TOBACCO AS A DRUG IN EARLIER ENGLISH MEDICINE

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DURING the two and a half centuries after the introduction of printing into England, vast numbers of "health" books appeared. Of these a considerable proportion dealt with tobacco, and primarily with tobacco as a drug, or even a cure-all. This early literature of tobacco has recently been referred to in a manner which supplements the scattered allusions in general historical works.[1] In this paper, however, tobacco is not treated as a civilizing agency, a commodity, or a noxious weed, but entirely as a medicine.[2] Its introduction into medical usage followed directly upon the "age of discovery" which led to an enormous increase in the number and use of drugs, and it continued for generations to have a vogue and value. As early as 1558, a book on Brazil, printed in Paris, illustrated the use of tobacco in curing syphilis;[3] two centuries later, as the following pages will show, it was still highly recommended.

One of the earliest books on tobacco known to the English, or to any nationality for that matter, was a Spanish work by Dr. Nicholas Monardes, which was soon translated into English by John Frampton.[4] In relating the medicinal properties of various herbs the author did not neglect tobacco which had "particular virtue to heal griefs of the head . . . especially coming of cold causes." In this instance the leaves should be applied hot to the head. When made into a syrup with sugar, it cured worms. Smoked, it expelled the "rottenness of the breast marvellously," for the smoke inhaled at the mouth caused the "matter to be put out of the breast." To apply the herb in "opilations" of the stomach, it should be taken green, crushed, and then rubbed into the hardness "a good while"; after adding a few drops of vinegar, the rubbing should continue. Washing with the hot juice of tobacco reduced swellings. In toothache, for example, the tooth should first be washed with a cloth wetted in tobacco juice; later, a small ball made of a tobacco leaf should be applied to the tooth.[5]

The next volume on tobacco in English—perhaps the first original English composition on the subject—was by a minor poet, Anthony Chute, and contained "the distinct and several opinions of the late, and best physicians that have written of the nature of tobacco."[6] The author had gathered these opinions together "for the better assurance, and confirmation of the divers natures and qualities thereof." His volume, therefore, while repeating some of Monardes's recipes, also contained many others.

In curing such wounds as it could heal, tobacco was equally effective whether green or dried. By "drinking tobacco fasting in the morning," a man could get rid of a stinking breath that did not spring from any considerable infection. He should take a good quantity in order either to fetch the corruption off the stomach or dry it up. No more sovereign remedy for a headache or for recovering from a merry gather-

ing of the previous night could be found anywhere. Who, Chute inquired, had ever discovered a better cure for coughs or for rheum in the stomach, head, and eyes? Any man who desired to keep awake would benefit from "drinking a pipeful"; when tired from journeying, on the other hand, tobacco was unexcelled, and six or seven pipefuls would induce profound sleep, taking away in one night the fatigue that seemed likely to last many days. Indeed, anything "that harmes a man inwardly from his girdle upward" might be removed by a moderate use of the herb. The green leaves, being put into the hot embers, were, when applied, effective against opilations in the stomach, swelling pains in the stone, worms gnawing in the belly and guts, carbuncles, and all evils that came from cold causes. Tobacco cured the King's Evil. Likewise, Chute recommended the infusion of tobacco juice into wounds which should then be wrapped up in bruised leaves, and he specifically recalled the case of a French woman who, from a dart rotten in her face and past all care and cure of surgery, permitted the application of tobacco. Within a fortnight the woman had recovered her health, the sore completely healed. Smoking had great food value, for in Florida the inhabitants often nourished themselves in this way four or five days together, neither eating nor drinking anything whatsoever. The distilled water of the green leaves, when applied with linen cloths to fingers that had lost their nails, brought new ones. Finally, Chute concluded with a recipe for an ointment: "Take of the choicest and most substantial leaves of tobacco one pound, beat them in a mortar of marble, take half a pound of sweet hogs grease . . . and this being melted, add to it the tobacco . . . set it over a fire to seeth . . . until the waterish humor of the tobacco is vapoured away."

Although not given over exclusively to the properties of the herb, "The Cures of the Diseased" by George Wateson (or Whetstone) contained a section on erysipelas which recommended tobacco as a cure.[7] Drinking the juice effectively expelled poison, not only in this disease but also in snake bites and the like. Similarly, Henry Buttes's "Dyets Dry Dinner: consisting of eight severall courses: 1. Fruites. 2. Hearbes. 3. Flesh. 4. Fish. 5. Whitmeats. 6. Spice. 7. Sauce. 8. Tobacco. All served in after the order of time universall," treated tobacco along with other items.[8] This author recommended tobacco for sick kidneys, "naughty breath," and indigestion. A "dry dinner," according to Buttes, had no drink except tobacco "(which is but Dry Drinke)."

Tobacco's growing importance in England is also evidenced by its first mention in an herbal. In 1597 John Gerard published "The Herball or General Historie of Plants" which described "Tabaco or Henbane of Peru." "There be," he said, "two kinds . . . the greater, from the West Indies . . . the lesser, from Trinidad." The green leaves laid upon ulcers drew out filth and corrupted matter. Chewing drew forth phlegm and water, but taking some at the mouth produced an infirmity like drunkenness. Tobacco cured headache, gout, toothache—"if the teeth and gums be rubbed with a linen cloth dipped in the juice." The juice boiled with sugar and taken inwardly drove worms from the belly, "if withal a leaf be laid to the navel." Smoking, when the smoke was drawn into the stomach and thrust forth again at the nostrils, might relieve pains of the head, rheums, and aches for a time, but would never perform any cure. The oil

or juice dropped into the ears was good against deafness; a cloth dipped in the same and laid upon the face, took away redness and spots.

Devoted wholly to tobacco, and in a hostile vein, was "Work for Chimny-Sweepers," on the title-page of which *Fumus patriae, igne aliens luculentior* is rendered:

> Better be chokt with English hemp,
> Then poisoned with Indian Tobacco.[9]

This couplet matched that of another hostile writer, Samuel Rowlands, whose "Letting of Humours blood in the head vaine" (1602) described tobacco as worse than death's dart and declared:

> But this same poyson, steeped India weede,
> In head, hart, lunges, doth soote & copwebs breede.

The author of "Work for Chimny-Sweepers" emphasized that no one remedy could aptly be applied to all maladies, any more than one shoe could well serve all men's feet. What reason, therefore, had the tobacconists to offer their product indiscriminately to all men, ages, and complexions? Such men held no disease so incurable but that in some measure it received either cure or ease by their medicine. He complained that tobacco deprived the body of nourishment, had an unpleasant smell, and purged its users too violently. Tobacco dried up the sperm of man, so that, if used over-long, "the propagation and continuation of mankind in this world must need be abridged." It also had the dual and somewhat contradictory effect of withering and drying up the natural moisture of the body and of decaying and dissipating natural heat. Tobacco in substance and nature was "deliterious and venemous," had a stupefying effect, not unlike opium, increased melancholy greatly, and wasted the liquid part of the blood. The first author of smoking was the devil whose priests were the most consistent practicers. "This dark and smoky fume," he concluded, "piercing the cavities and ventricles of the brain . . . do breed in us terror, and fear, discontentment of life, false and perverse imaginations, and fantasies most strange, and . . . a fearful and timorous mind."

Quite naturally, since tobacco had genuine repute as medicine, this tract came in for rebuttal. Among the answers was "A Defence of Tobacco."[10] In speaking of the "Work for Chimny-Sweepers," the writer observed that if the intent had been only to condemn the abuse of tobacco, he himself agreed on that score. His own purpose was to show that neither of itself nor for itself should tobacco be "so mightily misliked," and to refute the reasons assigned against tobacco. Insisting that no more could be proved against tobacco than against all other purgatives, he specially condemned his opponent for building too much upon the accidents and the symptoms that sometimes followed excessive use. Moreover, he derided the critic for simultaneously attributing to tobacco, "a cold quality in the highest degree," and arguing that "the heat of tobacco is so exceeding hote, that it is able to inflame, and destroy naturall heat." For his own part he saw tobacco curing dropsy and waterish diseases, scurvy, and cold and weak stomachs.

In the same year another defence appeared, this from the pen of Doctor Bellamy.[11] He maintained that tobacco delivered men's bodies and members from gross, tedious, doleful and desperate maladies, for it purged and expelled mightily. "To pretend, that by smell and taste, our sense is offended by heat and drieth thereof, moisture is exhausted, concoction hindered, propa-

gation decayed . . . and melancholy bread and increased" offered great indignities to innocent tobacco, even though such accidents might and did result from the immoderate and inconsiderate usage thereof. Indeed tobacco was commendable for most men of any age, degree, constitution or condition. When taken by pipe, one grain of aniseed improved the smell and taste. When used as a vomit, "do not . . . abridge or restrain the violent operation" of it. When used as a purge, infuse with tobacco leaves in white wine or other liquor, some ginger, cinnamon, nutmegs and mace; licorice and anniseeds may also be added. When applied as a cure for wounds, use the ashes from the pipe. Sprinkle these into the "green" wound, ulcer, or sore, and observe them "perform strange and admirable effects . . . drying, cleansing, filling and reforming the part affected."

The year 1602 also saw a quite different piece on tobacco, namely a versified glorification by Sir John Beaumont.[12]

I sing the loves of the superior powers,
With the faire mother of all fragrant flowers:

Me let the sound of great Tabaccoes praise
A pitch above those love-sicke Poets raise:
Let me adore with my thrice-happie pen
The sweete and sole delight of mortall men,

Breath-giving herbe, none other I invoke
To helpe me paint the praise of sugred smoke:
Not that corrupted artificiall drug
Which every Gull as his owne soule doth hug,
And in the sweet composture of a docke
Drinkes to his Ladies dog, and Mistresse smocke,

Infume my braine, make my soules powers subtile,
Give nimble cadence to my harsher stile:
Inspire me with thy flame, which doth excell
The purest streames of the Castilian well,
That I on thy ascensive wings may flie
By thine ethereall vapours borne on high

Teach me what power thee on earth did place,
What God was bounteous to the humane race,
On what occasion, and by whom it stood,
That the blest world receiv'd so great a good.

This herbe would surpasse in excellence
The great'st Hyperboles of eloquence:
Yet this sweete simple by misordered use
Death or some dang'rous sicknesse may induce.
The Epicureans, whose chiefe good was plac't
In earthly pleasures vaine voluptuous tast,
Had our Tobacco in their daies been found,
Had built their frame on a more likely ground.
Pyrrho that held all by opinion stood,
Would have affirm'd this were by nature good:

You finde not a diviner herbe than this,
In all Albertus de miraculis:
Or the huge Herbals, which vaine fooles obey,
In Porta, Fuchsius, and great Dodoney:
In it Phisitians have no skill at all,
It is an essence Meta physicall,
Nor is it a thing so exquisite, so pure,
Compos'd of any common temp'rature:

Who takes this med'cine need no greatly care,
Who Galenists, who Paracelsians are:

Nor fill his pocket with their costly bills,
Nor stuffe his mawe with their unsav'ry pils,
Nor make huge pitfals in his tender vaines,
With thousand other more than hellish paines
But by this herbes celestiall qualitie
May keepe his health in mirth and jollitie.

With this advocacy and praise of tobacco it was perhaps inevitable that a contrary note should appear, but that a King should engage in controversy seemed indeed remarkable. Be that as it may, James I, that "drooling pedant," turned aside from speculating over the divinity that doth hedge a King to write a commonplace attack on Beau-

mont's celestial herb.[13] So that "the manifold abuses of this vile custome of Tobacco taking, may be the better espied" he first entered into consideration of the origin of its use and introduction into England. Claiming that tobacco had been "found out by some of the barbarous Indians, to be a preservative against the pockes," he particularly objected to the deceitful grounds on which people had built their liking for tobacco. "It is thought . . . a sure Aphorisme in the Physickes, That the braines of all men, beeing naturally colde and wet, all dry and hote things should be good for them. . . . Of this Argument, both the Proposition and Assumption are false. . . . The second Argument is, That this filthie smoake, as well through the heat and strength thereof, as by a naturall force and qualitie, is able and fit to purge . . . the head and stomacke of rheumes and distillations . . . by the spitting and avoyding steame. . . . But the fallacie of this Argument may easily appeare." The sins and vanities committed in the use of tobacco, James went on, were lust and uncleanness; moreover, it was "a branche of the sinne of drunkennesse, which is the roote of all sinnes." It was a great iniquity against all humanity that "the husband shall not bee ashamed, to reduce thereby his delicate, wholesome, and cleane complexioned wife, to that extremitie, that either shee must also corrupt her sweete breath therewith, or else resolve to live in a perpetuall stinking torment." The concluding blast of the tract, even though well known, must here be included: "a custome lothsome to the eye, hatefull to the nose, harmefull to the braine, daungerous to the Lungs, and in the blacke stinking fume thereof, neerest resembling the horrible Stigian smoke of the pit that is bottomelesse."

With the royal attitude so explicitly stated, a governmental order of 1604, placing a duty of 6s. 8d. a pound on tobacco, could scarcely avoid a moralizing preamble.[14] This observed that whereas tobacco was first only taken by the better sort of people to preserve their health, all now used it for pleasure. Immoderate usage had damaged people's health, weakened their bodies, emptied their purses, and burdened the country. Horrible though tobacco might be, the government had no intention of losing any revenue that tobacco might supply. The duty was not sufficient to prevent usage or to bring about importation only through illicit agencies, for although smuggling flourished, legitimate importation likewise increased.

After the effusion of James I, several years elapsed before anyone had the temerity to defend tobacco, but in 1610 Edmund Gardiner, "Gent. and Practitioner in Physicke," undertook to act as counsel for the defense in the trial of tobacco.[15] He admitted the existence of some poison in tobacco but justified usage on the ground that scarcely any remedy did good without a slight touch of harm, "unless by art it be refined." He explained that "the leaves of tobacco at this day bee onely in use (although for want of them, some . . . use the seeds)." Yet tobacco relieved rather than cured. The fumes emptied the body of evil humors for a time, but they did not remove the cause of grief. Gardiner condemned in principle the custom of "drinking" tobacco, but because it might do some good in practice he was willing to tolerate it. He advised great discretion in the use of tobacco, recommending that the nature of every patient be well considered and the proper cure fitted to him. Following his predecessors he praised tobacco in its various forms, smoking, syrup, and

salve, respectively, as a cure for aches and rheums, worms, piles and dropsy, and abscesses and botches. Abuse, however, had ruined many a patrimony.

Four years later, Dr. William Barclay extravagantly eulogized tobacco, of which every part was "medicin, the roote, the stalke, the leaves, the seeds, the smoake, the ashes."[16] Tobacco might serve either green or dry, as a medicine. "Of greene Tobacco may be made Syrups, waters, oyles, unguents, plasters, or the leaf of it selfe may bee used mortified at the fire to cure the asthma, or shortnesse of breath, dissolve obstructions, heale the old-chronic cough, burning ulcers, wounds, migrain, Colicke, suffocation of the mother: and many other diseases, yea almost all diseases." Barclay avowed tobacco to be one of the best and surest remedies in the world for toothache, epilepsy, apoplexy, and dizziness in the head by wind. It was an excellent antidote for hypochondriac melancholy. He called spitting a "fixed manner of purging," and tobacco was a sovereign way to accomplish this. Take a leaf of tobacco, he said, make a round ball of it big enough to fill the patient's mouth, incline his face toward the ground, keeping the mouth open and "there shall be such a flood of water from his brain and his stomach, and from all parts of his body that it shall be a wonder." If done every day, this would cure epilepsy or "hydropsie." Tobacco, going immediately to the brain, augmented and refreshed the animal spirits, dried the source of innumerable diseases, and fortified the brain. It prevented arthritis, gout, obesity, and gravel. Tobacco prepared the stomach for meat, cleared the voice, sweetened the breath, improved the sight, opened the ears, and comforted the nerves. Taken in syrup form, no obstruction could abide it. Verily, no advertising agent for cigarettes could claim more for his product than did William Barclay for "My Lady Nicotine."

In 1615, there being upwards of 7000 houses in and near London selling tobacco,[17] a writer supplied advice on its culture in England.[18] He argued that because Englishmen were paying out £200,000 every year for tobacco, they should raise their own instead of aiding Spain. After some comments on the tricks of the trade—the doping of tobacco with molasses, pepper, honey, and other such products, and the practice of covering rotten leaves with good ones—the author described the proper soil, cultivation, kind of plants, and curing. In listing the virtues of the herb, he recalled that the Spaniards and Indians praised it as opening the pores to let out the heat. It counteracted the lack of salt which caused eating fruits and drinking water; it stayed hunger and thirst and refreshed persons after hard labor; it was useful against fevers, scurvy, sores and ulcers, and poisoned arrows. The author likewise referred to Monardes's recommendations, to another authority's approval of tobacco for ulcers, gangrene, and scabs, and to Gerard, the herbalist, on tobacco as a cure for dropsy, wounds, dizziness, migraine, rheums, and asthma. Despite these virtues, Englishmen having wine, spices, and salt did not need tobacco like some poor people who lacked such blessings. Moreover, excessive use of tobacco brought toothache, made its users dull and sleepy, encouraged drinking, hastened old age, and was "no friend to generation."

Quite of a piece with the "Counterblast" of King James were three outbursts, of 1615, 1616, and 1617. The first of these, "Tobacco Battered," was written by Joshua Sylvester, translator of Du Bartas and a favorite of James I.[19]

The author, casting his denunciations in verse form, maintained that no plant, with the exception of hemp, was so pernicious to man's life as tobacco. A tobacconist was a rank idolator. Tobacco caused a moist brain, dried the blood, dulled the intellect, marred the memory, made men heedless and quarrelsome, and dried up the seed of generation. Some of his lines follow:

Needs must I band against the need-less Use
Of Don Tobacco, and his foule Abuse:
Which (though in Inde it be an Herbe indeed)
In Europe is no better than a Weed;

Two smoakie Engines, in this latter Age
(Satans short Circuit; the more sharp his rage.)
Have been invented by too-wanted Wit,
Or rather, vented from th' Infernall Pit,
Guns and Tobacco-pipes, with Fire and Smoak,
(At least) a Third part of Mankind to choak;
Then, in Despite, who-ever dare say Nay,
Tobacconists, keep-on your course: you may,
If you continue in your Smoakie Ure,
The better for Hell's sulph'ry Smoak endure;

Similar in purpose and in tone if not in form was John Deacon's "Tobacco Tortured."[20] Dedicated to James I and ornamented with conceits and far fetched analogies, this 198 page tract, which makes little or no contribution to medical history, is a continuous blast against tobacco fumes and fuming tobacconists. Tobacco like liquor was wasteful to the purse, a menace to the soul, and dangerous to bodily health. If, said Deacon, "sweete oyntments and perfumes do undoubtedly reioyce the heart of a man: then surely, all noysome savours and poysonsome smels (such as is the filthie fume to Tobacco) inwardly taken must necessarily disquiet, and drive the same into a dangerous condition."

The third of these invectives against "tobacco's smoakie mist" came from the pen of Richard Braithwait, a minor poet of the time.[21] His "Smoaking Age," like Deacon's tract, however, had little medical significance. Specifically, he warned that "it is not the swarthy-chopt Tobacco-drugge, that will yeeld you content in the expence of your time. . . . A whole ounce of Tobacco will hardly purchase one dram of wit." Although admitting that tobacco taken internally if not to excess had some medicinal value, he thought that it diminished men's valor. Moreover, he jeered at the notion of tobacco as "the onely soveraigne experimentall cure, not onely for the Neapolitan itch, but generally for all maladies incident to man's bodie" such as asthma, canker, the King's Evil, and consumption.

Less vigorous, but no less hostile, and more medical was William Vaughan whose "Directions for Health," although but incidentally concerned with tobacco, require some consideration.[22] While recommending tobacco against scurvy, the author warned lest the piercing power harm the spirits and by immoderate use harden men's hearts. He also cautioned smokers concerning their company and pipe. "This Indian medicament is mightily abused, and by the devils temptations turned to Bacchanalian beastly custom." Tobacco should be avoided by lean, choleric, and melancholy persons, by young people, women with child, husbands who desire to have children, and especially all such under fifty years of age whose brains were hot and dry. Tobacco of itself was as violent as quicksilver; it brought fear and dullness to the understanding, will, and memory. In summary:

Tobacco, that outlandish weede,
It spends the braine, and spoiles the seede:
It duls the sprite, it dims the sight,
It robs a woman of her right.

In 1619 the government issued another proclamation resembling that of 1604.[23] This declared that tobacco tended to a general corruption of men's bodies and manners. If it were going to be used in spite of its corrupting influence, however, better that it should be imported than that it be suffered to overrun the country—this "noysome" weed which nourished vice "(and nothing else)." If permitted to grow in England "the basest people" would use it promiscuously. In any case English tobacco, being poor, would only endanger the bodies of Englishmen "so that the medicinall use of tobacco (which is that that is only good in it, and to be approved) is in this kind also corrupted and infected." The proclamation also observed that tobacco would occupy land which ought to be used for foodstuffs; moreover, the customs would be diminished. In 1619 and 1625, other proclamations, primarily economic in character, referred to "the drugge called tobacco."[24]

Even more critical of tobacco as a medicine than Vaughan was John Cotta, "Doctor of Physicke," who in 1619 recorded the high fame and great renown that attended tobacco's first arrival in England when it was entertained as "an incomparable jewel of health, and an universall antidote and supersedeas" against all diseases.[25] But, he inquired, had not "time and many a mans woefull experience given testimony to right reason . . . from the first suspecting, and until this proving time suspending the too great name thereof? Is not now this high blased remedy discovered . . . to be a monster of many diseases?" Cotta certainly disagreed with the statement in a "dialogue" of 1630, "Tobacco . . . wee acknowledge you a gentle drink,"[26] since he found in "this nicotine fume" the source of many common complaints.

Almost completely in agreement with Cotta was James Hart, another "Doctor in Physicke," who believed tobacco a poison as strong as the strongest purging medicine, having a violent purging quality itself.[27] While tobacco helped obstructions of the liver and other organs, and by its narcotic quality stupefied and benumbed the senses and so allayed pain, it was "indifferently used of all sorts of persons without respect of any circumstance whatsoever." Moderate exercise and good diet were better than tobacco. On the other hand, Hart admitted the use of tobacco to be justified in certain cases—time, place, age, constitution of body, the disease, quantity, quality and manner of preparation all considered. He advised all melancholy persons, choleric, hot-brained persons, women with child, and those with acute diseases to abstain, and warned that excessive usage caused many dangerous diseases.

In 1621 Tobias Venner published a full length piece on tobacco.[28] He explained that the juice of tobacco had an "excellent digesting, mundifying, and consolidating faculty," efficacious for curing wounds or cuts, sores, ulcers, and scabs. While he too deplored immoderation, on the ground that smoking increased insensibility, he approved tobacco as necessary and profitable for the rheumatic, those of cold and moist constitutions, and sufferers from toothache and swelling of the gums. In foggy and rainy weather, it prevented catarrhs, rheums, and the like. This led him to lay down ten precepts for the use of tobacco. It should be taken after meals and sometimes in the mornings fasting and at bedtime, never at meals between courses. One or two pipefuls at a time was sufficient. Smokers should not drink between the taking of fumes or, if they

smoked before meals, eat or drink for fifteen minutes. They should keep the smoke from their eyes and draw the fume warily, not sucking it into the wind-pipe suddenly. Finally, they should not go out into the air directly after "taking the fume" because, the pores of the body being opened by the "strong working of the fume," sudden access of the air might produce "ineffable hurts." In general, Venner, well endowed with common sense, recommended that each smoker consider whether or not tobacco would be "convenient for the stomach, lungs, and liver" and should determine his own practices.

Several years later a glowing eulogy of tobacco[29] appeared, incorporating much material from "Tobacologia" (1622) by Johann Neander, a capable physician and a native of Bremen.[30] The dedicatory epistle recalled that many people were dependent for their livelihood on the trade in tobacco which therefore was not only the physic but also the meat and drink of many people. It was a plant of God's own making, though the devil was likewise involved. The very smoke was a great antidote against "wind-cholick." It cleared the head and purged the brain, and was good for every condition. The tract itself began with a fairly elaborate description of tobacco, its faculties, cultivation, and curing, after which its virtues received attention.

An antidote to poison, it took away weariness, cured rheums, deafness, ulcers in the nostrils, redness in the face, toothache, swelling of the throat, diseases of the thorax, cough, wind, and surfeit. It strengthened the memory by purging the brain. It cured the liver, spleen, dropsy, "emrods," sciatica, female trouble, burns, old wounds, bloody flux, pox, falling hair, warts, corns, carbuncles, mad dog bite, and cancer of the breast. (In this final instance the female plant should be used.) It healed the wounds of animals. Application of tobacco should come through mixture with other herbs. With all the virtues, however, the author advised young men against over-indulgence because this weakened the body and caused vomiting.

Quite in contrast to these prosaic though often excessive claims stands a frivolous tract published in 1675.[31] This seemed to be based—how seriously one can only guess—on the conviction that tobacco diminished masculine virility. At a session of women in "Gossips Hall" one confessed that though married fourteen years, she had been with child only once and that was "not half gotten." Insisting upon her aptness for generation, she maintained that smoking had made her husband deficient. Her neighbor, whose husband did not smoke, had nine children for nine years of marriage. Tobacco indeed robbed women of their "sweet natural delight." After this outburst, "a handsome, comely, buxome woman," married to a "pritty young man" who appeared to be "a good woman's man," confided that she found him quite the contrary. Either her husband must leave off tobacco or she would betake herself to another man who would wine her and dine her and when the night came would wait upon her "briskly to supply the wants of a longing woman." Away with a stinking brute who thought to satisfy a woman with a kiss because he could do nothing else, his oil having been sponged up by this noxious weed.

Thereupon a doctor's wife recorded how her husband's books proved tobacco's evil effect upon "the seminal and luxurious parts" of men. She had

had no children by her first husband "nor half that satisfaction from him, which a young woman (as I was) might expect." Her present husband, to whom she had given six children, attributed the deficiencies of her first husband to the excessive use of tobacco which being hot and dry destroyed "the seed in man which propagates and begets children in women." This statement encouraged further denunciation of tobacco, and, after an older (and unfortunate) victim of a tobacco-smoking husband had exhorted the assembly, a young woman took the floor. "Being as yet a virgin (though it may be contrary to my own will)" she feared lest she marry a smoker. Virgins might well refuse to marry; such refusal would perhaps bring men to their senses. The group then resolved that no man under fifty should smoke (one woman sought to set the age at sixty); if he did, it would be lawful for the wife to find a "gallant."

In striking contrast, a tract on coffee, tea, chocolate and tobacco recalled the terrible stories of sooty brains and black lungs found in the dissections of the dead bodies of smokers.[32] Nevertheless, the author regarded tobacco as a cure for mangy and ulcerous diseases, colic pains, agues, toothache, and other woes. "As for daily smoking of it, the state and circumstances of your body must be the best guide; if your complexion be lean, hot, and dry, it is an argument against it, but if cold, moist, and humoral," one may venture to use it. Several years later, another discourse on the same herbs, from the pen of a prolific Dr. James who quoted extensively from Monardes, recommended tobacco for stiff neck, tetanus, toothache, respiratory diseases, stomach ache and rumbles, and arthritis.[33] Although the herb had value, abuse of it damaged the eye and nose, and, while stimulating venery, increased sterility.

Meanwhile, in 1724, Dr. George Cheyne, personal physician to the Countess of Huntingdon and devoted adherent of a strict and moderate dietary regimen, praised the extensive use of tobacco in England. Victims of coughs, catarrhs, and asthmatic indispositions, violent toothaches, and cold and waterish stomachs would find that both smoking and chewing supplied a beneficial evacuation, drawing off superfluous humors, crudities, and cold phlegm, provided the users carefully avoided swallowing the smoke or the juice.[34] Moreover, in a letter to Lady Huntingdon, he advised her to encourage spitting by chewing tobacco.[35]

In these same years, a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* commented upon the increased vogue of tobacco. After referring to Indian usage and the introduction into England, he explained that the "best way to distinguish whether Smoaking be for the Health, is to consider the Constitution, whether Phlegmatick, and subject to raw waterish Humours, then it may be beneficial; but in lean and hectick Constitutions it is pernicious. The same Observations will hold with respect to Snuff, which may be useful to some Constitutions, but hurtful to those who are subject to Apoplectick Fits, and to all if taken immoderately." Europeans laughed at East Indians for chewing betel but their own folly of chewing tobacco spoiled their breath and made them appear loathsome.[36]

Approximately a century after Beaumont's "Metamorphosis of Tobacco," Lawrence Spooner published a lengthy poem on tobacco.[37] In the epistle to the reader he deplored the cost of smoking. In the poem proper he dissented from the common attribution of medicinal

or social virtues to tobacco and compared it to Dalilah, maintaining that excessive use could not be avoided. Some years later, the *Gentleman's Magazine* contained a series of verses, "The Convert to Tobacco. A Tale," which, while lacking medical importance, reflects a viewpoint opposite to that of Spooner.[38]

Hail Raleigh! Venerable Shade,
Accept this Tribute humbly paid,
Great Patron of the Sailing Crew,
Who gav'st us Weed to smoke and chew,

Immortal Weed! all-healing Plant!
Possessing Thee we nothing want.

With Thee, dear Partner of his Ale,
The Justice grave prolongs his Tale;
And fast asleep does wisely prate us,
Whilst sober Whiff fills each Hiatus.

The final tract to be mentioned here as dealing with the subject under attention appeared from the pen of John Wesley in 1764.[39] While dealing mainly with other items, the author recommended blowing tobacco smoke into the ear to cure the earache and cleaning the teeth with tobacco ashes. Such tracts as these discussed here seem to belong to a bygone age, yet a few years ago, "Tobacconalia, containing medical, moral and social reasons for the moderate use of tobacco," by James Irving Crabbe, reflected something of the older view in praising tobacco as a prophylactic, anodyne, and conserver of vitality.[40]

Little need be said in concluding this sketch on the medical history of tobacco. As can readily be seen, the bulk of what has here been summarized dates from the early period of English colonization, a period marked also by a lively scientific curiosity which itself was largely engendered by recent discoveries and exploration. With dozens of new drugs and herbs coming within the purview of Englishmen, tobacco inevitably attracted attention. In the eyes of many, its potential therapeutic value equalled that of "Jesuit's Bark," for its obvious strength fitted contemporaneous preconceptions concerning purgation and purification. Whether based on substantial proof or not, its quality as a "defensative" against the ubiquitous and recurrent plague was so highly regarded that all ages and classes smoked and chewed furiously during the great epidemics. As already noticed, its popularity extended to other ails. It must needs be remembered, then, in this connection that the history of tobacco in England was once no longer than that of insulin in the United States. Subsequent moral propaganda on the one hand and social custom on the other should not entirely blot out what at one time appears to have been the primary interest in tobacco, namely, its medicinal value. In that capacity, men seized upon it with avidity and recommended it highly as a contribution to the improvement of public health in England.

References

1. A. C. Potter, Some Early Books on Tobacco. *Harvard Library Notes,* No. 27, pp. 101-118, 1936; George Arents, Jr. Early Literature of Tobacco. *The South Atlantic Quarterly,* 37:97-107, 1938. An older article of value is Charles Singer, The Early History of Tobacco, *The Quarterly Review,* 219: 125-142, 1913. For bibliographical assistance see "Tobacco: Its history, illustrated by the books, manuscripts and engravings in the library of George Arents, Jr." 1:1507-1615; 2:1615-1698, compiled by Jerome E. Brooks (New York, Rosenbach, 1937, 1938).
2. The first book devoted wholly to tobacco was written by Jacques Gohory, "Instruction sur L'Herbe Petum ditte en France L'Herbe de la Royne ou Medicee" (Paris, 1572). This volume,

which drew from "L'Agriculture et Maison Rustique" (1554), by CHARLES ESTIENNE and JEAN LIEBAULT, an edition of which appeared in 1572, described the medicinal virtues of tobacco as well as its morphology. "Maison Rustique" dealt only incidentally with the plant, but did refer to its curative properties.

3. Reproduced in C. SINGER, "A Short History of Medicine" (New York, 1928), p. 99. *Cf.* Arents, *So. Atl. Quart.*, that there is no evidence that Indians used tobacco medicinally, except possibly for asthma, prior to the coming of the white man.
4. Joyfull Newes out of the newe founde worlde, wherein is declared the rare and singular vertues of diverse and sundrie Hearbes, Trees, Oyles, Plantes, and Stones, with their applications, as well for phisicke as chirurgerie, the saied beyng well applied bryngeth suche present remedie for all deseases, as maie seeme altogether incredible: notwithstandyng by practize founde out, to bee true: Also the portrature of the saied Hearbes very aptly described (London, 1577). Monardes's book—at least the part on tobacco—had been published at Seville in 1571. Frampton included in his edition an extract from "Maison Rustique," without acknowledgement. Even before Frampton's rendering of Monardes into English, tobacco, according to Harrison ("Description of England"), was greatly used in England "against Rheums and some other diseases engendered in the lungs and inward parts."
5. In his "Essay on Health and Long Life" (London, 1724), DR. GEORGE CHEYNE (1671-1743) praised the same cure which incidentally was earnestly recommended to the present writer not so many years ago in upstate New York.
6. Tabacco. London, 1595.
7. The Cures of the Diseased, in remote regions, preventing mortalitie incident in forraine attempts, of the English nation. London, 1598. Reproduced in facsimile with introduction and notes by Charles Singer. Oxford, 1915.
8. London, 1599.
9. Work for Chimny-sweepers: or a warning for Tabacconists. Describing the pernicious use of Tabacco, no lesse pleasant than profitable for all sorts to reade (1602). This tract has been edited with an introduction by S. H. Atkins (Oxford, 1936) as Shakespeare Association facsimile No. 11. Mr. Atkins dates his tract 1601; the Huntington Library copy used here is dated 1602.
10. A Defence of Tabacco: with a friendly answer to the late printed Booke called Worke for Chimny-Sweepers, etc. London, 1602. This work has been credited to Roger Marbecke.
11. A New and Short Defense of Tobacco: with the effectes of the same: and of the right use thereof. London, 1602.
12. The Metamorphosis of Tabacco. London, 1602.
13. A Counter-Blaste of Tobacco. London, 1604.
14. ATKINS, Introduction to Work for Chimny-Sweepers. Oxford reprint, 1936.
15. The Triall of Tabacco. Wherein, his worth is most worthily expressed: as, in the name, nature, and qualitie of the sayd hearb; his speciall use in all Physicke, with the true and right use of taking it, as well for the Seasons, and times, as also the Complexions, Dispositions, and Constitutions, of such Bodies, & Persons, as are fittest: and to whom it is most profitable to take it. London, 1610.
16. Nepenthes, or the Vertues of Tabacco. Edinburgh, 1614.
17. BARNABE RICH. The Honestie of this Age. London, 1614, pp. 25-26.
18. An Advice how to plant tobacco in England: and how to bring it to colour and perfection, to whom it may be profitable, and to whom harmfull. The vertues of the hearbe in generall, as well in the outward application as taken in fume. With the danger of the Spanish tobacco. Written by C. T., London, 1615.
19. Tobacco Battered; the Pipes shattered (about their Eares that idely idolize so base & barbarous a Weed; or at least-wise over-love so loathsome Vanitie:) by a Volley of holy Shot Thundered from Mount Helicon. This poem, licensed in 1615, was published in Du

Bartas his Divine Wordes and Workes with a Complete Collection of all the other most delight-full Workes translated and written by that famous Philomusus Josuah Sylvester Gent. London, 1633, pp. 573-579.

20. Tobacco tortured, or the filthie fume of tobacco refined: shewing all sorts of subiects, that the inward taking of tobacco fumes, is very pernicious unto their bodies; too too profluuious for many of their purses; and most pestiferous to the publike state. Exemplified apparently by most fearefull effects: more especially, from their treacherous proiects about the gunpowder treason; from their rebellious attempts of late, about their preposterious disparking of certaine inclosures: as also, from sundry other their prodigious practices. London, 1616.
21. The Smoaking Age, or, the man in the mist: with the life and death of Tobacco. Dedicated to those three renowned and imparallel'd Heroes, Captaine Whiffe, Captain Pipe, and Captain Snuffe. To whom the Author wisheth as much content, as this Smoaking Age can afford them. . . . At the Signe of Teare-Nose. London, 1617.
22. Directions for Health, both naturall and artificiall: approved and derived from the best physitians, as well moderne as auncient. Teaching how every man should keepe his body and minde in health: and sicke, how hee may safely restore it himselfe. Divided into 6 sections. 1. Ayre, Fire, and Water. 2. Meate, drinke with nourishment. 3. Avoydance of excrements, by Physicke, as Mechoacans Ale, Tobacco, etc. 4. Remedies for common sicknesses. 5. The Soules qualities and affections. 6. Quarterly, monethly, and daily diet. London, 1617.
23. A Proclamation to restraine the planting of tobacco in England and Wales. London, 1619. In 1660, a statute, 12 Car. II, c. 34, forbade the planting of tobacco in England but provided that the prohibition should not hinder "the planting of Tobacco in any Physick-Garden of either University, or in any other private Garden for Physick or Chirurgery only." In 1670, this same provision was included in the statute, 22 & 23 Car. II, c. 26.
24. Proclamation concerning the viewing, and distinguishing of tobacco in England and Ireland, the Dominion of Wales, and Towne of Barwicke. London, 1619. This was issued in conjunction with the proclamation requiring the well garbling of spices and drugs; tobacco had been sold ungarbled. A Proclamation touching Tobacco. London, 1626. See also Considerations touching the new contract for tobacco, as the same hath beene propounded by Maister Ditchfield, and other undertakers. n. p. 1625.
25. A Short Discoverie of Severall sorts of ignorant and unconsiderate Practisers of Physicke in England. With Direction for the safest election of Physitian in necessitie. London, 1619.
26. Wine, Beere, Ale, and Tobacco. Contending for Superiority. A Dialogue. London, 1630. This same year saw also the appearance of The Armes of the Tobaconists.
27. The Diet of the Diseased. London, 1633.
28. A Briefe and Accurate Treatise concerning the taking of the Fumes of Tobacco, which very many, in these dayes doe too too licenciously use. In which, the immoderate, irregular, and unseasonable use thereof is reprehended, and the true nature and best manner of using it, perspicuously demonstrated. London, 1621. I have used an edition printed in 1637.
29. Panacea; or the universal medicine, being a discovery of the wonderfull vertues of Tobacco taken in a pipe, with its operation and use both in physick and chyrurgery. (London, 1659.) This tract of 78 pages appeared also in another form of 55 pages under the title of "Dr. Everard his discourse of the wonderfull effects & operation of tobacco." This latter discourse seems to be no more than a rehash of the former. The two, bound in the same volume in the Huntington library copy, were paged separately. The first tract was purportedly an English edition of a work by an Antwerp physician, Giles Everaerts, "De Herba Panacea, quam alii

tabacum, alii petum, aut nicotianam vocant," Antwerp, 1583, 1587. Everaerts did not mention pipe-smoking and Neander rather doubted its value.

30. "Tabacologia" went through several editions within a few years. The book was a quarto of nearly 300 pages, with many illustrations. Neander thought that smoking might be good for certain temperaments and diseases. It also improved the memory. However, excess ruined both mind and body. Used moderately it cured toothache, earache, dysentery, smallpox, plague, ulcers, cataracts, asthma, and wounds. It could be administered as a syrup, tea, gruel, oil, pills, or salve. Gout might be cured by: 1 lb of tobacco leaves steeped in oil, 12 live frogs, 4 live worms, adding wine when this combination was well cooked.

31. The Womens Complaint against Tobacco: or, an excellent help to multiplication. Perspicuously shewing the annoyance that it brings to mankind, and the great deprivation of comfort and delight to the female sex, with a special and significant order set forth by the women for suppressing the general use thereof amongst their husbands, they finding that tobacco is the only enemy to pleasure and procreation as they now plainly make it appear in this their declaration. London, 1675.

32. The Natural History of Coffee, Thee, Chocolate, Tobacco. In four several sections. With a tract of elder and juniper-berries, shewing how useful they may be in our coffee-houses: and also the way of making mum, with some remarks upon that liquor. Collected from the writings of the best physicians, and modern travellers. London, 1682.

33. A Treatise on Tobacco, Tea, Coffee, and Chocolate. In which I. The advantages and disadvantages attending the use of these commodities, are not only impartially considered, upon the principles of medicine and chymistry, but also ascertained by observation and experience. II. Full and distinct directions laid down for knowing in what cases, and for what particular constitutions these substances are either beneficial, or hurtful. III. The Chinese or Asiatic Tea, shewn to be the same with the European Chameloeagnus, or Nyrtus Brabantica. The whole illustrated with copper plates, exhibiting the tea utensils of the Chinese and Persians. Written originally by Simon Pauli, and now translated by Dr. James. Bath and London, 1746.

34. Essay on Health, and Long Life. London, 1724.

35. Letter of September 6, 1735. Ms. letter in Huntington Library, catalogued Ha 1404.

36. *The Gentleman's Magazine,* 1:382-383, 1731. Incidentally, the author dated the taking of snuff in England from the Restoration.

37. A Looking-Glass for Smoakers: or, the danger of the needless or intemperate use of tobacco. Collected from the author's nine years experience, and thirty years observation, after he came to manhood. In which the lawful use of it is approved, the abuse of it reproved; directions to them that have a mind to have it, and cautions to those that never took it. A Poem. London, 1703.

38. *The Gentleman's Magazine,* 3:92, 1733.

39. Primitive Physick: or, an easy and natural method of curing most diseases. Philadelphia, 1764.

40. Portland, 1920.