

More about Dr. Benjamin Allen (1666-1738), of Braintree, naturalist / by Miller Christy.

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Honorary Secretary and Curator.

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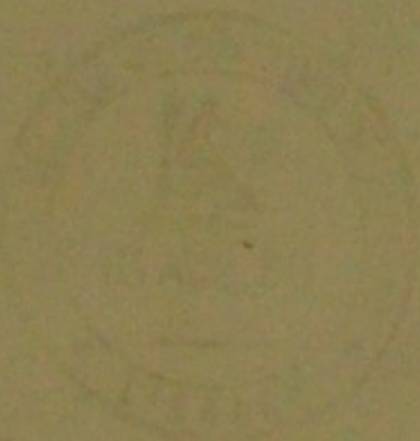
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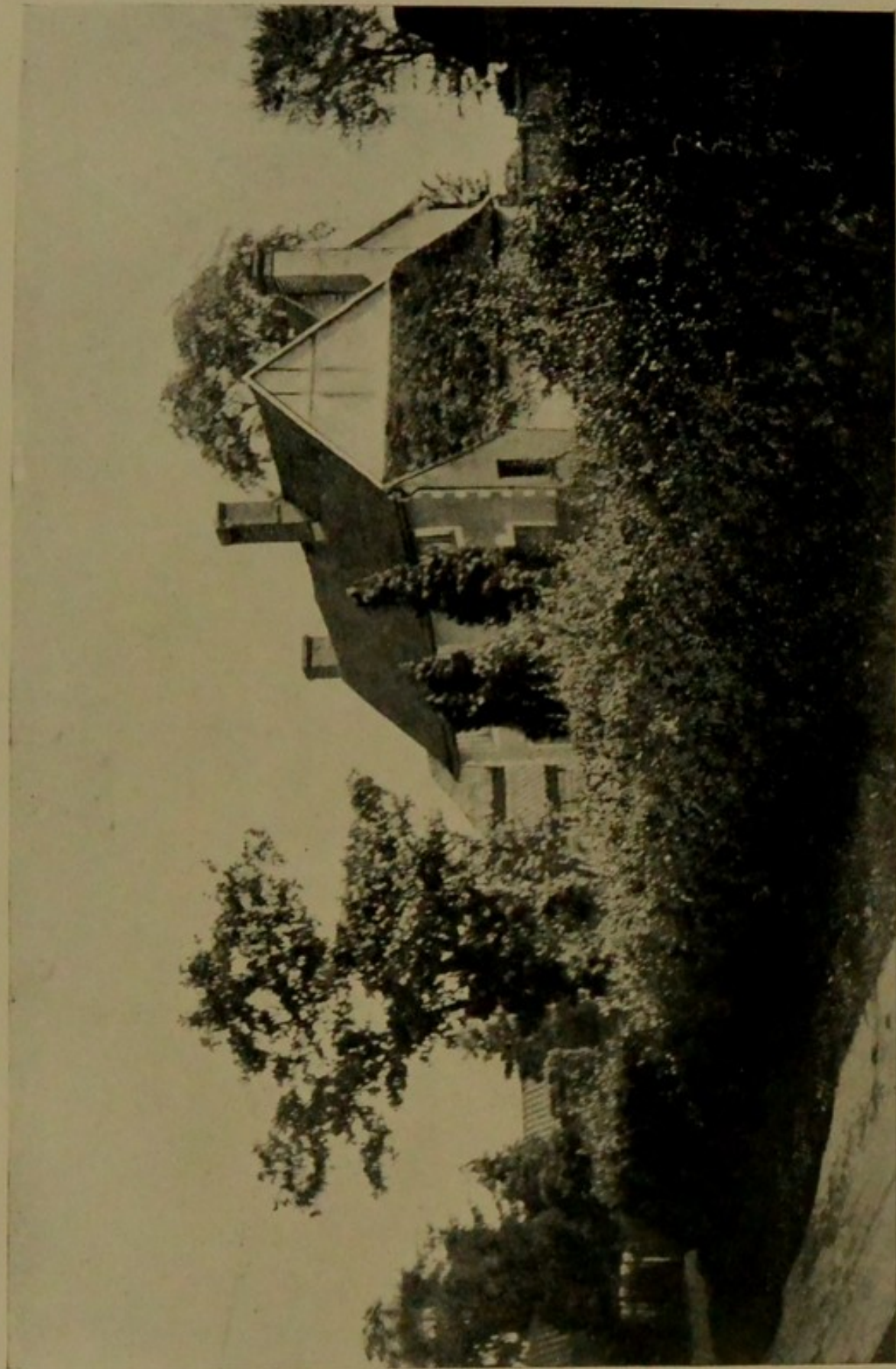
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"DEWLANDS," RAY'S HOME AT BLACK NOTLEY,
from a photograph by Mr. H. S. Tabor, taken shortly before its destruction by fire, in 1900.

THE
ESSEX NATURALIST:

BEING THE
Journal of the Essex Field Club.
VOLUME XVII.



MORE ABOUT DR. BENJAMIN ALLEN (1666-1738),
OF BRAINTREE, NATURALIST.

By MILLER CHRISTY, F.L.S.

[WITH PLATE I.]

[Read 25th November 1911.]

IN February last, there appeared in these pages a lengthy account¹ by myself of that interesting old Essex naturalist, Dr. Benjamin Allen, of Braintree, the friend and neighbour of both John Ray and Samuel Dale, my information having been derived mainly from a volume of Allen's "Common-place Book," which was, and still is, in the possession of our member, the Rev. J. W. Kenworthy.

Among much other matter, I gave² an extract from Allen's will, in which he made a special bequest to his descendants in the terms following:—

"My Note Books or Manuscripts of Medicine and private Methods of Cure, disclosing much of the Practise of Physick (principally the two vellum folios numbered One and Two, in letters at length, . . .), as a separate matter from Goods, I ordain not to be sold, but preserved in some sufficient hand of one of the Family, in the Practise of Physick or Pharmacy, under the oversight of my Executors and their Executors, for the use and benefit of my Family hereafter, to see they be secure from losing or making away or parting with any way out of their custody; . . ."

This shows clearly the very high value Allen set upon the two books in question.

It was evident that the volume I was describing was one or other of the "two vellum folios" which Allen thus bequeathed, although it no longer bore any such inscription as "No. One" or "No. Two." Consequently, I remarked³ that "it would

¹ ESSEX NAT., xvi, pp. 145-175 (1911).

² *Op. cit.*, p. 174.

³ *Loc. cit.*

be a matter of great interest if we could discover the fellow-volume"; but I expressed a fear that it had "disappeared beyond hope of recovery."

At the time when I wrote this, I expected few things less than that the missing fellow-volume would shortly come to light. Yet, after all, the unexpected happened; for, within six months, the missing volume appeared in a London sale-room. The occurrence is all the more remarkable, because its appearance in the sale-room at that particular time was, so far as I can ascertain, purely accidental, and had no connection whatever with the publication of my paper. The volume appeared (lot 520) in a sale at the rooms of Messrs. Hodgson & Co., of Chancery Lane, on 7th July 1911. It had been sent there for sale by Mr. Albert Cubitt, the well-known dealer of Ipswich, who has been good enough to inform me that he acquired the book in a mixed lot in a Colchester sale-room some time ago. It appears, therefore, that both volumes had found their way somehow to Colchester. At the sale in London, the book was purchased by our Vice-President, Mr. John Avery, to whom I am indebted for permission to describe it. Both volumes are, therefore, now in the possession of members of our Club.

This newly-discovered volume is of smaller size than that already described, being a pott-folio (12½ ins. by 8 ins., trimmed). It is bound substantially in contemporary vellum, similarly in all respects to the other volume. On the back, it is inscribed in ink: "Obs. Med., B.A., No. One"—that is to say, "Benjamin Allen's Medical Observations, Volume Number One." This proves that the volume I described previously was "No. Two."

The newly-discovered volume contains [14] + 345 + [22] pages, practically every one being closely written upon. The first 12 pages are insertions. There have been inserted also, in various parts, several letters from Allen's patients, medical correspondents, and others.⁴ The last four pages are devoted to a fairly-complete index to the diseases discussed.

The lengthy title on the title-page sets forth the nature of

⁴ One letter of advice from Sir Hans Sloane is noticed hereafter (see *post*, p. 7). Another, giving advice how to cure "Mr. Pyke's child," is from Sir Richard Blackmore (d. 1729), Physician-in-Ordinary to King William III. and Queen Anne and a voluminous writer of verse.

the contents, and shows that the book was begun in 1710. It reads as follows:—

"Praxis Medica, / Benjamin Allen, Med. Bacc. : / Medicinal Observations towards a / Knowledge and Cure of Diseases, / (consisting of Cures and the Reasons, or what to be minded and understood / for Direction, what to be design'd [and] noted, and what must be / gain'd) ; By Benjamin Allen, Batchillour in Physick, / formerly of Queen's College, in Cambridge ; / For his own use (because, in many cases, thro' general practise, / we are apt to overlook what may be preserv'd with accuracy) / and for the use of his Family. / . . . / Braintry, Essex, 1710."

Below the title are some unimportant general remarks, added, apparently, at a later date. The dates of various entries in the book show that it continued in use up to about 1721—probably, indeed, up 1723, when Allen started the second volume.

It is clear that Allen originally intended to devote both volumes to entries relating to medical matters, records of his cases, notes of prescriptions which he and others had found effective, and the like. The earlier volume now under notice (commenced in 1710, when Allen was about forty-seven years old) was never devoted to any other purpose, there being in it no records of observations in Natural History and few notes of purely personal and biographical interest. Consequently, to us, as naturalists, this first volume is of far less interest than the other (second) volume, which I have already described ; for, although this other volume (commenced in 1723, when Allen was about sixty years old and had probably retired to some extent from active practice) remained to the end mainly a book of notes on medical subjects, Allen came, as time went on, to enter in it (as I showed in my earlier paper) a large number of very interesting notes on all sorts of subjects, making it, indeed, what I called it—a veritable "Common-place Book" rather than a book of medical observations merely.

Coming, next, to a detailed consideration of the contents of this newly-discovered (first) volume : we find that, though in no sense what a physician might call a "Case Book," it contains a vast number of notes on cases which Allen had treated—not jotted down as they occurred, but arranged systematically under diseases, each note giving the name of the patient, the date of his or her illness, the methods of cure tried, and, generally,

the result. The whole leaves us in no doubt that Allen was an exceptionally-careful and observant physician, with a keen interest in his profession. His advice to take certain medicines at certain stages of the moon, his constant talk of electuaries, linctuses, bitter drinks, and the like, and his prescription of millipedes, solutions of peacocks' dung, and other nasty medicines (as noticed in my former paper), may seem to us now as the merest childishness; but the fact remains that his remedies were based on the best medical knowledge of his day. It is clear, too, that he had a very good and extensive practice, extending for many miles around Braintree, and that it included all classes of the community. Thus, we find notes showing that, on the one hand, he attended the Duke of Manchester and his family, at Leez Priory; Mr. Ruggles, of Spains Hall, Finchingfield; Squire Western, of Felix Hall; the Tabors, the Maysents, and other leading gentry of the neighbourhood. On the other hand, he also attended Goodman Hawkins, the saddler, of Bocking, and Mr. So-and-So the butcher his boy, of (say) Coxall. Indeed, the chances are that anyone whose family has long resided in the Braintree district would find in Allen's pages a note in reference to some disease from which some one or other of his ancestors suffered a couple of centuries ago, and exactly how that disease was treated. One or two selected notes on medical matters may be quoted.

In discussing the remedies to be used for the cure of those who have been bitten by a mad dog, Allen says (p. 47):—

"It is certain many have been cur'd by eating the mad dog's liver (as people have told me) fry'd. I know a gentleman of quality [who] cures his dogs when bit . . . by cauterising. Some give hounds that are bitten box-leaves and [box-]wood scrypt and chopt. . . . Some (and they many) cure dogs by charms writ on paper and given to the dogs [to eat] in butter—a plain proof of the operation of evil spirits being here no imagination; and it is matter of fact, as Sir William Barker assur'd me [it] was customary in Ireland, and Mr. Carter sayd it was often done here by many that kept hounds."

A somewhat-similar disquisition is that (p. 271) entitled—

The Bite of an Adder.—The head of an Adder—[the head] of the same that bitt, if it can be had, is best—bruised [and] lay'd to the place, is what the man that catcht them used. Anything that draws, lay'd to the place, doth it, as a red-hot iron held as near to the place as may be, without touching it. Mr. Boyle saw [———?] do it. A captain of a ship told me he had four men bit by cutting cabbages at Italy. One dy'd presently,

before he could return him on shore, which his surgeon directed him to. The Viper's bite in hot countrys is quickly mortall. The woman they went to cured them by laying a turky slit at the rump to the places that they ——— [?]. 3 or 5, apply'd one after another, cur'd one man, and so the rest. Any drawer is good, as turpentine, or turpentine and garlick, [or] Venice Treacle, or flesh of Adder given inwardly."

Near the beginning of the book (pp. 68-69), we find that Allen has entered a copy of the report, dated 17th February 1657-8, of an autopsy held on the body of young Robert Rich (only son of Robert Earl of Warwick), who had died at Whitehall, the day before, aged 23. The autopsy was conducted, and the report was signed, by seven physicians and two surgeons—the former including Allen's father-in-law, Dr. Joshua Draper, of Braintree, who held (says Allen) the post of physician to both this and the "last Earl of Warwick"—a post Allen himself held at the time he wrote. The young man was, it appears, in extremely bad health.⁵

Elsewhere (p. 297) we have a most harrowing account of how a certain Mr. Goodrich (evidently an eminent surgeon, who was passing through Braintree) performed the operation of lithotomy, at the White Hart Inn, in Braintree, on a youth named True, aged about seven years, a son of the landlord of the inn, on 12 February 1718-9. The operation was performed entirely without anæsthetics, a fact at which Allen (who witnessed it, the boy being, no doubt, a patient of his) expresses some surprise. Such an operation was, of course, rarely attempted at the period, on account of its danger. Curiously, Allen does not state the result in this case.

Further, we meet (p. 242) with the following note:—

"Sir William Daws, now A[rch]-bishop of York, had a stubborn ague, ever returning. It tir'd him and fainted him, and he then drank our steel'd water at Wethersfield, but at last was cured by taking the [Peruvian] bark every morning for six weeks or two months, as he told me himself, being advised by several at London and [by] one, a physitian, who had success in [curing] many that way."

It is likely that Allen had known Dawes more or less intimately and had attended him professionally; for Dawes, beside having been born at Braintree, had been, for some ten years (1698-1708), rector and dean of Bocking, where he had been

⁵ He had married at Whitehall, in the previous November, Frances Cromwell, youngest daughter of the Lord Protector. Had he lived a few months longer, he would have outlived both his father and grandfather, and have succeeded to the earldom. He was buried at Felstead on 5th March (see Miss C. Fell Smith's *Mary Rich, Countess of Warwick*, p. 139, 1901).

extremely popular.⁶ It was, no doubt, during the period when he held the deanery, that he suffered from the illness mentioned, and drank the water from the chalybeat spring at Wethersfield. This old mineral spring, now lost, has been noticed by Miss Thresh and myself in our article on the Medicinal Springs of Essex.⁷

One other passage dealing with medical matters shows Allen in a somewhat curious dilemma professionally. He is writing (p. 190) of some year in which small pox was prevalent in Braintree—probably either 1711 or 1721⁸—and of certain patients who suffered from “rhume” as well as small pox. He seems to have considered (so far as one can gather) that he could cure them by administering a certain remedy which would first cure the “rhume,” though there was some risk that it might kill the patient by stopping the development of the small pox. He hesitated, therefore, to administer his remedy;

wch., at that time might have cost me my life; for the malice of the Empirics (chiefly, John Barnard, the apothecary, and Mr. Firmin) had so leaven'd the evil natur of the town that, had I given him anything and he had dyd, they would have sayd I killed him and would have assaulted me, so I was forced to let him dy; so, by abusing my reputation, several others in other cases have dyd, which I could without question have been a means to preserve; but I could not carry it, so on them let it [*i.e.* the blame] ly.”

It was a nice point in medical etiquette. How would a modern physician have dealt with it?

Ours is not, however, a medical society, and this fact debars me from dwelling further on the medical aspect of Allen's notes. I may, however, repeat the belief I have already expressed⁹—that these volumes of Allen's are “worth the serious attention of some student of the history of medicine in this country.” It is true that they are not of very early date; but, taking the period to which they belong, it would be impossible, I apprehend, to find a fuller personal record of the practice of medicine as carried on at the time by an exceptionally-careful and observant country practitioner, or to discover another equally-precise

⁶ Sir William Dawes (1671–1724), the youngest son of Sir John Dawes, Baronet, was born at his father's seat, Lyons, in Braintree, and was educated at Merchant Taylors School and at St. John's College, Oxford. Succeeding his father unexpectedly, he removed to St. Catherine's Hall, Cambridge, of which he was chosen master in 1696, becoming chaplain to the King in the same year. He was appointed Bishop of Chester in 1708, and Archbishop of York in 1713.

⁷ See E.N., xv., p. 229 (1909).

⁸ See *ante*, pp. 160 and 161.

⁹ See *ante*, p. 158.

and detailed record of such observations, extending (as this does) to several hundred closely-written pages approximating foolscap size.

The references to Samuel Dale are, in this volume, as in the other,¹⁰ singularly few. I have noticed four only. From the tone of one or two of these, one seems to gather that there was a certain amount of professional jealousy in the way Allen regarded Dale.

In one place (p. 46), Allen refers to the case of a man bitten by a mad dog, who was brought to him for treatment in 1695, "but [he says], I being at London, he went to Mr. Dale."

Elsewhere, Allen pastes in (p. 329) a letter, dated 10th Nov. 1720, from Sir Hans Sloane, the Royal Physician, to Dale, who had written to Sloane, on Allen's behalf, asking his opinion as to the best method of treating some difficult case of fever—indeed, it looks almost as though it had been on behalf of Allen personally that Dale had consulted Sloane. In any case, the great physician seems generally to have approved what was being done in treating the patient—whether Allen or someone else.

Another case in which Dale was concerned was that of Mrs. Luckin, of Bocking, who suffered from "a periodical agueish jaundice," of which Allen says (p. 93):—

"I try'd the bark and common elect[uary] for a jaundys mentioned before, but toucht neither the ague nor the jaundys. I would have had her taken the Epsom Salt and then gone to the waters [at Tunbridge Wells]; but Mr. Dale, her acquaintance, oppos'd me and carry'd her away from sound advice; so, in his essays, she dy'd."

Again, referring (p. 283) to some children belonging to the Tabor family, who were suffering from the small pox and were being treated by Dale, who had bled them, Allen seems to have considered Dale's treatment ill-advised. However, the children recovered, so no harm was done.

References to Ray are, on the other hand, quite numerous. Most of them tend to show that (in the earlier period of their acquaintance, at any rate) the relations of the two men were intimate, and that Allen had for Ray a feeling of respect amounting almost to veneration. Over and over again, Allen has noted down some fact which Ray had told him or some opinion Ray had

¹⁰ See *ante*, p. 153

expressed, generally introducing his name with some such phrase as "the learned Mr. Ray, author of So-and-So, my friend and neighbour."

Right at the beginning (p. 15), we meet with this note:—"Mr. Ray, the famous naturalist, told me he knew a gentleman that had no child could live with him, but all dy'd epileptic at, perhaps, a year or two years old at farthest, till he was directed to purge the child in the mouth with Oyle of Sweet Almonds and Syrup of Violets and give [a pill] the bigness of a pea of Mithridat every night or every other night for some time, to keep out the red gum; but they began to give it in 4 or 5 nights after the birth, before the red gum, which comes not out under a fortnight."

Elsewhere (pp. 111-112), Allen tells of some relative who was cured of "An Obstruction of the Breast [stomach]" by taking a "Conserve of Common Wormwood," that plant being, he adds, "the right Roman Wormwood, as Mr. Ray inform'd me, who found it growing plentifully about Rome, and none of that we^{ch} passeth for it. The Common Wormwood is a plant of virtue, [but] the Roman [Wormwood] of the shops hath none."¹¹

In discussing "Ey Water," Allen says (p. 303):—"Mr. Ray sayd [that], for pin and web or rhumes, the best is made with a little Roman Vitriol, which he had seen cure them; but it is too sharp, I think."

Of greater interest than trifles such as these are notes regarding illnesses for which Ray and various members of his family were treated by Allen at different times.

Towards the end of the volume (p. 288), we find a note concerning "Mr. Ray's Case of Peripnewmonia, March 6, 1689-90," the symptoms of which were "pain, heat at lungs, and difficulty of breathing, and cough, and feaverish heat." For these, Allen prescribed a number of medicines, which he enumerates. The treatment continued until the 10th, Allen apparently seeing

¹¹ Mr. J. C. Shenstone, F.L.S., who has been good enough to investigate this matter, writes me:—"There was much confusion in plant-names at the period when Allen wrote. The Roman Wormwood of Ray (*Hist. Plantarum*, i., p. 367, n. 5) and of Dale (*Pharmacologia*, 1690) was *Artemisia pontica*, Linn. The "Common Wormwood," referred to by Allen as "a plant of virtue," is, probably, *Artemisia absinthium*, Linn., which was grown in herb-gardens all over Europe and still occurs frequently as an escape in waste places near villages and old buildings, both in England and throughout Europe. It is believed to be indigenous in some of its maritime stations in England and Scotland. It was largely used in medicine until quite recent times, and would still be supplied by druggists or herbalists if "wormwood" were ordered. Miss E. Willmott, F.L.S., states that she has seen Roman Wormwood (*A. pontica*) growing near old buildings in Switzerland—no doubt an escape from herb-gardens. It would be impossible to identify with certainty the Roman Wormwood "of the shops," which Allen tells us had "no virtue." The mugwort (*Artemisia vulgaris*, Linn.), formerly known as wormwood, is common by English waysides. *Ambrosia artemisia* has also been known as Roman Wormwood. Either of these plants might have been sold as Roman Wormwood in the apothecaries' shops in Allen's day.

the patient daily and prescribing different medicaments. Elsewhere (p. 53), we find another note, but of a less technical nature, regarding the same illness :—

" *A Peripneumonia or Inflammation of the Lungs.*—The learned Mr. Ray, author of the History of Plants and other Natural Historys, my friend and neighbour, in the 62 year of his age [*i.e.* 1689] just entred, was taken with a cold or dry cough, an intense feaver of heat and thirst, troublesome cough, colour in his cheeks, and weight or heavyness at his breast, began to raise bloody [———] and what was with it was some matter and froth. He was concernd at the disease, being, in that year, of his Grand Climacteric¹². However, sending for me, I curd him, under God, with this method :—I bled him in arm once, gave him a pectoral drink and linctus of Oyle of Almonds and Syrup of Violets and Pectoral Syrup and Syr. Dealthela to take often : order[ed] Glyster's Emmolient and, afterwards, when he had raised his load and his feaver abated, [I] ordered him a little Syrup of Red Poppies, which is a specific in that [disease] and pleurisies and, indeed, [in] all inflammation. I do not find I gave him any Elect. of Odiband, which I usually do at last ; so he did well. (Note :—Riverius says purging is mostly dangerous before the 7 day.)"

Near at hand, we find (p. 89) a fuller statement as to the means by which Ray was cured of the attack of jaundice, already noticed¹³ :—

" The learned author of those several Parts of Natural History, as well as a great Master of Botany, Mr. John Ray, my neighbour and honoured friend, was cured of a jaundys by 2 or 3 daughts of beer in wch. stonehords dung had been steeped ; and he sayd [that this medicine] cur'd all the family he was in and is a sufficient remedy."

Next, one may notice references to illnesses from which two of Ray's daughters had suffered. Discussing epilepsy, Allen gives details of some sixteen cases which he had treated, the second (pp. 10–11) being the following :—

Mr. Ray, of Notly, his youngest daughter, Mrs. Jenny, had an Epilepsy Feb 23, 1689–90. Being sent for, I gave her . . . [an old and approved prescription, the details of which he sets out]. She found no benefit till she took, and continued to take, for about a month or six weeks, a julep with Antidatus Montagnance, which I call my Mixtura antepileptica. This she would call for and take if a fit were coming, tho' very unpleasant, as other children I have found do, from feeling some benefit. Thus she was cured."

He then gives further particulars of his special mixture (which, he says, "generally cured"), of his method of administering it, and of the cases he had cured with it.

¹² A climacteric was supposed to be a specially-critical period in a man's life, indicated by multiples of 7 or 9. The "Grand Climacteric" (7 multiplied by 9) was reached in the sixty-third year.

¹³ See *ank*, xvi., p. 159.

Elsewhere, in discussing cases of "Chlorosis or Green Sickness in Womenkind" which he had treated, Allen gives (p. 231) particulars of his treatment of the illness of Ray's daughter Mary—the treatment which did not satisfy Ray and led to a partial break in the friendship between the two men, as noticed elsewhere.¹⁴ He says:—

"But the most od and remarkable case was Mr. Ray's daughter Mary, about 13 years old, [who] had a green sickness, but [she] was dark skinn'd so [it was] not discernible in the face. I sent them steel'd wine, but they neglected to give it. Three months after, it turn'd to a yellow Jaundys, and they would not bleed her, and it was difficult to know the remedy, if Steele or Icteric, wch. would do. We had not time enough to try either long enough, much less both, so she dyd ; tho' the Yellow Electuary with Chalybeats were wt. I would have given (that is, the Yellow Electuary on mornings and the Chalybeat Electuary in the afternoon and at night), but, tho' she dyd in 48 hours, with a heavyness of head like a coma, it was evident by the case of her sister that the Jaundys here was only a symptom and that the cure of the Green Sickness was the thing ; for her sister, Mrs. Margaret, fell soon after ill exactly of the same and had a Jaundys and at my instance to Mr. Dale, who was then employed and at my direction, she was cured by steel'd wine."

In another part of the book (p. 145), we find a fuller and clearer account of the circumstances, already alluded to,¹⁵ in which Charles (Rich) fourth Earl of Warwick (died 1673) had sought the assistance of Boyle, Ray, and the younger Van Helmont in the cure of his gout. After writing of the latter's father's method of treating gouty patients, Allen continues:—

"But yet he [*i.e.* the elder Van Helmont] trusted himself to other vulgar medicines or simples ; for, of this, I had a proof :—The learned naturalist and philosopher and my friend and neighbour, Mr. Ray, known to the world by his *Historia Plantarû*¹⁶ and other writings, informed me that the Earle of Warwick (Charles, being the last), having a severe fit of the gout, sent to his brother by marriage, the great Mr. Boyl, to desire him to consult young Helmont, the son, about it (because his father speaks so much of the Coralline Secret), [he] being then in England. Mr. Boyl did so, and young Helmont's answer was this :—that he would advise him to [use] what his father us'd to give eas to himself in the gout, wch. he was troubled with ; but, as to a cure, he assur'd Mr. Boyl he was certain his father had no such [thing], for he had it much himself ; but, for ease, he had recours to the common true Black Hellebor¹⁷, [for] wch. the Earl sent to Mr. Ray to assist him in the getting, that he might not be impos'd upon. This Mr. Ray had from the Earle's and Mr. Boyl's own mouth[s]."

¹⁴ See *ante*, xvi., pp. 151-152.

¹⁵ See *ante*, xvi., p. 153.

¹⁶ *Historia Plantarum*, 3 vols., 1686-1704.

¹⁷ *Helleborus niger*, the "Christmas Rose."

Elsewhere, we meet (pp. 349-350) with a long report of "My Conversation with Mr. John Ray, the author of the '*Generalis Historia Plantarum*.'" The diction is so confused in parts as to be almost unintelligible, but it may be of interest to insert a statement of the theological views of so great a man as Ray, even though we have it at second-hand only. Allen says:—

"This gentleman had travell'd and been with all the great men in Europe, to inquire [after] truth and knowledge in Divinity and Learning. He was in both Orders, and had never took the Solemn League. [He was] of most recluse and pious life, and told me he *præfer'd* that, with just a sufficiency, than to expend time wastefully and enter into temptations wch. he could not see to avoid in making address for preferment or public business. This was his deliberate choice.

"He often would repeat that most extraordinary thought in so early a time, as a most just one of God—'The Heaven of Heavens cannot contain Thee'—that God must fill all, be at the head of all, and that there must be infinity of space; as, if a man go as far as he can in the vast Systems, what hinders him from going farther or putting out his elbow, if anything then matter is beyond; so that God and Eternity, or Infinity of Space, we must allow we can have no apprehension of, and yet it is necessary.

"The Discovery of Letters, he took for Divine Revelation.

"He sayd the Jews were a standing miracle in memory of our Saviour, not to be blended and mixt; no natural caus could solve; yet never to be admitted to settle—a token of God's anger.

"[He said also] that a spoyle or smile of grass¹⁸ shew'd a Deity as much as anything; nothing in it to raise, keep, or support it, but a Divine power by which it stands and grows; indeed sense and design, when it is not in the creature, shows him most, as the Climers do."¹⁹

"For the Church of England, he sayd no man could well answer for Dissention from the precept of our Saviour, Love and Peace; but how the Clergy dare to impose, he wondered. He sayd they had never prov'd the Church had any power to alter what was appointed in Baptism, to appoint god-fathers to help out God Almighty, to put it in form of Law, to sprinkle for dipping (This he sayd when he stood Deputy God Father for Tommy²⁰.) The assuming to the Church a separat secular power was not from our Saviour. The taking upon the Church the liberty of making the power of altering, [of] admitting into Cannon, [of] annulling God's special spirit (which no Tongue yet equalled. . .), [of] denying the Ld's. Prayer (other than as from the Church of the Jews) before the Saviour, [of] mixing the Apocrypha, . . . [and so on—all these were, he said, totally unauthorized].

"He told me the auther of the '*Whole Duty of Man*' was Mr. John Chappel, who had a living in Lincolnshire and had been a Fellow of [blank]

¹⁸ Clearly these words were intended to indicate a small blade or sprout of grass, but I cannot find that either was ever current. [Since this was put into type, I have heard the latter word used, in the sense indicated, by a very intelligent Essex labourer, seventy-two years of age, now in my employ.]

¹⁹ The climbing plants, he means, no doubt.

²⁰ On 12th August 1697, "Tommy" being Allen's eldest son (see *ante*, xvi., p. 150).

Coll., in Cambridge.²¹ Bp. Wilkin,²² with whom Mr. Ray lived 7 years, together with Dr. Tillotson²³ examined it and found them to be his Sunday readings to his pupils exactly, by notes which he saw in some special pupil's hand. Mr. Ray told me [also] that the other works, sayd to be by the same hand, were wrote by the Bishop of York (Sterry)²⁴ who sent the 'Whole Duty of Man' to the press, and were known by his servant and his hand, but this was done by him to make the first seem his own—"

Here the statement breaks off abruptly, owing to a leaf having been torn from the book—perhaps by some person who disapproved of some religious view which Ray had gone on to express.

The closing paragraph is of interest in connection with the much-debated question as to the authorship of *The Whole Duty of Man*, which was first published in 1658 and ran through innumerable editions. In Evelyn's *Diary*, there is a passage so closely similar that one cannot doubt that one was derived from the other or both from some common original. Under date 16 July 1692, Evelyn says²⁵ :—

"I went to visit the Bishop of Lincoln [Thomas Tenison (1636-1715), afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury], when, amongst other things, he told me that one Dr. Chaplin, of University College, in Oxford, was the person who wrote the 'Whole Duty of Man'; that he used to read it to his pupils and communicated it to Dr. Stern, afterwards Archbishop of York, but would never suffer any of his pupils to have a copy of it."

Nevertheless, the general opinion now is that the work was written by Richard Allestree (1619-1681), a Royalist divine, though edited by Dr. John Fell (1625-1686), Bishop of Oxford.

Elsewhere (p. 47), Allen returns to the discussion as to the identity of the plant, called "Star of the Earth," which was supposed to cure rabies in dogs²⁶ :—

"Mr. Ray told me [he says, that] King James the 2nd sent a plant to the Royal Socyety with which his dogs had been cured. It was sent [by the Society] to Mr. Ray [for him to identify the species], who found it to be the Otis or Sesamoides salamanticum magnum. It came by [*i.e.*, under] the name of the "Starr of the Earth," and (as he heard) the receipt

²¹ Possibly the Rev. William Chappel (1582-1649), a scholar and long a Fellow of Christ's College, in Cambridge, also for a time (1638-1641) Bishop of Cork, may have been the man Ray referred to. At all events, others have ascribed to him the authorship of the book.

²² John Wilkins (1614-1672), Bishop of Chester (1668-1672) and one of the Founders of the Royal Society, was a friend of Evelyn, Boyle, and Ray, but it is difficult to see in what period of seven years the latter can have "lived with" him.

²³ John Tillotson (1630-1694), a great preacher and theological writer, Dean of St. Paul's (1689-1691) and Archbishop of Canterbury (1691-1694), was a friend and disciple of Wilkins.

²⁴ Without doubt, Allen caught the name wrongly and Ray really spoke of Richard Sterne (1596-1683), who was successively Bishop of Carlisle and Archbishop (1664-1683) of York. He has been regarded by some as the author of the book.

²⁵ *Diary*, Bray's ed., ii., p. 321 (1850).

²⁶ See *ante*, xvi., p. 152.

came from Suffolk ; but Mr. Ray took it for a mistake, thro' the sending not the same original numerical plant, [Mr. Ray] having never heard such virtue in the Otis or Sesamoides ; but such virtue is known to belong to the Plantains ; so, considering this plant was sent by the name of ' Starr of the Earth ' [and] that the Coronopus is call'd in Suffolk by the name of ' Starr of the Earth,' he sayd undoubtedly that the right plant should have been the Coronopus, [surmising that] the plant might not be sent with the name, but taken up at second hand."

That there were others who believed in the power of the Coronopus is clear from a note in another part (p. 303) of Allen's book :—

" *Bite of Mad Dog* :—Mr. Smith, of Helen's Bumstead, told me he had known several men and beasts cur'd only by giving them the Star of the Earth, wch. seeds like Plantain and is the Coronopus."

Before I pass from these passages relating to Ray, I am pleased to be able to announce another interesting discovery which has been made since (and, this time, as a result of) the publication of my former paper on Allen.

In that paper, I reproduced the Ray Society's engraving (1848) of "Dewlands," at Black Notley, the house Ray built for his mother and in which he himself afterwards lived many years and ultimately died. This I did, believing it to be the only existing representation of the house, which was destroyed by fire in 1900. Nevertheless, I asked any reader who knew of the existence of a photograph to communicate with me²⁷ ; and, before my request had been published many days, I heard from our member, Mr. H. S. Tabor, of Fennes, Bocking, that he had a photograph, taken by himself shortly before the house was burned. That photograph he was kind enough to place at my disposal, and I reproduce it herewith (Pl. I.), believing it to be the only photograph of the house ever taken. It shows the house from a different point of view from the engraving—namely, from the north, instead of from the east.

Entries of purely personal interest, such as are frequent in the other volume, are rare in this, as stated already.

One of the few such records (pp. 331 and [361]), "What I learned from Dr. Gale, Maister of St. Paul's School, my maister."²⁸ The record is too vague to be worth reproducing, but we learn that Dr. Gale had "commend[ed] Mr. Ray and his Vocabulary."²⁹

²⁷ See *ante*, xvi., p. 147 n.

²⁸ See *ante*, xvi., p. 148.

²⁹ *A Collection of English Words not Commonly Used*, 1674 (second ed., 1691).

Shortly after [pp. 347-348], Allen enters at length his "Reasons for Dissenting from the Church of England," but here, again, his remarks partake so much of the nature of rough memoranda, intelligible only to the writer and almost meaningless to anyone else, that they need not be reproduced. Allen's matter was, at all times, singularly muddled and lacking in lucidity. We gather, however, that Allen had consulted Ray upon the subject; for he says:—

"When I came to inform myself of Mr. Ray[']s view], he told me the writers for the ceremonys never shew any power given them to alter what our Saviour had instituted, nor to add [thereto], and that he had consulted foreign churches and they only told him the great commandments of Love and Peace would excuse a compliance, but not an approbation [and so on]."

The fact that Allen has inserted such a statement leaves little doubt that he had left the Church of England, and had become a member of the still-existing Independant Congregation at Bocking, which had been founded by Dale and others in or about 1707; but, the early registers of the Chapel having disappeared, it is impossible now to obtain precise information on the point.

Four or five pages are devoted to a record of dreams, testifying to Allen's firm belief in these phantoms as divine warnings of coming events, as noticed in my previous paper.³⁰ These dreams have, however, no greater interest for us than those in the previous volume, with the exception of one. This gives us [p. 357] another version of the dream in reference to Ray,³¹ which may be worth quoting, as it shows trifling verbal differences from that already given:—

"I dreamt [sayd Allen], just before Mrs. Mary Ray fell ill, that I was walking in Rain Lane with Mr. Ray and [that] from a tree there [I] gathered an apple hardly ripe and gave him, which he took and presently he was within the field and I in the road as before, so that we walkt and talkt, but a hedge parted us all the way; and so it was his daughter dyd, and it bred a distance [between us] without [our actually] falling out, tho' he had no such caus from me, for the steel'd wine he had of me months and would not give it (which cur'd his other daughter, Mrs. Margaret, soon after in the same case, which was an Icterus upon a green sickness) [would have cured her]..³²

³⁰ See *ante*, xvi., pp. 162-163.

³¹ See *ante*, xvi., pp. 151-152.

³² See *ante*, p. 10.