

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WORKS OF WALTER CHARLETON¹

Published works

Chorea Gigantum, or, *The Most Famous Antiquity of Great-Britan* [sic], *Vulgarly called Stone-Heng, Standing on Salisbury Plain, Restored to the Danes*, London, Printed for Henry Herringman, 1663.

The Most Notable Antiquity of Great-Britain, Vulgarly called Stone-Heng, on Salisbury Plain, Restored, by Inigo Jones . . . to which are added Chorea Gigantum and Mr Webb's Vindication, London, Printed for D. Browne Junior, and J. Woodman and D. Lyon, 1725.

A facsimile edition of the 1725 edition has been produced, introduced by Stuart Piggot, Farnborough, Gregg, 1971.

Charleton dedicated *Chorea* 'to the King's Most Excellent Majesty', and referred to the monarch's personal interest in the matter. In July 1663, when the physician presented his observations on Stonehenge to the Society, Aubrey was asked to look into the matter.² He indicated that the King was quite taken with Charleton's theory about Stonehenge. Charleton and Aubrey attended the King and the Duke and Duchess of York when they visited the area in 1663.³

Chorea contributed to contemporary debate about the origins of the monument. It criticised Inigo Jones' *The Most Notable Antiquity of Great Britain, vulgarly called Stone-heng, restored*, which argued for the Roman origin of the stone monuments. Charleton claimed that Stonehenge was in fact the construction of ancient Danes. This initiated considerable controversy, and was ill-received in London. Wood claims Charleton's text was 'exploded by most persons when t'was published'. *Chorea* garnered a severe retaliation from Jones's son-in-law, John Webb.⁴

¹ The works are organised alphabetically, and are designed to provide a quick reference while reading the main body of the book.

² Birch, *History*, vol. 1, p. 272.

³ Aubrey refers to the King 'discoursing with my Lord Brouncker and Dr Charlton conerning Stoneheng'. Charleton and Aubrey attended the king the Duke and Duchess of York in their visit to the area in 1663. A. Powell, *John Aubrey and his Friends*, London, Hogarth, 1988, pp. 106-8.

⁴ Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, p. 754. However, it found support with Sir William Dugdale, and some interest from the king, to whom it was dedicated. Charleton in turn recommended Dugdale's *History of imbanking and draining of divers fens and marshes, both in foreign parts and in this kingdom*, London, 1662, at the Royal Society in 1664.

The work was famously prefaced by a poem by John Dryden, addressed ‘To my worthy friend, Dr. Charleton’, in which the latter was highly praised. Some lines of the poem seem to recognise Charleton’s eclectic method:

Whatever Truths have been, by Art or Chance,
Redeem’d from Error, or from Ignorance,
Thin in their Authors, (like rich veins in Ore)
Your Works unite, and still discover more.

The Darknes of Atheism dispelled by the Light of Nature. A physico-theological treatise, London, Printed by J. F. for William Lee . . . , 1652.

Dedicated, in Latin, to Dr Francis Prujean. The ‘Epistle’ testifies to Charleton’s gratitude to Prujean for his support in gaining admission into the College of Physicians, and for his personal assistance when Charleton was struck down by dysentery.

The copy of *Darknes* in the Wellcome Institute Library, London, contains a prefacing letter, to ‘Clement Barksdale, Theologist’ dated 28 March 1654.⁵ Barksdale’s preface asserted that authors such as Gassendi, Descartes and Sennert were elevated in status by their inclusion in Charleton’s text.

Darknes demonstrated that natural philosophy supported traditional religion, and argued that the immortality and immateriality of the soul, and the existence of God, could be demonstrated irrefutably by reason.⁶

The book exhibited an awareness of French philosophy not present in Charleton’s earlier works, and has thus been thought to have constituted something of a turning point in his intellectual trajectory.⁷

The work is treated as pivotal by some historians, including Margaret Osler, who believes that *Darknes* ‘established the general framework for Charleton’s system of nature’. She argues that the books unifying theme is the ‘unhindered exercise of God’s will in his dominion over nature’, and that this theological conviction underlay Charleton’s entire system of natural knowledge.⁸

Deliramenta Catarrhi: or, The Incongruities, Impossibilities, and Absurdities couched under the Vulgar Opinion of Defluxions, by Joh. Bapt. Van Helmont, &c. *The translator and paraphrast Dr. Charleton*, London, printed by E.G. for William Lee at the signe of the Turks-head in Fleet-street, 1650.

The preface, entitled ‘The Translator to the Judicious and (therefore) unprejudicate Reader’, complained of ‘malevolent, severe and uncharitable’

⁵ Clement Barksdale (1609-1687) graduated from Merton in the mid-1630s and served as chaplain of Lincoln College. It could have been at around this time that he and Charleton met. Barksdale was interested in the work of Hugo Grotius, whose writings explored the issue of knowledge and the problem of certainty in relation to scepticism.

⁶ See Kargon, ‘Introduction’, p. xix.

⁷ This is discussed by Sharp, ‘Early Life’, p. 323.

⁸ Osler, ‘Descartes and Charleton’, p. 452.

criticisms of his previous work (*Ternary of Paradoxes*). However, Charleton declared his temperament to be 'too Stoical, to feel the weak assaults of that cowardly Pygmie, detraction'.⁹

As its title suggests, *Deliramenta* questioned accepted explanations of catarrhal defluxions, in concurrence with Helmont's belief that traditional explanations were in need of reform. The text outlined 'The errors of physicians', including their failure to free themselves of the mistakes of the past concerning 'the generation of Rheume, its defluxion, manner, way, matter, means, places, and organs; as also of its Revulsion and Remedies.'¹⁰

Although the work was essentially a paraphrasing of Helmont, *Deliramenta* did not show Charleton's unqualified support for his source. He depicted Helmont's reasons to be 'stronger at Demolishing the Doctrines of the Antient Pillars our Art then Erecting a more substantial and durable Structure of his own, his Witt more acute and active at Contradiction, then his judgement profound and authentick at Probabtion.'¹¹

Deliramenta contained praise for contemporary works, including Thomas Hobbes' *Human Nature*.

De Scorbuto Liber Singularis; cui accessit Epiphenomena in Medicatros, Londini, Typis E. Tyler, & R. Holt, prostant apud Guliel. Wells & Rob. Scot, 1672. [another edition] Ludguni Batavorum, Apud Felicem Lopez, 1672.

De Scorbuto was dedicated to George Ent, then President of the College of Physicians. The author praised Ent for his precision, erudition, honesty and kindness.

In the preface 'To the learned reader', Charleton welcomed the censure of his readers, and declared himself not addicted to any ideas which might be discovered to be false.¹²

The text followed a specific disease through its causes, signs, symptoms, and progress. It encompassed the names by which scurvy was known; the varieties of scurvy; remote and external as well as near and 'contiguous' causes; theories of the origin of scurvy in rancid blood and in fixed salt; the diagnostic indicators and Prognostic Signs to be observed by doctors looking after 'scorbutick' patients; general therapy and the therapy of scurvy caused by rancid blood, fixed salt and acid; cure of severe symptoms. Finally, the text contained a diatribe against quacks.

The work was perhaps composed in response to Thomas Willis's 1667 publication on scurvy in *Pathologia Cerebri & Nervosi Generis Specimina, in quo agitur de morbis convulsivis et de Scorbuto*. Charleton debated the relative significance of various chemical elements, and offered disputations of the

⁹ Charleton, 'To the Reader', *Deliramenta Catarri*, p. ii.

¹⁰ Charleton, *Deliramenta Catarri*, p. 3.

¹¹ Charleton, 'To the Reader', *Deliramenta*, p. v.

¹² Charleton, *De Scorbuto*, p. vi.

philosophical principles of Willis's text. *De Scorbuto* did not draw from patient reports or experimental procedures.

Its content indicates that *De Scorbuto*'s intended audience was composed of physicians. Its subject matter was circumscribed by an established tradition of how physicians' knowledge should be presented. Considered in the context of contemporary works on the subject of specific diseases, its presentation was formulaic.

De Vita et Rebus Gestis Nobilissimi Illustrissimique Principis Guilielmi Ducis Novocastrensis commentarii . . . ex Anglico in Latinum conversi. (*Appendicula continens paucula Auctoris observata*, Londini, Excudebat T. M., 1668.

The British Library's copy contains manuscript notes in Charleton's own hand.

This was a translation into Latin for the European market of Margaret Cavendish's biography of her husband, the Duke of Newcastle. Her book was entitled *The Life of William Cavendish, Duke, Marquis and Earl of Newcastle, Earl of Ogle, Bothal, and Hepple, &c.*, London, 1667. The English edition was reprinted in 1675.

Margaret Cavendish was both a friend and patron, and Charleton's act of translation would have been a means of further ingratiating himself. Letters between the physician and this intriguing woman exist in Charleton's collected manuscripts.¹³ Charleton facilitated the Duchess's visit to the Royal Society in 1667.

[*A Brief*] ***Discourse Concerning the Different Wits of Men*** written at the request of a gentleman, eminent in virtue, learning, fortune, in the year 1664, London, R. W. for William Whitwood, 1669 (published anonymously).

Two discourses I. Concerning the different wits of men: II. Of the mysterie of vintners, second edition enlarged, London, F. L. for William Whitwood, 1675.

Two discourses: The first, concerning the different wits of men: The second, a brief discourse concerning the various sicknesses of wines, and their respective remedies at this day commonly used, delivered to the Royal Society; to which is added, in this third edition, The art and mystery of vintners and wine-coopers, London, Printed for Will. Whitwood, 1692.

This text offered an explanation why 'some have more wit than others'. It covered the names by which the 'wit' had been known, and explored the causes and nature of its variety. The discourse was strongly influenced by Hobbes.¹⁴ Charleton's preface, to an anonymous patron, complained of the great complexity and difficulty of his subject.

¹³ Bodleian Library, MS Smith 13 (see my manuscript reference at end of Appendix).

¹⁴ See Thorpe, 'Two disciples of Hobbes', *passim*.

Merrett contributed the final section, *Some Observations Concerning the Ordering of Wines*, to the later editions.

Enquiries into Human Nature, in *VI Anatomic Prælections in the New Theatre of the Royal Colledge of Physicians in London*, London, Printed by M. White, for Robert Boulter, 1680. The Cambridge University Library copy has MS additions by the author.

[another edition] London, Printed for J. Conyers, 1697.

A portion of the original manuscript of this work is held at the British Library.¹⁵

The lectures were delivered at the new Cutlerian anatomy theatre at the College of Physicians (an illustration of which prefaced the work). The theatre had been the gift of Sir John Cutler, and *Enquiries* contained a dedication 'To the Right Worshipfull Sr John Cutler, Knight and Baronet'. Charleton lauded Cutler as having greatly encouraged the 'Art of Dissection'.¹⁶

The six lectures which constituted the basis of *Enquiries into Human Nature* were delivered in March 1679. The first, second and third lectures were given on a Friday. All discussed the anatomy and actions of the stomach. The audience had an intermission for a meal between the dissection of the stomach and gullet and the explanation of the action and use of the stomach! The fourth was presented the next day, the fifth and sixth the following week.¹⁷

Enquiries was structured around six sections (the prælections): 'On nutrition'; 'Historia ventriculi'; 'The actions and uses of the ventricle'; 'Of life'; 'Of fevers' and 'Of motion voluntary'. The lectures examined the traditional vital functions in anatomical terms (nutrition, life and voluntary motion), with additional lectures on fevers and anatomy of the stomach.

Though the material overlapped with the 1659 *Natural History*, these 1680 lectures were distinguished by their examination of anatomical knowledge of each subject, and their structural, rather than physiological, emphasis.

Enquiries drew much of its authority from contemporary texts, including those of Francis Glisson, Francis Bacon, William Harvey and Jacob Müller. Charleton did not refer to his own experimental experience and observations.

The Ephesian Matron, London, Printed for Henry Herringman, 1659.

Matrona Ephesia. Sive Lusus serius de amore . . . Anglicè conscriptus, et nunc demum Latinitate donatus à Barth. Harrisio [B. Harris], Londini, 1665.

¹⁵ MS Sloane 1059 (see my manuscript reference at end of Appendix).

¹⁶ Charleton, 'Preface', *Enquiries*, p. ii.

¹⁷ Charleton, *Enquiries*, pp. 384 and 429.

The Ephesian and Cimmerian matrons: Two notable examples of the power of love and wit, London, Printed for Henry Herringman, 1668.

A facsimile of the 1668 edition has been published, introduced by Achsah Guibbory, Los Angeles, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1975.

This text, published anonymously, was evidently popular as it went into a second edition in 1668 and was translated into Latin in 1665.

The book presented the ancient tale of 'The widow of Ephesus', recounted by Eumopolus in the *Satyricon* of Petronius. Charleton claimed to have read the story in Greek, Latin, German and French.

The 1668 edition included a 'Letter Concerning the Ephesian Matron: To a Person of Honour', in which Charleton described himself as having set forth his subject 'according to the fashion of my own phansie, which is most delighted with sad colours, and plain useful garments; so that she may now seem the Mistress rather of a Philosopher than of a courtier'.¹⁸

The storyline is roughly as follows: a young widow, grieving at her husband's grave, is encountered by a young soldier, whose persuasions encourage her to forget her loss and enter his embrace. While distracted, the body that the soldier had been sent to guard is stolen. The widow offers to replace it with her husband's body, so that the theft will not be discovered.¹⁹

The exchange requires that her dead husband's body be mutilated to resemble that of the dead soldier.

Charleton added to the tale some emphases of his own, including the Epicurean argument that man must 'rise above the bestial nature of the multitude through the rational control of his passions.'²⁰

Epicurus's Morals: collected partly out of his owne Greek text in Diogenes Laertius and partly out of Marcus Antoninus, Plutarch, Cicero & Seneca, and faithfully Englished, London, Printed by W. Wilson for Henry Herringman, 1656.

[another edition] London, H. Herringman, 1670.

Epicurus's Morals Collected and Faithfully Englished [facsimile of the 1670 edition] with an 'Introduction' by Frederic Manning, London, Peter Davies, 1926.

Epicurus' Morals was dedicated to 'A Person of Honour'. The copy of *Epicurus* in the Bodleian Library contains a letter to Fauconberg, and Sharp suggests that the person to whom the book is dedicated is Fauconberg himself.²¹

Published initially without Charleton's name on the cover, the book was prefaced by an apology for Epicurus, signed by Charleton.

¹⁸ Charleton, *Ephesian Matron*, p. iii.

¹⁹ For a detailed analysis of the work, see Achsah Guibbory's 'Introduction' to *The Ephesian Matron*, Los Angeles, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1975.

²⁰ Guibbory, 'Introduction', *Ephesian Matron*, p. ii.

²¹ Sharp, 'Early Life', p. 332.

Epicurus' Morals was clearly popular as it went into several editions. Charleton offered 'An Apologie for Epicurus, As to the three Capitall Crimes whereof he is accused.' These were '(1) That the souls of men are mortall . . . (2) That man is not obliged to honour, revere, and worship God, in respect of his beneficence, or out of the hope of any Good or feare of any evill at his hands, but meerly in respect of the transcendent Excellencies of his Nature, Immortality, and Beatitude. (3) That Selfe-homicide is an Act of Heroick Fortitude in case of intollerable or otherwise inevitable Calamity.'²²

Divided into thirty-one chapters, the book consists of material from various sources, including Epicurus, Diogenes Laertius, Plutarch, Cicero, and Seneca.²³

The physician defended the piety and worth of Epicurus's ideas, and argued for the continued relevance and value of his doctrines. He excused Epicurus's materialism on the basis of his pagan ignorance.

Exercitationes Pathologicae, in quibus morborum penè omnium natura, generatio, & caussae, ex novis anatomicorum inventis sedulo inquiruntur a Gualtero Charltono, M.D. & Caroli I. olim, hodie Caroli II. Magnae Britanniae Monarcharum inclytissimorum medico ordinario, Londini, apud Tho. Newcomb, 28 January 1661. The British Library copy contains manuscript notes in the author's hand.

[another edition] Bononiae, Sumptibus Petronii de Ruinettis, 1675.

The full title can be translated as 'Pathological Dissertations, in which the nature, generation, and cause of almost all diseases are most diligently set forth'.

The book was dedicated to Charles II. It preceded closely Charleton's publication of *An Imperfect Pourtraicture of His Sacred Majesty Charls the II* (London, 1661).

Exercitationes pathologicae was presented to the Royal Society on 13 June 1661. It seems to have been composed before Charleton's entry into the Society.

An introduction to the study of pathological 'Physick', the text examined the nature, generation and causes of most known diseases, providing a nosology, a summary of contemporary arguments, and progressing through the origins, signs and causes of diseases.

Exercitationes did not record clinical details. It was a theoretical work, which encompassed theories such as that hatred was the cause of both leprosy and gout. Charleton's notes from his Oxford days, dated 1642, may have constituted the basis for the volume.²⁴

²² Charleton, 'An apologie for Epicurus', *Epicurus' Morals*, pp. v-vi.

²³ Manning identifies Charleton's reliance upon the Tenth Book of *The Lives and Opinions of the Philosophers*, by Diogenes Laertius. Manning, 'Introduction', p. xvii.

²⁴ British Library, MS Sloane 3412 (see my manuscript reference at end of Appendix).

The Harmony of Natural and Positive Divine Laws, London, Printed for Walter Kettlby, 1682.

Published anonymously. This work was prefaced by a letter from 'The Publisher to the Reader', in which the author's anonymity was depicted as a defence against immoderate detraction.²⁵

Harmony argued that man, as a rational agent within the divine design, was destined to rediscover the principles by which his creation had been effected. The precepts of living which could be discovered through the exercise of reason were 'the very same that are promulgated by the Divine Majesty for the laws of the Kingdom of Heaven'.²⁶

'By nature all wise men understand the order, method and economy instituted and established by God from the beginning of creation for government and conservation of the world.' All the laws of nature were therefore the laws of God, and 'that which is called "natural" and "moral" is also "divine" law, as well because reason, which is the very law of nature, is given by God to every man for the rule of his actions'.²⁷

Charleton outlined 'Right and law in general', and then explored a series of instances in which natural and divine law could be seen to be identical (including theft, rapine and homicide).

The Immortality of the Human Soul, Demonstrated by the Light of Nature. In two dialogues, London, Printed by William Wilson for Henry Herringman, 1657. [another edition], London, Printed for Richard Wellington . . . and Edmund Rumbold, 1699.

A facsimile of 1657 edition has been published, edited & introduced by J. M. Armistead, New York, AMS Press, 1985.

The dedication to *Immortality* thanked Charleton's patron, Henry Pierrepont, Marquis of Dorchester, profusely, declaring that 'from you alone I have received more both of Encouragement and Assistance in my studies, than from the whole World besides'.²⁸

Immortality consisted of two dialogues between three speakers, in which proper conduct, scientific progress and philosophical method are discussed. The speakers are Lucretius (Evelyn), Athanasius (Charleton) and Isodicastes (Henry Pierrepont).²⁹ It has been suggested that the format of the work was derived from Digby's 1644 *Two Treatises*.³⁰

²⁵ In the preface to the anonymous *Harmony of Natural and Divine Positive Laws*, the publisher (Walter Kettlby) depicted the author writing 'to no other end, but to confirm his Faith by inquiring into the Reasonableness and Purity of it, and to augment his Piety toward God.' His posture was 'worthy a Philosopher and a Christian' as, surely, was his publication.

²⁶ Charleton, *Harmony*, pp. 8-9.

²⁷ Charleton, *Harmony*, pp. 8-9.

²⁸ Charleton, 'Dedication', *Immortality*.

²⁹ He, with Evelyn, Digby and Hobbes, experienced a period of exile in Paris during England's civil strife. J. M. Armistead, 'Introduction', p. viii.

³⁰ Armistead, 'Introduction', p. viii.

Armistead notes that while the most revered thinkers in the body of the text were Epicurus, Bacon, Descartes, and Digby, *Immortality* contained also scattered references to Hermes Trismegistus, Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, and the Church Fathers.³¹ As such the text ‘exemplifies and endorses’ Charleton eclectic vision.

Immortality depicted the College of Physicians as an exemplar of Bacon’s ‘Solomon’s House’.³²

An Imperfect Pourtraicture of His Sacred Majesty Charls the II. By the grace of God King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. Written by a loyal subject, who most religiously affirms, se non diversas spes, sed incolumitatem Caesaris simpliciter spectare, London, printed for Henry Herringman, at the sign of the Anchor in the Lower Walk of the New-Exchange, 1661 (published with *Consilium Hygiasticum*).³³

[reissue] *A character of His Most Sacred Majesty, Charles the Second, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c*, London, Printed for Henry Herringman . . . , 1661.

This ‘character’ of the newly restored monarch depicted religion as one of the greatest concerns of the dissolute Charles II. Charleton’s keenness to gain the approval of the new king seems to have been successful, as in July 1660 he was appointed Physician in Ordinary to the restored monarch, with a salary of £100 a year.³⁴ This represented a substantial improvement in Charleton’s fortunes.

Inquisitiones Duæ anatomico-physicae; Prior de fulmine, Altera de proprietatibus cerebri humani, Londini, Typis societati Regali infervientibus, impensis vero Octaviani Pulleyn junioris, 1665.

The Royal Society’s Imprimatur appeared on the verso page. The work was dated 21 December 1664. It was dedicated to Viscount Brouncker, President of the Royal Society, and patron of Charleton. The two fell out dramatically soon after this publication.

Inquisitiones Duæ consisted of two discourses, the first of which outlined the nature and effects of thunder and lightning. Charleton dismissed vulgar opinions about death being caused by thunder-bolts, and included some additional observations perhaps based on his experiences at the Royal Society. The disquisition was doubtless informed by the talk he gave at the Society on dissection of a boy killed by lightning.³⁵

³¹ Armistead, ‘Introduction’, p. vii.

³² For this reason the text has been analysed by Charles Webster as an indication of the College’s experimental activities. See Webster, ‘Solomon’s House’, *passim*.

³³ *Consilium Hygiasticum, pro illustriss. excellentissq. heroë, Dno. Johanne Luca, Marchione Durazzo, extraordinario serenissimæ reip. Genuensis oratore, ad augustissimum Carolum II*, London, 1661.

³⁴ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1660-61*, pp. 134, 208.

³⁵ A report of the dissection is held in the Royal Society archives (see my manuscript reference at end of this appendix).

The second discourse was a response to Willis's anatomy of the brain (published early 1664). Again this and would have gained its impetus from a presentation at the Royal Society.³⁶ The publication of *Inquisitiones Duæ* in Latin was perhaps motivated by a desire to present this material, in an impressive and authoritative manner, to roughly the same expert readership who had witnessed the lecture.

Inquisitio Physica de Causis Catameniorum & Uteri Rheumatismo in qua en Paeodo Probatum Sanguinem in Animali Fermentescere Nunquam, London, Impensis Gualt. Kettilby, 1685. Approved by the President (Sir Thomas Witherley), Registrar (Dr Samuel Collins) and Censors (Dr Thomas Burwell, Dr Peter Barwick, Sir Thomas Millington and Dr Humphry Brooke) of the College of Physicians. *Inquisitio* was printed with the College Imprimatur.

Inquisitiones Medico-Physicæ, de Causis Catameniorum sive Fluxus Mensui; nec non Uteri Rheumatismo, sive Fluore Albo, Lugduni Batavorum, Apud Petrum vander Aa, 1686.

The title might be translated as 'A physical dissertation on the causes of Certain Feminine Disorders; and of the Rheumatism in the Womb, in which it is proved, that there is no such thing, as fermentation in the blood'. This, Charleton's last published work, examined the names given to the uterus, both Greek and Latin, and 'their etymology and explanations'. It also explored the genealogy of 'uterine rheumatism'. The author treated the uterus as a 'workshop', in this treatise on the physiology and pathology of menstrual flux, and considered its function.

Charleton rejected ancient theories regarding the causes of Catamenia, but also rejected excessive adherence to the more modern theory of the uterine ferment. He attacked Thomas Willis, among others, for over-reliance upon explanation through fermentation. Among these theorists, he complained, 'There was virtually no function or action integral to an animal that they did not deduce from fermentation'.³⁷ He seems to have wished at times to invoke the use of ferments in physiological explanation, but objected to their use as *factotum*.

He invoked Boyle's writings on the blood,³⁸ and explored George Ent's nutritive juice theory.³⁹

As this text was published only in Latin, its audience was necessarily restricted to readers who were already familiar with other expert writings in the area. Its appeal would have been to those who were medically-trained themselves.

³⁶ This was preserved as 'Certain Differences' (see my manuscript reference at end of this Appendix).

³⁷ Charleton, *Inquisitiones Medico-Physicæ*, p. 55.

³⁸ Charleton, *Inquisitiones Medico-Physicæ*, p. 57.

³⁹ Charleton, *Inquisitiones Medico-Physicæ*, pp. 72-3.

'**The Life of Marcellus**, translated from the Greek', published in *Plutarch's Lives*, ed. John Dryden, London, 1684, vol. 2, pp. 401-68.

Another of Charleton's Greek translations, possibly performed during his stay in Cheshire in the 1670s.

Charleton's 'Life of Marcellus' was a straightforward translation, without commentary.

Natural History of Nutrition, Life, and Voluntary Motion containing all the New Discoveries of Anatomist's and most Probable Opinions of Physicians, concerning the Oeconomie of Human Nature: Methodically delivered in exercitations physico-anatomical, London, Printed for Henry Herringman, and are to be sold at his shop, 1659.

Oeconomia animalis, Oeconomia superstructa et mechanice explicata (Acc. ejusdem diss. epist. de ortu animæ humanæ, Londini, Typis R. Danielis, & J. Redmanni, 1659.

Exercitationes physico-anatomicæ de oeconomia animali, novis in medicina hypothesibus superstructa, & mechanice explicata, Editio secunda, Amsterdam, Joannem Ravesteynium, 1659.

Gualteri Charletoni Oeconomia animalis novis in medicina hypothesibus superstructa & mechanice explicata accessere ejusdem dissertatio epistolica de ortu animæ humanæ; & Consilium hygiasticum, Editio tertia, Londini, Ex officina Rogeri Danielis, 1666.

Gualteri Charletoni Oeconomia animalis novis in medicina hypothesibus superstructa & mechanice explicata . . ., Editio quarta, London, Ex officina Johannis Redmayne, prostant venales apud Johannem Creed: Cantab., 1669.

Exercitationes physico-anatomicæ, de oeconomia animali novis in medicina hypothesibus superstructa, & mechanice explicata, Lugd. Batav, Peter de Graef & Jacob Moukee, 1678.

Exercitationes de oeconomia animalis in medicina hypothesibus superstructa, & mechanice explicata. Quibus accessere Guilielmi Cole . . . De secretione animali cogitata, ad hanc oeconomiam praeipue spectantia. Ed novissima, prioribus emendatior & correctior, Hagae-Comitum, Arnold Leers, 1681.⁴⁰

Both English and Latin editions of *Natural History* were dedicated to Viscount Fauconberg and Sir George Ent. Thomas Belayse, the second Viscount Fauconberg (1627-1700) was one of Charleton's patrons.⁴¹

⁴⁰ This edition incorporated a discussion of William Cole's physiological text *De secretione animali cogitata*, Oxford, 1674.

⁴¹ The dedication portrays Fauconberg as a 'Grand Exemplar' of truth and reason, whose approval constituted verification of fact: 'whatever position hath once received the stamp of your Assent and Approbation' will be accepted as 'Authentique and Current', by even 'the most scrupulous'. *Natural History* p. ii. Fauconberg was a prominent supporter of Cromwell, but converted to royalism at the Restoration, and rose rapidly to privileged status.

There is some evidence to suggest that *Natural History* was composed in the early 1650s, but that printing was delayed.⁴² The Epistle to Ent is dated 12 June 1653, and the text was allegedly written a year prior to that. However, the volume was not published until 1659.

Natural History examined the classical triad of faculties (natural, vital, animal) through their key processes: nutrition, vitality and locomotion.⁴³ It divided the natural faculty into nutrition, generation, digestion and growth. Vital faculties were examined through the subdivisions of the journey of the chyle, the heart's action, depuration of the blood, circulation and respiration. The animal faculties, generation and action of the animal spirits were considered through reference to the issue of locomotion.⁴⁴

The 1659 volume in English corresponded in its contents with the Latin editions of 1659 and 1669, except for the omission from the English edition of a number of acknowledgements of works cited. This made the English edition slightly shorter, and gave it the impression, as Nayler notes, of a more original piece of scholarship. The English version omitted some direct references to authors, along with various quotations.⁴⁵ This difference between English and Latin versions might result from a divergence in the expectations of the intended audiences of the two works, or from censure over plagiarism in certain circles.

Natural History of the Passions, London, Printed by T. N. for James Magnes, 1674.

This work was for a long time incorrectly assumed to be a translation from Senault's *De l'usage des passions* (Paris, 1641).⁴⁶

The dedication, to an unnamed person of honour, states that *Passions* was 'the product of my late ten weeks solitude in the Country. Where being remote from my Library, and wanting conversation with learned Men; I knew not how more innocently to shorten the winter evenings, than by

⁴² It is difficult to ascertain exactly why the text might have been delayed. The publication dates of the texts which Charleton cited do not illuminate the matter, as relevant material was often circulated in manuscript, and/or presented in the form of lectures, and publication often came after the relevant transfer of ideas. The research basis of Glisson's *Anatomia hepatis* (published in 1654) was delivered in the Gulstonian lectures of 1641. Wharton's research on the glands (published as *Adenographia* in 1656) was presented at the College of Physicians in 1652. Charleton may thus have encountered each of these prior to their publication. Titles and details of the eventual publications could have been added to the completed *Natural History* just prior to its printing.

⁴³ Luyendijk-Elshout, 'Oeconomia animalis', p. 299.

⁴⁴ Luyendijk-Elshout, 'Oeconomia animalis', *passim*.

⁴⁵ This difference is noted only by Nayler, 'Insoluble Problem', pp. 99-100. Sabina Fleitmann argues that the 1659 *Oeconomia* was more overtly mechanistic than the English edition. Fleitmann, pp. 203 and 369. Webster notes that the English edition is a 'slightly abbreviated form of the Latin'. Webster, *Great Instauration*, p. 272.

⁴⁶ Hunter & Cuttler, 'Mistaken identity'.

spending them in revising some Philosophical papers of my own.⁴⁷ It was motivated ‘because my accumulated Misfortunes had . . . reduced me to a necessity of consulting that part of Philosophy, about the most effectual Remedies against Discontent.’⁴⁸ It appears he composed the book in his retreat at Cheshire.

The texts he had with him appear to have included the works of ‘those three excellent men, Gassendus, Des Cartes, and our Mr Hobbes’, as well as Digby’s *Two Treatises*. Charleton also had some notes he had previously made ‘out of the best Authors’.

The book was composed by ‘reading and meditation’. Reading first, then ‘Meditation, that I might examin [sic] the weight of what I read, by comparing it with what I had daily observed within the theatre of my own breast’.⁴⁹

Natural History of the Passions delineated the interaction of body and soul, focusing on the conflict between reason and emotion.

Charleton posited that ‘all the Good and Evil of this life depends upon the various Passions incident to the Mind of man’, the conclusiveness of which he claimed to know from ‘my own dearly bought experience’. Like afflictions of the body, those of the mind might be more easily cured through understanding of their ‘nature, causes, motions [effects] &c.’ Charleton’s treatise, in explicating these features of the passions, aimed to discover possible ‘Remedies against their Excesses.’

Passions exemplified the practising physician’s concern to provide learned counsel. The principle of self-knowledge as a key to health, prominent in this text, referred to an essentially classical definition of self-discipline toward achievement of well-being and the prolongation of life.

The volume concluded with a recommendation for ‘the *Ethicks* of *Epicurus*’ as second only to the Holy writ as a source of cures for ‘all distempers, incident to the mind of Man.’⁵⁰ While the *Passions* made reference to the physiological and material aspects of the passions, innovations deriving from the rise of the corpuscular philosophy, its emphasis was on the importance and nature of the passions in accordance with traditional physic.

Onomasticon Zoicon plerorumque animalium differentias & nomina propria pluribus linguis exponens: cui accedunt mantissa anatomica: et quaedam de variis fossilivm generibus, Londini, Apud Jacobum Allestry Regalis Societatis typographum, 1668.

⁴⁷ Charleton, *Natural History of the Passions*, p. i-ii.

⁴⁸ Charleton, *Natural History of the Passions*, p. ii.

⁴⁹ Charleton, *Natural History of the Passions*, p. vi.

⁵⁰ The second edition of *Epicurus’ Morals* had been printed in 1670, and Hunter & Cuttler suggest that this was almost certainly an added promotion for it, ‘Mistaken Identity’, p. 91.

Onomastikon zoikon continens plerorumque animalium quadrupedum, serpentium, insectorum, avium & piscium differentias, eorumque nomina propria diversis linguis exposita, cui accedunt mantissa anatomica, et nonnulla de variis fossilium generibus, cum figuris, Londini, Apud Jacobum Allestry, 1671.

Onomastikon zoikon, Gualteri Charletoni exercitationes de differentiis & nominibus animalium quibus accedunt mantissa anatomica, et quaedam de variis fossilium generibus, deque differentiis & nominibus colorum, Editio secunda, duplo fere auctior priori, novisque iconibus ornata, Oxoniae, e Theatro Sheldoniano, 1677.

The British Library's copy of the 1668 edition contains manuscript notes by the author.

An anatomical compendium, which listed the names of all known animals in several languages, and offered descriptions of their habits and habitats where known.

Onomasticon also contained an account of Charles II's menagerie at St James's Park, an anatomical appendix, and some observations on the varieties of fossils.⁵¹

The keen interest in categorisation illustrated by the *Onomasticon* is evident in various of Charleton's projects throughout his years of Royal Society attendance.⁵²

This work contained some record of the author's own observations.

Oratio Anniversaria habita in theatro inclyti Collegii Medicorum Londinensium 5 Augusti, Anno Domini 1680, Londini, Sumptibus Joannis Baker, 1680.

This oration was, as its title suggests, delivered in the Theatre of the Royal College of Physicians at London. The Harveian Oration was an annual feast, endowed by William Harvey in 1656. At this occasion benefactors were praised and fellows of the College of Physicians were exhorted 'to search and studdy [sic] out the secrett [sic] of Nature by way of Experiment.'⁵³

The Harveian Oration was thrice delivered by Charleton: on 5 August 1680, in 1702 and on 16 August 1705.⁵⁴ The standard presentation, at which Charleton excelled, was the dedication of praise to his friend Harvey, and laudatory remarks concerning the College's activities. Though there is no record of his 1702 'Oration', his 1705 presentation was published as: *Oratio*

⁵¹ See also W. H. Mullens, 'Walter Charleton and his *Onomasticon Zoicon*', *British Birds*, vol. 5, 1911, pp. 64-71.

⁵² The preservation and classification of flora were also of interest to Charleton. In March 1666 he was elected to a committee with Wilkins, Cornwall, Hill, Evelyn, Goddard, Cock, Hooke, Harrington and Graunt, to assess the preservation and taxonomy of the Society's inventory of plant specimens. Birch, *History*, vol. 2, p. 73.

⁵³ Frank, *Oxford Physiologists*, p. 25

⁵⁴ Though Munk notes that the 1704 oration was published, I have not been able to find a copy in print. Munk, *Roll*, p. 391.

anniversaria, recitata in Theatro anatomico inelyti Medicorum Lond. Collegii, in commemorationem beneficorum a Dno Dre Harveo, aliisq; munificis vivis . . . eidem Collegio praestitorum . . . 16 die Augusti, An. Dom. 1705, London, 1705.

Physiologia *Epicuro-Gassendo-Charltoniana, or, A Fabrick of Science Natural, upon the hypothesis of atoms founded by Epicurus, repaired [by] Petrus Gassendus, augmented [by] Walter Charleton, London, Printed by Tho. Newcomb for Thomas Heath, 1654.*

A facsimile edition has been printed, introduced by Robert Kargon, London, Johnson Reprint Co., 1966.

Dedicated to Mrs Elizabeth Villiers, wife to Sir Robert Villiers, and Charleton's host at the time of the text's composition.⁵⁵

This work was effectively a translation into English and commentary upon Pierre Gassendi's *Animadversiones in decimum librum Diogenes Laertii* (1649). It was the first systematic presentation of Gassendian views in the vernacular.

Physiologia is seen by many to signal Charleton's complete rejection of Helmontianism. However, while his recantation of Helmont is interesting, it is certainly not evidence of a comprehensive shift in his philosophy.⁵⁶

Physiologia claimed the primacy of non-purposive, physical factors in guiding the action of the internal body. Actions were explicable through reference to function, rather than sentience. Invisible processes, he argued, were not immaterial, but were rather effected by 'Corporeal, though both impalpable and invisible Organs.'⁵⁷

The operations of these organs were deduced, through analogy, from actions in the corporeal sphere. Man could explore the uncertainties of the invisible through his reasoned knowledge of the visible.⁵⁸ This echo of Cartesian notions of the similarity between invisible and visible entities illustrates Descartes' influence on Charleton's thought in these years.

⁵⁵ Elizabeth Villiers was the daughter of a prominent parliamentarian. Sharp suggests that Charleton's choice of her as a patron might have been politically astute, as protection from a prestigious person of quiescent status would have advanced his career. Sharp, 'Early Life', pp. 331-3.

⁵⁶ This perspective on Charleton's apparent reversal is shared by Lewis, 'Early modern eclecticism', p. 664.

⁵⁷ Charleton, *Physiologia*, p. 346.

⁵⁸ 'The means used in every common and sensible Attraction and Complection of one Bodie by another, every man observes to be Hooks, Lines, or some such intermediate Instrument contained from the Attrahent to the Attracted; and in every Repulsion or Disjunction of one Bodie from another, there is used some Pole, lever, or other Organ intercedent, or somewhat exploded or discharged from the Impellent to the Impulsed.' Charleton, *Physiologia*, p. 344.

Plato, His apology of Socrates, and Phædo, or Dialogue concerning the Immortality of Mans Soul, and Manner of Socrates his Death; carefully translated out of the Greek, and illustrated by Reflections Upon both the Athenian Laws, and Ancient Rites and Traditions concerning the Soul, therein mentioned, London, Published anonymously, in 1675.

This work was dedicated to Arthur Annesley, the Earl of Anglesey.⁵⁹

These and his other translations signal Charleton's continued interest in widening the audience for ancient scholarly works, and his thorough knowledge of Greek.

Plato, His Apology was published after Charleton's involvement at the Royal Society, and the translation was probably completed during his stay at Crewe Hall in Cheshire.

Spiritus Gorgonicus, vi sua saxipara exutus; sive De causis, signis & sanatione lithiasæ, diatriba, Ludg. Batav. Ex Officina Elseviriorum, 1650.

The title might be translated as 'The Gorgonic Spirit deprived of its stone-producing power, or a discourse of the cause, symptoms and cure of the stone.'

The text discussed 'the universal stone-forming spirit', depicted as the origin of urinary concretions or 'stones' in man, and of rock deposits in the material world.⁶⁰

Spiritus clearly illustrated a strong interest in, and knowledge of, the hermetic tradition. The text covered the traditional subject matter: material and remote causes, symptoms, prognosis and diagnosis, varieties of the affliction, and therapeutic recommendations.

Containing cabbalistic and neo-Platonic material, the text drew reference to hermetic authors, such as Hartmann, Severinus and especially Paracelsus. Jean Baptista van Helmont's 1644 *De Lithiasis*, on the treatise on urinary calculus, was perhaps the single greatest influence.

Charleton's book was referred to by the shortened title *De Lithiasi Diatriba*, among peers.⁶¹

A Ternary of Paradoxes. The Magnetick Cure of Wounds. Nativity of Tartar in Tine. Image of God in Man. Written originally by Joh. Bapt. Van Helmont, and translated, illustrated, and amplified by Walter Charleton, London, printed by James Flesher for William Lee, 1650.

⁵⁹ Three letters to Annesley, written in October and November 1672, exist in Charleton's miscellaneous papers, Bodleian MS Smith 13, ff. 5-7. It seems he was courting Anglesey as a patron.

⁶⁰ The British Library's edition of *Spiritus Gorgonicus* has been bound, in a volume entitled *Medical Tracts 1591-1683*, with the following texts on this and related subjects: two editions of Henricus à Bra, *Medicamentorum simplicium* (1589 and 1591); Christophe Cachet's *Apologia dogmatica in hermetici cuiusdam . . . calculi* (1617); Frischman de Ehrencron, Mattheus Johannes, N. Franchimont a Franckenfeld . . . *Lithotomia Medica* (1683); Martin Pansa, *Consilium Antiphreneticum* (1615).

⁶¹ This was noted by Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, p. 752.

Ternary was dedicated to Viscount Brouncker. The dedicatory epistle of *Ternary* provides biographical material on the relationship between Brouncker and Charleton, which suggests that the two men were close.

This was the first English translation from Latin of Flemish physician and author Johannes (Jean) Van Helmont, whose works were gaining audiences on the Continent.

Charleton depicted his role in *Ternary* as having been ‘to clear the prospect, by the necessary remove of such *Doubts*, as seemed very much to obscure the resplendent lustre of *Magnetisme*, and render the Excellencies of *Sympatheticall Remedies* imperceptible’.⁶²

He did not explicitly argue against the Helmontian spiritualist perspective, but claimed to leave the illumination of spiritual matters to those writers best equipped to illustrate them.⁶³ He cited the preceding works of Baptista della Porta, Severinus, Hortmann, Kircher, Cabeus, Rob. de Fluctibus, and Digby as a point of reference for those interested to know more about ‘how *Sympathetically magnetick* Agents transmit their *Spirituall Energy*, unto determinate Patients, at vast and intermediate distance’.⁶⁴

Although supportive of the Helmont’s discoveries, and of a great many of his cures, his acceptance of the idea of magnetic cure at a distance did not rely upon the existence of an *anima mundi*. Instead Charleton hinted at a mechanical explanation, in which atoms were pivotal.⁶⁵ He redescribed the operation of magnetism through an account which excluded the spiritual aspects so crucial to Helmont.

Three Anatomic Lectures: Concerning 1. The Motion of the Bloud through the veins and arteries, 2. The organic structure of the heart, 3. The efficient causes of the hearts pulsation: read on the 19, 20 and 21 days of March 1682, in the Anatomic Theatre of His Majesties Royal College of Physicians in London, London, Printed for Walter Kettilby, 1683.

Thomas Coxe, President of the College of Physicians, ordered the lectures to be printed. Published by Kettilby, they appeared for purchase in the same year.⁶⁶

Three Anatomic Lectures constituted a response to *De Motu Animalium* by Neapolitan anatomist Giovanni Alfonso Borelli (1608-1679).⁶⁷ Borelli, a key member of the Accademia del Cimento, had studied muscle physiology, respiration, the nervous system and cardiac motion. *De motu animalium* was published (posthumously) in two parts. The first, published in 1680, dealt with the locomotion of man and animals. The second, printed in

⁶² Charleton, ‘Prolegomena’, *Ternary*, p. XVIII.

⁶³ Charleton, ‘Prolegomena’, *Ternary*, pp. VIII-XIX.

⁶⁴ Charleton, ‘Prolegomena’, *Ternary*, pp. XVIII-XIX.

⁶⁵ Mulligan, ‘Right reason’, p. 381.

⁶⁶ Charleton’s *Three Anatomic Lectures* was prefaced merely by a Latin ‘Præloquium’.

⁶⁷ Giovanni Alfonso Borelli, *De Motu Animalium*, Rome, 2 vols, 1680 and 1681.

1681, directly influenced Charleton's *Lectures*. It examined the internal motions of animals and their causes. Borelli's text had been published only in Latin. Charleton was thus the first to bring this author's theories into English.

Charleton's lectures covered, respectively, the circulation of the blood, and the effects of circulation, the heart's pulsation, and lastly, the efficient causes of the heart's pulsation.

Manuscript Sources

British Library

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- MS Sloane 1059 manuscript copy, in English, of prælections IV-VI, delivered in 1679 at the College of Physicians and subsequently published as *Enquiries into Human Nature* (1680).
- MS Sloane 1532 ff. 41-61, 'Epitome libri ejus de scorbuto' (circ 1672). Latin notes on the topic of scurvy. Made prior to the publication of *De Scorbuto*.
- MS Sloane 1828 ff. 96b-115b, 'Receptæ variæ' Undated, these notes in Latin cover a various of subjects, including recipes for numerous medical syrups, conversion tables of the times of the day and of the year, in both Latin and English. This set of documents contains a rare record of the actual medical compositions that Charleton used in his medical practice.
- MS Sloane 1833 ff. 155-59, 'Oratio Harveiana', a manuscript edition of the Harveian Oration that Charleton delivered at the College of Physicians on 5 August 1680. The Oration was subsequently published (1680).
- MS Sloane 2082 ff. 1-73, 'De omnibus symptomatibus'; ff. 74-81, 'Tables of materia medica'. Dated 1642-3, these notes in Latin cover a range of medical subjects, and examine the virtues of various medicaments. They seem to have been made during Charleton's education at Oxford.
- MS Sloane 3412 ff. 2-102, 'Methodus februm cuandarum'; ff. 103-28, 'De morbis'. Both dated around 1643. These Latin notes also seem to have been notes made during Charleton's time at

Oxford. The notes on fevers cover the names and methods by which fevers have been understood and cured across a range of Greek, Latin and Arabic scholarship. Charleton cites a large number of ancient and recent scholars on the subject of fevers.

- MS Sloane 3413 'Loci communes' (Charleton's commonplace book). Composed in a variety of Greek, Latin English and French, it is extraordinarily hard to read. The volume contains excerpts from the writings of various authors, including Tacitus, Lucian, Demnocritus, Palladius, Possidonius, etc, along with quotes from Hippocrates; excerpts from the work of Reinier de Graaf on reproduction, and from Bernard Swabe on the pancreas; a catalogue of the contents of Thomas Browne's personal museum and gallery; notes on the differences between colours (on which experiments had been performed at the Royal Society during Charleton's involvement); Andrew Marvell's poem on Colonel Blood, in Latin; and 'de arborum natura', a taxonomic article on trees.

Bodleian Library

- MS Aubrey 11 'Letter to John Aubrey', in which Charleton complained to Aubrey about his falling out with Brouncker. A copy is held in the British Library, MS Egerton 2231, f. 166.
- MS Rawl D 257 Abridgement of Charleton's *Physiologia* (1654).
- MS Smith 13 miscellaneous papers of Walter Charleton. The bound volume contains a total of eighty-nine documents, in both English and Latin. There are too many documents to list individually, but some notable inclusions are the letters by Charleton, including epistles to George Ent, Margaret Cavendish, Richard Lower, Daniel Elzevir, Paulus Sarotti (at the University of Padua) and a number of unidentified individuals. The volume contains short tracts by Charleton on subjects including the origin of Aristotelian teaching in European universities, 'human felicity and infelicity', reflections on the Talmud, 'love refined', and some notes on Saturn, Jupiter and Pluto. There are several epigraphs, written by Charleton in the 1670s regarding friends and mentors. This is a significant collection of notes and observations by Charleton.
- MS Wood F 40 ff. 360-1, 'Letter to a friend of Wood', dated 20 January 1671. In this Charleton outlined his living arrangements in Cheshire at Crewe Hall.

Library of the Royal Society

Not all of the investigations listed in Birch's *History* have been filed. Below is a record of those that I was able to find. Most were contained in 'Early Letters and Classified Papers, 1660-1740' (microfilm).

- 13 August 1662 'Account of a boy killed by lightning'. Classified Papers, IV (1) 3.
- 17 September 1661 'Apparatus Phonocampticus, or what enquiries are principally to be made by such, who would attain to the certain knowledge of the nature of echos'. Filed in the Royal Society Register Book, vol. 1, p. 197 (a more legible copy exists in Charleton's papers, Bodleian MS Smith 13).
- 10 September 1662 'Echoes'. Classified Papers, II 35.
- 8 July 1663 'Plan and description of the circles of Avebury, near Marlburgh, Wiltshire'. Classified Papers, XVI 18.
- 13 January 1664 'Experiments concerning freezing and snow'. Classified Papers, IV (1) 10.
- 8 June 1664 'Observations on the differences between the brains of men and brutes'. Register Book.
- 15 February 1665 'Merganser versus'. Classified Papers, XX (1) 2.

Library of the Royal College of Physicians of London

Manuscript collection: Medical recipe book, circa. 1667. This volume is believed to have been Walter Charleton's. It contains recipes for syrups and medical potions, and reveals the author's methods of clinical treatment to have been determinedly Galenic.

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