

> . . . our well beloved subject, John Banister, gent., hath of long time practised the art of Chirurgerie in sundrie places of this our realme, and also in some service upon the seas, and for his honestie and skillfulness therein was heretofore entertained by our late cousins and counselors the Earles of Warwick and Leycester; and understanding that in the exercise of his science he has always jointlie used the art of Physick with Chirurgerie, and that with such discretion and profit, that there hath not been made any complaint against him, but on the otherside divers reports that he hath done very much good to many persons, and especially in and about our citie of London, where he desireth to end his old yeares in quietness, as I truste he shall do, unless he happen to be molested by any of your College . . . Given under our Signet at our mannor of Otelands, the xxviii. Day of Julie, in the xxxv. yeare of our Reigne. [8]

The College dared not disobey the request, repugnant to them as it must have been. They granted it with the condition that 'in every serious and dangerous case he must call in some one else belonging to the College' [9]. This condition he would have accepted without protest as it was also a long-standing custom of the Barbers and Surgeons' Company, and was employed as a safeguard for both the patient and for the practitioner.

It is evident that Elizabeth's letter to the College of Physicians was a deliberate attempt to further the union of medicine and surgery, which was the ideal of those involved in the late Tudor revival in surgery [8]. Banester alone was strong enough not only in character but also in his friendships with men of influence at

Court and among his profession, to be acceptable both to the physicians in London and at Oxford as well as to the surgeons.

John Banester, the Renaissance anatomist

Renaissance anatomy: the mapping of the human body

The Renaissance anatomists found themselves embarking on the process of unravelling the body as if they were exploring an undiscovered country. The period from 1540 to 1640 was a time of discovery. It started with the publication of Vesalius's *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* in 1543 (Fig. 2). Eustacius mapped the ear, Fallopius the female reproductive organs, Realdus Colombus and Fabricius Aquapendente the venous system. Like explorers of the New World, these early 'anatomical' explorers dotted their names, like place names on a map, over the parts of the body they discovered. Scientific endeavour was equated with the triumphant discoveries of explorers, navigators, cartographers and early colonists. With the production of a new map of the body the scientist was seen as a heroic voyager and intrepid discoverer. The task of the scientist was to voyage within the body in order to force it to reveals its secrets. Once uncovered, the body-landscape could be harnessed to the service of the owner – establishing the body as *useful* [13].

Christopher Columbus, when describing the wealth of the West Indies on returning from his first voyage of 1492-3, observed that 'although there was much talk and writing of these lands all was conjecture, without ocular evidence'. Such a statement was echoed in the writings of Vesalius and his contemporaries, who in their urge to overturn Galenic authority, stressed the primacy of 'ocular evidence' in their explorations of the body. Unlike Galen and those who followed him, they had *seen* the body with their own eyes. The microcosmic explorer of the body laboured on a project the dimensions of which were held to be every bit as dark as the interiors of the continent of the newly discovered Americas. Just as Columbus, in the realm of the exploration of the macro-



FIG. 2. Central part of the of the title page to Vesalius's *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* in which Vesalius can be seen standing in a mirror position to that in which Banester appears in the frontispiece to his *Anatomical Tables* (Fig. 1). (Courtesy The Wellcome Library, London).

cosm, having found what it might offer – gold, spices, cinnamon, potatoes – concluded that there remained countless other things to discover, so Vesalius opened up the world of the microcosm of the body for those who followed him.

John Banester's lectures at Barber-Surgeons' Hall, 1581

Following Vesalius's *de Fabrica,* there appeared in 1545 the *De Dissectione* of Estienne de la Rivière, in 1556 *Composición del Cuerpo Humano* of Valverde and in 1559 the *De Re Anatomica* of Realdus Colombo [3]. The foreign texts overwhelmed the English market. The most popular of the foreign works was *De Re Anatomica* of Realdus Colombo. It was excellent for its time, certainly not the equal of Vesalius's *De Fabrica,* but on the other hand cheaper, less bulky and not so detailed as to be confusing. This work made its appearance in the painting of John Banester giving the Visceral Lecture in 1581, the year he became reader in anatomy at the Barber-Surgeons' Company, a post which he held for 14 years. This painting (Fig. 1) depicts the method of anatomical teaching at the end of the 16th century. The anatomical text from which Banester is reading is one by Colombo, who was Professor of Anatomy at Padua and who succeeded Vesalius [8, 9], and is the octavo edition published in Paris in 1572. The painting shows that Banester had chosen the latest edition of the textbook from which to lecture to the Company.

The *Anatomical Tables*

This painting (Fig. 1) is the first in a series of Banester's *Anatomical Tables* that are in the Hunterian Library, Glasgow. The paintings show the instruments used and that dissections were also performed on live animals. The plates illustrate the figures of the human skeleton, muscles, nerves, vessels and finally the viscera. This is the reverse order in which they would have been dissected since the more perishable organs were examined first. The Visceral Lecture dealt with the organs of digestion followed by the organs of generation. This was then followed by the Muscle and

then the Osteological Lectures.

Singer [14] has suggested that the skeletal figures are probably the earliest prepared in England which were actually drawn from the bones (Fig. 3). Although this is probably true, Banester appears to have based his drawings of the nerves on the plates of Charles Estienne printed in 1545 (Fig. 4) and his figures of the superficial muscles and veins on those of Valverde, published in 1559 (Fig. 5) [3]. The paintings are direct copies of the engravings and differ only in small detail or in minor variations in the body's pose. Dobson [5] suggests that these paintings were all carried out by the same artist, thought to be either Nicholas Hilliard (1537-1619) Serjeant Painter to Queen Elizabeth or one of his pupils. This may be possible with respect to the portraits of Banester and the Master of the Company Robert Mudesley, which are finely drawn compared to the assembled company of surgeons (Fig. 1). However, it is interesting to note that there is a marked difference in artistic skill between the illustrations of the skeleton (Fig. 3), which are quite coarse and the better worked figures of the superficial muscles (Fig. 5). One possibility is that the artist was an engraver or copyist, familiar with copying directly from an illustration, such as those of Charles Estienne or Valverde. This might explain why the paintings of the nerves and muscles were so much better than those of the skeleton, which would have been drawn from direct observation.

Banester's familiarity with Vesalius's *De Fabrica* can be seen when comparing the title page of this volume with the painting of the Visceral Lecture. There are powerful similarities. In both, the skeleton dominates the dissection, with Vesalius in a mirror position to that of Banester (Figs. 1 & 2). Both gesture towards the skeleton and both have themselves portrayed placing a proprietary hand on the dissected body, in a gesture of ownership. Here the body is the object of discovery, and a part of a system of ownership as well as revelation. The hands of the anatomist have opened the body's cavities thus claiming knowledge of the body for dissemination to the fraternity of surgeons.

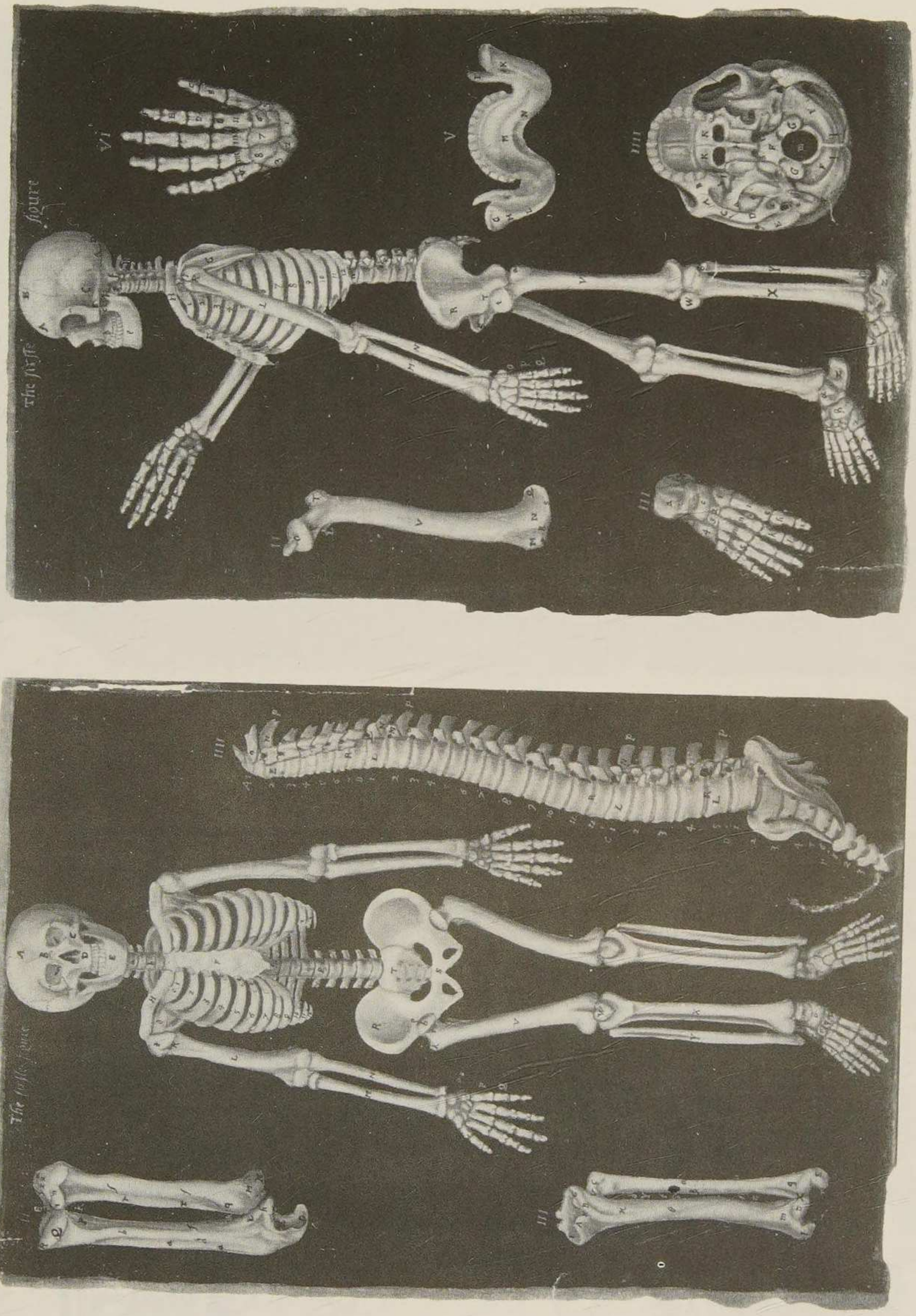
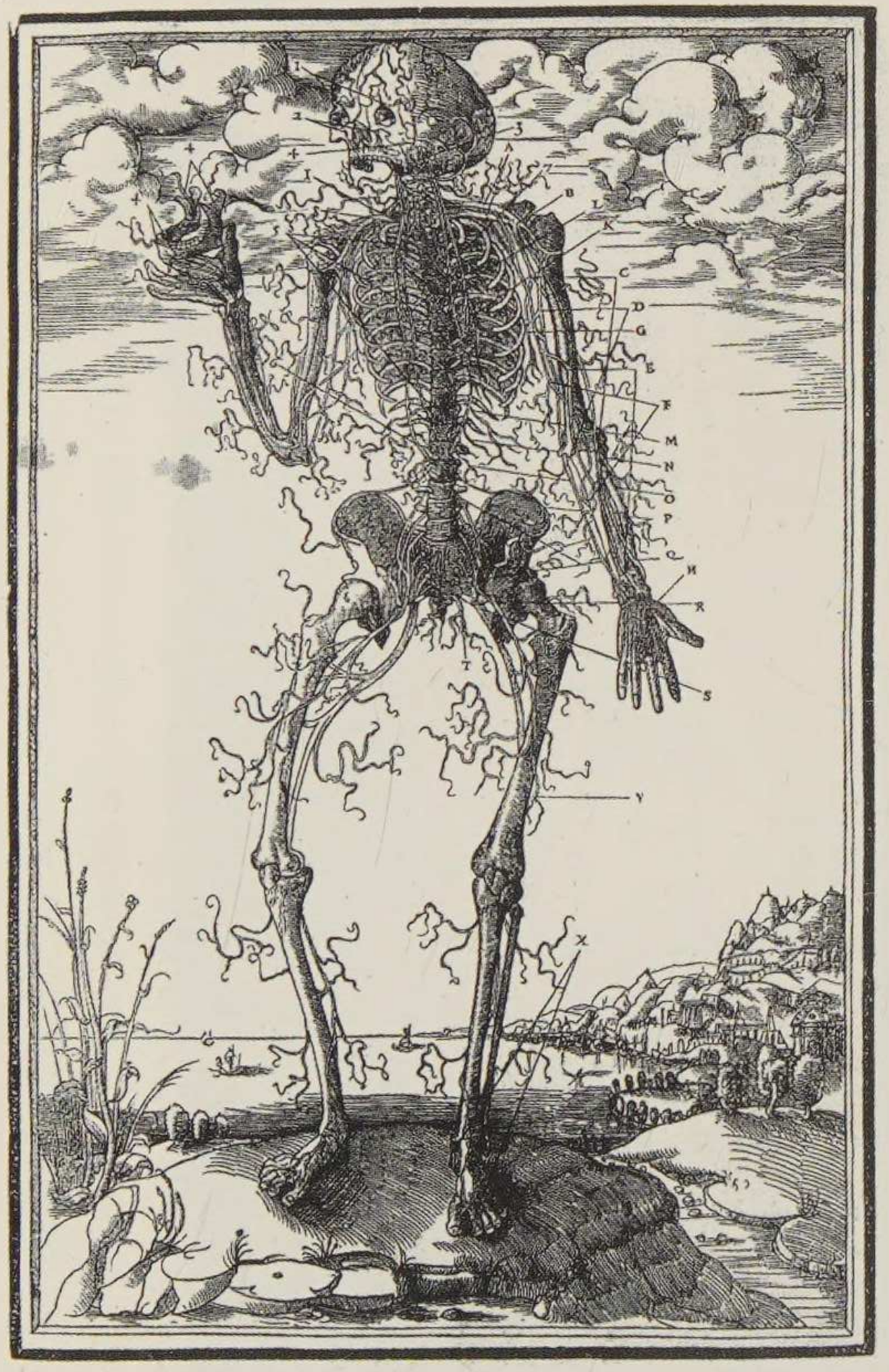


FIG. 3. Depiction of the human skeleton in the anterior and lateral planes from Banester's *Anatomical Tables*; a third plate of the skeleton in the posterior plane is not shown. (Courtesy Hunterian Library, Glasgow.)



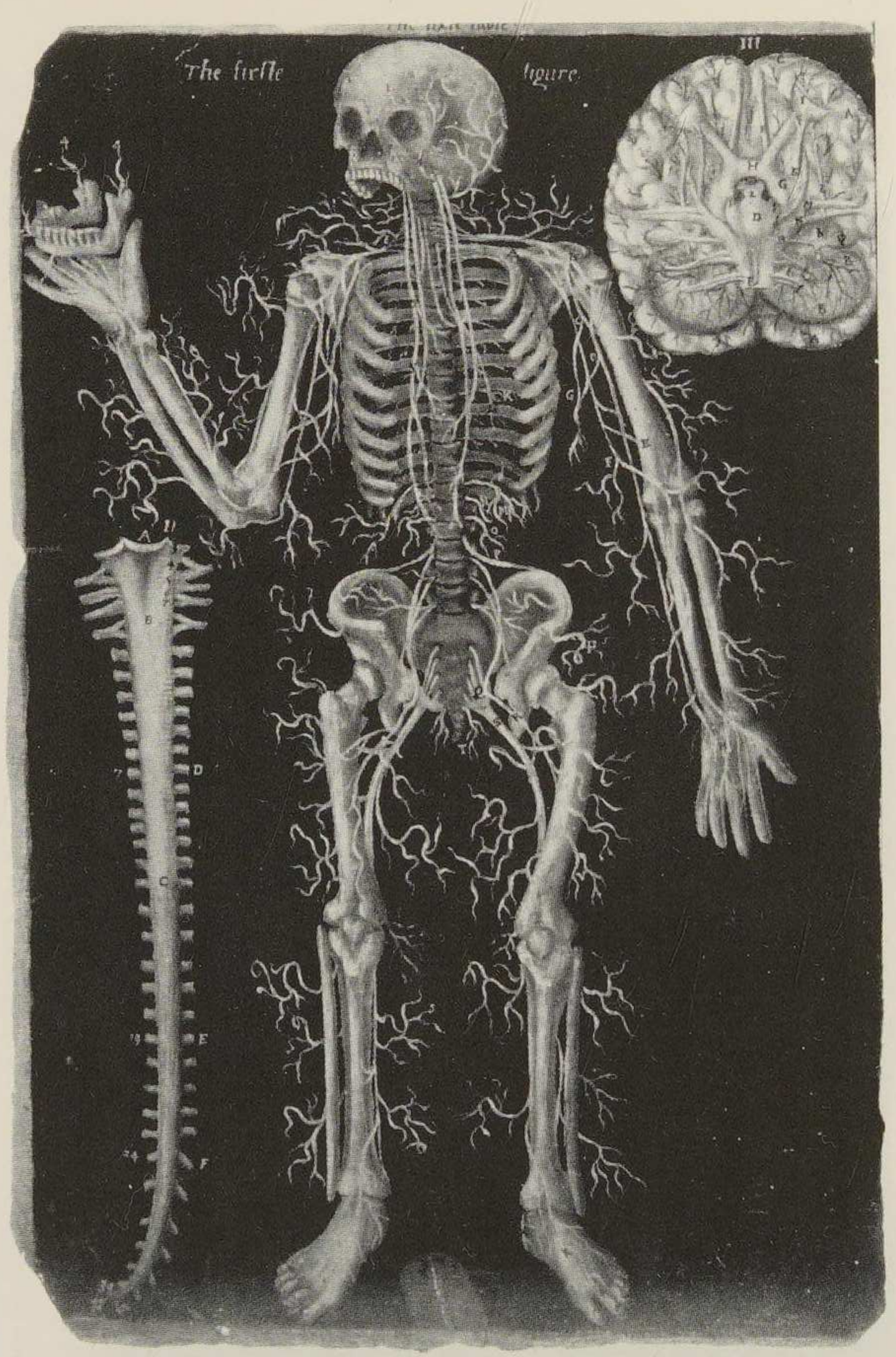
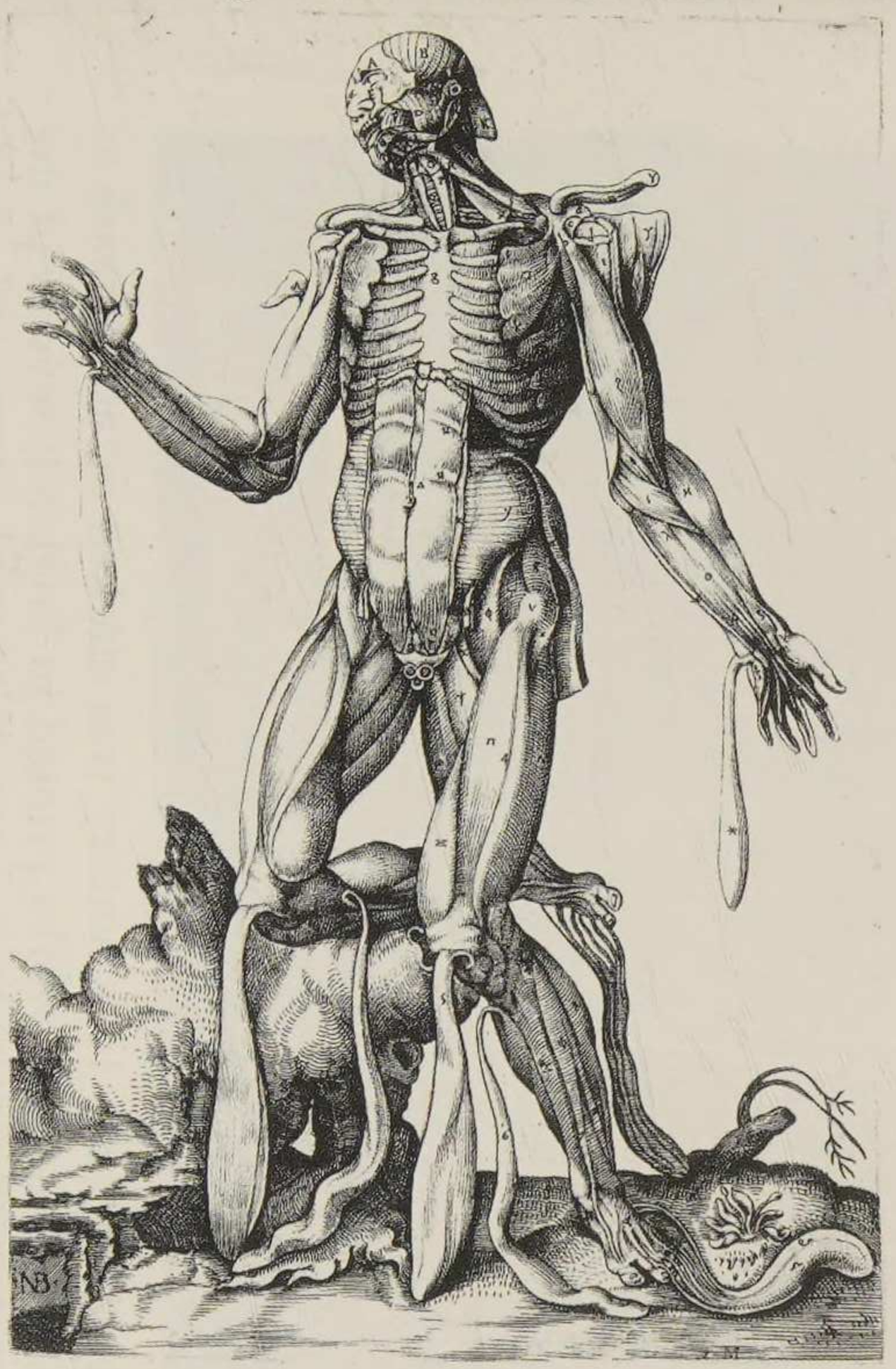


FIG. 4. Figure of the nerves of the body on the left from page 59 of Charles Estienne, *De dissectionne partium corporis humani . . .*, 1545 (Courtesy The Wellcome Library, London), and on the right from Banester's *Anatomical Ta-*



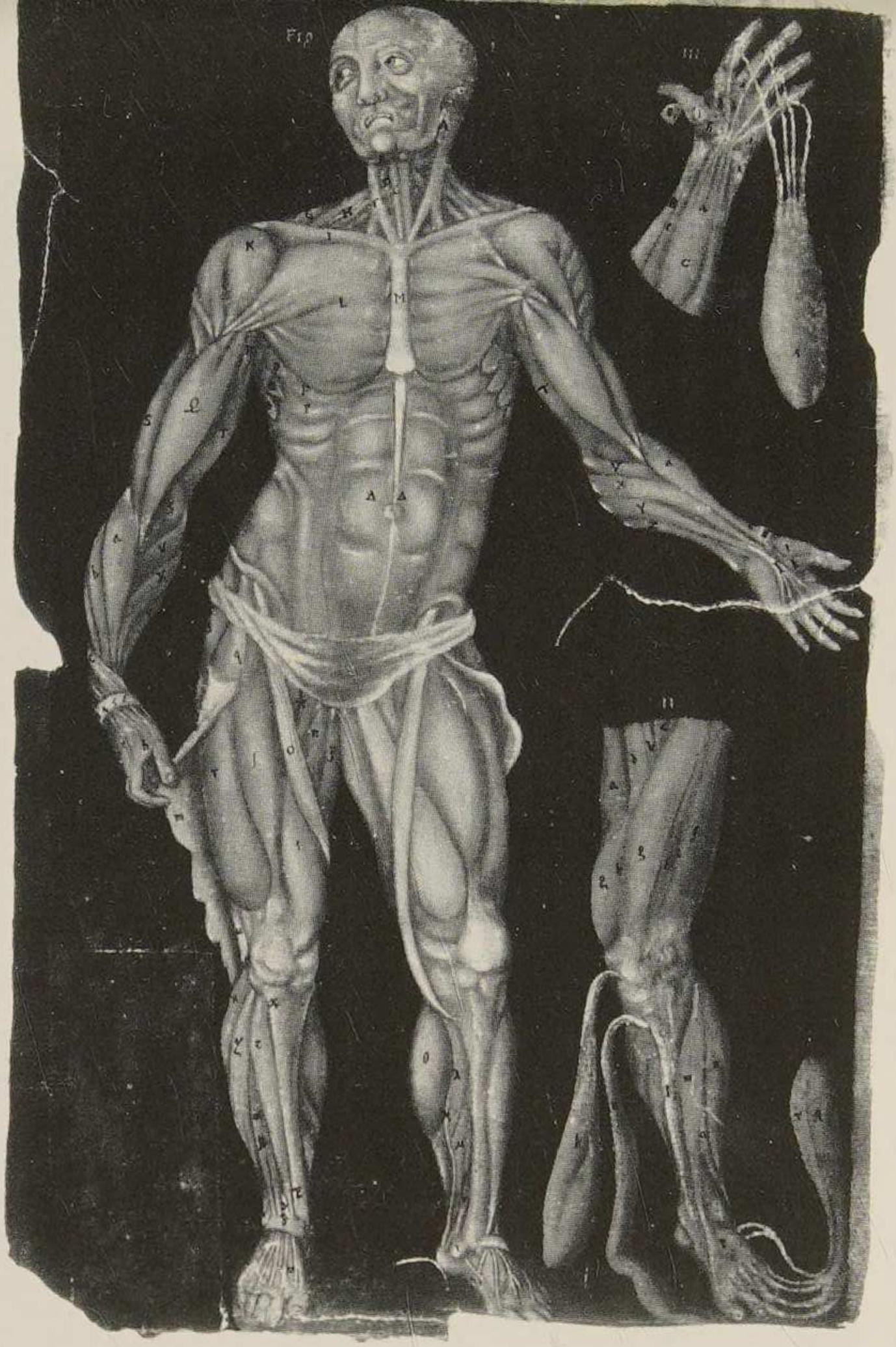


FIG. 5. The muscles of the body; on the left from figure 6.1 of Juan de Valverde, *Historia de la composición del cuerpo humano . . .*, 1556 (Courtesy The Wellcome Library, London), and on the right from Banester's *Anatomical Tables*, 1581. The latter image is largely based upon that of the former, with the difference that details of the muscles of the hand and lower leg have been painted as separate illustrations (Courtesy Hunterian Library, Glasgow).

'Sucked from the sappe of the most approved Anatomistes'

Banester's involvement with the preparation of these anatomical tables is not known, other than the probability that he paid for their production. It is known that he had a profound interest in anatomy and in communicating information about anatomy to the surgeons in training. Amongst his other productions was a book-like casket containing a small ivory skeleton and the écorché (flayed) figure of a man (Fig. 6) [1, 3]. What is rarely appreciated is that, in 1578, Banester published his anatomical text *The Historie of Man Sucked from the sappe of the most approved Anatomistes, in this present age compiled in most compendious fourme and now published in English for the utilitie of all godly chirurgions within this Realme.* It was printed by Iohn Daye, dwelling over Aldersgate. The work is dedicated to Sir Francis Willoughby, but has a much more forth-right epistle to the 'Fraternitie of Chirurgians in London'. In it he tells his readers that he has decided to write this book in English for those that do not understand Latin [15].

It is the first anatomical text in the Vesalian manner printed in English. The title indicates the character of the work, drawn from continental authorities. The book is based largely on the work of Vesalius and Colombo. Its four anatomical plates are copied from Vesalius. They have been re-drawn, reduced in size and the back-grounds altered [9, 16]. There is a further Vesalian plate showing the *Instruments servyng to anatomicall dissection* [16]. Furthermore this volume contains, in the English language, one of the most important steps leading to the discovery of the circulation of the blood through the lungs. In the text Banester brings together, in one passage, the separate descriptions of Colombo on the path blood travels and the functions of the lungs [15].

Banester's publications on surgery

The latter half of the 16th century was marked by an increase in the number of medical works printed in England; several of the volumes were translations of earlier Latin manuscripts, few were original compilations. The later volumes were translations of

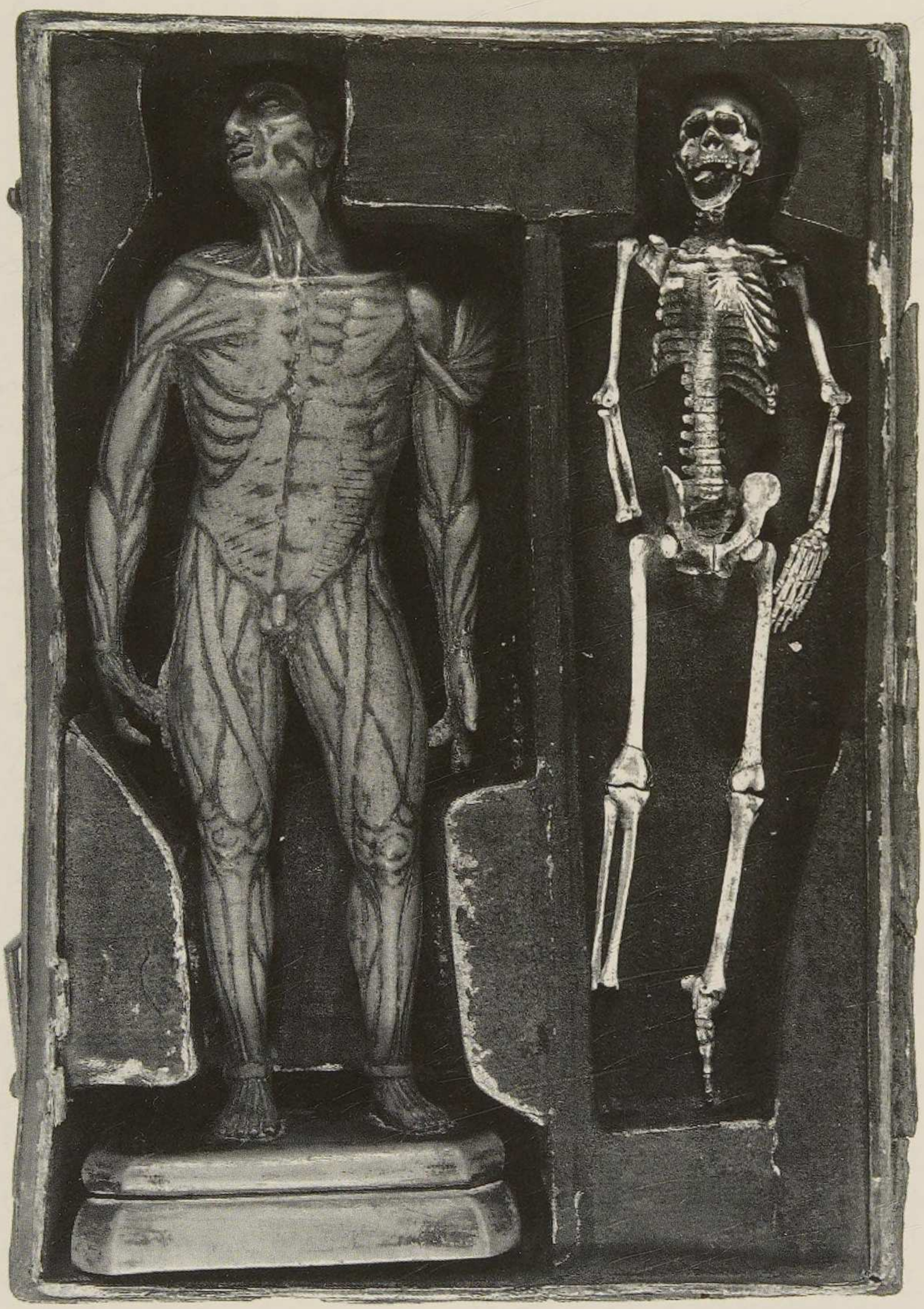


FIG. 6. The écorché figure of a man and an ivory skeleton contained within Banester's casket. (Courtesy University Library, Cambridge.)

more recent continental texts including those by Banester that were compilations of several authors. His first book was published three years before his anatomical text and was titled: *A needful, new and necessarie treatise of Chirurgerie, briefly comprehending the general and particular curation of Ulcers taken foorth of sundrie worthy writers, but especially of Antonius Calmetus Vergesatus and Joannes Tagaltius*. Printed in London by Thomas Marshe, 1575, the book is dedicated to Thomas Stanhope, High Sheriff of Nottingham. Following a dedicatory epistle of 25 stanzas of verse by the author in praise of 'Physicke and Chyrurgerie', the author further dedicates the work to 'the Worshipfull Maister, Wardens and generall assistants of the fraternity of Chyrurgians in London' and it is dated and addressed from his house in Nottingham. Its substance comprises extracts from various authors, both ancient and contemporary, and in particular those of Galen, Calmetius and Tagaultius. It is by no means devoid of learning and method but contains no improvements in theory or the practice of surgery that can be ascribed to Banester's own knowledge [8].

Ten years later in 1585, he published his second work on surgery, *A Compendious Chirurgie gathered and translated especially out of Wecker . . . published for the benefit of all his countreymen by Iohn Banister Master in Chyrurgerie*, London, 1585, and dated 'the xxvii of October from mine house in Silver Street.' Its preface is unusual as it comprises a series of four line stanzas addressed to the reader, the printer and the translator, of which the verse for the first two are quoted:

The Booke to the Reader
I swellings waste, I wounds do joyne,
I ulcers do make sound;
I do the broken bones restore
- What further can be found?
To the Printer
Haste to the Press, fear note the sale
- Good wine do need no sign;
The surgeons crave this worke to have
The gain it will be thine!

In moving to London the author changed the spelling of his name from Banester to Banister. The text is not just a translation: at the end of each chapter annotations are added, in which the errors in Wecker's account are frequently corrected and his deficiencies supplied from other writers, or from Banester's own experience, with considerable learning and judgment [8]. One of the most important corrections made by Banester is his declaration against the use of caustic applications in punctures and stitching in incised wounds of tendons, which Wecker had recommended [8].

Banester's last contribution to surgery was published four years later in 1589: *An Antidotarie Chyrurgicall, containing great varietie and choice of all sorts of medicines that commonly fal into the Chirurgions use*. This was printed in London and, in his dedication, he presents this volume to my Lord and Master, Ambrose Earl of Warwick, 'in respect of favours shown in taking me to the number of your servants. Dated 10 August 1589'.

Two dedicatory epistles are included, the first by 'his brother in chirurgerie' William Goodrus, who writes how much people are grateful to Banester as a surgeon and for his publications which will 'fill this land with most cunning chirurgions'. Both Goodrus and William Clowes, writing in the second of the prefaces, declare their friendship for Banester and defend him against his critics (most probably physicians); adding that 'their arrogance springeth from ignorance. They will not diminish your good qualities' [10]. The large collection of surgical formulae gathered comprised all his own and those of many of his fellow surgeons, in particular he acknowledges those of Balthrop, Clowes and Goodrus. Some of the latter are of an elegant simplicity and in general less complex than those of foreign practitioners.

The prefaces to all three of the volumes on surgery were used to promote Banester's desire to combine both medicine and surgery in the training of surgeons. His friends, who were eminent surgeons in their own right, supported Banester in his publications not only by contributing to his book but also by their attestations of friendship. These dedicatory epistles were also aimed at diminishing the importance of his critics and enemies by describing them as ignorant and arrogant.

These books serve to illustrate the new horizons opening up to surgeons. They were able to benefit not only by the increased breadth of their reading but also by the increase in contacts both here and with the surgeons abroad. Surgery was less parochial. Indeed, the close relationship between the surgeons within the united Company in London and the surgeons in the provinces increased the facilities for learning both theory and practice, enhancing surgery in England 'to the great relyefe, comfort and succour of much people' [17]. Regrettably, the movement started by the leading Elizabethan surgeons to improve their standard of training inevitably foundered against the restrictions imposed by the physicians and by the failure of those surgeons that succeeded him to continue the task.

Banester, the Renaissance Anatomist

John Banester's remaining years were spent in Silver Street a short distance south of Barber-Surgeons' Hall. He died in 1610 and was buried in the church of St Olave's, Silver Street. The church was destroyed in the Great Fire of London in 1666 and its site today is marked by a commemorative garden adjacent to London Wall road. It originally contained an epitaph believed to have been written by Clowes that shows Banester to have been a generous and humane practioner:

. . . Thy Skill and Practise, that itself commends
Some of the best have truly found the same
Not partially employed to wealthy Friends,
But even the poorest Wretch, the Sick and Lame
Felt of the best: some Difference there might be,
The Rich paid somewhat, poore Men had it free.
The Weekly Charity given to the Poore
In Bread beside, in Money from thy Purse
Even in the hardest yeares dealt at the Doore,
. . . Poore maimed Souldiers, sore sick-hearted Men
That under Miseries hard Crouch did bow,
Were freely cured, methinkes they cry, Lord, when,
Where shall we find our good Physician now?

The importance of Banester's contribution to the anatomical Renaissance in England is three-fold. First, he introduced up-to-date anatomical texts from the Continent to the Barber-Surgeons' Company. Second, his contribution to the understanding of the pulmonary circulation, which was published in his book and third, the preparation of what are now called 'visual-aids' – the anatomical tables and models. Banester brought the teaching of anatomy at the Barber-Surgeons' Company in line with the teachings on the Continent. This permitted the surgeons of London to pioneer in England the anatomical Renaissance based upon rational enquiry which heralded a 'modern' or 'scientific' understanding of the human body. The Renaissance encouraged a seemingly endless partitioning of the world, stretching into all forms of social and intellectual life: painting, architecture, philosophy, medicine as well as poetry, politics and the family life. The pattern of these divisions was derived, as Sawday [13] suggests, from the human body and that the Renaissance culture can be termed the 'culture of dissection'. This cultural approach was devoted to the gathering of information and the dissemination of knowledge. By publishing his books and in modernising anatomical teaching, Banester materially contributed to the academic institution that Thomas Vicary had helped to found.

References

[1] Power, D'A. The education of a surgeon under Thomas Vicary. *Br. J. Surg.* (1921), **8**, 240-58.

[2] MacNalty, A.S. *The Renaissance and its influence on English medicine surgery and public health*, London, Christopher Johnson, 1946.

[3] O'Malley C.D. and Russell, K.F. *David Edwardes 'Introduction to Anatomy 1532'. A facsimile reproduction with English translation and an introductory essay on anatomical studies in Tudor England*, Oxford, University Press, 1961.

[4] Goodall, C. *The Royal College of Physicians of London*. London, 1684, pp. 34-37.

[5] Dobson, J. The training of a surgeon. *Ann. R. Coll. Surg.* (1964), **34**, 1-36.

[6] Beck, RT. Union. In *The cutting edge. Early history of the surgeons of London*, London, Lund Humphries, 1974, pp. 173-91.

[7] Copeman, W. S. C. The evolution of anatomy and surgery under the Tudors. *Ann. R. Coll. Surg.* (1963), **32**, 1-21.

[8] Power, D'A. Notes on early portraits of John Banister, of William Harvey, and the Barber-Surgeons' visceral lecture in 1581. *Proc. R. Soc. Med.* (1913), **6**, 18-36.

[9] Power, D'A. John Banister 1533-1610. *Br. J. Surg.* (1917-18), **5**, 8-16.

[10] Banester, J. *An Antidotarie Chirurgicall*, London, Thomas Man, 1589.

[11] Moore, N. The physicians and surgeons of St Bartholomews hospital before the time of Harvey. *St Bartholomew Hosp. Rep.* (1882), **18**, 333-358.

[12] *Court Minutes of the Barber-Surgeons' Company*, 1572.

[13] Sawday, J. *The body emblazoned. Dissection and the human body in Renaissance culture*. London, Routledge, 1995.

[14] Singer, C. *The evolution of anatomy. A short history of anatomical and physiological discovery to Harvey*, London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co, 1925.

[15] Larkey, S. V. and Temkin O. John Banister and the pulmonary circulation. In *Essays in biology in honour of Herbert M. Evans*. University of California Press, 1943, pp. 2285-2292.

[16] Russell, K. F. *British Anatomy 1525-1800. A bibliography of works published in Britain, America and on the Continent*, 2nd edn. Hampshire, St Paul's Biographies, 1987.

[17] Act of Union, 1540. In Young, S. *The Annals of the Barber-Surgeons of London*, London, East & Blades, 1890.

Chapter 7

William Clowes 1544 – 1604

Ian Murray

WILLIAM CLOWES IS REGARDED as perhaps the most important English surgeon of his time as well as a notable writer on the subject and an eminent, if controversial, member of the Company of Barbers and Surgeons. His entry to the profession was unusual in that he was never formally apprenticed and it was some years after he had begun to practise that he was admitted to the freedom by which time he had already acquired much surgical experience. No doubt these early years coloured his later attitudes which can be described as suspicion of the surgical establishment, disgust at the general low standards of treatment and a desire to improve them. In his writings, he insisted on the use of English rather than Latin; the latter he believed could lead to social exclusion, to borrow a modern term.

Early years

Clowes mentions, in the 1585 edition of one of his works, that he was 41 in that year which would indicate 1544 as his year of birth. He was born in Kingsbury in Warwickshire, the son of Thomas Clowes of that place, who is said to have had London connections [1], apart from this nothing is known about his early years until he began to study and practise surgery at about the age of nineteen. He claimed also to have studied the subject under a George Keble,

apparently a surgeon and physician [2], but again nothing is known about him and he does not appear to have been a member of the Company. Details of Clowes's career from this time appear in the introduction to his last work, a treatise on Struma or the King's evil, published two years before his death in 1604. It is typical of Clowes that he felt compelled to give an account of his achievements even at this late stage in his life which arose perhaps from his lack of formal qualifications and his view of himself as an outsider. His writings show him to be highly sensitive to adverse criticism, which he believed to be derived from envy or malice and also provide details of his career and surgical methods.

The surgical years

For the benefit of 'these envious men' Clowes explained that his surgical career began in 1563 when he served under the Earl of Warwick in his expedition to Le Havre. There he met John Banister and a life-long friendship developed which he acknowledged in his introduction to Banister's *An Antidoterie Chyrurical* published in 1589. On his return from Le Havre in 1564 Clowes served until 1570 as a naval surgeon in Portsmouth where he would have acquired a fund of experience and skills which he was able to communicate to his younger colleagues in his subsequent books. Among his most notable cures from this time was that of the Boatswain's Mate of the *Aide* on which Clowes was serving during its voyage through the Channel as escort to the Emperor's daughter on her way to marry Phillip II of Spain. In heavy weather the unfortunate mate was struck on the chest by an accidentally revolving capstan bar, breaking some ribs and causing a fragment of bone to lodge on the lung. This Clowes removed and the patient made a full recovery within ten days, an impressive achievement in a small vessel at sea. His recovery was assisted by a draught that Clowes made up contrary to the regulations of the time, observing that 'there was not any physician in the Navy to aid and assist me.' This was a recurring theme in Clowes's activities as a naval surgeon.

After 1570, the year in which this operation was performed, he

secured hospital employment, but it was not until March 1576 that he secured a permanent post at a salary of £20 yearly as one of the surgeons at St Bartholomew's Hospital, where his reputation was already established. His previous 'great pains in healing and curing divers of the sick and diseased persons within the hospital' is quoted in the hospital records in support of his application which was also supported by several of the Masters [3]. Only a year later he was one of the four surgeons at St Bartholomew's to honour Thomas Vicary, a former Chief Surgeon at the Hospital by publishing his work *A Profitable Treatise of the Anatomy of Man's Body*. This probably has its origins in a manuscript compiled by Vicary in 1548, and in the next edition of 1586, the title had been changed to the more familiar *The Englishman's Treasure.*

On 12 January 1576 he also secured the post of surgeon to Christ's Hospital at a salary of £8 yearly which he was to hold 'upon his diligent care and service at the discretion of the Governors' [4]. Although an educational foundation for the poor, Christ's Hospital also took in sick children for treatment. An ailment that Clowes particularly noted was scurvy, usually thought of as a maritime complaint, but no doubt arising on land from an equal lack of vitamin C, particularly in winter. He remarks that he treated twenty or thirty children at a time [2]. As a naval surgeon he was familiar with the ravages of scurvy which he rightly associated with the seaman's diet and, as a preventative, long before the use of lime juice in naval ships, he recommended fresh fruit and vegetables, watercress and scurvy grass although he was in the difficult position of not being able to prescribe them legally. He also washed out the mouths of his scurvy patients with salt water and vinegar which may not have been pleasant.

At St Bartholomew's Hospital Clowes became a full surgeon in 1581 [3], and remained there until March 1585 when, in his own words, he was 'sent for unto the wars in the Low Countries by the noble Earl of Leicester' where he was employed for nine months. Anxious to maintain his professional reputation, he specifically requested the goodwill of the governors in relinquishing his post, which was duly granted [3]. If, however, his relations with that

institution and Christ's Hospital seem to have been harmonious, this does not seem to have been the case with the Company of Barbers and Surgeons.

Clowes and the Company of Barbers and Surgeons

He had been admitted to the freedom on 8 November 1569 [5], but it was by translation from another unknown company rather than by the usual means. His subsequent career as a member of the Company was by no means free of confrontation with the Court of Assistants which then adjudicated on disputes between surgeon members of the Company and their patients or other members. The first incident occurred on 16 October 1573 when an unknown patient complained that Clowes took his money without a cure [6]. Only four months after a William Goodnep complained that he had not cured his wife *de morbo Gallico,* or the French disease as syphilis was generally called. The court's judgement was that Clowes should either perform the cure as promised or pay the husband 20 shillings; he chose the latter [6]. These incidents were now occurring on almost a yearly basis. In the next year, 1574, there was the complaint that Clowes had not only verbally abused a certain Goodericheb but, more seriously, most of the Masters of the Company with 'scoffing words and jests'. He was forgiven on condition that he would behave himself properly in future and a bond was entered into to this effect [6]. In February 1577 it was reported by Richard Carrington, one of the Wardens of the Yeomanry, that Clowes had been committed to prison for some unknown offence [6]. During the following month matters reached a climax when a dispute occurred between Clowes and George Baker, later to be one of the surgeons to the Queen, which resulted in their fighting in Moorfields together. Presumably in order to limit the damage which 'this great contention and strife' might cause to the good order and reputation of the Company, the Court adopted a low key approach and once again pardoned this offence in the hope of better relations in future.

It seems therefore that Clowes's behaviour over the years was

generally tolerated perhaps because his professional reputation and connections with the London hospitals made him too important a man to ignore. It was not, however, until July 1588 that he was finally taken into the Assistants. He attended Court regularly until February 1595, serving on several sub-committees, but it is noteworthy that while he became Middle Warden in 1594 he was never elected Master, perhaps from his own inclinations or because the Company considered this too dangerous a step.

The Navy

Meanwhile Clowes's career was progressing at a higher level. After his return from the Low Countries, probably during 1586, he was appointed surgeon to the Fleet and also one the Queen's surgeons, honours which he claimed occurred through the Queen's favour and admiration for him. They were also perhaps in his own mind a vindication of his abilities and proof to the world at large that he was 'not so barren or gross-witted or unlearned in the art as some have termed me to be' [2]. Neither of the appointments is mentioned in the records of the Company. With the Armada campaign he was appointed by Howard to serve on the flagship the *Ark Royal* in his capacity as Surgeon of the Fleet and this might have been a great professional opportunity but he left no record of his activities during this period, probably because there were relatively few casualties resulting from engagements with the enemy. The more pressing need was to deal with sickness and disease caused by poor sanitation and bad food, the latter problem made more acute in that year by the poor quality and high price of provisions resulting from bad weather [7].

The general health of ships' crews should have been the responsibility of the physician, but, as noted above, the naval surgeon was in theory unable to deal with this matter as he could by law treat only external injuries and was prohibited from practising internal medicine. Clowes therefore believed that naval surgeons should have some knowledge of physic and the right to

practise it as 'they cannot always have the physicians at the elbows to counsel them' [2]. However, this would not deter a practical and highly-principled man such as Clowes and there is no doubt that he used all means, lawful or otherwise, rather than allow his patient to perish for want of help.

London practice

The year 1588 marks the end of Clowes's career as a naval and military surgeon and for the remainder of his professional life he was in practice in London where, as he pointed out, he encountered the best and most skilful surgeons. He was certainly successful enough to acquire two houses in Fenchurch Street and an estate in West Ham, then becoming a fashionable suburb, to which he retired, describing himself in his will as a gentleman, or a person of significant social standing. He is mentioned in the *Victoria County History of Essex* as 'an eminent resident' [8].

His published works are of particular interest as they are not only to some extent vehicles for self publicity but were also written to encourage Englishmen to learn from him and to take up surgery in the national interest, or for the good of the country, as he bluntly put it. They show him to be an immensely patriotic man with a strong sense of nationhood and a belief in his country's religion. For these reasons he wrote in vigorous and often colourful English, pointing out that the great writers of the past had always written in their native tongues and those who criticised him for doing so feared that 'the art would become too common whereby every bad man and lewd woman is become a surgeon' [2]. In other words, Clowes believed that surgery was too exclusive, concealing its mystery in Latin in which most of the literature was written and which few could read. If more people were to be encouraged to enter the profession the textbooks should be in a language which the majority could understand. His campaign to promote the use of English is mirrored in our own Company's insistence in the 1550s that surgeon apprentices should know Latin followed by a withdrawal when, presumably, it was realised that not all of them were even literate in English.

Publications

The first of his published works was *A short and profitable treatise touching the cure of the disease called Morbus Gallicus by unction,* which first appeared in 1576 and went through three subsequent editions with a posthumous one in 1637. Years of practice at St Bartholomew's and in the Navy had led to a thorough acquaintance with syphilis, which he believed to be more prevalent in England than in the rest of Europe, and its treatment. He estimated that fifty percent of those who entered the hospital suffered from the disease, and that he and his three colleagues had cured more than a thousand within a period of five years. He attributed the causes to the 'licentious and beastly disorders of a great number of rogues and vagabonds ... both men and women' who frequented the 'great number of lewd alehouses' in London, and called upon the magistrates to close down or otherwise reform such places [2].

His second publication, and the most influential, was *A proved practice for all young surgeons* first published in 1588 with further editions in 1591, 1596 and 1637. Its aim, as the title suggests, was practical guidance for the young based on what was known, by experience, to be successful, and it includes a series of case studies with methods of treatment as well as details of various compounds and preparations, some of them his own, which he shares with the reader, and some inherited from his Master, Keble. His account of the curing of the seaman on the *Aide,* mentioned above, of which he was very proud, comes from this work. There is also a long description of his technique for amputation which remained standard until the arrival of anaesthetics in the 19th century. Amputation was common enough in civil life but very prevalent in wartime and Clowes had ample opportunity to perfect his skills during his long years of military and naval service. From this experience he recognised the tendency of gunshot wounds to become gangrenous and advised amputating where possible well above the infected area to avoid the spread of infection. He advised also using a tourniquet as tightly as possible both to

minimise the flow of blood and as an anaesthetic in order to 'greatly obscure the sense and feeling of the incision'. He mentions Ambrose Paré's method of drawing the sides of the amputated part together with four great stitches but confesses that he had never himself practised it. However, always eager to bring together best practice from every quarter, he was the first in the country to adopt Guillemeau's advice in 1594 to tie the arteries after amputation to reduce blood loss. In connection with this ever present danger he also recommended the use of his own restrictive powder, or that of Thomas Gale, in paste form well mixed with hare's hair and applied to the amputated stump. He recalled using it at St Bartholomew's when in one morning seven arms and legs were removed with no significant loss of blood. The powder he believed, not without reason, 'better pleases the patients than the hot glowing irons' which were also in use to cauterise the wound [2].

Abuses

Clowes fought a relentless campaign during his professional life against what he described as 'abusers of surgery' which included the unqualified and the inexperienced as well as the totally fraudulent who preyed upon a gullible public desperate for a cure. Such men were well represented in the ranks of military and naval surgeons. He believed that during Leicester's expedition more men were killed by ignorance and incompetence than by the enemy and was especially enraged by naval surgeons who, once appointed, absconded with their imprest money given to buy surgical supplies which could amount to forty pounds. It may be that Clowes's hypercritical view of the general state of surgery at that time and its failings was clouded by his own lack of formal qualifications and his apparent rejection by the surgical establishment. However this would also encourage a spirit of independence and Clowes emerges as a modern scientific man with a mission to cure the sick, but basing his treatment on what was known to work by observation and experiment, as the title of his

work *A proved practice* suggests. The main obstacle to progress was not only the corruption and incompetence of many practitioners but also a gullible public attitude towards sickness and disease: folklore, superstition and magic played a prominent role in their treatment; patients were easily impressed by fantastic costume and personal adornment worn by the practitioner which were intended to suggest magical powers and attributes.

Typical of these characters is one described by Clowes in the 1588 edition of *A proved practice* who

> arose from his chair, this miraculous surgeon, fleering and jeering, floriously glittering like the Man in the Moon with his bracelets about his arms, therein many precious jewels and stones of St Vincent his rocks, his fingers full of rings, a silver case with instruments hanging at his girdle and a gilt spatula sticking in his hat with a rose and crown fixed on the same. And now here he did begin to brag and boast as though all the keys of knowledge did hang at his girdle. For he said he had obtained a deep knowledge of the making of a certain quintessence which he learned beyond the seas of his master, one Bomelius, a great magician. [2]

The quintessence, he claimed, would give eternal life until the Day of Judgement if drunk daily. It is therefore not surprising that Clowes described him as a 'shameless beast' who had no doubt acquired his jewellery from defrauding his patients on an extensive scale. The reference to St Vincent is obscure as he is the patron saint of drunkards and it is curious to see the use of 'rocks' as a slang term for jewels emerging in America in the 20th century at this early date.

Lest it be thought, however, that Clowes was exaggerating in his portrayal of these dubious practitioners, the Company of Barbers and Surgeons itself displayed concern and was still attempting to deal with the problem forty years later. In its ordinances of 1633 the Company describes the 'divers odious and intolerable abuses' committed by many masters and apprentices, the latter displaying 'disordered and disguised apparel, long hair and uncivil carriage' and 'using rusty instruments and unwhole-

some and pernicious medicines.' Worse, attempts to warn and reform such members were treated with contempt and the Company officers in their searches of the premises were frequently assaulted and violently ejected. Fines of up to twenty shillings were set for behaviour of this kind and in the event of non-attendance at court, the Company threatened action at law, but there is no evidence that it was successful in regulating the behaviour of its more errant members [9].

Family

Clowes married twice, but in neither case is the date known. Little is known about his first wife except that she came from the Godwin family of Kent and had two sons [1]. The first, also called William and known as William Clowes the Younger to distinguish him from his father, William Clowes the Elder, was admitted to the freedom of the Worshipful Company of Barbers and Surgeons by patrimony on 22 January 1604 [5]. Unlike his father, however, he thrived within the company without any known disputes and was elected Master in 1626 and again in 1638. It seems too that he inherited his father's gift for cultivating the monarchy as he had been appointed surgeon to the Prince of Wales before even being admitted to the Livery which took place on 13 December 1615. This is clear from his request two days later for toleration in performing his duties in view of his royal commitments [10]. He was also Serjeant-Surgeon to Charles I from his accession until his execution [11]. The other son Richard may have been a disappointment as he was left only £20 in his will and then only after his daughters had received their legacies on marriage or majority.

His second wife, Katherine, came from a Hampshire family and bore him another son, Henry, later described as 'of Cornhill' who was admitted to the Company by patrimony in January 1626 [5] but nothing further is known of him. There were also two daughters of this marriage, Katherine and Marie and three other daughters are also mentioned in his will, Margaret, Friswith and Joanne, although it is not clear from which marriage they came.

Joanne married a William Gregorie who was left a clock and, [11] considerately, £3.10*s* 'which I owe him'. In his will Clowes left his house with its adjoining orchards, pasture and gardens to his wife Katherine during her lifetime, after which it was to pass to his son Henry and his heirs who was to give £40 each to his (Clowes's) daughters Katherine and Marie on majority or marriage [12]. The house itself, later known as Rokeby House, survived until the 1930s when it was demolished to be replaced by a cinema. A carved mantelpiece bearing his coat of arms was rescued however and is now apparently in Dublin [2]. The two houses in Fenchurch Street were bequeathed to his son William and his heirs from which his mother-in-law was to receive 40 shillings yearly during her lifetime with £40 each to Margaret and Friswith within four years of his death. As befits a surgeon, he left William his surgery chest with its pewter boxes, his silver salvatory and plaster box and his instruments and books. An engraving of his chest appears in the 1596 edition of *A proved practice* with the royal coat of arms on the lid, surrounded by vignettes of battle scenes which Clowes knew so well.

Clowes died in 1604 at West Ham, reportedly of the plague [2] and was buried in the Parish Church of West Ham, as he requested in his will. In his lifetime a successful career followed from his energy, skill and experience, though his aggression towards those who, he believed, envied and wished to discredit him 'as though I had spent all the days of my life in the rude woods or wild forests of ignorance' would not have made him a popular figure except among his patients and those of his contemporaries he admired. In many ways a conventional figure who looked back for guidance to figures like Galen 'prince of physicians and surgeons', Vigo, and de Chauliac and in his own day the Frenchman Ambrose Paré, Clowes was driven nevertheless by the highest motives, principally the welfare of his patients and the need to improve the status of the profession by adherence to the best clinical practice based on past experience and teaching. He would not, he said, refuse anything that would benefit his patients 'from whatever quarter, even infidel, but be thankful for it'.

References

[1] Young, S. *The Annals of the Barber-Surgeons*. Blades, East and Blades, London, 1890.

[2] Poynter F.N.L. ed. *Selected Writings of William Clowes*. Harvey & Blythe, London 1948.

[3] *St Bartholomew's Hospital Journal* No. 2 (1567-86).

[4] Minutes of the Governors of Christ's Hospital, **2**, Jan 12 1576.

[5] Worshipful Company of Barbers, Register of Admissions to the Freedom. C/4/1. (1522-1665).

[6] Worshipful Company of Barbers, Minutes of the Court, B/1/1. (1551-86).

[7] Kevell, J.J. *Medicine and the Navy*, **1**, I. E & S Livingstone, Edinburgh, 1957.

[8] Institute of Education, *Victoria County History of Essex*, **6**, London, 1973.

[9] Worshipful Company of Barbers, Charter, Act and Ordinance Book (A/6/2) 1633.

[10] Worshipful Company of Barbers, Minutes of the Court, B/1/4 (1607-21).

[11] Worshipful Company of Barbers, Wardens Great Accompt Book, D/2/1 1603-59.

[12] Essex Record Office. Probate copy of the Will of William Clowes, dated 7 Sep 1603.

Chapter 8

John Gerard 1545 – 1612

Arthur Hollman

JOHN GERARD IS REMEMBERED today chiefly for his splendid book published in 1597, *The Herball or General Historie of Plantes*. It was a very large work which described the botanical, horticultural and medical aspects of nearly 2100 plants and it became the standard textbook of herbal medicine for centuries afterwards. But Gerard had other important attributes. He was a keen botanist and plantsman who had a fine garden of his own in London and he was also the superintendent of the two gardens of Lord Burleigh. Furthermore he was one of the leading surgeons of the day and became the Master of the Worshipful Company of Barber Surgeons.

Early life

Gerard's ancestral line came from Rhys-ap-Tewdr-Mawr who was the King of South Wales in the 11th century. One of his descendants, who died in 1381, was Sir Peter Gerard of Bryn Lancashire, whose youngest son John married Ellen de Ince taking the title of John Gerard of Ince. Ince in Makerfield is on the outskirts of Wigan Lancashire. John Gerard had six male descendants and by 1593 the house of Ince was represented by Miles Gerard of Ince. But at some time in this succession a collateral line had developed from which descended John Gerard the surgeon. Nothing definite



FIG. 1. A metal engraving in the 1597 Herbal by William Rogers showing John Gerard at the age of 52. He is holding a flower of the potato plant. The arms at the bottom from left to right are those of Gerard, the City of London and the Barber-Surgeons Company. (Copyright permission from the Bodleian Library Oxford; shelf mark L 1.5.)

is known about his parents except that his father probably came to Cheshire early in the 16th century. Gerard had a shield of arms and crest but they had not been granted to him and thus must have been copied from those of his father. The arms were those of Gerard of Ince and were identical to the main coat of arms of the

family except that they bore a crescent to indicate that he himself was not of the main line of that family [1] (Fig. 1). Our Gerard gets confused with his kinsman John Gerard 1564-1637, son of Sir Thomas Gerard of Ince, who was a Jesuit priest and persecuted for his religious belief.

It is usually believed that Gerard was born at Nantwich in Cheshire in about 1545 but the loss of the baptismal registers in the most likely church means that we have no definite information about his birth, birthplace or christening, nor is there a record of any siblings. He was educated at Wisterson, better known as Wistaston, about two miles away, and in his Herbal he refers to his childhood more than once. Speaking of 'Cuckowe Flowers' he says, 'in Cheshire where I had my beginning they are called Ladie smockes'. And regarding a species of bramble called Raspis he wrote, 'I have found it among the bushes of a cawsey neere unto a village called Wisterson where I went to schoole, two miles from Nantwich'. Also, 'The people in Cheshire, especially about Nantwich where the best cheese is made, do use Ladies Bedstraw in their Rennett.' [2]

Gerard made no mention of his time at school, but it is reasonable to assume that he was taught Latin because he had some knowledge of that language later in life. It would have been usual then to be taught about the works of authors such as Horace, Cicero, Virgil and Ovid among others and it is known that he was familiar with their writings.

Apprenticeship to a surgeon

Gerard left few details of his life and career but we know that he became apprenticed at the age of 17 in 1562 to Alexander Mason a prominent Barber Surgeon. Considering the seminal importance of that decision it is unfortunate that we do not know whether it was based on the influence of a local surgeon, on his father's advice or just his own idea, and equally it is not known why Mason was approached to be his master. However, we do know that he had to travel to London before the indentures were signed to give

proof that he could read and write, and also that his father had to pay fees to cover the cost of his food and clothing during his seven years as an apprentice.

During his apprenticeship Gerard would have attended the weekly demonstrations on anatomy and heard the formal anatomical lectures given by the Anatomy Lecturer at Barber-Surgeons' Hall on corpses from Tyburn. The set books of study were *De Methodo Medendi* of Galen, *The Anatomy* (1530) of Realtus Columbus and the *Chirurgerye* (1543) of John of Vigo. Other books of surgery included those of Thomas Vicary. He could read the books written in Latin, but it was only the physicians who read Greek, hence the surgeons were regarded as being 'unlettered' [1]. At the end of his apprenticeship in 1569 he would have taken an examination known as the 'first preferment of grace' and, having passed it, would have received a temporary licence to practise. Later a Bishop's licence would allow him to practise under the Act of 1511.

Gerard as a chirurgien

A young surgeon would then have been expected to travel to increase his knowledge and each six months to read an 'Epistell to show how he had profited in his diligent labor and studye'. By 1569 the company of Merchant Adventurers of London had opened up trade with Russia and Gerard wrote that he had been to Norway, Denmark, Swevia (Sweden), Poland, Narva and Moscow. Perhaps he went as a ship's surgeon. He then became a fully qualified surgeon, qualified that is by licence and by training and experience. There is a good portrait of him in his Herbal (Fig. 1) but there is no first hand evidence of his height or other features. It would be good to know what constituted his surgical practice but he left no evidence about this. However we can draw on the writings of others to find out what a surgeon would have been doing in the late 16th century, and William Clowes's book *A proved practise for young chirurgions*, of 1591 is a valuable source [3]. Clowes (1544-1604) had been a naval surgeon and thus more experienced than Gerard. He recounts operating on a man with a

fractured skull and using a trepan and a levator to raise up a piece of depressed bone, a notably big operation for the time. Misplaced bones of a fractured femur were re-aligned and secured with a splint made of willow wood. Deep wounds were sewn up with linen thread, even when there were severed muscles. Gunshot wounds had the bullet removed and wax candles were used to gauge the depth of wounds. However it is clear from his Herbal that Gerard's practice was by no means confined to use of the knife, sewing up wounds and use of the cautery. Being an expert plantsman and Herbalist he used plants and their extracts for a range of conditions, of which one can give a few examples. Dental caries was no doubt common, and Gerard used parsley 'being chewed it helpeth the toothache'. An interesting remedy was the milky latex in the stem of spurge. 'The juice or milke is good to stop hollow teeth'. This very irritant material could well have destroyed the painful nerve endings in the tooth. He valued daisy because 'it taketh away bruises and swellings whereupon it was called in old time Bruisewort'. The problem with the Herbal is to make out whether the recommendations are from his own personal experience, or are from Dioscorides and other herbalists. But he seems to have no doubt about Solomon's Seal, given by mouth as an infusion of the root,' That which might be written of this herbe touching the knitting of bones, and that truly, might seeeme unto some incredible, but common experience teacheth that in the world there is not another herbe comparable to it'. Use of yellow henbane is clearly from his own knowledge because he gives detailed directions on preparing an ointment from it, 'and keep it in pots for your use, to cure inveterate ulcers, burnings, greene wounds, and all cuts and hurts in the head: wherewith I have gotten crownes and credit' [2].

Gerard and the Company of Barber Surgeons

Gerard was admitted to the freedom of the Company in 1569, on 9 December, but there is no record of when he was admitted to the Livery. Although much of his time was taken up with horticulture and of course researching and writing his Herbal he maintained

his status as a surgeon in the Company, being admitted to the Court of Assistants on 19 June 1595. In January 1598 his career continued with his election as one of the examiners of the candidates, that is the apprentices, for admission to the freedom of the Company. Also in that year he was summoned before the Court of Assistants to answer a charge brought against him by Richard James in respect of a remark he had made about Mrs James. But the Court did not proceed against him and the complaint was dismissed to the Common Law. However in 1605 he resigned as Second Warden and Upper Governor, 'upppon his suite & entreatie for certayne consideracons' and having paid the large sum of £10 for the absolute discharge of that office the report to the Court added, 'and is hereafter to take his place as though he had served the place of Upper Governor any things to the contrarie nothwithstandinge'. He had asked for the fine to be treated as a deposit but it was never returned to him [4]. As a guide as to the value of £10 one can notice that the Company purchased a copy of his massive Herbal for one pound and five shillings. He was elected Master of the Company on 17 August 1607.

It looks very much as if Gerard had suggested to the Company that they should create a herb garden of their own, and perhaps he was stimulated to do so by the spread of physic gardens through Europe after the first one was made at Pisa in 1543. At a meeting of the court on 12 September 1597 it was proposed that a piece of ground be found, 'fit to make a garden for to plant all kindes of herbs or such plants of suchlike as the said Mr Gerard should think meet'. A committee met on 2 November 1602 to consider 'Mr Gerard's garden' and in 1604 a lease of two acres on a plot near Somerset House was taken. But the garden was probably never started because a year later the lease was relinquished to Robert Earl of Salisbury, second son of Lord Burleigh [5].

Family life in London

Gerard's house was situated on the south side of Holborn between Chancery Lane on the west and Fetter Lane on the east and along

this frontage stood also Staple Inn and Furnival's Inn as they still do today. The property in this area belonged at that time to Lord Burleigh. Barnard's Inn, which stood near Fetter Lane, was an Inn of Chancery and, of the 12 tenements which abutted onto it, one is assumed to be Gerard's family home. Opposite his house was Gray's Inn Lane, the main road to Hampstead and Highgate.

Considering the paucity of first hand information about Gerard we are greatly indebted to Mary Edmond who quite recently discovered his long lost will and her article in 1962 gives full details of his family [6]. He married Anne on 10 October 1571 at St Mildred's church Poultry (demolished in 1872) soon after he had become a freeman of the Company of Barber Surgeons. They had five children born between 1573 and 1583, three of the sons dying young of the plague which especially attacked Londoners living, as they did, near to the stinking Fleet River. The elder daughter Elizabeth was the only one to survive childhood and on 2 July 1593 she married Richard Holden who had just become a freeman of the Company having served his seven years as an apprentice to her father. They had eleven children but there is no further written evidence about the Holden family except to record the death of Richard 'an Anchient man a Barbar' in 1638 when he would have been about 65 years of age. There are no wills, no marriage licences and nothing in the Company's records.

Gerard's will was written in his own hand and he signed it on 11 December 1611 in the presence of two apprentice barber surgeons Freeman Fox and William Jones. He died in February 1612, date unknown, and was buried in St Andrew's church Holborn on the 18th of that month. St Andrew's had been the family's parish church for 35 years. It was situated amid fields and footpaths in a pleasant area to the west of the city, and he was a churchwarden there for the customary two years from March 1605. His will mentioned three of the Holden grandchildren, Anne, Margaret and Katherine, and we are told by Mary Edmond that they were called nieces after the manner of the time. The last two girls were to have his investment in the plantation of Virginia 'all my adventure of xxv li to Virginia, and the profittes that maye ryse therof' whilst Anne was to have his plaster box with all the silver instruments in

it and also a box to hold ointments namely,' my Sylver Salvatorie also, to be delivered to her, upon her mariadye daye, so that she do marye one of my profession'. Gerard owed much to his wife who had nursed him through 'a most grievous ague and of long continuance' in 1597 and he left,

> all the rest that the lawe dothe byryght laye upon me, of that is in my power to geve unto her, for she hathe bene a carefull woman in helpinge me to gett, and keepinge the same…so that it greevethe me, that I have no more to bestowe upon her.

The probate gave the value of his estate as £551.17*s*.6*d*. When Anne died in 1620 her will detailed specific items such as 'my best Carpett' and 'two chamber potts', but there is no mention of a copy of the Herbal, nor did Gerard's will mention one [6]. This seems strange considering its importance and also its value.

Gerard the plantsman, gardener, and botanist

Even had he not written his Herbal Gerard would still be known for his considerable expertise in horticulture, knowledge of wild flowers and botany. Quite how he got started in these disciplines is not known, but we can assume that a natural interest in plants would have led him to seek out prominent botanists such as William Turner and John Parkinson. In the course of his professional work he would have had close relations with apothecaries such as the eminent Gideon de Laune who was apothecary to Anne of Denmark consort to King James, and such contacts may have given him the entry into the higher circles of the government and the court. He gained the appointment of Herbarist to King James I. Gerard referred to himself as a 'herbarist' — a plantsman — not as a herbalist, although the latter term was in use at that time.

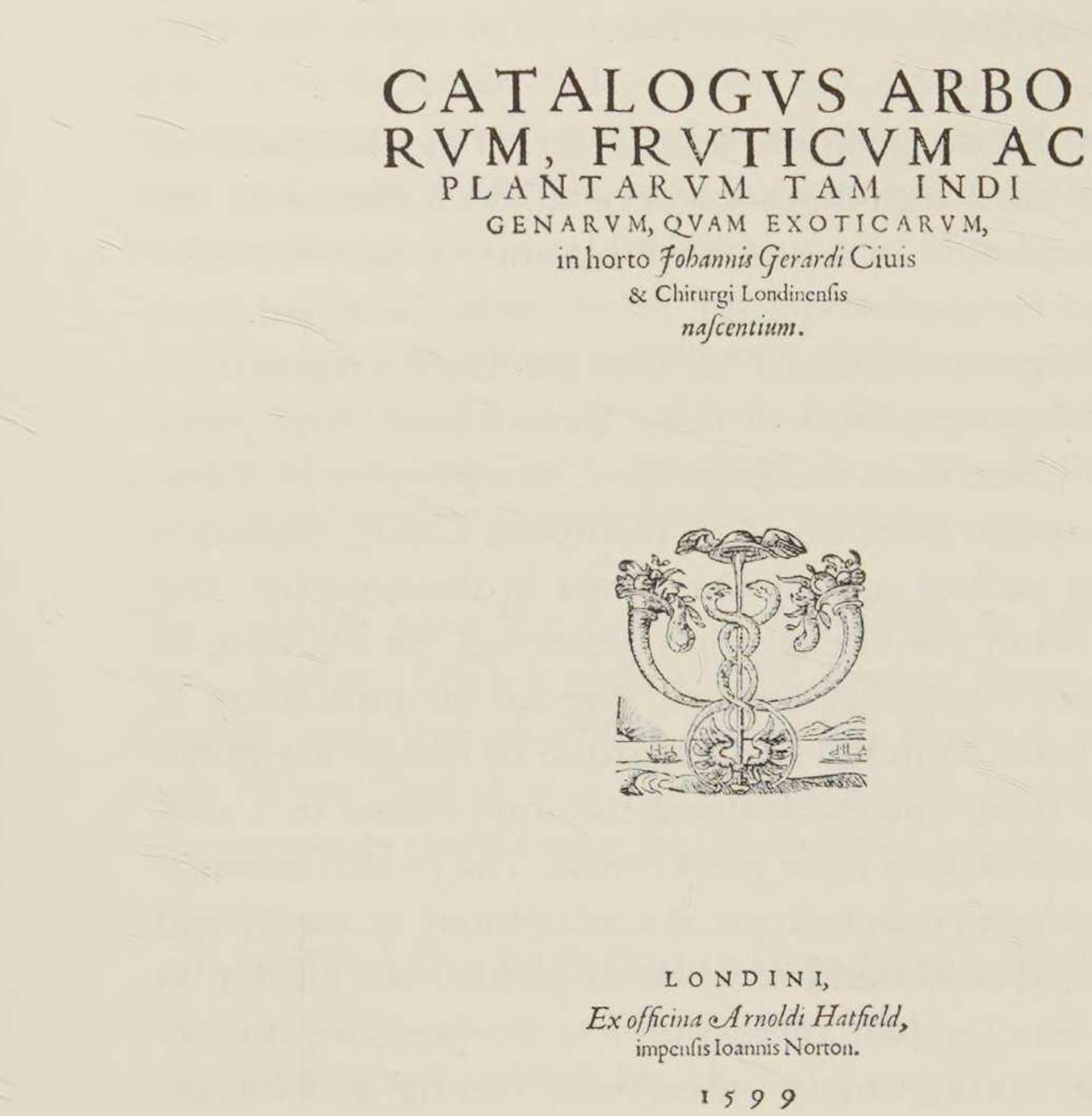
The Royal College of Physicians of London had their house, the Stone House, in Knightrider Street, and they asked Gerard in 1587 to create a garden for them and keep it, 'stocked with all the rarer plants for a reasonable charge'. But it is unlikely that he ever did so and certainly not on that small site.

Lord Burleigh's gardens

A much more important position was Gerard's appointment as Superintendent of Lord Burleigh's gardens at Cecil House in the Strand, and at Theobalds in Hertfordshire, and he became well known for his flair for garden design. Sir William Cecil had been created Lord Burleigh in 1570 and he was the Lord Treasurer of England, one of the great offices of state. Gerard held these posts from 1577 to 1598 when Lord Burleigh died. The gardens at Theobalds were comparable with those at Hampton Court, Nonsuch and Cobham, and ranked among the finest in the country. The domestic peace during the Tudor years permitted the building of what Burleigh called castles of pleasure, without the limitations of defensive works. Lord Burleigh was regarded as one of the greatest builders of his time, and he realised the importance of a well designed garden as a setting for a great house. The potato *Solanum tuberosum* was first grown in Europe at Cecil House in the Strand under Gerard's supervision and afterwards in his own garden in Holborn in 1596. The English ambassador to Turkey sent the lily of Constantinople, 'among many other bulbs of rare and daintie flowers unto my honorable good lord and master'. The position of Superintendent was really an ideal one for Gerard who quickly built up contacts abroad who sent him seeds particularly from Italy, Spain, Syria and France.

It seems as if Gerard was anticipating a move to Cambridge towards the end of his time with Lord Burleigh because, in 1596, he drafted a testimonial to the university in respect of himself which Lord Burleigh was going to be asked to sign. Because it was personally written by Gerard it is worthwhile to reprint part of it.

> Whereby that noble science of physicke is made absolute as having recovered ye facultie of Simpling a principall and materiall part therof, I thought it good to commend my servant John Gerard unto you: who by reason of his travaile into farre countries, his great practice and long experience is thoroughly acquainted with the generall and speciall differences, name properties and privie markes of thousands of plants and trees. [5]


CATALOGVS ARBO
RVM, FRVTICVM AC
PLANTARVM TAM INDI
GENARVM, QVAM EXOTICARVM,
in horto *Johannis Gerardi* Ciuis
& Chirurgi Londinensis
nascentium.

LONDINI,
Ex officina Arnoldi Hatfield,
impensis Ioannis Norton.
1599

FIG. 2. The title page of Gerard's catalogue of his own garden. This is from the second edition of 1599. (By permission of the Linnean Society of London.)

The word simpling refers to simples which are single plant remedies.

A very important book from the point of view of present day horticulturists and botanists is the one he wrote which was a catalogue of all the plants in his own garden.

Gerard's catalogue of the plants in his own garden

In 1596 he published the first ever catalogue of plants growing in one garden being a description of no fewer than 1030 plants from

his Holborn garden. The title was, 'Catalogus arborum, fructicum ac plantarum tam indigenarum, quam exoticarum, in horto *Johannis Gerardi* civis & Chirurgi Londinensis *nascentium*. Londini *Ex officina Roberti Robinson* impensis Ioannis Norton 1596'. There was a second edition in 1599 (Fig. 2). It is not certain where his own garden was situated, but probably it was somewhere on the south side of Holborn near to his house. Other herbalists and plantsmen, such as John Parkinson in Long Acre also lived in what were then the suburbs where land was cheaper [5]. This catalogue has been important to botanists and garden historians because it makes it clear when certain plants from abroad were introduced into the British Isles and which native plants were to be found. Gerard wrote this work, his first appearance in print, at the urging of many friends to describe the plants which he had cultivated over a period of years. To maintain his garden he would have needed assistance, but the only evidence we have of this is his comment regarding a plant of *Cyanchum monspeliacum* a Mediterranean species, which he grew from seed and gave a plant to an apothecary in Colchester. 'But an ignorant weeder of my garden plucked mine up and cast it away in my absence in steede of a weede when I went to Bristow faire'.

The book was slender with just 24 pages and the only surviving copy which belonged to Sir Hans Sloane is now in the British Museum. Actually two similar books had been produced previously, namely those by the Swiss botanist Conrad Gesner who described a selection of rare plants and by Johann Franke whose *Hortus Lusatiae* was a compendium of wild and cultivated plants growing near Launitz in Bohemia. But Gerard's catalogue was unique. This first edition was followed by a better printed and larger second edition in 1599. It is thanks to the work of Mr Benjamin Daydon Jackson FLS that we can easily read and comment on these works, because, in 1876, Mr Jackson published facsimiles of both catalogues and he annotated the plant names in two significant and helpful ways [5].

Firstly he linked the names whenever possible with the entries in the Herbal. Secondly he gave the modern or Linnean name for each plant. For example the dye plant woad is Gerard's '*Glastum*

Woade' and is now *Isatis tinctoria*. By the way, Jackson had some stringent comments on the Company.

> At the time of Gerard's connection with this Livery Company its power was at its zenith, but as time passed on it proved inadequate to fulfil the requirements of the day and, like the great majority of similar corporations, now exists only for the gratification of its members.

The second edition has a 300 word introduction written in Latin, with a dedication to Sir Walter Raleigh. On looking through the entries one is amazed by the number of plants in the garden and one is given to ask where did they come from and how did Gerard get them? There were several sources. He sent his assistant William Marshall, 'my servant', as a ship's surgeon on the vessel Hercules to the Mediterranean to collect plants from that region and among other introductions he brought back seed of the oriental plane tree from Greece.

The Herbal contains the names of over 50 acquaintances who sent him plants or seed. Those who sent him plants from abroad include the well known French botanist Jean Robin, (after whom the tree *Robinia* is named), two London merchants Nicholas Lete and John Franqueville and two apothecaries, Thomas Edwards and James Garret. Also from Spain and Italy he had 'many other rare seedes which do flourish in my garden, by the liberalitie of the right Honorable Lorde Edwarde Zouche at his return to England from those partes'. He even received living plants from abroad, which was difficult and unusual in those times with long sea or land journeys, as he recounted in the case of fig plants brought back from the eastern Mediterranean, 'divers plants therof in tubs of earth very fresh and greene for my garden... I have bestowed great paines and cost in keeping it from the injurie of our cold climate'.

British plants and seed were sent by many but Gerard himself travelled widely within Britain and his good knowledge of botany was attested to by George Baker one of the chief surgeons to Queen Elizabeth who wrote,

> I protest upon my conscience I do not thinke for the knowledge of plants he is inferior to any, for I did once see him tried with one of the best strangers that ever came into England. One whole day we spent therein searching the rarest simples but when it came to the triall my French man did not know one to his fower.

The French man was almost certainly Jean Robin. Gerard's journeys around England are recounted by Robert Jeffers [1].

A perusal of the catalogue shows that his garden was large, because, apart from the many plants in it, there are entries for trees such as three species of pine, sycamore, Judas tree and mulberry. Then there are large shrubs such as *Tamarix* and *Styrax* both from the Mediterranean region. The scope of the plants is amazing, especially for the late 16th century with *Yucca* from Mexico, *Aloe* from Southern Africa and what he calls the Bomast or Cotton Tree. This last is a small tree from the tropics which contains the kapok seed used for pillows and not surprisingly he found that 'cold frosts overtooke it in the time of flowering'. He did not have hot houses which were first used in London in 1685 at the Chelsea Physic Garden. Gerard cultivated 16 species of roses and he lists no fewer than 15 species of cherry, 12 species of daffodil (*Narcissus*), and ten of iris. As a gardener he had a simple philosophy, 'The delight of gardening is great but the use is greater and often joined to necessity both for meats to maintain life and for medicines to recover health' [7]. We leave this description of what he called 'The little plot of myne owne especiall care and husbandry' filled with admiration not only for the garden itself but for his foresight and diligence in writing the much admired catalogue.

The Herball or General Historie of Plantes

Gerard's lasting claim to fame, and which made him widely known in his lifetime, was the publication in 1597 of his magnus opus, *The Herball or General Historie of Plantes*. There is an exceptionally fine coloured copy in the Bodleian Library Oxford given to Sir Thomas Bodley by the publisher John Norton in 1601. It is a matter of deep regret that the title page (Fig. 3) and the portrait



FIG. 3. The title page of the 1597 Herbal. A metal engraving by William Rogers. (Copyright permission from the Bodleian Library Oxford; shelf mark L 1.5.)

of Gerard have been cut out and stolen in recent years, though luckily not until they had been photographed. This was an out-

standing work which at the time eclipsed all other similar books and which, in its second edition, is still widely quoted today and its illustrations reproduced. It was a complete encyclopaedia of plants, which for the first time provided educated men and women with an easily readable publication which not only helped to identify and cultivate plants but which also gave much information about their uses. Its immediate practical value may have come from its interest to 'gentlewomen' and Gerard mentions that it had been written with them in mind, 'unto whom especially my works are most necessary'. They would have learnt about sweet smelling herbs to place among clothes, and to strew on the floor. Also plants repel flies and moths, rodent poisons and are used for dyeing cloth. Most importantly it described remedies for many diseases and minor illnesses. Gerard's Herbal was a mine of information and was often to be found in the main living room with the Bible and Fox's *Book of Martyrs*. That great botanist Sir Joseph Banks gained his inspiration from reading the Herbal whilst a boy at home. William Shakespeare lived near the Barber-Surgeons' Hall and with his intense love of flowers he must have known Gerard and used the Herbal in his writings. Francis Bacon could well have consulted Gerard whilst he was laying out the gardens of Grays Inn [6].

Before describing the book it is necessary to give a short account of Herbals in general. That which distinguished a Herbal from other books on plants was that it described not only the identification and cultivation of the plant but also its medicinal and other uses. It was a compendium of information. Works on plants in general, what would later be called botany, date back to the 4th century BC when Theophrastus, pupil of Aristotle, wrote his *History of Plants*. But the first Herbal, a book on medicinal botany, was the *Materia Medica* of Pedianos Dioscorides in the first century AD and from that beginning a long line of Herbals was produced, stimulated by the invention of printing in 1452. The printed Herbal, usually illustrated, continued for about 250 years, until botany began to emerge as a science on its own with the publication of works such as that in 1682 of Nehemiah Grew *The anatomy of plants*. Thereafter there were books on therapeutics

CHAP. 202. *Of the great Daiſie, or Maudelen woort.*



1 *Bellis maior.*
The great Daiſie.

¶ *The Deſcription.*

1 THe great Daiſie hath very many broad leaues ſpred vpon the ground, ſomewhat indented about the edges, of the breadth of a finger, not vnlike thoſe of ground ſwell: among which riſe vp ſtalkes of the height of a cubit, ſet with the like leaues, but leſſer, in the top whereof do grow large white floures with yellow thrums in the middle like thoſe of the ſingle field Daiſy or Mayweed, without any ſmell at all. The root is full of ſtrings.

¶ *The Place.*

It groweth in Medowes and in the borders of fields almoſt euery where.

¶ *The Time.*

It flowreth and flouriſheth in May and Iune.

¶ *The Names.*

It is called (as we haue ſaid) *Bellis maior*, and alſo *Conſolida media vulnerariorum*, to make a difrence betweene it and *Bugula*, which is the true *Conſolida media*: notwithſtanding this is holden of all to bee *Conſolida medij generis*, or a kinde of middle Conſound: in High Dutch, as *Fuchſius* reporteth, **Genſzblume**: in Engliſh, the Great Daiſie and Maudelen woort.

¶ *The Temperature.*

This great Daiſie is moiſt in the end of the ſecond degree, and cold in the beginning of the ſame.

¶ *The Vertues.*

A The leaues of the great Maudleine woort are good againſt all burning vlcers and apoſtemes, againſt the inflammation and running of the eies, being applied thereto.

B The ſame made vp in an vnguent or ſalue with wax, oile, and turpentine, is moſt excellent for wounds, eſpecially thoſe wherein is any inflammation, and will not come to digeſtion or maturation, as are thoſe weeping wounds made in the knees, elbowes, and other ioints.

C The iuice, decoction, or diſtilled water, is drunk to very good purpoſe againſt the rupture or any inward burſtings.

D The herbe is good to be put into Vulnerarie drinks or potions, as one ſimple belonging thereto moſt neceſſarie, to the which effect, the beſt practiſed do vſe it as a ſimple in ſuch caſes of great effect.

E It likewiſe aſſwageth the cruell torments of the gout, vſed with a few Mallows and butter boiled and made to the forme of a pultis.

F The ſame receipt aforeſaid vſed in Clyſters, profiteth much againſt the vehement heat in agues, and ceaſeth the torments or wringing of the guts or bowels.

FIG. 4. A typical chapter in the Herbal describing the Great daisie, *Bellis major*.

only in the form of Pharmacopoeias, and books on plants only in the form of Floras [8]. The Herbal was no longer required.

In England the first book which can really be called a Herbal was by Richard Bankes in 1525 described by him as, 'which sheweth and treateth of ye virtues and propytes of herbes, the which is called an Herball'. But the first important Herbal was that of William Turner, *A new Herball,* which he dedicated to the Company of Barber-Surgeons of London. Meanwhile on the continent of Europe a Belgian botanist Robert Dodoens, or Dodonaeus, who became professor of medicine at Leyden was led by his interest in the medical aspects of botany to write a book published in Dutch

under the title '*Cruydeboeck*'. This was translated into French by Charles de l'Ecluse as *Histoire des Plantes* and then into English in 1578 by Henry Lyte as *A Niewe Herball or Histories of Plantes*. Eventually Dodoens produced in 1583 a Latin translation of his Herbal usually known just as the *Pemptades* [9]. This is where Gerard comes in. The London publisher, printer and bookseller John Norton decided to produce an English translation of the *Pemptades* and asked a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of London, Dr Priest, to do this. But Priest died before finishing the work, and Norton then commissioned John Gerard to write the book. A new Herbal was required because Turner's book was now 30 years old and considered obsolete [9].

The contents of the Herbal

This massive volume of 1392 pages, illustrated with about 1800 woodcuts, is really three books in one. Gerard gives the layout:

> The first hath Grasses, Rushes, Corne, Reads, Flags, Bulbous or onion-rooted plants. The second, most sorts of herbes used for meat, medicine or sweet smelling. The third hath Trees, Shrubs, Bushes, Fruit-bearing plants, Rosins, Gummes, Roses, Heathes, Mosses, Mushrooms, Corrall and their several kinds.

The book is divided into chapters, and each chapter contains one kind of plant. Sometimes, as with the Birds Nest orchid, there is only one plant per chapter, but much more often there are several related plants. For example the chapter on spurge has 19 different varieties, or species as we would now call them. In other words each chapter refers to one genus, though the Linnean classification into genera and species was then 150 years away.

Book one has 106 chapters, Book two 511 chapters, and Book three 167 chapters. In all he describes no fewer than 2050 plants, accompanied by about 1800 illustrations.

Each plant is described in a routine manner under several headings. They are as follows: The Description. The Place. The Time. The Names. The Temperature. The Vertues. (Fig. 4). So we are told exactly what the plant looks like, where and when it

grows, what other names it has, whether it is called hot cold or dry and, of especial importance, what are its uses. As well as those in medicine, the virtues would refer to domestic use. Take for example the meadowsweet. 'The leaves and flowers farre excell all other strowing herbes for to decke up houses, to straw in chambers and banqueting houses in the sommer time, for the smell therof makes the heart merrie'. The ladies in big houses who were in charge of the 'Stille Roome' were supplied with clearly written recipes for syrups cordials and oils. For example Syrup of Violets was made by boiling syrup to make clarified sugar and then infusing violet flowers in a carefully detailed manner.

Regarding the medicinal values, remember that diagnosis of disease in the 16th century was largely a matter of ignorance unless there was a visible lesion such as a wart, or of course a wound or fracture. But it certainly would have been the medicinal values that attracted most attention a look at comfrey reveals the wide therapeutic range and diagnostic uncertainty.

> It was said to cure 'ulcers of the kidnies, hurts of the intrailes and inward parts, for burstings or ruptures, overmuch flowing of the hemorrhoides, a most excellent medicine against the Gonorrhaea, pain in the back gotten by overmuch use of women, and the griefes of the lungs.

Curiously for a surgeon, he does not mention that the pounded root sets hard and was used to stabilise fractures, like plaster of Paris. Hence its old name of Knitbone.

The Herbal finishes with six indexes. There are two large ones in Latin and English, and a very useful Table of Vertues — even cross indexed — enabling one to find the remedy for a particular ailment. There is also a charming table of English names 'from the mouthes of plain and simple country people'. It must have taken a huge amount of work just to write the indexes.

The 1800 or so illustrations are woodcuts, which nearly all came from a 1588 Frankfurt Herbal, *Neuw Kreuterbuch* by Jacob Theodor of Bergzabern who called himself Tabernaemontanus. They had been rented by Norton from the publisher: a good idea, which saved the cutting of new blocks. About 20 new woodcuts

Of Potatoes of Virginia.

Battata Virginiana ſue Virginianorum, & Pappus.
Potatoes of Virginia.

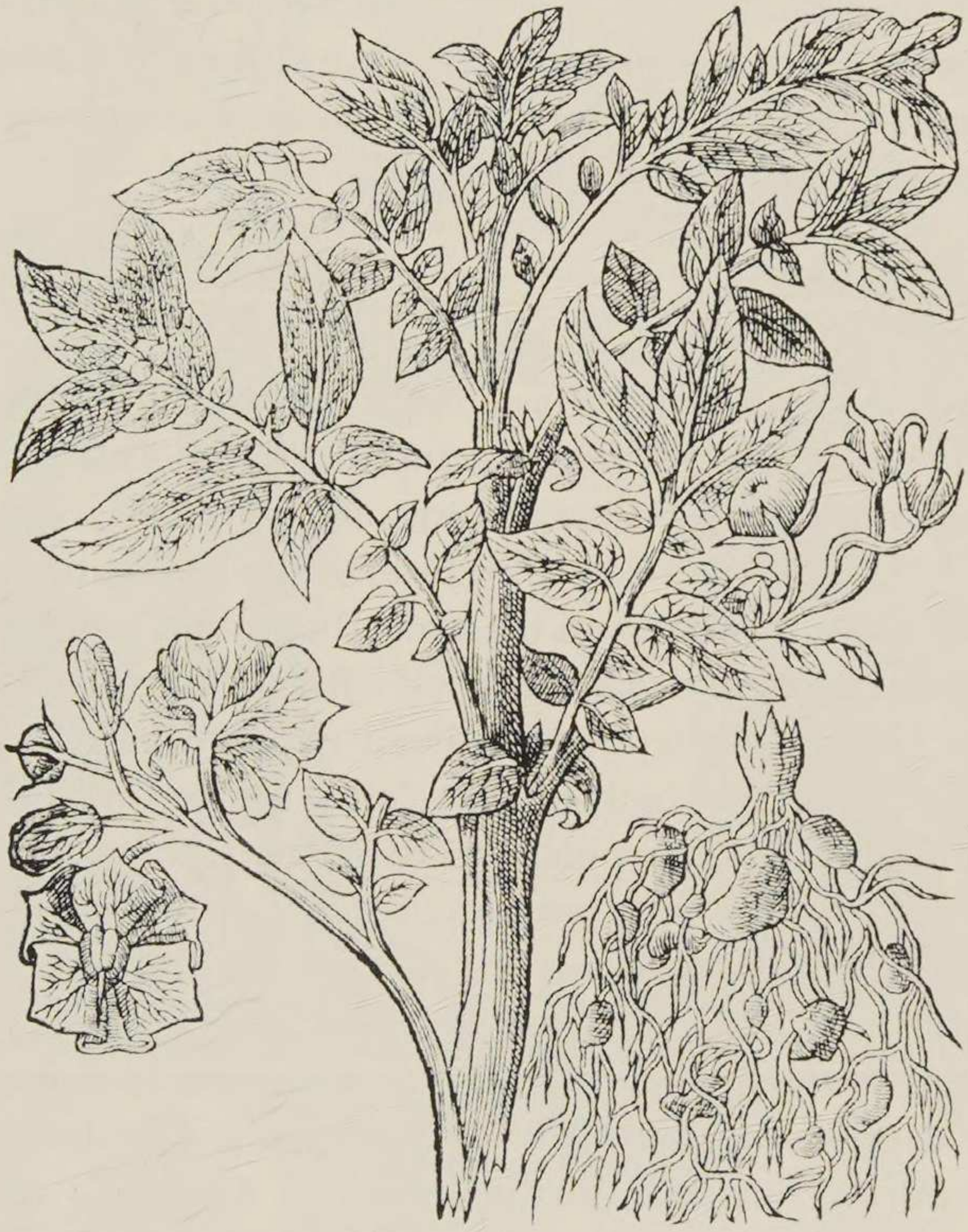


FIG. 5. The first illustration of the newly introduced potato plant. One of the few woodcuts made especially for the 1597 Herbal. From the volume in the library of the Worshipful Company of Barbers of London

were made, one of them being the first ever illustration of the potato plant which he describes as the potato of Virginia, though in fact, unknown to him, it is a native of Peru (Fig. 5). There was however a problem in that Gerard was sometimes unable to fit the illustrations to the text, and Norton had to employ the French

botanist Mathias de l'Obel to correct some hundreds of Gerard's errors. Eventually a halt had to be called to seemingly endless revision and the book was entered at Stationers Hall on 6 June 1597.

The Swedish botanist Carl Linnaeus, who invented the modern system of naming plants, was so impressed by Gerard's knowledge that he named a genus of plants from central America after him. This was *Gerardia,* within the family *Acanthaceae,* but unfortunately it has now been renamed *Stenandrium.*

The translation?

Now we have to consider an unhappy problem, namely did Gerard by himself do the translation from Dodoens? From his own account he seems to claim that he did, by writing, 'Doctor Priest, one of our London colledge, hath (as I heard) translated the last edition of *Dodonaeus,* which meant to publish the same, but being prevented by death, his translation likewise perished'. But in one of the forewords to the Herbal Dr Stephen Bredwell wrote, 'Dr Priest by his translation of Dodonaeus hath thereby left a tombe for his honorable sepulture. M. Gerard coming last hath many ways accommodated the whole worke unto our English nation'. That is to say Priest did most of the translation and Gerard used it. It is surprising that Gerard did not spot Bredwell's contradiction of his own statement! We have to conclude that Gerard tried to conceal the fact that he used Priest's work. What we do know is that Gerard altered the purely medicinal arrangement of Dodoen's text and made it more like the botanical system of Matthias de L'Obel [10].

Gerard the botanist

However the Herbal was far from being a straight translation because the text is often embellished by delightful comments which come straight from Gerard's own pen, and which show his own wide knowledge of English plants and where they grow. 'The common Pennie Royal groweth naturally in moist places as in the common neere London called Miles end, from whence poore women bring plentie to sell in London markets' 'Clarie groweth in the



FIG. 6. The title page of the 1633 edition of the Herbal, 'Gathered by John Gerarde of London Master in Chirurgerie. Very much enlarged and amended by Thomas Johnson Citizen and Apothecarye'. London 1633.

fields of Holborne in the high way neere unto the end of a bricke wall and in the high way as you go from the Queenes palace of Richmond.' Gerard made botanising excursions into Essex and Kent, and also to the north of England. In Kent he found elecampane, 'at Lidde and Folkestone, neere to Dover by the sea side' Hares Eare, *Bupleurum,* he found growing naturally 'among the bushes upon Bieston castle in Cheshire', and he found water gerander, 'in a medow by Harwood in Lancashire'. Often he ends the description of the place with the words, 'it groweth in my garden'. However, there is a good number of errors in the text, a notable one being the fable of the Goose Tree. He relates how a tree in the Orkney islands bears shells on its branches which open and hatch out barnacle geese, and there is a woodcut showing the geese flying away to illustrate this unique occurrence [9].

Writing the Herbal

The Herbal represents a huge amount of work, really quite amazing, and one is humbled to think of the author writing all this with a quill pen, at times with poor light from a candle or rushes, and maybe in a cold damp room. Gerard had a charming modesty and it is good to read this extract from his chapter on rhubarb.

> Other distinctions and differences I leave to the learned Physitions of our London colledge, who are very well able to search this matter, as a thing far above my reach, being no Graduat, but a Country Scholler, as the whole frame of this historie doth well declare: but I hope my good meaning will be well taken, considering I do my best: and I doubt not some of greater learning will perfect that which I have begun according to my small skill, especially the ice being broken to him, and the wood rough-hewn to his hand.' He went on to write, 'Faults I confess have escaped, some by the printers oversight, some through defects in my self to perform so great a worke, and some by means of the greatnesse of the labour. It was a worke, I confesse, for greater clarkes to undertake, yet may my blunt attempt serve as a whetstone to set an edge upon some sharper wits, by whome I wish this my course discourse might be both fined and refined.

His wish was granted because his book became so well known and valued that a new edition was called for 22 years after his death when the three successors to John Norton asked the apothecary Thomas Johnson to prepare one. Certainly the ice was broken to him, but Johnson made a very fine revision of the whole work, including getting a new set of woodcuts, and it was published in 1633 with a reprint in 1636 (Fig. 6). Many of Gerard's own descriptions were retained, writing with the golden pen of the Elizabethan age.

References

[1] Jeffers, R.H. *The friends of John Gerard (1545-1612), surgeon and botanist*. Herb Grower Press. Falls Village, Connecticut 1969.

[2] Gerard, J. *The Herbal or Generall Historie of Plantes*. John Norton, London 1597

[3] Poynter, F.N.L (Ed). *Selected writings of William Clowes 1544-1604*. Harvey and Blythe, London 1948

[4] Clarke, L. The disciplinary powers of the Barbers' Company. Chapter in *The Company of Barbers and Surgeons* pp 197-213. Farrand Press, London 2000.

[5] Jackson, B.D. *A catalogue of the plants cultivated in the garden of John Gerard in the years 1596-1599*. Edited with notes, references to Gerard's Herball, the addition of modern names and a life of the author. Privately printed. London 1876.

[6] Edmond, M. John Gerard. Herbalist. *The Genealogists Magazine* (1962-4), **14**, 137-145.

[7] Galinou, M. (ed) *London's Pride. The glorious history of the capital's gardens*. Anaya Publishers Ltd. London 1990.

[8] Hollman, A. Herbal remedies and physic gardens. Chapter in *Oxford Companion to Medicine* pp. 538-541. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1986.

[9] Arber, A. *Herbals, their origin and evolution*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1912.

[10] Elliott, B. 400 years of Gerard's *Herball*. *The Garden* (1997), **122**, 793-794.

Chapter 9

John Woodall 1570 – 1643

James Watt

John Woodall's Europe

THE LIFE OF JOHN WOODALL AND his influence upon his own and succeeding generations can best be appreciated by an understanding of the backcloth against which his life was lived, for that canvas represents a period of European turbulence dictated by events of lasting significance in which the discovery of the New World, the Renaissance and the Protestant Reformation all played their part. They moulded character, enlarged horizons, created opportunity, fomented competition and led to alliances or confrontation determined by the history, disposition and religious convictions of the nations of Europe. The prospect of trade, wealth and overseas possessions led to the financing of voyages of discovery, attempts at colonization and the movement of armies and fleets. In England even the dissolution of the monasteries brought benefits as well as deprivation, for monks, now compelled to earn their living, sought employment as tutors in great houses and brought, not only their scholarship, but the monastic principles of health, diet and hygiene to an influential section of the population [1] increasingly influenced by the biblical injunction to cleanliness of both soul and body. Thomas Vicary, for instance, in his *Englishman's Treasure,* published in 1548, directs the surgeon in his treatment of wounds to 'wash the wound very clean with brine, then dry well,

then irrigate with quintessence of wine' (an antiseptic). After stitching the wound, he was to seal it with a few drops of balsam for 'cleanliness keeps from inflammation' and 'nature will work very well' [2]. It was a philosophy adopted in the Navy by such ardent Protestants as Sir Richard Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake, who ran a clean, disciplined ship and regularly inspected his men for cleanliness, while Sir Walter Raleigh, on the grounds of hygiene, introduced individual hammocks for his sailors, because

> by this means her Majesties shippes wolde be ffurnyshed with able men such as can make shyfte for themselves, kepe themselves clene without vermyne and noysomeness which bredeth sickness and mortalletye. [3]

In England, the Protestant ethic permeated every aspect of life in the wake of almost two centuries of biblical teaching by the itinerant disciples of John Wycliffe who enjoyed the protection of persons of rank and influence. The changed fortunes of declared Protestants in the reign of Mary drove many to the Continent and, later, on the accession of Elizabeth, brought many Continental believers to Britain, with fruitful collaboration between original thinkers, particularly in the professions of medicine and surgery, while the participation of surgeons in continental wars familiarized them with foreign techniques and instruments which were incorporated into their writings [1]. John Woodall was the exemplar *par excellence* of this hybrid heritage.

Early years and Continental travel

John Woodall (Fig. 1)was born in Castle Street, Warwick, in 1570. He was the eldest son of Richard Woodall, a local farmer and landowner, and his wife Mary, daughter of Peirse Ithell of North Wales [4]. The main incidents of his life can be gleaned from a poem by his friend, George Dunn, Warden of the Company of Barber Surgeons, which appears in the 1639 expanded collection of his works [5], his own references to his experiences and travels, the Court Minutes of the East India Company, which appointed



FIG. 1. John Woodall. Line engraving by G. Glover 1639. (Courtesy Wellcome Library, London.)

him its first Surgeon-General in 1613 and the Court Minutes of the Barber-Surgeons' Company.

At some unrecorded date, he was apprenticed to Thomas Hobbins in London [6]. There is no other mention of Hobbins in

the Company's records, but a Thomas Hibbins was admitted to the Freedom in 1577 with whom Woodall would have had ample time to serve his apprenticeship before undertaking his Continental travels. They began when he joined Lord Willoughby de Eresby's expedition to France in support of its new Protestant King Henri IV who was opposed by the Catholic League and Charles of Lorraine, Duke of Mayenne. They landed at Dieppe in September 1589 and advanced on Paris, capturing strongholds and coastal towns essential, in Elizabeth's eyes, to safeguard the Channel. Owing mainly to the leadership of Willoughby and his disciplined English force of 4000 foot and 200 light horse, they invaded the Paris suburbs and might have captured the city if Henri had not decided to withdraw. His vacillation, the fear of Parma's Spanish reinforcements and, above all, Henri's failure to find funds to pay, clothe and feed his forces forced a retreat. While 'not 100 had been killed', the terrible weather, forced marches, cold, filthy accommodation, rotting shoes and attacks by French peasants who slit the throats of any who strayed from the main force, caused numerous sick and disabled. Yet none was left behind and all forms of transport were used to carry them to the ships which brought them to England in January 1590 [7].

Woodall did not return with the army and there is an intriguing entry in the State Papers dated 6 March 1591 on Secret Service matters, which states 'Udall' (the name by which Woodall was known at this time) 'had his liberty and desired to be gone. He needed his honour's or Lord Cobham's passport with a letter to Sir R Sidney, so that he should not be hindered at Flushing' [8]. We know from his books that, following his army service, he travelled to Poland, the Netherlands and Stada, a Hanseatic port to which the English merchants had moved after leaving Hamburg and was surgeon to the community there [4]. Had he also, for a period, been a spy? No doubt, for that reason, and his command of Continental languages, he was used as an interpreter for English embassies to Germany [4]. All this indicates a young man of considerable stature enjoying influential patronage. He was an outspoken Protestant and, no doubt, for that reason, had joined Willoughby's forces, since Willoughby came from a famous

evangelical Protestant family, whose parents had fled to Germany and Poland to escape the Marian persecutions [9]. General Lord Willoughby was himself a much travelled man and had been Governor of the Dutch town of Bergen op Zoom before his Normandy command when he asked for permission to choose his officers and may have included Woodall among them [7]. Willoughby appears therefore to have been the guiding light in Woodall's life at this time and may even have known Woodall's family through land ownership. Certainly, Woodall later exerted a great influence upon Captain John Smith, founder and governor of Virginia, who lived in Willoughby and was another of Willoughby's protégés [10].

The Barber Surgeons

When Woodall returned to London in 1599, he began immediately to make up for lost time and was admitted to the Barber Surgeons' Company in March 1600, though not examined for his surgical ability until 1607 [11]. He married a widow, Sarah Stavely (*née* Hinchpole), on 18 December 1603 and they lived in Wood Street, Cheapside [4]. In 1608, he was elected Warden of the Yeomanry, one of his duties being to collect 'quarterage' (3*d* per quarter) from freemen and was asked to undertake the duties of Steward of Anatomy for the following year, but asked that this duty be postponed until he was better able to undertake it [12], suggesting that his services were already in demand. By that time, he was evidently held in esteem for he was allowed to lease the Company's house and garden at Moorfields [13] and, in April 1611, he was admitted to the Livery [14] and about this time presented a table and portrait of Paracelsus to the Company [15]. He was subsequently appointed Master of Anatomy (in 1614), but pleaded 'some particular business' which called him away [16], so was already an important figure.

In 1626, he and Serjeant-Surgeon William Clowes were appointed examiners [17] and the Company was instructed to provide surgeons' chests for the navy 'with chirurgery, medicines and instrumentes' [18]. Since Woodall had successfully performed this

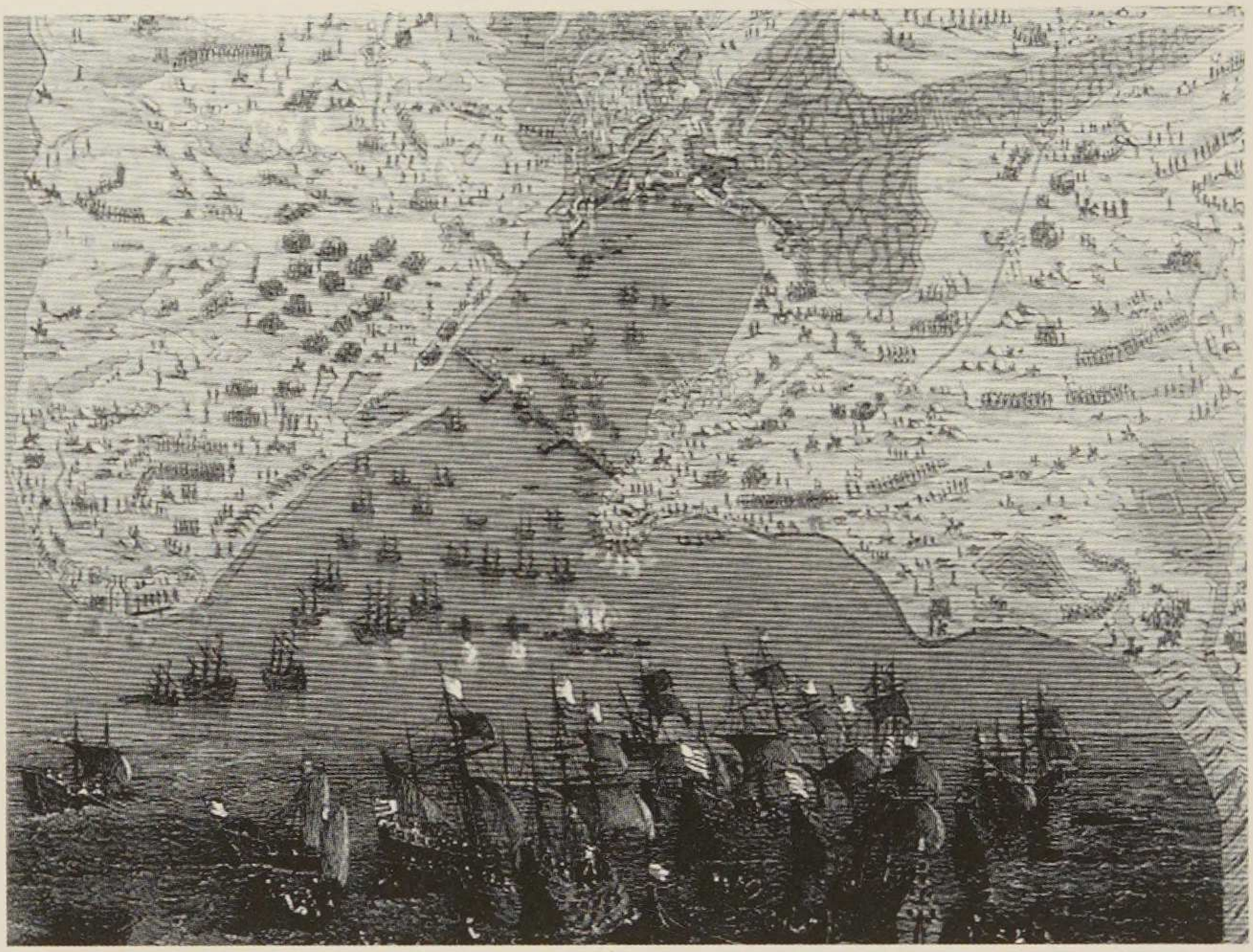


FIG. 2. The taking of La Rochelle, 28 October 1628. Engraving by Chavane jeune. (Courtesy Royal Naval Museum, Portsmouth.)

duty for the East India Company for the previous thirteen years, the responsibility for it naturally fell on him and, in November of the following year, he found himself once again involved in French Huguenot affairs after the Duke of Buckingham's army and fleet of eighty-four ships failed to relieve La Rochelle, where the Huguenots made their last stand (Fig. 2). Five thousand had been lost before the wounded were landed in Plymouth and Portsmouth where they swamped local facilities and epidemics raged [19]. In response to the King's demand, Woodall and three senior surgeons, Peter Thornery, George Perrine and Thomas Gilham were ordered to ride to Portsmouth and tend the sick [20] whom they found lying naked on open decks exposed to the weather. Woodall and his fellow surgeons treated the injured, arranged local nursing and accommodation for the sick and sent the worst cases to London hospitals [21].

So great were the pressures upon Woodall at that time that, in 1629, he was obliged to pay a fine for his inability to serve as Upper Warden [22]. Despite that, he was elected Master in 1633 and provided cedarwood for the seats and wainscoting of the new anatomy theatre [23]. On 4 September 1639 his son, Thomas, was admitted to the Company by patronage.

The East India Company

Woodall was already well known to the Merchant Venturers before his return to England in 1599, for his intellectual capacity, the scholarship which his writings so clearly demonstrate, his wide-ranging contacts with the Continental Protestant circle, his language skills and his surgical services to the English merchants in the Hanseatic ports of northern Germany had won him influential friends, while his courage and skill in epidemics of the plague brought grateful admirers. It was probably in this milieu that he first met his influential patron and life-long friend, Sir Thomas Smythe, some twelve years older, a member of the Company of Merchant Adventurers, a governor of the Muscovy and Levant companies, who became governor of the East India Company in 1600 and a sheriff of London [24]. Like Woodall, he, too, was an ardent Protestant and he was the inspiration and driving force behind the Company's first successful voyage which provided Woodall with many of his observations on scurvy. Smythe also afforded a further link with Captain John Smith through their mutual interest in the Virginia Company and Bermuda, in both of which Woodall made significant investments [25], and it was probably through Smythe that Woodall was employed as an interpreter sent by James to negotiate business with Poland and probably Russia in 1604 [26].

There seems little doubt that Smythe was also responsible for Woodall's appointment as first Surgeon-General of the East India Company in 1613, a post he held until his retirement in 1643, the year in which he died (Fig. 3). His responsibilities were defined in *The Laws and Standing Orders of the East India Company* published in 1621 [27], and included the selection, training and appointment



FIG. 3. East India Company Ships, early 17th century. (Courtesy National Maritime Museum.)

of suitable surgeons and surgeons' mates, the furnishing of their chests with relevant medicines and instruments and the identification of any man unfit for duty because of decrepitude, uncleanness or lameness with a view to his dismissal and replacement. Woodall took this duty seriously. He advised surgeons how to spot early symptoms of illness by 'morning and evening seeking for weake and poore men in their cabins or so soon as they are missing at messes to enquire for them' [28] and he introduced 'order and method' to their medical chests and surgical instruments which he was required to supply. Unexpended items were mustered at the end of each voyage and returned to the Surgeon-General's stock for the furnishing of new chests. The Surgeon and his deputy were also responsible for the care of Company workers injured on board ships or in their dockyards at Deptford, Blackwell and Erith and were provided with dispensaries there. However, they were also required to

> cut the hayre of the Carpenters, Saylors, Caulkers, Labourers, and any other Workmen in the Companies said Yards or Ships, once every forty dayes, in a seemly manner, performing their works at Breakfast and Dinner times, or in raynie weather, and in an open place where no man may loyter or lye hidden, under pretence to attend his turne of Trimming. [29]

This was in breach of the rules of the Barber-Surgeons' Company which forbade surgeons to cut hair and Woodall dropped it from his 1655 edition, although he continued to list barbers' equipment.

Disputes with physicians

Woodall soon found that the job was no sinecure and, from the beginning, he was embroiled in disputes of others' making. One of the most serious was the attempt by the College of Physicians to impose control on medical practice which opposed Woodall's contention that sea surgeons, with no access to a physician, must be instructed in physick as well as surgery and carry drugs to enable them to deal with common medical problems [5]. He had been appointed surgeon to St Bartholomew's Hospital in 1616 in succession to Richard Mapes and one of his colleagues was the famous Dr William Harvey, one of Woodall's principal opponents in the control issue. Despite this, Woodall recommended Harvey's remedies to his surgeon's mates [5]. Complaints about the quality of Woodall's chests from both disgruntled sea captains and some surgeons themselves, though never proved, led to arrangements for their inspection variously by leading physicians, the Barber-Surgeons' or the Apothecaries Companies. Only the physicians seemed to be critical, for the arrangement allowed them the control for which they had fought and two of its leading members, Drs Atkins and Winston, even obtained permission to supply a chest to the *Charles*, an Indiaman then fitting out [30]. Atkins was an influential royal physician [31], difficult to refuse; Winston was Professor of Physic at Gresham College and a more dubious character, who fled to France in 1642 suspected of betraying parliamentary secrets [32]. Until then, he was a thorn in the side of

Woodall. In May 1623, he complained that 'the last surgeon's chest sent out to Surat had a much greater provision than was necessary' [33], though it was surgeons themselves who, observing local practices, made far greater contributions to tropical medicine than academic physicians trained in the Galenic tradition.

This constant criticism of Woodall by physicians led to the deputy governor remarking

> that he had spoken to a learned physician who wondered that physicians should take it upon them to set down surgeons' proportions, the same not being proper to their art, save only for matters of physic; it was therefore thought very fit [by the Court] that in matters of physic they consult with physicians and for matters of surgery the surgeons give satisfaction to the committees. [34]

It was a triumph for Woodall who had just vehemently opposed a motion in Council that surgeons of a forthcoming fleet to the Indies should be examined by Atkins, Winston and two other physicians. 'The surgeons of this fleet' declared Woodall,

> are all experienced men who have been in the Indies long, have performed extraordinary cures, and are men approved for their sufficiency in their profession and such as will scorn to be examined. [35]

He won the day, but the pin pricks continued. However, he had enough friends in the Company to see off the troublemakers and, in the matter of chests, the Company finally decided that it 'did not hold it just to displace an old servant' [36] and in 1629, 'it was resolved to rely upon the honesty of Mr Woodall and the judgement of the [ship's] surgeon' [37].

Financial pressures

These attacks were not Woodall's only problems with the Company, for he was constantly seeking payment for chests he had furnished or patients he had treated, sometimes caring for them in

his own house until they recovered [38] and, in 1627, claimed that he had received no pay for three years [39]. He therefore required a considerable personal income to sustain such expenses which came from private practice and investments as a merchant adventurer. They included ownership of land in Virginia and Bermuda and he was also active in the Virginia Company.

The East India Company, however, had its own financial problems, since it had not proved as profitable as expected and the initial outlay on its fleets was huge. It was not helped by James and Charles who both lacked the entrepreneurial spirit of Elizabeth, its sponsor when the Company was founded. James, in fact, had deprived the Company of its anticipated returns from its first voyage when he forbade it to dispose of its cargo of pepper until his own stocks of that commodity had been sold [40]. Then James, in violation of Elizabeth's charter to the Company, licensed Sir Edward Michelborne to trade with China, Japan and other Far East countries which, far from bringing him the profits he expected, turned to piracy, raiding Chinese junks and exposing the East India Company's servants to attack [41]. The Company's second voyage was therefore a disaster.

James then went on, with the Duke of Buckingham in 1623 and 1624, to take 20,000 pounds out of the Company which they claimed their due from prizes taken in the Indies. When the Company seized two of the Earl of Warwick's ships for piracy in the Indies, it was forced to pay him 4,000 pounds in compensation and when, in 1635, Charles I needed money, again in violation of the Company's charter, he sent a rival expedition which so interfered with the Company's interests that it later established its main trading post in Madras [42]. It is clear that Woodall understood the Company's financial problems and was prepared to wait patiently until he could be re-imbursed.

Problems with apprentices

Woodall's relations with the Barber-Surgeons' Company were little better for the Court Minutes show he was frequently attacked and occasionally in disgrace. He appears to have expected

high standards from his apprentices, since he employed his own in East India Company ships and probably felt, quite rightly, that, since he was accountable for them, they should be beyond reproach. It nevertheless caused him trouble for, in 1605, he was fined '40 shillings for putting away his apprentice, Thomas Hobbes without our Master's consent' [43]. He did not take it lying down and, a few days later, presumably because of his refusal to have him back, 'it was ordered that John Udall be committed to the compter for his contempt' [44]. Nevertheless, he continued to use harsh words against members he could not respect and was forced to apologise and pay fines for his outspokenness [45], though all the incidents were settled amicably to the satisfaction of all parties.

Nevertheless, he preferred to place his own apprentices in East Indian ships and, on two occasions, he was called to account for training more apprentices than he was allowed [46], while his zeal for that Company led to an allegation that he had procured a licence for one Bartholomew Vanderlatch, who was not the King's subject, and four others to practise surgery which, his accusers declared, 'was so dishonest and disgraceful for the worship of the Company that if it should be passed over it would tend to the great hurt of his Majesty's subjects' and Woodall was dismissed from the Livery and from his positions of Steward and Master of Anatomy [47]. However, after the Privy Council itself employed Vanderlatch and asked the Company to support him, the Court backed down and restored Woodall to grace indicating that Woodall had acted on instructions from that authority [48]. In the East India Company, too, he was charged with 'seeking his own gain by thrusting his own servants upon the Company', but Woodall claimed that, while seven of his apprentices were certainly serving as surgeon's mates in the Indies, 20 others had died there who had been fitted out at his expense and all he received was one-sixth of their annual pay [49]. It almost seemed that Woodall had a propensity for trouble for, in 1625, he was thrown into the Fleet prison by the Lord Steward for bringing a legal action against Sir Thomas Merry, who had left his London house in Woodall's care before his final voyage to Virginia [4]. The writ

was perfectly valid, but had been delivered to Merry in Parliament and that was the offence [50]. The Company laboured for his deliverance since it was clear that nobody else could fill his position and the Company was 'concerned that his last commitment' (he was twice imprisoned and released briefly to attend to the Company's business) 'was through some private enemies of Woodall' [51].

All of this may suggest Woodall was a troublesome fellow, and given to provocative behaviour but, again, he has to be judged within the context of his times, which encouraged the expression of convictions and approved uncompromising language. For instance, when his patron, Sir Thomas Smythe, was attacked by rivals in the Virginia Company's Court, he sprang to Smythe's defence and was suspended from the Court for 'his foule aspersion upon Sir Edwin Sandys' [52]. Subsequently, however, he was exonerated when Sandys's machinations came to light. Woodall, therefore, must be seen as a man of integrity, driven by a strong Protestant ethic, uncompromising in defence of his principles and it is clear that, though he made enemies, he was admired and supported by some of the most influential of his peers. William Clowes, his distinguished predecessor at St Bartholomew's Hospital, was of similar calibre and he also made important contributions to naval surgery.

Woodall, the writer

Today, Woodall's reputation rests mainly upon his books and the first, *The Surgion's Mate*, published in 1617, has been described as epoch-making [53]. It was written, says Woodall, because, on being appointed Surgeon-General, he found such young and inexperienced surgeons employed by the Company that he felt it his Christian duty to provide each with written instructions on the use of their medical chests which he had been charged to supply and thus safeguard the lives of their patients. However, 'being wearied with writing for every shippe the same instructions anew, I held it my best course to put them in print, which done, will serve for any that have occasion of the like' [5].

In that vein, he outlined 'The Office and Duty of the Surgion's Mate' which was virtually a redefinition of the Hippocratic Oath in Christian terms and, in his view, rested upon firm fundamental principles; first, the surgeon's duty to God, the Searcher of his conscience; second, his duty to his teachers and colleagues; third, his duty to his patients whom he was to visit daily and for whom he was to keep his surgical and medical equipment in a state of readiness. Finally, said Woodall, there was his duty to himself, for the surgeon went to sea for gain and was therefore obliged 'to read much in surgery and physic'. He should keep a journal in which to record his professional experience.

He did not stop there for observation had shown him that he needed 'to put the young Sea Surgeon himself in mind of his charge' and avoid arrogance, blasphemy, boasting, tobacco and drunkenness and criticism of others without insight into their feelings; withholding knowledge and instruction, issuing orders without explanation, evading unpleasant tasks, failing to supervise and holding their mates in far greater subjection than any they themselves had experienced [5]. It has an uncomfortably modern ring and would not be out of place today.

After this definition of professionalism, Woodall went on to describe the surgical instruments in his chest and their use in the various wounds they might encounter, including those caused by gunshot. He shows himself a conservative surgeon, reluctant to operate unless essential, removing all contamination from wounds, then using simple clean surgical techniques and clean polished instruments before accurately replacing tissues. More difficult operations such as craniotomy should be attempted only after practice on animals and he himself avoided the pain of cauterisation. He was equally conservative about blood-letting and imposed strict limits on the amount of blood removed because 'in the blood consisteth the life of man'. The mate should therefore limit venesection to a porringer holding three ounces and use no more than two or two and a half porringers at most [5].

Scurvy – the scourge of seamen (Fig. 4)

What, however, distinguished Woodall from other writers for the next 140 years was his description of scurvy which shows an intimate personal experience of this scourge of seamen, for nobody provided a better description of its clinical presentation nor a more convincing argument for the use of lemon juice in its prevention and cure. It is therefore surprising that James Lind, in his widely acclaimed *Treatise of the Scurvy* in 1753, entirely ignores Woodall and his outstanding contribution. Where did Woodall gain such knowledge? There is no evidence that he ever undertook a long sea voyage, though there is a long gap in his career after his adventures with Willoughby when he travelled extensively on the Continent. What is more likely, given Woodall's devotion to duty, is that he met each East Indiaman on its return, discussed the voyage with its surgeon, examined and arranged for the treatment of sick men and compiled a record of the cases. He had obviously also studied the significant record of the first East Indies fleet of four ships and a victualler which, under Captain James Lancaster, sailed from England in 1601 and established



FIG. 4. A case of scurvy showing the characteristic spongy, bleeding and putrid gums with multiple bleeding points on the lips, vividly described by Woodall. (Courtesy Wellcome Library, London.)

factories in Achin, Sumatra and Bantam, Java. They were becalmed at the equator when scurvy appeared and only Lancaster's flagship, the *Dragon*, had enough fit men to allow her to anchor at the Cape, where fresh food allowed the sick to recover quickly. By then, however, 105 of his 480 men had died. On the next limb of the voyage, however, lemons and oranges procured at Madagascar kept scurvy in check [54]. As Woodall would have learnt, the reason for the flagship's relative immunity was because Lancaster brought to sea with him bottles of lemon juice prepared by an Elizabethan entrepreneur, Sir Hugh Platt, and gave three spoonfuls to each man so long as it lasted, thus demonstrating the power of lemon juice to prevent, as well as cure the scurvy, a principle Woodall recognized [55]. It was unfortunate that Platt was not encouraged to pursue his research into preserved foods to carry to sea for it might have changed the history of naval victualling and arrested the ravages of scurvy. Captain John Smith, however, Woodall's friend and governor of the Virginia Company, saw the potential and in his *Accidence for Young Sea-men*, inspired by Woodall's *The Surgion's Mate*, he includes useful preserved foods of the type prepared by Platt [56].

From Woodall's account of scurvy, we learn that, either through his efforts, or because of the lessons of the Lancaster voyage 'there is a good quantity of Juice of Lemons sent in each ship out of England by the great care of the Marchants' [28], though it is clear that it depended largely upon himself to ensure this was carried for, on one occasion, he was censured for not informing the Court early enough of a deficiency [57], though it was the responsibility of the purser or storekeeper to see the juice was carried and Woodall was simply carrying out one of his routine inspections. Unlike other writers, he saw lemon juice as the *sine qua non* in the prevention and treatment of scurvy:

> The use of the juice of Lemons is a precious medicine and wel tried, being sound and good, let it have the chiefe place for it will deserve it … Some Surgeons also give of this juice daily to men in health as a preservative ….. In want thereof use the juice of Limes, Oranges, or Citrous, or the pulpe of Tamarcords… . [28]

The surgical challenge

The timing of the publication of Woodall's second book, *The Viaticum, Being The Pathway to the Surgeon's Chest* in 1628, is significant, for it followed his visit to Portsmouth the previous November to treat the casualties from Buckingham's débâcle at La Rochelle in an attempt to relieve French Huguenots. From 1626, although receiving no pay for it, he had become responsible for supplying the Navy as well as the East India Company with surgeons' chests which, as Keevil has pointed out, were of an altogether different order from those supplied to the Navy previously [26]. Despite that, it was evidently clear to him that the navy surgeons were not of the standard of their mercantile counterparts, most of whom he had trained personally and the *Viaticum* was an attempt to educate them [58]. He was also apparently dismayed by the results of their amputations for he published with it instructions on amputation which showed the 'order and method' he had espoused in his *The Surgion's Mate*. Unlike his contemporaries he advocated the ligature of arteries, a much more certain way of controlling haemorrhage and suggested six rules the young surgeon should observe: he should never undertake amputation lightly nor without consultation with other surgeons, but should not delay it when necessity dictated. He ought not to be inexperienced, for 'dismembering of the Image of God' should be approached with reverence and amputation must be performed only with the consent of the patient, in sound mind and of mature judgement with all instruments and materials immediately to hand. Finally, he must not fail to call upon God for his blessing having given his patient ample time to prepare himself [59]. The instructions on amputation were contained in *A Treatise of Gangrene and Spacelas*, first published in 1628, in which his own humanitarian outlook is manifested, for he points out that the patient can be spared pain if amputation is carried out just below the upper limit of the gangrene and if the cautery is not employed [60].

In a greatly expanded 1639 edition of *The Surgion's Mate*, he included an illustration of the trephine, which replaced the trepan

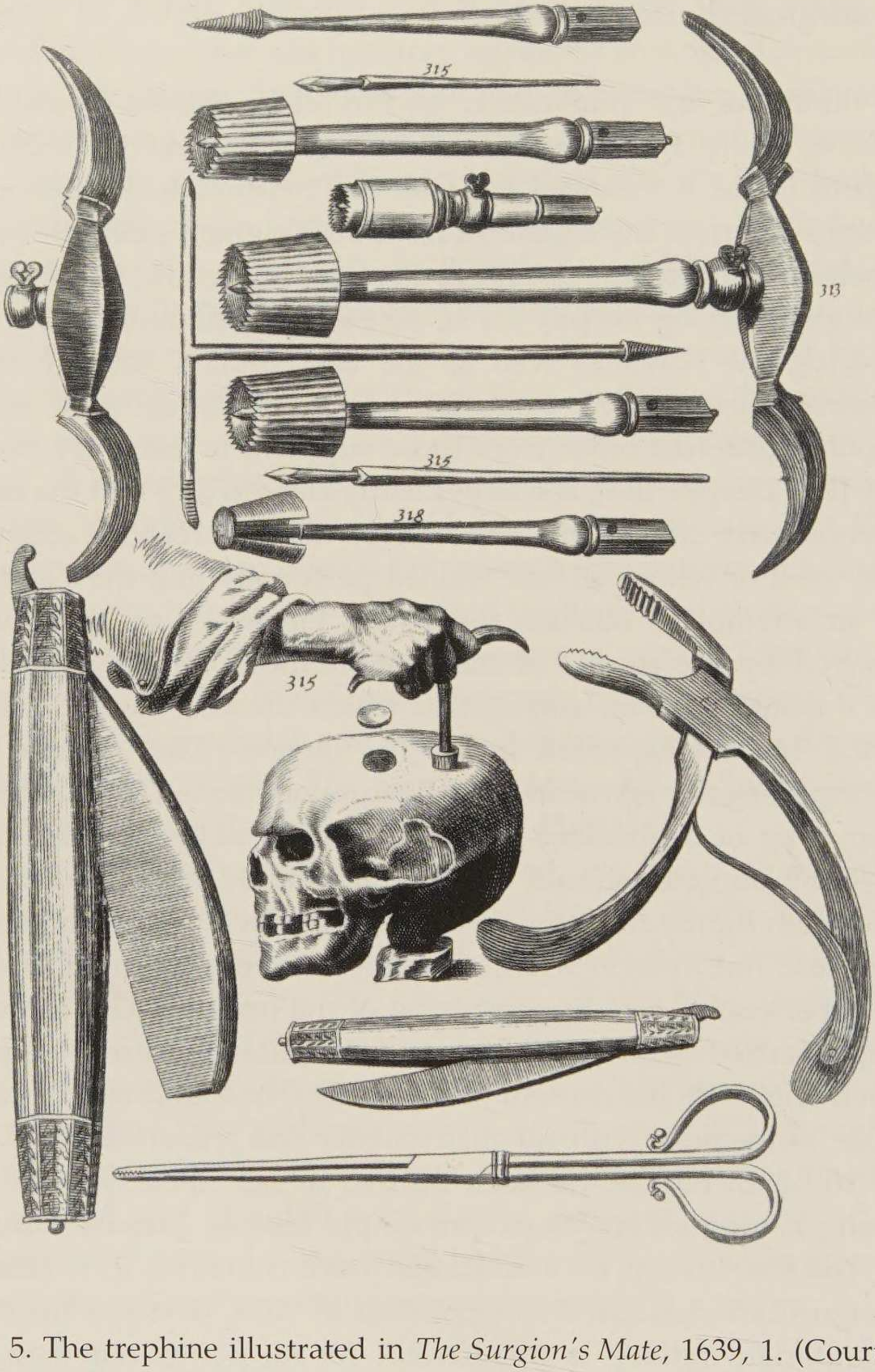


FIG. 5. The trephine illustrated in *The Surgion's Mate,* 1639, 1. (Courtesy Wellcome Library, London.)

as the instrument for entering the skull with the cutting circular saw tapered instead of cylindrical to prevent damage to the dura mater.

Physician and Paracelsian

Woodall also described his experiences of the Plague, both on the Continent and in England and described his own symptoms, claiming that he never abandoned his patients during an epi-



FIG. 6. Aureolus Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim known as Paracelsus, watercolour. (Courtesy Wellcome Library, London.)

demic, but was always available to them [61]. A hint of the reason for his success is contained in his identification of dirt as the cause and the need for personal and domestic hygiene. In 1640 he published a small book on an antidote he had devised called *Aurum Vitae,* which he had found effective [62]. His most comprehensive works were those of 1639 and 1655 (posthumous) which included an expanded section on alchemy. It led Debus to describe Woodall as a Paracelsian surgeon and he pointed out that late 16th century surgeons, such as William Clowes, John Banister, William Goodrus and John Reid were 'the most enterprising and enlightened group of surgeons, or indeed medical practitioners of any kind in England' at that time and were all Paracelsians. Woodall was one of the most interesting and went further than most in using chemical remedies [63]. His 1639 publication included a summary of alchemic terms and chemical symbols. The attraction of Paracelsus (Fig. 6) was that, like themselves, he was an unequivocal Protestant who derided Galen, whom they perceived as the representative of the *ancien régime* whose backward-looking theories and practice were championed by their opponents, the College of Physicians, called by the Barber Surgeons 'grievers of the soule' [64].

Woodall's influence

Woodall's influence was immense. His language skills, Continental associations, political contacts and his usefulness to prominent figures brought him to the governing bodies of the East India and Virginia Companies and won him powerful friends. His books were widely read and their recommendations followed. Captain John Smith, founder of Virginia, had a similar personality and enjoyed a close relationship with him, both through the Virginia Company and through Lord Willoughby, whose patronage Smith enjoyed. Smith's *Accidence or Path-way to Experience Necessary for All Young Sea-men* which he published in 1626, was much influenced by Woodall's *Surgion's Mate* and Woodall returned the compliment two years later by calling his *Viaticum, the Path-way to the Surgeon's*

Chest. Smith followed Woodall's lead in many areas, emphasising the importance of professionalism, hygiene and a generous diet which went much further than that recommended by Woodall and included preserved foods processed by Sir Hugh Platt. Following Woodall, he also advocated 'the juice of lemons in scurvy' [65]. In the navy, Admiral Sir William Monson reflected Woodall's views by underlining the role of the surgeon in the ship, his contribution to morale, a need to assess his skills by examination and the importance of practising both physic and surgery in order that he might both 'attend the sick and cure the wounded' [66].

Woodall was surgeon to two London hospitals, Thomas Sutton's at the Charterhouse (1614-27) and St Bartholomew's (1616-43). He was clearly very experienced for, in 1628, he claimed that he had personally carried out over one hundred amputations [5]. He began providing surgeons' chests for the navy in 1626, only one of his many responsibilities on behalf of the Barber Surgeons' Company, which he served with energy throughout his life. He was elected Second Warden in 1627 and Master in 1633 when, under his aegis, the Company made new by-laws relating to lectures in surgery, the demonstration of anatomy, examination of surgeons, the supervision of naval surgeons' chests, and efforts to prevent the pressing of surgeons for war service without licence from the Company [67].

The bequest to posterity

Woodall's bequest to posterity extended far beyond his own generation. Writing in *The Navy Surgeon* in 1742, John Atkins reinforced the importance of order and method in naval surgery which Woodall had emphasised over a century before [68]. It led him to introduce the principle of triage into casualty management and he emphasised the importance of the clean, ordered technique which Woodall had advocated and which, practised by Nelsonian surgeons, accounted for much of their success [69].

It was not Woodall's only achievement. He was the first maritime medical administrator and very effective in that role. He was

the first to write a standard surgical textbook for sea surgeons and the first to provide them with a standardised medical chest with instructions on its use. He was also the first to provide the sea surgeon with a code of medical ethics and the first to require a written record of clinical practice. Above all, he was the first to provide an unequivocal clinical description of scurvy and its prevention and cure by lemon juice. To his credit, he prevented the loss of thousands of lives by ensuring that ships of the East India Company carried bottles of lemon juice on sailing from England. Finally, his invention of the trephine demonstrated his powers of innovation and it endured in the surgeon's armamentarium almost to the present day [70].*

References

[1] Watt, J., The medical climate of Frobisher's England, *in* Symons T.H.B., ed., *Meta Incognita: A Discourse of Discovery*, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Quebec, 1999, **1**, 257-281.

[2] Vicary, T., *The Englishman's Treasure*, John Peren, London, 1587, 55-6.

[3] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth*, 1581-90, clxxxv, 33, ii.

[4] Appleby, J.H., *Woodall, John, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, **60**, 155-7.

[5] Woodall, J., *The Surgion's Mate or Military and Domestic Surgery*, Nicholas Bourne, London, 1639.

[6] *Register of Admissions*, March 1600, Barber-Surgeons' Company.

[7] Werham, R.B., ed., *List and Analysis of State Papers, Foreign Series, Elizabeth I*, 1, August 1589 - June 1590, 320-331.

[8] *Ibid.*, 2, July 1590-May 1591, 279.[9] Trim, D.J.B., Bertie, *Peregrine, thirteenth Baron Willoughby of Willoughby, Beck and Eresby (1555-1601)*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004, **5**, 489-493.

[9] Trim, D.J.B., Bertie, *Peregrine, thirteenth Baron Willoughby of Willoughby, Beck and Eresby (1555-1601)*, Oxford Dictionary of

---

* Mr Ian Murray, the Company's archivist, has provided valuable help in transcribing relevant Court minutes.

National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004, **5**, 489-493.
[10] Morgan, G., *John Smith, 1580-1631, Soldier and Colonial Governor,* Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004, **51**, 197-199.
[11] *Court Minutes*, 10 August 1607, Barber-Surgeons' Company.
[12] *Court Minutes*, 31 January 1608, Barber-Surgeons' Company.
[13] *Ibid.*, 22 November 1610.
[14] *Ibid.*, 22 April 1611.
[15] *Ibid.*, 26 October 1612.
[16] *Ibid.*, 15 November 1614.
[17] *Ibid.*, 8 June 1626.
[18] *Acts of the Privy Council*, June 1626-December 1626, 70-1.
[19] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1627-28, 430.
[20] *Court Minutes*, 20 November 1627, Barber-Surgeons' Company.
[21] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1627-28, 455.
[22] *Court Minutes*, 20 August 1629, Barber-Surgeons' Company.
[23] *Ibid.*, 15 August 1633; 5 February 1638.
[24] Morgan, B., Smythe, Sir Thomas (*c.* 1558-1625), Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004, **51**, 469-471.
[25] *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, 1, 1574-1660, March 23, 1639. See also Arber, E., ed., *Captain John Smith of Willoughby by Alford, Lincolnshire, President of Virginia and Admiral of New England*, Works 1608-1631, 1884, 2, 664.
[26] Appleby, J.H., *Op.cit.*, Keevil, J.J., *Medicine and the Navy,* Edinburgh, E & S Livingstone, 1957, **1**, 225.
[27] *The Laws or Standing Orders of the East India Company*, 1621, 32-3, British Library.
[28] Woodall, J, *The Surgion's Mate*, 1617, London, Edward Griffin, The Office and Duty of the Surgeon's Mate.
[29] *The Laws or Standing Orders of the East India Company, Op. cit.*
[30] *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, 4, *East Indies*, September 5, 1623.
[31] Munk, W, The Roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London, 1878, 1, 93-95.
[32] *Ibid.*, 160.
[33] *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, 4, *East Indies*, May 1623.
[34] *Ibid.*, 7 February 1624.
[35] *Ibid.*, 18 September 1623.
[36] *Ibid.*, 5 September 1624.

[37] *Ibid.*, 25 February 1629.
[38] *Ibid.*, 9 May 1627; 27 July 1627.
[39] *Ibid.*, 5 January 1628.
[40] Grant, R., *A Sketch of the History of the East India Company from its First Foundation to the Passing of the Regulating Act of 1773*, London, Black, Parry and Hatchard, 6.
[41] *Ibid.*, 7-9.
[42] *Ibid.*, 28.
[43] *Court Minutes*, 4 June 1605, Barber-Surgeons' Company.
[44] *Ibid.*, 18 June 1605.
[45] *Ibid.*, 6 October 1612; 18 February 1616; 13 January 1618; 21 October 1620; 19 January 1625.
[46] *Ibid.*, 19 January 1614.
[47] *Ibid.*, 26 October 1612.
[48] *Ibid.*, 3 November 1612.
[49] *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, 4, *East Indies*, 5 October 1624.
[50] *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, 6, *East Indies, China and Persia*, 28 January 1625.
[51] *Ibid.*, 23 February 1625.
[52] *Dictionary of National Biography*, London, Smith Elder, 1909, **21**, 853-4.
[53] Power, Sir D'Arcy, The Surgion's Mate, *Br.J.Surg*, 1928, **16**, 1-5.
[54] Purchas S., *Hakluytus Posthumus*, Hakluyt Society, Extra Series, 1905, 2, Glasgow, J. MacLehose, 392-5.
[55] *Ibid.*, 396.
[56] Smith, J., *An Accidence, or The Pathway to Experience Necessary for All Young Sea-men*, 1626, London, John Haviland.
[57] *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, 6, *East Indies, China and Persia*, 1625-1629, 9 February 1627.
[58] Woodall, J., *The Viaticum, Being the Path-way to the Surgion's Chest*, 1628, London, N. Bourne.
[59] Woodall, J., *A Treatise of Gangrene and Sphacelas in Military and Domestique Surgery*, 1639, London, N. Bourne, 400-401.
[60] *Ibid.*, 406-7.
[61] Woodall, J., *A Treatise of the Plague, in Military and Domestique Surgery*, 1639, London, N. Bourne, 319.
[62] Woodall, J., *The Cure of the Plague by an Antidote called Aurum Vitae*, 1640, London, N. Bourne.

[63] Debus, A.G., John Woodall, Paracelsian Surgeon, *Ambix, The Journal for the Society of Alchemy and Early Chemistry* (1962), **X**, 108-117.

[64] *Annals of the Royal College of Physicians*, 3 (1608-47), f. 596, 2 June 1624.

[65] Smith, J., *Op. cit.*, 4, 39-41, 219, *The Sea-mans Grammar*, 1654, London, J. Haviland, 34, 36, 61.

[66] Monson, Sir W., *Naval Tracts*, ed. M. Oppenheim, 1902-1914, 4, 57.

[67] Macdonald, D., *Surgeons Twoe and a Barber*, 1950, London, Heinemann, xii.

[68] Atkins, J., *The Navy Surgeon*, 1742, London, Hodges.

[69] Watt, J., Surgery at Trafalgar, *The Mariner's Mirror, Journal of the Society for Nautical Research* (2005), 266-283.

[70]* Keynes, Sir G., John Woodall, Surgeon, his place in medical history, *J. Roy. Coll. Phys.* (1962), **2**, 15-33.

---

* Keynes unequivocally attributes the invention of the trephine to Woodall and gives him pride of place in demonstrating the power of lemon juice to prevent and cure scurvy. See also Kirkup J., ed., Reprint of *The Surgion's Mate*, 1978, Bath, Kingsmead, for a further evaluation of Woodall's contribution, especially in the field of surgery.

Chapter 10

Thomas Hollier 1609 – 1690

Dennis Hill ‡

Introduction

THOMAS HOLLIER IS PERHAPS best known as the lithotomist who removed a stone the size of a ball for real tennis (about two and a quarter inches in diameter) from the bladder of the famous diarist Samuel Pepys on 26 March 1658. Because of this, much more is known about the life of Hollier and his surgeon colleagues and the practice of lithotomy at this time than would otherwise be the case.

Hollier's career could be described by the phrase 'from rags to riches' in that he started life as a poor lad near Coventry and ended up as a famous London lithotomist, on the staff of both St Bartholomew's and St Thomas's Hospitals. He was also a personal friend of, and doctor to, the diarist Samuel Pepys and his wife Elizabeth. Several spellings were in use for his name, for example, Holliard, Holliards and Hollyer. Sir D'Arcy Power [1] states that Mr Holliard (*sic*) was a great surgeon who lived in Warwick Lane near St Paul's Cathedral but had started life as a poor boy near Coventry where his father was a cobbler or at best a poor shoe-maker. Morris [2] suggests that a Dr Mathias Holsbosch, a German-born physician who had practised for a long time in London and attended the family of King James I, was at this time a frequent visitor to nearby Combe Abbey where Lord Harington had

---

‡ Deceased

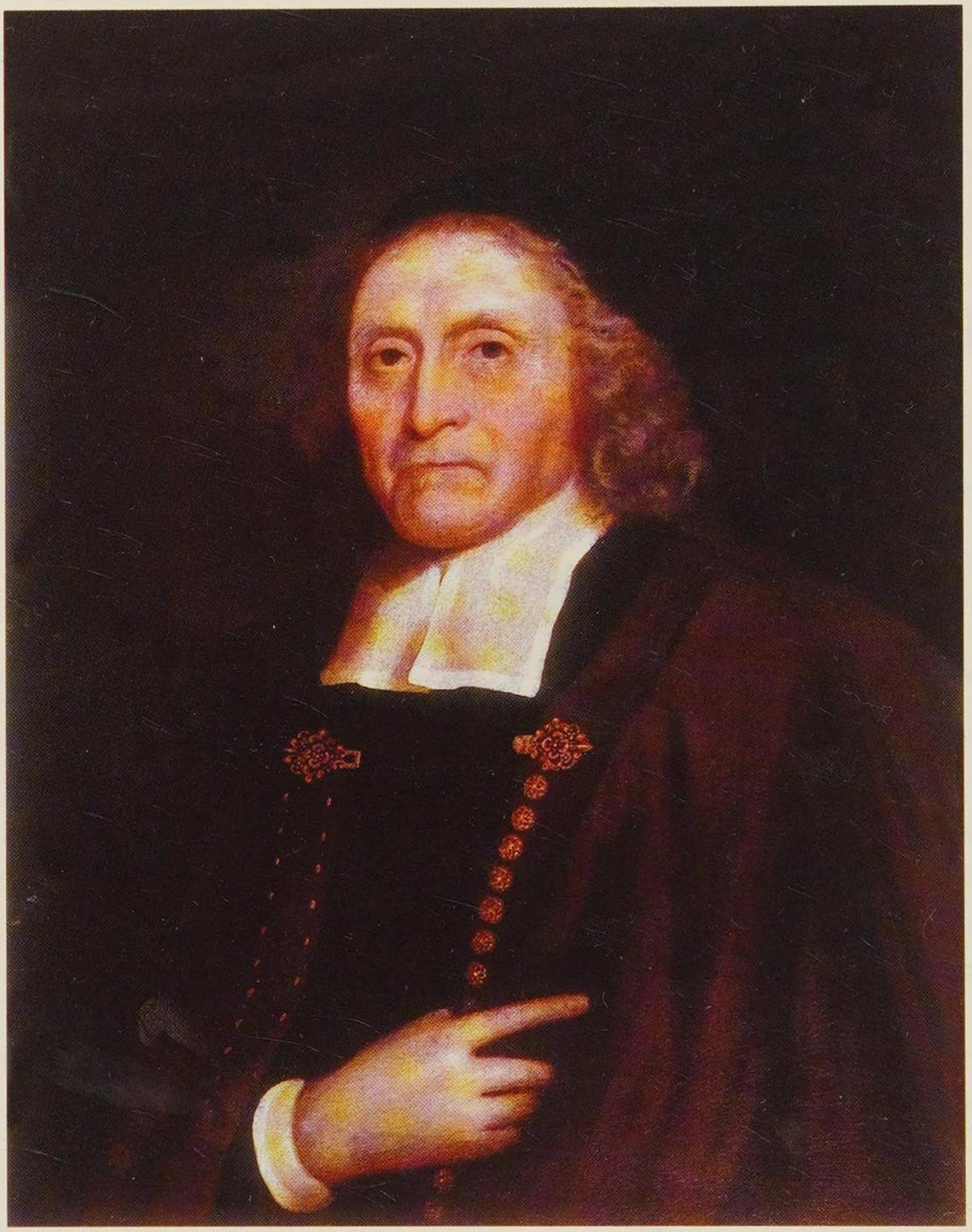


FIG. 1. Portrait of Thomas Hollier painted in approximately 1673, oil on canvas. Unknown artist. (Reproduced by kind permission of the President and Council of the Royal College of Surgeons of England.)

served as guardian of the young Princess Elizabeth. Holsbosch spoke much with a Coventry apothecary Abraham Ashby and requested him to find a suitable boy to ride with the doctor and dress his horses. Mr Ashby spoke with Hollier's schoolmaster Mr White who indicated that he knew of a suitable lad – Thomas Hollier. Thomas was born in 1609 and baptised on 20 September

at Holy Trinity, Coventry. His father was a 'foxing drunken fellow'. However, this did not inhibit Holsbosch from taking a liking to young Hollier, for by the time the doctor made his will in April 1629 he could describe Hollier as 'my servant who hath been loving and careful of me'.

Hollier and the Company of Barbers and Surgeons

After the death of Holsbosch, who was buried on 24 April 1629 at St Andrew's Church, Holborn, Hollier had acquired a little money, came to London and became apprenticed in 1630 for seven years to the barber-surgeon James Molines of Shoe Lane. Molines was Master of the Company of Barbers and Surgeons in 1632, Hollier holding this position in 1673 (Fig. 1). Hollier was admitted to the Freedom of the Company after completing his apprenticeship in May 1637 and practised for two years before being admitted to the Livery at some time in 1639 or a little later. He is shown in the Company's accounts as being liable for Quarterage (quarterly membership fee) as a Liveryman for the first time in the financial year 1639/1640. His progress thereafter in the Company was steady, but strangely he did not become Master in 1667 despite having served as Warden from 1664 to 1666, this honour falling to Lawrence Loe. Hollier had to wait until 1673. He would have served as an Assistant for some years prior to becoming the Renter (junior) Warden.

The Barbers' Archivist, Ian Murray, points out that it was likely the Company required someone of greater prestige as Master in the difficult period when the Hall had to be re-built following the Great Fire of 1666 and the Company re-established. Loe had been a benefactor to the Company as well as an active Royalist in the past and may have been the ideal choice for Master at that time.

Molines was 'a surgeon for the stone' and was said to be the most skilful lithotomist of his generation [1]. In his will Holsbosch left Hollier all his textbooks in English on medicine, surgery, history and divinity from his house in Shoe Lane, which had not been bequeathed to the College of Physicians (680 books to the

Linacre Library), together with other goods in the houses of three friends in the country and about one half of his clothes. Unfortunately, the present Royal College of Physicians has no knowledge of the whereabouts of Holsbosch's books. It is likely that they were destroyed when the earlier College in Warwick Lane burned down.

Hollier, aged twenty, was bound for his apprenticeship to James Molines (Molins, Mullins), a neighbour and friend of Mathias Holsbosch, who in turn had been apprenticed to William Clowes the Elder, since 1605. Clowes was a surgeon and lithotomist to St Thomas's Hospital and to St Bartholomew's Hospital from 1623. Molines was the grandfather of Hollier's second wife. Thus Hollier had the necessary family connections to enter fully into his training during his apprenticeship and to benefit from the series of lectures in anatomy provided in the Anatomy Theatre of Barber-Surgeons' Hall. He was clearly accepted by his peers as being a surgeon in good standing.

Samuel Pepys in his Diary entry for 27 February 1663 says that he and Commissioner Pett at about 11 a.m. walked to the Surgeons' Hall to take up an invitation to witness an anatomy demonstration in the Anatomy Theatre by the Reader in Anatomy Dr Christopher Terne, who lived in Lime Street off Fenchurch Street and was a physician at St Bartholomew's Hospital from 1667 to 1679. Hollier would have known him since both worked at Barts. Later they dined as guests of the Company and drank the health of the King using the Company's Henry VIII Grace Cup. This was ten years before Hollier became Master and he may well have been present. On an earlier occasion Pepys attended one of Dr Charles Scarborough's dissections of a hanged corpse in the Anatomy Theatre and listened to his lectures on anatomy. He was particularly interested in the bladder as a result of his lithotomy. For Hollier, there was also the opportunity to use the Barber-Surgeons' library [3] and the advantage of sharing the experiences of the various liverymen and freemen. During this period, the Company of Barbers and Surgeons was at the height of its powers by keeping a firm grip on the professional standards of barber-surgeons and by providing practical training in surgical anatomy.

Another good friend of Pepys, and thus well known to Hollier, was James Pearse who was Master of the Company of Barbers and Surgeons in 1675 and Royal Surgeon to King Charles II. He was a former naval surgeon upon the ship *Naseby* with the Earl of Sandwich who later worked at Court as surgeon to the Duke of York. He had a beautiful wife of whom Mrs Pepys was jealous. Pearse was well known for passing on Court gossip and must have kept a fashionable surgeon like Hollier 'in the picture'.

Pepys' Diary [4] contains several references to drinking with James Pearse, for example,

> 23 January 1660 'Finding Mr. James Pearse the surgeon, took him to the Axe tavern and gave him his morning draught'; 8 February 1660 'Met Mr. Pearse the surgeon and was invited to his home for dinner'; 12 February 1660 'Drank a morning draught with Mr. Pearse and on to Whitehall'; 22 February 1660 'Met Mr. Pearse the surgeon in Wills' tavern'; 7 March 1660 'Met Mr. Lynes the surgeon and Mr. Pearse'; 21 March 1660 'Drank two or three pints of wine with Judge-Advocate John Fowler and Mr. Burr in a tavern close to Mr. Pearse's house'; 12 June 1660 'Visited by Mr. Pearse and others and gave them a ham of bacon'; 28 June 1660 'Dined at home with Mrs. Pepys and Mrs. Pearce and then to Clothworkers' Hall'; 18 July 1660 'Met Mr. Pearse who had a Porter with a barrel of lemons from Mr. Burr for Pepys. Took Mr. Pearse and others home for a drink' ; 3 August 1660 'At noon by coach with Mrs. Pepys to Dr. Clerke's for dinner where we were joined by Mr. and Mrs. Pearse'; 4 October 1660 'Ate some grand oysters, the first that year, by water home, met Mr. and Mrs. Pearse and gave them good wine, ale and anchovies'; 4 November 1660 'With Mr. Pearse and Mr. Sheply called at the Bell Tavern to see seven Flanders mares and on to Mr. Pearse's house where we drank several bottles of strong Hull ale'; 8 December 1660 'Dined at Mr. Pierce's the purser with Mrs. Pepys and Mr. and Mrs. Pearse on a lovely chine of beef and other good things – very complete and drank a great deal of wine.'

It is clear that in Hollier's times, surgeons enjoyed a good social life with much food and drink and they mixed comfortably with non-medical professional people and visited their homes.

Apart from this general entertainment, the life at Barber-Surgeons' Hall was not without merit. The Company's Great Account Book provides a good description of dinner in the Hall on 27 July 1676 for the Court and their wives which included:

> 5 dishes of chickens and bacon, boiled cauliflowers, a side of venison. 3 sirloins of beef, a neck of veal and mutton, 3 grand salads, 3 dishes of geese each, 3 dishes of turkeys and sauce 2 per dish, 3 lumber pies, 4 dishes of tongues and udders, 3 dishes of tarts, 3 custards, a firkin of sturgeon, 4 dishes of chickens and pigeons, 3 dishes of oranges and lemons.

Hollier's relationship with the Company, however, was not always easy. At the Court on 14 December 1649, when he was aged forty, he was reproved for omitting to make presentations of his patients whom he had cut for the stone and was admonished for disobeying the Company's Ordinances. The relevant byelaw said that 'Patients in danger of death or permanent maiming must be presented to the Masters in Surgery'. He promised to obey in the future. On 16 April 1650 he was fined forty shillings for failing to present a patient cut for the stone to the current two Governor Surgeons, although he had done so to certain of the Ancient Masters of the Company. On 30 April 1650 he paid his fine of forty shillings as ordered by the last Court. On 19 December 1650 the Court Minutes show that Hollier had been elected as a Steward of Anatomy, but, being present, he desired to be excused from that place and was fined twenty pounds. Clarke [5] quotes the fine as £13.6*s*.8*d* for his refusal, presumably so that he could carry on his busy practice without interruption.

Professional life in London

Hollier was married to Joan Saddocke of New Windsor at St Dunstan's Church, Stepney on 21 December 1637, but the marriage soon failed. On 22 October 1638 he was appointed as surgeon for 'scald heads', a dermatological condition including eczema of the scalp, at St Thomas's Hospital which was then located

near London Bridge [6]. Thomas Hollier and James Molines were appointed surgeons for cutting the stone at St Bartholomew's Hospital during the pleasure of the Court of Governors at a salary of £15 per annum equally divided between them and it was also 'ordered and intended that their paynes and medicaments shall also be equally dispensed.'

The St Bartholomew's Hospital Ledger recorded regular payments of £15 per annum to them. James Molines died on 3 December 1638 and was succeeded in all his hospital appointments by his son Edward. A month later, Hollier married Edward Molines's niece, Lucy Knowles, who was not quite sixteen years of age. She was the eldest daughter of a linen draper Thomas Knowles and his wife Lucy, the eldest daughter of James Molines. Hollier and Lucy had four sons and five daughters. Of the nine children, six were married before Lucy died on 15 August 1677.

Edward Molines was a Royalist and served with the King's army during the Civil War. During this period his duties at St Thomas's Hospital were undertaken by Hollier. The House of Commons ordered the dismissal of Edward Molines because of his Royalist views. Hollier was appointed in his place as a chirurgeon for cutting for the stone on 25 January 1643 having worked there for thirteen years which included his time as an apprentice. The salary and fees were to be held by him and enjoyed 'so long as he shall behave himself to the good liking of the Governors of this House for the time being'. He had applied to them for a surgeon's place on 26 March 1640 and was placed on a waiting list for a vacancy. In 1646 Hollier was elected as Hospitaler of St Thomas'sHospital. He was granted a lease of a house beside the entrance of the hospital but may never have lived there.

Edward Molines also ceased practising at St Bartholomew's Hospital and Hollier was paid there as a surgeon for the stone from March 1643. On 22 December 1670, when Hollier was sixty-one, due to his sickness, the Governors of St Thomas's Hospital ordered that his son Thomas Hollier, who had worked there as an Assistant to his father, should take his place as one of the surgeons of this House.

It can be seen that Hollier had established a good reputation

as a surgeon and lithotomist, which is why he was chosen by Samuel Pepys to remove his bladder stone on 26 March 1658. Hollier's home in Warwick Lane near St Paul's cathedral was burned down in the Great Fire of London in 1666 forcing Hollier to move to Hatton Garden until the house was rebuilt. In the event, he sold the fire-damaged site to the College of Physicians in 1669 for £1200. As a doctor, Hollier must have been worked hard during the Great Plague of 1665 and was fortunate to survive.

The surgical procedure of lithotomy

The *Concise Oxford Dictionary* defines lithotomy as 'the surgical removal of a stone from the urinary tract especially the bladder'. Lateral lithotomy has been practised by way of a perineal approach since the time of Celsus (first century AD) and Galen (second century AD). The stone was located by passing a finger into the rectum and then forcing it down on to the perineum. An incision was made on to the stone just to one side of the mid-line, the knife cutting through the prostate gland and the bladder neck. This classical procedure was only feasible in youths having a small prostate and fairly thin and flexible perineal tissues. It was more difficult to feel the stone in adults and hence a 'staff' (or sound) was introduced into the bladder through the urethra. The staff was grooved on one side, the knife directed into the groove and slid along it to cut through the bulbar urethra, prostate and bladder neck. A finger, gorget or dilator was passed into the bladder, the stone grasped with forceps and extracted. This operation was similar to that dating back to Roman times and used by lithotomists such as Frère Jacques and J. J. Rau of Holland, who taught Cheselden.

The median lithotomy of Marianus Sanctus and others [7, 8, 9, 10] utilised a midline incision straight down on to a 'staff' placed in the bulbar urethra and cutting through the urethra, prostate and bladder neck. The incision was then dilated with a special dilator, the stone grasped and removed. Later, Cheselden [11] elucidated the anatomy, and discovered how to avoid the two

large arteries in the perineum, thus making the procedure safe. He developed a 'High Operation for the Stone' involving a suprapubic approach to the bladder which is used today, but abandoned it after treating only a few patients.

If the lithotomist inadvertently entered the peritoneum, there was a problem as muscle relaxant agents were not available in the 17th century. There was no way in which the bowel could be prevented from prolapsing as the patient struggled and strained without the benefit of anaesthesia.

Thomas Hollier and Pepys's lithotomy

Thomas Hollier had a close relationship with Samuel and Elizabeth Pepys. He cut Pepys for stone on 26 March 1658. This was earlier than the commencement of Pepys's famous diary. This records Hollier acting as a friend and physician to the Pepys family. In 1661 Hollier visited Pepys at Standing's tavern in Fleet Street and gave him something for pain prevention. Also in 1661 he came and sat with both the Pepys and gave them general directions to observe. In 1662 Hollier dined with Pepys and his brother Tom and gave Pepys good advice about his health. In that year he cured Elizabeth of a pain in the ear by removing prodigious quantities of hard wax. In 1663 he treated Pepys for constipation and also checked him for deafness in his right ear. In 1665 he treated Elizabeth for 'her evil below' and in 1665 assured Pepys that he could not possibly have another stone in the bladder. Pepys paid Hollier three pounds in full for his physic and work to his wife.

The operation

Although Pepys's lithotomy was horribly painful, he and his wife clearly had a considerable respect for Thomas Hollier which continued long after the operation. In Pepys's case the operation was distinguished by the patient being offered only an analgesic or soothing draught which had no properties to relieve pain and being very firmly trussed up to minimise movement.

Tomalin [12] describes how wine was forbidden during the preparatory weeks; only sweet drinks were allowed made from almond, cucumber, and melon taken with a diet of fresh meat, chicken, pigeon, eggs, butter, barley and water-gruel. In the days prior to the operation, the patient would have taken warm baths and stayed in a warm bed. His abdomen would have been rubbed with unguents, he would have been bled from the arm and given gentle purges. On the penultimate day, he was left in peace but for the serving of a good meal. Before the operation the patient would have joined in prayers for his successful recovery, taken a last bath and a turn or two about the room and was offered a specially prepared herbal draught.

Tomalin [12] describes how the patient was trussed up like a chicken, with his legs up and a web of long linen strips wound around his legs, neck and arms to hold them still and out of the lithotomist's way. He was shaved in the genital region and bound to the table. Four strong men were positioned to hold the patient still, two by the knees and feet and two by the arm-pits and hands. Meanwhile the lithotomist lubricated his instruments with warm water and oil or milk of almonds taken from a bowl placed at the end of the table. He had ready a styptic powder to stop bleeding, sponges and cordial waters. A thin curved silver instrument – the staff – was inserted via the penis and an incision made through the perineum on to the staff and into the neck of the bladder or just below it, the stone located and grasped with pincers and extracted. The stone still exists (it is alleged) and is in the possession of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries. Subsequently the wound was not stitched but left to heal naturally after washing and covering with a dressing. The patient was then moved to a warm bed where he stayed for a week. The initial dressing was left in place for twelve hours. Broth, cinnamon water and soothing draughts were administered during the first post-operative day and the thighs tied together to encourage wound healing.

Thereafter followed an austere vegetarian diet. Provided the patient escaped infection, recovery was anticipated to take thirty to forty days. In Pepys's case it took thirty-five days. Hollier was

at his peak as a lithotomist having successfully operated for stone that year on thirty patients. However, the following year four died, probably from infection.

Swift Joly [10] mentions that the stretching or tearing of the bladder was excessively painful and mandrake and opium could have been used for pain relief, but not by Hollier who wanted his patient alert, relaxed and responsive to questioning. Alcohol was not used as it tended to make the patient struggle.

Power [13] describes two prescriptions made out for Samuel Pepys by Dr J. M, the originals being in the British Museum (*Sloane Manuscript* No, 1536 folio 63). The first prescription is headed 'Before he was cut for the stone by Mr. Hollier' and is ordered for Mr Peapes. It was a soothing draught for a patient whose bladder might be inflamed and contained liquorice, marsh mallow, cinnamon, rose water and the whites of eggs carefully distilled over a slow fire. The dose was six ounces (approximately 170 ml) together with

> an ounce [28 ml] of syrup of althea, roots of grass, asparagus, liquorice cleansed, leaves of mallow, pellitory, burnet, saxifrage, plaintain, white and black maidenhair, ana M a handful, red clears an ounce, of the four greater and lesser cold seeds ana three ounces.

These ingredients were then infused for a whole day in clear water, boiled to the consumption of two pounds, strained and pressed with sugar and made into a syrup in a Balneo Mariae (Bain Marie water bath).

The second prescription was for a draught to be taken after Pepys's operation. It has cooling and demulcent properties suitable for a patient whose mouth is parched. The chief constituent was lemon juice to which a little syrup of radishes had been added. Power [13] points out that this draught does not contain musk which was believed to be a sovereign remedy for collapse. Although not used by Hollier on his stone patients, the Anglo-Saxon surgeon John of Aderne in the 14th century used a simple decoction of henbane which contains at least one of the alkaloids of mandragora. Given in wine it makes the drinker go to sleep so

that he shall not feel whatever is done to him [14]. Graves [15] states that, from the amount of mucilage which it contains, the common mallow is frequently used as a demulcent administered in disease of the bladder. Swales [16] states that relatively minor lesions in viscera such as the stomach, bladder or the ureters can produce excruciating pain.

There is no reason to suppose that other patients undergoing lithotomy at the hands of Hollier were treated any differently from Samuel Pepys.

London life

Thomas Hollier was obviously very self-confident and knowledgeable in his role as a leading London surgeon. He was well established professionally at St Bartholomew's, where the Governors ordered in 1714 that the stones removed from patients in the Hospital must be shown to the Treasurer and Governors. He worked also at St Thomas's Hospital and Barber-Surgeons' Hall as well as having a thriving private practice. It is interesting to contrast the general acceptance of Hollier with the attitude of his contemporary lithotomist Edward Molines who entered the Court Room of Barber-Surgeons' Hall saying 'that he would do no obedience to the Court and swore "God's Wounds" that he would submit to no man living.'

All was not plain sailing, however, for Hollier whose notorious pupil John Browne was known as 'the plagiarising anatomist' and dismissed from his appointment as a surgeon at St Thomas's Hospital. A Plymouth surgeon James Yonge and critic of Browne, stated that 'Browne was only Hollier's cub and his skillet carrier for two years without lodging or eating in his house or being educated by, or handed over to him, as an apprentice.'

Hollier spent a year as Master of the Company of Barbers and Surgeons in 1673 and was an examiner of surgeons seeking the Bishop of London's licence on diplomas granted from 1662 to 1679 [2].

Hollier's social and home life in London

Hollier was on good terms with Mr and Mrs Pepys who were living in Admiralty property in Seething Lane near the Tower of London. It was likely that their modes of life would have been similar. Pepys was a frequent visitor to taverns and at least once Hollier met him in Standing's tavern in Fleet Street. Meetings of senior members of the Company of Barbers and Surgeons on Company business often took place in convenient taverns such as the George and Vulture. Hollier mixed widely in society and treated a variety of patients for the stone, including a Jewish merchant member of the Portuguese Bevis Marks synagogue in London, who unfortunately died from the operation.

Clearly, Hollier was socially and professionally acceptable to a group of talented Londoners and performed surgery in their homes. He had a strong family of wife and nine children, and both family life and agreeable company in taverns would have assisted in enabling him to relax following a stressful day operating. As with Samuel Pepys, Thomas Hollier would have had domestic staff including a cook, a maid for Mrs Hollier and house maids. As a man of considerable social standing, Hollier would have kept 'a good table'.

Hollier would have been in a position to enjoy visits to theatres and pageants and, like Pepys, would have made much use of watermen on the River Thames, for example, to cross the river to Southwark for entertainment.

Pepys, when he had achieved a senior position with the Navy Board, had his own horse and carriage. Hollier, as a popular surgeon and doctor, had to visit hospitals and also patients at their homes and to take with him surgical instruments and accessories. It is quite possible that Hollier also had his own carriage.

Pepys was well known for his love of ale and wine, but Hollier as a doctor would have known the dangers of drinking to excess. This is confirmed by an episode in which Pepys forgot an appointment he had made to show Lady Sandwich over naval ships at Chatham dockyard. This was because he had to spend three nights away as part of an inspection of the naval dockyard at

Deptford. On returning home, he was reminded of the appointment and hurried off to meet Lady Sandwich and her retinue at Rochester. On returning to London he immediately went to consult his doctor, Hollier, about the 'decay of my memory' that had made him forget the appointment. Hollier advised Pepys to reduce his drinking [12]. Hollier was clearly on close terms with Pepys and prescribed pills to reduce a bad attack of wind and on occasion bled Pepys. It would be expected that as a doctor Hollier could be tactful and this is shown by his treating Elizabeth Pepys's vaginal cyst with fomentations as an aid to keeping the condition secret from the servants. Hollier appears to have had a competent gynaecological practice.

In August 1669, on returning from a trip with Pepys to Rouen, Elizabeth was taken ill with a fever which in about three weeks led to her death. Tomalin [12] is confident that Hollier would have been in attendance. Hollier also gave medical advice to Samuel Pepys's old father who lived in Brampton near Huntingdon.

Final years

Because of failing health Hollier retired as a surgeon at St Bartholomew's Hospital in 1680 but he continued to work at St Thomas's Hospital. He died in April 1690 aged eighty-one and was buried in Christ Church, Newgate. His gravestone in the south aisle (sadly destroyed in World War II) states that he was 'Chirurgeon to their Majesties Hospital of Saint Thomas in Southwark for 53 years'.

The stone also records the earlier deaths of his second wife Lucy and their two older sons. The third son, Nathaniel, was granted administration of his father's estate, Hollier having died intestate.

Pepys died in May 1703 aged seventy-two. He had suffered from an ulcerated kidney and the wound of his old stone operation had broken open. Three surgical interventions had been required before it was more or less repaired. Pepys had the most fashionable doctor in London, John Radcliffe, and the best surgeon Charles Bernard, principal surgeon to the Queen and Master

of the Barber-Surgeons' Company in 1703. Later on the day of his death, an autopsy was performed on Pepys by Dr John Shadwell physician, Hans Sloane, physician and Charles Bernard, the latter two being members of the Royal Society.

This suggests that surgeons such as Thomas Hollier operated in the full knowledge that the outcome of their procedures could be subject to the findings of a rigorous post-mortem examination. Hollier's health appears to have gone into a decline, forcing his resignation as a surgeon from St Bartholomew's Hospital. It is not known whether he was subjected to a post-mortem.

Thomas Hollier was an outstanding barber-surgeon, rising from humble beginnings to the peak of his chosen profession. He practised at famous hospitals, had a thriving private practice, moved freely in London Society and played a full part with his peers at Barber-Surgeons' Hall. All of this was without the benefits of a sterile surgical technique, analgesia and anaesthesia. Clearly, he was both manually dextrous and sympathetic to the fears and feelings of his patients and their relatives.

References

[1] Power, Sir D'Arcy, The Annual Oration, The Rev. John Ward and Medicine. *Proc. Medical Society, London*, (1920), **63**, 253-284.

[2] Morris, G.C.R., A Portrait of Thomas Hollier, Pepy's Surgeon, *Annals Royal College of Surgeons*, (1979), **61**, 224-229.

[3] Buckland-Wright, C and Buckland-Wright, Helen, The Library of the Company of Barbers and Surgeons, *The Company of Barbers and Surgeons*, ed. I Burn, Farrand Press, London (2000).

[4] Latham, R. and Mathews W., *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Bell and Sons, London (1970).

[5] Clarke L., The Disciplinary Powers of the Barbers' Company, *The Company of Barbers and Surgeons*, ed I. Burn, Farrand Press, London (2000).

[6] *Minute Book of the General Court of Governors of St Thomas' Hospital (1619-1677)*, The London Metropolitan Archives.

[7] Ellis, H.A., *History of Bladder Stone*, Blackwell Scientific Publications, Oxford (1969).

[8] Heister, L. *A General System of Surgery*, 5th edition, English, Translation from the Latin, London (1753).

[9] Hildanus, F. *Lithomia Vesicae – an accurate description of the stone in the bladder*, translated from High Dutch into English, printed by John Norton (1640).

[10] Swift Joly J., *Stone and Calculous Disease of the Urinary Organs*, William Heinemann, London (1929).

[11] Cheselden, W., *A Treatise on the High Operation for the Stone*, printed for John Osborn at the Oxford Arms in Lombard Street, London, (1723).

[12] Tomalin, Claire, *Samuel Pepys The Unrivalled Self*, Viking, London (2002).

[13] Power, Sir D'Arcy, Who Performed Lithotomy on Mr. Samuel Pepys, *The Lancet*, (1904) April 9th, 1011-1012.

[14] Hull, C.J., *Drows'd with the fume of poppies…*, Vicary Lecture, Royal College of Surgeons, London 1985.

[15] Graves, G., *Medicinal Plants*, Bracken Books, London (1996).

[16] Swales, M., Pain and deliberate self-harm, *Wellcome News*, (2004), Issue 39, 26-29.

Chapter 11

Sir Charles Scarburgh 1615 – 1694

Ian Burn

THERE IS SOME MYSTERY SURROUNDING the birth and early childhood of Charles Scarburgh. His grandfather, Henry, was a country attorney and lived in the Norfolk township of North Walsham. His eldest son, Edmund, was Charles's father. Edmund had three younger brothers, Henry, Samuel and John. All four boys, like their father, had gone to Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge; all but Edmund being scholars. Edmund and his wife, Hannah, must have moved to the London area, for Charles was born in the Parish of St Martin in the Fields in the year 1615. He was baptised at St Martin's on 29 December 1615. Grandfather Henry died in 1617. A girls' school now stands on the site of the family house in North Walsham [1] and still bears the family Arms. The mystery surrounds the departure of Charles's parents to America.

At some time during the early years of Charles's life, Edmund and Hannah Scarburgh emigrated to Northampton County, Virginia, leaving their only son behind. Charles's brother, Edmund, was born later in Virginia. The family prospered in America, with Edmund senior becoming a respected citizen and a Justice of the Peace. He died in 1635 at the age of fifty-one. Charles's brother, Edmund junior, and Edmund's own three sons eventually acquired vast properties in Virginia. Keevil [1] records that in the year 1664 alone, their estates increased by ten thousand acres. Why Charles was left behind in England is unrecorded.

Whatever the reason, there is no record of any further communication between the boy and his parents. Later, the eminent Sir Charles Scarburgh would resume relationship with the now very wealthy family, by arranging for other emigrants from the County of Norfolk to swell the ranks.

Behind in England, the young Charles's future was left in the hands of his three uncles, his grandfather having died. Samuel and John Scarburgh were both practising law in London. Charles'seducation certainly was not neglected, for in 1628, he entered St Paul's School for Boys in London. He must have been a well balanced lad, unaffected by the absence of his natural parents, for his progress was good enough for him to be accepted as a student at Gonville and Caius College, very much following in family tradition.

Two spellings of the family name are in use. It seems that in general *SCARBURGH* was the preferred version in Charles's era. Later generations appear to have used the alternative, *SCARBOROUGH.*

Gonville and Caius

Charles entered the college on a maintenance grant on 4 March 1633, after five profitable years at St Paul's School. His early progress was very satisfactory and after one year he was awarded a scholarship, which he continued to hold until 1640. The young Scarburgh had excelled at mathematics at school. The subject continued to fascinate him for the rest of his life, as evidenced by the contents of his extensive library. He took this interest with him to Cambridge and became drawn towards medicine only while at the College.

Gonville and Caius (Fig. 1) was prospering during the era of Scarburgh's studentship, with an emphasis on Medicine and Law. Following the benefactions and endowments attributable to the efforts of founder, Dr John Caius, much property had been acquired, mostly in East Anglia. The college itself was enlarged by the addition of the Perse and Legge buildings (Tree Court) early

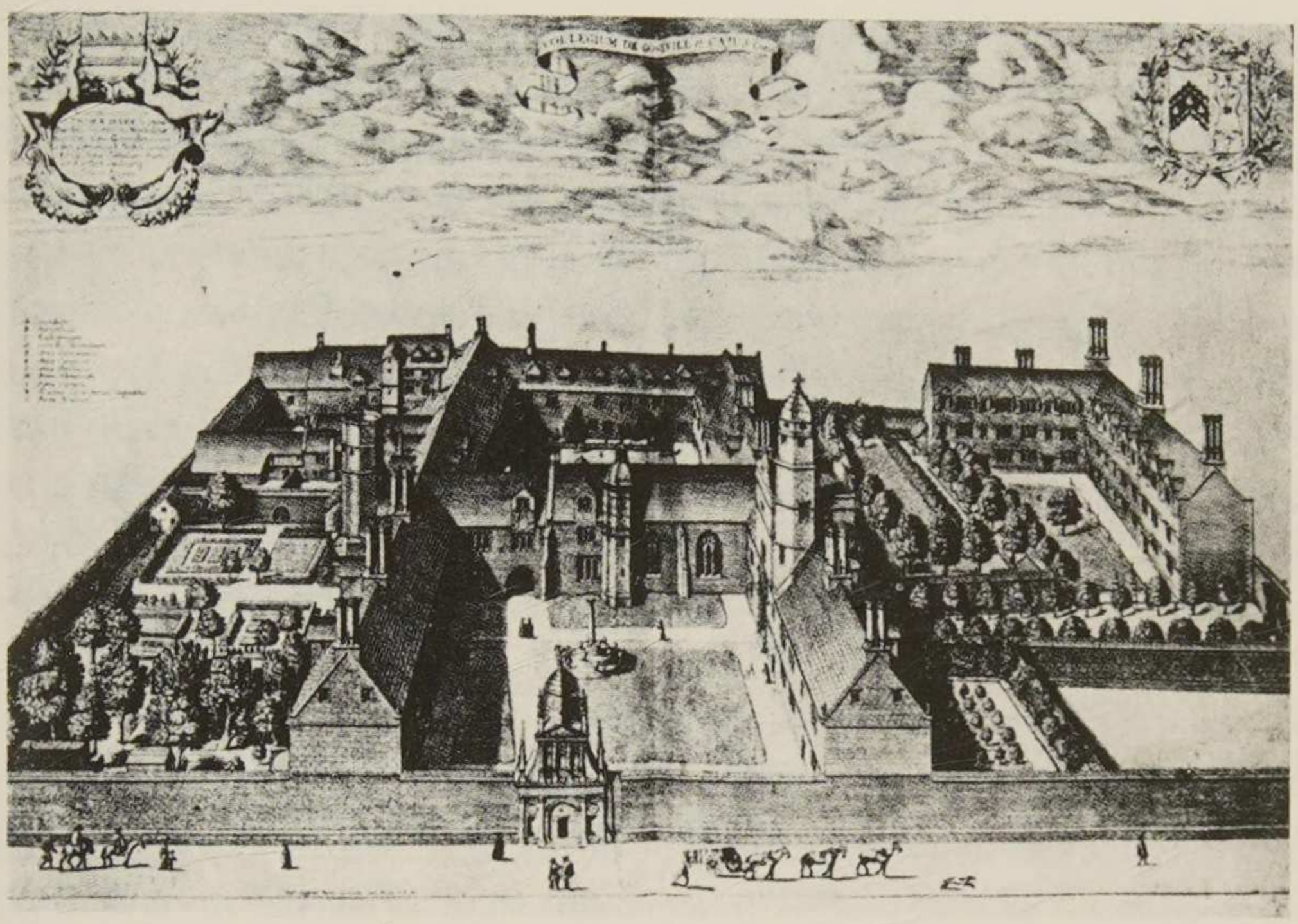


FIG. 1. Gonville and Caius College in the 17th century, view by Loggan. (Courtesy of the College Authorities.)

in the 17th century. The year 1637 saw the repair and enlargement of the college chapel.

In 1640 Charles was elected to a Fellowship at the college having obtained his BA degree in 1637. The young man continued with his study of mathematics and in 1642 was appointed as a lecturer in the subject. Keevil [1] describes how Scarburgh and fellow student, Seth Ward, studied a range of mathematically related subjects, including navigation, astronomy and fortification. This latter was perhaps the first indication of his interest in the military.

The library in the college was very well stocked and this gave Scarburgh much opportunity for extending his own reading, as well as pointing the way for his own collection. Possibly it was the influence of the works of John Caius which stimulated Scarburgh's growing interest in medicine and anatomy. Possibly he also attended some of the anatomical demonstrations in the University.

This was a grave time, politically, for England, culminating in

the Civil War which erupted in 1642 and led to the execution of Charles I in 1649. Grierson [2] writes that the moderately Royalist leanings within the college at the outbreak of the war gave way to a growing Puritanism, as reflected by the tenor of the services in the chapel. The incumbent master Dr Thomas Batchcroft was expelled in 1649, to be succeeded by a dedicated Puritan, William Dell. Batchcroft was re-instated for a short period at the Restoration in May 1660, Dell having resigned when Charles II was proclaimed King. Scarburgh, whose own sympathies lay with the Royalists, left the college soon after the outbreak of the Civil War. He travelled to Oxford to pursue his studies in medicine at Merton College, under the preceptorship of Dr William Harvey, King's Physician and Warden of Merton. Scarburgh was to make full use of his time at Oxford and graduated M.D.(Oxon) on 23 June 1646, William Harvey testifying to his abilities.

The Oxford years

Charles Scarburgh's relationship with the great William Harvey is an intriguing one. There was a wide age gap between the two men, Harvey having been born in 1578, thirty-seven years before Scarburgh. Possibly Scarburgh had met the older man as a boy, for Payne [3] records that Harvey was a good friend of one of Charles's uncles. Clearly William Harvey recognised the younger man's academic qualities and gave him full support in that direction. Scarburgh is said to have assisted Harvey with his anatomical research and in the preparation of his work *De Generatione Animalium* a major contribution to the understanding of comparative anatomy. Interestingly, another participant in these studies was the youthful Christopher Wren, who was to enter Wadham himself as a student in 1648. Keevil [1] records how the 15-year-old boy, in 1647, wrote to his father about his friendship with Scarburgh. This association was to be renewed later when Scarburgh became Reader in Anatomy at the Barber-Surgeons' Hall. Scarburgh had developed a particular interest in the anatomy and mode of action of the muscles of the body, which provided a natural outlet for his profound knowledge of mathematics.

Having completed his Doctorate in Medicine in 1646, Scarburgh remained in Oxford, continuing his anatomical studies. His Royalist sympathies were undiminished apparently, for clearly he was engaged actively in what soon was to be proved a lost cause. Harvey moved to London and the younger man's activities in Oxford must have worried him. He wrote to Scarburgh: 'Prithee leave off gunning and stay here, I will bring thee into practice'. This was an invitation that Scarburgh could not refuse. The years in Oxford had been productive ones, especially the burgeoning friendship between the two men. Scarburgh was ready to make his mark in the capital.

Medical practice

Scarburgh's final move to London coincided with the end of the Civil War in England and subsequent beheading of Charles I in 1649. Although his military interests were to continue, he clearly concentrated on his medical career. At this time, the physicians were still the dominant force in medicine, with the College of Physicians, established in 1518 by Thomas Linacre, the focal point. Scarburgh was elected a Fellow of the College in 1650. That same year he married Mary Daniel, settled in a house in the centre of London and set up in practice, becoming a 'Society' physician.

Scarburgh's relationship with the College of Physicians was a happy one and his progression towards eminence rapid. In 1655 he was appointed as a College Censor, a position which, with others, carried the responsibility for maintaining the discipline of the profession in London. He also was appointed as Lumleian lecturer in 1656; an honour previously bestowed upon William Harvey forty years earlier [4], when he demonstrated the research which ultimately led to the production of *De Motu Cordis et Sanguinis* in 1628, one of the most famous of all medical publications. The prestigious lecture had been endowed by Lord Lumley in 1581.

Scarburgh's close relationship with Harvey continued. Payne [3] writes of the events of 24 July 1656, when Harvey entertained

all the Fellows of the College of Physicians to a great banquet at which he made clear his intention of instituting an oration which would be delivered annually to commemorate the Fellowship of the College. The first Harveian orator was Dr Edward Emily. There is good evidence, as deduced by Payne [3], that Scarburgh delivered the oration in 1662, although the manuscript concerned, only discovered in 1956, was missing the first few pages which would have included the author's name. Payne's thorough analysis of the text, which contains enthusiastic mention of Gonville and Caius College and refers to Harvey as *meus praeceptor* while extolling his virtues, is in Latin, a language in which Scarburgh was very fluent. Supporting the inference is the entry in the *Annals of the College of Physicians*, dated 30 September 1661, appointing Dr Scarburgh 'orator for the next month'. Payne [3] believes that the word 'month' was written in error for 'year', the 1661 oration having already been delivered by Sir Edward Greaves.

William Harvey died in June 1657 after a long and memorable life, one year after the magnificent banquet of 1656. Charles Scarburgh was a pallbearer and delivered an epitaph. That Harvey greatly valued the younger man's friendship was shown by his bequests to Scarburgh. As quoted by Payne [3], the will stated *'I give my velvet gowne ..... and all my little silver instruments of surgerie.'* It was one of medical history's most enduring friendships. Harvey also had appointed Charles Scarburgh as one of the executors of the contents of his library.

Scarburgh's family life appears to have been a contented one. There were five children of his union with Mary, two boys and three girls. The early years of his medical practice were in a London then under the command of the notorious Oliver Cromwell as Lord Protector of the Commonwealth. Although a favourite at the College of Physicians, Scarburgh's strong Royalist views cannot have endeared him to the civil authorities. These early years must have been a struggle financially, although this would change dramatically after Cromwell's death in 1658. There also was another appointment within the London medical scene which gave full rein to Scarburgh's great academic talents, as well as producing some financial remuneration.

Scarburgh and the Barber Surgeons

Conscious of its responsibility towards the training of young surgeons, the London Company of Barber Surgeons had introduced a system of Readers in Anatomy in 1546. The Reader was in charge of a programme of anatomical lectures and demonstrations, given at intervals during the year. The first of these Readers was the eminent physician John Caius [5], founder of the Cambridge College that bears his name and to which the Scarburgh family had such an allegiance.

The minute for 8 October 1649 in the *Annals of the Barber Surgeons* [6] reads:

> The Court taking into consideration severall worthy Physicians of whome one might be elected Reader of the Anatomicall Lectures at the publique dissections of this Company Do thinke fitt that Doctor Scarborough *(sic)* be elected thereunto who being desired to come to this Court appeared during the sitting thereof and declared himselfe very willing to performe the same and rendered thanks to this Court for their good opinions of him.'

Charles Scarburgh was formally elected the sixteenth Anatomical Reader on 12 October 1649, a post he was to occupy until 1663. This was one of the longest tenures of office during the 200 years that the post existed. The final Reader was William Bromfield, appointed in 1744, his tenure of office being halted abruptly when the Bill for the separation of the Barbers and Surgeons received the Royal Assent on 2 May 1745.

Unlike many of his predecessors, Charles Scarburgh had the great advantage of working in the recently constructed anatomy theatre. When John Caius started as first Reader in 1546 the anatomies were carried out in the main hall. This was not only inconvenient but extremely unhygienic. As described by Missen and Hill [7], on 11 February 1635 the Court of the Company took the decision to fund a custom-built 'amphitheatran' for the purpose of dissection of bodies and teaching anatomy. The great Inigo Jones was the appointed architect and the oval structure, controversially

said by some to have been modelled on the famous anatomy theatre in Padua, was opened on 6 April 1638.

As recorded in the Annals of the Company, the inaugural public anatomy in the new theatre was given by the twelfth Reader, Otwell Meverell. He received a gift of an engraved Company plate for the occasion. The first Reader to avail himself of the new facility throughout the tenure of his office was Sir Francis Prujean (Reader 1638 to 1646). Prujean was another renowned London physician who had been educated at Gonville and Caius College.

There was a strict format for the conduction of the Public Anatomies of which there were four a year and which is described in detail by Burn and Buckland-Wright in the Company's volume published in 2000 to celebrate the advent of the third millennium [8]. Essentially the teaching involved the dissection of human cadavers, carried out by four assistants (stewards) to the Reader. The lectures were given by the appointed Readers, surrounded by considerable ceremonial.

Each public anatomy lasted over a period of three days, during which the visceral, muscular and osteological parts of the body were dealt with in that order. Some Readers were appointed specifically for one section only. This may have been the case with Scarburgh because of his special knowledge of the musculature. From 1572 the attendance at the public anatomies was compulsory for trainee surgeons in London who wished to achieve legal licence to practise. All members of the Company were also invited to attend and other guests were made welcome.

Although very recent to the London scene, Scarburgh clearly impressed the Company. A reference to his work in the pamphlet accompanying an exhibition at the Royal College of Physicians in 1973, records that Scarburgh read the lectures 'with great applause' [9]. In 1650, the Company commissioned a portrait of Scarburgh by the artist Richard Greenbury, who was employed as the official portrait painter for the Company at the time. The picture is a double portrait of Charles Scarburgh aged 35 years and Edward Arris, who was his surgeon assistant at the time. The portrait shows Scarburgh delivering an anatomy lecture and

carries the following inscription in Latin to the two men:

> You, Scarburgh and Arris, were inspired by the same inward spirit. The spirit controls the many varied activities of the human body. The Creator of the Universe has revealed some of his secrets to you and has ordered that his divine power shall be in your words. This has enabled you to perform many kind and generous acts throughout your lives. Anyone who follows your excellent examples will greatly benefit, but no one will surpass you.

Scarburgh concentrated on his efforts to understand the geometric principles of muscle activity while at Barber-Surgeons' Hall. In this he was assisted by the still youthful Christopher Wren (1632-1723). Between them they constructed full-scale pasteboard models of the human body's musculature, which were used to illustrate Scarburgh's 'celebrated lectures' [1]. Unfortunately the models were destroyed in the Great Fire of London. Later, in 1670, Scarburgh would publish his *Syllabus Musculoram,* a syllabus of his lectures at the Hall.

Samuel Pepys

One of the celebrated guests at a Public Anatomy was Samuel Pepys, a full account of which is given by Russell [4] in his informative dissertation on Anatomy and the Barber Surgeons. The visit took place on 27 February 1663. Scarburgh's tenure as Reader had just finished and the new one was Christopher Terne, a physician of distinction on the staff of St Bartholomew's Hospital from 1664 to 1679. He was one of the original Fellows of the Royal Society, as was Charles Scarburgh. Pepys himself refers to the visit to the Hall in his diary.

The lecture was a visceral one, the subject being the urinary tract. Pepys had suffered from a bladder calculus which had been removed successfully by Thomas Hollier on 26 March 1658. A dinner was part of the ceremony of the day. This took place after the Reader had delivered his lecture, which commenced at one o'clock in the afternoon. After dinner, the company re-assembled

in the Anatomy Theatre at five o'clock promptly for a second lecture. Russell [4] records the following remarks by Pepys:

> After Dinner Dr Scarborough took some of his friends, and I went along with them, to see the body alone; which we did; he was a lusty fellow, a seaman that was hanged for a robbery. I did touch the dead body with my bare hand, it felt cold, but we thought it was a very unpleasant sight. ……. and Dr Scarborough, upon my desire and the company's, did show very clearly the manner of the disease of the stone and the cutting and all other Questions that I could think of.

The Annals of the Company [6] for the occasion quote Pepys thus:

> About 11 o'clock Commissioner Pet and I walked to Chyrugeon's Hall, we being all invited thither …. by and by comes the reader, D'Tearne, with the Master and Company, in a very handsome manner ….. his discourse being ended, we had a fine dinner and good learned company, many Doctors of Phisique, and we used with Extraordinary great respect.

It would appear that Pepys and Scarburgh were well acquainted. Pepys also was a member of the Royal Society and was elected president in December 1684.

Royalty, politics and the military

Scarburgh's involvement with the College of Physicians continued apace. He was much involved in the rebuilding of some of its premises after the Great Fire. He was elected a Councillor in 1684. He was also a physician to the Tower of London.

Scarburgh was one of a limited number of physicians who remained behind in London during the plague, to treat the afflicted, in 1665, a testimony to his undoubted courage. He was also active in other ways, retaining his loyalty to the Royalist's cause.

In 1659 Charles Scarburgh accompanied the delegation to the Hague to bring back Charles II. In due course he became Senior

Physician to the restored Monarch and his fortunes blossomed. This must have been an exceedingly busy time for the seemingly tireless physician. He was in his prime. He served Charles II faithfully, on 18 August 1669, received a well-deserved knighthood.

Escape from death

An episode occurred in early May 1682 which again emphasised the extraordinary stamina of Charles Scarburgh. He was accompanying the heir to the throne, James, Duke of York, on a voyage to Scotland by sea in the frigate *Gloucester*. Samuel Pepys was also due to be aboard the same vessel but, as recorded by Bryant [10], the diarist fortunately chose to travel on the accompanying yacht *Catherine,* which was less crowded. The weather deteriorated dramatically and in the ensuing gale, in the dawn of 6 May, the *Gloucester* struck a bank in the Yarmouth Sands. The vessel rapidly sank off the East Anglian coast. Bryant records that Scarburgh, now 67 years old, clung to a piece of wreckage, competing for this with the Duke of York's dog, Mumper. He was eventually rescued by Pepys's boat, the yacht *Catherine*. Two hundred courtiers and sailors drowned in the tragedy although the Duke of York himself was rescued.

The London press reported on the incident as follows:

> Doctor Scarborow *(sic),* physitian to his Royal Highness who was taken up swimming upon a plank in the Sea in the late ship wreck of the Gloucester frigot, is now brought to his House in London and 'tis thought he can hardly recover.

Charles Scarburgh did recover and continued to prosper. One of his continuing major responsibilities was his care of the Royal Household. He was the senior physician in attendance at Charles II's final illness in February 1685. A very experienced doctor, he apparently was in continuous attendance until the King died on 6 February, all efforts to save him having failed.

Charles Scarburgh's association with Royalty continued with

his appointment as Physician successively to Charles II's brother, James II until he was deposed in 1688, and thereafter to Queen Mary II, wife of William III. This last-named appointment was to assume a special significance in respect of the circumstances of Scarburgh's own death. Scarburgh left an account of Charles II's death in a manuscript entitled 'The Last Days of Charles II', published by Sir Raymond Crawford in 1909 [11].

A final example of Scarburgh's versatility was his election as Member of Parliament for Camelford in 1685, the same year as King Charles II's death. He held the seat until 1687 but does not appear to have been a dedicated parliamentarian.

The final years

Scarburgh's family life appears to have been very equable. His eldest son, Charles, was born in 1653 during the difficult years of Cromwell's Protectorate. Charles's earlier education was at home, evidence that Scarburgh was stretched financially at that stage. After the Restoration, matters improved considerably. Scarburgh had become reconciled with Gonville and Caius College and his son, Charles, entered the College in 1669. His second son, Edmund, would carry on the tradition, becoming a student at the College in 1677, his earlier education having been at St Paul's School, as was that of his father.

Scarburgh's royal connections and eminence proved valuable to the boys' later advancement. The older boy, Charles, obtained a position in the royal household after successfully obtaining a degree in law. The younger Edmund was elected to a fellowship at Gonville and Caius in 1682 by royal mandate, despite having had an undistinguished undergraduate career. Later, in 1705, Edmund would add to his father's reputation by producing the posthumous work *The English Euclid, being the first six Elements in Geometry* [1].

The English side of the Scarburgh clan increased quickly. Son Charles and his wife, Catherine, produced three grand-daughters, all of whom made excellent marriages. Catherine herself became a maid of honour to Queen Anne.

During his later years Scarburgh spent some time in East Anglia, although the family home remained in London. One reason for his visits was to help in the arrangement of local residents who wished to emigrate to America, assisting them to join the family estates in Virginia. These had extended greatly over the decades. Sir Charles's brother, Lieutenant Colonel Edmund Scarburgh, was now a highly respected figure. His own three sons obtained high positions in the region.

Home life in London was clearly very contented and sociable. There is no real information about the character of Lady Scarburgh. It was she who presumably nursed Sir Charles back to full health and vigour after his experiences in the North Sea. There is no record of any rifts in the family. Mary Scarburgh must have been an excellent hostess. Her husband had many illustrious friends, among them being such notables as Harvey, Pepys, Wren, Evelyn the diarist, and members of the royal entourage, as well as his many colleagues at the College of Physicians and Barber Surgeons' Company. Keevil [1] records that Scarburgh had 'great vivacity of conversation' but he could be brutally blunt when the occasion demanded. He must also have had considerable diplomatic skills, having successfully negotiated a favourable path through the varied administrations of Oliver Cromwell, Charles II and James II. Dining at the Scarburgh's home in Central London must have been a lively and enlightening experience.

Portraits

The portrait commissioned by the Barber Surgeons' Company, and which now adorns the wall in the reception area, has been referred to earlier. There was a second portrait, oil on canvas, which has been attributed to the artist, Jean Demetrius [11]. This was thought to have been completed around the year 1660, when Scarburgh was in his mid-forties (Fig. 2). The picture is interesting in that the background is of Rome, although there is no record of him visiting that city. The particular interest lies in the similarity between the composition of the work and that of a portrait of his great friend Harvey in the University of Glasgow. Both men are

depicted in similar poses, with an open book of anatomical drawings in front of them. Scarburgh's portrait at one time resided in Temple Newsam House, in the Parish of Whitchurch, County York. This was through the services of his grand-daughter, Anne, who married the seventh Viscount Irwin. It was gifted to the Royal College of Physicians in London in 1923 by Dr W. Innes Smith.

Scarburgh's library

There is no record of Charles Scarburgh travelling widely, other than in relation to his political and military duties. Neither was he an enthusiastic author and his own contributions to medical literature were few. Perhaps the most provocative was a publication giving his considered thoughts on the plague, entitled *A Practical Method as used for the Cure of the Plague in London in 1665.* By all accounts an imaginative document, it appeared in an anonymous publication in 1722 [1].

Although not an author of note himself, Scarburgh was an avid collector of books. This actively started during his years as a student and Fellow at Gonville and Caius College and continued throughout his long life.

Charles Scarburgh's bibliothea was one of the greatest in the country by the time of his death in 1694. As a testimony to his erudition, and similar to the library of his great physician predecessor John Caius, only a small proportion of the volumes was in English: namely 135 out of almost 2,500 volumes. Most were in Latin, in which Scarburgh was fluent; some were in French and Greek.

The diversity of the volumes in Scarburgh's library reflected his many varied interests. Medicine and mathematics were paramount, but the library was also rich in poetry, philosophy, archaeology, astronomy, architecture and history. Scarburgh finally retired from medical practice in 1691. His incomparable library must have provided a wonderful anodyne to the difficulties of retirement for such an active physician.

There is an irony associated with this great collection of books, however. The contents of the library were destined to be housed



FIG. 2. Sir Charles Scarburgh – aged 45 years. (Courtesy of the Royal College of Physicians.)

in St James's Palace upon Scarburgh's death. This had been arranged under the patronage of Queen Mary. This gentle, good-hearted monarch had become very close to her attentive physician apparently and the arrangement could have preserved the collec-

tion for posterity. Unfortunately the young queen died from smallpox in 1694 only a few months after Scarburgh's own death. The transfer of the library contents to the Palace never took place and the books were dispersed widely. There is no record of the destination of many of the books but John Evelyn, in his diary entry of 10 March 1695, throws some light on the matter. Having dined with Robert Spencer, second Earl of Sunderland, he was shown the noble Lord's library. He wrote:

> …. now againe improved by many books bought at the sale of Sir Charl Scarbrs, which was the very best collection especially of Mathematical books that was I believe in all Europe: once designed for the King's library of St James but the Queene dying (who was the great patronesse of that designe) it was let fall, and so miserably dissipated.

Charles Scarburgh died peacefully on 26 February 1694 at his home, apparently after a brief last illness. He was laid to rest in a tomb in St Dunstan's Church in Cranford, Middlesex. His loving wife of almost half a century, survived him.

Whatever the unusual circumstances of the separation of Charles from his parents in early childhood, there is no doubt that he led a complete and fulfilled life. A man of great energy and commitment, he was a remarkable and colourful member of the Barber Surgeons' Company and fully deserved all the prestigious honours that came his way.

References

[1] Keevil, J.J. Sir Charles Scarburgh, *Annals of Science* (1952), **8**, 113 – 121.

[2] Grierson, P. Gonville and Caius College, in *The Victoria History of the Counties of England*, Vol.III, 1959.

[3] Payne, L.M. Sir Charles Scarburgh's Harveian Oration, 1662. *J. History Medicine* (1957), **12**, 158 – 164.

[4] Russell, K.F. Anatomy and the Barber-Surgeons. *Med.J.Austr.* (1973) **1**, 1109 – 1115.

[5] Dobson, J and Walker, R.M. *Barbers and Barber Surgeons of London.* Blackwell Scientific. Oxford, 1979.

[6] Young, S. *Annals of the Barber Surgeons*. London, 1890.

[7] Missen, J and Hill, D. The Anatomy Theatre. Chapter in *The Company of Barbers and Surgeons* Ed. Burn, I., Farrand Press, London, 2000.

[8] Burn, I and Buckland-Wright, C. The Teaching of Anatomy. Chapter in *The Company of Barbers and Surgeons* Ed. Burn, I., Farrand Press, London, 2000.

[9] Exhibition catalogue. *Caius College and the Royal College of Physicians of London* at the Royal College of Physicians, London, 1973.

[10] Bryant, A. *Samuel Pepys: the Years of Peril.* Collins, London, 1949.

[11] Exhibition catalogue. *British and Dutch Medicine around the time of the Glorious Revolution of 1688* at the Royal College of Physicians. London, 1988/9.

Chapter 12

Jonathan Goddard 1617 – 1676

John Chalstrey

JONATHAN GODDARD, THE SON of Henry Goddard, a wealthy Deptford shipbuilder, was baptised at St Mary's Church, Chatham, Kent on 2 February 1617. There is no record of his birth date, but, in those days of high infant mortality, babies were usually christened within 24 hours of their birth. There is also uncertainty concerning his birthplace: Venn [1] records that he was born in Chatham, but Ward [2] states that his place of birth was Greenwich.

According to Venn [1], Jonathan Goddard attended the school of Mr Chapman and Mr Spencer in Chatham and was subsequently educated privately in London by a Mr Dier. In 1632, at the age of 15, Jonathan entered Magdalen Hall, Oxford (which in 1874 became Hertford College) as a commoner, where he studied medical subjects for about three years, but left the University without taking a degree. He then travelled on the continent of Europe, where he may have continued his medical studies, as the custom was at that time [2].

Following Goddard's return to England, the fact that he had not previously graduated in Arts prevented him from returning to Oxford University to take a medical degree. He became a pensioner of Christ's College, Cambridge, where he graduated as a Bachelor of Arts on 26 June 1637 and then took a Bachelor of Medicine degree the following year. Five years later, (1643), he was awarded a Cambridge Doctorate in Medicine while at Catharine

Hall (subsequently St Catharine's College). Goddard's sojourn in Cambridge brought him into contact with Francis Glisson, the distinguished Regius Professor of Physic and disciple of William Harvey.

The Royal College of Physicians of London

In 1640, Jonathan Goddard qualified for the licence of the Royal College of Physicians of London and six years later, on 4 November 1646, he was elected a Fellow of that College when still only 29 years of age. He was immediately appointed to deliver the anatomy lectures before the assembled College in the following March and two years later was selected by the Censors to give the Gulstonian lecture. Founded by a bequest from Dr Theodore Goulston (1574-1632), which provided an honorarium of 25 guineas for an annual lecture on the anatomy and pathology of a dissected body, to be read by one of the four youngest fellows, this marked the beginning of Goddard's public reputation. A contemporary described him thus:

> discoursing with an easy and unaffected eloquence the wisdom of the supreme being in the disposition of the various parts of the body of man suitable to the purposes for which he was created, and after which it is vain to inquire by any other methods than that of anatomical dissection.

Jonathan Goddard's career was further distinguished by his election as a Censor of the Royal College of Physicians on eight occasions between 1660 and 1672. Four Censors were elected annually by the President and Fellows, to inspect apothecaries' premises, exercise disciplinary powers and examine candidates for the licence and fellowship of the College.

In March 1671-2, he was named as one of the Elects. The eight Elects formed a powerful body of senior fellows who annually chose one of their number to be President of the College. Unfortunately, Goddard did not live long enough to become President. Elects were required to be doctors of medicine and Englishmen;

they usually served for life and vacancies were filled by co-option by the other Elects. The Elects were abolished in 1860 and since that date, the President has been chosen by the Fellows. [3]

Jonathan Goddard had a prominent role in the long-term strife that fomented between the physicians and the apothecaries. This struggle dated back to 1664, when a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, Timothy Clarke, managed to have a resolution passed by the College that physicians should make their own medicines.

In a paper [4] written in 1664 but not published until 1669, Goddard's *Discourse setting forth the Unhappy Condition of the Practice of Physic in London* defended the position of the medical establishment in general and the Royal College of Physicians in particular against the increasing influence and success of the apothecaries. In a postscript to this discourse, Jonathan Goddard informed his readers that it had been composed five years earlier with 'at first little thought or inclination to publish'. He then explained that the basic reason for its subsequent publication was the resurgence of the vicious conflict between physicians and the ever-increasing numbers of apothecaries in London, a conflict that had temporarily abated only because of the Plague of 1665 and the Great Fire of 1666. During the Great Plague, the apothecaries had greatly enhanced their status and popularity by remaining in London to look after their patients and subsequently the public had increasingly consulted them for diagnosis and medical advice. The physicians felt that their professional expertise was being usurped and they were determined to prevent the apothecaries copying and selling their prescriptions. Goddard advocated this policy; he personally prepared all medicines that he used on his patients and as a Censor of the College he was known to be a stickler for professional etiquette.

Goddard's paper [4] began by complaining that in contemporary medicine

> that part of the Art of Physic, which concerns the Preparation and Composition of Medicaments is increasingly left to apothecaries while physicians became strangers to the Materials and Preparations of Medicines.

He goes on to admit that this division of labour has much to commend it, but deplores the fact that significant numbers of apothecaries were taking advantage of the gullible public and making 'ostentation of being Masters of, or knowing all the Secrets and Practice of all the Physicians in London' (*ibid.*, p 12). He points out that 'a manifold greater proportion of Judgment and skill is requisite for to discover the Disease, than to apply the Remedy' (*ibid.*, p. 27).

On the question of the right of a physician to profit from a specific discovery, he says:

> how unreasonable is it that when a Physician hath by his own industry found out, or by some Felicity lighted upon a Discovery that hath proved remarkably successful in some particular disease or case; upon his communication of it to an apothecary… he shall receive an hundred times as much as the Physician's reward or Fee for prescribing it… The consequence of this to Physicians must be the impoverishment of many; who in regard to their education and the use and consequence of their profession deserve to get as great Estates as are gotten in any profession… as their predecessors who 30 or 40 years ago got great Estates, when the Apothecaries kept within their own bounds.

Although Goddard's views would certainly not have been universally approved, his defence of the medical establishment was well argued and of particular significance in view of the well-known fact that he used his own laboratory for compounding his remedies.

There has been speculation that Jonathan Goddard wrote an earlier book on the same subject as this discourse, entitled *Discourse Concerning Physic and the many Abuses Thereof by Apothecaries*. It seems however that this was due to confusion with a similar work published in 1668 by Christopher Merrett, entitled *A Short View of the Frauds Committed by Apothecaries* [5].

After his admission to the Royal College of Physicians, Goddard successfully practised medicine in London. Copeman [6] refers to 'the many records of consultations with him amongst the

diaries and autobiographies of his distinguished contemporaries.' He also emphasises that Goddard was

> progressive in his objection to the useless polypharmacy which was still fashionable, although Hooke records in his diary that: 'did consult Dr Goddard who did advise amber and ale with sage and rosemary, bubbels, caraways, and nutmeg steeped, and scurvey grass.' Generally, however, his prescriptions were for a simple pill or drops....

Jonathan Goddard gained a reputation as a good practical chemist and in his laboratory compounded a number of secret remedies. The best known of these, 'Goddard's drops' (*guttae Anglicanae* on the continent of Europe), was a preparation of spirit of hartshorn (ammonia) containing a number of (probably irrelevant) substances such as powdered human skull and dried viper flesh! This mixture was distilled, then placed in the earth for three months, after which the oil was separated and kept for future use. These drops had a great reputation for being effective in the treatment of fainting, lethargy and apoplexy. The recommended dose was 20 to 60 drops in a glass of canary wine and the famous physician, Thomas Sydenham, preferred them to all other volatile spirits. In her biography of Samuel Pepys, published in 2002, Claire Tomalin [7], when recording Pepys's election to the Royal Society in 1665, writes,

> he was elected, unanimously, on 15 February and joined in a club supper afterwards with such worthies as Dr Goddard, who had been Cromwell's chief physician and now sold the famous 'Goddard's Drops' to the King.

It was commonly believed that King Charles II acquired the formula from Goddard for a fee of £6,000. Apparently, the buying and selling of secret remedies such as this was not considered improper at that time.

The Barber Surgeons' Company

Jonathan Goddard's name appears only three times in our records, in entries relating to his Readership in Anatomy. In the first entry it is clear that he was a substitute for Sir Francis Prujean (described as Dr Prudion in the Court minutes), who did not wish to continue in that post. In minutes of the Court Meeting of the 21 September 1646 it is recorded:

> our Master acquainted the Court that Dr Prudion and divers other learned physicians have recommended Dr Goddard as a man well qualified and very able to read the anatomical lectures, this Court doth order that Dr Prudion be requested to perform the lectures on the next public anatomy himself, but if he shall deny it that then Dr Goddard or such other that Dr Prudion shall think more fit be desired to read the lectures.

Subsequently, the Court minutes of 29 March 1647 stated:

> this Court doth order that there be a new anatomy table and that all the Assistants whose effigies are not in the present table may be set up in the new table at their own charge and that Dr Goddard's figure be there set as Reader.

The anatomy table was a pictorial record of those involved in the public anatomies and from time to time its contents had to be updated.

The final entry is to be found in the Wardens' Great Accompt Book, 1603 to 1659 (Anatomy accounts 1646-47, page 420): *to Dr Goddard for reading 6 lectures - £6.*

The Barber Surgeons' Company records contain no evidence that Jonathan Goddard was a freeman or liveryman of the company. However, in the Corporation of London's Freedom Admission Register of 1668 to 1669, there is an entry that implies Goddard was a member of the Barber Surgeons' Company, but not a Freeman of the City. This entry records the City Freedom admission of Edward Googe, who had been apprenticed to

Jeremy St John, Citizen and Barber Surgeon of London. It states that Edward Googe

> had completed his term of apprenticeship with the said Jeremy and with John* Goddard, Barber Surgeon and was admitted to the City Freedom by consent of the Court of Aldermen, by redemption and the attestation of Goddard on 3 March 1667/8.

It is interesting to note that Goddard is not referred to as 'Citizen and Barber Surgeon', which implies that he was a member of the Barber Surgeons' Company, but not a freeman of the City and this was presumably why he was noted only as a supplemental Master to Googe.

Unfortunately, records of City Freedom admissions prior to 1681 are incomplete and it is therefore impossible to confirm or deny Goddard's own admission to the City Freedom.

The Civil War and the Commonwealth

In common with many other professional men in London, Jonathan Goddard's sympathies were with Parliament. He came to the notice of Oliver Cromwell, who in 1648 appointed him Physician-in-Chief to the Parliamentary Army. In that capacity Goddard accompanied the Lord Protector to Ireland in 1649 and to Scotland the following year, where he treated Cromwell during a severe illness and also became, according to Ward [2] 'his great confidant'. When they returned to London in 1651 following victory at the battle of Worcester, Goddard was rewarded by his appointment in December of that year as the Warden of Merton College, Oxford, that office having been rendered vacant by the resignation of Sir Nathaniel Brent. On 14 January 1651-2, Jonathan Goddard was further honoured when he received an Oxford Doctorate in Medicine by incorporation.

---

*The names Jonathan and John may have been used interchangeably or confused, so this reference may or may not relate to our Jonathan Goddard.

Thus the physicians of both King Charles I (Dr William Harvey) and of Oliver Cromwell served as Warden of Merton College, thereby continuing a long-standing tradition of having distinguished medical heads of that College. However, Goddard though a successful physician and not without distinction as a scientist, was not of the same calibre as Harvey.

Oliver Cromwell was the Chancellor of Oxford University and on 16 October 1652, before returning to Scotland in order to incorporate that kingdom into one Commonwealth with England, he appointed Dr Jonathan Goddard, with four others, to act as his delegates in all matters that required the Chancellor's assent. Clearly the Lord Protector had great confidence in Goddard's ability and loyalty, for in 1653 following the dissolution of the Long Parliament, he was among the 140 men summoned by Cromwell to constitute the Little or 'Barebones' Parliament, where he was the sole representative of Oxford University [8] and one of 15 members chosen by ballot in the House of Commons to be a member of the Council of State. (Source: *House of Commons Journal*: vol *7, 1st November 1653: resolved that Dr J. Goddard be one of the Council of State.*)

Merton College

The principal source of information about senior members of Merton College is the College Register (the minutes of the Governing Body), which records, among other matters, the elections of Fellows and Wardens. The Register for the period 1567-1731 [9] records the admission of 'Dnus Jonathan Goddard' as Warden on 9 November 1551 (page 385). He was greeted with a Latin oration by one of the Fellows, Nathaniel Sterry, which began *Salve Dignissime Praeses, Qum & faveas Musis nostris, alacri velut penna & modesto calami triumpho, ad pedes vestros advolantibus.*

An inventory of the furnishings of the College and of the Warden's Lodgings in particular at the start of his wardenship is subsequently recorded on page 388 of the Register.

Goddard's duties in Parliament and at Gresham College in London caused him to be absent from Merton College on many

occasions. Two letters apologising for his absence from College meetings are to be found in the Register. The most important meeting of each year was held at the beginning of August to elect new Fellows and appoint College officers. At the meeting on 1 August 1653 (page 396) a letter from London, dated 23 July, was read explaining his absence,

> For it is not free for any in my Relation, to goe into ye Country without asking leave of ye House, and that may occasion an accompt of ye businesse callinge me away about which I am not convinced that my comminge is so urgent, as not to be dispensed withal...

Goddard appears to have been absent again in January 1656/7, as the Register records that on 11 January (page 408), 'we met in the hall where letters received from the Warden were read...' (the letters themselves are not transcribed).

Again, in a letter to the Merton Fellows from Gresham College on 28 July 1658, read out at their meeting on 2 August and recorded in the minutes (page 414) Goddard writes,

> I did really intend, and promise, to have bene at the College against the solemn time of electing officers for the yeare ensuing, but am prevented uppon the account of his Highnesse service, and commands to attend here; which any, I will presume will account a satisfactory excuse, and sufficient dispensation for my absence...

In *A History of Merton College*, by G.H. Martin and J.R.L. Highfield [10], Jonathan Goddard is acknowledged to have been a man of wisdom and moderation. During his time as Warden, the University in general and Merton College in particular recovered steadily from the adverse effects of the Civil War siege and the subsequent purge of royalist academics. Although Goddard's parliamentary duties in London undoubtedly caused him to be absent from Oxford on many occasions, the fact that he was MP for Oxford and also one of the parliamentary commissioners meant that he was well placed to watch over the interests of the College during the Commonwealth and Protectorate.

In November 1655 Jonathan Goddard was appointed Professor of Physic at Gresham College in the City of London, where in common with the other professors, he was entitled to free accommodation and received a salary of 50 pounds per annum. For this appointment he may also have been indebted to Cromwell, who is known to have influenced the selection of other Gresham professors. The next five years must have been particularly busy ones as he occupied this chair in addition to being the Warden of Merton College, the Member of Parliament for Oxford University and on the Council of State.

As a Member of Parliament during the Commonwealth, Jonathan Goddard was among those who strove for a radical improvement in the medical care of the general population. He demonstrated this by his involvement with two State hospitals, Ely House and the Savoy. Initially established as military hospitals, they became notable for the appointment of medical practitioners who were actively interested in what would subsequently become known as pathology and medical research. In 1653 Goddard was appointed to the management committees of both hospitals and he considered leaving Oxford to become Master of the Savoy. It seems that he decided against this following his appointment as Professor of Physic at Gresham College. He also sat on a parliamentary committee that had been appointed to consider the care and treatment of lunatics.

The Restoration

Jonathan Goddard had been a close confidant and constant supporter of Oliver Cromwell, had served as Physician-in-Chief to the Parliamentarian Army and had received preferment from the Lord Protector. It was therefore inevitable that, following the restoration of the monarchy, he would incur the displeasure of King Charles II. In July 1660, the King displaced him from the wardenship of Merton College. Charles was able to do this within the letter of the law by claiming the right to exercise the royal prerogative to nominate a warden during a vacancy in the See of Canterbury, which had remained unfilled since the execution of

Archbishop Laud. The Archbishop, as Visitor of the College, would normally have had the final say in that election. In a letter sent from Whitehall, dated 3 July 1660 and included in the minutes of a meeting of the Fellows recorded in the College Register on 7 July 1660, King Charles II expressed his desire for the appointment of his chaplain, Edward Reynolds:

> Charles R - trusty and wellbeloved we greet you well. Whereas ye Wardenship of Merton Colledge in our Universitie of Oxford is void by the death of Sir Nathaniel Brent, late Warden here, and that the provision for the supply of that Headship appertaineth to us, in the vacancy of the See of Canterbury, we have designed our trusty and well beloved Dr Edward Reynolds, one of our Chaplaines in Ordinary for that office and dignity…

In nominating Dr Edward Reynolds as successor to Sir Nathaniel Brent, Charles II purposely ignored Dr Jonathan Goddard's nine-year tenure as Warden. It is perhaps a reflection of the circumspect manner in which the College kept its records, that there was no critical comment on the replacement of Jonathan Goddard, beyond this simple recording of the events. Edward Reynolds was duly elected by the fellowship and formally admitted on 4 August 1560.

Gresham College

Gresham College was (and still is) administered by the Joint Grand Gresham Committee, composed of members of the Worshipful Company of Mercers and the Corporation of the City of London. The minutes of this body, the Gresham Repertories, contain an entry dated 7 November 1655, which records that Jonathan Goddard had been recruited 'by word of mouth' to succeed Thomas Winston as Professor of Physic. Unfortunately, the Gresham Repertories contain no information about his scientific research, nor the subject matter of his Gresham lectures.

When in 1659, during the turbulent period following Oliver Cromwell's death, Gresham College was taken over by the

republican Major-General Lambert, for use as a barracks, Goddard was the only professor not to be ejected. Thomas Sprat [11], writing to Christopher Wren of a visit he paid, says:

> I found the place in such a nasty condition, so defiled, and the smells so infernal... Dr Goddard of all yr colleagues keeps possession, which he could never be able to do had he not before prepared his nose for camp-perfumes by his voyage into Scotland, and had he not such excellent restoratives in his cellar.

Following his expulsion from Oxford, Goddard took up residence at Gresham College. He remained there for the rest of his life, except for a period after the Great Fire of 1666 when he and his colleagues had to move from the College to accommodate the City Corporation and the merchants from the Royal Exchange, which was also administered by the Grand Gresham Committee and had been completely destroyed by the Great Fire. The desperate shortage of accommodation at that time is well illustrated in the book, *Sir Thomas Gresham and Gresham College: Studies in the intellectual history of London in the 16th and 17th centuries* [12], where Ann Saunders records that,

> The Aldermen who had passed the Chair, 'respect being had to their seniority' had to manage in Dr Goddard's kitchen and two lavatories, sharing them with the Assurance office and being promised a public room when a Court was held...

The Royal Society

The distinguished mathematician and theologian John Wallis [13] included Jonathan Goddard among those

> worthy persons, inquisitive into natural philosophy who met together in London in 1645, sometimes at Dr Goddard's lodgings in Wood Street (or some convenient place near) on occasion of his keeping an Operator in his house for grinding Glasses for Telescopes and Microscopes.

Goddard is believed to be the first person in England to have constructed a telescope [14]. His interest in optics and especially in the construction of telescopes, was initiated during his undergraduate years at Oxford in the early 1630s, by John Brainbridge, the brilliant first occupant of the Savilian Chair of Astronomy. Brainbridge introduced generations of Oxford students and dons, not only to the discoveries of Galileo and theories of Kepler, but also to the application of optical methods and techniques in the study of astronomy. Referring to Brainbridge in *The History of Oxford University*, Mordechai Feingold writes,

> Undoubtedly his teaching inspired many students, some of whom, notably John Wilkins and *Jonathan Goddard*, would be instrumental in cultivating the advanced study of Astronomy at Oxford during the 1650s. [15]

Goddard, also a leading exponent of the new natural philosophy, was willing and able as a bachelor to offer his lodgings as a location for these meetings. The medical members of the group in particular were keen to broaden their scientific knowledge to include the physical sciences (i.e. the various branches of physics, biology, astronomy, geometry and navigation) in addition to medicine, anatomy and chemistry. It is generally accepted that this group was the precursor of the Oxford Experimental Philosophy Club of the 1650s and, subsequently, of the Royal Society. The re-location from London to Oxford can be explained by the fact that, following the expulsion by the Parliamentary Commission of royalists who had held senior academic posts at Oxford University, several members of the London group who had parliamentary sympathies were selected to replace them and so moved to Oxford for the duration of the Commonwealth.

Jonathan Goddard was a founder member of the Royal Society and in its early years frequently provided the venue for its meetings at Gresham College. According to Copeman [6] the Society met at Gresham College 'from week to week', often in Goddard's quarters, which formed the end of the entrance quadrangle from Bishopsgate Street and were flanked by the elegant Reading Hall

and the Observatory. His laboratory formed part of the main quadrangle behind this, where most of the other professors lived. Indeed, he and the other Gresham professors informally established what would quickly evolve into a prestigious national institution by virtue of the Royal Charters granted by King Charles II in 1662 and 1663.

Goddard, although a parliamentarian, was appointed a member of Council in both Charters. Hutchinson [16] comments that 'this honour they were induced to confer upon him both in regard to his merit in general as a scholar, also to his particular zeal and abilities in promoting the design of this institution'.

The following, taken from the *Archives of the Royal Society* [17], is an eloquent testimony to Jonathan Goddard's high standing among the scientific intelligentsia of that period:

[from: Administrative History]

> On November 28, 1660, following a lecture by Christopher Wren at Gresham College, the group 'withdrew to Mr Rooke's apartments for mutuall converse. Where, amongst other matters that were discoursed of, something was offered about the design of founding a College for Promoting of Physical-Mathematicall Experiments of Learning.' Those present at that meeting, the first to be recorded in the Society's Journal Books of Scientific Meetings, were Wren, Boyle, Wilkins, Lawrence Rooke, Lord Brounckner, Robert Bruce, Sir Robert Moray, Sir Paul Neile, *Jonathan Goddard*, William Petty, William Balle and Abraham Hill. These scholars were thus the Original Founder Fellows of the Royal Society, which was formally constituted in 1660. Two years later King Charles II, himself much interested in scientific developments, granted the Society its first Charter. A second Royal Charter was granted in 1663, when the Society was given its official name and coat of arms. By virtue of the labors of the far-sighted founders of the Royal Society, the future of British science was secured.

Goddard was extremely active in the proceedings of the Royal Society. Thomas Birch, historian of the Royal Society, records that there were few meetings at which he did not replicate his experiments and convey his observations [18]. In his laboratory at

Gresham College Goddard, an enthusiastic researcher, carried out numerous experiments for the Royal Society. Wood wrote, 'when any curious experiment was to be done, they made him their drudge till they could obtain the bottom of it' [19]. Records of the early years of the Royal Society, which contain details of Goddard's collaborative scientific work attest to his very active role during that period. For example, in 1662 he designed an experiment to measure the maximum volume of human lungs [20]. The same year he was involved in research into the nature and function of respiration initiated by his friend, the eminent chemist, Robert Boyle. An extensive series of respiratory trials involving Boyle's air pump began in August 1662 and lasted for almost a year. They failed to support Boyle's hypothesis that they would demonstrate similarities between combustion and respiration. However, Robert Hooke's experiments on the respiration of fish, which involved Goddard's observations, were more successful. Goddard was again a key observer when Hooke experimented on an open thorax to observe whether air travelled to the heart and to investigate further the mechanical theory of respiration.

Jonathan Goddard also sat on a Gresham committee appointed to replicate blood transfusion trials carried out by the Oxford physiologist Richard Lower in 1667. His diverse scientific interests are further indicated by the following publications and communications:

(a) A short paper: *a proposal for making wine from sugar* in which he considered 'whether good wine may not be made out of the Juyce of sugar-canes', which he presented to the Royal Society in 1667 with the aim of using sugar from the British plantations in Barbados to help compensate for its falling market price and thereby boost their flagging prosperity [21].

(b) A report on a pebble called *Oculus mundi*, which, being ordinarily opaque, became translucent in water [22].

(c) A paper *concerning the texture and similar parts of the body of a tree, which may also hold in shrubs and other woody plants* [23].

(d) *Experiments of Weighing Glass Canes with the Cylinders of Quicksilver in them, according to the Torricellian experiment* [24, 25].

(e) A demonstration that a muscle loses in volume when it contracts [26].
(f) An enumeration of ten things whereby a stale egg may be known from a fresh one [27].
(g) An experiment to show that spirit of wine in a vessel exhausted of air becomes lighter [28].
(h) A brief experimental account of the production of some colours by a mixture of several liquors [29].
(i) Observations upon the experiments of several liquors in a tube of about thirty-six feet in length, erected perpendicularly, in order to show their comparative weight [30].

Three further communications were published after his death:

Observations on a Cameleon [31].
Experiments of refining gold with antimony [32].
Arcana Goddardiana; a posthumous record of his medicines in the *Pharmacopoeia Bateana* [33].

Although clearly fascinated by and deeply involved with research into many aspects of philosophy and the natural sciences, there is evidence that throughout his career Dr Jonathan Goddard continued to care for patients. For example, an entry in the diary of Robert Hooke, the Royal Society's curator of experiments, dated 20 December 1672 noted: 'at Dr Goddards tried spectacles, found them help sight'

To the end of his life, Jonathan Goddard also continued to meet a select number of friends at the Crown Tavern in Bloomsbury, where they discoursed on philosophical subjects. It was while returning home from one of these meetings at about 11 o'clock on the evening of 24 March 1676, at the junction of Wood Street with Cheapside, that he was seized with an 'apoplectic fit', which was rapidly fatal.

Three days later, Dr Jonathan Goddard was buried near his friend and colleague Robert Hooke in Great St Helen's Church, Bishopsgate. He was interred on the north side of the chancel, near the altar rails and without any monument or inscription [2].

Jonathan Goddard died unmarried and did not leave a will. His sister's son, a scholar at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge inherited his valuable library, which Goddard had intended to give to the Royal Society [2], together with his other possessions, including an iron chest containing about 1000 guineas.

The Reverend Seth Ward, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, was well acquainted with Jonathan Goddard during the latter's time as Warden of Merton College. In the preface to his astronomical treatise, *In Ismael Bulliardi Astronomiae Philolaicae Fundamenta Inquisito Brevis* which Ward dedicated to him in 1653, he warmly commended Goddard for his extensive learning, skill in his profession, knowledge of public affairs and generous disposition. Referring to his moral character, he was equally complimentary about Jonathan Goddard's 'generous temper, candour, affability and benevolence to all good and learned men'.

In 1656, another fellow of Merton College, Edmund Dickenson, inscribed his book *Delphi Phoenicizantes* to Dr Goddard and was fulsome in his praise, as was Mr John Wallis who dedicated his *Mathesis universalis* to Goddard and three of his distinguished colleagues.

Undoubtedly, the fine intellect and sterling qualities referred to by these admirers and recognised by many others, enabled Jonathan Goddard not only to survive, but to thrive and attain considerable eminence, despite the perils and pitfalls of the English Civil War and the subsequent restoration of the monarchy.

References

[1] Venn, J. and Venn, J.A. *Alumni Cantabrigiensis – to 1900, Part I (From earliest times to 1751)* II, p. 270.

[2] Ward, J. *The Lives of the Professors of Gresham College*, John Moore, London, p. 270, 1711.

[3] Forde, P. Personal communication from the Archivist of the Royal College of Physicians, 2005.

[4] Goddard, J. *A discourse setting forth the unhappy condition of the practice of physick in London*. London, 1669, quarto.

[5] Roberts, R.B. Jonathan Goddard. Discourse concerning Physic and the many abuses thereof by Apothecaries, 1668: a lost work or a ghost? *Medical History*, (1964), **8**, p.190.
[6] Copeman, W.S.C. Dr Jonathan Goddard, F.R.S. *Notes and Records of the Royal Society*, (1960), 15, p. 69-77.
[7] Tomalin, C. *Samuel Pepys*. Penguin Viking, 2002, 17, p.254.
[8] Foster, J. *Alumni Oxoniensis* I (1500-1714) p. 575.
[9] *Merton College Register*, 1.3 (1567-1731) p. 385 and 388.
[10] Martin, G.H. & Highfield, J.R.L. *A History of Merton College*. Oxford University Press, 1997, p. 210-211.
[11] Sprat, T. *The History of the Royal Society*, London, 1667, 54.
[12] Ames-Lewis, F. (ed) *Sir Thomas Gresham and Gresham College: Studies in the intellectual history of London in the 16th and 17th centuries*. Gresham College, 1999, **1**, p. 9-11.
[13] Wallis, J. 'A defence of the Royal Society', quoted in the section on Jonathan Goddard by Malcolm Oster in the *New Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press, 2004-5, Ref: odnb/10857.
[14] Munk, W. *The roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London*, Royal College of Physicians, 3 vols, 2nd edn., 1878, I, p. 240.
[15] Tyache, N. (ed.), *The History of Oxford University*, Oxford University Press, 4 vols, 1997, IV, p.380.
[16] Hutchinson, B. *Biographia Medica*, London, 1799.
[17] The Royal Society: *Journal Books of Scientific Meetings 1660-1800*; Catalogue ref: RS2.
[18] Birch, T. *The History of the Royal Society of London*, London, 1760, I, p.1, 2 and 88.
[19] Wood, A. *Athenae Oxoniensis*, II, p.538 and III, p. 1024.
[20] Goddard, J. An experiment of exhalation raised from water, and returned to water again. (1662) *The Royal Society Registers* II, p. 63.
[21] Goddard, J. A proposal for making wine from sugar. *History of the Royal Society*, 1667, p. 193.
[22] Goddard, J. Experiments of a stone, called *Oculus mundi*. *History of the Royal Society*, 1667, p. 230.
[23] Goddard, J. Some observations concerning the texture and similar parts of the body of a tree, which may also hold in shrubs and other woody plants. *The Royal Society Registers* (1660), I, p. 5.
[24] Goddard, J. Experiments of weighing glass canes with the cylinders of quicksilver in them, according to the Torricellian

experiment. *The Royal Society Registers* (1662), I, p. 185.
[25] Goddard, J. An experiment of a glass tube and quicksilver. *The Royal Society Registers* (1663), II, p. 225.
[26] Goddard, J. An experiment to show whether the muscles in an animal in their action are bigger or less in their total sum of dimensions. *The Royal Society Registers* (1669), IV, p. 95.
[27] Goddard, J. A discourse upon eggs, containing ten signs whereby to distinguish new eggs from those which are stale. *The Royal Society Registers* (1663), III, p. 8.
[28] Goddard, J. An experiment to show that spirit of wine in a vessel exhausted of air becomes lighter. *The Royal Society Registers* (1663), III, p. 28.
[29] Goddard, J. A brief experimental account of the production of some colours by the mixture of several liquors, either having little or no colour, or being of different colours from those produced. *The Royal Society Registers* (1660), I, p. 3.
[30] Goddard, J. Observations upon the experiments of several liquors in a tube of about thirty six feet in length, erected perpendicularly, in order to show their comparative weight. *The Royal Society Registers* (1664), III, p. 60.
[31] Goddard, J. Observations on a cameleon. *Philosophical Transactions* (1677), N. CXXXVII, p. 930.
[32] Goddard, J. Experiments of refining gold with antimony. *Philosophical Transactions* (1678), N. CXXXVIII, p. 953.
[33] Goddard, J. Arcana Goddardiana, in the *Pharmacopoeia Bateana*, 2nd edn. London, 1691.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to the following for their help and guidance in the collection of information:
Ms Juliet M. Bankes, City Archives Manager, Corporation of London.
Dr Roger Crisp, Fellow and Tutor in Philosophy, St Anne's College, Oxford.
Ms Pamela Forde, Archivist, the Royal College of Physicians of London.
Mr Gary Haines, Acting Archivist, the Worshipful Company of Mercers.
Dr Deborah G. Jenkins, Head Archivist, Corporation of London.

Mr Ian G. Murray, Archivist, the Worshipful Company of Barbers.
Mr Julian Reid, Archivist, Merton College, Oxford.
Dr Peter B. Sullivan, Fellow, Magdalen College, Oxford.

Chapter 13

Richard Wiseman 1620 – 1676

John Sales

RICHARD WISEMAN IS THE BEST-KNOWN English surgeon of the 17th century. His portrait shown in Fig. 1 is of a watercolour miniature by Samuel Cooper, painted in 1660. He is remembered principally for two reasons. First, his publication in 1676 of his book *Severall Chirurgicall Treatises* which remained as a textbook for practising surgeons for 70 years. It also gave him the reputation of being the father of English surgery. Second, his devotion and service to the Royalist cause of Charles I and Charles II.

The early years

There are no records of his family background, or the date and place of his birth. It is most likely that he was born in London. There is a record in the church register of St Andrew Undershaft of a Richard Wiseman, son of Thomas and Elizabeth Wiseman of London, being christened on 31 December 1620, which may well be he [1]. However, Wiseman was a common name in 17th century London and the eastern counties. To add to the uncertainty of his origins, he petitioned late in life to Sir Robert Wiseman to have a blood connection with his family recognised. This was granted but the College of Arms did not consider Sir Robert's recognition of him any legal proof of relationship [2].



FIG. 1. Richard Wiseman. 1660. Watercolour miniature by Samuel Cooper. (By kind permission of the Duke of Rutland).

Nothing is recorded about his childhood or education. His subsequent writings indicate that he was well taught and was fluent in Latin. In fact all surgeons, before starting their professional studies, were examined in their knowledge of Latin.

He was apprenticed in 1637, aged 17 years, by the Company of Barber Surgeons to Richard Smith, surgeon of Little Britain near to St Bartholomew's Hospital. The fee for his apprenticeship, which lasted 7 years, was 2*s* 6*d*. In this year, 72 apprentices were presented, Richard Wiseman being number 33 [3]. Although an apprenticeship could be obtained from the age of 14 years, no surgeon could practise before he was given the Freedom of the Company, which was not granted until the age of 21 years. No further details are available about his apprenticeship, which was probably completed in 1644. This was two years after the Civil War had broken out between Charles I and Parliament.

In 1641 Richard Smith was recorded by the Barber Surgeons' Company to be in the King's Service in the north of England and he may well have been accompanied by his apprentice. If so, this may have been the reason why Wiseman joined the Royalist cause during the conflict.

The Royalist cause

In March 1645 Charles I, beleaguered in Oxford and fearing for the safety of his 15-year-old son and heir, the Prince of Wales, sent him down as nominal head of the Royalist Forces in the West Country. He never saw his father again. He was under the care of Lord Hopton who was one of the Council of Advisors. However, the war inevitably spread to the west country and the Prince of Wales was constantly on the move [4]. It was at this time that Richard Wiseman came to royal notice as a surgeon in the Royalist Army. How he became noticed is not known. We know from his subsequent publication of his book *Severall Chirurgicall Treatises* that he treated soldiers injured in battle. In 1645 he described his treatment of a soldier injured at Truro.

> After the beating up of some of our outguards near Truro, the enemy pursuing them, a trooper wounded between the right brow and ear, espying me amongst the crowd, importuned me earnestly to dress him and would admit no excuse. We stopped at Apothecaries House on the right hand going out of town towards Perin. I called on the Apothecarie's servant to bring somewhat to dress him. Meanwhile I hastily lifted up the bloody hair and saw a quantity of brain lie among it. I took it up with my fingers and showed it him, the sight whereof so calmed his passion that I had liberty to fly from the enemy, who was entered the Town. Here the prognostich was certain, yet there appeared none of those cruel symptoms which accompany concussions and lesser seizures.

He further describes that he met many such wounded from battles and sieges of towns and garrisons.

The final act of the Civil War in the West Country came when Cromwell defeated Hopton at Torrington on 15 February 1646. The Prince of Wales, with his bodyguard and accompanied by Wiseman, escaped on the frigate *Phoenix* from Lands End to the Scilly Isles.

Exile

Shortly after landing on the Scilly Isles and fearing for their safety, the royal party sailed to Jersey. Here Wiseman, having initially been attached to the troops in attendance on the Prince, was recommended by Hopton to be the Prince's immediate surgical attendant. He subsequently accompanied the Prince when, later that summer, he left for France to stay with his mother, Queen Henrietta Maria, in St Germians. He did not record anything about his surgical practice during the exile on the Continent. In January 1649, whilst with the Prince in The Hague, they heard the news that Charles I had been executed. Shortly after this news, the Prince heard that he had been declared King of Scotland. In May 1650 the Prince, accompanied by Wiseman, sailed to Scotland with the view of using it as a base to recover the English throne.

Here Wiseman's observations indicate that he was involved in the Battle of Dunbar, when Cromwell defeated the Scottish army, the storming of Callender House and the skirmishing at Musselburgh. He accompanied the Scottish army on its ill-fated march into England, and was taken prisoner after the defeat at the Battle of Worcester in 1651. Charles made his famous escape back to France. Wiseman was transferred to prison in Chester. During his captivity he was allowed to treat the casualties of both sides and several cases are recorded in the case histories.

Civilian practice

After a few months in captivity, Richard Wiseman received a pass to come to London. When he arrived in February 1652, as a royalist supporter he was placed under arrest but was subsequently

released on bail. In March 1652 he obtained the Freedom of the Company of Barber Surgeons and hence the rights and privileges of a citizen of London and a licence to practice. He first acted as assistant to Mr Ed Molins, Surgeon at St Thomas's Hospital. He then set up in private practice in a house in the Old Bailey at the sign of the Kings Head.

In 1654 whilst he was treating for leg sores, a royalist, James Read, who was imprisoned in the Tower of London, he was arrested for allegedly assisting him to escape and was imprisoned in Lambeth House, now Lambeth Palace. He was permitted to continue with his practice whilst a prisoner and was fortunately released after a few months on the petition of his friends. Wiseman subsequently left England and joined the Spanish navy, in which he served for 3 years. It is believed that this was between late 1654 and 1657 during Cromwell's Protectorate; his writings indicate that he saw patients in England in 1657 and 1659 [2]. During his time in the Navy he recorded observations while serving in Spain, the West Indies and Dunkirk, then a Spanish possession.

In early 1660 he returned to his house in the Old Bailey and later in the year he moved to King Street, Covent Garden, the Harley Street of contemporary surgeons, where he had a large fashionable practice.

Although he was never appointed to the staff of a hospital, he consulted with and was consulted by, the leading physicians and surgeons. Sir Francis Prujean, five times President of the Royal College of Physicians, is most frequently mentioned in his writings. Sir Charles Scarburgh, Anatomical Reader at Barber-Surgeons' Hall, also sought his advice. Edward Arris, Master of Anatomy and Master of the Barber Surgeons' Company in 1651 was often present at Wiseman's consultations and operations. There is a mid-17th century portrait of Sir Charles Scarburgh and Edward Arris by Robert Greenbury, which hangs in the Barber-Surgeons' Hall. Arris, in 1645, donated £510 for an anatomy lecture to be given at the Hall. Subsequently the monies given by John Gale for a lecture in osteology were combined and the Arris & Gale Lecture inaugurated. It is the oldest endowed annual lecture now held at the Royal College of Surgeons of England [5].

Another of his close associates was Dr Walter Reedham, whom he frequently consulted and whom he asked to read and comment on the manuscript of his *Severall Chirurgicall Treatises.*

Surgeons whom he consulted included Mr Ed Mollins and Mr Thomas Hollier, lithotomist to St Thomas's and St Bartholomew's Hospitals, famed for successfully cutting Samuel Pepys for stones. It has been suggested that because of his relationship with Hollier, he did not write about bladder stones and lithotomy in his treatises, hoping perhaps that Hollier might publish his greater experience. No such publications were produced [6].

Surgical instruments

Wiseman and his surgical colleagues would have all possessed their own boxes of surgical instruments. It is of interest that there is no record of his instruments in the inventory of his goods and chattels that was prepared for probate. The only large box of 17th century English instruments that has survived, is in the Royal College of Physicians of London collection. It was presented to the College in 1653 by Dr Thomas Prujean, son of Sir Francis Prujean, the then President. It originally contained 104 instruments, but the ravages of time have reduced the present number to 56 – all of which are in excellent condition.

By Royal Appointment

After the death of Cromwell in 1658 the monarchy was restored. On 29 May 1660 Charles II entered London, and on 8 June Charles appointed Wiseman Surgeon in Ordinary for the Person. On 5 August 1661 he was appointed King's Surgeon by Royal Warrant, on the death of the incumbent Michael Andrews; the salary was forty pounds per annum and it entitled him to a pension of one hundred and fifty pounds per annum [2]. In August 1663 he was admitted to the Court of Assistants of the Barber Surgeons, and elected Master of the Company in 1665. This was the year of the great plague and there were probably no meetings. The Company

records for this period are missing. Wiseman states that he spent this period in the north country, recovering from a fractured leg. He also records that he was frequently coughing blood.

After the plague he returned to London and continued to practise. His gradual deterioration in health gave him time to write. In 1672 he published *A Treatise of Wounds*. In the same year he was appointed one of the three Serjeant-Surgeons to His Majesty. In May 1676, with his health rapidly deteriorating, he published his *Severall Chirurgicall Treatises* (Fig. 2).

Severall Chirurgicall Treatises

In 1672 Wiseman published a treatise on wounds which contained the contents of his public lecture on fractures, delivered at the Barber-Surgeons' Hall in 1666, together with a section on simple and gunshot wounds. In 1676 he expanded this work into *Severall Chirurgicall Treatises*.

The Epistle

The book is prefaced by his Epistle to the reader. It starts with the sentence 'The nobility and dignity of surgery are too well known to want the help of an orator to set them forth.' He continues by telling the reader about the excellent collegiate foundations in the universities of great cities, especially London. The Medical Faculty had become famous all over Europe by its anatomical teaching, but sadly this was at the expense of surgical teaching, which for some reason had largely been neglected. He acknowledged that Dr Read had tried to rectify that with his surgical lectures, and Mr Woodhall and Mr Clowes with their books. This persuaded him to publish his own observations. The decision was aided by the fact that he had suffered from frequently repeated sickness for the past 20 years. 'It has pleased God by casting me into such a condition to give me opportunity of reading and thinking as well as practicing.' He states that his book is not for the old practitioners but 'to the younger men who have their principles and maxims of

chirurgery yet to choose.' He goes on to state that 'I am a practicer, not an academic: that I delight in those things as far as they are useful to life'. Further on he remarks:

SEVERALL

CHIRURGICALL

TREATISES.

By *RICHARD WISEMAN*,
Serjeant-Chirurgeon.

Ex dono Thomæ Hatcher hor Bachi

This Booke was by ye Authour Presented vnto Thomas Hatcher Eldest Sonne of Sr John Hatcher by The Grand Sonne of ye aforesayd Thomas Hatcher Humblye presented to his Most Truelye Good & Well deserving Spouse Mrs Jane Hatcher Sister of Sr Edward Hussey of Sayethorpe in ye Countye of Lincolne

LONDON, Barr: Anno Dom: 1706

Printed by *E. Flesher* and *J. Macock*, for *R. Royston*
Bookseller to His Most Sacred Majesty, and *B. Took* at the
Ship in St. *Paul's* Church-yard, *Anno Dom.* 1676.

FIG. 2. Title page of first edition of *Severall Chirurgical Treatises*. The inscription indicates that the book was presented to Thomas Hatcher by the author. (© The Royal College of Physicians of England.)

When the young surgeon should find the cure easy in theory, and appear so first in the practice too. Yet suddenly deceive him with a relapse, and not only once, but often, delude his best endeavours when bystanders and persons concerned begin to accuse him of knavery in his proceedin ... He will then wish that all other practitioners had done in this Treatise viz recommend their observations, both successful and unsuccessful, thereby increasing the knowledge in our profession and leaving sea marks for the discovery of such rocks as they themselves have split upon before.

He also advises them that if they have a problem, be humble and seek the advice of other physicians and surgeons. He ends 'and if these papers prove any advantage to thee in them, remember with kindness the labours of their friend and servant Richard Wiseman, May 24 1676'.

The Treatises

Wiseman's book consists of eight Treatises: the first on Tumours; the second on Ulcers; the third on Diseases of the Anus; the fourth on Kings Evill; the fifth on Wounds; the sixth on Gunshot Wounds; the seventh on Fractures and Luxations; the eighth on *Lues Venerea*. Sadly there are no illustrations.

In the opening section of each Treatise he discusses the anatomy, pathology, aetiology, diagnosis, prognosis and management. He then records his own observations, of which there are over 600 in the book, and which are cases from his civilian and military practice.

A review in this chapter on his great work, which runs into 577 pages, can therefore be only very superficial.

The Treatises

Tumours

The first treatise is most wide-ranging, and in it he includes the management of simple abscesses, puerpueral fever aneurysms,

herpes, warts, cancer, elephantiasis and herniae. Two of the most interesting chapters are those on cancer and herniae.

The treatment of cancer

Wiseman states that the cause of cancer is usually said to be 'adustion of humours which upon overconcoction or rattler grow retorid and sharp'. He recorded eighteen observations, in which two-thirds of the cases described relate to carcinoma of the breast. His treatments were usually conservative. Surgery, to which most patients were reluctant to submit, was occasionally for cure but usually for palliation. Some alternatives were cautery or escharotics.

The most dramatic case he describes is in Observation 18 and is of a 50-year-old man with an extensive infiltrating cancer of the left side of his tongue. Following a joint consultation with Dr Michelthwait, Mr Arris, Mr Hollier and Dr Needham, it was agreed that palliative treatment was indicated. However, the patient said he wished to have a cure, even if he died in the process. Wiseman states:

> I put into his mouth a raspatory, and fixing it between the root of his tongue and the edge of the tonsil, pulled away the corrupt flesh and with the olive cauteries, burnt that to a crust. Having defined the cancer present, I passed a probe with a ligature into the ulcer under the tongue and brought it out above, through a tubercule. Then pulling his tongue forward I cut off the cancerated part as it lay, according to its length, from the tip to the root of the tongue. After I had permitted it a while to bleed, I cauterised it.

It initially began to heal then, perhaps not surprisingly, the wound broke down, he languished and died.

The treatment of herniae

This chapter is devoted to the management of inguinal and umbilical herniae. He advises that the surgeon must first ascertain whether the herniae be intestinal or omental, recent or long-continuing, made by relaxate or ruptor.

The principal method of treatment was by trusses, following reduction. To achieve reduction he advised on the correct positioning of the patient. In difficult cases he suggests carrying the patient on the back of a strong man with the head downwards. He also describes an engine which gets people on their heads who were suffering from herniae difficult to reduce.

Wiseman details a wide variety of trusses. In infants he advocates pads or bolsters fitted by straps.

> Trusses made of whalebone, others made of laminae of tin or steel without joints, which do easily fit about the loins – they also have bolsters that, by virtue of worms and screws fixed in them, do fit closer or more distant and retain the rupture without pressing on the spermatic vessels or os pubis. They are useful in old herniae.

If a hernia is down and the patient is threatened with vomiting and inflation of the abdomen, Wiseman advised early operation.

> To perform the operation, the patient should be laid flat on his back, upon a table or form and bound thereon; the incision must be made over the upper part of the scrotum, down to the intestine or omentum. You are to pass in a cannula (as big as a large goose quill) into the cavity under the process of the peritoneum upwards, avoiding the intestine. Then make the incision of such a length as may serve you to put your fingers into the scrotum and raise the intestine and omentum which you reduce into their natural place in the belly. This being reduced you must stitch up the wound … as may shut up the cavity and prohibit a relapse of the intestine.

Ulcers

In this second treatise, Wiseman defines an ulcer as a solution of continuity in a soft part made by erosion, with loss of substance. He details eight types of ulcer – simple, complex with pain of fluxion, with granulation tissue, with caries of underlying bone, with callous lips, putrid, varicose ulcers and sinuous ulcers.

In his management of simple ulcers he treats them with applied medicaments and pressure applied by a large stocking. Pain

he treated with anodynes. If there was underlying caries of the bone he removed it. In varicose ulcers he occasionally was able to ligate the feeding vein. The last chapter in this treatise describes his management of sinuous ulcers, i.e. those connected to a sinus.

In Observation 2, he describes the case of a maid-servant aged 22, who had a small phlegmon on a part of her right breast, tending to suppuration. Having presumed it to be a simple abscess he treated it with compresses until it discharged. However, although the inflammation settled, the discharge continued. 'I therefore made a search with a probe and penetrated into the cavity of the thorax'. She then informed him that she had long had a cough and shortness of breath. 'I was much ashamed of my confident undertaking of it. The rarity of the case deceived me and as many others afterwards saw it, everyone judging the ulcer simple. But its penetration showed the cure difficult and the work of time'. He therefore inserted a cannula, applied a piece of wine-soaked sponge over it with compress and bandaging, dressing it twice daily. 'After I had heated up the rest of the ulcer' he removed the cannula and put in a pea, and kept it as a fontanelle to let nature dispose of the ulcer within to a better condition. She afterwards left for the country where he presumed she had healed.

Diseases of the anus

In this third treatise he deals principally with the management of haemorrhoids and fistula *in ano*. He also includes procidentia and condyloma.

Haemorrhoids

Simple bleeding haemorrhoids were treated with added roughage, which includes oatmeal and spinach, to the diet. He advised that all beer should be diluted with water.

Painful thrombosed piles were treated symptomatically. He describes the method in Observation 2 of a 50-year-old man with prolapsed painful haemorrhoids, which were so large that he had difficulty in finding his way to the anus. He initially bled him 12 ounces from the anus, and dressed the inflamed piles with clothes

soaked in claret wine – which was used as an astringent. An hour or so after a clyster of milk with yolk of egg, some sugar and two ounces of ol. hyperic brought away hard excrement and mitigated the bearing down of which he had complained. He advised a light diet, barley cream with melon and papaver, a few aloes and juice of lemon. He continued on this regimen, with a clyster as necessary, and subsequently cured him. More painful prolapsed haemorrhoids he treated with ligation.

Fistula in ano

He gives a long dissertation on his treatment of this condition. He correctly states that they arise from abscesses between the anal muscles.

The simple low-level fistulae can easily be treated by laying open with scissors or scalpel if the orifice lies near the anus, but not if it is distant from the anal verge. Those fistulae which penetrate deep beyond the muscular ani, if layed open the patient will retain his excrement with much difficulty, and if they reach beyond the sphincter retention is impossible.

A deep fistula was treated by passing a thread through it and gradually tightening it, thus allowing the tissue to heal as the thread slowly cuts through the sphincter.

Wiseman concluded that fistulae are not always curable, nor safe to be cured, so unless they be painful or vexatious in keeping open, you ought not to cure them, especially if they terminate in the circumference of the anus.

Procidentia (prolapse of the bowel)

He applied astringent red wine or scarlet clothes to allow it to be retained.

Condyloma

He felt these were due to *Lues Venerea,* and in removing them he either cauterised them with vitriol or, using a speculum, ligated them at their base.

King's Evill

In his introduction to the fourth treatise Wiseman states what great difficulty he meets in the area of King's Evill (tuberculosis). He therefore thought it worthwhile to spend a whole treatise on it, informing the young surgeon to 'requisite to cure as far as it cometh in the compass of our art'. If he fails to cure it, he will gratefully acknowledge the goodness of God in giving the Kings of the Nation, from Edward the Confessor downwards, an extraordinary power their cure of Struma by touch. He points out that 'this gift was not taken away on our departure from the Church of Rome'.

He defined the disease (then called Struma or scrofula) as

> a tumour arising from a peculiar acidity of the serum in the blood, which whensoever it lights on glandular muscle or membrane, it coagulates and hardens; when it mixes with marrow, always dissolves it and roteth the bone.

He therefore recognised that it was a disease which affects all systems of the body. He was the first to describe the white swelling of joints – tumour albus – swollen cool joints caused by tuberculosis.

The majority of the 129 patients that he describes are children and adolescents below the age of 20 years. He treated most of the swellings with caustics or incision to drain them and then applied dressings until they healed. Necrotic bone was excised, ulcerating lesions were dressed with the additional treatment of bleeding and the administration of clysters. He describes his successes and failures of treatment.

In this observation, he describes how Amard, aged 24, came to London with a large struma on the left side of his neck, deep amongst the muscles and tendons.

I marked out the place with ink, drawing two lines down the length of it – a finger breadth from one another. Then defending the outsides with snips of plasters, I applied a pledgite spread with my

> caustic ungment in the void space. The next day I divided the escar, rubbed into it with caustic stone and stick dipped in oil vitrioli till I had penetrate deep into the struma.

He then incised in to the struma and packed it. This continued on a daily basis. However, on the third day after clearing out the cavity, the patient started to bleed. After consulting with Dr Walter Needham, they applied Royall Stiptick water, the composition of which is unknown, to the bleeding, which stopped it. Following further dressings, keeping the cavity open, it subsequently healed satisfactorily.

The Royal Touch

The sessions of public healing under Charles II took place in Banqueting Hall, Westminster. In the summer they were held at Windsor Castle. The register of the number of people touched in a nineteen year period was 90,798. The largest annual number was 8577, between May 1682 and April 1683. He is recorded as touching 600 people at one session. Each person touched was given a gold Touchpiece, which came from the Privy Purse [7].

Wiseman did claim cures by touching, but did admit that the cure was not inevitable, especially by the first touch. In deference to His Majesty, he speaks of the weakness of the surgeons' ability when compared to His Majesty's – 'who cureth more in any one year than all the chirurgeons of London have done in an age'. It was his role, as Serjeant-Surgeon, to help in assembling those affected, principally with glandular enlargement in the neck, for the public healing.

His treatise on King's Evill was the first comprehensive survey of tuberculosis. It ends with chapters of tuberculous infection of the eye, of Aegilops (the inner canthus of the eye), the tonsils and of ranula (swelling in the mouth).

Wounds

This fifth treatise, which is his longest, was originally published in

1672. In it, he discusses the management of wounds in general. He continues with chapters on those in veins and arteries, nerves, tendons, ligaments, of the face, of limbs, of the breast, of the oesophagus, of the belly and of the head and brain.

The principles of Wiseman's wound management are sound, systematic and detailed. He advises the primary closure of a simple wound. Complex wounds should be kept open and healed by secondary intention. He advocates the surgical extension of wounds for better surgical exposure. He emphasised that all foreign bodies should be removed. In the case of penetrating wounds, he stressed that it was important to know one's anatomy. In closing the belly, suture the peritoneum, otherwise the patients will get an incisional hernia. He describes different methods of bandaging with strong even cloth, which should be white, clean and gentle without hem or seams. He also describes the forerunner of the steristrip – a small piece of cloth covered with gum tragacanth and egg albumen, to stick the skin edges together.

In his management of sailors in battle, he found they were often full of drink. He says 'I could scarce ever cure any of them without allowing them wine: and thereby their spirits were kept up and I had the liberty to bleed them as I saw fit'.

Gunshot wounds

In this the sixth treatise, Wiseman describes the experience he gained in the management of gunshot wounds in The Civil War, and also during his naval service.

In his opening discussion of gunshot wounds in general, he states that if the wound is not treated early or properly, it invariably turns to gangrene and the patient commonly dies. He emphasises the importance of the removal of the bullet, if possible, together with all the other foreign material such as clothing and wood splinters. Debridement of dead and loose tissue was also vital. In wounds with associated fractures, he counselled against immediate amputation without first careful assessment of the injury.

Following surgery he prescribes dressings to the wounds

which are soaked in a complex mixture of oils and ungments. One formula included 'the strained liquor from two boiled new whelpt puppies'! He assures the reader that they are effective. Hot fomentations were commonly used to assist suppuration and as an anodyne. It was also important to keep the wound open, so that it would drain freely. The healing process he assisted with purging, bleeding, cordials and good food.

The following observation illustrates his management of various types of gunshot wound. Observation 1:

> A soldier shot by a musket bullet in the forepart of the arm, near the biceps. It fractured the bone and passed quite through. I endeavoured by extension to place the fractured bone even together, but could not: upon which I dilated the latter orifice by a large incision ... to pull out three fragments of bones which hindered their right coaption; on putting my finger into the wound to that purpose I pulled out a ragged piece of bullet.

He then, after removal of some bone fragments, was able to accurately oppose the ends of the bone. Following a period of drainage through his dependant incision, the patient healed without complication.

Wiseman points out that if he had not removed the bullet, the wound would have become gangrenous.

Fractures

Wiseman, in his seventh treatise, describes his management of simple and compound fractures, which he compares and contrasts with those of Hippocrates, Galen and Celsus.

In simple fractures, he emphasised the importance of reducing the fracture by extension to accurately oppose the bone ends, or if comminuted to the least possible position. This should be carried out early before swelling and stiffness set in. Fixation was initially accomplished by three rowlers – long bandages – which were wound round the fracture site then above and below to stabilise it. From the fifth day, a splint was included, made either of tin,

pastwood or wood. He emphasised the importance of skin care.

Compound fractures were treated by reduction and suturing of the skin. Fixation initially, was by two or three short cloths, folded three to four times to give more support and easier access to the wound for dressing. He again advises splinting from the fifth day.

In Observation 3 Wiseman describes a Commander fighting at sea who had his leg fractured by the fall of his top mizzen mast. The leg was fractured transversely above the ankle, with the bone thrusting through the skin 'He not suffering the bone presently to be set whilst it was warm, afterwards when it was swelled and stiff, it did not yield to extension but became painful and inflamed'. He was brought to London a few days later. Wiseman described him of 'an ill habit of body subject to gout and dysentery' the fracture was not suitable for setting. Following several days of dressing, he was able to partially reduce it and the fracture subsequently healed; however the leg was bent and weak. To remedy this a bar of iron was fixed on his shoe with joints, and by a brace of cloth to be laced on or tied with a ribbon on the outside of his leg, by which he said it was 'marvellously strengthened'.

Lues Venerea

In the eighth and last treatise, Wiseman described *Lues Venerea* as a 'venomous contagious disease gotten immediately or mediately from unpure coitus' – he goes on 'that now only the persons so copulating are infected, but also the children delivered from such parents and nurses who suckle them'. He notes that women are more liable to infection. He notes that:

> When I served 3 years in the Spanish Navy, where our mariners as soon their pockets were full of money would be getting ashore to the Negroes and other common women, that usually attended their landing, and served their pleasures in the neighbouring broom. I have known, and dare say, more than twenty men lay with one and the same woman the same day, only some of them infected and the rest going free, though they equally deserved it.

The principal diseases he described are gonorrhoea, chancre (syphilis) and herpes which he acknowledges are difficult to cure. This is perhaps not surprising as the known remedies were bleeding, purging, vomiting, salivating, sweating, cordials and opiates, to which may be added dietetical directions. Preparations of mercury and antimony were the commonest therapeutic treatment.

Wiseman records 54 observations of cases of chancre and herpes, and 12 cases with gonorrhoea. His treatments are carried out in the acute stage of the diseases – he does not describe any cases of the long-term effects of, for example syphilis, such as general paralysis of the insane and Tabes.

The final months

After the publication of his book, Wiseman's health continued to deteriorate. In July 1676 he wrote his will and travelled to Bath for treatment. He died suddenly on 20 August 1676. On 29 August he was buried at St Paul's, Covent Garden, next to his first wife Dorothy. At the time of his death, his second wife Mary was pregnant; she later gave birth to a boy, named Richard, who sadly died when he was three years old. The church in Covent Garden, built by Inigo Jones, was destroyed by fire in 1795 and rebuilt in 1798. No memorials remain to the Wiseman family. He left the residue of his estates to his second wife Mary, and their unborn son. He also left her his house, the estate and leases of the Rectory of Stroubby and Barnby, the fee farms of Feckenham Park in Worcestershire and two tenements in The Strand. To his assistant and kinsman Jacques Wiseman he left one hundred pounds, and to the poor of St Paul's Church twenty pounds. In the probate document, his other total goods and chattels were valued at £7220 16*s* 2*d* [8].

Richard Wiseman is rightly regarded as the Father of British Surgery. His career spanned the change from surgeons trained in military practice to those trained in civilian practice with formal lectures, dissections and clinical apprenticeships. His *Severall Chirurgical Treatises* was the first English surgical textbook of its

kind, in that it recorded his 600 Case Reports documenting both successful and unsuccessful, which he said was especially important for trainee surgeons to increase their understanding of the subject. Remarkably Wiseman's book was still on sale, unrevised, some 70 years after the first publication. It undoubtedly helped raise the whole status of British surgery. It also marks an epoch in the history of British surgery. It stands midway between Elizabethan surgery and the dawn of modern surgery as represented by the writings of Chelsden and Percival Pott [9].

References

[1] Register St Andrews Undershaft, 1620. Guildhall Library MS/4107/1. (Courtesy C. Morris).

[2] Longmore. T. *Richard Wiseman. A bibliographical study,* Longmans & Co., London. 1891.

[3] Wardens Great Accompt Book, 1603-1659. From Presentation of Apprentices, 1636-37, 335.

[4] Fraser, A. *King Charles II,* Weidenfeld & Nicholson. 1979.

[5] Young, S. *Annals of the Barber Surgeons*. 1890.

[6] Kircup, J. R. The Tercentenary of Richard Wiseman's 'Severall Chirurgical Treatises.' *Ann. R. Coll. Surg. Engl*. 1977, 59, 271-283.

[7] Crawford, R. H. P. *The Kings Evil,* Oxford. 1911.

[8] P. C. C. 1676. Prob 11/352.

[9] Power, D'A. Several Chirurgical Treatises by Richard Wiseman 1676. *Br. J. Surg*. 1929, 16, 357-361.

Chapter 14

Charles Bernard 1650 – 1711

Malcolm Ashby ‡

HAD IT BEEN ORDAINED THAT Charles Bernard had to choose the years of his life wisely, he must have selected those from 1650 to 1711, for during these years he, born the youngest son of a clergyman, was able to rise to become surgeon to the Queen of England, Queen Anne, whose coronation was in 1702.

By the time of Charles Bernard's birth in Surrey in 1650 his father was probably sensing relief and greater safety from the abating alarms and excursions of torture and burnings in the flames of Reformation England. The nation as a whole was experiencing peace from the terrors, death and destructions of the Civil Wars which, only one year before the birth of Charles Bernard, had ended with the beheading of the King in 1649.

An augury of Charles's future was exhibited by his father's friendship with William Harvey, the doctor of medicine and member of the Royal College of Physicians, who discovered the circulation of the blood.

During his childhood and early manhood Charles Bernard would have been aware of the return and the restoration of King Charles II on the King's thirtieth birthday in 1660, an event which his subjects were never to regret in the ensuing twenty-five years of his reign. It was overdue that peace and prosperity should

---

‡ Deceased

grace the nation. Tranquillity was required throughout the land.

However, naval wars were to take place before and after Charles II's accession especially around the time when Charles Bernard was about twelve years of age. The English and Dutch navies fought fierce warfare; many ships were sunk. This was mostly due to commercial rivalry between the two nations, rivalry in the North Sea trade and fisheries, exploration and development of Far East commerce, as well as the very profitable and new Dutch monopolistic rewards from the importation of spices such as nutmeg, cloves, peppers and so on. Both nations had formed an East India Company. Additional friction was caused by the English Navigation Act which prohibited all but English vessels from carrying commerce to and from English ports. This situation prevailed for many years with the English and Dutch ships warring with each other causing grievous losses to both sides, despite the young Charles II having spent several years in exile in Holland following his father's defeat and execution in 1649. Charles Bernard's early life passed through these years and events. He would have been too young to have realised the significance of the struggles. There were three Dutch naval wars in all.

Early life

Charles Bernard's early life and connections with his father's clerical status may have promoted his ability in the Latin and Greek languages. This knowledge was beneficial to whomsoever possessed it, facilitating their personal advancement in the professions of the times. Knowledge of classical languages was a prerequisite to the study of medicine at universities such as Padua, Leyden, Utrecht and Mountpellier. The Latin language, Hippocrates, Galen, and Paracelsus reigned there. Thus, for students of that era, a first degree in the classics preceded study of medicine followed by another three or five years of study prior to the attainment of the prestigious degree Doctor of Medicine.

The duration of perhaps eight years of study, continental travel and residence must have been prohibitive to poorer students like Charles Bernard, who was the youngest son of a large

family and whose father had died when he was 9 years old.

Fortunately there was another way to receive training and qualifications, namely apprenticeship to a surgeon. One of Bernard's older brothers was an apothecary at St Bartholomew's Hospital, the oldest hospital in London, extant from the 13th century. Had the choice of this course been of his own volition? Had there been influence or securing of his apprenticeship by his brother? Both of them were destined ultimately to receive appointments to the staff at Bart's in the years to come. In 1678 Bernard's apothecary brother was appointed Physician to Bart's and Doctor of Medicine by the Archbishop of Canterbury, (not today a customary method of appointing such medical men!). Following the prescribed duration of apprenticeship to a surgeon Charles presented himself to the examiners, the examinations all being conducted in the Latin tongue. At the age of twenty-five he was duly admitted to the Freedom of the Company of Surgeons at Barber-Surgeons' Hall in 1677. A glittering career was before him. He would soon advance his surgical skills and later acquire a superior reputation. Two years later he married Susanna. It was 1679. They were destined to have a family of three daughters and one son and more than thirty years of married life together.

Middle years

Bernard's years from scholar and apprentice to his admittance to the Barber Surgeons' Company were momentous times to be remembered all his days. During Charles Bernard's childhood King Charles II had been recalled to the throne of England. At Scheveningen, aboard the flagship *Naseby*, then renamed the
, he had been met by General Monk later Duke of Albermarle, Sir Edward Montagu later Admiral Earl Sandwich and, at a respectful distance by Sir Edward's junior kinsman the young Samuel Pepys. From Dover the Royal Procession reached London to the acclamation of cheering crowds. The interregnum was over. Four years later, during the second Dutch war in 1664, the Dutch ships under the famed Admiral de Reuter sailed up the Medway with a broomstick lashed to his masthead to 'sweep away his opponents'

and burned English capital ships and vast stores together with much of the English fleet. Panic followed and Charles Bernard must have been in London to witness it.

The war and subsequent destruction granted Samuel Pepys both opportunity and recognition. His star was in the ascendancy. By direct application and industriousness he was to attain success, wealth and national prominence as Secretary to the Admiralty at the very time when the navy required much restoration and expansion for the benefit of the nation. Pepys now had almost daily personal access to his monarch. Paths were opening up for him which would no doubt later cross with those of Charles Bernard whose own career was to advance steadily from his Freedom of the Barber Surgeons' Company several years later. In due course he, like Pepys, would also receive personal access to his Sovereign in the course of his professional duties. The magnitude of the Naval affairs may be judged by the simple fact that when King Charles reviewed his fleet at Spithead at the time of de Reuter's raid there were present one hundred ships, thirty-four thousand men and six thousand guns.

This period of Charles Bernard's life was marked by other memorable events on a national scale. He lived through the pestilence of the Great Plague of 1665 and the conflagration and destruction of St Paul's cathedral and fifteen thousand dwellings in London by the Great Fire of 1666. The melted lead of St Paul's flowed down Ludgate Hill. The Cathedral would rise again, Phoenix like. Sir Christopher Wren would acquire historic fame and lasting remembrance by the Nation.

From the age of 25 Charles Bernard benefited from patronage. The Lord Chancellor no less, an erstwhile friend of his late father, may have been influential in Bernard's first appointment as surgeon to Charterhouse. Bernard was recently 'qualified' as a surgeon. He rapidly advanced his status and skill in the Barber Surgeons' Company and Court of Assistants. He was examiner and later Master of his Company, eventually receiving the ultimate accolade as Surgeon to the Queen at the year of her accession, 1702, when he was fifty-two years of age. Queen Anne, daughter of James II, was born in 1665; before her were numerous

pregnancies mostly ending in infant mortality.

At this time surgeons knew nothing of bacteria, antiseptics, or anaesthetics. Most of the treatments encompassed promoting drainage of abscesses, emergency amputations, lithotomies and dental extractions. Bernard's reputation indicates that he must have been acutely aware of the limitations of the current surgery and its results, and of the indications and needs for Masterly Inactivity of which he was a humane and wise advocate. His reputation was that of a skilled and scholarly man of repute, a bibliophile possessing more than a thousand volumes.

During this time memorable advances were taking place in the world of arts, literature and architecture. Interest in the fields of science brought about the formation of the Royal Society to which Charles Bernard was admitted, as the first surgeon, in 1696. Pepys was by then a longstanding member since 1665; he died in 1703.

Bernard and Pepys

Both Bernard and Pepys lived in London, the home of Royalty, Government and commerce from the time of their youth to their adulthood and professional duties. Neither was to receive a knighthood but the everlasting fame of both men was to outlive them. It would be significant that the lives of both would benefit 'all those who go down to the sea in ships and do business in great waters.' The years of their lives overlapped and their paths may have crossed in many places. They could have known each other and had friends and acquaintances in common. Both were also past masters of their livery companies in the City of London.

During these years, to sail the great oceans of the world in exploration, trade or warfare would have been a matter of life and death. History records great names among which are Henry the Navigator, Columbus, Drake, Vasco da Gama, and Magellan. The application of Euclidian Geometry, advancing technical knowledge of sailing ships, and commercial aspiration extended distances and duration of naval voyages to distant parts of the known world and beyond. Sailors of Spain and Portugal brought precious metals to Europe. Trading posts were established in India and

China. The Dutch were amassing riches from the spice islands of the East Indies. England too sought new goods and new riches. It was too early for supplies of tobacco, sugar and slaves but from India came calico, silks and spices (see Bernard's will, *infra*).

The return voyages to all these places could have the duration of years, not months, with consequent multitudes of disease, injury and death. This would not have escaped the notice of Charles Bernard. During their respective younger years as members of the Royal Society both Pepys and Bernard may have been acquainted with many prominent men of the times, Newton, Wren, Evelyn, Aubrey, Flamsteed, Halley, Robert Hook, Robert Boyle, and there was correspondence with the Society from Van Leeuwenhoek and Huykens. The glory of the age was embellished by its great architects and craftsmen. These would have been times of riches for the fertile mind of Charles Bernard.

In their early years both Pepys and Bernard received the benefit of patronage from great officers of state, Pepys from Edward Montagu later Admiral Sandwich. Bernard was assisted in his initial appointment as surgeon by the Lord Chancellor. Later both were to experience treatment for removal of stone in the bladder, one as a patient and the other as an operator. Not all were like Pepys who survived this surgery.

In those years it would be self-evident that the many ships of the expanding navy would require a ready and increasing supply of fit sailors to sail them. Bernard no doubt realised this fact too. The seas of the world were perilous places with hazards of death from a whole spectrum of diseases. Medical help was desperately required. Scurvy, dysentery, typhoid and malnutrition lurked in wait. The care of ships' crews was not concomitant; Dr Lind and Captain James Cook were not yet in evidence. The voyage of Ferdinand Magellan in earlier years is illustrative. In 1520 he sailed from Spain to the Far East with five ships and almost three hundred crew. Only one ship returned to Spain three years later. Magellan himself was dead and fewer than twenty sailors came back to Spain on the only surviving ship. Only a handful of the emaciated crew returned with a ship full of spices yet they achieved immortality having been the first to circumnavigate the

world, thus demonstrating that the earth was a globe. Scurvy was a great killer of mariners. Its cause was not finally recognised or prevented until much later by which time both Pepys and Bernard were dead. Charles Bernard died prior to the publication of the first edition of *Encyclopaedia Britannica* in 1711. Regarding scurvy it said 'This distemper affects the inhabitants of cold countries especially those who live in marshy low flat and moist soils near stagnating water either fresh or salt'. (No citrus fruits growing there!) The symptoms were well known in their full extent but methods of prevention and treatment remained in obscurity. It was observed that the early symptoms occurred by the time the sailors had been without fresh foods or out of sight of land for approaching six weeks. Ships' surgeons would be expert observers of this illness. Not until the time of Nelson was scurvy banished and fruit juice regularly purchased and distributed to crews (two teaspoonfuls per day per man supplied adequate protection.) Nelson's fleet was supplied with thirty thousand gallons of lemon juice a year at a cost of one shilling a gallon.

Earlier, realising the necessity of suitable medical treatment at sea John Woodall, Surgeon to the East India Company and Master of the Barber Surgeons' Company in 1617 had written a book of surgery and related items called the *The Surgion's Mate*. This was the first book for care at sea and was intended for use by surgeons at sea. It was as if Woodard had commenced resolution of surgical problems for seafarers and, later, fate caused Charles Bernard to promote and continue this work for the health and welfare of all who suffered the travails of disease and injury at sea.

The book suggested lists of essential instruments and medicaments, all to be contained in the surgeon's chest kept on board every ship and such a chest was to be produced by every surgeon seeking an appointment at sea. This was to be the equipment and *vade mecum* of medical and surgical emergencies on the high seas. Indeed the remains of a surgeon's chest were recovered when the *Mary Rose* was raised from the seabed.

When seeking a surgeon's appointment in a ship of the Royal Navy it was now to be required that the prospective candidate would present himself at Admiralty Headquarters, with his sur-



FIG. 1. Charles Bernard, Serjeant-Surgeon to Queen Anne. A painting by Thomas Murray. Note the picture-frame decorated with sea shells.

geon's chest for inspection, to give a demonstration of personal knowledge of surgery. An appropriate certificate of examination success would be necessary to secure a surgical appointment, thereby instituting new and rising minimum standards to benefit

all those at sea. Desirable requirements and proficiencies would be evident and known to Charles Bernard.

London life

By 1700, at the age of 50 he was an examiner in surgery and on Queen Anne's accession to the throne in 1702, Charles Bernard's career reached its apogee socially and professionally when he was appointed Serjeant-Surgeon to Queen Anne. This was a very high position which had originated in the middle ages when the Serjeant-Surgeon was required to accompany his monarch on the field of battle. It slowly evolved until the present day into senior surgeon to the medical household.

Barber Surgeons

The Company of Barber Surgeons venerates Charles Bernard by a portrait in Barber-Surgeons' Hall (Fig. 1). It is readily recognised by its ornate frame garlanded with seashells surrounding. There were scallop shells in his family arms but the more likely reason is that these are an allusion to his being examiner of naval surgeons. In so doing he would have ensured an increase of competence at sea which would add considerably to the welfare of all seafarers.

As well as this picture, the Hall exhibits a large presentation silver wine cistern which is engraved as Royal Gift by Queen Anne to the Company in consideration of their fidelity examining surgeons to serve in the Royal Navy. The inference is that Bernard may personally have instituted the examination of standards of naval surgeons hence the scallop shells of the picture-frame allude to his humanitarian influence of behalf of seaman. A certificate of success in examination at Barber-Surgeons' Hall for appointment as naval surgeon is displayed adjacent to the cistern presented by Queen Anne.

In his portrait Charles Bernard is shown with several large tomes in the background. This may be reference to his reputation as a learned man owning many hundreds of books. He is painted

with his hand resting on a large volume as may have been the fashion in portraits of the time. Other examples of this pose are those of Sir Christopher Wren, possibly holding *Euclid* and John Evelyn by Kneller holding *Fumifugium*. Would Charles Bernard have been depicted with a Latin tome, or was it perhaps a volume of anatomy? We cannot tell. A substantial volume of *Euclid* was published at Oxford in Latin and Greek in 1703.

By diligence Charles Bernard steadily progressed through a moderately long life, witnessing war, pestilence and conflagration, and suffering health tribulations. He was personally acquainted with famous men and he was a surgeon of high repute. He served his country, his Queen, his profession and his family and he received success and lasting respect from his fellow men.

The Barber Surgeons' Company has recently instituted further commemoration by the inauguration of the annual Charles Bernard lecture to take place at Barber-Surgeons' Hall, London. This recognises the link between the historic Company of Surgeons and the Royal Navy and is embodied in the affiliation with the Company and the Royal Navy Institute of Medicine. The Inaugural lecture took place in 2001 at Barber-Surgeons' Hall delivered by Surgeon Captain Taylor, Medical Director of the Royal Naval Hospital Haslar. Embodied in this diligent and learned lecture were many details of the career of Charles Bernard from which I acknowledge information for this article. I also acknowledge the extensive detail of the life of Charles Bernard published in the *Journal of Medical Biography* in 1993. I commend to the reader this erudite article by Dr Prewer of Newport Isle of Wight whence I quote information about Charles Bernard.

Bernard's will

The end came for Charles Bernard on 19 October 1711. His will had directed that he was to be buried at night in the parish in which he died, which may explain why he was interred at the age of 61 in the family tombs of the Thynne family in Wiltshire.

His very detailed will exists in the Public Record Office. The document appears to be a copy by a clerk to the lawyer who

presumably composed the original. The will covered all variations and lengthy eventualities of Charles Bernard's final wishes and instructions.

Précis of the will of Charles Bernard: Bernard describes himself as Serjeant-Surgeon to Her Majesty Queen Anne. He bequeathed his properties in Broad Street London and with £500 to his beloved wife Susan. He left her his furniture except his best cabinet (left to his daughter) together with satins and silks. HE left HER [*sic*] her own gold watch, her rings and apparels as well as guardianship of his children and provision for maintenance of the children until they were 21 years of age or married. To his daughter Susan he left £1000 and goods in the best chamber. His daughter Elizabeth got furniture and £100 and his other daughter Mary and his son Charles were left £100; the residues of his estate were to be distributed equally to them all except Susan. His books were to be sold except the historical and evangelical ones. There is a separate codicil which says:

> I Charles Bernard Since writing my will...have disposed of my daughter Elizabeth in marriage to Ambrose Dickens of London Surgeon..... and I have given him £1000 in marriage portion with my daughter.

Ambrose Dickens was a worthy son-in-law, who with the passing years followed Charles Bernard in the same earlier appointments as his father-in-law, Surgeon to Bart's Hospital, Serjeant-Surgeon to his Monarch and Master of the Company of Surgeons in 1729. Charles Bernard's son, Charles, is described as clerk to the Barbers and Surgeons of London. There follow extensive legal descriptions of the witnesses who were William Jones, Servant to Bernard for five years and George Wimpole, apprentice to Bernard for three years. The will was written in legal terminology and provisions were made for almost every eventuality imaginable.

From the Public Record Office was a copy of an accompanying will written in the same longhand and archaic 18th century legal terminology.

I John Bernard, [Charles' brother perhaps?] belonging to her majesties ship Royal Oak, Mariner… considering the perils and dangers of the seas and this other restraints of this transitory life. I first offer my soul to God that gave it… and my body I remit to the Earth or Sea as it shall please God to order…. I give all my goods also all wages owed to me in any ship of war at the time of my demise… unto my dear and loving wife Elizabeth Bernard of the Parish of Stepney County of Middlesex….

Does not this will illustrate some of the Eternal Verities of married life?

Works which were consulted in the preparation of the text

I thank Mrs Tessa Harfield for obtaining, from the Public Record Office, a copy of Charles Bernard's will and Sir William Slack for his paper and personal communication on Serjeant-Surgeons.

Bergreen, L. *Over the Edge of the World. Magellan's terrifying Circum-Navigation of the Globe*. 2003, Harper Collins.

Bryant, A. *Samuel Pepys. The Man in the Making*. 1933, The Reprint Society, London.

Bryant, A. *King Charles II*. 1931, Collins, London.

Druett, J. *Rough Medicine. Surgeons At Sea*. 2000, Routledge.

Encyclopaedia Britannica. First Edition, 1711.

Ferguson, N. *Empire: How Britain made the Modern World*. 2003, Penguin Books.

Jardine, L. *The Curious Life of Robert Hooke, The Man who Measured London*. 2004, Harper Perennial.

Milton, G. *Nathaniel's Nutmeg*. 1999, Sceptre.

Roger, N. A. M. *The Command of the Ocean, A Naval History of Britain 1649-1815*. 2004, Allen Lane.

Smylie, M. *Herring, A History of the Silver Darlings*. 2004, Tempus.

Tomalin, C. *Samuel Pepys, The Unequalled Self*. 2002, Viking, Penguin Books.

Trease, G. *Samuel Pepys and his world*. 1972, Book Club Associates, London.

Woolley, B. *The Herbalist*. 2005, Harper Perennial.

Chapter 15

Edward Tyson 1651 – 1708

Barrie Jay ‡

ON 20 JANUARY 1651* A SON was born to Edward Tyson and his wife Margaret. This baby, also named Edward and the subject of this chapter, was to become the father of British comparative anatomy. For many years it was assumed that he had been born in the village of Clevedon, a few miles from Bristol, as stated in the *Dictionary of National Biography* [1]. The baby was christened in the Parish Church of St Nicholas in the city of Bristol and it is now generally agreed that he was born in that parish [2, 3].

Today, Edward's parents would have been seen as successful middle-class country folk. Edward senior, a merchant, became an Alderman, a Sheriff and in 1659 Mayor of Bristol. Margaret's father, Richard Foley, laid the foundations of the iron-smelting industry in this country, building a considerable fortune. Richard's son Thomas, one of Margaret's brothers, became High Sheriff of Worcestershire and Thomas's son Paul – Edward's cousin – was Speaker of the House of Commons at the end of the 17th century.

Edward was fortunate both in having a successful and financially secure family and in growing up at an exciting time in the development of British scientific thought. He had an older brother

---

‡ Deceased

* Until 1752, 25 March marked the beginning of the legal year. This January date, sometimes written 20 January 1650/51, was 1650 in the legal year but 1651 in the calendar year (which is used here).

and six sisters, two of them half-sisters from his father's first marriage. Nothing is known of Edward's schooling; it is assumed, in view of his father's wealth and position in Bristol, that he was educated at private schools in the Bristol area. He was also fortunate in being a member of a family whose distant descendants, Josiah Wedgwood, Charles Darwin and Francis Galton – to name but three – were renowned for their enquiring minds. Tyson's maternal grandfather, Richard Foley, had a great granddaughter, Penelope Foley, who was the great grandmother of Darwin. It seems more than coincidence that Edward Tyson, as we shall later see, believed, from his study of a chimpanzee, that this animal was neither man nor ape but a sort of animal between both.

In May 1667 Edward Tyson entered Magdalen Hall, Oxford to read Natural History. Magdalen Hall later was destroyed by fire in the 19th century and Hertford College and Hart Hall were created out of it. During his first year at Oxford his father died leaving him a considerable fortune of several thousand pounds. In February 1670 he obtained his Bachelor of Arts degree and in 1673 his Master of Arts. He then continued at Oxford to study medicine and obtained the Batchelor of Physic in 1677.

It was while at Oxford that Tyson's interests in botany and comparative anatomy were developed. It is probable that he was taught natural history by Robert Plot, a tutor at Magdalen Hall and botany by Robert Morison, the Professor of Botany, whose works contained a clear concept of genus, species and family. He was accepted as 'an eminent botanist' by Robert Plot in his *Natural History of Oxfordshire* [4] and evidence of his botanical research can be found in his unpublished papers in the library of the Royal College of Physicians of London. But it was as a comparative anatomist that he was to become famous and in Plot's *Natural History of Oxfordshire* mention is made of Tyson's research into *The Scent-Bags in Poll-Cats and several other Animals*. This was the first mention of Tyson's anatomical research.

Having completed his formal studies, Tyson moved to London for a few years to the house of his brother-in-law, Richard Morton, in Grey Friar's-Court, Newgate Street. At this time Tyson published two papers on his autopsy findings: one of a clergyman

with an abscess of the liver and a horseshoe kidney [5]; the second of an infant with double ureters [6]. In 1679 he was elected to the Royal Society and then moved to Cambridge where he entered Corpus Christi College and took the degree of Doctor of Physic in 1680. He then returned to London, was admitted Candidate of the College of Physicians and a year later became a Fellow of that College.

In the following years Tyson rapidly established himself as an outstanding anatomist, physician and lecturer, laying the foundations of modern comparative anatomy in this country.

Although there are in the literature a few references to Tyson being married and having a son Richard [1, 7], there is no evidence that this ever actually occurred and Tyson died a bachelor. Richard was, in fact, Tyson's nephew, the son of Tyson's brother Samuel, and was mentioned in Tyson's will [2].

Tyson and the Company of Barber-Surgeons

In Young's history of the Company [8] Tyson is hardly mentioned, largely because the Court Minute Books of the Company are missing from 1652 to 1689 and the Account Books from 1674 to 1715, so not a great deal is known of Tyson's association with the Company. It is known that in 1684, two months before his appointment to Bridewell and Bethlem Hospitals, Tyson was appointed to a Ventera Readership in Anatomy tenable at the Worshipful Company of Barber-Surgeons, a post that he held until December 1699. Several incomplete copies of the syllabus of his lectures have survived, the first page of one of them being illustrated in Fig. 1. Although the record of his appointment has been lost, that of his resignation remains. In the relevant Court Minute Book is the following for 14 December 1699 [9]:

> Ordrd the two Drs. Readers to this Society for the future shall bee elected for noe longer terme then fower yeares onely at one time.
>
> Ordrd by the Court that Dr [E] Tyson have liberty to lay downe [his office].

Dr Hans & Dr Havers were put in nominacon for Reader of the Ventera Lecture in the roome of Dr Tyson, Dr Hans was chosen for fower yeares.

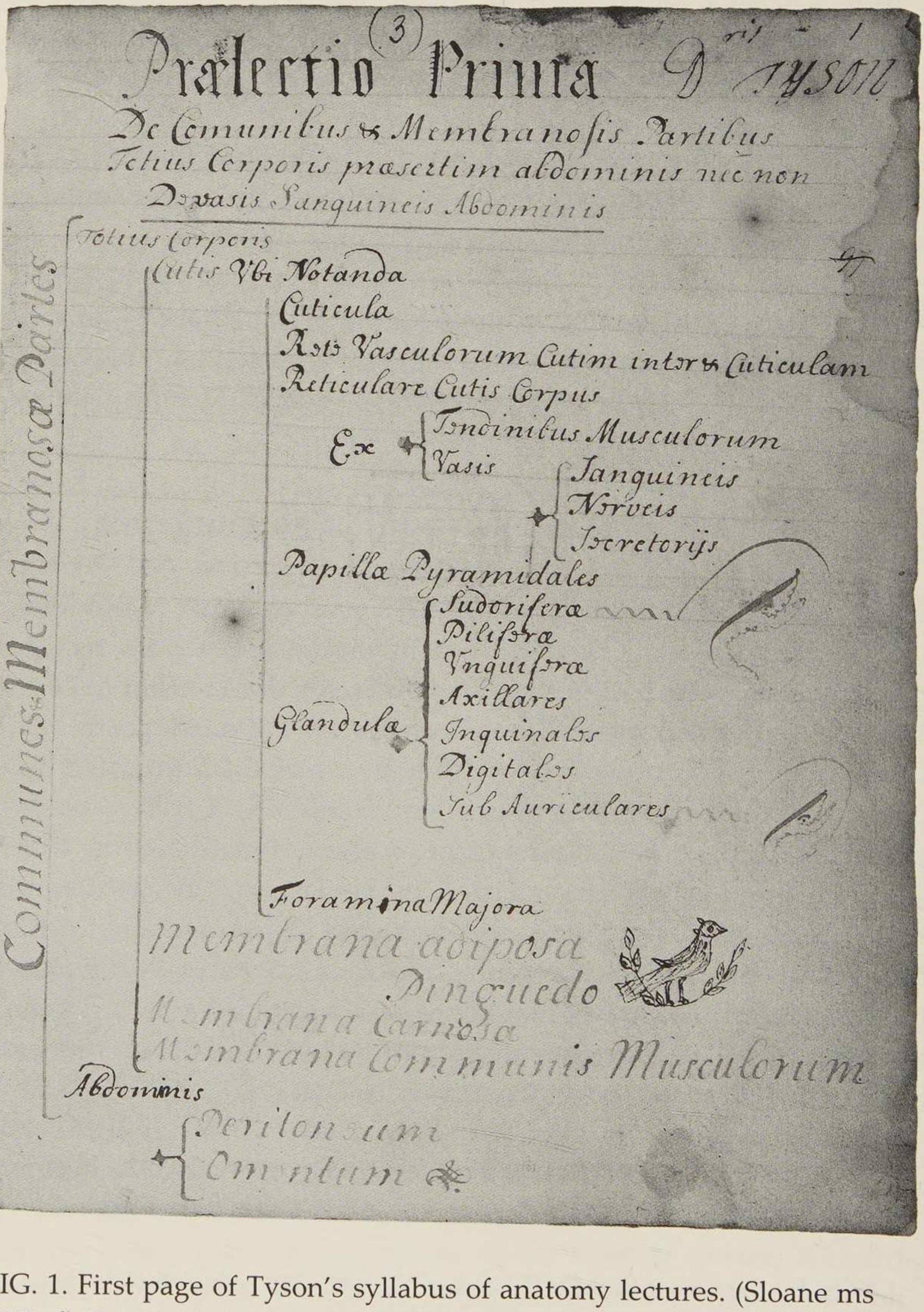


FIG. 1. First page of Tyson's syllabus of anatomy lectures. (Sloane ms 2770, fl. By permission of the British Library.)

From the mid-17th century Readers appear to have been appointed only to supervise a particular section of a Public Anatomy and a Reader was appointed specifically for the visceral, muscular or osteological dissections and lecture [10]. Tyson's appointment was to dissect and lecture on the viscera.

After his retirement as Reader in Anatomy Tyson continued to take an interest in the Company, and particularly in its library which had been destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666 [11]. In 1701 there was a move to re-establish the library on a sound professional basis and Tyson drew up rules for the library which are in the Court Minute of 29 July 1701 [9]:

> Committee XXIX day of July 1701
> The Master Mr. Markes Mr. Cades Wardens Mr. Thomas Page Mr. Wm Pleahill Mr. Charles Barnard Mr. William Layfield Mr. Zach Gibson Mr. Clarke Mr. Worts.
> The committee begins on Tysons proposals & advices as follows viz:
> That the Library shall consist onely of Books of Surgery Anatomy Naturall History & Pharmacy.
> That all Books on Surgery, Anatomy, Naturall History & Pharmacy in all languages, as likewise such various Editions of them (when there is any considerable alteration or additions) shall be provided.
> If it happens Books of a different subject should be given to this Library; That then by a Statute or order to be made, such books be sold or exchanged for other. But an Acctt of it to be taken and a Book provided for that purpose.
> That a Book of Six Quires be prepared for this purpose. Likewise if Duplicates of the same Book be given & of the same edition, That then one of them be exchanged.
> However the Benefaction is to be registered & and what it is exchanged for to be expressed in that Book provided for that purpose.
> When any Book is given, underneathe the Title Page or in the most convenient place, to be wrote Liber Bibleothecae Chirurgon Lond: ex Dono A.B. Apr 1697 & on the covers on both sides to be impressed the Armes of the Society in gold.
> That a Stampe be cut in copper of the bigness of a crown piece, & that it be done on the book in gold.

That once a year at least a view of the Books to be made by the two Chirurgeons Governors & the Auditors for the time being, to see that none be wanting; if wanting to enquire how, & to observe likewise if any want binding, & to take care thereof.

That no Book be lent out of this Library, but by order of the Gover-



FIG. 2. Edward Tyson, by E. Lilly, *c.* 1695. (Courtesy Royal College of Physicians of London).

nors and Surgeons for the time being, & the person who borrows the book to deposit at the same time the double reputed value of the book, which he is to forfeit to the use of the Library, unless within a Month he restores the said Book undamaged & as perfect as it was lent to him.

When a convenient Collection of the Books of the Subjects are procured a person one day in the weeke (or oftener if thought convenient) to attend the Library from 9 in the morning to 12, and from 2 in the afternoon till 6 in the summer & to 4 in the winter, to let any person (who shall have leave) to peruse any of the Books in the Library.

That one Beadle do attend on Wednesday in every weeke at the hours aforesaid. That an Alphabetical Catalogue of the books be made.

That by knowing hereby what books are wanting, it may encourage Benefactors to give them, & by knowing what are there, render them usefull to such as to have mind to peruse them.

That the several Books before menconed to be provided for the purposes afores'be made by Mr. George Minnikin.

Order that the next committee inspect the Book of ffree Gift.

Adjourned to the 12th of August next at three in the afternoon.

A portrait of Tyson was painted in about 1695 by E. Lilley [12] and hung in the Parlour of Chirurgeons' Hall until 1746 when it was sold to Mr Luke Morris (or Maurice – one of Tyson's descendants) for ten pounds ten shillings [8]. The picture then reappeared in 1764 when Tyson's great-nephew, Richard Tyson, presented it to the Royal College of Physicians of London, where it hangs at present in the Main Hall [The Marble] (Fig. 2).

Tyson and the Royal Society

We have already noted that Tyson was elected to the Royal Society in 1679, his proposer being Robert Hooke, the natural philosopher, inventor and architect who has been called 'the inspirational father of modern science'. It is evident from the many papers Tyson read to the Society and from the positions he held in it, that

the Society played a major part in his life. In November 1681 he was elected to the Council of the Royal Society at a time that Sir Christopher Wren was President and Samuel Pepys was another member of Council. Tyson was appointed Anatomy Curator and Prosector to the Society in 1683, a post that required him to make regular anatomical dissections and observations at the Society's ordinary meetings. Over the years he read numerous papers to the Society, many of which were published in the Society's *Philosophical Transactions*; only a few are mentioned in this chapter. Tyson was elected to Council on at least nine occasions in the years up to 1704 when he was elected a Vice-President of the Society and was chosen as one of the 'Auditors of the Accounts'. He may have continued to hold the office of Vice-President until his death; the Society's records on this are incomplete.

Comparative anatomy

Mention has already been made of Tyson's first studies in anatomy, his dissections of the scent glands of polecats and other animals, mentioned in Plot's *The Natural History of Oxfordshire* [4]. His first major study in this area was the dissection of a porpoise, presented to the Royal Society in January 1680 and published as a monograph [13] (Fig. 3). In the following extract from the Preliminary Discourse to this work, Tyson set out his views for his present and future studies:

> Since first I applied my self to Physick, and had spent some time in the various studies thereof, though each had its peculiar Charms, which allowed and greatly delighted the Mind busied and imployed therein, yet that of Anatomy in a more extraordinary manner affected my Genius....
>
> Physick certainly must acknowledge Anatomy its best Cynosure*; and that Pilot must needs err and wander, who without it, being ignorant of the various Seas and Coasts he sails in, steers all in the dark and at random: or if possibly it happens that sometimes he be

* Cynosure: anything that strongly attracts attention or admiration.

cast into the desired Port or Haven; yet he is to be esteemed more fortunate than skilful. The dissection of Morbid Bodies affords the best account of Diseases; and often indicates the cure in others: that of Sanous, informs us of the true texture and uses of the parts. Both have their great advantages, both ought with equal Care and Sollici-

PHOCÆNA,

OR THE

ANATOMY

OF A

PORPESS,

DISSECTED AT

Gresham Colledge:

WITH A

Præliminary Discourse concerning Anatomy, and a Natural History of ANIMALS.

The World was made to be inhabited by Beasts, but studied and contemplated by Man: 'tis the Debt of our Reason we owe unto God, and the Homage we pay him for not being Beasts.

Religio Medici.

LONDON,

Printed for *Benj. Tooke* **at the Ship in St.** *Paul's* **Church-yard. 1680.**

FIG. 3. Title page of *Phocæna, or the Anatomy of a Porpess.*

tousness to be cultivated. But since we must know what is the right, before we can understand the various deviations from the Rule; great and laborious have been the Reserches both of the present and former Ages, for the attaining this: But in nothing have their endeavours been more successful than in making a comparative survey. Nature when more shy in one, hath more freely confest and shewn herself in another; and a Fly sometimes hath given greater light towards the true knowledge of the structure and the uses of the Parts in Humane Bodies, than an often repeated dissection of the same might have done…

It is impossible in this short account of Tyson's life to detail the importance of this monograph on the anatomy of the porpoise. The following short extracts show Tyson's appreciation of the relationship between this sea-living creature and land-living quadrupeds:

…for if we view a Porpes on the outside, there is nothing more than a fish; if we look within, there is nothing less…

…The structure of the viscera and inward parts [of the porpoise] have so great an Analogy and resemblance to those of Quadrupeds, that we find them here almost the same. The greatest difference from them seems to be in the external shape, and wanting feet. But here to we observed that when the skin and flesh was taken off, the fore-fins did very well represent an Arm, there being the Scapula, an os Humeri, the Ulna and radius, the bones of the Carpus, the Metacarp, and 5 digiti curiously joynted…

The views expressed in this work placed comparative anatomy in England on a firm foundation and marked Tyson as the father of British comparative anatomy.

Over the next few years Tyson's output of anatomical studies was considerable and included dissections of a rattle-snake, worms and hog. In 1697 an opossum was presented to the Royal Society. In the following year the creature died and Tyson was asked 'to anatomise it'. A week later Tyson presented his findings

to a meeting of that Society, the findings then being published as a paper and as a book [14]. The report to the meeting of the Royal Society includes the first description of a gastric ulcer in an animal and mention of the same condition in man:

> Dr Tyson gave an Account of the opening of the Body of the Possum mentioned last meeting, he found it dyed with a hole in its Stomach, eat through all the coats of it, he said he had seen the like in Mens bodys which he took to come from a Scrophulous disposition of the great Glands of the Stomach Coats.

Had Tyson's research ended there he would have been remembered as an important comparative anatomist and an innovator in the management of the mentally sick. But in the spring of 1698, a few months after it had arrived in London, a young chimpanzee died and Tyson obtained the body. He enlisted the help of William Cowper, the noted surgeon and anatomist, to dissect the animal and describe their findings, findings that were published by the Royal Society the following year [15] (Fig. 4). In his Preface to *Orang-outang, sive Homo Sylvestris*, Tyson indicates his interest in the natural history of animals:

> Least this Discourse should be rejected merely for the Title's sake, as if 'twere only to divert the Reader, with the Recital of the Fabulous and Romantick Stories, which have been related as the Subjects I have proposed to treat of: I think it necessary to premise, that as my chief Design in this Undertaking is the Improvement of the Natural History of Animals; so I have made it my Business more, to find out the Truth, than to enlarge in the Mythology; to inform the Judgment, than to please the Phancy….
>
> To render this Disquisition more useful, I have made a Comparative Survey of this Animal, with a Monkey, an Ape, and a Man. By viewing the same Parts of all these together, we may the better observe Nature's Gradation in the Formation of Animal Bodies, and the Transitions made from one to another….

Orang-Outang, sive Homo Sylvestris:

OR, THE

ANATOMY

OF A

PYGMIE

Compared with that of a

Monkey, an *Ape*, and a *Man*.

To which is added, A

PHILOLOGICAL ESSAY

Concerning the

Pygmies, the *Cynocephali*, the *Satyrs*, and *Sphinges* of the ANCIENTS.

Wherein it will appear that they are all either *APES* or *MONKEYS*, and not *MEN*, as formerly pretended.

By *EDWARD TYSON* M. D.
Fellow of the Colledge of Physicians, and the Royal Society: Physician to the Hospital of *Bethlem*, and Reader of Anatomy at *Chirurgeons-Hall*.

LONDON:
Printed for *Thomas Bennet* at the *Half-Moon* in St. *Paul's* Church-yard; and *Daniel Brown* at the *Black Swan* and *Bible* without *Temple-Bar* and are to be had of Mr. *Hunt* at the Repository in *Gresham-Colledge*.
MDC XCIX.

FIG. 4. Title page of *Orang-Outang, sive Homo Sylvestris: or, the Anatomy of a Pygmie*.

Tyson concludes his study with the following:

I shall not at present give the Reader the trouble of the Reflections, that I intended, upon the Observations made in the Anatomy of this remarkable Creature; since I am conscious (having been so

tedious already) that 'twill but farther tire him, and my self too. I shall therefore now conclude this Discourse, with a brief Recapitulation of the Instances I have given, wherein our Pygmie, more resembled the Humane kind, than Apes and Monkeys do: As likewise sum up those, wherein it differ'd from a Man, and imitated the Ape-kind. The Catalogues of both are so large, that they sufficiently evince, That our Pygmie is no Man, nor yet the Common Ape; but a sort of Animal between both; and tho'a Biped, yet of the Quadrumanus-kind; tho' some Men too, have been observed to use their Feet like Hands, as I have seen several.

This thorough and systematic study of the anatomy of a young chimpanzee was Tyson's most important contribution to science and the first work of any consequence in comparative morphology; it laid the foundations for the concept of the 'missing link'.

> It is to the last mentioned writer [Tyson], and his coadjutor Cowper, that we owe the first account of a man-like ape which has any pretensions to scientific accuracy and completeness. The treatise entitled 'Orang-outang, sive Homo Silvestris'...is, indeed, a work of remarkable merit, and has, in some respects, served as a model to subsequent inquirers. (T. H. Huxley: *Evidence as to Man's Place in Nature.* 1863)

Tyson's glands

While Tyson will always be remembered for his contributions to comparative anatomy, he made many observations on his autopsy findings. Mention has already been made of his two earliest papers on this subject [5, 6] but his name is particularly remembered in human anatomy for the glands of the glans penis which are named after him. Tyson seems never to have described these glands himself, although in one of the copies of his anatomy lectures in the British Library there is a note in his handwriting (Fig. 5), which reads: 'These Glands I have lately discovered & will give you an Account of them when you are pleased to Demand it.'

It was left to William Cowper to be the first to refer to them in an appendix to his *Myotomia Reformata* [16]:

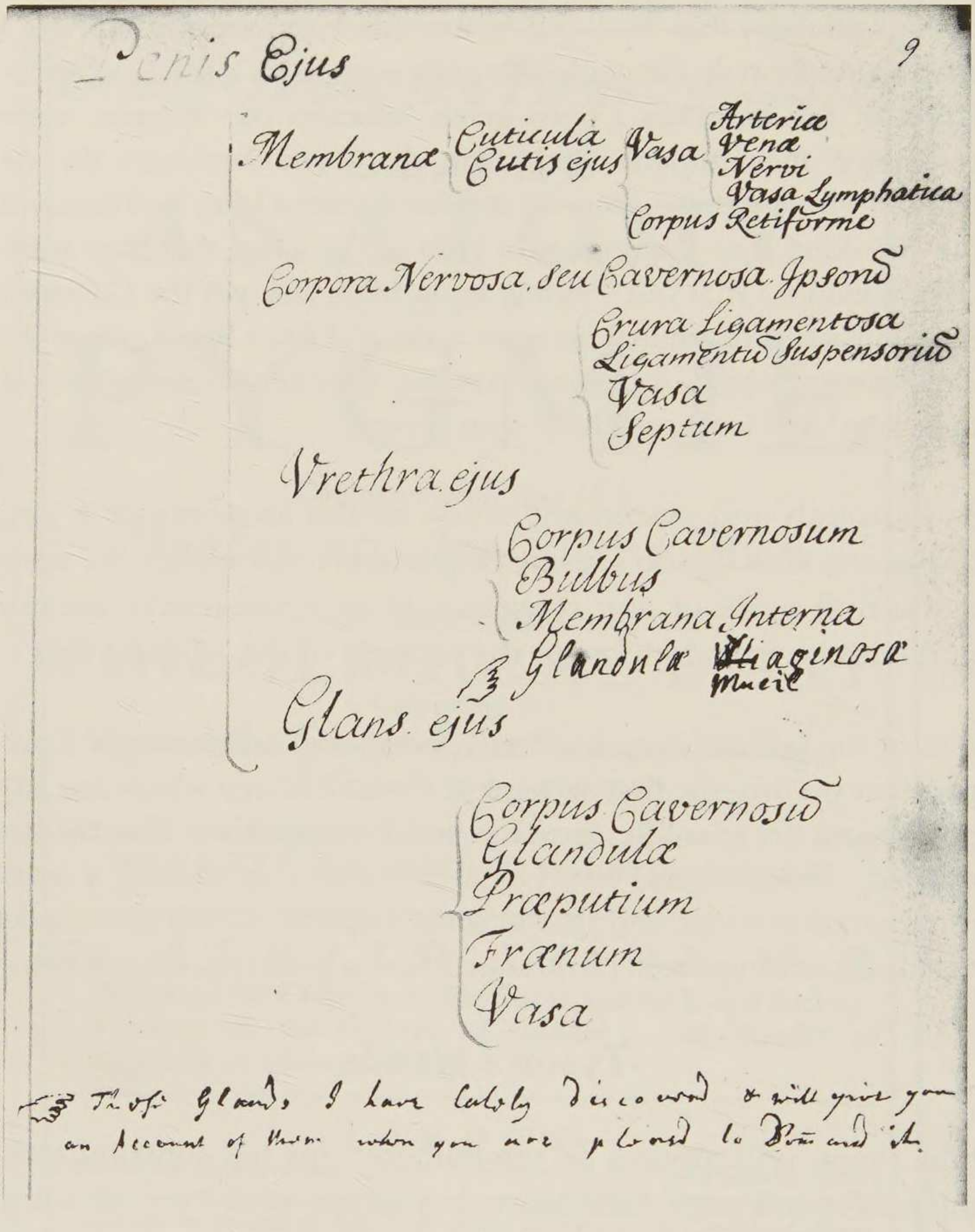


FIG. 5. Tyson's note referring to his discovery of the Glandulae mucilaginosa (Sloane ms 3410, f9. By permission of The British Library).

> In that part where the Præputium is contiguous to the Balanus, my very good Friend that Judicious Anatomist, Dr. Tyson, has Discovered certain small Glands (aa) [Fig. x.]; which he calls from the great scent their separated Liquor emits, Glandulæ Odoriferæ: their Number is uncertain; in those that have the Præputium longer than ordinary, they are not only more, but also larger, and separate a greater quantity of their Juice, which being lodged there, often grows Acrid and corrodes the Glans. They are very conspicuous in most

Quadrupeds, particularly in Dogs and Boars, in the latter of which; their separated Liquor is contained in a proper Cist, at the Verge of the Præputium; out of which there is a large Aperture, whereby it's remitted again to lubricate the Penis of that Animal.

Tyson the physician

What is remarkable about Tyson's life is his prodigious output of anatomical studies at a time when his practice as a physician and as a lecturer was increasing considerably. In December 1684 he was appointed as Physician to Bridewell and Bethlem Hospitals, a post he retained until his death in 1708 and, during his tenure, his innovative ideas produced major changes to the running of the hospitals. It appears he may not have been well known to the Governors prior to his appointment, as was indicated in the following minute [17]:

> Alsoe to this Courte came Dr Tyson and presented himselfe to this Courte and acquainted them that he was recommended by his majestye to the commissioners appointed for regulating the severall hospitals in the Citty of London & was by them elected phisitian to the hospital of Bethlem in the roome of Doctor Allen died whoe was accordingly allowed & approved of by this Courte.

In the most recent history of the Hospitals Andrews and his co-authors [18] indicated that the period of Edward Tyson's appointment was a time of therapeutic initiative and optimism. Tyson was responsible for appointing the first nurse, for introducing cold and warm bathing, and for initiating after-care and a relief fund for poor discharged patients.

John Strype, in his revision of John Stow's *Survey of London* [19] mentions Tyson's treatment of bathing:

> In the Heat of the Weather, a very convenient Bathing Place, to cool and wash them, and is of great Service in airing their Lunacy; and it is easily made a hot bath for restoring their Limbs when numbed, or cleaning and preserving them from Scurvy, or other cutaneous Distempers.

Tyson established an out-patient department and then arranged for the poor among its patients to receive their medicines free [20]:

> This Comitee being this day informed by Dr Tyson the Phisitian of thise Hospitall That severall of his patients who have been cured of their Lunacy in the hospital of Bethlem being very poore and not able to procure themselves a little necessary phisick at the Spring and ffall of the yeare ffor want thereof many of them have relapsed into their former Lunacyes and become patients again in the said Hospitall to the great charge thereof And this Comitee having discoursed the said Phisitian therein and considered by what meanes the like inconvenience may be prevented for the future consistent with the Charity of this Hospitall are of opinion That such poor Lunaticks as have been cured and discharged as aforesaid may upon their due Applicatons to the weekly Committee of the said Hospitall have Phisick at the charge thereof in such measures as the said Committee and Phisitian shall direct.
> Also at this Court the aforesaid Dr Tyson by the hand of Mr Deputy Gardiner presented the sume of ffifty pounds being the Gift of a person unknown to the Charity of the hospital of Bethlem & desires the same may be laid out for Phisick & medicines as in the said Report…

In addition to his hospital practice, Tyson, together with another physician, Richard Hale, developed a very large practice outside Bethlehem, being renowned as a 'mad-doctor' and having many mad patients referred to him by other physicians [21].

This then is a brief account of the life of the remarkable 17th century physician and anatomist, Edward Tyson. Tyson died suddenly on 1 August 1708 at the age of 57 years and was buried in the church of St Dionis Backchurch in Lime Street. Some months after his death a monument was erected to his memory in that church, paid from a sum of £500 in Tyson's will 'In the Funerall and Monument'. In 1879 the church of St Dionis Backchurch was demolished and the monument was moved to All Hallows, Lombard Street. All Hallows was, in turn, demolished in 1938 and the monument moved again to All Hallows, Twickenham where it can now be found (Fig. 6).

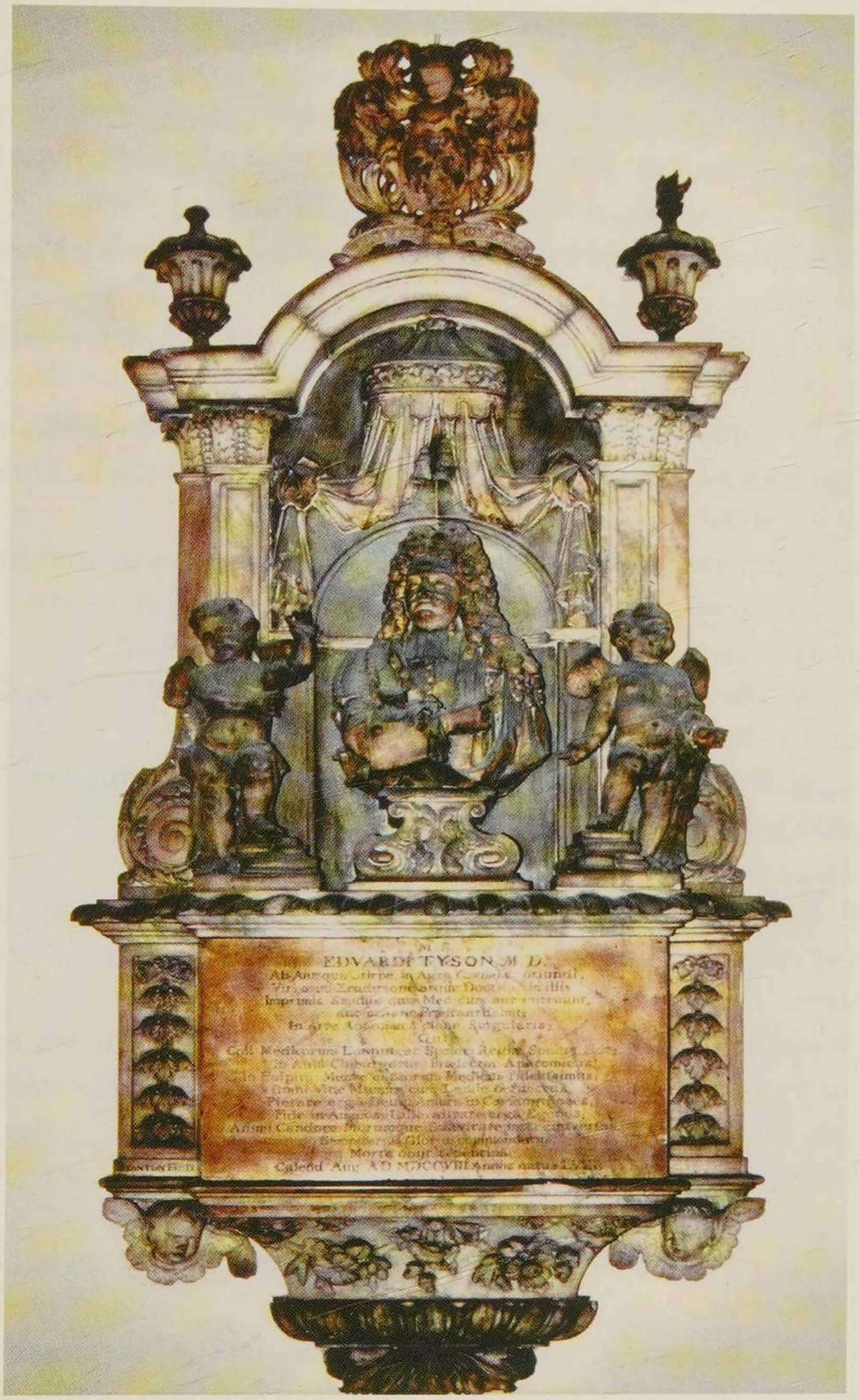


FIG. 6. Tyson's Memorial. (Courtesy All Hallows, Twickenham).

All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
Whose body nature is, and God the soul.

Alexander Pope

References

[1] *Dictionary of National Biography*, Smith Elder, London 1885-1900.

[2] Ashley Montagu, M. F. *Edward Tyson, M.D., F.R.S. 1650-1708*, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia. 1943.

[3] *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol 55, University Press, Oxford. 2004.

[4] Plot, R. *The Natural History of Oxfordshire*, The Theatre, Oxford. 1677.

[5] Tyson, E. Anatomical observations of an abscess in the liver; a great number of stones in the gall-bag and bilious vessels. *Philos. Trans.* (1678), **12** (142), 1035-9.

[6] Tyson, E. An anatomical observation of four ureters in an infant, and some remarks on the *glandulae renales*, made by the same ingenious person. *Philos. Trans.* (1678), **12** (142),1039-40.

[7] Munk, W. *The Role of the Royal College of Physicians of London*, 2nd edn., RCPL, London. 1878.

[8] Young, S. *The Annals of the Barber-Surgeons of London*, Blades, East & Blades, London. 1890.

[9] *Minutes of the Company's Court of Assistants*. 1689-1701.

[10] Burn, I. and Buckland-Wright, C. The teaching of anatomy, in *The Company of Barbers and Surgeons*, Ed. Burn, I. Farrand Press, London. 2000.

[11] Buckland-Wright, C. and Buckland-Wright, H. The library of the Company of Barbers and Surgeons, in *The Company of Barbers and Surgeons*, Ed. Burn, I. Farrand Press, London. 2000.

[12] Wolstenholme, G. *The Royal College of Physicians of London - portraits*. J. & A. Churchill Ltd, London. 1964.

[13] Tyson, E. *Phocæna, or the Anatomy of a Porpess*, Benj. Tooke, London. 1680.

[14] Tyson, E. *Carigueya seu Marsupiale Americanum: or, the Anatomy of an Opossum, dissected at Gresham-College, London*, Sam. Smith & Benj. Walford, London. 1698.

[15] Tyson, E. *Orang-outang*, sive Homo Sylvestris: *or, the anatomy of a pygmie, compared with that of a monkey, an ape, and a man*, Thomas Bennet and Daniel Brown, London. 1699.

[16] Cowper, W. Myotomia Reformata: *or a New Administration of the Muscles of Humane Bodies*, Sam. Smith & Benj. Walford, London. 1694.

[17] *Bethlem Court of Governors Minutes*, folio 28, 19 December 1684.
[18] Andrews, J., Briggs, A., Porter, R., Tucker, P. and Waddington, K. *The History of Bethlem Hospital*, Routledge, London. 1997.
[19] Stow, J. *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster....Now lastly, Corrected, Improved, and very much Enlarged by John Strype*, 2 vols., A. Churchill, J. Knapton, R. Knaplock, J. Walthoe, E. Horne, [and 5 others], London. 1720.
[20] *Bethlem Court of Governors Minutes*, folios 366-7, 26 April 1700.
[21] Andrews, J. A respectable mad-doctor? Dr. Richard Hale, F.R.S. *Notes Rec. Roy. Soc. Lond.* (1990), **44** (2),169-203.

Chapter 16

William Cheselden 1688 – 1752

Alan Lettin

THERE HAVE BEEN FEW MORE significant events in the long history of the Worshipful Company of Barbers than the separation of the Surgeons from the Barbers in 1745, except, perhaps the Act of Parliament which united the Barbers with the much smaller unincorporated Guild of Surgeons in 1540. This was a marriage of convenience, at the time much to the advantage of the surgeons, but Barbers and Surgeons co-existed reasonably amicably for the next two centuries, although over the years the Surgeons came to resent what seemed to them to be restrictive practices enforced by a Court of Assistants composed of equal numbers of Surgeons and Barbers, as all non-surgeons whatever their non-surgical occupations were called.

In 1684 the Surgeons sought to separate from the Barbers in a petition to King Charles II but nothing came of it and, in 1699, the Barbers complained to the Kings Bench that an undue number of Surgeons had been elected to the Office of Master or Warden – co-existence was perhaps not quite as amicable as is often portrayed. Nevertheless when the Surgeons announced to the court of assistants in 1744 that they wished to form a separate company it seems to have been unexpected. This time the petition to Parliament was successful largely due, it is believed, to the influence of William Cheselden, the foremost surgeon of the age.



FIG. 1. Portrait of Cheselden. Reproduced by kind permission of the President and Council of the Royal College of Surgeons of England.

Early years

William Cheselden (Fig. 1) was born on 19 October 1688 at Burrow-on-the-Hill in the Parish of Somerby in Leicestershire about 10 miles from Leicester, the third of eight children of an established land-owning farming family. Between the ages of 8 and 13 he

attended the Queen Elizabeth Grammar School Leicester (now Wyggeston School). On 7 December 1703, shortly after his 15th birthday, he was apprenticed at Barber-Surgeons' Hall to Mr James Ferne, a Surgeon at St Thomas's Hospital. He appears to have spent some time before this living in the house of William Cowper, the celebrated anatomist and perhaps continued to do so during his apprenticeship, although this would have been unusual. Whatever the circumstances, Cowper's influence and the knowledge he acquired must have played a part in Cheselden's lifelong appreciation of the importance of anatomy for the surgeon.

On 5 December 1710, Cheselden completed his apprenticeship and became a Freeman of the Barber Surgeons' Company and was clothed with the livery the same day. On 29 January 1711 (a year later in the Julian Calendar) he received the seal of the Company after the required examination in surgery. Cowper died in 1709 and although regular lectures took place at Barber-Surgeons' Hall there was no one in London giving private lectures. Cheselden, who had no hospital appointment and probably few patients at this time, seized the opportunity to supplement his income. He drew up a detailed syllabus of a course of lectures on human and comparative anatomy including 'the places where chirugical operations are best performed' in other words surgical anatomy. The syllabus which ran to 36 pages was printed at Stationers' Hall on 8 October 1711. The lectures were delivered four times a year during the winter months, five lectures a week for seven weeks, 35 lectures in all.

The following year he took the first of his apprentices, Robert Hillier, the son of John Hillier a shipwright from Stepney, who was bound to him for seven years in return for the sum of 150 pounds. He also read a paper about some very large bones dug up from the Roman site at Verulamium to the Royal Society, and was subsequently elected a Fellow. At that time it was not the distinction it became in the late 19th and 20th century, but his contemporaries must have appreciated that he was a man of merit. Encouraged by the success of his lectures, he published them as a small handy manual entitled *The Anatomy of the Human Body*. The objective of the 187 pages and 23 copper plate illustrations was, in his

own words, 'truth, brevity and plainness of description'. The thirteen English editions, two American editions and one German edition were used for the next 100 years.

The success of his lectures and the future prospects of his book must have improved Cheselden's financial situation sufficiently for him to marry Deborah Knight in 1713 and to move into a house in Cheapside near to Sadler's Hall and St Vedast Church and not far from Barber-Surgeons' Hall. His first year of married life, however, was not without its disappointments for in 1714 his wife gave birth to a daughter, also named Deborah, who died within the year. He was also unsuccessful in his application for a vacancy on the surgical staff at St Thomas's Hospital.

His lectures had become so popular that they were affecting the attendance at the official lectures at Barber-Surgeons' Hall. He was also procuring bodies for dissection, which appears to have made it difficult for the Company to obtain the bodies of executed criminals to which they were entitled. Attendance at the four 'public anatomies' which took place over three days was mandatory for every surgical member of the company and their apprentices and 'private anatomies and other anatomies by any of the said Mystery shall not be made or wrought at any time hereafter in any places but only within the Common Hall of the said Mystery' according to the Company's ordinances. As a consequence Cheselden was called before the Master of Wardens in March 1714. The minute of the meeting reads:

> Our master acquainting the court that Mr William Cheselden, a member of this Company, did frequently procure the dead bodies of malefactors from the place of execution and dissect same at his own house as well during the Company's public lectures as at other times without leave of the Governors and contrary to the Company's bylaw, in that behalf, by which means it became more difficult for the Beadles to bring away the Company's bodies and likewise drew away the members of the Company and others from the public dissections and lectures at the Hall, the said Mr Cheselden was therefore called in but having submitted himself to the pleasure of the Court with a promise never to dissect at the same

time as the Company had their lectures at their hall, nor without leave of the Governors for the time being, the said Mr Cheselden was excused for what had passed with a reproof for the same pronounced by the Master at the desire of the Court.

Whether Cheselden was aware of the rules and perhaps ignored them, because by this time they were not being rigidly enforced, or whether this was a deliberate act of defiance demonstrating his disdain for the Company is a matter for speculation. If his actions were indeed deliberate it suggests a measure of arrogance and self importance hardly becoming a man who had completed his apprenticeship only four years earlier. It is frequently asserted that it must have been a humiliating experience for him to be admonished by a Court half of whose members were Barbers and with a Barber as Master. Neither by word or deed did he openly promote the separation of the Surgeons from the Barbers however.

In 1715 a second daughter Wilhelmina was born who was perhaps destined to play a part in the separation 30 years later, but there were no further additions to the family. A further application for a surgical post at St Thomas's Hospital was again unsuccessful, but three years later Cheselden was appointed an Assistant Surgeon and within nine months was made a full Surgeon on the death of a senior colleague.

London practice

His appointment to the staff at St Thomas's allowed him to develop his surgical practice and he was fast acquiring a reputation for his technical expertise, particularly cutting for the stone, the most common elective operation of the time. The supra-pubic approach to the bladder had been reintroduced by his friend, John Douglas, in 1719 and Cheselden initially embraced the technique with enthusiasm and great success, but perhaps rather prematurely he published a *Treatise on the High Operation for Stone*, which antagonised John Douglas, who was not given sufficient credit for his role in re-introducing the procedure.

However, Cheselden soon reverted to the perineal approach and between 1727 and 1731 by trial and error perfected the technique of lateral lithotomy making several important modifications to the established methods. Dr James Douglas, brother of his former friend John, often watched Cheselden operate and in 1731 published a full and clear account of the operation more explicit than that published by Cheselden himself.

Speed coupled with dexterity was all important in pre-anaesthetic days but the former without the latter was a recipe for disaster. Cheselden combined both attributes, rarely taking more than half a minute to remove a stone in straightforward cases and his results were exceptional. At a time when 'life and death did so wrastle together that no man can tell which will have victory', patients were advised to make their peace with God before undergoing a surgical operation. Of 213 patients he cut for the stone at St Thomas's Hospital fewer than 10 per cent died. No wonder patients consulted him from far and wide. Baron Carlsen came from Sweden and Cheselden removed two large and three small stones in less than two minutes. Monsieur Morand came from Paris and saw him remove a stone in 54 seconds and, as a result of his subsequent report to the French Academy of Science, Cheselden was made an honorary member in 1729 and, three years later, the first foreign member of the French Royal Academy of Surgery following its foundation.

Meantime, Cheselden had been appointed lithotomist at both the recently opened Westminster Infirmary in 1724 and St George's Hospital in 1733. He had also been appointed as Surgeon to Queen Caroline, wife of George II, in 1727, probably on the recommendation of the Queen's Physician, his friend Dr James Douglas and he was now moving among influential and important people at a time when the social position of surgeons was still rather low. Curiously he lost the appointment ten years later, rumoured to be because he intended to operate on the eardrum of a condemned criminal to determine the effect on hearing of incising the drum. The operation was never performed but the proposal apparently made him unpopular. It seems an unlikely reason for his dismissal at a time when people were less sensitive

to ethical matters.

Cheselden was not only a lithotomist although this was the basis for his reputation as the greatest surgeon of the age, but his practice encompassed the whole of surgery. He was particularly noted for treating cataracts by couching or displacing the lens and he was the first to perform an operation to make an artificial pupil by incising the iris.

Publications

Whilst conducting his busy surgical practice he continued to deliver his lectures both at his house and at Barber-Surgeons' Hall although he was never appointed to one of the more prestigious official posts. This does not imply conflict with the Company. The prestigious appointment of Reader was almost invariably filled by a physician who conducted the public anatomies assisted by the two Masters of Anatomy and two Stewards. He may have regarded these more menial appointments inappropriate for a surgeon of his considerable standing.

Between 1713 and 1741 *Anatomy of the Human Body* was updated and enlarged and the 13th and the last edition included 40 illustrations almost all by his own hand. Meanwhile, Cheselden had begun work on *Osteographia or the Anatomy of the Bones* (Fig. 2) regarded by many as the most sumptuous book ever printed on an anatomical subject. He must have intended the book to be a work of art as well as an anatomical text book. The format is not conducive to the easy assimilation of anatomical knowledge for it is essentially divided into three parts. The first 36 pages consist entirely of text apart from a delightful vignette of an animal skeleton at the beginning and end of each of the 10 chapters into which it is divided, each with a beautifully engraved initial letter. There follow 56 exquisitely engraved copper plates which could hardly be bettered for accuracy and detail. Each measures 21 × 15 inches with a life size reproduction of every individual bone followed by scaled down versions showing the relationships one with another. On the right hand page the bones are 'lettered', a letter being superimposed on the various anatomical features (Fig. 3). On the

OSTEOGRAPHIA,

OR THE

ANATOMY

OF THE

BONES.

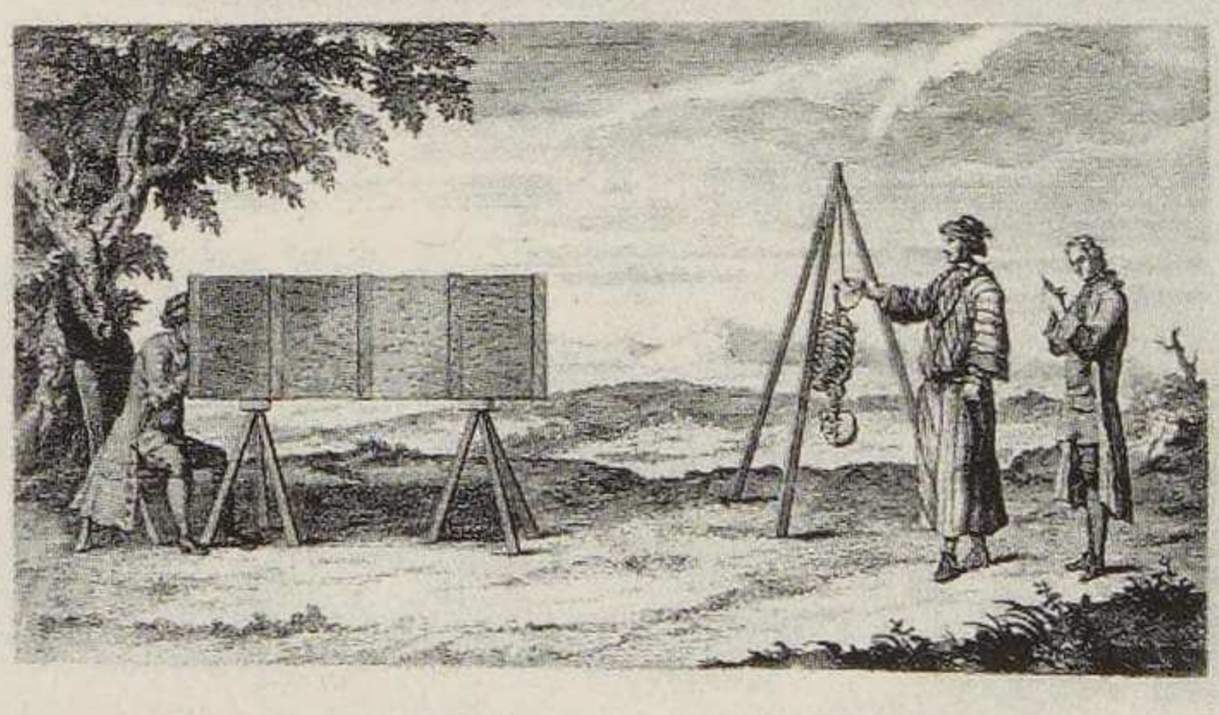
BY WILLIAM CHESELDEN

SURGEON TO HER MAJESTY;

F. R. S.

SURGEON TO S^{T} THOMAS'S HOSPITAL,

AND MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF SURGERY AT PARIS.



LONDON MDCCXXXIII.

FIG. 2. Cheselden's *Osteographia.* (Reproduced by kind permission of the President and Council of the Royal College of Surgeons of England.)

left hand page is the key. The plates are reproduced again in the third part of the book, this time without the letters, presumably to make them more artistic, for he himself was clearly quite an accomplished artist and had attended art classes in the 1720s.

Initially the illustrations were drawn freehand after careful measurement of the bones, but Cheselden was not satisfied with

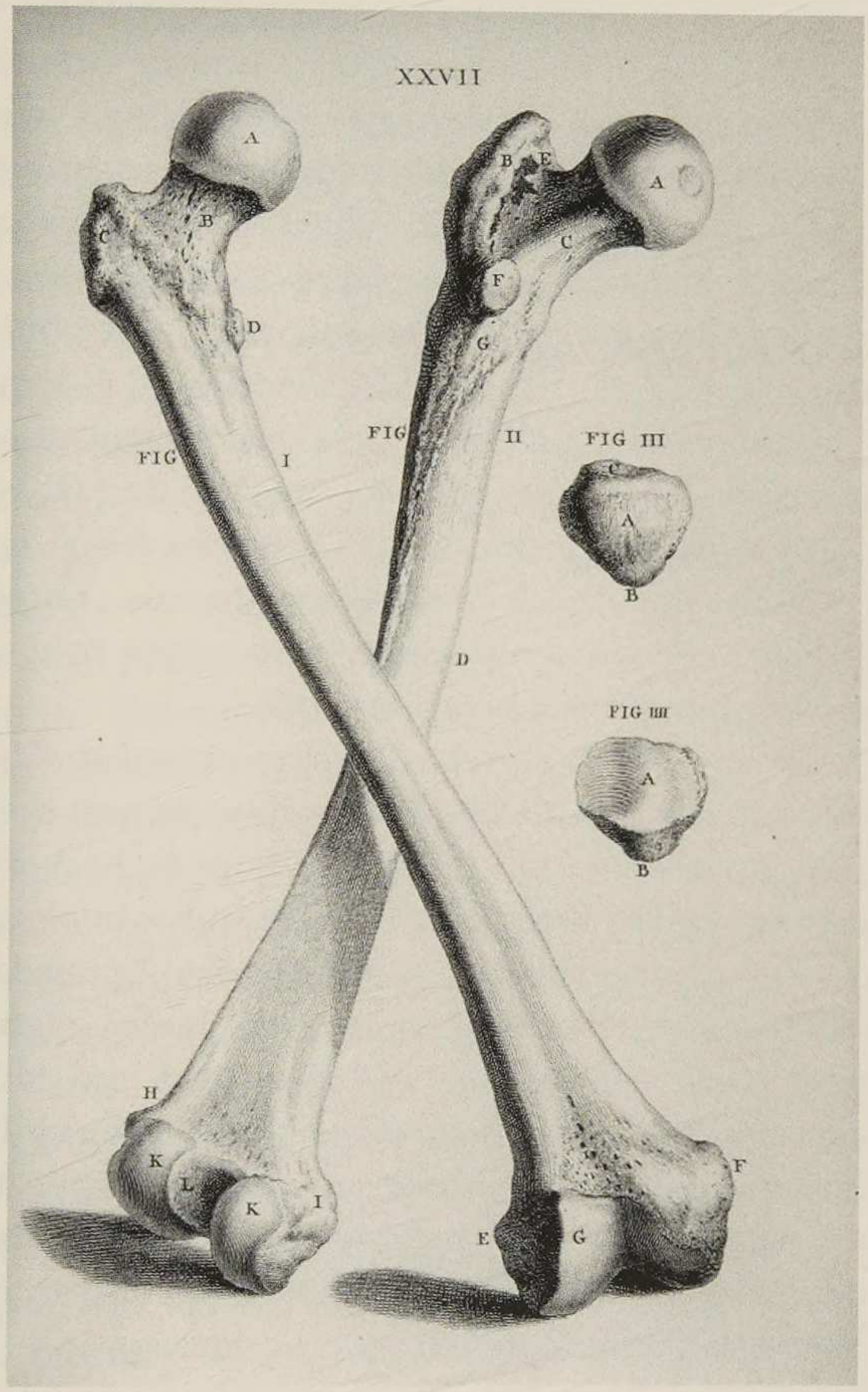


FIG. 3. The femur – showing the lettering. Reproduced by kind permission of the President and Council of the Royal College of Surgeons of England.

their accuracy and discarded them in favour of drawings made with a camera obscura which he himself designed and which is illustrated on the frontispiece of the book. He personally put the finishing touches to some of the copper plates.

Osteographia was finally published in 1733 but he advertises its forthcoming publication in the preface of the 1726 edition of his

Anatomy book, so it was several years in preparation. One issue, possibly a trial issue appeared in 1728, a unique copy of which is in the Hunterian Library in Glasgow. Presumably Cheselden was dissatisfied with the quality of this issue and subsequent improvements were made, particularly to the title and frontispiece and which included a dedication to Queen Caroline. He spared no trouble or expense in producing his magnum opus, but was obviously disappointed with its ultimate reception. When he began the work, he intended to produce a whole system of anatomy in three volumes of which *Osteographia* was the first. It was offered for subscription at four guineas with a promise that none would subsequently be sold for less than six guineas. Three hundred copies were printed but only ninety-three were sold and so the initial three-volume project was abandoned.

This must have been a great disappointment to Cheselden as well as a considerable financial loss, perhaps in part the result of a very vitriolic review by John Douglas whom he had offended ten years earlier by failing to give him credit in his book on the high operation for stone (see above), although others praised the book. Presumably in order to recoup some of his losses, eighty-three of the unsold copies were broken up. The head and tail pieces of each chapter and the frontispiece were sold for ten shillings a set, and the fifty-six plates of the broken up books and the 100 unused plates were sold for 30 shillings a set. It is possible that some of these plates were later bound together without any accompanying text and sold as separate but incomplete editions.

In 1737 Cheselden, now 50 years old, was universally respected with an international reputation and students from the Continent of Europe and America. He chose to relinquish his hospital appointments, but not his private practice and accepted the much less onerous post of surgeon to the Royal Hospital, Chelsea. His only daughter, Wilhelmina, married the previous year and perhaps he felt financially secure in spite of the relative failure of *Osteographia,* although subsequent events suggest he was not a rich man.

Barber Surgeons

Over the years he appears to have taken little interest in the Barber Surgeons' Company, then on 7 December 1738, nine months after retiring from St Thomas's he was elected to the Court of Assistants on the death of Robert Gay, taking the obligatory oath of allegiance. Surely the two events cannot be coincidental. Perhaps he had decided that in spite of the success of his anatomy book and lectures, the best way of promoting the study of anatomy was through the Barber Surgeons' Company and the examination of the apprentices, and he was now prepared to spend the time to ensure that a sound knowledge of anatomy was a prerequisite for surgical practice. Furthermore, within six months he was appointed to the Court of Examiners on 27 April 1739, but under rather curious circumstances.

The ten examiners were always recruited from the surgical members of the Court and remained examiners for life. Cheselden may have made his election to the Court conditional upon his appointment as an examiner and, since there were no vacancies, he may not have been prepared to wait the uncertainty of a death in the near future. Mr Myddleton, one of the examiners, was persuaded reluctantly to resign but at a price, for he continued to receive the fees and perquisites of the office and, on 1 May, within a few days of his appointment, Cheselden's name appears among the examiners. This arrangement was not without its critics and, at the Court meeting on 19 July, Assistants Wood and Sandford objected to Cheselden's election; their objection was not upheld. It does suggest that Cheselden was not universally popular, but on the other hand the Court as a whole seemed keen to have him play an active role in the Company. Perhaps there were already murmurings of separation, which Cheselden's involvement might pre-empt, or alternatively facilitate!

For the next four years Cheselden attended the meetings of the Court and the examiners fairly regularly but then, maybe out of frustration with what he regarded as the anachronistic proceedings, and his failure to bring about change, he attended only four

of the eleven meetings of the Court and two of the fourteen meetings of the examiners in 1743-4. Although the attendance of non-surgeons at the examinations was permitted, they were not allowed to take any part in the proceedings, but the Master was, even when a non-surgeon signed the diploma, a situation which perhaps the surgeons found illogical.

The City, its institutions and its ritual, appeared to have little attraction for Cheselden, for in 1743 his name was put forward for election as Sheriff, but he begged to be excused on the grounds of insufficient wealth, which implies he was worth less than 15,000 pounds. This may seem unlikely but he had six of his fellow Barber Surgeons to vouch for him. In spite of his reluctance to accept high office in the City he was elected Renter Warden of the Company on 16 August 1744. Once again the circumstances were rather unusual. He was elected in his absence and Joseph Sandford, who had raised objections to his election to the Court in 1738, was elected Upper Warden at the same time, and presumably raised no objections this time. Perhaps there were further murmurings of separation and he was persuaded to be the leader of the 'separationists' or this was another attempt to ensure his support for the existing Company. If indeed he was working towards separation he may have regarded his election as strengthening his future position in bringing about what he may have regarded as inevitable. His absence meant that he did not swear the oath of allegiance to the Company and neither did he swear it at the next Court meeting on 4 September when he took his place as Renter Warden. Whatever the reasons for his election, events moved rapidly and at the meeting of the Court on 20 December 1744

> the Gentlemen on the Surgeons side made known their desire of being separated from the Gentlemen on the Barbers side, and produced a case intended to be offered to the Honourable House of Commons praying such separation.

Cheselden was present together with the Master Jonathan Medley, a Barber, Joseph Sandford, a Surgeon the Upper Warden and

Humphrey Negus, a Barber and the Middle Warden. All non-surgeons in the Company were regarded as Barbers whatever their occupation.

The separation

We do not know whether it was Cheselden who made known to the Court the wish of the Surgeons to separate or whether there was any discussion or debate, because the style of the minutes at that time recorded only the bare facts. It seems beyond coincidence that this decision should be taken within a few months of Cheselden assuming a position of authority. He could not be accused of breaking the Warden's oath because he did not swear it and perhaps his absence at his election was deliberate in anticipation of the events now unfolding.

The Court appointed a committee of five Surgeons and five Barbers to consider the Surgeons' proposals but Cheselden was not among them. In fact only one of the four Governors, Humphrey Negus, the Barber, was a member, and three of the Surgeons and two of the Barbers were past Masters. If Cheselden was the instigator of the move it might be argued that he would have wanted to put the Surgeons' case. Alternatively he may have decided that tactically it was better left to others. Having considered the proposals, the Barbers were instructed by the Court to convene a meeting with their Livery to discuss the matter before reporting to the Court of Assistants on 10 January 1745. Needless to say the Barbers were against the proposals but on 31 January the Surgeons presented their petition to Parliament, and on 6 February the Barbers presented their well argued counter petition. Parliament appointed a committee to report on the matter.

The seventy members of this Committee included some very distinguished 18th century parliamentarians, yet a young physician from the Westminster Infirmary, Dr Charles Cotes, the Member of Parliament for Tamworth who just happened to have married Cheselden's daughter, Wilhelmina, in 1736, was made Chairman. Once more it is difficult to believe that Cheselden, through

his influential friends, did not play a part in this appointment. In fact the day before the Barbers presented their counter petition it is recorded in the Court minutes that the Clerk was instructed to pay a sum of money owing to Cheselden to him in the Speaker's Chamber of the House of Commons. What was he doing there?

Cheselden does not appear to have given oral evidence to the Committee, leaving that to John Haywood a surgeon who had been Master in 1743. It lost no time in producing its report which was presented to the House of Commons by Dr Cotes on 27 February. The House agreed that the proposed separation was desirable and directed Dr Cotes, among others, to bring in a Bill to implement their recommendation. Subsequently the Bill received the Royal Assent on 25 June 1745.

Surprisingly it was not Cheselden but John Ranby, who was fifteen years his junior, who was appointed First Master of the new Company. He had held no office in the previously united Company but he had been Serjeant-Surgeon to King George II since 1740. Perhaps his election as the First Master was in recognition of, and a reward for, help in bringing about the separation, and the hope and possible expectation of Royal support in the future.

If indeed Cheselden had played the major part in bringing about the separation, as seems increasingly likely, providing not only the drive and impetus but also much of the finance, he must have agreed with, or even promoted Ranby's appointment. The minutes of the second meeting of the Court of the new Company on 15 July 1745 note the payment of 150 pounds to Cheselden in part payment of the 550 pounds lent to the surgeons to meet the cost of the petition. Whatever the reason behind Ranby's appointment, Cheselden was elected Master the following year and set about writing bylaws and ordinances for the new Company of Surgeons and acquiring a site for a new hall. He personally drew up plans, giving priority to the building of an Anatomy Theatre. He had a long standing interest in architecture and perhaps surprisingly was one of the Commissioners appointed to oversee the building of a new bridge across the Thames at Fulham in 1728. He was involved not only in assessing the merit of the various de-

signs submitted for the bridge but also in preparing the contracts and overseeing the construction and he seems to have been responsible for modifications to the original plans.

Although Cheselden's plans for the new hall were initially accepted by the Court, they later commissioned the architect William Kent to draw up alternative plans and when Kent's building proved to be too expensive they were modified by a surveyor called Jones, whose plans were accepted. Cheselden may have been offended by the rejection of his plans, for he appears to have taken no further interest in the project, or for that matter in the Company. He was probably equally disappointed when the Court of Assistants which had approved the new bylaws on 7 January 1748 almost immediately overturned its resolution to hold a meeting of the Court every month, instead deciding to call a meeting of the full Court only for specific items. This effectively handed over the management of the Company to the Court of Examiners, which however continued to meet every month, but a general lethargy overcame the Company which languished for fifty years. John Gunning's famous Phillipic when he relinquished his year as Master in 1790 concluded with the words 'I'm sorry to observe that you have instituted lectures neither in surgery or indeed anatomy of any degree of importance'.

William Cheselden would no doubt be not just turning but spinning in his grave to have seen his efforts come to nothing, at least for the time being. There can be little doubt that he appreciated, in the words to the petition to Parliament, that 'the union with the Barbers was inconvenient in many respects, and in no degree conducive to the progress or improvement of the art of surgery'. The overwhelming evidence although circumstantial cannot but lead to the conclusion that he was the architect of the separation.

Later life

During his lifetime Cheselden had made a wide circle of friends in all walks of life and was called upon to advise on matters not entirely related to surgery. His wisdom however seems to have

failed him when he was called upon to serve on a Parliamentary Committee to assess the value of a very popular remedy for the stone which seems to have benefited many influential men. Joanna Stevens refused to reveal the formula for the potion without payment of a considerable reward, which was not forthcoming from private sources. It was therefore suggested that Parliament should pay the reward and so a committee of twenty-two members was set up with Cheselden one of three surgical members. All the members, with the exception of two of the five physicians, accepted the claims made for the useless remedy!

Cheselden had many interests outside surgery including, and perhaps surprisingly, boxing. He was said to be a generous man and a Court of Examiners minute noted that 'he gave 10 shillings and sixpence for a Christmas box for the Beadles out of his own money' which suggests that such an act was perhaps exceptional. Nevertheless he leaves an impression of a man conscious of his own importance from the time of his first skirmish with the Court of the Barbers Surgeons' Company.

The wise and influential Master Surgeon, Anatomist and Teacher died on 10 April 1752 in Bath, it was reported at the time as a consequence of 'drinking ale after eating hot buns'. He was buried in the grounds of the Chelsea Hospital in a vault where his wife and daughter later joined him.

Acknowledgments

In the preparation of this chapter I have made use of the following:

William Cheselden 1688-1752 a biography by Sir Zachary Cope, KB, M.D., M.S., FRCS published by E & S Livingstone Ltd., Edinburgh & London 1953;

the minute books of the Court of Assistants & Court of Examiners of the Worshipful Company of Barber-Surgeons;

the *Wyggeston School magazine 1929*;

the *Anatomy of the Human Body* and *Osteographia* by Wm. Cheselden;

The Annals of the Barber Surgeons of London, by Sydney Young, published by Blades, East & Blades, London 1890;

Barbers & Barber Surgeons of London, Dobson & Milnes Walker, Blackwell Scientific Publications, Oxford 1979;
The Company of Barbers & Surgeons ed. Ian Burn, Farrand Press, London 2000;
The Osteographia of William Cheselden by K F Russell; reprinted from *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* Vol. XXVIII No. 1, 1954.

I am indebted to Mr Ian Murray, the Barbers' Company Archivist and Mrs Tina Craig, Deputy Librarian of the Royal College of Surgeons.

Chapter 17

John Ranby 1703 – 1773

Tessa Harfield

Introduction

JOHN RANBY APPEARS ONLY FLEETINGLY in the archives of the Barber Surgeons' Company, firstly as apprenticed to Edward Barnard, a foreign brother, on 5 April 1715 [1], and seven years later when, after examination, he was granted the Seal of the Company, also as a foreign brother, on 5 October 1722 [2]. However, history has revealed that Dr John Ranby FRS, a renowned surgeon, rose from humble origins to become one of the best connected and most colourful characters of his day. Not only did William Hogarth and Henry Fielding feature in his life, but also the Royal Family and many famous people of the 18th century such as Sir Robert Walpole, Horace Walpole, Sir Hans Sloane, Alexander Pope and the actor David Garrick. From the Barber Surgeons' Company, William Cheselden, the famous anatomist, surgeon and brilliant operator, was his mentor; Sir Caesar Hawkins – a future Serjeant-Surgeon to the King – was his pupil. The 18th century was an age of decadence, corruption, drunkenness and loose morals; it was also a time when men of low birth, but with outstanding ability, pleasing character and the right connections, mixed with the highest in Society. John Ranby was such a man.

The family

His father, Joseph Ranby, and his mother, Blanch Jackson, both lived in the parish of St Sepulchre, Holborn and were married at Lincoln's Inn Chapel in January 1699. In the registers Joseph was described as a coachman from 'Old Bayley'. Their first child Edy was baptised at St Giles Cripplegate on 8 November 1702, and in the register the father was recorded as a coach-maker. This trade would need a certain dexterity of hands, a skill also required by his surgeon son. However Joseph's occupation on his son's apprenticeship indenture was given as innkeeper. The publican's profits must have been considerable for him to afford his son John's apprenticeship fee to Edward Barnard of £32.5*s*.0*d*, an amount which was three times above the average for other apprentices registered on the same date. It is accepted that John Ranby was born in 1703. Although no baptismal entry for him has been found in parish registers, twin brothers Joseph and Benjamin are entered in the registers of St Giles in the Fields as christened and buried in 1704. After serving an apprenticeship of seven years Ranby became a licensed surgeon in 1722.

Two years later, at the unusually young age of twenty-one, Ranby became a Fellow of the Royal Society. Sir Hans Sloane, his Presenter, also a Fellow of the Royal Society, was a close friend of William Cheselden, Barber Surgeon, who may well have introduced John Ranby to the famous physician. Cheselden, an older and influential member of the Barber Surgeons' Company, promoted the career of this skilful young surgeon, for Ranby followed him into the Royal Household. He was installed as the first Master of the Company of Surgeons and, on the death of Cheselden, replaced him as surgeon in residence at Chelsea Hospital.

Sir Hans Sloane took another part in John Ranby's life by probably promoting but certainly signing his marriage contract to a rich widow twenty years his senior [3]. The wedding to Jane Nicholls took place in 1729 at Lincoln's Inn Chapel, where his parents had been married thirty years previously. It was a mismatch from the start: the widow was the daughter and heir to the

late Hon. Dacre Barrett-Lennard, a country gentleman of good position, and her mother was the grand-daughter of a peer. It can only be assumed that it was her fortune that attracted the young and ambitious Ranby to this middle-aged and unattractive gentlewoman. There were no children and, not surprisingly, their relationship soon deteriorated to such a degree that a deed of separation was signed in 1738. However, the marriage settlement had been so efficiently drawn up in his favour that Ranby was subsequently a beneficiary of the sale of some Barrett-Lennard land [3].

By 1743 Ranby was the father of two children, Hannah born in 1740 and George Osborne in 1743. No records of their births have been found nor any clues as to who their mother was, her name having been removed from all family documents. She left a journal describing a tour from Bennett Street, St James, to Scarborough during June to August in 1741, possibly to regain her strength after the birth of Hannah. On the way she visited the great houses of Blenheim, Woburn and Chatsworth, Oxford Colleges and other places of interest, but she did not seem to have been inspired by the sights she saw and certainly found nothing to entertain her at Scarborough. Her writing has been described as that of a very young but self-assured person with a certain amount of metropolitan sophistication, possibly an actress or singer. Her son wrote on the damaged fly-leaf of the journal: 'This is an account of a tour made by my Mother – she died in 1746 when I was only three years old…'. [I am most grateful to Elizabeth Einberg of the Paul Mellon Centre for this information.] After the mother's death, John Ranby took his children to live in the countryside and clearer air of Chiswick, where William Hogarth soon became a neighbour and painted charming and tender portraits of the Ranby children aged nine and six years old, *circa* 1749.

Ranby's daughter Hannah married Walter Waring in 1758 whilst she was still a minor. He was a Member of Parliament for Bishops Castle, Shropshire, and then for Coventry from 1773 to his death. They had a son Walter who went to Eton and a daughter Elizabeth. George Osborne, (1743-1820), John Ranby's son, changed his name by royal licence to John Ranby in 1756 and became his father's heir. He attended Eton (as had his father's

friend Henry Fielding) and Trinity College Cambridge. In 1762 he was admitted to Lincoln's Inn, but became a pamphleteer, publishing one tract amongst many, on *Doubts on the Abolition of the Slave Trade,* which was highly commended by his friend James Boswell. He married Mary, daughter of Edward Grote but there were no children [3]. There is a portrait entitled *John Ranby* painted by Nathaniel Dance in 1767/9; it is of a young man and must be that of John Ranby junior [4].

In the King's service

Serjeant-Surgeon to King George II

King George II came to the throne in 1727, aged forty-four. William Cheselden was surgeon to his queen, Caroline of Aspach and, probably due to Cheselden's recommendation, John Ranby became Surgeon in Ordinary to the Royal Household in 1738, later being promoted Principal Surgeon to the King in 1740 and Principal Serjeant-Surgeon in 1743. Detractors of Ranby implied that he was a favourite of the King because he was of service to him in another way, by 'introducing to him amiable ladies who were fat, fair and forty'. [5]

In 1743, at the age of sixty-one, George II was the last British monarch to lead his troops into battle in the War of the Austrian Succession, where the British defeated the French at the Battle of Dettingen in Bavaria. John Ranby accompanied his sovereign to treat the wounded and he writes of his experiences in a treatise entitled *The Method of Treating Gunshot Wounds* [6], with a flattering introductory passage dedicated to his King '... I am oft wont to call to mind the Battle of Dettingen and the unwearied Care taken by your Majesty of the gallant Sufferers in that signal engagement ...'. Ranby was full of praise for the brave troops and goes on to describe his treatments, recommending 'plentiful Bleeding very early in these Gunshot wounds; light, easy Dressing; above all, to introduce the signal use of the Bark.' He speaks of his belief in the efficacy of Peruvian bark, thereby anticipating the later use of quinine in medicine. One of his patients was

Prince William Augustus, who was injured by grapeshot fired from a canon, which penetrated the calf of his leg. 'The mouth of the wound was the size of a large Hen Egg ... tearing muscles in its passage quite out of the wound'. Small wonder that the Prince's leg proved troublesome for the rest of his life.

Ranby also listed the equipment issued to surgeons going on campaign. These included whalebone and steel probes of various lengths for extracting bullets; he reflects on

> an unconsionable, unmerciful, Length of Probe and Forceps... however, I am the easier on this head, as I flatter myself they will seldom or never be made use of. I would always prefer the Finger as the best and truest Probe... for Ball or other foreign Matter. [6]

Death of Queen Caroline

John Ranby was summoned in 1748 to treat the Queen during her last illness instead of her own surgeon, William Cheselden, who was perhaps out of favour. On examination Ranby discovered that the Queen had an umbilical rupture. When he whispered this diagnosis to the King

> ...the Queen started up and sitting in her bed, said to Ranby... 'I am sure now, you blockhead, you are telling the King I have a rupture'. 'I am so' said Ranby 'and there is no more time to be lost: your Majesty has concealed it for too long already'.

On another occasion she asked Ranby, whilst he was dressing the painful wound, 'if he would not be glad to be officiating in the same manner to his own cross old wife whom he hated so much'. The Vice Chamberlain of the Household, Lord Hervey, a favourite with the Queen, recorded these asides and called Ranby 'a sensible fellow' [7]. He wrote a daily account of the poor woman's suffering. Five days before she died her intestine ruptured 'so that the putrefying contents of her belly soaked through the sheets and over the floor'. This led Alexander Pope (another friend of Ranby and Hogarth and dweller in Smithfield) to write the cruel couplet:

'Here lies, wrapped in forty thousand towels
The only proof that Caroline had bowels.' [8].

But she was a very brave and uncomplaining patient; when one surgeon, bending over to tend her, singed his wig on a candle, she begged Ranby to hold her hand so that she could laugh [8].



FIG.1. Ranby's Cup, 1745. Reproduced by kind permission of the President and Council of the Royal College of Surgeons of England.

Significant appointments

First Master of the Company of Surgeons

The 1740s were a time of great turmoil within the Barber Surgeons' Company. The surgeons felt their craft was superior to that of mere tonsorial artistry and wanted to form a separate company. William Cheselden, Renter Warden at the time, and feeling restricted in his practice by Company regulations, was a prime mover for the cause [9]. The King's indulgence was required and it is generally agreed that John Ranby's popularity with his monarch gained the Royal Assent for the Bill on 2 May 1745.

John Ranby was elected the first Master of the Company of Surgeons: Joseph Sandford, the senior warden of the Barber Surgeons' Company and William Cheselden, the junior warden, took office under him. At the end of Ranby's term he presented the new company with a loving-cup, which still survives today at the Royal College of Surgeons. On separation the Barbers' Company had kept all the valuable treasures belonging to the joint Company in the past, therefore this 106 oz silver cup began the Surgeons' collection. Made by Eliza Godfrey, it is inscribed in Latin, '1st July 1745 John Ranby consecrates this trifle as a memorial of his regard for his Brethren, to the Worshipful Company of Surgeons of London' [10] (Fig. 1). William Cheselden succeeded Ranby as Master, who was voted back on two subsequent occasions in 1751 and 1752, when he was also a member of the Court of Examiners.

Surgeon in Residence at the Royal Hospital Chelsea

On the death of William Cheselden in 1752, George II appointed his favourite, John Ranby, as Surgeon in Residence at Chelsea Hospital in his stead. The instructions laid down by the King were:

> to take care of such invalids … who have old wounds, or happen to receive any by accident. And especially such as are ill, wounded and disabled as to be removed to the Rooms in the Infirmary appointed for your use … to whom you are to apply Dressings, and

> give proper medicines, as their Cases or Conditions may require, wherein you are to use your utmost diligence and tenderness.

Since the establishment of this position the rule was laid down that '...you are at the end of every month to give your bills to the Physician who is to Peruse and Examine the same and certify under his hand what shall appear to be due thereon'.

Dr Messenger Monsey, the then resident physician, was charismatic but of rude and quarrelsome disposition. He and the surgeon worked together in an amicable fashion at first, but after Monsey once refused a signature Ranby swore that he would be the death of his colleague. It was Monsey who described Ranby as 'a man of strong passions, harsh voice and inelegant manner', accusing him of introducing good-natured ladies to the old King. In a later note Monsey wrote, 'Ranby was the only man I ever heard coolly defend the use of laudanum in effecting his designs on women, which he confessed he had practised with success.' In retaliation Ranby called Monsey 'a nasty dog in a dirty shirt'. [5]

Friends of John Ranby

Death of the Earl of Orford

Three years before the death of Queen Caroline, John Ranby had been in attendance at another passing, that of his friend and patient The Earl of Orford, Sir Robert Walpole, first Prime Minister of Great Britain, who was credited with stabilising the country after the South Sea Bubble fiasco. He was a statesman much admired by John Ranby who, in a pamphlet *A Narrative of the Last Illness of the Earl of Orford*, expressed his admiration for the suffering patient in the following terms:

> When I recollect his resigned behaviour under the most excruciating pain, the magnanimous sentiments which filled his soul, when on the eve of seemingly, of dissolution, and call to mind the exalted expressions that were continually flowing from him at this severe time of trial... [11]

As he was dying Walpole turned to Ranby at his bedside and asked if he would survive the night, but the doctor did not think so, – 'That it may be short, dear Ranby, is all I desire.' [11].

Ranby blamed James Jurin, Sir Edward Hulse and William Cheselden, the Earl's physicians, for causing unnecessary pain to a dying patient by administering lithontryptic lixivium to shrink the bladder stones. Walpole did indeed void many stones, all illustrated in *The Narrative*, including one extracted by Ranby from the urethra 'exceeding the Dimensions of the largest Kidney Bean' [11]. The accused retaliated by attacking Ranby, also in print. Henry Fielding came to his defence with a satirical pamphlet supporting his friend [12]. Alexander Pope was kinder to the Earl of Orford when he wrote of him:

> So peaceful rests without a stone, a name
> Which once had honours, titles, wealth and fame.

Friend of Henry Fielding

Henry Fielding (1707-1754), the author of *The History of Tom Jones a Foundling*, was once described in this manner – 'The brilliancy of his wit, the vivacity of his humour, and his high relish of social enjoyment...' [13] – found a soul-mate in his doctor John Ranby. He wrote a spirited defence of Ranby after the latter was much maligned following the publication of a tract condemning the painful treatment metered out by physicians to Sir Robert Walpole on his deathbed. Fielding hinted at using Ranby as the model for the surgeon in *Tom Jones*

> This surgeon, whose name I have forgot, though I remember it began with an R, had the first character in his profession, and was sergeant-surgeon to the king. He had moreover many good qualities, and was a very generous, good-natured man, and ready to do any service to his fellow-creatures [14].

In the novel, the barber-surgeon first appears as a schoolmaster, Mr Partridge, described as 'one of the best-natured fellows in the

world and was, at the same time, master of much pleasantry and humour, that he was reputed the wit of the country' [15].

The life of Fielding's character, Mr Partridge, in many ways mirrors that of John Ranby, a younger man married to a rich, childless old harridan, of whom Fielding writes 'she exactly resembled the young woman who is pouring out her mistress's tea in the third picture of the harlot's progress.' [15]. Could this be William Hogarth's sketch of not just the fictional Mrs Partridge but the 'cross old wife', Mrs Jane Ranby? (Fig. 2).

In Henry Fielding's rumbustious novel *Tom Jones*, Mr Partridge falls in love with the servant Jenny Jones who later gives birth to twins, with the result that the schoolmaster is driven from his home and living after his wife sets about him with her 'tongue,



FIG. 2. Detail of *The Harlot's Progress*, scene III, by William Hogarth, 1732.

teeth and hands'. He appears again as the barber Benjamin, 'a fellow of great oddity and humour':

> 'Mr Barber, or Mr Surgeon, or Mr Barber-surgeon,' said Jones. Benjamin interrupts, 'You recall to my mind that cruel separation of the united fraternities, so much to the prejudice of both bodies, as all separations must be...What a blow was this to me who unite both in my own person.' [14]

Tom Jones was begun in 1746, the year after the separation of the Barbers and the Surgeons.

In August 1753 Henry Fielding, tormented by jaundice, dropsy and asthma, consulted his doctor, 'I was persuaded by Mr Ranby, the king's premier sergeant-surgeon, and the ablest advice, I believe, in all branches of the physical profession, to go immediately to Bath' [16].

It was advice that Fielding felt he was too busy to heed with his duties as the principal Westminster magistrate in 'demolishing' a gang of villains and cut-throats. Fielding stayed in London until the following year when he admitted that 'mine was now no longer what is called a Bath case', and decided to go to Portugal by sea. At the outset of the journey Fielding's wife was tormented by pain from a rotten tooth, so when their ship anchored off Gravesend he sent for the 'best-reputed operator'... a surgeon of some eminence appeared who was prepared to treat it

> though he certainly would have been offended with the appellation of tooth-drawer, no less than his bretheren, the members of that venerable body, would be with that of barber, since the late separation between those long-united companies, by which, if the surgeons have gained much, the barbers are supposed to have lost very little. [16]

Henry Fielding arrived in Lisbon in April 1754, but died there six months later, aged forty-seven. The previous year he had taken out a lease of fourteen years on a small house on the Uxbridge road, close to Ealing Common called Fordhook, which was left to John Fielding to administer on probate. In the Ealing

Rate Collection of February 1755 under 'Heath and Hanger Lane', John Ranby Esq. was paying the rates and tithes. He had moved one and a half miles north from Chiswick to Ealing and Fordhook, which to Henry Fielding's mind was '... in the best air, I believe, in the whole kingdom, and far superior to that of Kensington Gravel-Pits; ...' [16]. Ranby lived there until 1760.

Friend of William Hogarth

William Hogarth (1697-1764), the famous painter of portraits and satirical scenes of his day, was six years older than John Ranby. They both grew up in the same districts of Smithfield and Holborn in London, Hogarth the son of an impoverished schoolmaster and Ranby of an innkeeper. When William was born his father, Richard Hogarth, kept a coffee house cum school at St John's Gate, for the learning and conversation of Latin and Greek; but it did not prosper and by 1707 the father was in Fleet Prison for debtors with all his family. After a year Richard was able to buy himself out and start another school, but under Prison Rules, which meant living in the area of the Old Bailey [17]. This period was to colour William Hogarth's whole life, resulting in his strong feelings of social injustice. Perhaps it was also at this time that William and John Ranby, possibly a pupil at the school, met and became life-long friends, greatly benefiting in later life from mixing in each other's worlds of medicine and the arts.

Eighteenth-century records reveal that John Ranby sat for the hero of *A Rake's Progress* in 1733/4 [18]. Hogarth's series of moralistic paintings portrays Tom Rakewell's sad decline from a rich young man who gambles away his inherited fortune, marries a rich old widow to restore his wealth, but dies in a debtors' prison. All this was much to the despair of Sarah Young, Tom's loyal lover, who bore him a child after he had seduced her with a promise of marriage. Here again is an example of art reflecting life: Tom Rakewell, Mr Partridge and John Ranby all marry rich old wives, later discarded for pretty young women who give birth to their children. In the fictitious tales the mothers are serving girls, but no record has been discovered of the name or station in life of

the mother of Ranby's children.

The next year Ranby moved to Chiswick and William Hogarth followed him to a summer house nearby, which survives today as the William Hogarth Museum; no doubt they drank together at The George (now the George and Devonshire). It was said that from his home Hogarth etched a view of Ranby's house across cornfields, but recent research has proved this unlikely. An unknown hand has written under the etching 'A View of Mr Ranby the Surgeon's house, Taken from Hogarth's window at Chiswick', which was published for Jane, Hogarth's wife in 1781 [17]. A study of the Rate Books of Chiswick places Ranby's house as the second on the left in Burlington Lane, a road which still exists and leads off the infamous Hogarth Roundabout of today, as does Hogarth Lane on which Hogarth's house still stands. However, it has west-facing windows, none of which looks towards Burlington Lane to the south; even Hogarth's studio over the stables, now demolished, contained only a north-facing window. Experts have found the etching hard to interpret even when comparing Rate Returns with contemporary drawings and maps. [19]

Portrait of John Ranby by William Hogarth

A portrait of John Ranby has been recorded in a 1781 catalogue of William Hogarth's works, by John Nichols [18]. It is noted as a 'Portrait of ... Mr Ranby, the late Sergeant-Surgeon, who sat for the hero of *The Rake's Progress*'. The following year the portrait is listed in the collection of Samuel Ireland, an amateur engraver, print dealer and collector, but not in Nichols's edition of that year. Could the portrait of John Ranby be extant amongst those of unnamed male sitters painted by Hogarth?

It is my theory that it is Dr John Ranby in *Portrait of a Man*, signed and dated 'Wm Hogarth Angulus Pinxit 1741'. This portrait, belonging to the Dulwich Picture Gallery, is part of the Charles Fairfax Murray 1911 bequest. The portrait has provenance in Nichols (& Steevens 1871) as a family portrait; on it is written 'Hogarth Angulus, which is now in the possession of the widow of Mr Coxe'. The late husband of the widow was Edward Coxe

Esq., who died in 1814. His father, William Coxe MD (1710-1760) was Physician to King George II and therefore would have been a colleague of John Ranby. The sitter in *Portrait of a Man,* 1741 looks to be in his late thirties and of yeoman stock, with a relaxed and confident manner, rather than a gentleman. When this portrait

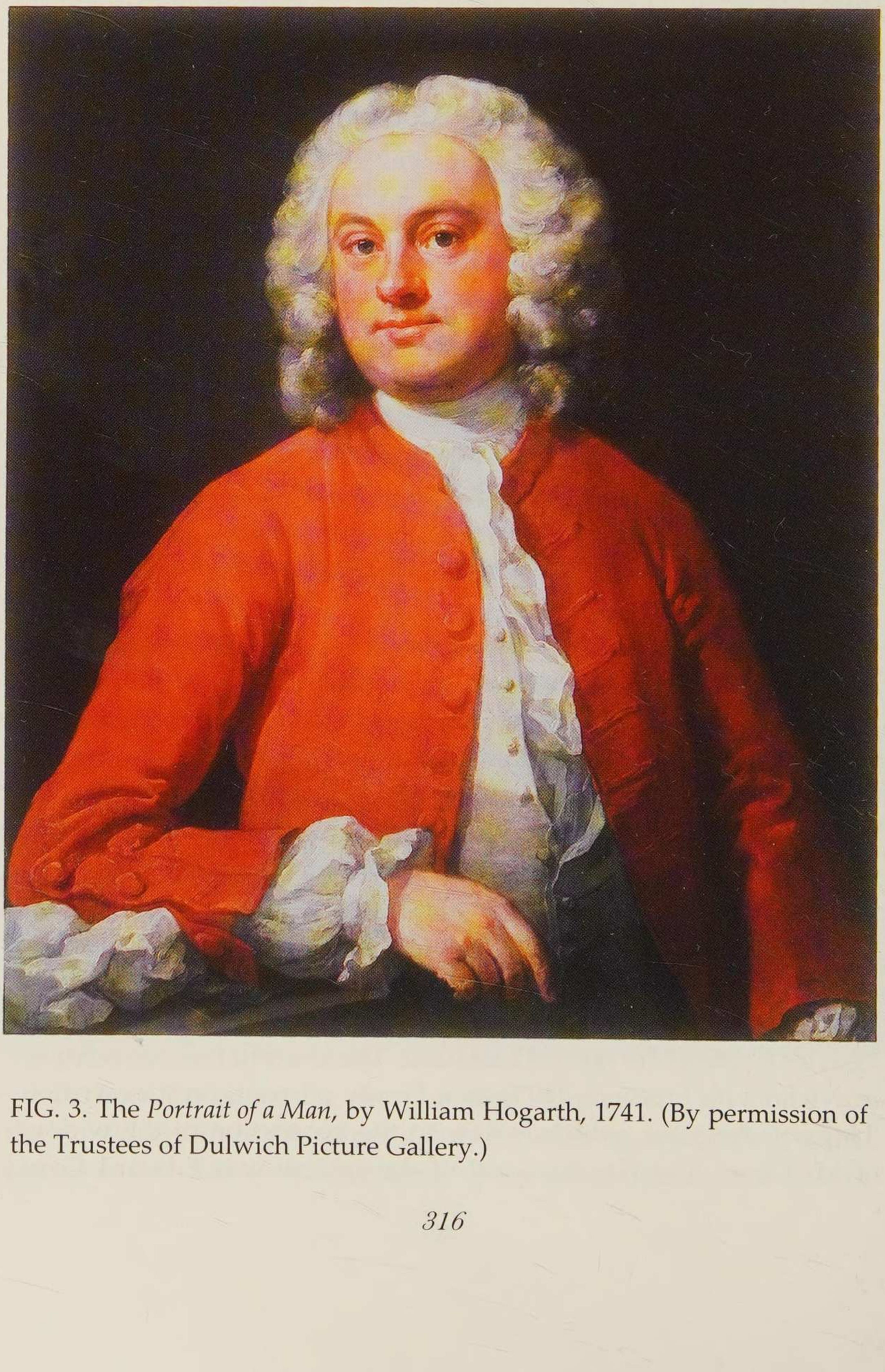


FIG. 3. The *Portrait of a Man,* by William Hogarth, 1741. (By permission of the Trustees of Dulwich Picture Gallery.)

was painted in 1741, Ranby would have been thirty-eight years old and Coxe thirty-one. There is a portrait of William Coxe MD, a copy of which is lodged in the Cox picture file at the National Portrait Gallery's Heinz Archive, entitled 'Dr William Coxe – Physician to the Kings Household – by W. N. Gardiner after an earlier work'. It portrays a man with aquiline features and, to my mind, the bearing of a gentleman. The compiler of the 1980 Dulwich Picture Gallery Catalogue [20] feels that there is little reason for the Hogarth *Portrait of a Man* to be a Coxe family portrait.

The sitter in Hogarth's portrait wears a red coat with cuffs which are deep, buttoned and slit at the seams, 'a la marinere', instead of the more fashionable 'boot' style. It was often the custom in those days for an operating surgeon not to remove his coat,



FIG. 4. Detail of *A Rake's Progress*, scene V, *The Marriage*, by William Hogarth, 1735.

therefore a split seam would make it possible to fold back the sleeves, and the colour red would camouflage spots of blood. And what is the significance of the white cloth on which the right arm rests? This is such an unlikely addition to a portrait of 'a capable professional' [21] that it must be a clue to the identity of the sitter. I suggest that it represents a barber's towel or napkin. By 1741, when this portrait was painted, the deep divisions between the barbers and the surgeons in the Barber Surgeons' Company must have been at a critical stage. Could this be a light-hearted reference by Hogarth that Ranby was still a barber? It is so much part of the character of Hogarth's paintings that they abound with hints, satirical allusions and pictorial jokes; in fact art lovers of the day were well versed in reading the hidden texts in a painting from an accepted visual vocabulary [17]. Perhaps this was another private communication with his old friend; as was his own reference to being an English painter – 'Angulus Pinxit' – in an age dominated by foreign portraitists much to the annoyance of Hogarth. And does a portrait coloured red and white reflect the barbers' pole, symbolising blood and bandages? It must be regretted that no positive proof can be found that the sitter for *A Portrait of a Man* by William Hogarth was indeed John Ranby, but if you compare the portrait with an engraving of Tom Rakewell at his wedding a significant likeness can be observed (Figs. 3 and 4).

Death of John Ranby

Dr John Ranby spent the rest of his days at the Royal Hospital Chelsea. Hearsay has it that he died of a 'violent fit of passion' because his colleague had not punished a hackney coachman for some supposed misdemeanour; however, the *Gentleman's Magazine* reports that he died after a few hours' illness at his apartments in Chelsea Hospital. John Ranby was a conscientious and capable surgeon, a loyal and amusing friend to his supporters, but a coarse, sycophantic womaniser to his detractors. He may have enjoyed the excesses of his day, but the wording of his will evokes a humble man concerned with his inferiors, when he writes of being blessed 'with many worldly comforts greatly beyond my



FIG. 5. The Tomb of Dr John Ranby at the Royal Hospital, Chelsea.

expectations or deserts'. He asks for his pictures of Walpole and Pope to be preserved; all other possessions be disposed of. He desires his protégé, John Hadfield, be given his position as surgeon at Chelsea Hospital, with a legacy of one hundred pounds. Finally it was his wish 'to be buried in the most private manner without pomp or show and to be carried to the place of interment by six pensioners' – they to be given half a guinea each.

William Hogarth was described by a friend, standing at his elbow, as able to draw 'an exact likeness of the man' in an instant thumbnail sketch [17]. It would be most interesting to find such a likeness of John Ranby and perhaps we can in *Portrait of a Man, 1741*. However the tomb (Fig. 5) which provides the last resting-place of his mortal remains can be seen in the cemetery by the gates of the Royal Hospital, Chelsea.

John Ranby Esq
Sergeant Surgeon to his Majesty
and Surgeon of this Hospital
Died Aug 28th 1773 Aged 70

References

[1] Register of Apprentices, 1707-25 C/6/3*, 147. The Barbers' Company.
[2] Court Minutes, 1707-31 B/1/7*, 262. The Barbers' Company.
[3] Barrett-Lennard, T. *An Account of the Families of Lennard and Barrett*, Privately printed. MS 9904, 5. London 1908.
[4] Ranby File, The Heinz Archive, National Portrait Gallery.
[5] Cooper, J. *A Sketch of the Life and Character of the Late Dr Monsey*, Tract 237, 31-34. London 1789.
[6] Ranby, J. *The Method of Treating Gunshot Wounds*, J. and P. Knapton. Tract 135. London 1774.
[7] Hervey, J. *Memoirs of the Reign of George the Second*, ii, 506-526. London 1848.
[8] Hill, B. Royal Surgeon. *The Practioner*, (1975), 214.
[9] Urban, S. *Dictionary of National Biography*. II. Matthew & Harrison, Oxford University Press 2004.
[10] Negas, Sir V. *Artistic Possessions at the Royal College of Surgeons of England*, E & S Livingstone. London 1967.
[11] Ranby, J. *A Narrative of the Last Illness of the Honourable the Earl of Orford*, J and Knapton, London 1745.
[12] Thomas, D. *Henry Fielding*, Weidenfield and Nicolson, London 1990.
[13] The Works of Henry Fielding Esq. 1, *The Life of Henry Fielding*, London 1824
[14] The Works of Henry Fielding Esq. VII, bk.viii, *The History of a Foundling*, London 1824.
[15] The Works of Henry Fielding Esq. VI, bk.ii, *The History of a Foundling*, London 1824.
[16] The Works of Henry Fielding Esq. XII, *The Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon*, London 1824.
[17] Uglow, J. *Hogarth A Life and a World*, Faber and Faber, London 1997.
[18] Nichols, J. *Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth and a Catalogue of His Works*, J. Nichols, London 1781.
[19] Clegg, G. Mr Ranby and his House, *Brentford and Chiswick Local History Society J.* (1999), 8.
[20] Murray, P. *Dulwich Picture Gallery Catalogue*. Sotheby Parke Bernet. 1980.
[21] Shawe-Taylor, D. *Rembrandt to Gainsborough Masterpieces from Dulwich Picture Gallery Catalogue*, Merrell Holberton, London 1991.

Chapter 18

John Paterson 1705 – 1789

Brian Hall

JOHN PATERSON WAS CLERK TO the Barbers' Company for twenty years from 1745 when the Company separated from the Surgeons until 1765 when he resigned due to other interests. He was on the Court of Assistants from 1765 and became Master in 1776. He gave the Company the portrait of Lady Mary Villiers in 1754 and had his own portrait painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds in 1776, both of which hang in Barber-Surgeons' Hall. This short summary of his achievements in the Company is only a small part of his life elsewhere as will be seen from the following account. He is not to be confused with Sir John Paterson, MP for Berwickshire in 1779 and founder of the Bank of England.

Early life

John Paterson's grandfather, also John, was the last Catholic archbishop of Glasgow, appointed in 1687 but deprived of his See at the 1688 Revolution. His violent tirades against the Stuart government, however, led to his arrest and committal in 1692 to Edinburgh Castle for plotting against the Revolution Settlement. He died at home in Edinburgh on 9 December 1703 aged 75. John's father, Alexander, became a Lieutenant-Colonel and came at some time to London with his family. *Gentleman's Magazine* [1]

records a story that John's mother was still alive and aged over 100 when he died! John is believed to have been born in 1705 but whether in Edinburgh or London is not known. The same journal [2] reports John as having been a page to the Earl of Stair in his role as Ambassador to France in 1715. The Earl was Scottish so it is possible that John was still in Scotland at the age of 10. It does indicate, however, that from an early age he had connections with the gentry which had an enormous effect on his future life. Current research does not show his progress towards a legal career. By an Act of 1729 attorneys and solicitors could practise only if they enrolled and had taken an oath. After an examination, the new attorney would receive a certificate of admission written on parchment liable to a treble forty shilling stamp. In 1739 the lawyer seeking admission had to be bound by contract to serve as a clerk for five years and must have completed his apprenticeship. Almost certainly this came after his admission and so he probably did not complete a period of service. By the time he was elected as Clerk to the Barbers' Company in 1745 he had a legal practice in the City of London and a knowledge of Parliamentary business.

The Barbers' Company

The Barbers and the Surgeons had been together since 1540 but the Surgeons wanted to form their own company. An Act of Parliament was needed to sever them and John Paterson was asked to assist them, presumably because he was a lawyer and knew what to do. On 25 June 1745 he was thanked by the Court of Assistants [3]

> for his great care and diligence in executing the orders and directions of the Master and Governors about the defence and preservation of the rights, privileges and property of this Company on their separation from the Surgeons by Parliament.

The Court rewarded him with a gift of silver, a silver tureen and ladle, to the value of 80 pounds 'to remain in his family as a memorial for his merit and of their gratitude'. He was elected Clerk

on that date 'in order that he may, for the future, have under his care that property and those privileges which he has been so effectually instrumental in preserving'. He was required to enter into a fidelity bond of 1,000 pounds with two others entering into similar bonds of 500 pounds each. This was an enormous sum in those days and perhaps indicates that John Paterson was already fairly well established in a flourishing legal business. An inventory was made and the former Clerk, Joseph Wheeler, was ordered to hand over all assets to him.

The salary he was paid as Clerk was 30 pounds per annum which did not vary throughout his 20 years in that office. He was given the use of one of the Company's houses in Silver Street without charge. He received 2 pounds per annum for keeping the Governors' accounts and 1 pound for making and keeping the Quarterage Book. At the end of the first year, he received 16 shillings for postage, 18 pounds for the cost of providing food for the Court, 9 pounds 5 shillings for candles and trimmings and a gratuity of 60 pounds 'for his extraordinary care of the Company's affairs'. At this time, 100 pounds per year was the sum earned by the clergy and officers in the army and navy. As he continued his practice of solicitor, his income must have been substantial.

His first task as Clerk of the new Company was to rewrite the by-laws and establish the procedures for electing the Master, Wardens and Assistants. His second task was to improve the Company's finances as separation from the surgeons had left them much depleted. He reported that members (including certain Foreign Brothers) were in arrears of quarterage and the Court ordered him to sue them if they did not pay.

Paterson reported at length on the history of the Company's charities. He re-negotiated the fire insurance with the Hand in Hand Fire Office and the water supply with the New River Company. He managed the Company's Hall and its properties in Monkwell Street, Dowgate Hill, Upper Thames Street, Lombard Street and the Old Bailey, no doubt using his legal skills to prepare the required leases. He arranged the various meetings of the Court of Assistants and the Monthly Courts (there were 17 during 1746) not all of them at the Hall, one being at the Three Tuns in

Crutched Friars and another at the Globe Tavern in Fleet Street. He brought prospective liverymen, freemen and apprentices to the Hall and imposed fines if they did not take up the offered position. He prosecuted barbers who practised in the City but were not members of the Company. He ensured that important dinners such as that for the Lord Mayor were properly organized. The Beadle no doubt assisted him (and took his appropriate fees!) and there was a Housekeeper. When John Paterson retired in 1765, it is reported in the minutes that his successor Richard Beale 'had been assistant clerk to the said Mr Paterson the whole time of his being in that office' even though there is no mention of any assistant Clerk in the minutes or the Wardens' Accounts books. It would appear, therefore, that the wages of the assistant clerk came out of the Clerk's own pocket.

On 3 June 1747 John Paterson was admitted to the freedom of the Company by redemption and to the livery and paid fines of 3 pounds 3 shillings and 10 pounds respectively.

As Clerk, John Paterson was asked to arrange the sale of the library kept by the Barbers after the Separation in 1745. The Court chose to offer it to the Surgeons for 25 guineas but they considered that it belonged to them by right. Counsel's opinion was sought, no doubt using the Clerk's legal expertise, but there is no evidence of his advice. Eventually, however, the Company sold the library for a mere 13 pounds. The Anatomy Theatre was in considerable disrepair so the Court took up the offer made by the Earl of Burlington some years before to defray the cost of repair. The Clerk wrote to him without response so he wrote again stressing that the Company could not afford the repairs. No reply was received. The Earl died in 1753 so the Court decided to pull it down and advertise its sale but no purchaser was found. The site was not sold until 1789. In 1751, John Paterson acted as solicitor in preparing a Petition to Parliament to amend an Act imposing duties on hair powder although it was not sealed until 7 January 1753.

In 1754 Paterson gave to the Company a portrait of Lady Mary Villiers, painted on the eve of her marriage to the Duke of Richmond on 3 August 1637. It is to be wondered why he made this

gift which had no relevance to the Company. However, his work as solicitor involved him with a number of well-known families and he probably acted in several family trusts. There is a document [4] held in the Goodwood Estate Papers by the West Sussex Record Office which sheds some light on this question. A Deed of Assignment of a term of years in trust dated 21 February 1761 records that the parties were Peter Davall of Middle Temple, Sir Matthew Fetherstonhaugh of Uppark, bart., Charles 3rd duke of Richmond and John Paterson Esq. of Barbers Hall, London. It is possible that the painting was given to him by the Duke in thanks for work done which he passed on. It is interesting to note that other documents in this collection include the name of Henry Fox, one of his supporters when he entered Parliament in 1761.

1749 – 1760 Extending into the City

John Paterson's duties as Clerk of a City Livery Company and his dealings with the Lord Mayor and Corporation led him to stand as a candidate for and to be elected as a Common Councilman for the Ward of Farringdon Within in January 1749. He still continued his private practice as a solicitor but he gave up acting for the City. A minute of the Court of Common Council of 10 October 1754 [5] describes John Paterson as 'late this City's solicitor'. His first appointment was to a committee preparing an address to congratulate King George II and the Princess of Wales on the birth of another princess.

Throughout his time on the Common Council he was regularly appointed to committees where his skills as a lawyer and draftsman were of assistance to the City, particularly when trying to please the King. In May 1749 he joined a committee set up to prevent sales of public offices including the Remembrancer and the Swordbearer, the eight clerksitters of the compters, and the five keepers at Moorfields. He sat on numerous committees dealing with petitions from Livery Companies in the City such as the Upholders, the Bakers, the Plumbers, the Brewers and the Farriers who wished the Corporation to stop those who were not members

of their companies from practising their trade in the City. In 1751 he served on a committee collating all the acts of the Common Council for publication with a view to repealing them if they were no longer needed. During 1753 he helped consider the powers of constables, scavengers and inquestmen which appeared to have been abused, commented on a Bill in Parliament permitting persons professing the Jewish religion to be naturalised and investigated allegations that there were serious arrears in the accounts of the Corporation of the Poor of the City of London. His interest in finance was extended on 25 March 1757 when he helped 'to examine the present state of this City's income'.

In May 1757 he put forward his name to stand as Town Clerk but was defeated by James Hodges by 133 votes to 100 after a division. On 25 July 1758 he moved a resolution congratulating Sir John Barnard (Lord Mayor in 1737 and 'Father of the City') on his retirement as Alderman which was described by *Gentleman's Magazine* as a 'great honour' [1].

1760 – 1765 The busy years

The Common Council

By 1760 John Paterson was a highly respected member of the Court of Common Council and in January became a Deputy for the Ward of Farringdon Within. This gave him additional responsibilities which included a Common Council resolution about dogs dated 26 August of that year:

> It is resolved that notice be given in all the daily and evening papers that, if any dog shall be found in the streets or highways of the City of London…for the space of two months, the constables, beadles of the several Wards, watchmen and other Ward officers be directed immediately to kill such dog and this Court will indemnify and save harmless all persons killing such dogs within the said time and that the constables and beadles of the several Wards shall be entitled to and receive two shillings from the Deputies of the Wards who shall be repaid by the Chamberlain of the City for

> every dog so killed and by him buried in the skin being first several times slashed in the body and this Court does give leave to all persons whatsoever to bury dogs on this occasion in the two furthermost quarters of Moorfields from Bethlem.

He was a member of other committees considering such matters as the new standard weights and measures laid down by Parliament, the use of the militia in the City and the abolition of outdated by-laws. When King George II died in October and was succeeded by his grandson George III, he was involved in constructing messages of condolence and congratulations appropriately. In August 1761 Alderman Thomas Challenor became Master of the Barbers' Company whereas at the previous election in 1760 he had ranked only eleventh on the Court of Assistants. Could John Paterson's position have been an influence on the Court's choice?

Parliament

In March 1761 he was returned at the request of Bute and Henry Fox as the Whig Member of Parliament for Ludgershall in Wiltshire, a pocket borough in the control of George Selwyn [6]. There is no evidence that he ever visited it! His interest in politics seems to have arisen because of his politician clients such as Fox and the Shelbourne family. He worked with Fox in the Windsor by-election in November 1755 and was described as 'his agent' and solicitor [7].

The Irish Society

Paterson was still Clerk, a Deputy and in practice so he must have been extremely busy but still found time for another interest in which he was involved until he died. On 25 November 1760 he was chosen as Secretary to the Irish Society for which he was paid 100 pounds per annum salary, 100 pounds gratuity and his disbursements, sums which did not vary throughout his 29 years in that office [8]. The Irish Society was formally constituted by James

KNOW all Men by these Presents, That We John Paterson of the parish of St Olave Silver Street London Esqr

are holden and firmly bound to the Right Reverend Father in God Christopher Lord Bishop of London, Dean of the Cathedral Church of St Paul, London, and Master of the Faculties of the Archbishop of Canterbury, lawfully constituted, in the Sum of One Hundred Pounds of lawful Money of Great-Britain, to be paid to the said Right Reverend or his certain Attorney, Executors, Administrators, or Assigns: To which Payment, well and truly to be made, we bind ourselves, and each of us by himself for the whole, our Heirs, Executors and Administrators, firmly by these Presents. Sealed with our Seals, Dated the 16 Day of Oct in the Year of our Lord, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Sixty one.

THE Condition of this Obligation is such, That if hereafter there shall not appear any lawful Let or Impediment, by Reason of any Pre-Contract, entered into before the Twenty-fifth Day of *March*, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty-Four, Consanguinity, Affinity, or any other lawful Means whatsoever; but That the above bounden John Paterson Esquire Widower and Jane Hope Widow may lawfully solemnize Marriage together, and in the same afterwards lawfully remain and continue for Man and Wife, according to the Laws in that Behalf provided: And moreover, if there be not at this present Time any Action, Suit, Plaint, Quarrel, or Demand, moved or depending before any Judge Ecclesiastical or Temporal, for or concerning any such lawful Impediment between the said Parties. Nor that either of them be of any other Parish, or of better Estate or Degree, than to the Judge at granting of the License is suggested, and by him sworn to

And lastly, if the same Marriage shall be openly solemnized in the Church, or Chapel in the License specified, between the Hours appointed in the Constitutions Ecclesiastical confirmed, and according to the Form of the Book of Common Prayer, now by Law established; and if the above bounden John Paterson Esq to save harmless and keep indemnified the above-mentioned ~~Right Reverend Father, his VICAR GENERAL~~ and Surrogates, and all other his Officers and Ministers whatsoever, by Reason of the Premises; then this Obligation to be void, or else to remain in full Force and Virtue

Sealed and Delivered in the Presence of John Paterson

Robt Bogg Nr P

FIG 1. Bond dated 16 October 1761. (By courtesy of the Corporation of London.)

LONDON Diocese. } 16 Oct 1761

Appeared personally John Paterson Esquire and made Oath, that he is of the parish of St Olave Silver Street London a Widower

and intendeth to marry with Jane Hope of the parish of ~~St Martin Ludgate~~ in the County of ~~Middlesex~~ Essex a Widow

and that he knoweth of no lawful Impediment, by Reason of any Precontract entered into before the Twenty-fifth Day of *March*, one Thousand seven Hundred and Fifty-four. Consanguinity, Affinity, or any other lawful Means whatsoever, to hinder the said intended Marriage, and prayed a Licence to solemnize the same in the parish Church of St Olave Silver Street & such a Church

and further made Oath, that the usual Place of Abode of him the said John Paterson for the Space of one Month last past hath been in the said Parish of St Olave Hartstreet where

for the Space of four Weeks last past.

John Paterson

Sworn before me, Geo. Harris Surrogate

R Bogg Nr

FIG 2. Allegation supporting the bond dated 16 October 1761. (By courtesy of the Corporation of London.)

I in 1613 giving it responsibility for directing affairs in Northern Ireland. The Charter provided that the Governor and five Assistants should be aldermen of the City of London and the rest of the Assistants Common Councilmen, half retiring each year in February. John Paterson was never an Assistant but no doubt his friends were and when the previous Secretary died they chose him in view of the experience he already had in the City. The Barbers' Company had interests in Coleraine and received payments from rents from time to time so John Paterson as Clerk and Secretary was able to assist the Company in this respect.

Marriage

On 16 October 1761 he obtained a an obligation from the Bishopric of London to enable him to marry Mrs Jane Hope from Walthamstow, described in *Gentleman's Magazine* as 'a widow with 30,000 pounds'. It is interesting to note that both the Bond (Fig. 1) and the 'allegation' (Fig. 2) supporting the licence refer to John Paterson as being a widower, although it is not known who was his former wife or what happened to her. The licence was valid for three months and avoided the need to read banns. He was married the next day in the church of St Alban, Silver Street. Mrs Hope was not alive when John Paterson died in 1789 so that it is likely that her wealth passed to him on her death, they having no children. It is also not known if she moved into the house provided by the Barbers' Company.

Parliament again

In the House of Commons John Paterson was a regular supporter of Bute and Grenville. In December 1761 Fox suggested he might be promoted to Solicitor to the Treasury and in July 1764 Grenville considered him for office but neither happened. In February 1765 he defeated Charles Whitworth by 165 votes to 84 to become Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means in the House of Commons. He was paid 500 pounds per annum from secret service funds as a stipend. It was unusual for MPs to be paid at that

time. In the summer of 1765 Parliament repealed the Stamp Act maintaining nonetheless that it still had the right to tax the colonies. Rockingham listed John Paterson as 'pro' the Stamp Act but he did not vote against the motion to repeal it. At the General Election of 1768 he stood as a candidate in the City of London but was defeated and did not stand for Parliament again.

Resignation as Clerk

On 20 February 1765 after 20 years as Clerk to the Barbers' Company, John Paterson offered his resignation. The minutes record

> his humble hope that his conduct in all that time had been honoured with their approbation and his regret and concern that the nature of his present situation would no longer permit him to discharge the duties of his office in the manner in which he thought the Company had the right to expect.

With 'great reluctance' the Court accepted and declared the office of Clerk vacant. He was awarded a piece of plate worth about 50 pounds. An entry in the Warden's Account Book for 22 April 1766 records the purchase from Mosson and Stephenson, silversmiths, of a tureen, dish and ladle for the sum of £65 16*s*. The Court immediately elected Richard Beale, previously assistant to the Clerk, and transferred to him 'the dwelling house, salary, fees and perquisites'. It is of interest that the Court minutes of April 1766 record Richard Beale's death and thereafter a further Clerk was appointed. On 8 August 1765 John Paterson was elected an Assistant, took his oath of office and paid the usual fines of 3 pounds 6 shillings and 8 pence for his admission and 20 pounds in place of his Stewardship of the Ladies' Feast.

Blackfriars Bridge

On 20 December 1753 the Common Council resolved by 76 votes to 69

> that the building of a bridge between London Bridge and Westminster Bridge would be of great advantage to the landholders, owners of houses and traders in the City and of general utility and convenience to others.

The Aldermen did not agree with this resolution so brought a petition to repeal it on 2 February 1754. The motion was lost by 93 votes to 95 so the Council appointed a committee to consider the best place, situation and manner of construction of such a bridge, to prepare estimates of the expense and to suggest the best means of raising and obtaining the money necessary. The committee consisted of the Aldermen and two commoners from each City Ward and John Paterson was appointed representing Farringdon Within. He remained on this committee until 1768.

On 26 September 1754 this committee reported that the bridge should be built from the end of the Fleet Ditch to the other Surrey side and would cost 185,950 pounds excluding the expense of buying the land needed to build it. It is to be remembered that at this time the Corporation had just built the Mansion House, had removed the houses on London Bridge resulting in much loss of rent and was feeling the pinch. It expressed the strong opinion that the cost should be a national expense and not a City one. Accordingly, in November 1755 it requested the aid of Parliament and John Paterson was appointed with others to prepare the necessary Petition. In April 1756 detailed provisions on how the money should be raised were brought to the Common Council but they were not approved. However, the Petition to Parliament went ahead and an Act was passed before Christmas 1756 allowing the City to borrow up to 30,000 pounds per annum up to a maximum of 160,000 pounds secured on the credit of the future tolls from the bridge. It was not until 1759 that the finance was agreed whereby the City would issue a floating loan of 144,000 pounds to augment the monies from the collection of tolls. On 27 February 1760 Robert Mylne was appointed Surveyor to the Bridge Works and work commenced. The foundation stone was laid by the Lord Mayor on 31 October 1760 with John Paterson present. Work on the bridge continued over the next six years

until on 19 November 1766 part of the bridge was opened for foot passengers. It was not fully opened until 19 November 1769 at a total cost of 261,579 pounds, far cheaper as it happens than the cost of Westminster Bridge completed in 1750.

Although in 1766 the building of Blackfriars Bridge was well advanced, the City still owed 12,000 pounds to the builders of London Bridge and had a debt of 144,000 pounds for work undertaken. Further, repayment of those debts was dependent on the tolls charged. On 23 January 1767 John Paterson presented to the Court of Common Council a plan of his own devising which not only dealt with these matters but produced money for other worthwhile projects in the City without recourse to the City ratepayers.

In 1691 Parliament had allowed the City to grant annuities to cover its debts which would be discharged when repaid in 1803. John Paterson proposed that this be extended to Lady Day 1832. Upon the credit of the fund thus extended, the Common Council could be authorized to raise 126,000 pounds from annuities at 3½ per cent. This, with the existing annuities and the builders' debt, would raise 282,000 pounds which he suggested could be spent on

	Pounds
discharging the debt due to the artificers employed in the alterations to London Bridge	12,000
completing the new bridge and its avenues	58,500
paying the sum due to the City for the works previously carried out	144,000
embanking the river between Paul's Wharf and Milford Lane	10,000
repairs to the Royal Exchange	7,500
rebuilding the gaol at Newgate	50,000

The Court was delighted with this plan and was fulsome in its praise:

> It is ordered that the thanks of this Court be given to Deputy John Paterson for his constant and zealous attention to promote the

> convenience, ornament and emolument of the City and in particular that, though at this time engaged in the public service of this country as Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means to the honorable House of Commons, yet with great labour and expense he has calculated and presented a Plan....

The committee appointed to consider the plan reported back on 31 January 1767 after only eight days with a recommendation to accept it but providing that the sum of 12,000 pounds due to the builders should be used instead to redeem the

> ancient toll of the said bridge as a measure of more public utility and of great convenience to trade and would tend to preserve that equality which ought to subsist between the eastern and western parts of this trading city.

The Court approved the report and agreed to petition Parliament including a request that

> this Court does desire that members who serve the City in Parliament and such members of this Court who are members of Parliament do support the said petition and vote the passing of the bills agreeable to the prayer thereof.

Parliament duly granted leave to the Corporation, thanks to John Paterson who was at that time Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means which would have recommended the decision to the House of Commons! On 23 June 1767 the Court awarded him a piece of plate to the value of 200 guineas for his plan which

> for the greatness of its objects and the practicability of its execution was with readiness embraced by this Court and as readily adopted by both Houses of Parliament.....(it) will prove a lasting monument to his humanity as well as taste and ability as for his feel for the commercial interests of his fellow citizens.

John Paterson replied two weeks later in typical fashion:

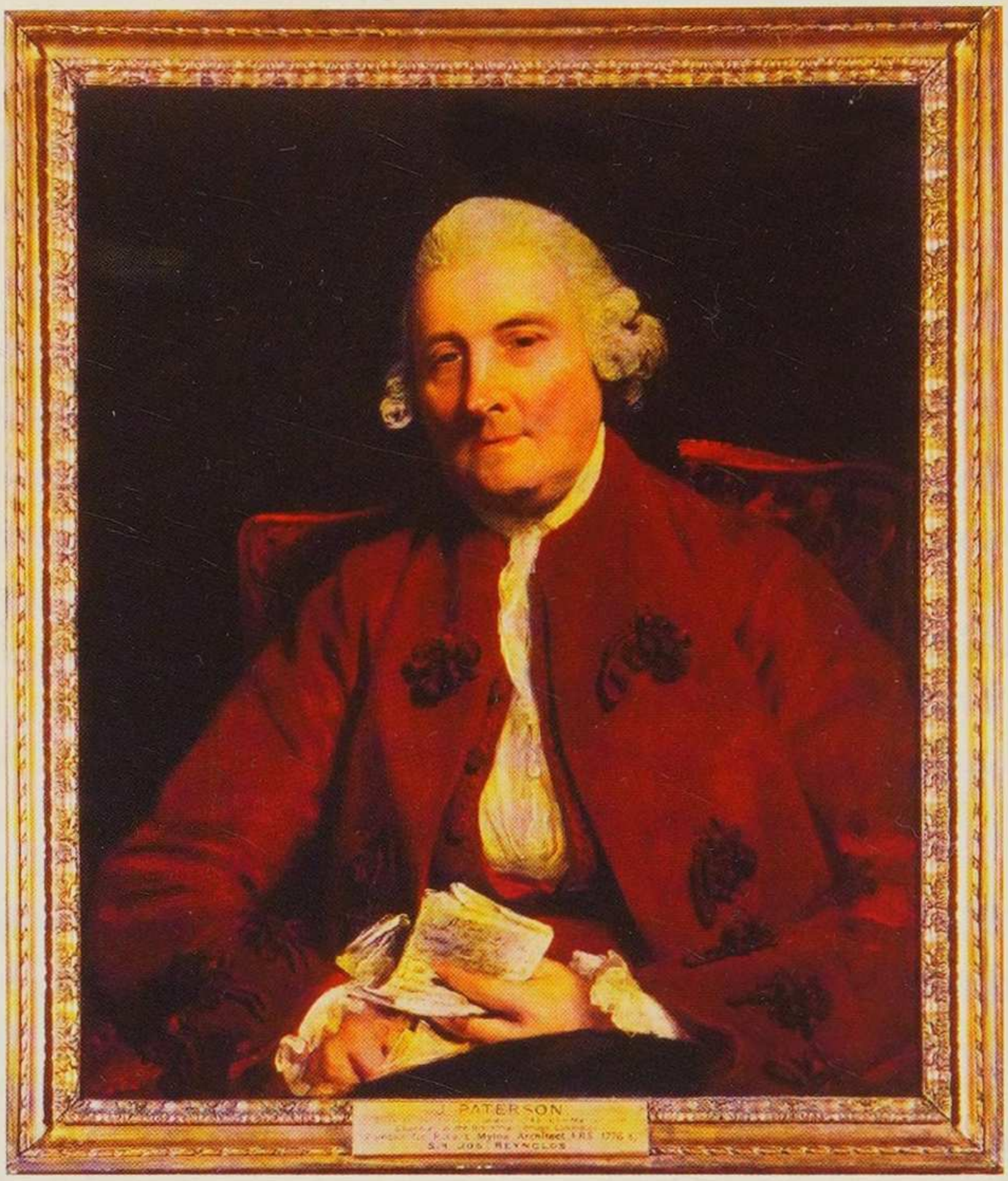


FIG 3. John Paterson aged 71 years painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds in 1776. (Courtesy of the Worshipful Company of Barbers.)

Permit me to return you my warmest and most humble thanks for the great and uncommon honour you have been pleased to confer upon me by your unanimous resolution. So very obliging an acceptance of my endeavours for the service of the City and citizens of London justly cause every possible return of duty and gratitude and will ever animate me to persevere in a conduct thus honoured with your approbation. As I have always had the prosperity of my fellow citizens at heart it is my particular satisfaction for me to reflect that a Plan calculated for public ornament of utility and of so great extent now about to be carried into execution not only without adding to their present burthens but which in a few years will free them from the tolls in which their trades are now subject. To contribute towards their happiness and to give fresh proofs of my gratitude to this Court

> would be the height of my ambition who am proud of the title of a citizen of London and to be esteemed, my Lord and Gentlemen, your most obliged and most devoted and most faithful, humble servant.

In its obituary much later, *The Gentleman's Magazine* considered this to be his greatest contribution to the City and its inhabitants. John Paterson must have thought so too as his portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds painted in 1776 when he was Master of the Barbers' Company shows him holding his Plan and looking very proud! The painting was commissioned by Robert Mylne, the architect of Blackfriars Bridge, at a cost of 36 pounds 15 shillings (Fig. 3).

His later life

When John Paterson ceased to be Clerk to the Barbers' Company in 1765, he had to surrender his house and find alternative accommodation. He moved to a house in New Burlington Street in the parish of St James within the Liberty of Westminster, conveniently close to the House of Commons. He lived there until his death in 1789. It is of interest to note that one of his neighbours was George Grenville, the immediate past Prime Minister, who may well have assisted him in finding that house. The annual rate payable was 1 pound 3 shillings and 4 pence rising to 2 pounds 5 shillings in 1787. His illustrious neighbours included Sir John Griffin, Earl of Peterborough, Sir Edward Deering, Major-General Keppel, Sir Joseph Banks, Lady Mary Howard, Lord Cadogan and Lady Frances Elliott.

His Parliamentary term ended in 1768 and he ceased to be a Common Councilman in 1771. However, his time was fully taken up as Secretary of the Irish Society and he was still on the Court of the Barbers' Company. His Parliamentary connections were most useful to the Irish Society as there are references to his approaching senior politicians to try to improve conditions in Northern Ireland. For instance, in November 1772, he was instructed to ask Lord North, the then Prime Minister, to prevent part of London-

derry being appointed as a port of discharge. The Irish Society at this time managed the Irish properties, spent large sums on public works and divided the surplus among the London livery companies. Because of a fire, all the minutes of the Irish Society between 1775 and 1784 are missing.

On retirement from the Common Council, John Paterson was rewarded in 1772 by being elected to the office of Clerk to the Commissioners of the Land Tax, Window Duties and House Tax for London. His income from that office, from the Irish Society and his profession is said by *Gentleman's Magazine* to bring in 1,400 pounds per annum, a substantial sum. Joseph Massie, in his compilation of 1759 statistics of average family incomes in England [9], included law among the top-earning 5 per cent of the population, earning 200 pounds per annum.

In 1774, he was elected Third Warden of the Barbers' Company, becoming First Warden the following year and Master in 1776. He was, during this period and for three years afterwards, appointed an Auditor of the Company. He continued to attend the Court of Assistants until August 1781 but no mention is made of him in the minutes after that date.

As often happens with public servants, there is little record of his personal life. However, he had many connections with the leaders in the City and Westminster which he no doubt retained. He was a close friend of David Garrick through whom he met many other well known personages such as Dr Samuel Johnson. Garrick held regular meetings with his friends at the Queen's Arms near St Paul's Cathedral allegedly 'for the express purpose of providing them with opportunities to enjoy his society' [10]. Garrick's portrait was also painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds in 1779. Paterson was appointed one of Garrick's executors with Lord Chancellor Camden and attended the funeral.

On 3 September 1789, John Paterson resigned as Secretary to the Irish Society 'being by age and infirmities unable to execute the duties of the said office' [8]. In thanks for nearly 29 years of service, the Society voted to purchase a piece of plate for him. However, John Paterson died on 8 December before it could be given to him. The Society records that he had not left any immedi-

ate legal representative in his family to whom the plate could be given 'with propriety' presuming, therefore, that his wife had not survived him. They therefore gave it to the Governor of the Irish Society having amended the inscription and gave 25 guineas instead to John Paterson's executors named as George Drummond and John Mackie. There is no record of a will to show how a considerable fortune was distributed.

The *Gentleman's Magazine*'s obituary [1] neatly sums up his life:

> Notwithstanding the strong prejudices, and more than common difficulties, that every man has to combat who undertakes to distinguish himself by standing forward in the service of his fellow citizens, such was the good sense of Mr. Paterson and such the obvious advantage of the various schemes he projected for the interest of the City, that the eyes of the most willfully partial opened, as it were, involuntarily to the merit of his propositions, and they were not only adopted one after the other, but very soon, almost universally, confessed to be founded in solid utility and substantial benefit.

References

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, **59**, p.1154. 1789.
[2] *Gentleman's Magazine*, **59**, p.1208. 1789.
[3] Court minutes, Worshipful Company of Barbers.
[4] Goodwood Estate Papers E2194 held by West Sussex Record Office.
[5] Court of Common Council Minutes held by Corporation of London.
[6] *Gentleman's Magazine*, **31**, p.536. 1761.
[7] *Gentleman's Magazine*, **37**, p. 45. 1767.
[8] The Honourable the Irish Society minutes held by Corporation of London.
[9] Joseph Massie, 1759 Statistics of average incomes in England.
[10] Project Gutenberg's *Inns & Taverns of Old London* by Henry C. Shelley produced as an E-Book by Steve Schulze, Charles Franks and the Online Distributed Proofreading Team.

Chapter 19

Charles John Shoppee 1823 – 1897

Ann Wickham

Introduction

One man in his time plays many parts (Shakespeare *As You Like It* II vii).

CHARLES JOHN SHOPPEE (1823-1897) WAS by profession an architect and surveyor. He became a liveryman of the Barbers' Company in 1862 and was Master in 1878.

He had many interests outside his professional life, some of which can be summarised in the citation for his application for the fellowship of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) in 1880. The proposer, James Edmeston FRIBA, stated that he had known Charles Shoppee for twenty years. The citation reads:

> ...his practice has been in the less obtrusive walks of professional life. All who know him recognise his highly cultivated mind and great antiquarian knowledge; he has collected a valuable architectural library and a museum of objects of artistic and archaeological interest. His well known character have caused him during recent years to be many times arbitrator in matters of importance. Signed James Edmeston – 31 March 1880. [1]

Charles Shoppee was a cultured, astute, prosperous and sociable professional Victorian gentleman who lived life to the full. The



FIG. 1. Charles John Shoppee. (Courtesy La Providence, Rochester.)

story of his life can be told through his family history, his architectural training and practice, his many non-professional interests as well as his association with the Barbers' Company and other Livery Companies (Fig. 1).

Family history

Charles Shoppee was of Huguenot descent [2]. He was born on 9 December 1823 and baptised in St Margaret's Church, Uxbridge.

He was the eldest son of Joseph (1792-1870) and Phoebe (*née* Biggs) Shoppee (1790-1870). He had four younger sisters and two brothers. His father Joseph Shoppee was a builder with a shop and yard in Uxbridge High Street, who by 1847 held two local offices in Uxbridge: he had been appointed as one of the Commissioners for Paving and was also one of the trustees for administrating Lord Ossulston's Charity for apprenticing poor children to handicraft trades. In the 1851 census he is listed as employing 3 men, but by the 1861 census he was employing 26 bricklayers, 12 carpenters and 17 men and boys. Joseph's father and grandfather were Charles Shoppee (1769-1808) a bricklayer and John Chappuis or Shoppee (1736-1807), a carpenter and bricklayer.

Charles Shoppee's great-great-grandfather, the father of John Chappuis or Shoppee, was Jacques Chappuis (died 1745). He was born in Condrieu, near Lyon in France, was a Huguenot and an officer in the French Dragoons under the command of Duc du Vendome, (1654-1712) Marshall of France. At the Battle of Oudenarde (1708), in the Wars of the Spanish Succession, Marlborough defeated Vendome and 7,000 prisoners, including many high ranking officers and a wealth of trophies and standards, were captured. The prisoners included Jacques Chappuis. Officers were usually released on parole and were free to move around. Some were taken to England, such as Duc de Hostun Tallard, (1652-1728), Marshall of France, who was captured at Blenheim by Marlborough's troops. Prisoners could also be exchanged either like for like, or pro rata as when a Marshall of France was repatriated in exchange for 2,000 private soldiers [3].

Jacques Chappuis probably arrived in England shortly after the Battle of Oudenarde and, because of the continuing persecution of the Huguenots under Louis XIV (1638-1715) following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, became a naturalised British subject and anglicised his name to Shoppey.

The family was descended from the noble French family of Chappuis and could trace its ancestry back to 1109. The male members were generally pillars of the church or lawyers, often Clerk to the Parliament at Lyon. Jacques Chappuis could count the Cardinal Duc de Richelieu (1585-1642) and Duc de Villars

(1653-1734) among his kith and kin. The family name of Chapuis or Chappuis is not uncommon today in the French speaking areas of Switzerland and in and around Lyon. The Condrieu branch of the Chap(p)uis family were Seigneurs de Condrieu, Lyonaise (Lyon).

Jacques Chapuis married an English woman, Sarah Coney, in 1728 in Battersea. They lived in Greenwich, and raised three sons and two daughters. He was buried at St Margaret's, Westminster on 7 December 1745 as Jacque Shoppey, his wife predeceasing him in 1743.

Charles Shoppee was very conscious of and proud of his Huguenot ancestry, and assumed the arms of his Lyonaise ancestors viz: *D'az au chevron d'argt. Accoup en chef de 2 roses d'or et en pte d'un lion du mesme*. Chevrons terminating at the top of the arms are a frequent form of continental heraldry and contrast with the British custom of keeping the apex of the chevron in the centre of the arms [4].

Education and marriage

Charles was privately educated at Uxbridge School in Uxbridge High Street, which had been founded in 1790. The school was described in 1815 as a 'considerable and respectable seminary for young gentlemen'. It offered a very sound and broad education including languages. Board and lodging cost 30 guineas per annum and use of the library, globe and maps was charged at 1 guinea. The school motto *Perge si sapis* (Persevere if you are wise) and the school emblem, a tortoise, seem to have stood Charles Shoppee in good stead throughout his adult life [5].

On 8 October 1851, Charles Shoppee married Elizabeth Johnson at St Margaret's Church, Uxbridge. They had five children: Charles Herbert (bap. 1852-1917); John Sebastian (1854-1857); Conrad Joseph (1856-1888), died of dysentery at sea *en voyage* to Australia; Gerald Augustin (1858-1896), committed suicide; and Eustace Cyril (bap. 1859-1926), emigrated to Australia.

Until 1851 and his marriage, Charles Shoppee lived with his parents in Uxbridge. When he married he moved to 61 Doughty

Street, WC1. In the 1861 census he and his family were still at that address, but they later moved to 41 Mecklenberg Square, WC1, keeping his practice in Doughty Street.

Professional training and practice

From 1845-6 Charles Shoppee was a pupil of William Railton, of Carlton Chambers, Regent Street, architect to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and Mr Thomas Morris ARIBA, Surveyor, of Warren Street, Fitzroy Square, W1 [1].

Following his training he served from 1848-1851 as resident architect and principal clerk of the works to the Middlesex County Pauper Lunatic Asylum, Colney Hatch, a prestigious first appointment. Set in a 140 acre site, the hospital was designed by S.W. Dawkes. The foundation stone was placed by the Prince Consort in 1849 and the hospital opened in 1851. It was the largest mental hospital in Europe with accommodation for 1,250 patients. In 1937 it was renamed Friern Hospital.

After leaving Colney Hatch, Charles Shoppee took the opportunity to tour Belgium and Germany on an architectural fact finding journey to complete his training and to perfect his languages. In the same year he started his own practice at 61 Doughty Street.

Qualifications

Charles Shoppee qualified as a district surveyor in 1853, was elected a Fellow of the Surveyors' Institute in 1868 and became a member of the Council in 1870. Vice-Presidency followed in 1886 and he was elected President from 1892-4. In connection with his Presidency he served on the Tribunal of Appeal under the London Building Act (1855). He also represented the Institute as a delegate at two International Congresses in Paris in 1879 and 1880 – the Paris of *La Belle Epoque.* He also had considerable experience as an arbitrator and umpire in reference and compensation cases and was called upon as an expert witness in many judicial disputes.

In 1862 Shoppee was elected an Associate of the Royal Institute of British Architects (ARIBA) and in 1880, was elected a Fellow of the Institute (FRIBA).

Architectural practice

Among his many architectural commissions, four were in his home town of Uxbridge: namely alterations to the exterior of St Margaret's Church, restoration of the buildings and the laying out of the grounds of Uxbridge cemetery in 1857, alterations to the Uxbridge Union Infirmaries and repairs to the Market House in the High Street in 1860. The Market House in Uxbrige was built in 1775 replacing an earlier building. By the middle of the 19th century it was in need of considerable repairs. In 1859, an hour after the market stalls had closed, part of the upstairs floor collapsed spilling 50 tons of corn on to the floor below.

Among Charles Shoppee's other appointments was that of architect for alterations to the Plough Brewery in Wandsworth. Originally built in 1801, but still extant in the 1960s it is now leased for business purposes; the brewing equipment has been preserved in the interests of industrial archaeology. He was also architect to a brewery in Tunbridge Wells. Among the many other buildings to which he was appointed architect were the Albion Works in Kings Cross, 42 Pall Mall, 24 Southampton Buildings and 304 High Holborn as well as many residences, buildings (including coach houses), warehouses, printing works and factories in London and the Home Counties and the Grocers' Hall in the City.

In 1885 he moved his office from 61 Doughty Street to nearby 22 John Street. He had by now been joined in the practice by his eldest son, Charles Herbert. Together they had been appointed architects to the Home and Colonial Society in Grays Inn Road, near the Eastman Dental Hospital. In 1875 they designed the Reynolds Memorial Chapel in Paradise Street (now Wicklow Street) for the Society and in 1882 the Evan's Memorial School in Grays Inn Road.

The Home and Colonial Schools Society premises were built in

1836 for Elizabeth Mayo (1793-1865) and her brother Charles (1792-1846), who were educational reformers. Charles Mayo had been English Chaplain to Johann Pestalozzi (1746-1827) at his school in Yverdon, near Lausanne in Switzerland. Pestalozzi's ideals of education advocated teaching methods designed to strengthen students' own abilities and he strongly advocated the teaching of the poor to strengthen society in general. He was much influenced by the educational theories of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-78). In 1826 Charles and Elizabeth Mayo introduced Pestalozzi's system to schools in Epsom and Cheam. In 1836 they established the first training school for female teachers in the Pestalozzi system at the Home and Colonial Schools premises.

Non-professional interests and associations

Among Charles Shoppee's interests was archaeology. He was a founder member of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society which was formed in 1855 and became joint honorary secretary with the Reverend Thomas Hugo in 1857. Shoppee was for many years a member of Council and was elected Vice-President in 1890. His particular interest was in metalwork objects and he was also an ardent collector of antiquities and works of art. He frequently exhibited treasures from his eclectic collection which ranged from a brass speaking-trumpet to a wrought iron fan-light and to firebacks. Woodwork items included a pulpit door, panels of carved oak, newel posts and an altar rail from St Margaret's Church in Uxbridge following re-ordering of the interior of the Church by George Gilbert Scott (later Sir) in 1892. He had also shown some pieces of stained glass, Flemish oil paintings and an 'iron candlestick of peculiar design' to members of the Society. All his treasures were housed in the museum at his home in Mecklenberg Square and at 22 John Street. Perhaps he had been inspired by Sir John Soane (1753-1837), also an architect, who had left his collection to the nation in a museum which still exists in Lincoln's Inn Fields [6].

Charles Shoppee was also a member of the American Numismatic Society and the Société des Geomètres de France, and was a fluent French speaker. A great bibliophile, he had amassed a large, architectural library and collected and designed book plates. Many scholars of that period prided themselves on their libraries and enriched their volumes with specially designed book plates showing ownership of the books. Such book-plates were exchanged among themselves and led to the setting-up of the Ex Libris Society in 1891 which attracted members with interests in heraldry and design, as well as books. Shoppee was a founder member and served on the council from 1892, and was later elected Vice-President. The Ex Libris Society ceased to function in 1907 [7].

Though indirectly concerned with his profession, he served for a time as Chairman and Treasurer of the Chromo-Lithographic Art Studio which specialised in colour printing during the 1880s. The C.L.A. met at 24A Gloucester Street, WC1 to discuss and exhibit various types of colour printing. Charles Shoppee was also a member for over 40 years and a Past Master of the Uxbridge Union Lodge of Freemasons.

The French connection

Charles Shoppee was a fifth generation Huguenot, his great-great-grandfather, Jacques Chappuis having arrived in England in the early 18th century. Throughout his life Shoppee had taken a keen interest in his Huguenot ancestry. In 1885 he became a founder member of the Huguenot Society of London, now of Great Britain and Ireland. The society was founded by the Directors of the French Hospital, La Providence. He became a director of the Hospital in 1867 and in 1877 became treasurer and from 1887-1897 was annually re-elected Deputy-Governor.

The French hospital, La Providence, was originally established in 1718 in Bath Street, Finsbury also known as Pesthouse Row, as a domain for Huguenot refugees. At this time it was a rural area and the buildings surrounded by orchards and gardens. Part of the land, was owned by the Ironmongers' Company and the site

backed on to Ironmongers Row, which still exists. It was incorporated by Royal Charter from George I in 1718. In 1723 there were 125 residents being cared for by the hospital, the young and old, sick and destitute, and the mentally ill or 'distracted persons' as they were known. The numbers steadily rose and 220-230 residents were cared for by the hospital for the next 70 years, with the numbers gradually decreasing as the Huguenots became absorbed into English society. At the beginning of the 19th century the hospital was in decline, due possibly to the wars with France which made the Huguenots keep a judiciously low profile together with the area becoming built up and less attractive as being no longer in rural surroundings.

In 1862 three acres of land in Victoria Park Road, by Victoria Park in the 'salubrious village of Hackney', were bought for £3,600. For the establishment of a new hospital a director of the French



FIG. 2. La Providence, or the French Hospital, Victoria Park, Hackney from 1865 – 1938. (Courtesy of La Providence, Rochester.)

Hospital, Robert Louis Roumieu, FRIBA, designed the new buildings; he had also designed the Almeida Theatre in Upper Street, Islington. The new La Providence was built in the then fashionable Victorian Gothic version of a small French Chateau of the time of Francis I (1494-1547). It was opened in 1865 (Fig. 2). There was accommodation for 40 elderly women and 20 men, a steward and his wife as well as nurses and servants. There was a chapel, library and spacious dayrooms. The residents were encouraged to make themselves useful to the community and 'to help towards the general economy of the Hospital'. To mark Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee in 1887, the residents presented her with a black silk dress made by the 12 weaveresses among their number. Charles Shoppee must have been very proud!

The hospital was requisitioned by the War Office at the beginning of World War II and the residents sent out of London for safety reasons. The building was damaged by bombing and later became a school, St Victoires Grammar School for Girls, until the 1970s when Cardinal Pole School, a Roman Catholic foundation, acquired the site. The buildings have not changed since. La Providence and the chapel is in daily use by the Roman Catholic School. After the War, La Providence moved to a large country house, Comptons Lea, near Horsham, Sussex. But it was both isolated and inconvenient for elderly people.

The search for a more suitable property ended in the cathedral city of Rochester, Kent. The chosen site was Theobald Square in the centre of the city, originally the site of an old brewery which had been laid out in 1840 with 19 terraced houses. These were completely restored and rearranged to make 39 self-contained flats and the fourth La Providence was opened in 1960. It has since been extended and there are currently over 55 residents. All the flats are equipped with an emergency call system and are overseen 24 hours a day by a duty steward. A jubilee garden was opened in 2001 and there are plants and shrubs, including a *white* mulberry, always associated with the Huguenots. Residence is open to anyone with a proven Huguenot ancestry. Why La Providence? Every Court meeting since 1718 has started with this prayer: *Benis cette maison, Que La Providence prepare pour nos af-*

fliges. (Bless this habitation which Thy good Providence hath prepared for those among us who are in distress.) [8]. Charles Shoppee's portrait still looks down on all the proceedings at La Providence, which he served so faithfully and in which he played such an active part for over thirty years.

Associations with the Barbers' and other Livery Companies and the City and Guilds of London Institute

The Barbers' Company

On 5 October 1852 Charles Shoppee became a freeman of the Company by redemption and was admitted to the livery on the same day. In 1862 he was appointed surveyor to the Company, did not receive a salary, but was paid for his professional services.

In 1850, a building committee was formed from members of the court to consider ways to reduce expenses and increase the income of the Company. Several suggestions were made including building two houses to rent as well as letting part of the Hall. In May 1856 it was agreed to let the Great Hall, yard and Court room, lobbies and steward's room to the Clothworkers' Company at an annual rent of £150 for three years while they demolished and rebuilt their own Hall in Mincing Lane, their fifth building on the same site. In 1859 the Court instructed a surveyor to value the Company's estate in Monkwell Street with a view to sale or letting of the Hall and offices as these were comparatively little used for the business of the Company.

Charles Shoppee was appointed surveyor in 1862 and drew up plans for some proposed warehouses to be built on the Company's land in Monkwell Street at the request of the Company. The building committee was still considering profitable ways of letting the hall and paid Shoppee £3.3*s*.0*d* to survey the Monkwell Street property. His report regarding the condition of the building was not encouraging.

In 1864 a decision was made to reconstruct the Hall and plans were drawn up by Charles Shoppee and submitted to the Com-

mittee. It involved the loss of the Livery Hall, kitchen and committee rooms and three houses (nos. 33, 34 and 35) on either side of the Monkwell Street entrance to the Hall. This left the Barbers' Company with a much reduced Hall, as designed by Mr Shoppee, namely an entrance lobby, Court room, ante-room and clerk's office. The principal staircase was left in its original position, with its old stringing, newel posts and handrails to which carving had been added. On the upper floors were a committee room and the Beadle's apartments. There was a tradesmen's entrance, a back staircase which also led to the Beadle's apartments as well as a kitchen and storage areas coupled with a staircase down to the wine cellars. In the Court room there was a cupola or lantern light which was designed and constructed by Charles Shoppee in 1864, replacing an earlier one of 1752 which was becoming dilapidated.

The remaining parts of the site were leased to Mr (later Deputy) William Brass for £440 per annum who built warehouses on the site to Charles Shoppee's design. In a Court minute of 1864, Charles Shoppee reported that Mr Brass had agreed to face the Court Room with red bricks instead of the proposed cement and was going to use white bricks instead of stock bricks on the front of the warehouses. He also presented a wooden snuff box to the Company in 1865. Engraved inside the lid 'This box presented by W. Brass, Esq. is made from a piece of the old hall built by Inigo-Jones MDCXLV and removed MDCCCLXIV by H. Smith, Master'. The engraved wording is, of course, incorrect. Inigo-Jones designed the Anatomy Theatre which had escaped the Great Fire of 1666 when the Hall was destroyed. The new building was designed by Edward Jarman in 1667/68. The snuff box was placed in a wooden box mounted with a silver plaque engraved 'Presented by C.J. Shoppee in 1866 who designed the new cupola' (Fig. 3).

In 1865 Shoppee presented the ground plans of the Company's land in Monkwell Street showing the pre- and past construction and reconstruction of the Hall and the new entrance from Monkwell Street. These were later framed and hung in the ante-room on the first floor. The doorways of the anteroom were from the Old Hall and in the pediments of each was one of the Waterman's Badges of the Company, with the Company's crest, the Opinicus.



FIG. 3. Snuff box made from wood from the old hall (1866).

In a court minute of 11 August 1865 the newly elected master, Francis Snelling took the opportunity to praise Charles Shoppee fulsomely as follows:

> He has exhibited the greatest talent in designing and arranging the building of the warehouses and the necessary alterations to the remaining buildings and decorating and fitting of the Court Room and all the ornamental work of this Ancient Hall. Your work has enhanced its value from an antiquarian, architectural and commercial point of view. (Fig. 4)

It was noted to be one of the finest small Halls in the city. The total cost of the reconstruction was £3,282.6*s*.8*d*, from which Charles Shoppee received £365.4*s*.6*d* commission.

By 1869 all the reconstruction work and the building of the warehouses was completed and the new buildings went out to tender. On 7 May 1875 Charles Shoppee was admitted to the

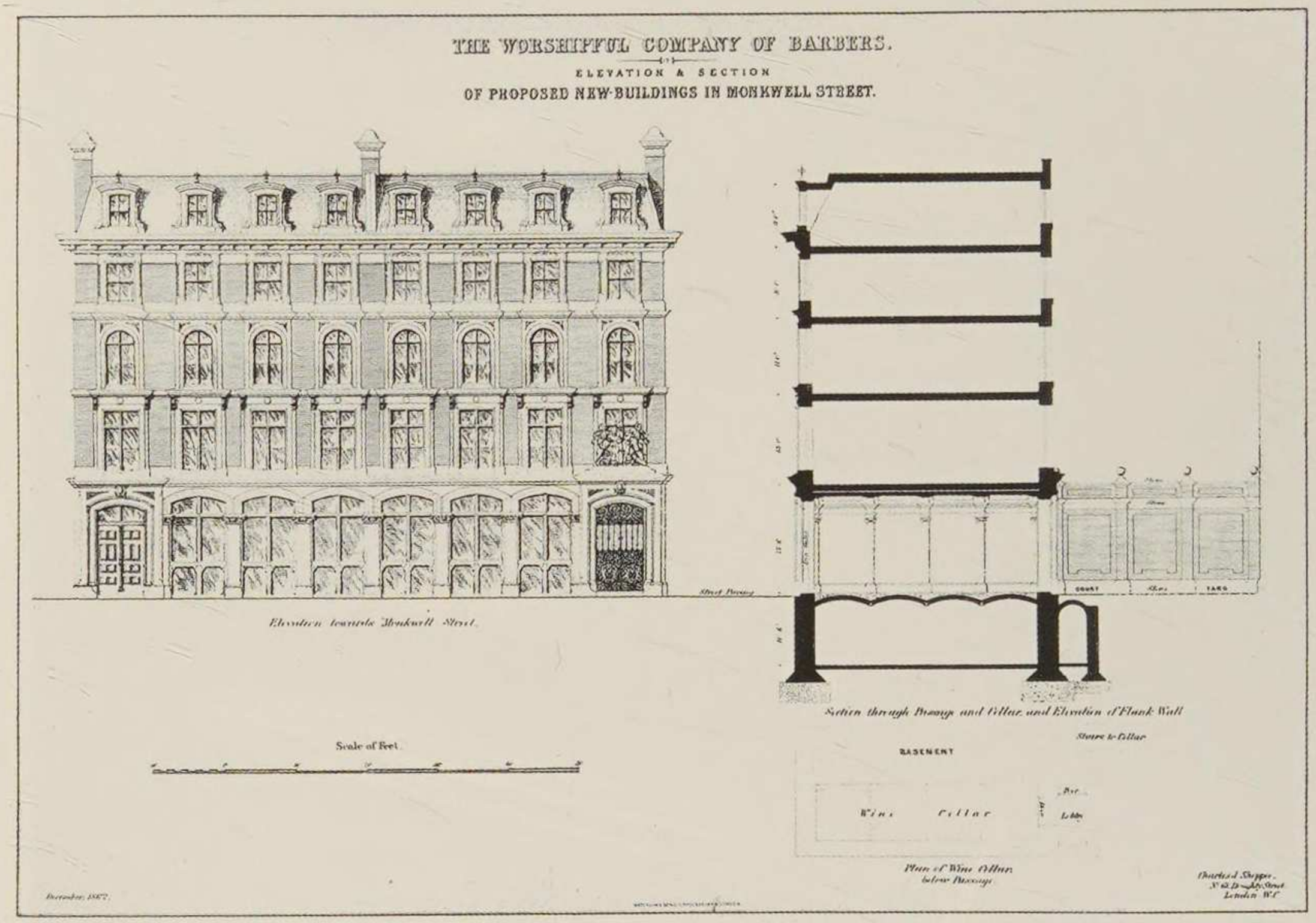


FIG. 4. Warehouses designed by Charles Shoppee and built alongside Barber-Surgeons' Hall (Courtesy Guildhall Library.)

Court of Assistants. In 1877, Warden Shoppee suggested to the Court that a wine merchant be appointed for all purchasers of wine and spirits. At the Court meeting of 6 March 1877, he 'proposed that a suitable badge with the Company's armorial bearings and supporters, crest and motto enamelled in their proper colours be provided for the Master at the Company's cost.' The Court agreed and Shoppee designed the badge which was made by Lamberts for £44.9*s.* and was presented to the Court on 5 June 1877 (Fig. 5). Later he designed a second badge, also made by Lamberts, for his personal use and for other past masters (Fig. 6). At the same meeting he proposed that a committee be set up to conduct the Company's finances and affairs. On 2 October 1877 the appointment of a wine merchant was cancelled. Warden Shoppee, in February 1878, proposed that the Court Room be redecorated, it being some 13 years



FIG. 5. Masters' badge designed and presented by Charles Shoppee in 1877.

since the refurbishment and, in 1864/5, he also suggested that the pictures, frames and furnishings were 'put in proper order'. He was still trying to persuade the Court to agree in May. On 6 August he presented a 'handsome new marble fender and new grate' to the Court at a cost of £218 and he also paid for the restringing of the pictures at £80.

Shoppee was elected Master on 8 August 1878 and by October the Court Room was being redecorated. The plate was stored in the Bank of England and the Court met in Anderton's Hotel in Fleet Street, which was owned by a liveryman. The Ex Libris Society also used to meet there.

The Company's cellars were seemingly well stocked in September 1878:

> 35 doz port; 26 doz champagne; 6 doz Hock; 4 ½ doz Claret/ Burgundy; 1 ½ doz Brandy and 9/12 of Hoillands. But in addition to this it was ordered to be purchased:
> 1 Hogshead Sherry; 6 doz Hock; 6 doz Claret and 3 doz Brandy.



FIG. 6. Badge designed by Charles Shoppee for his personal use (1877).

In January 1879 Shoppee presented a silver salver to the court engraved with the Company's arms as well as his own. In the minutes of April 1880, Charles Shoppee seconded the motion that the minutes should be indexed. In 1881 he became the Company's representative on the Ironmongers' Company's committee for the Irish Estates. In 1880 the rent from the Irish Estates was £196. It was noted that when Mr Shoppee presented the monies from the Irish Estates to the Company he invariably put £10 of his own

money in the Poors Box!

At the court meeting of 1883 it was proposed that the Holbein painting, then insured for £8,000, should be put up for sale and a replica painted by an 'eminent artist'. There was a good reason for this: fire. There was a constant risk from the frequent fires in the area: the narrow streets and the warehouses in the north-west corner of the city were particularly vulnerable. In 1882 Wood Street and Addle Street were heavily damaged by fire with a loss of 2,000,000 pounds, and again in 1897, some 2½ acres were wiped out and 4 acres affected by fire.

In February 1883 there was still no resolution by the Court, but by 5 March it was approved, though not unanimously: Benj. Woolley (Master 1881) and James Harvey who had succeeded Charles Shoppee as Master in 1879 stated that 'the picture should stay where it was'. In February 1894, when Sydney Young was Master, the painting was offered to the National Gallery for 20,000 pounds, but the offer was rejected.

In 1883, Charles Shoppee presented to the Company a printed and bound volume which described the pictures and other objects of interest in the Hall and Court Room of the Company, with a description of the Barbers' Hall and noting his part in its reconstruction and later redecoration [9].

Charles Shoppee's sons, Charles Herbert and Gerald Augustine Shoppee were both members of the Company. In 1890 Gerald Augustine married Beatrice Elizabeth Young who was the daughter of Sydney Young (a surveyor), Master in 1894 and 1895, and author of the *Annals of the Barber Surgeons* in 1890. Their son, Denys, (1892-1968) was also a Barber, and a second lieutenant to Admiral Jellicoe at the Battle of Jutland in 1916. He was awarded the DSC and the Mons Star in 1914, the Croix de Guerre, Chevalier Legion of Honour of France and Chevalier Order of Leopold of Belgium. He had been promoted to Commander by the time of his marriage to Letitia St John Mildmay in 1922. What would Jacques Chappuis have thought of his descendant's military career?

The Armourers' and Braziers' Company

Charles Shoppee became a liveryman of this Company in 1856, and was also surveyor to the Company until 1869. The surveyor's duties according to the company's return to the Royal Commission of London Livery Companies published in 1884 were:

> to view the estates of the Company and to report, thereon twice a year to the Court of Assistants viz: at the quarterly courts held at Midsummer and Christmas.
> to advise the court and act for the Company in all matters connected with the letting and management of the property of the company.
> The surveyor of the company does not receive a salary but is paid for all professional services.
> The surveyor is a liveryman of the company. [10].

Shoppee resigned his surveyorship in 1869 when elected to the Court of Assistants. He was Master of the Company in 1877, 1878 and 1896.

In 1885 Shoppee presented to the Company a book of 'ceremonial observances' which he had bound in leather and embellished with his book plate and coat of arms. He also donated, in 1877, a set of six silver spoons, each with a figure of St George and the Dragon and with the donor's name and date engraved on the stem. And, in 1875, he presented to the Company a framed engraving of the Barbers' Holbein painting which still hangs in the Hall.

His four surviving sons also became liverymen of the Company. However, Conrad died from dysentery *en voyage* to Australia in 1888, Eustace Cyril emigrated to Australia in 1882 and resigned from the livery, Gerald Augustine committed suicide in 1896, so only Charles Herbert survived his father as a member of the Company [11].

Charles Shoppee was also associated with the Glovers' Company, he was Master in 1889, and was surveyor to the Bakers' Company.

The City and Guilds of London Institute

In 1878, following a meeting of representatives of the City Corporation and the City Livery Companies presided over by the Lord Mayor and held in Mansion House, the City and Guilds Institute was founded and incorporated by Royal Charter. Its objectives were for the advancement of technical and scientific education. Sixteen Livery Companies originally supported this initiative financially and a member of each company represented it as a member of the Council. The sixteen companies were: Armourers' and Braziers', Cordwainers', Clothworkers', Coopers', Carpenters', Drapers', Fishmongers', Goldsmiths', Leathersellers', Mercers', Needlemakers', Plaisterers', Pewterers', Salters', Tallow Chandlers' and Ironmongers'. The companies contributed varying amounts of money to support the Institute. The Armourers' and Braziers' Company contributed £78.15*s* towards preliminary expenses, and from 1878 gave an annual payment of £525. Their representative was Charles Shoppee, who was a council member of the Institute from 1878. He also designed the medal, silver and bronze, which is still awarded for 'high standard of performance' in the qualifying examinations. The obverse of the medal shows the Coat of Arms of the Corporation of the City of London in the centre, surrounded in two concentric circles by the arms of the sixteen founder Livery Companies. The reverse is engraved with the name of the candidate.

Today the Institute includes the City and Guilds College, the engineering section of the Imperial College and until 1971 the City and Guilds Art College in Southwark [12]. Again, Charles Shoppee was there at the beginning of the enterprise.

Death and burial

Charles Shoppee died on 18 November 1897 and was buried on 22 November, aged nearly 74 years. According to his obituary in the *Middlesex and Buckinghamshire Advertiser* of 27 November 'he was

active in his profession almost to the last'. He was working in his office on the Saturday before his death, was taken ill on the Monday and died on the Thursday of 'weakness of the heart and other complications'. The obituary goes on to say 'He was a most popular man with all who knew him, his unfailing politeness and courtesy, geniality and urbanity being characteristic features of his personality.'

The first part of his funeral service was held at the Gray's Inn Chapel in order to accommodate all the mourners. Two of the hymns were: 'The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God and there shall no torment touch them' and 'Now the labourer's task is o'er'. The 'Dead March' from *Saul* was also played.

The cortège of the hearse and three coaches then proceeded to Uxbridge Cemetery where they were met by another large group of mourners. The obituary continued 'The remains were enclosed in a polished oak coffin with brass fittings. By special request there were no wreaths or flowers. The bells of St Margaret's Church were tolled before the internment.' [13].

In his will he left the net sum of £6683.4*s*.3*d* to his son Charles, but in trust to his 'dear wife Elizabeth Shoppee' during her life time. She died on 10 March 1900 and is buried with her husband in Uxbridge cemetery.

After Charles Shoppee's death, his eldest son and partner, Charles Herbert Shoppee, succeeded to his father's practice. He found he could no longer provide the necessary space at 22 John Street for the more bulky items of his father's vast collection of antiquities. He invited the Victoria and Albert Museum to view the collection and select pieces they considered of value. Consequently, they purchased 125 items which were exhibited in the museum, including the altar rails from St Margaret's Church. Some items which were considered to be of interest only to craftsmen went to Osterley Park. A selection of books from his library also went to the Victoria and Albert Museum [6].

Charles Shoppee was a man of many parts: from designing buildings to badges, medals and bookplates. He ensured that the elderly of the Huguenots' descendants at La Providence were cared for and gave the opportunity for scientific and technological

students to study at the City and Guilds Institute. He collected antiquities and books and was master of three Livery Companies. His association with the Barbers' Company was only a part of his many interests, but a part he played to the full for forty-five years as surveyor, liveryman, Assistant Warden and Master.

I am sure he would have been very distressed by the destruction of the Hall in December 1940. I am equally sure his plans for the new Hall would have been rapidly drawn up for presentation to the Court as soon as it was feasible.

References

[1] *RIBA Copies of applications for ARIBA and FRIBA,* Royal Institute of British Architects (1868 and 1880).

[2] Sykes, G. Descendant of the Shoppee family (Personal communication).

[3] Massie, A. Department of Archives Photographs Film and Sound National Army Museum (Personal communication).

[4] D'Auriac *Armorial de la Noblesse de France* 11, Aux Bureaux de la Publication, Paris 1855.

[5] Pearce, H.R. Article *Journal Uxbridge School,* 1980, p 9.

[6] London and Middlesex Archaeological Society. *Transactions,* 1957.

[7] Ex Libris Society. *Journal of the Society,* 1892, 1.

[8] Brown, J. La Providence Hospital Huguenot Society, 2001.

[9] *Barbers' Company Minutes,* 1852-1897.

[10] City of London Livery Commission, III, 1884.

[11] Armourers' and Braziers' Company. *Admissions book and Gift Book* (1878).

[12] Lang, J. *City and Guilds Centenary 1878-1978,* City and Guilds, 1978.

[13 *Middlesex and Buckinghamshire Advertiser,* 27 November 1897.

Acknowledgements

Acknowledgements and thanks to Ian Murray for his help and patience and Dr Geoffrey Rivett for his photography.

Chapter 20

Thomas James Barratt 1841 – 1914

Leslie Clarke

THOMAS JAMES BARRATT was born in London in 1841, probably in or near Hampstead, in the vicinity of which the Barratt family had lived for several generations. Unfortunately, no correspondence or records concerning the young Thomas or his family have survived, although it is known that he was not an only child and did have a brother, a sister and possibly more siblings. They appear to have been comfortably off although no details of the father's employment or of the family home are known. It is from recorded comments made by Thomas Barratt in adult life that we know that he was educated locally within walking distance of his home. Little also is known of his early working life until, shortly after reaching his majority, he became a travelling salesman in the Pears toilet soap business. He must have worked well and been liked by the Pears family because he successfully courted Francis Pears's eldest daughter Mary, whom he married in 1865 when he was still only 24 years of age. Now that Barratt was a member of the family and had proved his ability at selling the firm's products, Francis Pears made him a partner. This proved to be the turning point in the development and ultimate success of the family soap business.

Pears Soap

In 1789, Andrew Pears the son of a Cornish farmer, having

completed his apprenticeship as a barber and hairdresser, established his own business in Gerrard Street, Soho, London where he also manufactured and sold rouges, creams, powders, dentifrice and other beauty aids.

His real success came when he produced a superior high quality transparent soap delicately perfumed with the flowers of an English garden. Although he maintained his hairdressing business, his priority became the manufacture and sale of the transparent soap. In 1835, Andrew Pears's grandson, Francis Pears joined the business and they moved to premises off Oxford Street.

In 1838 Andrew retired and the business policy, under Francis Pears's management, continued in the same cautious way with annual sales promotion never exceeding 80 pounds per year. However, in 1862, realising he must progress, Francis bought a house and built a new soap factory at Isleworth in Middlesex.

For the first eighty years of its production, a total of 500 pounds had been spent on advertising Pears Soap, yet, within a few years after Barratt had joined the firm, this kind of salesmanship changed and no less than 126,000 pounds each year was being spent on advertising.

Advertising was fairly new to the public and at first Barratt met with much opposition. As he believed in his commodity, he was determined that the public should learn that it was worth paying the little extra for Pears Soap than purchasing one of the many inferior alternative products.

Barratt was the man who introduced the skills of marketing and who thereby made Pears Soap a world-wide commodity. When Barratt joined the business the capital of the firm totalled 7,000 pounds. Francis Pears was growing old, so his son Andrew took charge of the factory at Isleworth, whilst Barratt took charge of the London offices.

Barratt, far-sighted, daring and infinitely resourceful, soon became the live heart of the firm and altered its tempo. He was to become an international figure in the relatively new profession of advertising. The dynamic effect that he had on the business was perhaps secondary to the revolution he caused in the far wider field of commercial publicity. When Thomas Barratt first joined,

his zeal and energy alarmed the founder's grandson Francis, who envisaged the ultimate bankruptcy of the business he had looked after for over a quarter of a century. While Barratt concentrated his energies on the routine of distribution he met little opposition, but when he put forward his expensive schemes for promoting sales he was blocked nearly every time by the timidity of his more conservative partners. In 1875, Francis Pears withdrew from the firm, taking most of his money and leaving only 4,000 pounds as a loan to be discharged equally by his son, Andrew, and Barratt who remained in charge of the business.

The basis of Barratt's sales appeal was that Pears Soap was

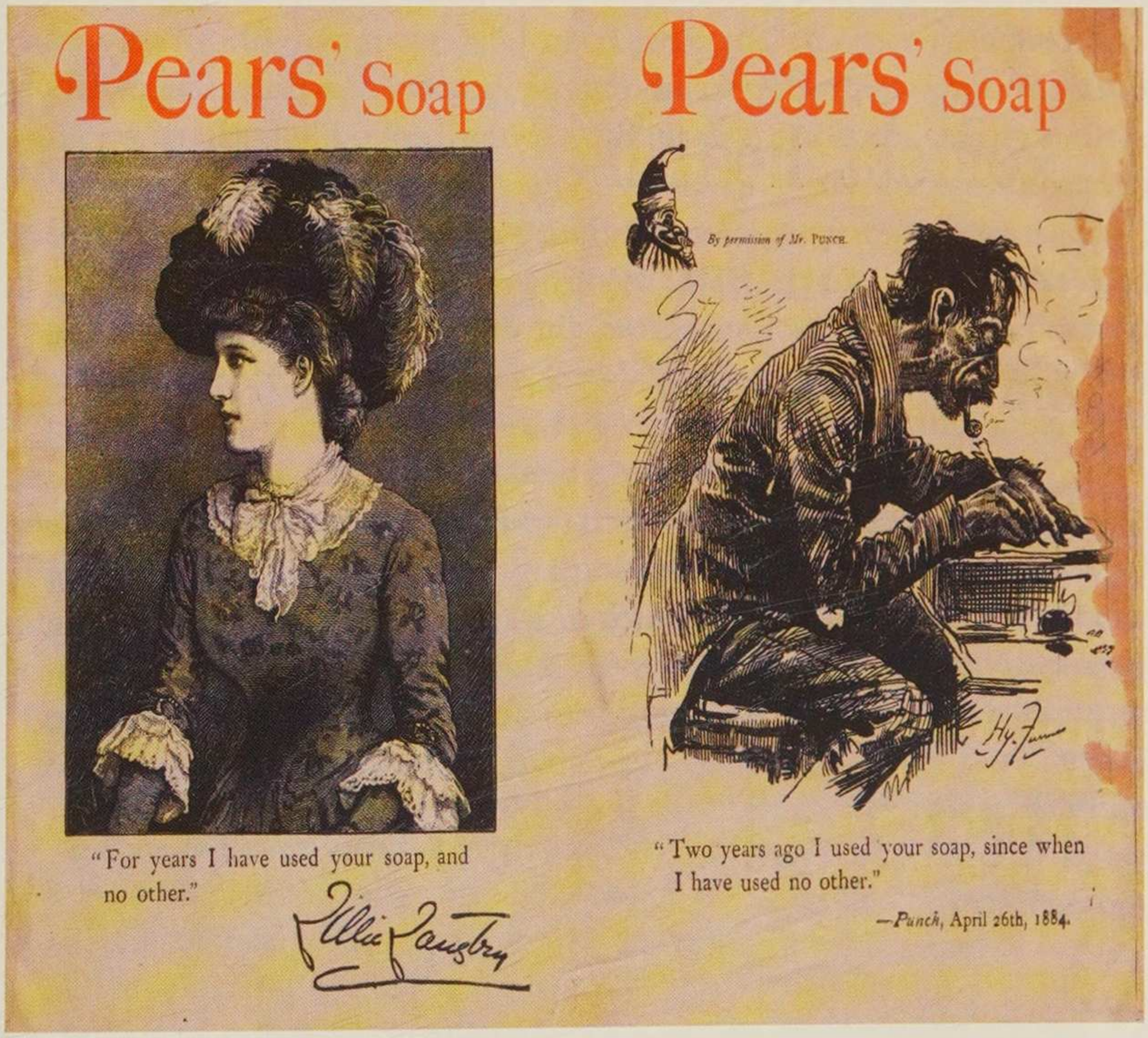


FIG. 1a (left). The Lily Langtry advertisement. (Reproduced with kind permission of Unilever Plc from an original in Unilever Archives.)
FIG. 1b (right). The *Punch* Cartoon, 26 April 1884. (Reproduced with kind permission of Unilever Plc from an original in Unilever Archives.)

safe and healthy and that it made its users beautiful. The first point he impressed upon the public by scientific opinions. He obtained a series of testimonials from a number of prominent skin specialists, doctors and chemists. Among those whom he persuaded were Sir Erasmus Wilson, the President of the Royal College of Surgeons and Doctor Redwood, Professor of Chemistry and Pharmacy to the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain. If Thomas Barratt can be called the father of modern advertising and product promotion, then Dr Redwood is the father of modern pharmaceutical teaching and research. Professor Redwood responded enthusiastically to Barratt's personal request and he responded in writing with a guarantee that Pears Soap possessed 'the properties of an efficient yet mild detergent without any of the objectionable properties of ordinary soaps'. Barratt's use of this statement in advertising has since been copied by salesmen in nearly every industry.

Barratt then turned to another powerful appeal, 'glamour' advertising. He made Lillie Langtry (Fig. 1a) his first star by obtaining testimonials from her about Pears Soap. 'Since using Pears Soap, I have discarded all others' and also 'I prefer it to any other soap'. Barratt fully exploited these statements.

When this kind of advertising began to lose its appeal, Barratt borrowed a *Punch* drawing which made fun of Mrs Langtry's testimonial and made thousands of people laugh, thus restoring its effect and increasing the sales of Pears products. This drawing was the famous cartoon drawn by Harry Furniss showing a disreputable, unwashed, tramp laboriously writing his testimonial to Pears: 'Two years ago I used your soap, since when I have used no other' (Fig. 1b).

Advertising

Coin

Around 1880, Barratt initiated one of his most famous schemes. At that time, there were many French 10-centime pieces in circulation in England and these were accepted as the equivalent of English pennies. Barratt imported a quarter of a million of these pieces

and, as there was no law prohibiting the defacement of foreign currency, he had the name 'Pears' stamped on each one and put them into circulation. This led to the Government passing an Act of Parliament amending the Coinage Act, 1870 (Public General Act, 1891, 54 & 55, Victoria I, c.72) which declared all foreign coins to be illegal tender. The centimes were withdrawn from circulation and melted down by the mint. A few, however, were kept by the firm and can be seen today.

Overseas

Barratt then turned his attention to overseas markets, first by extending his campaigning to the United States of America, where advertising was no more advanced than in Britain. Again he met with opposition, again he persisted, searching for some weapon with which to win hundreds of thousands of customers. Barratt, appreciating that Americans were easily impressed by authoritative statements, began considering possible supporters such as the President and the Governor of New York. Finally he decided to exploit Henry Ward Beecher, the United States spiritual leader and brother of Harriet Beecher, authoress of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. One night Barratt set out for Dr Beecher's house in Brooklyn and, mistaken for a visiting English intellectual, was allowed into Dr Beecher's home where he was holding a reception. Barratt remained until all the other guests had gone and then told Dr Beecher why he had come and reminded him of his remarks, made a decade ago, of the excellence of Pears Transparent Soap. Dr Beecher, laughing, immediately took up his pen and wrote:

> If cleanliness is next to Godliness, soap must be considered as a 'means of Grace' – and a clergyman who recommends moral things should be willing to recommend soap. I am told that my commendation of Pears Soap some dozen years ago has assured for it a large sale in the United States. I am willing to stand by any word in favour of it that I ever uttered. A man must be fastidious indeed who is not satisfied with it.

Barratt then embarked on his boldest and greatest advertising campaign. After some difficulties, he bought the whole of the

front page of the *New York Herald* on which to publish Dr Beecher's testimonial, a purchase previously unknown. This same advertising was printed in hundreds of other American newspapers and thousands of pounds were spent on leaflets, reproducing facsimiles of the original testimonial.

Through this kind of advertising Pears became an international organisation and Barratt an international figure. It has been said that Barratt had become the 'Dean or the Father of Modern Advertising and his university was the Pears Factory at Isleworth'.



FIG. 2. The Millais *Bubbles* painting. (Reproduced with kind permission of Unilever Plc from an original in Unilever Archives.)

Punch featured Pears Soap news in several issues during this period. The *Middlesex Chronicle* also featured many articles on Pears. For example, in 1887 after the firm had extended its offices to New Oxford Street, it noted that a splendid portrait of Queen Victoria, placed in front of the building was attracting a great deal of attention since she was now patronising Pears products. In 1889, this *Chronicle* displayed advertisements for Pears Soap on the back page. Two of the most well known were the hand with the caption for Pears Soap:

'Good Morning
Have you used Pears Soap?'

And the baby in a bath reaching out for a tablet of Pears Soap with the caption:

'He won't be happy until he gets it'.

It became one of Barratt's best known advertisements and was parodied by political cartoonists all over the world. It is interesting to note that the advertisement of the baby in the bath was first seen by Barratt at a Paris art exhibition where it was a small detail in a picture. He bought the right to reproduce that portion of it.

Similarly, Barratt saw a plaster statuette called *You Dirty Boy* at another Paris exhibition. He bought it and commissioned Signor Focardi, an eminent sculptor, to carve it in marble at a cost of £500. This stood outside the Russell Street offices. It was also reproduced as an advertisement.

The most famous example of Barratt's approach to advertising was the painting known as *Bubbles* (Fig. 2). Barratt was once again ahead of his contemporaries for he argued that posters were the 'poor man's picture gallery' and that Britain's greatest artists should be represented in this way. In 1886, attitudes began to change and Barratt was quick to take advantage of this.

Sir John Everett Millais, leader of the pre-Raphaelites and afterwards President of the Royal Academy, painted a portrait of his grandson. The grandson later became Admiral Sir William James and he died in the second half of the 20th century aged over

90. The boy was watching a soap bubble he had just blown through a clay pipe, and the picture was titled *Bubbles*. It was first exhibited at the Royal Academy then sold to the *Illustrated London News* for reproduction as a presentation plate in their magazine. Barratt then bought it from the *Illustrated London News* so that he could use it as an advertisement, for which Pears paid £2,200.

Millais himself was at first displeased by this idea, but later he took a great interest in the reproduction of the picture and its use as an advertisement. *Bubbles* became the most famous poster in the country and the original remains the property of the firm and today hangs in the Unilever offices in Victoria Embankment, London.

Pears Cyclopaedia and the *Annual*

Barratt, appreciating the effect of The Education Act of 1870, decided to publish a book which would combine every day practical information with general knowledge in one inexpensive volume. He was convinced that poverty, squalor and slums were due greatly to ignorance and saw that Pears was able to make a real contribution which could only be good publicity.

That is how *Pears Shilling Cyclopaedia* first came to be published by A & F Pears in 1897. All 600,000 copies were sold and increasing demand led to a further edition. The cyclopaedia went into use all over the world from parliaments to prisons – an Irish convict once described it as 'the most popular book in the prison library'. At the time of publication of *Pears Cyclopaedia,* the *Times* critic wrote: 'It is neither inadequate nor inaccurate'. Pears made advertisements about it saying it was: 'A valuable acquisition in every household. Nothing has ever before been issued equal to it at twenty times the price.'

Over the years since its first publication, the book has grown steadily and changed as knowledge has increased. In general, however, the design has not changed much, although it is now no longer published by A & F Pears themselves but by Penguin Books Limited.

Apart from *Pears Cyclopaedia,* A & F Pears, again under Barratt's initiative and leadership, printed and distributed many of the works of Charles Dickens. They contained beautiful illustrations as well as sales appeal for the firm's products.

Pears Annual, yet another of Barratt's ideas, was also very popular. Just under half a million copies were sold annually always within a few weeks of publication. These annuals contained many advertisements, including those for Pears products, a long feature story, illustrated with hand drawn pictures, and prints for framing.

On another occasion, Mr Gladstone inadvertently gave Pears some unexpected and priceless publicity in the House of Commons, by getting to his feet to vigorously complain of the multiplying of amendments until they were 'as plentiful as the advertisements for Pears Soap'.

In 1889, on the occasion of the centenary of the founding of the firm, a banquet was given by the national newspapers in Barratt's honour. They presented him with a dessert service valued at £1,000 and an illuminated address in recognition of the 'great services rendered by him as chief of A & F Pears to the press and to printing, artistic and kindred enterprises, by the active part he had taken in advertising in all its branches'. One hundred and seventy representatives of newspapers from all over the world contributed towards the gift.

A favourite story Barratt liked to tell was an occasion when, as a young schoolboy walking home one afternoon, he noticed in the window of a greengrocer's shop a display of apples with a card attached which, in his opinion, would never sell a single apple. He thought he could do much better so on reaching home, he designed and painted a card which he took back next day to the greengrocer who delightedly paid him for it in apples. 'So', Barratt would comment, 'I started with apples and finished with pears!'

Three years later in 1892, A & F Pears became a limited liability company with a capital of 810,000 pounds and Barratt was appointed Chairman and Managing Director.

From this point the career of Barratt and of Pears Soap was

increasingly successful. Royal Warrants were granted to the firm, the first being presented by Queen Victoria, and the firm won prizes at many exhibitions in all parts of the world. For example, in 1900 Pears Soap received the Grand Prix Award at the Paris Exhibition, the only Grand Prix ever awarded for toilet soap. In 1914, shortly before Barratt's death, the firm was taken over by Lever Brothers, later to become Unilever, with A & F Pears a part of their toiletries division.

The entrance to Lord Leverhume's London house and adjoining estate called 'The Hill', was in North End Road, Hampstead adjoining the heath and not far from Barratt's house. This probably had some influence on the choice of purchaser and perhaps the decision to sell the Pears Company.

The Worshipful Company of Barbers

Thomas Barratt was both admitted to the Freedom and clothed with the Livery of the Barbers' Company on 3 July 1888. Unfortunately the minutes of the Court meetings for the last two decades of the 19th century and the first two of the 20th century were in the city solicitors' offices where Frank Lingard, Clerk to the Company, was a partner and were lost when these offices were destroyed in the bombing of London in December 1940. Although little is known of Barratt's activities in the Company during the closing years of the 19th century, he would appear to have been a popular and respected member of the Livery and was certainly a very generous benefactor to the Company. Although the Court minutes are missing, correspondence has survived concerning a letter dated 6 April 1897 from Barratt suggesting that members of the Livery, at their own expense, should be entitled to have replicas made for their personal use of the Company's rare pieces of silver plate. This appears to have been discussed and firmly rejected by the Court. However, on a motion put by Robert Hovenden, and seconded by Sydney Young, who were two of the wardens, Barratt was given exceptional permission by the Master, Alfred Low, to have two replica copies of the *Grace Cup*, a gift of

King Henry VIII, and one replica copy of the *Oak Cup*, the gift of King Charles II, made at his own expense on condition that these were made by the silversmith nominated by the Company and also that each of these copies must be inscribed with a statement that it is a replica of the original. Barratt was also required to give an undertaking not to have or permit further copies to be made of the replicas. However, it would appear that Barratt was further authorised to have a second *Oak Cup* replica made as he subsequently presented the Company with one of the *Grace Cup* replicas and also one of the *Oak Cup* replicas. These superb examples of the silversmith's craft are to be seen adorning the top tables at all of today's formal dinners and luncheons. The other two replicas Barratt retained for himself.

When Sir John Tweedy was Master, a contemporary drawing of the Court Room in Barber-Surgeons' Hall by the artist, Hanslip Fletcher, is believed to have been reproduced in the January 1908 edition of *The Pall Mall Magazine* as an illustration to a good article on the sixth centenary celebration of the first recorded master of The Barbers' Company. The drawing was then purchased by Thomas Barratt and sold by his executors at Christies in 1916. Many years later in the 1990s, it was purchased from an art dealer by Sir John Chalstrey and gifted by him to the Company following his year as Master in 1998/99 and is now displayed in Barber-Surgeons' Hall.

Master of the Barbers' Company

Barratt was elected to the Court of Assistants of the Barbers' Company on 6 November 1910. Most unusually, he never served as a Warden but was elected Master instead of the then Upper Warden, W. Lawrence, on 10 August 1911. The Court Minutes of that year are amongst those lost in the Second World War but the Clerk's rough notes have survived. These state 'elected without ballot. Not to be taken as precedent. Do not enter in minutes.' Lawrence subsequently became Master in 1912. At his Ladies' Festival Dinner in 1912, Barratt presented every lady in the Hall with a silver card case engraved with an appropriate inscription

and with the Arms of the Company. One of these is on display in Barber-Surgeons' Hall. Barratt also had the Hanslip Fletcher drawing of the Court Room reproduced as decoration on some very fine menu cards for the dinners he presided over.

During his year as Master, Barratt's youngest son was apprenticed to his father on 5 December 1911. As a personal memento, Barratt had a small stained glass panel made depicting the Arms of the Barbers' Company and with a cartouche below bearing the inscription *The Worshipful Company of Barbers. Thomas Franklin Barratt apprentice 1911*. No record of this has survived, but in 1989 it was discovered at and purchased from, a Tunbridge Wells antique dealer by Mr Grant Macdonald (Master, 2000) and presented to the Company in 1992. It was subsequently mounted above the main entrance to the Great Hall.

Barratt had previously joined the Carpenters' Company in the City of London being made free by redemption on 7 July 1885 and clothed with the Livery on 4 August of the same year. Apart from recording the date of his death, there are no additional references to Barratt in the Carpenters' Company records.

Hampstead

As already mentioned, Thomas Barratt was probably born in Hampstead where his family had lived for several generations. He went to school locally and, in company with school friends, spent many happy hours exploring Hampstead Heath and the local countryside. As noted already, very little is known of his childhood other than recorded remarks made to friends that it was a happy and enjoyable time for him. These early years undoubtedly were the foundation of Barratt's great love of the heath and of the surrounding countryside, as well as his later absorbing interest and devoted study of the history and development of Hampstead and its adjoining villages.

Hampstead was originally an area of densely wooded forest, parts of which had been cleared for farming and the development of Hampstead village. The necessity to rebuild the City of London following the Great Fire of 1666, created a very big requirement

for timber. The close proximity of the forest at Hampstead provided an easily obtained supply and the growth of the population of London which followed, resulted in the demand for timber continuing and the eradication of the Hampstead forest by the middle of the 18th century. The Manor of Hampstead at this time was owned by the Maryon-Wilson family who, in addition, owned Charlton House and the valuable Manor of Charlton, then in Kent but soon to become, as did Hampstead, part of Metropolitan London. The family also owned large estates in Essex and in Sussex.

During the 17th century, the Hampstead pure spring water and clear air attracted many of the rich and famous to buy up the cleared land and build large and comfortable houses, some of which have survived and can be seen today.

In 1829, the Lord of the Manor of Hampstead, Sir Thomas Maryon-Wilson, petitioned Parliament to authorise him to build on Hampstead Heath. There was a great outcry and objections to this by the local inhabitants, including members of the Barratt family and others, some of whom had great influence in the City and Westminster. When Sir Thomas Maryon-Wilson died in 1869, the matter had not been resolved. The new Lord of the Manor, his brother John Maryon-Wilson, sided with local public opinion and decided to offer to sell his rights to Hampstead Heath to the Metropolitan Board of Works. The Hampstead Heath Act of 1871 authorised the sale which took place thus securing the ground for ever as a place of recreation for the public. In 1889 the Metropolitan Board of Works was succeeded by the London County Council to be followed by the Greater London Council until the latter's demise, when the responsibility was passed to the Corporation of the City of London.

Bell Moor House

Following upon his marriage to Mary Pears, Barratt lived in a cottage at the foot of Highgate Hill. His ambition, however, was to live adjacent to his beloved Hampstead Heath. The opportunity came, following the growth of his personal fortune. He purchased

four adjacent houses on the summit of Hampstead Heath near the White Stone Pond and overlooking the Vale of Health in a delightful setting with, in fine weather, wonderful views across London to the Kentish side of the River Thames. He demolished the four houses and on the cleared site built, to his own design and specifications, a large house and outbuildings set in a beautifully landscaped garden with a lawn tennis court. The house was expensively furnished and given the name 'Bell Moor House'. The Barratts began their residence there in 1877 when Thomas was still only 36 years of age.

With the transfer to public ownership of Hampstead Heath some six years previously, Barratt's local support and involve-

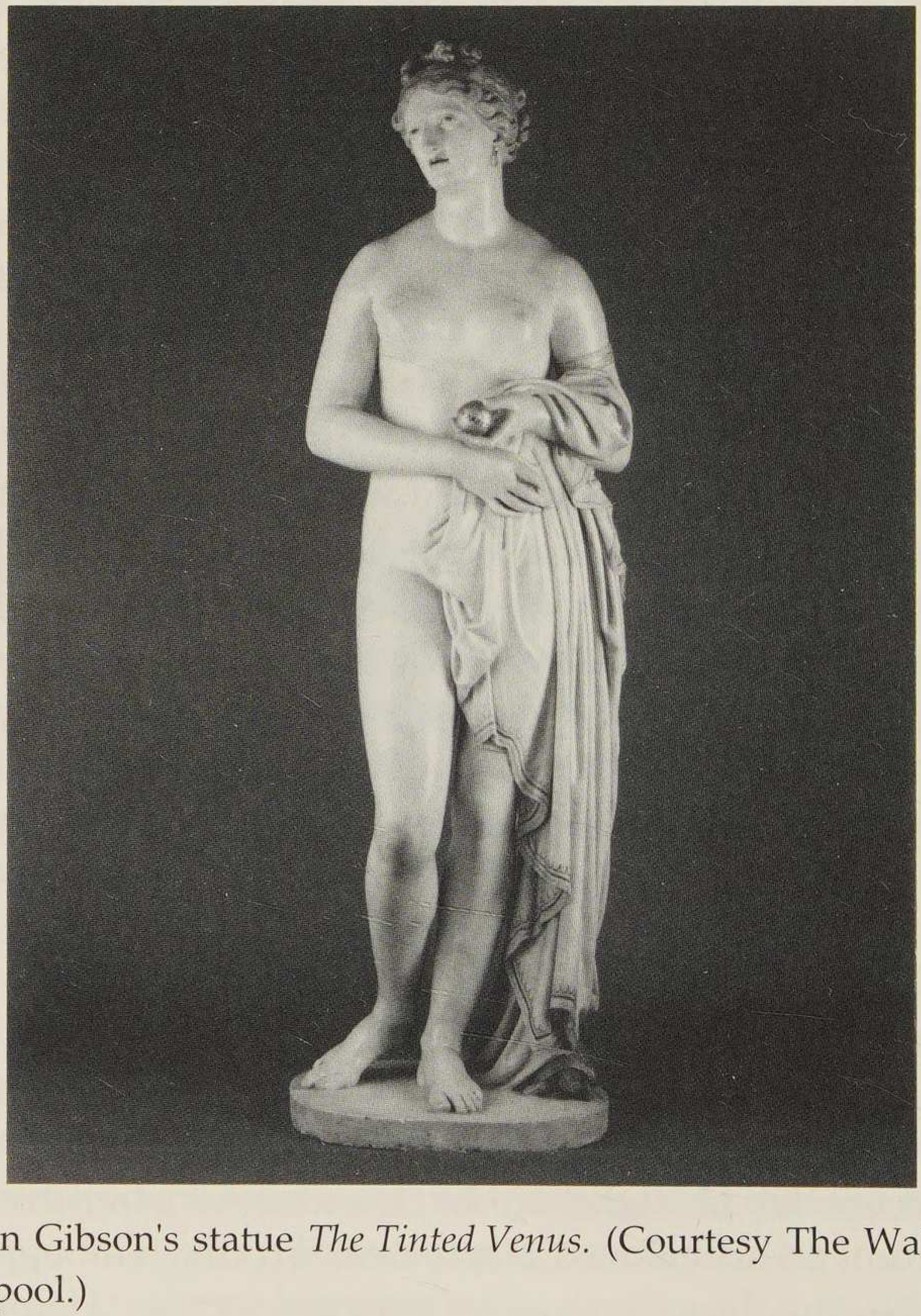


FIG. 3. John Gibson's statue *The Tinted Venus.* (Courtesy The Walker Gallery, Liverpool.)

ment in the protection and wellbeing of the Heath continued, including the gift of adjacent farm land and woods which he purchased. He encouraged, with others, the gift or purchase by the London County Council of vacant ground adjoining the heath and which has continued so that today the heath covers some 800 acres.

As a boy, Barratt had enjoyed painting and although it never became a hobby, it must have been instrumental in his later consuming passion for art collecting, which, with a house with room to hang his purchases, soon became one of his much loved leisure pursuits. By the end of the 19th century he had acquired one of the finest private art collections in London with several Edward Landseer paintings including his *Monarch of the Glen*, several by John Constable, others by George Morland, John Linnell, Phil May and A. R. Quinton. These became known as 'The Bell Moor Collection'.



FIG. 4. The Barratts entertaining the Barbers' Company Court. Mr Barratt (standing) and Mrs Barratt (seated) at the head of the table with *The Tinted Venus* statue visible between and behind them.

Taking pride of place in the Bell Moor dining room was the full size statue *The Tinted Venus* (Fig. 3) which Barrett bought at the sale of Robert Preston's estate, bidding successfully against the Master of the Drapers' Company. This statue, made by John Gibson RA is 175 cm high including its base, made of marble and coloured by a special technique devised by Gibson using wax rubbed on with a cloth. It had been commissioned by Mr and Mrs Robert Preston of Liverpool and Gibson worked on it between 1851 and 1856, exhibiting it at the International Exhibition in London in 1862, where it made a major impact. The statue is clearly seen behind the Barratts in the photograph of the Barratts' dinner party (Fig. 4) It was sold at the Christie's sale of the Barratts' art collection in May 1916 and is now owned by The Walker Gallery of Brown Street Liverpool, where it is exhibited today.

One of the rooms at Bell Moor was the 'Microscope Room' which housed a fine collection of expensive microscopes used by Barratt in his lifelong study of nature and included a large chest of shallow drawers containing his collection of 2738 moths and butterflies. He was a great admirer of Lord Nelson and another of the Bell Moor rooms was the 'Nelson Room'. He acquired several Nelsonian relics including an original log book from HMS *Victory,* two sauce boats and a teapot used by Nelson and a piano and two wine coolers made from the wood salvaged from HMS *Foudroyant,* Nelson's flagship in the Mediterranean, wrecked in a storm off the English coast.

Although there are no records of Barratt himself being a photographer, his art interest extended into this developing and relatively new form of imaging. He had all the rooms of his house, gardens and outbuildings photographed, as well as many of the local houses, cottages, inns and places of historical interest, in addition to purchasing many local prints and paintings. These latter he used extensively in the three volume *The Annals of Hampstead,* published at his own expense in 1899. This very detailed work was the culmination of his thirty years' study of Hampstead and its history and produced in a limited edition of superb production, each copy being personally signed by Thomas Barratt and now a collector's item. On publication, it received good re-

views and, a century later, makes interesting reading and is the prime authority on local history. It is lavishly illustrated with some 500 photographs, pictures, prints and drawings. Barratt also published at the end of the 19th century some 19 volumes containing detailed descriptions and photographs of the many buildings and large houses then existing in Hampstead. Volumes numbered 13, 14 and 15 deal exclusively with 'Bell Moor' and show his large art collection distributed throughout the house, including the servants' sitting room, dining room and bedrooms.

During his year as Master of the Barbers' Company, he and his wife entertained the members of the Court at their home. A photograph of the occasion was taken as they were dining, a copy of which is held today amongst the Barbers' Company archives (Fig. 5). It shows Mr and Mrs Barratt and their twenty-four guests seated in their dining room, with John Gibson's *The Tinted Venus* statue in a suitable setting, behind the Barratts and their replica of the Oak Cup clearly visible on the opposite end of the table.

Early in 1914, Barratt's health began to deteriorate and he was in poor health for the remainder of the winter. In April he felt well enough to travel to Margate but within two days of his arrival he became seriously ill and died in his hotel on 25 April. As he had already arranged, he was cremated and his ashes placed in the family grave that he had previously purchased in St Pancras Cemetery, East Finchley. His wife Mary having died some months previously, Barratt left the residue of his estate to be divided equally between his two sons. He left the replica *Grace Cup* to his son Kenneth Franklin Barratt and the replica *Oak Cup* to his other son, Thomas Franklin Barratt. In 1949, Kenneth Barratt's widow presented the replica of the *Grace Cup* to the Barbers' Company where it is placed today in front of the Master at all formal dinners. The replica Barratt had previously given the Company was then presented to the Royal College of Surgeons of England where it is similarly placed before their President on formal occasions. Kenneth Franklin Barratt died on 15 November 1933 and was also buried in St Pancras Cemetery near his father's grave. The subsequent provenance and present ownership of his father's replica *Oak Cup* is not known.

The Bell Moor Art Collection, comprising 264 paintings, drawings and sculpture was put up for auction at Christie's in 1916 and sold for £28,487. Landseer's *Monarch of the Glen* went for £5,250. Bell Moor House, outbuildings and grounds were sold and, in the post-war years, demolished and replaced by a large block of flats today known as Bell Moor Flats in what is now East Heath Road.

In 1965, a commemorative plaque bearing the inscription 'On this site stood Bell Moor where the historian of Hampstead Thomas J Barratt lived from 1877 to 1914' was placed on the Bell More Flats building, and was unveiled with due ceremony by the Mayor of the Borough of Hampstead.

Acknowledgments

The author is most grateful for the help and information received from the following:

Mr Malcolm Holmes, Senior Archivist, Camden Local Studies and Archives Centre, for permission and facilities to view the Barratt papers and publications.

The Corporation Joint Archives Service for access to the Maryon-Wilson family papers.

Ms Mari Takayanagi, Archivist, House of Lords Records, for details of 19th century Public General Acts affecting coinage.

The Board of Trustees of the National Museums of Liverpool and Mr Alex Kidson, Curator of British Art, The Walker Gallery for permission to reproduce a photograph of the *The Tinted Venus* statue.

Miss Briony Hudson, Keeper of the Museum Collection, The Royal Pharmaceutical Society, for information concerning Professor Redwood.

The Directors of Unilever plc for their permission to reproduce the *Bubbles* painting and archive photographs of Pears Transparant promotional materials. Also to Ms Clare Tunstall, the Unilever Archives/Records Manager, for her valuable help and advice.

Chapter 21

Sidney Young 1843 – 1914

Christopher Sprague

Introduction

He was a scholar, and a ripe and good one; Exceeding wise, fair–spoken, and persuading. (Shakespeare *Henry VIII,* IV, ii).

IN HIS PREFACE TO THE *Annals of The Barber-Surgeons,* published in 1890, Sidney Young (Fig. 1) wrote: 'The preparation of this work, a somewhat arduous task for an Amateur, has been to me purely a labour of love ...' [1].

His labour of love was to become of inestimable value to all who have subsequently had an interest in, or written about, the history of the Barbers' Company.

The *Annals* were not the first account of the Company's history. The 19th century was a period of turmoil for Livery Companies. In the wake of the Reform Act of 1832, which revolutionised the Parliamentary franchise, reformers were looking at other institutions which were possibly not as democratic as they might have been, including local authorities throughout England, the Corporation of London and the Livery Companies. In the face of this hostility there was an increased interest in City institutions and the Livery Companies were for the first time prepared to make their archives available to historians. This led to a plethora of histories ranging from what have been described as 'well-intentioned antiquarianism' to 'urgent political treatises' [2].

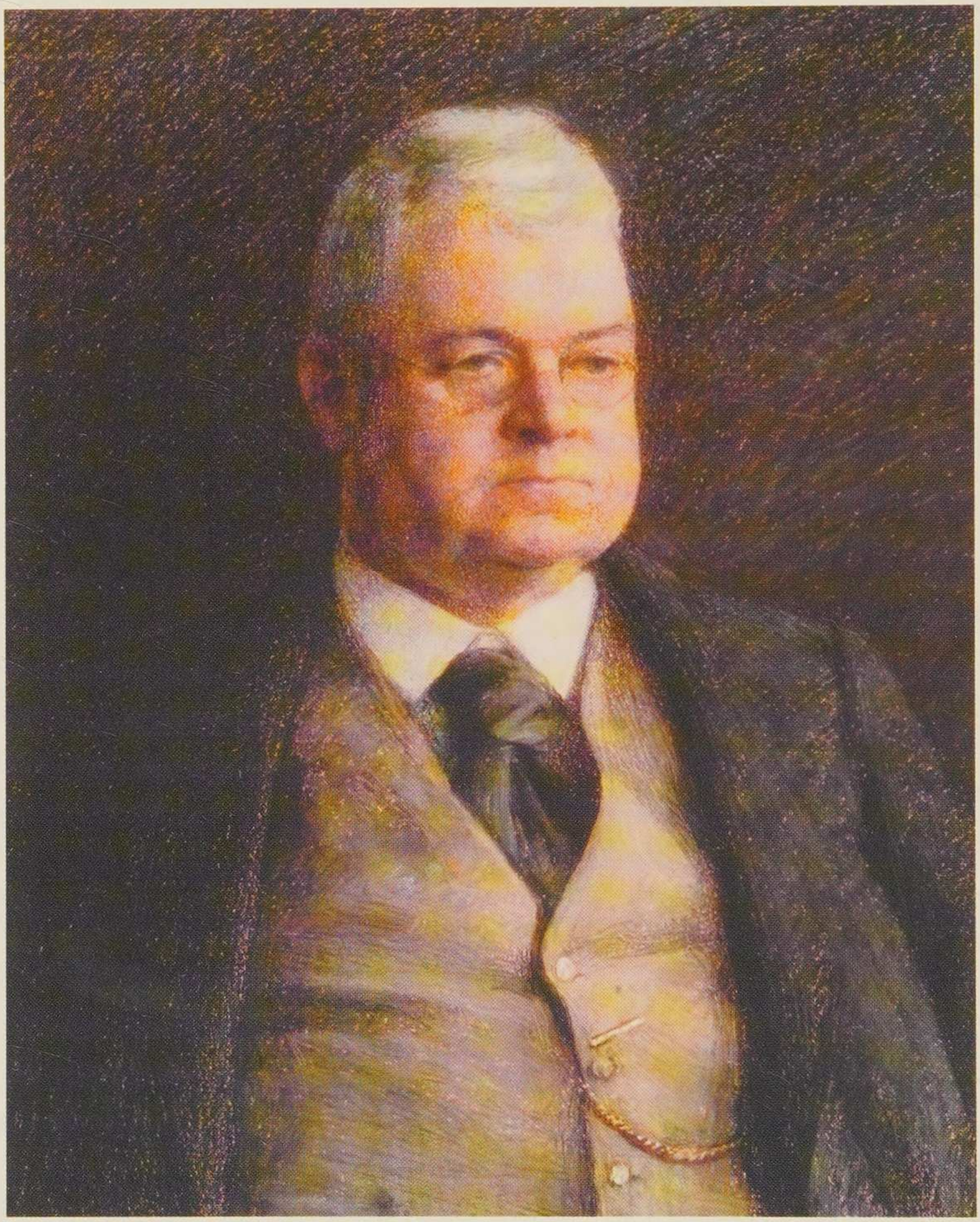


FIG. 1. Sidney Young aged 66 from a pastel drawing by L.M. Fisher, 1909. (Courtesy of the Worshipful Company of Barbers.)

The earliest account of the Barbers' Company's history is to be found in a paper presented at Barber-Surgeons' Hall on 14 January 1852 by Dr T.J. Pettigrew, the Vice-President of the British Archaeological Association. This gave a short, not wholly accurate, account of the Company and its trades [3]. Major G.F. Lambert read another

paper, also at Barber-Surgeons' Hall, on 15 October 1881 on the occasion of the visit to London of the West of England members of the British Archaeological Association. This covered the history not only of the Company but of surgery and the barbers' art, dealing in particular with fashions in shaving and wig making [4]. In 1886 notes collected by John South, a former President of the Royal College of Surgeons, for a History of Surgery were published after his death with the title *Memorials of the Craft of Surgery in England* under the editorship of the distinguished surgeon and historian of surgery, D'Arcy Power. This book dealt with the history of surgery both before and after 1745 and therefore covered the early history of the Company of Barbers and Surgeons. Like Pettigrew's work it contained some inaccuracies but it also gave interesting coverage to the activities of early surgeons who were not members of the Company [5].

The compilers of these earlier histories had all clearly made use of the Company's archives but none of them had analysed them with the care and comprehensivness that Sidney Young was to demonstrate. The *Annals* were to be rather more than the product of 'well-intentioned antiquarianism' [2].

Architect and surveyor

By his own admission Sidney Young was an amateur historian. He trained and practised as an architect and quantity surveyor. In *A History of the Families of Young and Goodall* published in 1913 [6] Young traced his family roots back to the 16th century. For nearly four hundred years the Youngs had lived in the villages of Whippingham and Chilterton near Newport in the Isle of Wight. They had, for some generations, been practising non-conformists.

Young's father, Joseph, appears to have been the first member of the family to come to the mainland. He settled in Chatham, set up business as a grocer and married Catherine, daughter of Robert and Sarah Pratt of Strood in Kent. Robert Pratt was a wholesale grocer in Strood but came of a Warwickshire family of hop growers. Sarah Pratt was a member of the Bundocks, a Huguenot family that had settled in Sandwich and which reputedly

founded the first silk crepe factory in Canterbury. Sidney, who was born on 5 July 1843, was the oldest of Joseph and Catherine's nine children [6].

In 1858 Sidney Young was articled to William Meakin an architect and quantity surveyor who practised at 4, Martin's Lane London EC4. Quantity surveying involves the preparation of priced bills of quantity from architects' drawings which can then form the basis of tenders to contractors. It was at this time quite a new profession practised by those who were also architects although in due course it was to develop as a specialised area of surveying, separate from the architects' profession. Meakin was for many years quantity surveyor to the Corporation of London and the War Office and Young acquired wide experience during his articles.

At the end of his articles in 1863, Young continued to work for Meakin but in 1866 he commenced practice as a quantity surveyor on his own account with an office in Duke Street, Adelphi and in 1882 he was elected an Associate of the Royal Institute of British Architects. His three proposers were Charles Shoppee, who had been Master of the Barbers' Company in 1878, and two former Vice-Presidents of the Institute. Joseph Clarke, a distinguished designer and restorer of churches, served as Diocesan Architect to the See of Canterbury and was, with Charles Shoppee, architect to the Bakers' Company of which he had been Master. Young's third proposer was Arthur Cates who for many years served as Chairman of the Board of Examiners at the Institute. He was instrumental in instituting compulsory examinations for the Associateship. These were introduced in May 1882, a month after Young was elected. Young had at this time already been in practice for sixteen years and it seems highly probable therefore that he was one of the last Associates fortunate enough to be elected without examination [7, 8].

Young's professional career clearly prospered and in June 1891 a profile of him, as one of the leading quantity surveyors of the time, appeared in *Building News*. In 1885 he had entered into partnership with W.B. Brown under the style of Young and Brown. They had offices first in Henrietta Street, Covent Garden and then

in High Holborn. Brown brought with him to the practice Middlesex County Council as a client at a time which saw the building of many schools, hospitals and asylums [9]. The practice was the largest one in London although not necessarily, according to his eldest grandson, Sidney Michael Young, the most profitable [10].

Young, in April 1867, had married at the King's Weigh House Church in Duke Street, Mayfair, Elizabeth Maria Gooch. Her father, Edward Frederick Gooch, owned a stationer's shop in King William Street in the City. There were to be six children of the marriage. The second son, Sidney Michael, who was born in 1871, was to become Master of the Barbers' Company in 1934 and his three sons, Sidney Michael junior, Geoffrey and Edward also in their turn served as Master of the Company.

Antiquarian and historian

Sidney Young himself had no livery Company connection although his father-in-law, Edward Gooch, was a member of the Haberdashers' Company. However, he was introduced to the Barbers' Company and in November 1870 was admitted to the Freedom and Livery of the Company [11].

In 1884 Young asked the Court for permission to examine and take extracts from the Company's books. This was duly granted. His research on these papers soon revealed that some documents were missing and the Clerk was asked to write to the executors of John South, the author of *Memorials of the Craft of Surgery* (referred to above) to see if they could throw any light on the missing documents. The outcome of this enquiry is not recorded [11].

The first product of Young's researches was a catalogue, handwritten on vellum, of the Charters, Bye-Laws, Records and Books of the Worshipful Company of Barbers of London (Fig. 2). This was presented by Young to the Company in November 1885. It listed, with dimensions, all the Charters, Bye-Laws and Minute Books from 1551 and the Company's audit, receipt and dinner books, and potation and charity accounts with the Register of Apprentices [12]. Two years later Young gave a talk to the Barbers' Company Ladies' Dinner on the Antiquities of the Company and

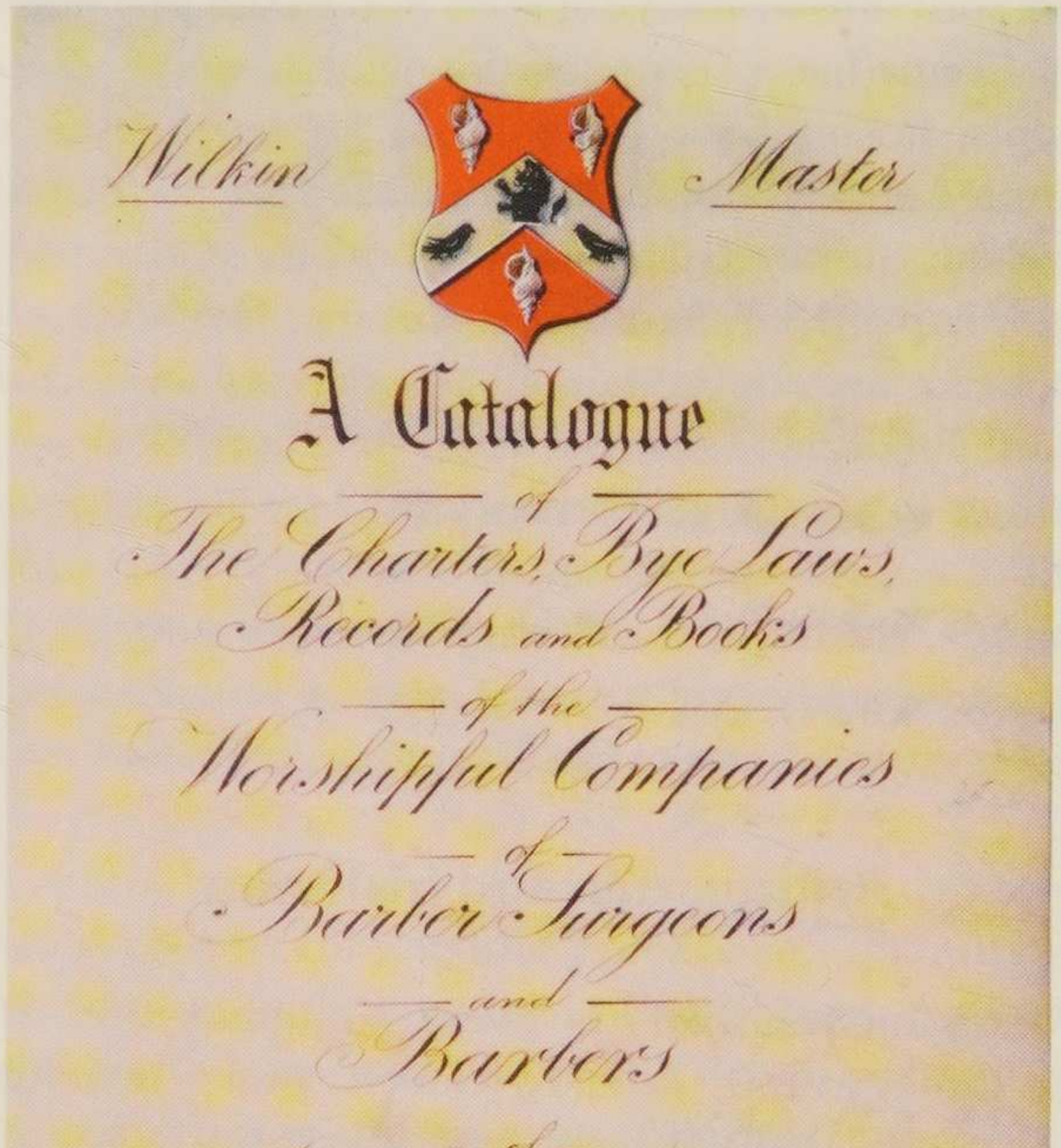


FIG. 2. Catalogue of Charters and Bye-Laws. (Courtesy of the Worshipful Company of Barbers.)

in December 1888 the first draft of the *Annals*, in two volumes, was laid before the Court.

Notwithstanding the general willingness in the mid-19th century of Livery Companies to allow examination of their records, this willingness had limits so far as the Barbers' Company was concerned. In

1889 the Court refused to produce to the Royal College of Surgeons charters, books, papers and other papers relating to the Company of Barbers and Surgeons. The request had been made 'for purposes of a Bill relating to the affairs of the College which was being promoted in Parliament'. The ground for the refusal was that the College, under the provisions of the 1745 Act of Separation, was not entitled to such an inspection [11]. This may have been true of the Royal College, which had only been founded in 1800, but its predecessor, the Company of Surgeons, was clearly entitled to see the documents. Relations between the Company and the surgeons were clearly still rather frosty.

Young, in the meantime, worked on and the *Annals of the Barber-Surgeons of London* were finally published in 1890 [1]. Illustrated with fine drawings by Austin Travers Young, Sidney Young's eldest son, they were only partially a narrative history. There were two chapters dealing with the history of the Company then chapters dealing with the Company's internal organisation with headings such as the Court of Assistants, Freemen, Apprentices, Liverymen, the Clerk, the Beadle, Charities, Surgical Lectures, and Feasts. All these chapters were based upon, and contained, relevant quotations from documents either at the Guildhall (especially for the period prior to the first existing Court minutes which date from 1551) or in the possession of the Company. Of particular value are the transcriptions, and translations from Latin and Norman French, of many of the Company's early documents.

The book was well received by the Court and was favourably reviewed in *The Times* in August 1890. The reviewer concluded:

> Mr. Young has done his work with loving care. To those who "can upon their boke" his volume brings home with rare vividness the daily life of Londoners in many bygone generations, and with it the great prime truth of history, that while beliefs, laws and manners are in ceaseless change, man everywhere is always pretty much the same. [13]

The *Annals* earned Young election as a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1894, the same year that William Morris, the

renowned decorator, manufacturer, printer and poet was elected to the Society [14].

In his introduction to the fourth edition of George Unwin's *The Gilds and Companies of London,* published in 1963, the American historian, William F. Kahl, distinguishes between histories written by scholars with a knowledge of contemporary social and economic trends on the one hand and domestic chronicles of company traditions which describe at length fraternal customs, company feasts, plate and charities on the other. [15] The *Annals* fall principally into this latter category, and are none the worse for this. But it is impossible to write about the Barbers' Company without touching on a crucial period in the history of surgery and surgeons as a whole. In this respect the *Annals* are more than a purely domestic history.

Other Livery Companies

Sidney Young's gifts as an antiquarian were put at the disposal of two other Livery Companies. In 1895 he prepared with Hilda Buchanan, who was to marry his second son, Sidney Michael Young, *A Catalogue of the Books and Records remaining at Bakers' Hall* [16]. This listed minute and audit books, apprentice and freeman's registers, account books and charters. Seventeen years later, in 1912, he published two further books relating to the Bakers' Company. The first of these was *A List of Masters and Wardens* [17]. The second book, *The Assize of Bread, the Court of Holymote and Storer's Remembrancer* described in detail the proceedings relating to offences against the bread laws and transcribed the ancient orders and other records of the Company which had been compiled by John Storer, a 16th century Master of the Company [18].

For some reason Young never consolidated these three publications into a history of the Bakers' Company. As early as 1904 when addressing a meeting of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society at Barber-Surgeons' Hall he appeared to accept that he would never complete this particular history. He informed the meeting that he had been devoting his spare Saturday afternoons to looking up and arranging the books and papers of

the Bakers' Company and said that were he a younger man he might be tempted to carry his work to its logical conclusion. 'As it was, he must leave the work to some other and younger enthusiast' [19]. In the event the Bakers had to wait until 1933 for a modern history of their Company. Young's work for the Glass Sellers' Company was, however, completed with the publication of *The History of the Company of Glass Sellers of London* in 1913 [20]. This was similar in form to the *Annals* and this format was followed in two subsequent histories of the Company by Alexander Howard (1940) [21] and George Bone (1966) [22] both of which relied heavily on the work done by Young.

Two further publications by Young are worthy of mention. First, in 1906 Young produced, in a limited edition of one hundred copies, a work which demonstrates another of his interests, theology. In *Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus with a short account of the books called Apocrypha* Young chose the text of the Authorised Version of 1611 and in his scholarly introduction justified the publication in the following terms:

> The purpose of this my small endeavour is to stimulate attention to two venerable and majestic books, which though ordinarily disregarded or overlooked, will I venture to think be found of the deepest interest, not only to those familiar with their wise and eloquent counsels, fascinating poetry and graceful and picturesque diction, but to some to whom they are absolutely unknown – WISDOM and ECCLESIASTICUS

In the remainder of the introduction Young traced the origins of the Apocrypha as a whole, in so far as these are known, its treatment in the Western Church before and after the Reformation and the extent to which Shakespeare, Bunyan and Milton drew upon it in their works [23].

The second work, which was more typical of Young's literary output, was also his last contribution to the bibliography of the Barbers' Company. *A short account of Richard le Barbour* was published in December 1908 to commemorate the 600th anniversary of the election of Richard as the first Master of the Company and



FIG. 3. Sidney Young from a photograph *circa* 1890.

his presentation to, and admission before, the Court of Aldermen. Young showed Richard to have been far from the shadowy figure that he is sometimes supposed to have been and cited his prominence in the City as Sergeant (a representative of the Sheriffs) in the ward of Dowgate. He also referred to the activities of the barbers in the City prior to Richard's election [24].

Assistant and Master

Sidney Young was elected to the Court of the Barbers' Company in February 1889 [Fig. 3]. He was excused payment of the customary fine because of his 'valuable literary services to the Company' [11]. He was to serve as Master for two years, in 1894-5 and 1895-6. As has already been stated, the 19th century was a period of turbulence for Livery Companies and this was never more so than at the time of Young's election to the Court. In 1837 the vast majority of Livery Companies was described as 'at best charitable trusts and at worst self-regarding clubs' [25]. Some Companies had difficulty in achieving even these goals. Whilst the larger Companies, because of their wealth and prestige, continued to attract members, others were not so fortunate. From 1872 to 1875, for example, the Master and Clerk were the sole persons present at business meetings of the Tin Plate Workers' alias Wire Workers' Company and the Waxchandlers had in 1882 only forty-one liverymen and twenty-five freemen [25].

The parlous state of these and other Companies was due in large part to the loss of their contacts with, and control over, their trades which made membership of the appropriate Company no longer necessary for members of those trades. This was a process which had begun, in the case of most trade and craft Companies, in the 17th century as the suburbs of London grew and control over trades became more difficult. The Barbers did not suffer so badly, possibly because their control over surgeons ended only in 1745. Furthermore, up until the middle of the 19th century, the majority of those joining the Company as freemen and liverymen was composed of barbers so that the Company maintained its connection with, if not control over, that trade.

Nevertheless many Companies underwent a process of rejuvenation after about 1870. This was probably due in part to an increasing interest in the reform of the City Corporation and the Livery Companies prompted by the zeal which had led to the reform of the franchise in the Reform Acts of 1832 and 1867. There were Royal Commissions on the Corporation of London between 1835 and 1837 and between 1853 and 1854. The Livery Companies

were the subject of a Royal Commission of their own (The Royal Commission on the City of London Livery Companies) which sat between 1882 and 1884. Although the Reports of all these Commissions made extensive recommendations for reform none of the Parliamentary bills which followed them was enacted because the Liberals either lost power at the crucial time or had insufficient support in Parliament to carry them. But the criticism of both the Corporation and the Livery Companies continued, particularly from members of the Liberal party and the Liberal press.

Such criticism had centred upon the rights of Liverymen to elect the City's Member of Parliament, the Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs as well as upon the Livery Companies' finances. There was, in particular, criticism of the way companies used their corporate funds, allegedly for entertainment rather than good causes, and concern that these funds were benefiting from increases in the value of charitable funds held in trust, to the detriment of the charitable beneficiaries [25]. This particular issue was one that the Barbers' Company would have to address shortly after Sidney Young joined the Court. Indeed Young was well aware of it when he wrote the *Annals,* published only six years after the Royal Commission's Report. In his chapter entitled 'Feasts' he wrote:

> There is a wide-spread impression that the Livery Guilds exist principally for the purpose of feasting, and there are unscrupulous persons who do not hesitate to affirm that the Courts of the Companies act as fraudulent trustees, and are consenting parties to the malversation of trust and charity property, eating up money which it is audaciously pretended belong to the "people of London". These statements have been assiduously put forth by a certain class of politicians whose acquaintance with the true details of the case must be absolutely nil, and who it is but reasonable to suppose, are willing to assume that the gentlemen who manage the affairs of the Companies are in the habit of acting as their traducers would do, had they but the opportunity.

Young went on to state that no charitable or trust funds had suffered from feasting, the practice being for members of Companies to supply the funds for feasting, any surplus being applied to the

increase of charities and trusts. He pointed out that this had certainly been the case so far as the Barbers' Company was concerned, so much so that '... for a long period the calls upon the Livery for feasting purposes were a severe strain upon the members, and occasioned great irritation and ill-feeling' [1].

The Charity 'scandal'

In the 19th century in all but the richest Companies charity began, and ended, at home. In Young's time the Barbers' Company had twelve charitable funds which provided variously for the support of the Livery, Freemen and their widows. All these, with the exception of Bancks's Charity, were administered by the Company.

Thomas Bancks, who was Master in 1578, 1582 and 1596, gave the Company by his will an annuity of twenty shillings on condition that it should distribute annually amongst twelve poor people of the Company, twelve two penny loaves, six stone of beef and two shillings in money. His son, John Bancks, who was a Mercer, gave by indenture dated 20 May 1619 a further annuity of twenty shillings which was to be distributed in the same way as his Father's charity. In the late 19th century the charity was administered by the Mercers' Company (as it still is) and the fund had for many years been invested in a property in Holloway [1]. It was to this charity that the reforming zealots turned their attention.

On 27 November 1891 *The Daily News*, a strong supporter of the Liberal Party which had been behind the attempts to reform both the Corporation and the Livery Companies, published an article which commented on a recent Report of the School Board. This Report bemoaned the fact that although a Royal Commission had reported on Livery Companies seven years previously 'no practical result' had followed [26].

The paper quoted the School Board Report as stating:

> There has been an extensive practice of absorbing the capital sums of charities into the corporate funds of Companies, and undertaking to pay the annual amounts stipulated in the founders' wills.

The paper pointed out that 'the beauty of this arrangement is that the corporate funds thus created may be invested in property the value of which may be doubled every few years, while the charity, of course, remains what it was originally' [26].

The article then cited as an example of this practice the conduct of the Barbers' Company stating that it had been a trustee of a property 'the present value of which appears to be a secret'. It was originally, it was alleged, worth 17 pounds a year and had apparently increased in value fivefold since 1816. The Company had, however, never accounted for more than £5 to £7 a year 'and even this sum had not been received for many years. The whole property seems to have been quietly absorbed' [26].

Sidney Young took it upon himself to respond to this article and he did so in a robust fashion. In a letter to the editor on 28 November 1891 [27] he stated that every detail of this 'calumnious statement' could be conclusively refuted. He referred to the City of London Livery Companies Commission Report of 1884 and pointed out that the original conveyance of the property in Holloway was to the Mercers' Company who were to apply the income to certain charitable purposes. He went on to state that out of the income the Mercers were to pay the Barbers an annual rent charge of 20 shillings. The Barbers did not therefore own a property worth 17 pounds a year. Young then referred to a report of the Inspector of Charities which confirmed that the sum of twenty shillings a year had been received by Barbers from the Mercers and this had formed part of a fund distributed on the first Court Day in May each year, the remainder being made up by the Barbers from its general fund.

Young further stated that, in view of the increase in income from the property, the Barbers' Company had filed a petition in the Court of Chancery in 1826 following which it was ordered that the Barbers should receive one-seventh of the income from the property. Young pointed out also that for a considerable period after 1855 during repairs and alterations to the property in Holloway no income at all was received. Nevertheless the Barbers' Company had continued to make payments to the beneficiaries of Bancks's Charity from its corporate funds. The present value of

the property in Holloway was, as Young pointed out, no secret. It was worth £290 per annum of which the Barbers were entitled to one-seventh. Initially *The Daily News* published only a garbled version of Young's letter but after complaints the full text was published with a somewhat lukewarm editorial note accepting that Young's letter exonerated the Company from blame. But this was not quite the end of the affair. The editorial note was not regarded by Young as a sufficient apology and *The Daily News* eventually published, on 12 December 1891 a full formal apology [28].

Thus *The Daily News* was forced to accept that, far from not giving pensioners the benefit of the increase in income from the property in Holloway, the Barbers' Company had by its actions ensured that they could in fact receive it. Furthermore it had paid the pensions from its own funds when no income was available from the property. Young's profound knowledge of the Company and its affairs past and present had helped it to preserve its reputation. The movement against the Livery Companies had now virtually run its course although discussion about the continuation of the City Corporation, and particularly its relationship with the London County Council which had been created by the Local Government Act of 1888, continued well into the 20th century.

Holbein's Great Picture

In his early years on the Court Sidney Young was closely concerned with the fate of Holbein's Great Picture. In 1668 Samuel Pepys dined at Barber-Surgeons' Hall, newly rebuilt after the Great Fire. One of the purposes of his visit was to view the Holbein 'thinking to have bought it by the help of Mr. Pierce for a little money: I did think to give £200 for it, it being said to be worth £1,000; but it is so spoiled that I have no mind to it ...' James Pierce was surgeon to Charles II and served as Master of the Company in 1675: Pepys's diary entry suggests that the Holbein was for sale but there is no evidence to support this [1].

In 1890 Charles Shoppee proposed to the Court that the Holbein be sold. He had suggested such a sale on two previous occasions, in 1883 and 1888. On this occasion he was supported by

Sidney Young. It was proposed that the sale should be by tender or private contract. The Court instructed Shoppee to make informal enquiries of the National Gallery and other institutions as to whether they might be interested in purchasing the picture.

Both the National Gallery and the National Portrait Gallery were approached, the reasons for the sale being given as the risk of damage or destruction by fire. This was not an unreasonable concern. In 1864 the dining hall and kitchen at Barber-Surgeons' Hall, designed by Edward Jarman in 1667, were demolished leaving the entrance hall and the court room, a committee room and the beadle's accommodation. A warehouse was built on the site of the dining hall. There were already warehouses in Monkwell Street so the Company's remaining buildings, and of course, the Holbein, were surrounded by warehouses which brought with them the risk of fire.

In May 1891 it was resolved that the sale should proceed with a committee including Young and Shoppee conducting the negotiations. The painting was to be offered for sale at £20,000. However, both the National and the National Portrait Galleries said that they were not interested in purchasing the picture. Their Trustees' board minutes do not record the reason for these decisions although it seems likely that, at least so far as the National Gallery was concerned, cost played a part. Where a picture was not of the required quality the Gallery's letter would usually have stated as much. That was not the case here. The Gallery's annual grant-in-aid for 1892 was, however, only £5,000 and this was probably the deciding factor [29].

The matter did not end there however. In 1893 the Clerk was instructed to write to William Waldorf Astor asking whether he would be interested in purchasing the picture. Astor's response, if any, is not recorded. In 1894 Sidney Young announced that he had a probable purchaser and he was instructed by the Court to negotiate a sale for £21,000 but to accept not less than £15,000. The identity of this purchaser is not known. In March 1895 the Court agreed to discussions with Mr Temple, the Art Director of the Corporation of London about a possible sale of the Holbein to the Guildhall Art Museum at a price of £15,000.

These discussions appear to have made some progress because a circular was sent to the Great Twelve, the twelve senior Livery Companies, by Sir Joseph Dimsdale, Stuart Knill and Albert Sandeman soliciting support for the purchase of the picture for £15,000 so that it could be retained in the City, at the Guildhall. The reasons given in this circular for the sale were the fire risk already referred to and, in addition, two further grounds: first, the inability of the Company to display the picture properly and, secondly, the desire of the Company to raise further funds for charitable giving. The proposed sale and the circular prompted Sir John Robinson, the Queen's Surveyor of Pictures, to write at length to *The Times* supporting the efforts to retain the picture in the City. He suggested however that, with appropriate lifting and moving equipment (a system of this kind had already on his advice been installed at Hampton Court) and the services of a night watchman, the picture could be retained at Barber-Surgeons' Hall [30]. The Court, perhaps, took Sir John's advice about retaining the picture (although not about the lifting and moving equipment) because nothing further was heard concerning the sale negotiations. The picture was lent to the Guildhall Gallery in February 1896 for a period of four months without any mention of a sale. The matter was finally laid to rest in November 1902 when the Court decided that it was not for sale and that the Company would not consider any offer for it. Sidney Young was no philistine and his involvement in the attempt to sell the Holbein was clearly born of a desire to protect it and, it would seem, to place the Company in a better financial position.

From his election to the Court in 1889 until his death in 1914 Young was closely involved in the affairs of the Company. He sat on the General Purposes Committee (then the only standing Court committee) for many years. Always concerned about the proper regulation of the Company's financial affairs he, in 1892, proposed to the Court that, in light of the accrued deficit (totalling £928), the conduct of the finances, the system of bookkeeping and the best means of keeping expenditure within income should be considered by an *ad hoc* committee. This committee, of which Young was a leading member, reported with a number of recommendations

most notably that six of the thirteen annual Court meetings should be discontinued, that the Master and Wardens should have only a cold lunch when they attended at the Hall to distribute alms to the Company's pensioners and that the Clerk should accept a temporary reduction in his salary. Young used his skill as a quantity surveyor when negotiating with the Guardian Insurance Company the Company's claim for £2,300 in respect of the damage to the Hall and its adjacent properties in Monkwell Street as a result of the Cripplegate fire in November 1897.

Final years

From 1907 until his death Young was the Court's representative to the Ironmongers' Company in relation to the Irish Estates [11]. His generosity to the Company extended beyond the giving of his time and skills. He presented replicas of two of the four 17th century Baluster Stem Cups and, with James Cornish (Master in 1891), Walter Lumley (Master in 1892) and Thomas Green (Master in 1893), two silver gilt cockerels. These gifts (see Fig. 4) are still in regular use at the Hall today.

Young was renowned for his liking of practical jokes and, in sharp contrast to his wife Elizabeth, who was a strict vegetarian and teetotaller, his love of good food and wine. This may explain his comparatively early death at the age of seventy. He died at his home in Highbury on 10 March 1914, only a month after attending his last Court meeting, of heart disease exacerbated by a short bout of bronchitis. He left the considerable amount, for the time, of £24,311. His will provided for his wife to inherit the greater part of his estate and for his devotional and other manuscripts, certain old bibles and prayer books and various antiquarian books to be divided equally and fairly between his three sons, Austin, Sidney Michael and Christopher [31].

Sidney Young managed to balance a highly successful professional career with his work as an antiquarian and historian. In addition, the reputation and welfare of the Barbers' Company were always extremely important to him and the Court benefited



FIG. 4. Baluster stem cups and one of two silver gilt cockerels presented to the Company by Sidney Young. (Courtesy of the Worshipful Company of Barbers.)

greatly from his wise counsel and hard work during what was a difficult time for the Barbers and other Livery Companies. His most lasting legacy, however, is his painstaking research amongst the documents relating to the Barbers' Company both at Barber-Surgeons' Hall and elsewhere and his recording of that research in the *Annals* and his other publications. New research may correct some of his findings but subsequent historians of the Company have benefited from Young's scholarship and will doubtless continue to do so in the future.

References

[1] Young, S. *The Annals of the Barber-Surgeons of London*, Blades, East and Blades, London, 1890.

[2] Gadd, I.A. and Wallis, P. *Introduction to Guilds, Society & Economy in London 1450-1800*, Gadd, I.A. and Wallis, P. (Ed.), London, 2002. Centre for Metropolitan History, Institute of Historical Research and Guildhall Library.

[3] Pettigrew, T.J. History of the Barber-Surgeons of London. *Journal of the British Archaeological Association,1853,* **viii**, London.

[4] Lambert, G. The Barbers' Company. *Transactions of The London and Middlesex Archaeological Society,* **vi** (1881-1890), London, 1890.

[5] South, J.F. *Memorials of the craft of surgery in England,* (Ed. D'Arcy Power), Cassell, London, 1886.

[6] Young, S. *A History of the Families of Young and Goodall,* London, 1913.

[7] *Directory of British Architects 1834-1900.*

[8] RIBA Applications for ARIBA Royal Institute of British Architects, 1882.

[9] *Building News,* January, 1891.

[10] Young, S.M. (Jnr) Recollections of Sidney Young 1987, (personal communication) and in the archives of the Barbers' Company.

[11] Barbers' Company Minutes, 1870-1914.

[12] Young, S. A. Catalogue of the Charters, Bye-Laws, Records and Books of the Worshipful Company of Barbers of London, (from manuscript, Barbers' Company).

[13] *The Times,* 19 August 1890.

[14] *Candidates' Book Society of Antiquaries* 1893

[15] Unwin, G. *The Gilds and Companies of London* – 4th Edition, Frank Cass, London, 1963.

[16] Young, S. and Buchanan, H.H. *A Catalogue of the books and records remaining at Bakers' Hall,* Chiswick Press, London, 1895.

[17] Young, S. *The Bakers' Company. A List of Masters and Wardens.* Furnival Press, London, 1912.

[18] Young, S. *The Assize of Bread, the Court of Holymote and Storer's Remembrancer,* Furnival Press, London, 1912.

[19] (Author unknown). Archeologists at Barbers' Hall. *The Hairdressers' Chronicle and Trade Journal,* December 1904.

[20] Young, S. *The History of the Company of Glass Sellers of London,* Furnival Press, London, 1913.

[21] Howard, A.L. *The Worshipful Company of Glass Sellers of London from its inception to the present day*, Glass-Sellers Company, London, 1940.

[22] Bone, G. A. *History of the Glass Sellers of London*, Glass-Sellers Company, London, 1966.

[23] Young, S. *Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus with a short account of the book called Apocrypha*, Hazell, Watson and Viney, London, 1906.

[24] Young, S. *The Worshipful Company of Barbers of London; a short account of Richard le Barbour, Master in 1308*, London, 1908.

[25] Doolittle, I.G. *The City of London and its Livery Companies*, Dorchester, 1982.

[26] *The Daily News*, 27 November, 1891.

[27] *The Daily News*, 28 November, 1891.

[28] *The Daily News*, 12 December, 1891.

[29] Minutes of Board of Trustees of the National Gallery, 9 February 1892 .

[30] *The Times*, 28 August, 1895.

[31] Grant of Probate, 22 April, 1914 .

I am grateful to Professor Anthony Young, Freeman of the Barbers' Company and great grandson of Sidney Young, for his help with some of the references for this chapter, and to Jaap Oepkes for producing the illustrations.

Chapter 22

Alfred Webb-Johnson 1880 – 1958

John Missen

SOME THERE ARE WHOSE GOOD fortune it is always to be in the right place at the right time. Others faced with a difficult situation know instinctively what needs to be done and always seem to have the expertise and energy to bring matters to a satisfactory conclusion. Alfred Webb-Johnson appears to have had life long membership of both groups. It would be difficult to think of anyone else who had so much influence on the organisation and training of surgeons in the first half of the 20th century or indeed at any other time.

Family background and education

Alfred Johnson was born on 4 September 1880, the eldest of the two sons and two daughters of Samuel Johnson and his wife Julia Ann, the daughter of James Webb, an army agent. Johnson came from a Presbyterian family and graduated in medicine at Queen's College, Belfast, subsequently moving to England and taking up the post of Medical Officer of Health for Stoke-on-Trent. All four children took their mother's maiden name Webb linked to Johnson by a hyphen. This seems to have been a gesture of affection and esteem on the part of the family.

Alfred Webb-Johnson and his brother were both educated at Newcastle-under-Lyme High School and both boys went on to read medicine at Owens College, Manchester. Alfred won the

Tom Jones Scholarship and the Durnville Surgical Prize before graduating MB, BCh. with Honours from the Victoria University in 1903. At The Manchester Royal Infirmary, Alfred was successively House Surgeon, Casualty House Surgeon and Surgical Registrar as well as holding a teaching post as demonstrator of operative anatomy.

Having gained the Fellowship of the English College of Surgeons in 1906, Alfred decided on a London-based surgical career and applied for the post of Resident Medical Officer (RMO) at the Middlesex Hospital. Candidates were expected to call upon members of the Honorary Staff as part of the selection process. When interviewed by Sir John Bland-Sutton, Alfred was asked how he fancied his chances in the face of competition from so many good Middlesex men up for the job. With great aplomb, Alfred replied 'I thought you wanted the best man'. He was duly appointed, in 1907, and Bland-Sutton, like Sir Gordon Gordon-Taylor whom Alfred succeeded as RMO, became a life-long friend as indeed did so many of his distinguished colleagues on the staff of the Middlesex Hospital. In 1908, he contributed to the surgical literature a paper on the nature and treatment of shock – a subject which was soon to prove of vital importance in the successful care of war wounded. In 1911, Alfred Webb-Johnson (Fig. 1) was elected Assistant Surgeon to the Hospital and soon gained a reputation as a very skilful operating surgeon.

War service 1914-1918

As RMO, Webb-Johnson had taken charge of the Middlesex Hospital Company of the University of London Officer Training Corps (OTC) and, by the time war was declared, had built it up into the largest contingent in the University. Webb-Johnson was sent to the 14th General Hospital at Wimereux in the Pas de Calais where he was well able to demonstrate his surgical skills and his administrative abilities, eventually commanding the hospital with the rank of colonel. During his period of war service, Webb-Johnson was mentioned three times in dispatches, was awarded the DSO in 1916 and appointed CBE in 1919 'for distinguished



FIG. 1. Alfred Webb-Johnson was always impeccably dressed, as may be seen in the photograph taken in 1910 at the opening of the Barnato wing of the Middlesex Hospital. Captain Webb-Johnson is escorting Lord Grenfell past the Guard of Honour

work in connection with military operations in the field'. During the last year before the Armistice allowed a return to civilian life, Webb-Johnson and a colleague shared the duties of Consultant Surgeon in the Boulogne area. The end of the war was not the end of Webb-Johnson's connection with the army. He was appointed Consultant Surgeon to The Queen Alexandra Military Hospital and to The Royal Hospital, Chelsea as well as serving on the Army Medical Advisory Board as its Chairman from 1946-1957.

One of the most significant events during Webb-Johnson's service at 14th General Hospital occurred when he was obliged, by the severity of the wounds, to amputate the right leg of Major The Hon. J.J. Astor, an operation which undoubtedly saved his patient's life. The far-reaching consequences of that operation, coupled with

Webb-Johnson's ability to make and retain firm friendships, set in train a remarkable series of events.

The Dean

Having served his country with distinction, Webb-Johnson returned to the Middlesex Hospital and in 1919 was appointed Dean of the Medical School.

The situation confronting the new Dean and the Council of the Medical School at the end of the war was tricky. There was a general perception that the scope of medical education needed to be enlarged and the output of the medical schools would need to be increased. If the Middlesex Hospital Medical School was to attain a position in the forefront of medical education, it needed to conform to the requirements of the University Grants Committee (UGC) which would enable it to apply for a Grant and recognition as a School in the University of London. By 1919, almost all of the Universities and University Colleges were receiving grants from the UGC and many would have had little chance of long term survival without funding from this source. The Middlesex Hospital was at this time well provided with buildings but did not have the endowment needed to provide salaries which would attract and retain full time staff who could teach not only the recognised basic medical sciences (anatomy, physiology and pathology) but also physics, chemistry and biology which were now coming to be seen as essential to a comprehensive medical education. Fortunately, this classical 'Catch 22' situation was resolved by the Dean who proceeded to demonstrate remarkable powers of persuasion when seeking to stimulate the interest of wealthy potential benefactors in medical education and research.

In 1920 Webb-Johnson visited his friend and former patient Major the Hon. J.J. Astor to talk about the Medical School and his ambition to stimulate research and teaching by establishing academic departments under the direction of full time professors. The teaching of anatomy at the Middlesex School had been undertaken for many years by a succession of distinguished anatomists

but physiology was linked with the teaching of biology and carried out on a part-time basis. Such an arrangement would not satisfy the University Grants Committee. The creation of a chair of Physiology was made possible by a gift of 20,000 pounds from Major Astor, although due to his request for anonymity, the origin of this endowment was not widely known for some fifteen years. The Dean's plans were further assisted by other benefactors. The Joel brothers gave 20,000 pounds of War Loan to endow a chair of physics and the chair of anatomy was financed by a gift of 20,000 pounds from Mr S.A. Courtauld. With the approval of the School Council, Webb-Johnson pursued a policy of appointing full time teachers wherever possible and worked with the University authorities to obtain the status of University Professor for all Heads of Department. The University of London and the Board of Education had sanctioned and supported a system of Professorial Units, each under the direction of a full time professor who would give his whole time to clinical teaching and research. Many other Medical Schools were adapting to this system of clinical instruction and the Middlesex School Council felt that a fact finding mission by the Dean would be of benefit.

In 1923, Webb-Johnson went to North America to study the teaching methods employed in the Medical Schools of Canada and the United States with particular reference to the organisation of clinical teaching. He returned from the United States thinking that American medical students attended too many lectures and spent too much time in laboratories, leaving too little time spent at the patient's bedside gaining valuable clinical experience, but he recognised the importance of developing specialist departments within a general hospital and this led him to create a department of urology at the Middlesex Hospital. The Middlesex authorities decided that the opportunities which the full time Professorial Unit scheme conferred upon the few could be shared equally among the hospital staff and a system of 'firms' with part time directors should provide opportunities for improvements in both clinical teaching and research. The surgical firms also had a whole time chief assistant whose function was to devote all his time to clinical and pathological work as well as teaching.

Thanks to the fact that all the pre-clinical Professorships were now properly endowed, due to the Dean's successful fund raising, the School Council was able to afford their preferred arrangements for clinical teaching without a grant for this work from the University Grants Committee.

Webb-Johnson's very successful period as Dean ended in 1925 amidst generous expressions of gratitude and his appointment to the specially created post of Honorary Treasurer of the Medical School.

'Middlesex Hospital is falling down'

Towards the end of 1923 the attention of the Hospital Governors was drawn to the decayed state of the fabric of the buildings by an incident in which, by good fortune, nobody was injured. A sister was entering a ward with a patient on a trolley when a large quantity of plaster fell from the ceiling just behind them. This episode led to an urgent appraisal of the buildings by both an architect and a surveyor which revealed that the hospital as a whole was unsafe and there were several places where the foundations were giving way. The Board realised that the opportunity of building an entirely new and up-to-date hospital was far too good to miss and in 1925 Webb-Johnson's (Fig. 2) successful fund-raising abilities inevitably led to him finding himself chairman of the rebuilding committee and working closely with the chairman of the board, Prince Arthur of Connaught, to raise the money needed. The project took ten years to complete and cost over one and a quarter million pounds. The new hospital was opened on 29 May 1935 by The Duke of York, afterwards King George VI, who had laid the foundation stone seven years earlier. The demolition of the old buildings and the rebuilding programme were so skilfully planned that each new building could be put into use as soon as it was finished and in this way the entire new hospital was completed without the necessity of closing a single bed [1]. While the new hospital was under construction, two other buildings were completed. The first was a nursing home for patients whose income was insufficient to meet the combined cost of



THE GROOMY DEAN.

FIG. 2. Towards the end of 1925, the *Middlesex Hospital Journal* carried a cartoon of Webb-Johnson entitled 'The Groomy Dean' – about to demonstrate his powers of persuasion?

nursing home care and medical fees, funded by Lord Woolavington and completed in 1929 at a cost of 120,000 pounds. The second building was the nurses' home opened on the 29 June 1931 by Princess Alice (Countess of Athlone). This magnificent building with its superb facilities for recreation as well as accommodation was funded by Colonel The Hon. J.J. Astor who again insisted on anonymity. The identity of the benefactor was not revealed until 1948 by which time the donor of the 300,000 pound gift was chairman of the hospital board of governors.

The Board made known its gratitude to the chairman of the rebuilding committee by taking the unprecedented step of naming a ward after him while he was still an active member of the Hospital Honorary Staff – and the ward was allocated for use by Webb-Johnson's own patients! The esteem in which Webb-Johnson was held at this time is perhaps best demonstrated by the letter of thanks written to him by Prince Arthur of Connaught on 25 January 1935.

My dear Webb-Johnson,

I am very sorry to find that no official notification was sent to you of the decision of the Board to name, in your lifetime and

whilst you are still a member of the active Honorary Staff, a surgical ward in the hospital after you. This should have been done but, in the informal and friendly relations between us, it was overlooked.

I want, however, to write to you in order that we may have a copy of the letter on our files for the interest of later generations. Your work for the hospital has been supremely outstanding from the day on which you came to us, a stranger, to take the position of Resident Medical officer and, in the face of old traditions, to give it new value and to point the way to a development which has made the Middlesex unique in that respect.

From that time on you have put the Hospital deeper and deeper in debt to you in many and various ways. The Medical School acknowledges its gratitude to you for your work as Dean, for the new position you gave to it in the eyes of the University of London, no less than for the endowment of its chairs which you yourself brought about.

The Hospital is still more deeply in your debt, directly and indirectly, most of all for your ten years of immense and never-ceasing effort to promote our great reconstruction scheme. The work of the Rebuilding Committee, and of the Plans Committee of which you are Chairman, is so largely yours that it is not too much to say that it would never have been accomplished without you, whilst to your influence we owe a great proportion of the immense sums which have been subscribed.

It is possibly an anticlimax to this record to name merely a ward after you, but we have broken with tradition to do it…..

I will not add my own thanks to this letter. You must know, very well, something of the affection and gratitude we feel towards you.

Yours very sincerely,

ARTHUR

(Chairman)

Webb-Johnson had been a Hunterian Professor in 1917. The subject of his lecture, based largely on experience gained during the Great War, was 'Surgical Complications of Typhoid and Paratyphoid Fevers'. Webb-Johnson was not a prolific author, like

some of his colleagues, but he was an excellent public speaker and an amusing conversationalist. He invariably went to a great deal of trouble to produce interesting lectures such as the Syme Oration (1939) on the History of British Surgery and the Bradshaw Lecture (1940) entitled 'Pride and Prejudice in the Treatment of Cancer'. Sir Gordon Gordon-Taylor commented that Webb-Johnson never read an address nor used prompt cards of any sort when speaking in public.

Webb-Johnson died in the year I started my clinical training but, having examined files of correspondence and 'lecture notes' in the library of the Royal College of Surgeons, I can confirm the thoroughness of his preparation and the prompt cards/headings cards are ample evidence of private rehearsal for any major event.

Webb-Johnson was appointed to the Court of Examiners of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1926 and served for ten years during which he became chairman of the Court. In 1936, he received a knighthood and was appointed Surgeon in Ordinary to Queen Mary. We understand that they were on very friendly terms, a shared interest in art and antiques no doubt being a factor. Webb-Johnson was widely read and was a great admirer of Rudyard Kipling – another patient who became a lifelong friend. After Kipling's death in 1936, Alfred edited the autobiographical work *Something of Myself* for publication (1937). Webb-Johnson had been elected to the Council of the College in 1932 and in 1938 came the invitation from the Faculty of Medicine in the Egyptian University to be Visitor to the Medical School during the final examinations in December 1938/January 1939.

Egypt, the Sudan, India, the Antipodes and the United States of America

The appointment as Visitor was followed shortly by a request that the Visitor should also proceed to Khartoum to inspect the Kitchener School of Medicine and act as Assessor during the final examinations. Having agreed to undertake these duties, Webb-Johnson was inundated with requests to extend his journey. The

first was a pressing invitation to visit Australia to deliver the Syme Oration at the annual meeting of the Royal Australasian College of Surgeons in Melbourne and this was followed by a last minute request to go to Canberra to give the Anne Mckenzie Oration. Webb-Johnson had already decided to break the journey from the Sudan to Australia to visit Delhi and he makes it clear in the account of his travels that the need to prepare a second oration during the voyage to India was an intrusion upon the anticipated period of rest and relaxation.

Egypt

Webb-Johnson and his wife had visited Egypt some 27 years earlier and both were intensely interested in the changes they observed which ranged from the building of the new King Fuad Hospital, then nearing completion, to the new university buildings on what would now be termed a campus.

For Alfred, the one month stay in Cairo was mainly taken up with official duties but he found that being an official representative of the College of Surgeons gave him many privileges. He received generous hospitality, including a reception by King Farouk, and the British Ambassador and his staff were very helpful, going out of their way to entertain the Visitor and his wife.

The Cairo Medical School had a vast number of students and the Visitor found all departments strained to the limit in coping with the teaching required. Clinical experience was readily available as the two main hospitals had 2000 beds between them and 5000 out-patients were seen daily. The need for more universities and hospitals had been recognised and planning was well advanced for new school facilities in Alexandria – this proposed development necessitated a visit from Webb-Johnson who was also asked to visit Faroukia, Ismailia and Suez! It is interesting to note the Visitor's deep admiration for the work of Miss Sargeant, matron of the University Group of Hospitals, whose staff of European and Egyptian sisters and nurses worked hard to provide an adequate nursing service. Miss Sargeant herself was the object of great respect and deep affection from staff and patients alike.

Sudan

Systematic education in the Sudan was started by Lord Kitchener with the establishment of the Gordon Memorial College. It was soon realised that well educated Sudanese students could fill the posts available in the Government Medical Service if a Medical School could be established. The foundation of a School of Medicine in Khartoum was proposed by Lord Kitchener on his last visit to the Sudan and the School was opened in 1924, having been funded largely by generous gifts from Sudanese nationals. Webb-Johnson writes approvingly of the system whereby the medical students were selected from among the most successful pupils at Gordon College [2]. Admissions were limited to ten per year which resulted in a very high level of individual tuition. The medical education was given to the selected students without fee and they were required to live in a students' hostel, again provided free of charge. The objective was to reinforce the Sudan Medical Service by an average of six new medical graduates per year and successful candidates received their diplomas from the Governor General in person. Once enrolled in Government Service, new medical officers spent two years in house officer or resident posts at one of the large hospitals. Ten years after graduation, the medical officers were required to return to Khartoum for a six month refresher course.

Webb-Johnson also visited the Midwives School at Omdurman which was run by two qualified British midwives. Pupil midwives, having followed a six months course, were found to be doing valuable work in local outlying districts – a testimonial to the quality of the instruction. Webb-Johnson rated the Sudan Medical Service, directed by Dr E.D. Pridie, as 'the most efficient service of its kind I have ever had the privilege to encounter'.

India

Leaving Khartoum with considerable regret, Webb-Johnson and his wife boarded the P & O liner *Strathallan* in Port Sudan for their voyage to Bombay and from there took the train to Delhi, enjoying

the benefit of the air-conditioned coach. Their stay in Delhi coincided with 'Delhi week' and the Webb-Johnsons found themselves caught up in the social whirl of parties by day and by night, the horse show, polo matches, the Viceregal Ball, lunch at the Viceroy's house, the Hunt Ball ... and other diversions! Inevitably there was the usual plethora of invitations to visit hospitals and discuss professional problems. In spite of a hectic programme, Webb-Johnson seems to have enjoyed these opportunities to widen his experience and contribute to debate. A visit to Agra and the Taj Mahal was fitted in before return to Bombay to embark on the *Mooltan* for the voyage to Ceylon.

Australia

From Ceylon, the Webb-Johnsons set about enjoying the long sea voyage to Australia. Fremantle was the first port of call and there Webb-Johnson was met and welcomed by the local representative of the Royal Australasian College of Surgeons. From then until they left the shores of New Zealand several weeks later, they were looked after generously and delightfully entertained by Fellows of the College. In most places, Alfred met old Middlesex men or those who had been to the Middlesex in the course of preparing for the Primary FRCS examination. Invariably, Alfred records the names of those he meets and comments on the warmth of the hospitality he received. From Fremantle, Webb-Johnson was taken to Perth, where he spent a whole day being entertained to lunch by the local surgeons and afterwards was taken on a long drive in the neighbourhood which, apart from housing many vineyards and orange groves, was a centre for breeding thoroughbred horses.

From Perth the Webb-Johnsons then went by sea to Adelaide where they stayed for one night. Adelaide was recognised as one of the most perfectly planned cities in the world – small but delightful, in Webb-Johnson's opinion. Here he was entertained to lunch by the local surgeons with Sir Henry Newland in the chair. In the evening, Alfred was invited to dinner by an old friend, Brian Swift, who had gathered several colleagues to meet him. It

would seem that they played poker afterwards and that Alfred won handsomely, subsequently expressing the hope that he might be able one day to allow the company their revenge.

After an extensive drive next day to view some of the splendid country houses of South Australia, the Webb-Johnsons took the train to Melbourne where the focal event of the tour was to take place. They were now three months out of England – the lantern slides were still intact and all was keyed up and ready for delivery of the Syme Oration at the Annual Meeting of the Royal Australasian College of Surgeons. The Webb-Johnsons were met by Sir Hugh Devine, the President, Sir Alan Newton, Chief Censor and Mr Victor Hurley, member of the Council and a comrade from the Great War. The delivery of the Oration was a grand occasion, held in the Wilson Hall of the University. There was an audience of 1100 and Alfred was made an Honorary Fellow of the College. The whole event and the week in Melbourne were a source of great enjoyment and pleasure for the Webb-Johnsons and Alfred was at pains to make clear the exceptional kindness and hospitality that they had received throughout the visit. There had been a reception at the President's house, a dinner with Sir Alan Newton at the Melbourne Club, lunch with the Governor Lord Huntingfield and other social events culminating in a great dinner held in Alfred's honour by the Royal Australasian College. On this special occasion, Alfred seized the opportunity to address his new colleagues in less formal terms than when delivering the oration.

From Melbourne, the Webb-Johnsons took the train to Canberra. They found that inter-state jealousies and past lack of cooperation meant changing trains at the border between Victoria and New South Wales due to the change in railway gauge. They left the train at Goldbourne and covered the remaining 60 miles by car, reflecting on the inconvenience of a Capital City which, it seemed, could be reached easily only by air! On the other hand they were very impressed by the city's beautiful setting in a fertile basin surrounded by hills and mountains. Alfred spent a fascinating day at the Institute of Anatomy examining the fine collection of specimens from marsupials and monotremes held in the museum donated by Sir Colin Mckenzie. In the evening, Alfred

delivered the Anne Mckenzie Oration and left the next day with Sir Robert and Lady Wade for the day long drive to Sydney. Again, the Webb-Johnsons found themselves entertained in fine style, dining with the Wades and the Darlings as well as lunching with the Governor General Lord Gowrie. Sydney Harbour Bridge was admired as a great feat of engineering, the zoo was visited to view indigenous species including koalas and the duck-billed platypus and the local representative of the College of Surgeons arranged a dinner for Alfred to meet some of the local surgeons before giving another address in the Sydney Hospital.

New Zealand

The Webb-Johnsons were most enthusiastic about the welcome they received in New Zealand and highly impressed by the trouble taken to show them as much of the countryside as could be achieved in the time. It was possible to visit only the North Island but as usual Alfred was at pains to renew contact with old friends, former students and colleagues including a fellow student from his time in Manchester and a former Middlesex student and resident who had been in Captain Webb-Johnson's OTC contingent before the Great War.

After their brief stay in New Zealand, the Webb-Johnsons embarked for the voyage across the Pacific Ocean which proved to be far from peaceful. The seas were rough and the heat uncomfortable, due to the following wind. To make matters worse, there was worrying news of the deteriorating situation in Europe and, at home, preparations for war. A splendid day was spent in Honolulu however, watching the surf riders and driving round the island. Alfred's comment that Pearl Harbour could accommodate the bulk of the American Fleet was no doubt remembered with a jolt following the Japanese attack on 7 December 1941.

The United States

The Webb-Johnsons were now becoming very anxious to get home and the long sea voyage was becoming irksome. The boat

eventually docked at Los Angeles and it seems that Alfred's mood was not improved by the fact that the port is twenty miles from the city. However, he was soon visiting a 1000-bed hospital built entirely of reinforced concrete and was filled with admiration for the architectural effect and the quality of the building work

While travelling across America, the Webb-Johnsons made a short detour to view the Grand Canyon and after three days and nights on the train they arrived in Chicago where they met many old friends. Alfred had time to visit the Cancer Institute where Cutler and Coutard were working. Alfred also visited the American College of Surgeons and inspected the library of which he was on the management committee. The last leg of the journey to New York was in a *Train de Luxe* which clearly delighted Alfred. The facilities included air conditioning throughout, wireless, telephone, secretarial services, a cocktail bar and comfortable compartments with every convenience including a bath with hot and cold water.

In New York, the Webb-Johnsons stayed with old friends. Alfred had only one official engagement which was to deliver an address to the Mount Sinai Hospital Group. He visited some of the hospitals and was shown the excellent results obtained in cases of intestinal obstruction by the use of the Miller-Abbott tube. The rest of the time was occupied by 'frivolities' including a tour of the World's Fair before it was officially opened and a big baseball match. Alfred had enjoyed playing or watching baseball since it was introduced to his school by some American boys and had always wondered why it did not catch on in England. And so the great tour ended. The Webb-Johnsons returned home safely aboard the *Aquitania* – as Alfred put it 'bound for England, home and duty' [3].

The War Years

The increasing anxiety caused by the news bulletins on the wireless during the Webb-Johnsons' journey back to England was fully justified. War was declared on 3 September 1939. The evacuation

of Allied Forces from Dunkirk was completed on 3 June 1940 and was followed by the series of intensive air raids on London which started in early August. On 29 December there was a heavy incendiary bomb raid on the City that set alight Barber-Surgeons' Hall. After three days, the destruction of the buildings was complete – only the strong room in the basement survived. The Royal College of Surgeons offered immediate hospitality and the Barbers' Court held their next meeting at the College on 14 February 1941. Unfortunately, having survived the peak period of the bombing raids on London, the College itself suffered devastating damage on the night of 10-11 May 1941. A combination of incendiary and high explosive bombs was dropped; the extensive damage to the buildings precluded meetings and resulted in the destruction of about two-fifths of the original Hunterian specimens in the Museum. The Council of the College held an extra-ordinary meeting at the Examination Hall in Queen Square when the President, Sir Hugh Lett, arranged for the remaining specimens to be dispersed in the country. Some 26,000 specimens were evacuated from London in 70 vehicles supplied by the American Ambulance Corps. The Council appointed a Building Committee in June consisting of three men well suited to their task: Sir Hugh Lett, Sir Alfred Webb-Johnson and Sir Girling Ball. At the Council meeting held on 10 July 1941 Alfred Webb-Johnson was elected President of the College (Fig. 3).

President of the Royal College

The difficulties facing the new President must have been daunting but he had tackled problems of a similar nature before. The college building was an uninhabitable shell and there was little chance of obtaining the materials needed for rebuilding even if such a course had been considered appropriate. Instead, Sir Alfred immediately embarked on such first aid measures as were possible. These included a temporary roof to cover the Council Chamber and the conversion of part of the damaged museum into a lecture theatre to replace the one which had been totally destroyed. The new President was determined that it should be

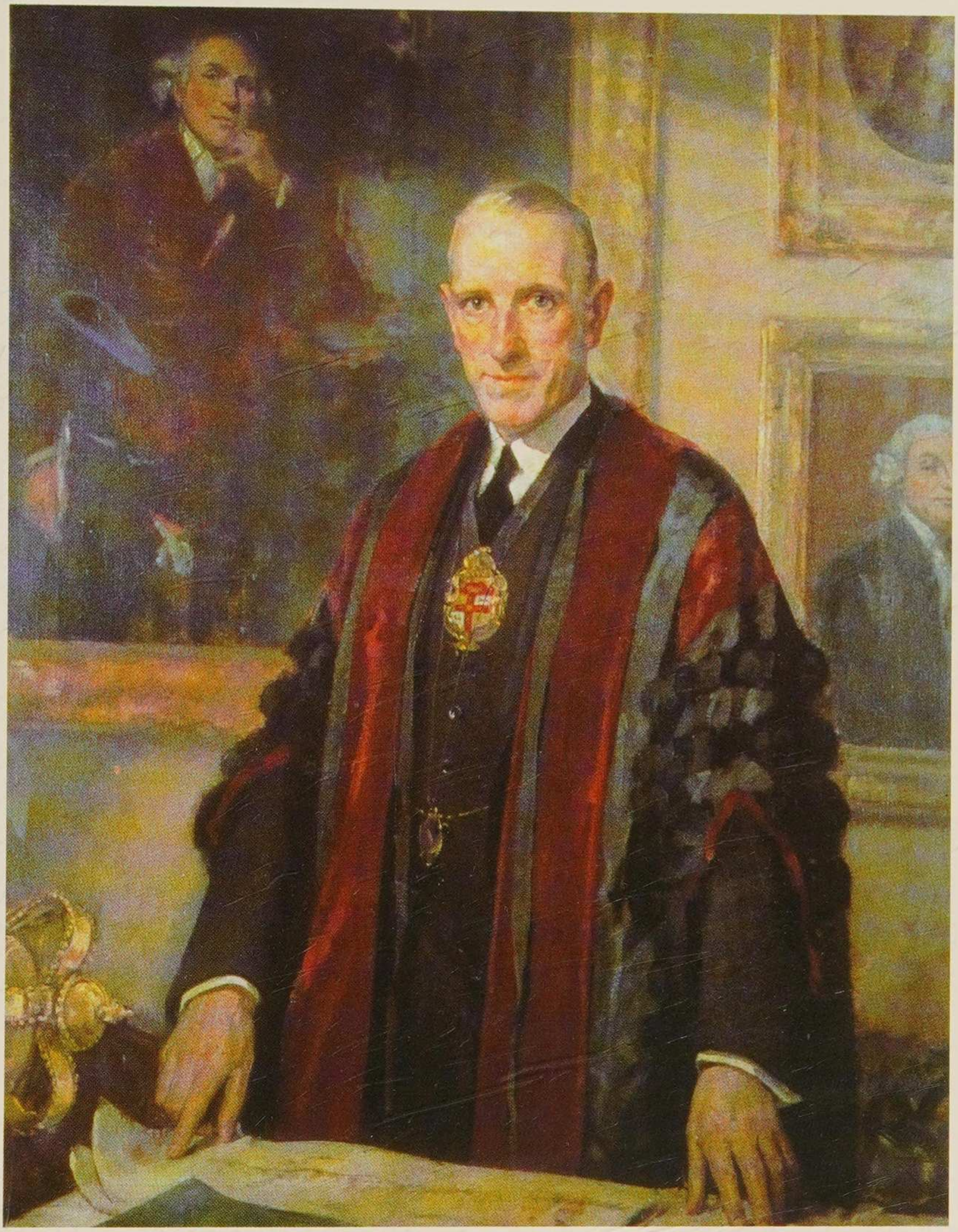


FIG. 3. Sir Alfred Webb-Johnson wearing the 'undress' gown of the PRCS. This garment, ideal for the semi-formal occasion, had long since disappeared and when Past Master Sir Barry Jackson became President, he commissioned a replacement. No doubt this too came under the benevolent gaze of John Hunter. (*Artist* Francis Edwin Hodge 1943.)

'business as usual' and the teaching of those preparing for the Fellowship examination was maintained as far as possible throughout the war. Clearance of debris was a necessary on-going process to allow detailed assessment of the damage and even some tentative planning. Just as the dilapidation of the old Middlesex Hospital provided the opportunity of building a new and up-to-date hospital in the 1930s so the destruction of the college offered the chance of a complete review of protocols and functions as well as a reconstruction of the College tailored to contemporary needs in the 1940s.

Having noted the damage to other properties in Lincoln's Inn Fields, the President embraced with enthusiasm a suggestion which Zachary Cope attributes to Sir Girling Ball [4] although the development of the project was credited by obituary writers to Sir Alfred. The President drew attention to the possibility of being able to buy bomb-damaged property near the College at advantageous prices thus increasing the size of the site available for the project. The idea was to create a huge post-graduate centre in Lincoln's Inn Fields where all the Royal Colleges would be based on a common site which would also include laboratories for research and facilities for teaching. With the approval of Council, several adjacent houses were purchased and the enlarged area for development allowed the other two Colleges to be invited to join the project. The Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists refused to move to Lincoln's Inn Fields unless they could be certain that all the Colleges would be accommodated on the same site and the physicians, whose College then occupied a splendid position in Pall Mall East did not feel that a move to another site at that time would be appropriate. The failure of this far-sighted plan was a great disappointment to the surgeons who continued negotiations until August 1946. With the benefit of hindsight, the project was doomed from the start by the attitude of the other two Colleges. However, once again the surgeons were to gain from Sir Alfred Webb-Johnson's business acumen for it became clear that the space in Lincoln's Inn Fields tentatively reserved for occupation by the other two Colleges could now be used by the surgeons, greatly to the advantage of those studying for the Fellow-

ship and those who taught them. The President had recognised the need for surgeons to acquire a sound knowledge of the basic medical sciences during his years as Dean of the Middlesex Hospital Medical School. Twenty years later, it was obvious that post-graduate study in the basic medical sciences was even more important. Advances in the scientific field were leading rapidly to advances in surgical technique which in turn stimulated further scientific development. This 'virtuous' cycle may well have been brought about as a result of the pressures under which medical staff worked during the two World Wars. Certainly the cycle speeded up during WWII. The need for well organised and skilful teaching in Higher Surgical Training was clear for all to see and it was certainly the President's intention that the Royal College of Surgeons should lead the way in this respect.

In 1941 the Bernhard Baron Trustees made a gift of 40,000 pounds to the college which was used to endow the Bernhard Baron Research Professorship in the field of physiology. In 1942, a department of ophthalmic research was opened. The following year, Sir William Collins donated 100,000 pounds to endow a Chair of Pathology and in 1945, Sir William gave another 100,000 pounds to fund a Chair of Anatomy. With impressive academic resources building up in this way, it was possible to start planning a formal course in the basic medical sciences to cover the enhanced requirements for the Primary Fellowship Examination. The first course, held in the summer of 1946, consisted of 68 lectures in scientific subjects and a further 20 lectures on surgery given by Mr Cecil Wakeley.

With the start of Higher Surgical Training at the College came a large inflow of students, many of them from overseas but the extensive damage to housing during the war made finding accommodation difficult. The situation presented another opportunity to a man of vision and the Council was swift to support Sir Alfred's suggestion that a residential college should be included in the plans for the reconstructed College of Surgeons. The situation was now becoming urgent. There were long delays in getting planning consents and supply problems with building materials were inevitable. In February 1948 the Council decided, as an interim

measure, to convert two of the houses which had been purchased during the war (Nos 44 and 45 Lincoln's Inn Fields) and the following month the Council resolved that the residential college should be built as soon as possible on the sites of Nos 35, 36, 37 and 38 Lincoln's Inn Fields. Sir Alfred and the members of the Council were quite certain that the cost of the proposed building would be met and their faith was justified before the end of the year when it was announced that Viscount Nuffield had promised a donation of 250,000 pounds. He duly opened the Nuffield College of Surgical Sciences in the completed temporary accommodation, the conversion of which he had financed, on 23 June 1949 when he received an Honorary Fellowship of the Royal College of Surgeons.

As the post-graduate students moved into the newly opened accommodation, Sir Alfred was preparing to step down from the Presidency after his unique eight year tenure of office. When elected in June 1942, Webb-Johnson had four main concerns. The most obvious was the rebuilding of the College but for practical reasons this could go no further than patching-up operations to allow the building to be used for essential administrative functions of the College. Looking back, it is clear that the proposed post-graduate Medical Academy in Lincoln's Inn Fields could no more be built before the war ended than could the Surgeons' own building. Sir Alfred's second and third objectives were achieved with great success and the reorganisation of the research and teaching programmes had greatly enhanced the academic standing of the college. Measures to resolve Sir Alfred's fourth concern were only now coming to fruition, although the potential problem had already been under discussion in 1941. Webb-Johnson and others had noted then the newly emerging surgical specialities and specialist associations. There was concern that these youthful organisations might wish to break away from the College and the newly elected President was keen to find a way of retaining the membership of those groups within the body of the College. Sir Alfred was helped in his deliberations by Sir Henry Souttar who, when writing Sir Alfred's obituary for *The Lancet*, records that one evening in 1941 he visited the President to consider some ideas

that he had put on paper. They discussed the formation of Faculties within the College for a couple of hours during what turned out to be one of the heaviest raids of the entire war! [5]

The Faculties were to be a most successful method of keeping the Dental Surgeons and the Anaesthetists 'on side'. The Faculty of Dental Surgeons was authorised in 1946 and became a reality in 1947. The Faculty of Anaesthetists was established in 1948, thereby ensuring Consultant status for anaesthetists within the NHS. Senior members of all the major specialist groups were co-opted on to the Council (today these are nine in number). The specialist associations were offered office space within the College and provided with secretarial assistance with their journals. Specially designed examinations for the Fellowship were introduced in ophthalmology, ENT surgery and anaesthesia.

A further move to cement relationships between the College and its Fellows both at home and abroad was the monthly publication of the *Annals of the Royal College of Surgeons*. Another innovation by Webb-Johnson was the introduction of monthly dinners at the College to which all Fellows and Members could come with their wives.

The final years

Sir Alfred was created KCVO in 1942 and was promoted GCVO in 1954. He was made Baronet in 1945 and elevated to the peerage as Baron Webb-Johnson of Stoke-on-Trent in 1948. He stepped down as President in 1949, retired from the Council of the College in 1950 and was elected President of the Royal Society of Medicine in that year. As might be expected, his interest in buildings and fund raising were called into play and he became chairman of the building committee which supervised the extension of the Society's premises. Happily, funds were available from the Wellcome Trustees and the project was completed in 1953.

Webb-Johnson's Parliamentary career was also highly significant and started off by breaking another record when he took part in a debate within half an hour of taking his seat in the House of Lords. He did not develop much enthusiasm for debating in the

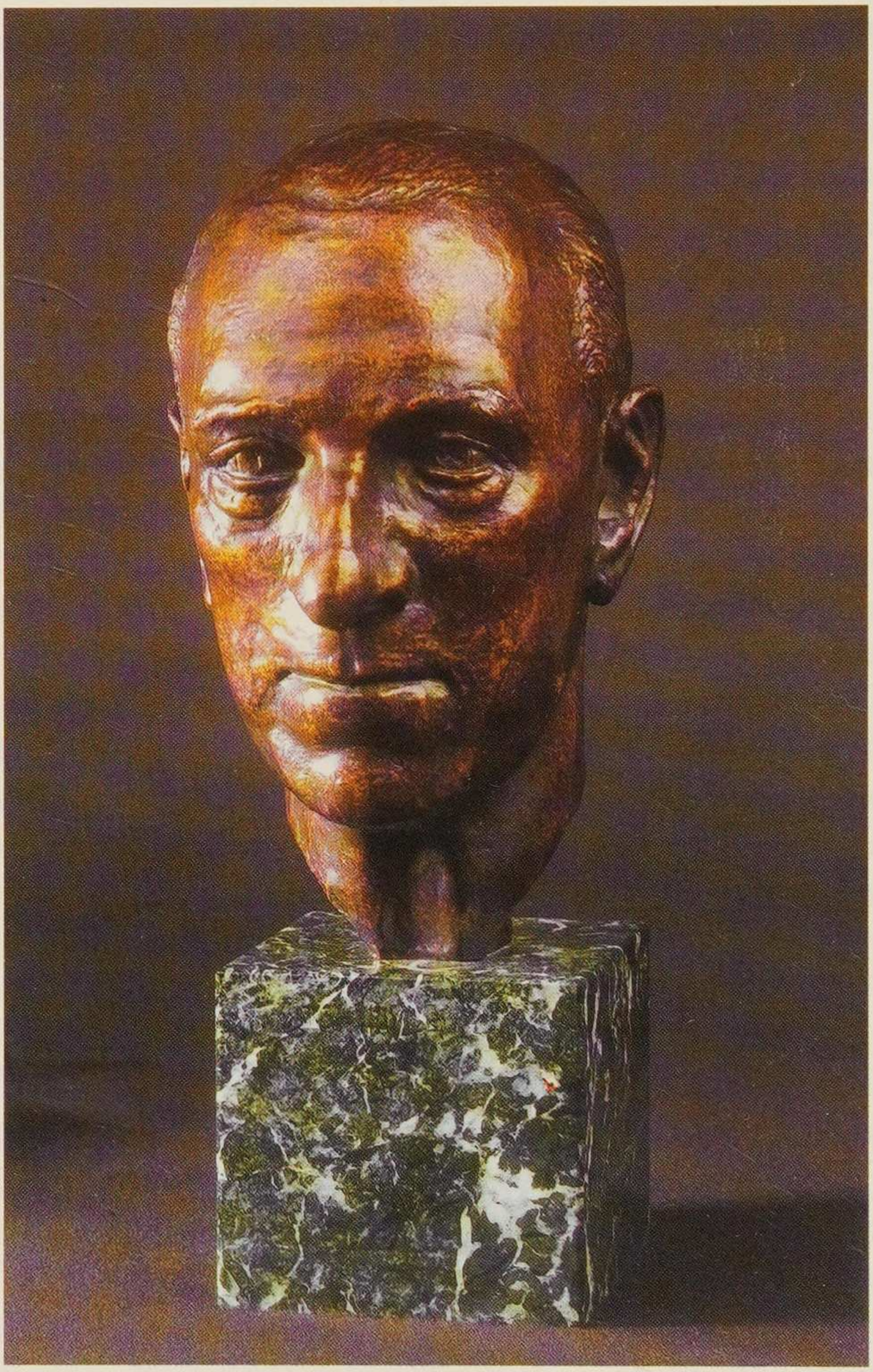


FIG. 4. Bronze bust of Lord Webb-Johnson sculpted by Laura Bolt – probably 1963/64. Webb-Johnson was Deputy Lieutenant for the County of London and Lord High Steward of Newcastle-under-Lyme.

House however. He seems instead to have preferred to tackle issues directly, quietly and in his own time. A discreet telephone call to a well chosen civil servant or diplomat was probably one of his most effective weapons.

Alfred Webb-Johnson's most important political contribution undoubtedly came during the negotiations leading up to the inception of the National Health Service in 1948. Sir Alfred was very successful in his role as mediator between Aneurin Bevan and the British Medical Association, on whose various committees he had served since 1940. At a critical stage in these negotiations, Alfred joined with the Presidents of the other two Royal Colleges in writing a letter to the Minister of Health in the hope of bridging the gap between the Ministry and the profession. Webb-Johnson spared no effort in his attempt to get the best deal for the profession and in this respect is considered to have out run Lord Moran.

Alfred Webb-Johnson was renowned as a great fund raiser but his abilities were wider than this and his astute business sense resulted in appointment as a director of The Savoy. Webb-Johnson enjoyed the theatre and was seen regularly at the opera as well as being a member of several clubs, of which the Garrick was his favourite. It is difficult at this distance in time to ascertain if it was a theatrical interest or a club connection which brought about this unusual appointment. Webb-Johnson's financial acumen seems also to have played a part in his appointment as President of the Royal Medical Benevolent Fund and President of Epsom College, on behalf of which he launched a successful appeal.

Another of Webb-Johnson's interests was the Order of St John and its Ophthalmic Hospital in Jerusalem. He had been admitted to the Order as an honorary Associate in 1918 and made a Knight of Grace in June 1919. In 1946, he was promoted Knight of Justice and appointed Hospitaller. He was responsible for the re-equipment, re-organisation and general expansion of the work of the hospital on the Bethlehem road but the termination of the Mandate and the fighting which followed meant that the flourishing hospital had to be evacuated. When the fighting stopped, the hospital buildings were left on the Israeli side of the Armistice line where the mainly Arab patients could not now attend. Webb-Johnson had to start all over again in the Old City. The problem was subsequently resolved in 1952 following a visit and review of clinical and research facilities by the Deputy Hospitaller, Sir Stuart Duke-Elder and, in due course, Webb-Johnson had the satisfaction

of seeing a suitable temporary hospital with 43 beds in the Old City which was some years later replaced by a permanent building.

Alfred Webb-Johnson resigned as Hospitaller in June 1954, having held the office for eight years. In 1955, he was created a Bailiff Grand Cross of the Order. Another medical institution rescued and revived!

The Hunterian Museum and Lady Webb-Johnson

Webb-Johnson had been appointed as a Hunterian Trustee in 1950, the same year that he was awarded the Honorary Medal of the Royal College of Surgeons. He was intensely interested in the scientific aspects of his trusteeship and he now devoted much of his time to securing the future of the Hunterian Collection and the provision of suitable accommodation in which the specimens could be displayed.

Alfred had married Cecilia Flora MacRae on 23 November 1911. She was the daughter of Douglas Gordon MacRae, the founder of the *Financial Times* and for 41 years this charming lady was Alfred's companion, hostess and enthusiastic supporter of all his ventures. When it became apparent that the restoration of the museum and its future maintenance were beyond the funds currently available, Lady Webb-Johnson came to the rescue in November 1952 by giving the college two freehold properties in Clare Market in memory of her father and as a tribute to her husband's work for the College. The properties were to be held in trust and the income to be used for the purposes of the Hunterian Museum. When the Court of Patrons was formed in October 1956, Lord and Lady Webb-Johnson were among the first members elected and in November Lady Webb-Johnson received the Honorary Medal of the College.

Lord Webb-Johnson died at his home on 28 May 1958. His life was one of high endeavour, great achievements and well earned reward. Webb-J, as he was known to so many friends, was a towering personality and in all probability the most outstanding President of the Royal College of Surgeons of all time. A modest account of the main events in a busy life has filled all the space allocated to

me for this essay which was easier to start and to write than it is to finish. Perhaps his old friend G²T should have the last word:

> He was indeed one who 'walked with kings nor lost the common touch'…In few men have so many qualities been combined. …There has never been anyone quite like him.
>
> (Sir Gordon Gordon-Taylor, *Ann. Roy. Coll. Surg. Engl.*, 1958, **23**, 66.)

Epilogue

There are two stained glass memorial windows to Alfred Webb-Johnson. The one in the chapel of the Middlesex Hospital is complex in design and almost inaccessible due to the closure of the hospital and its classification as a listed building! This window was given by Lady Webb-Johnson in 1964.

The second window is in the chapel of the Order of St John in Clerkenwell (Fig. 5). The design is based on the Arms of Webb-Johnson as Baron of Stoke on Trent and those of his wife's family (Macrae). The Webb-Johnson Arms contain elements derived from the Arms of both his father's and his mother's family as shown in the records of the Order. The Webb-Johnson Arms are surmounted by a Baron's Coronet and further enhanced by the red and white flag of the Order of St John and the riband of the Royal Victorian Order. Alfred's motto *Nunquam non Paratus* (Never unprepared) seems most appropriate in view of the vast range of tasks undertaken during his life. The most dramatic features of the Arms are the supporters. On the viewer's left is a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons and on the viewer's right is a Bailiff Grand Cross of the Order of St John.

A charming touch is the little vignette at the bottom of the window showing Alfred and his wife Cecilia. This window was installed in 1975.



FIG. 5. Stained glass memorial window in the chapel of the Order of St John in Clerkenwell; for details see text.

References

[1] Gordon-Taylor, Sir Gordon, Obituary, *Br. Med. J.* (1958), **1**, 1358.

[2] Webb-Johnson, Sir Alfred. A short circuiting operation, *Middlesex Hospital Journal* (1939), **39**, 117.

[3] *Ibid*. 122.

[4] Cope, Z. Kt. *The History of the Royal College of Surgeons of England*, Anthony Blond, London, 1959.

[5] Souttar, Sir Henry S. Obituary, *Lancet* (1958), **i**, 1232.

Acknowledgements

The author wishes to thank the following for their assistance:

Mrs Annie Lindsay, Archivist to the University College London Hospitals NHS Foundation Trust. Figures 1 and 2 are reproduced by kind permission of the Trust.

Mrs Stella Mason, Keeper of College Collections, Mr John Carr, Photographic Department and the staff of the library of the Royal College of Surgeons of England. Figures 3 and 4 are reproduced by kind permission of the College.

Miss Cressida Finch, Deputy Curator of the Library and Museum of the Order of St John. Figure 5 is reproduced with the kind consent of the copyright holder: Museum and Library of the Order of St John, St John Ambulance.

Index

A

Act of Separation 27
Act of Union 9, 68
Anatomical Demonstrations 69, 132
Anatomical Tables 105
Anatomy Theatre 182
Ancien Regime 172
Annals of the Royal College of Surgeons 421
Anne Boleyn 43
Army Medical Advisory Board 403
Arnott Lecture 27
Arris, Edward 27, 202, 237
Ayliffe, Sir John 8, 40, 86

B

Bancks, Thomas 391
Barber, Richard le 31
Barber's Bowl 42
Barber-Surgeons' Hall 69, 114, 190, 198, 255
Bateman, William 76
Blackfriars Bridge 330
Bosworth Field 65
Boxley Church 18
British Archaeological Association 380
Bubbles 368
Buckingham, Duke of 158
Burford Church 52
Burleigh, Lord 129, 137
Butts, William 39, 45, 68

C

Cambridge University 69, 137, 196
Catherine of Aragon 43
Charity Scandal 391
Civil War 185, 197, 234
Coinage Act 365
Colney Hatch 343
Colombo, Realdo 63, 132
Colombus, Christopher 103
Company of Surgeons 309
Company's Arms 354
Court of Assistants 87, 120, 322
Cowper, William 257
Crecy, Battle of 86
Cromwell, Oliver 200, 219
Cromwell, Thomas 10, 38, 44

D

Dance, Nathanial 306
Darwin, Charles 266
Dissolution of Monasteries 3
Drake, Sir Francis 154
Duke of Albermarle 255
Duke of York 183

E

Earl of Sandwich 183
Earl of Warwick 101, 118
East India Company 158
Edinburgh Castle 321
Egypt 410
Emily, Edward 200
Estienne, Charles 106
Evelyn, John 207, 261

F

Ferris, Richard 86
Fetter Lane 135
Fielding, Henry 311

Financial Times 424
Fleming, Sir Alexander 29
Friern Hospital 343

G

Gale, John 27
Gale, William 24
Galen, Claudius 12, 61, 172
Garrick, David 336
Gate of Honour 72
Gesner, Conrad 64
Gladstone, Mr 369
Glisson, Francis 214
Goddard's Drops 217
Gonville and Caius 70, 196, 206
Gonville Hall 59, 70
Goulston, Theodore 214
Grace Cup 370
Great Fire 66, 114
Greenwich Palace 83
Gresham College 223
Guildhall Art Museum 394
Guild of Surgeons 9
Gulstonian Lecture 214
Guy's Hospital 28

H

Hague, The 204
Hall, John 78
Harvey, William 78, 198, 253
Hawkins, Caesar 303
Hawkins, Sir Richard 154
Henry VIII Grace Cup 182
Herbal, The 141
Higher Surgical Training 419
Hippocrates 13
Hippocratic Oath 166
Hobbs, William 86
Hogarth, William 303, 307, 314
Holbein 9, 32, 42, 84, 355, 393
Hooke, Robert 271
Huguenots 341
Hunterian Lecture 27
Hunterian Library 105
Hunterian Professor 408

I

Incendiary bombs 416
India 411
Institute of City and Guilds 357
Irish Estates 354
Irish Society 327, 335

J

Johnson, Samuel 336
Jones, Inigo 201
Jones, Tom 311

K

Keynes, Sir Geoffrey 81
Khartoum 409
King Charles I 198, 235
King Charles II 183, 222 253
King Edward II 31
King Edward III 86
King Edward IV 1
King George II 306, 327
King Henry VIII 1, 23, 37, 68, 97
King James I 163
King Philip II of Spain 7, 100, 118
King's Evil 246

L

Landseer, Edward 375
La Providence 349
La Rochelle 158
Laudanum 310
Legge, Thomas 75
Le Havre 101
Linacre Library 182

Linacre, Thomas 3, 19, 66
Lincoln's Inn Fields 418
Lithotomy 186
Little Britain 17, 69
Livery Companies
  Armourers 357
  Bakers 325, 356, 382
  Braziers 357
  Brewers 325
  Carpenters 357, 372
  Clothworkers 349, 357
  Coopers 357
  Cordwainers 357
  Drapers 357, 376
  Farriers 325
  Fishmongers 357
  Glass -Sellers 387
  Goldsmiths 357
  Haberdashers 383
  Ironmongers 354, 357
  Leathersellers 357
  Mercers 357, 391
  Needlemakers 357
  Pewterers 357
  Plaisterers 357
  Plumbers 325
  Salters 357
  Tallowchandlers 357
  Upholders 325
  Waxchandlers 389
London Bridge 331
London Wall 114
Lorkyn, Thomas 73
Louis XIV 341
Lumleian Lecture 199
Lumley, Lord 65

M

Magdalen Hall 266
Mansion House 331, 357
Mary Rose 42, 92
Medici Family 63
Merton College 198, 220
Michelborne, Sir Edward 163
Middlesex Hospital 402
Molines, James 181
Monkwell Street 349
More, Sir Thomas 44
Mudesley, Robert 106

N

National Gallery 394
National Health Service 423
National Portrait Gallery 394
Nelson, Lord 376
Nelson Room 376
Northern Ireland 335
North, Lord 335
Nuffield College of Surgical Sciences 420

O

Oak Cup 371
Old Bailey 237
Opinicus 350
Orford, Earl of 311
Orkney 150
Osteographia 291
Oudenarde, Battle of 341
Oxford University 101, 198, 222

P

Padua 60, 105, 202
Paget, Sir James 28
Paracelsus 64, 157, 172
Paré, Ambrose 124
Parker, Archbishop Matthew 76
Parliament 206, 222, 305
Parr, Catherine 44
Pears Cyclopaedia 368
Pears Soap 363
Penn, John 31

Pepys Diary 187
Pepys, Elizabeth 187, 192
Pepys Samuel 179, 187, 203
Plague 171, 204
Pope, Alexander 281, 303, 307
Pope Clement VII 63
Privy Chamber 36
Prujean, Sir Francis 238
Public Anatomies 202

Q

Quarterage 181
Queen Alexandra Military Hospital 403
Queen Anne 261
Queen Caroline 290, 307
Queen Elizabeth I 1, 23, 59, 78, 83, 97
Queen Mary II 206

R

Raleigh, Sir Walter 43, 83, 140
Reader in Anatomy 68, 95, 198
Reform Act 379
Reformation 153, 253
Renaissance 12, 19, 103
Reynolds, Joshua 321
Royal Academy 368
Royal College of Physicians 64, 200
Royal College of Surgeons 26
Royal Institute of British Architects, 382
Royal Hospital, Chelsea 318, 403
Royal Society 19, 203, 224, 258, 274

S

St Bartholomew's Hospital 1, 82, 83, 119, 255
St Bartholomew-the-Less Church 76, 81, 92
St James's Palace 209
St Olave's Church 114
St Paul's Cathedral 66, 179, 336
St Paul's School 67, 196
St Thomas's Hospital 179, 287
Scarburgh, Lady Mary 207
Scilly Isles 236
Scurvy 167
Selwyn, George 327
Separation, The 297
Serjeant-Surgeon 16, 23, 68, 85, 126
Shakespeare, William 78
Shoe Lane 181
Silver Street 112, 114, 329
Smith, Captain John 157, 168
Smithfield 66, 83
Society of Antiquaries 385
South Sea Bubble 310
Spencer, Robert 210
Sudan, The 411
Surgical Chests 89
Surveyors' Institute 343
Sweatyng Sickness 65

T

Torrington 236
Tower of London 204, 237
Trephine 169
Trinity College Cambridge 306
Truro 235
Tudor England 51

U

University Grants Committee 405
Uxbridge School 342

V

Venn, John 59
Verdi, Giuseppe 78
Verulamium 287
Vesalius, Andreas 60
Vicary Lecture 69

Villiers, Mary 321
Virchow, Rudolf 28
Virginia 135, 157, 163

W

Walpole, Robert 310
Walsingham, Sir Francis 66
Wedgwood, Josiah 266
Westminster Bridge 331
Wilson, Erasmus 364
Wolsey, Cardinal 1, 37
Wren, Sir Christopher 198, 203, 261
Wycliffe, John 154

Y

Yarmouth Sands 205
Yeomanry 120

WITHDRAWN
FROM STOCK
QMUL LIBRARY