

Chapter 1

Specialism, Change and Farriery/Equine Medical Literature, 1560–1800

Vernacular medical books are a rich resource for the early modern medical historian. Scholars such as Paul Slack, Ginnie Smith, Charles Rosenberg and, most recently, Mary Fissell, have used this kind of literature to describe self-help and domestic medicine and to depict health care among the lower classes.¹ Despite the quality of this historiography, historians have not yet analysed the extensive vernacular literature concerning the health care of animals in the same period. This chapter will therefore analyse the advice literature about equine health care published between 1560 and 1800. Its analysis of the production and the content of this body of writing will reveal that in the early eighteenth century a new, more focused literature about farriery emerged. This made farriery a kind of medical specialism and marked a shift in the nature of the printed advice concerning the care of horses.² This was, I shall argue, part of a wider change in equine medicine at the time.

This thesis is not the first analysis of equine medical literature. In the *Veterinary Record* of the 1910s, Fredrick Smith published short biographies of authors from antiquity to the nineteenth century who had written about veterinary care. He then turned the biographies into a four-volume *Early History of Veterinary Literature*, a major resource for veterinary history to this day. However, his work now seems rather limited. Firstly, he always judged historical works by the yardstick of twentieth-century veterinary science rather than

¹ Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and the Reform 1626–1660* (London, 1975); Paul Slack, 'Mirrors of Health and Treasures of Poor Men: the Uses of the Vernacular Medical Literature of Tudor England', in Charles Webster (ed.), *Health, Medicine, and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1979); Ginnie Smith, 'Prescribing the Rules of Health: Self-Help and Advice in the Late Eighteenth Century', in Roy Porter (ed.), *Patients and Practitioners* (Cambridge, 1985); Charles Rosenberg, 'Medical Text and Social Context: William Buchan's *Domestic Medicine*', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 57 (1983), 22–42; Mary Fissell, 'The Marketplace of Print', in Mark S. R. Jenner and Patrick Wallis (ed.), *Medicine and the Market in England and Its Colonies, c. 1450–c. 1850* (London, 2007).

² 'Horse care' is used as a general term including medical care.

discussing them within their historical context. Secondly, Smith's approach was very fragmented. He never tried systematically to trace trends in the literature about equine care. Thirdly, the development of library and short-title catalogues in the last century allows the twenty-first-century scholar to identify more works relating to horse care and horse medicine than Smith could.

I therefore searched ESTC using more than thirty keywords in the title and subject, including *farrier*, *farriery*, *horsemanship*, *husbandry*, *horse doctor* and *horse*. Having identified all possible items, I examined each one using EEBO, ECCO, the Wellcome Library, the British Library, the Comben Collection in the Science Museum Library and the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons Historical Collection. Many of these books included advice about equine care alongside advice about horsemanship and other related matters. I therefore had to decide what books should count as manuals about farriery and equine medical care and what books should not. As a rule of thumb, my bibliography and database include all books with at least 15 per cent of their content discussing farriery/equine medicine.³

This literature survey identified more than 450 books discussing farriery/equine medicine between 1560 and 1800. These included horsemanship and husbandry works containing significant amounts of advice about farriery, works specifically concerned with farriery and even more specialised publications about topics such as shoeing, equine diseases or

³ The only other substantial printed sources with animal care advice were almanacs, but like Mary Fissell's discussion of medical works, I have excluded them. Louise Curth, 'Seventeenth Century Almanacs: Transmitters of Advice for Sick Animals', in Willem de Blecourt and Cornelia Osborne (eds.), *Cultural Approaches to the History of Medicine* (London, 2004); Bernard Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press, 1500–1800* (London, 1979).

horse medicines.⁴ Nevertheless, a review of all of them together reveals that there is a dramatic contrast between books published between 1560 and 1719 and those published between 1720 and 1800. The later period covers half the amount of time as the former, yet publishers issued twice as many books, averaging four times more books issued per decade. There are also major differences in the authorship, size, content and style of books written about farriery/equine medicine from 1560 to 1719 and those offering such advice published between 1720 and 1800. This chapter will analyse these periods in order to demonstrate the fundamental change in advice about equine care after 1720.

Farriery/Equine Medical Advice Published between 1560 and 1719

A comparison of the books with advice about farriery/equine medicine between 1560 and 1719 and popular medical books is revealing. Of the thirty-six titles, including a substantial amount of advice about farriery, 180 editions were published during this period.⁵ On average there were just over two editions on this topic issued each year, which is a relatively small number. In comparison, Mary Fissell's research has found there were more than 1,200 popular medical books issued between 1640 and 1720.⁶ Though this was only around one per cent of the total books published in England during this period, it amounted to fifteen to eighteen editions per year.⁷ There were as many popular medical

⁴ Counting editions of books is often complicated. In some cases, new editions of books are actually completely different books, but most are the same. William Taplin's *Stable Directory* is an example of this. In the case where ESTC, EEBO and ECCO list fewer editions than the actual book claims, the claim of the title page is not used. I have excluded the US or other foreign editions referred to on the covers of some English editions. Francis Clater, who wrote a vastly popular book, has only three editions on ESTC, but the title page claims to be the tenth edition. Finally, I exclude the editions after 1800 because I am analyzing consumption and production in a set period. Therefore, only the surviving editions are included. This happens mostly in the eighteenth century and if the claimed editions were counted this chapters claims would be further demonstrated, but they are not to avoid counting books that may not have existed.

⁵ The majority of the editions were issued between 1640 and 1700: 122/180.

⁶ Mary Fissell, 'The Marketplace of Print', pp. 113–114; Slack and Webster demonstrate that there was an obvious increase in publications during this period in vernacular medical texts. Slack, 'Mirrors of Health'; Webster, *The Great Instauration*.

⁷ Fissell, 'The Marketplace of Print', p. 114.

books published in the 1670s as the total number of books including advice about farriery/equine medicine produced from 1560 to 1719 (180). However, (attempting to compare apples to apples) most popular medical books were comparatively specialised and were focused upon specific topics such as midwifery, specific diseases, plague, herbals and surgery, whereas farriery books gave general advice.⁸ Fissell's research shows that only thirteen per cent (156) of the popular medical books gave general advice, which is similar to the number of books with advice about farriery/equine medicine produced during the same period.⁹ No one was producing books with specialised or topical advice about farriery/equine medicine, making the discrepancy between popular medical books and farriery books much more distinct. Additionally, advice about farriery/equine medicine had a much smaller readership than vernacular medical books.

Gentlemen were the predominant authors and readers of advice about farriery/equine medicine written in this period (1560 – 1719). Before dust jackets, the title page served as a space of advertisement where the publisher and author implicitly or explicitly identified their intended readership. Nearly every book refers to its readership as 'gentlemen' and seventy-five per cent of the authors claimed to be gentlemen (Figure 1.1). Though this claim can be seen as rhetorical, books like Thomas Blundeville's, a prolific author who wrote on topics from horsemanship to astronomy and mathematics, were intended for gentlemen devoted to riding, controlling the horse, breeding and other equestrian activities.¹⁰ Additionally, the printers and publishers precisely marketed these books to the gentleman—that there were 180 editions of only thirty-six titles demonstrates that few of these books did poorly. When publishers did not aim the books at the gentleman, they did

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 116–117.

⁹ Fissell's research shows that there were approximately 156 popular medical books between 1640 and 1740.

¹⁰ A. Campling, 'Thomas Blundeville of Newton Flotman, co. Norfolk, 1522–1606, author and poet', *Norfolk Archaeology*, 21 (1921–23), 336–60.

not get issued a second time. For example, William Poole, a farrier, addressed *The Country Farrier* (1648) at other farriers. Even though it was a practical guide, written by an author with years of experience, there was only one edition issued. By contrast AS Gent's *The Gentleman's Complete Jockey* (1682) had seven editions. Whether or not AS was really a gentleman, he wrote for gentlemen, and his book resembled previous advice written by gentlemen about farriery/equine medicine.

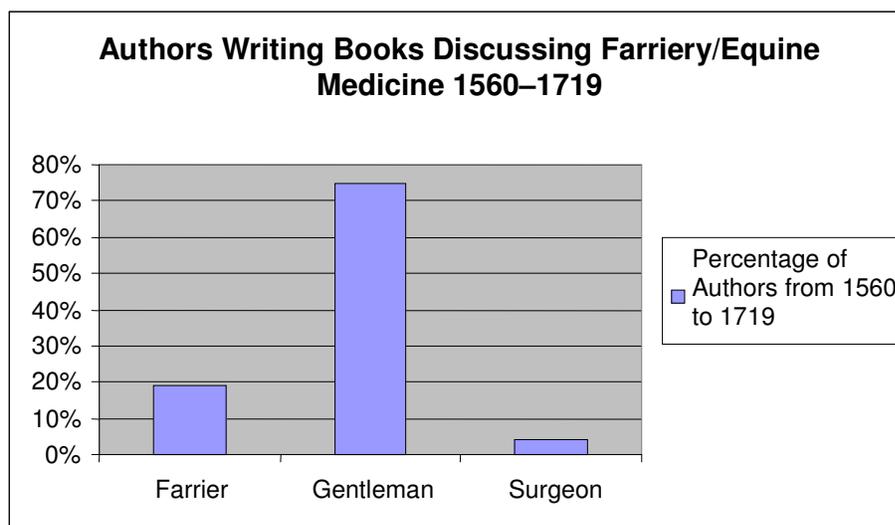


Figure 1.1, The Kind of Authors Writing about Farriery/Equine Medicine 1560–1719.

The cost and size of these books also narrowed the readership. Though none of them give their price on the cover, one can estimate their cost by their size. Median number of pages of books discussing farriery/equine medicine from 1560 to 1719 was more than 340 pages, and the books were generally quarto or folio size. Therefore, they would probably have been anywhere from two to three and half shillings each. In comparison, the median human medical vernacular book in this period cost 1 shilling 6 pence.¹¹ Fissell argues that the lowliest people could not afford most of these medical vernacular books. Even fewer people could afford books with farriery/equine medical advice in them. Books with advice

¹¹ Fissell, 'The Market Place of Print', p. 112.

about farriery/equine medicine in this period would have cost over 1/10 of the weekly income of the lower middling sort. The cost of these books made the gentleman the most likely consumer, and furthermore, most of these books included discussions of many other genteel topics, not least horsemanship in general.

The reading public also narrows the possible readership. Historians have estimated that 50 percent of men and 25 percent of women could read in 1700.¹² Women in London, however, had almost double the reading population. Therefore, the lowest orders of society were far less likely to have owned these books and of the reading public there were few that were interested or could afford them. Those who did own them also used them to keep financial records of horse care, which required them to be able to write. For example, of the dozens of copies of *Markham's Maisterpeece* (1615) I have seen few of them that do not have annotations and hand written records in the front and back of the book. The copy at Washington State University in the Smithcors Collection has hand written records of financial transactions by Mr. Long (1725), which include full sentence descriptions of the transaction.¹³

The way that the readers used the books can also indicate their social status. Some of the existing books indicated the owner's name and status, though few them have crests or seals on the front. One such owner, Richard Bennet the younger, left marks that indicate how he was using his book (*Markham's Masterpeece*, 1615). He wrote in the front and the back of the book on the blank pages. On the back cover he noted the chapter and page that

¹² D. Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order* (Cambridge, 1980); Thomas Laqueur, 'The Cultural Origins of Popular Literacy in England, 1500-1850', *Oxford Review of Education*, 2 (1976); M. Spufford, 'First Steps in Literacy: The Reading and Writing Experiences of the Humblest Seventeenth-Century Spiritual Autobiographers', *Social History*, 4 (1979).

¹³ This, however, only demonstrates the readership around 1700, because generally the books with these annotations were not taken in the early seventeenth century.

gave directions on how to instruct grooms to care for horse hooves. Then on the page that he indicated, he cross-referenced that section to another section on how to preserve horse hooves.¹⁴ This demonstrates that Bennet's interest in the book was concerned with directing those that worked for him to care properly for his horses, which further demonstrates his higher socio/economic status because few could afford to employ grooms.

Horsemanship books included advice about farriery/equine medicine alongside advice about riding, breeding and controlling the horse—'the fower chiefest offices' of horsemanship. In the 1560s the English began publishing these guides. They mimicked European models; Thomas Blundeville, for example, wrote *The Fower Chiefest Offices*, a horsemanship manual in the 1560s, and then translated the writings of the Italian riding master, Claudio Corte, in the 1580s.¹⁵ Though farriery was just one of four topics usually discussed in horsemanship literature, in this period the most detailed printed advice about farriery was found in horsemanship books.¹⁶ William Gibson claimed in 1720 that Thomas Blundeville was the first English person to begin writing about farriery/equine medicine by copying the 'Italians', but also that the only other advice from the 1560s to 1720 came from the books of other horsemanship authors, who had copied Blundeville.¹⁷

Blundeville's *The Foure Chiefest Offices Belonging to Horsemanship* became one of the most commonly cited sources for farriery written in either the sixteenth or seventeenth century in England. Farriery remained one of the 'Foure Chiefest Offices' of horsemanship throughout the seventeenth century, but by the end of the seventeenth

¹⁴ Brigham Young University, Rare Books Collection, 636.1 M341m.

¹⁵ Claudio Corte, *The Art of Riding* (London, 1584). Corte came to England under the Earl of Leicester. Thomas Blundeville commented about his horsemanship skills in his *The Fower Chiefest Offices of Horsemanship*. (London, 1566). See also, Joan Thirsk, *Horses in Early Modern England: for Service, for Pleasure, for Power* (Reading, 1978).

¹⁶ Thomas Blundeville, *The Fower Chiefest Offices of Horsmanship* (London, 1566).

century, advice about farriery overshadowed the other three ‘offices’ in some texts. For example, the English translation of Jacques Solleysel’s *The Complete Horseman* became one of the most trusted sources in England for advice about farriery by the 1690s and primarily gave advice about farriery and reduced advice about the other three ‘offices’.¹⁸ Nevertheless, from the 1560s through the 1700s detailed printed advice about farriery/equine medicine was most commonly found in horsemanship manuals.

Authors writing about husbandry also included advice about farriery/equine medicine in their books. For instance, Leonard Mascall began including farriery in his husbandry books as early as the late sixteenth century. His book *The Government of Cattle* included a large section with advice about farriery/equine medicine and had fourteen editions by the early seventeenth century.¹⁹ Though Mascall’s book did not gain the subsequent praise that Blundeville’s and Solleysel’s books received, it was an important potential source for knowledge of farriery/equine medicine. Though other books, like *Cheap and Good Husbandry* (1614), also contained a good deal of advice about farriery, very few husbandry books used 15 per cent of their books to give advice about farriery, since they did not see farriery as a key role for husbandmen.

Gervase Markham, one of the most successful authors of works about horsemanship and husbandry, included advice about farriery in most of his books and wrote books specifically on farriery/equine medicine. G. E. Fussell noted that he was ‘the most prolific writer in the first forty years of the century . . . and his productions continued to be

¹⁷ Gibson, *The Farrier’s New Guide* (London, 1720), preface.

¹⁸ Jaques Solleysel, *The Complete Horseman*, trans., Sir William Hope (London, 1696).

¹⁹ Leonard Mascall, *The Government of Cattle* (London, 1587). Some of the subsequent editions did not include the section on farriery and equine medicine.

reprinted in the last sixty.’²⁰ Markham’s books on farriery and equine medicine were the most successful books containing advice about farriery/equine medicine from the 1610s to 1719. Of the thirty-six farriery/equine medical titles in this period, he wrote (or was given credit for writing) eight of them between 1593 and 1630. His three most popular books went through forty-three editions before 1719 and several more after 1720. At one point, he had five books selling at the same time. In conjunction with various publishers, he began producing books about the same topic (farriery and equine medicine) with different titles but similar content.²¹ In reaction, the Stationers’ Company forced Markham to stop writing books with advice about farriery/equine medicine.²² Wendy Wall wrote that his books ‘contributed to the business of producing national identity in the early modern period.’²³ She demonstrated how Markham argued for national differences in agriculture and husbandry in a way that gave the English a distinctive quality. Furthermore, his books and advice about farriery/equine medicine created a model and reference for farriery knowledge for other authors to use.²⁴

In 1610, Markham wrote the first work exclusively concerned with farriery/equine medicine, a development which may demonstrate horsemen’s increasing concern with farriery. Markham wrote,

²⁰ G.E. Fussell, *The Old English Farming Books from Fitzherbert to Tull* (London, 1947), p. 21.

²¹ Several of the titles that overlap each other’s content are: *Cavalrice, or the English Horseman* (1607); *How to Chuse, Ride, Train and Diet both Hunting-Horses and Running Horses* (1599); *Markham’s Maister-Peece* (1610); *Markham’s Method* (1615); *Markham’s Faithfull Farrier* (1638); *The Complete Farrier, or the Kings Highway to Horsemanship* (1647); *The Perfect Horse-man: or the Experienced Secrets of Mr. Markhams 50 years practice*.

²² Edward Arber (ed.), *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554–1640*, (London, 1978), July 24, 1617.

²³ Wendy Wall, ‘Renaissance National Husbandry: Gervase Markham and the publication of England,’ *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 27 (1996), p. 767.

²⁴ See, Elspeth Graham, ‘Reading, Writing, and Riding Horses in Early Modern England: James Shirley’s *Hyde Park* (1632) and Gervase Markham’s *Cavalarice* (1607) in Erica Fudge (ed.) *Renaissance Beasts: Of Animals, Humans, and Other Wonderful Creatures* (Chicago, 2004); F.L. Poynter, *Bibliography of Gervase Markham 1566?–1637* (London, 1962).

I can give the Reader no better a Reason to perswade him to reade my booke, then to shew him the reall use of horses well managed according to the Rules of Horsmanship, he is fit for feates of armes, and triumphs in war, and a great pittie it is that such an excellent beast should any way miscarry for want of knowing of his Natuall diseases and the cure thereof. I have now made the Souldier and all others Masters of Art in the cures of their horses . . . for it is a knowledge fit for a Gentleman both in peace and war.²⁵

The title page of *Markham's Maister Peece* states, 'A Compleat Horse-man shoves, that (he) *Rides, Keeperes, and Cures, & all perfections*'. The book was thus aimed at horsemen, reassuring them that farriery was still only an arm of horsemanship and not a topic supported by its own merit. Markham argued farriery was important because the horseman needed to have complete control over the horse's body. The woodcut accompanying this statement pictures the horseman's ideal relationship to farriery (Illustration 1.1). This hierarchical image shows the 'compleat *Horse-man*' performing a *levade*, the pose that is often used in state portraits to depict the control and power of the monarch. Markham, however, placed the horseman over a series of images depicting farriery/equine medicine. Each image shows the horseman caring for the horse in a variety of ways, ranging from internal problems that require potions to taming the horse's fury to protect it from disease.²⁶ When Markham wrote specifically about farriery/equine medicine portion of his work was still aimed at the horseman and treated farriery as one of his key 'offices'.

²⁵ Markham, *Markham's Maister peece*, to the reader.

²⁶ For state portraits depicting the *levade*, see Velazquez, *Equestrian Portrait of Philip IV, 1634–35*; Rubens, *Equestrian Portrait of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, 1625*.



Illustration 1.1, Gervase Markham, *Markham's Maister Peece* (1656), title page.

In the second half of the seventeenth century, advice about farriery/equine medicine was also included in racing manuals. These books, however, resembled previous horsemanship books. John Halfpenny's *The Gentleman's Jockey and Approved Farrier* (1672) had similar content to Markham's farriery books and read much like other horsemanship books. Publishers issued Halfpenny's book more than any other book with advice about farriery/equine medicine after Markham. The success of his book was possibly the catalyst for similar books, such as *The Experience'd Farrier* by ER gent, 1678; *The Gentleman's Compleat Jockey* by AS gent, 1682; *The Jockey's Guide and Farrier's Companion* by FM gent, 1687 and *The Gentleman's new Jockey* by GL gent, 1687. Many of these authors used the same structure and similar content as *The Gentleman's Jockey and Approved Farrier* and publishers issued them over 30 times before 1719.

This group of authors claimed that farriery was important knowledge the racer should possess, just as Blundeville and Markham had argued that farriery was one of the ‘Cheifyst Offices’ of the horseman. This is partly because these books were just a sub-category of horsemanship books, or in other words, they were horsemanship books aimed at the racer. ‘Interest in horse racing grew to such an extent that by the end of the seventeenth century race going had become firmly established in the social calendar. This was the period that witnessed the emergence of the modern racehorse, the thoroughbred.’²⁷ In *The Gentleman’s New Jockey*, G. L. argued that farriery was ‘so necessary to be known by the curious Enquirers into this Mystery, that without knowing them no Man can be an excellent Jockey, or an expert Farrier, nor consequently have his Judgement approved in anything material, relating to Horses or Horsemanship.’²⁸ These books had a similar readership as horsemanship books and their content was strikingly similar. This also shows that interest in farriery/equine medicine was connected to interests in racing.

The number of books with farriery/equine medical advice in them increased throughout the seventeenth century but decreased drastically between 1700 and 1719. Figure 1.2 graphs the number of new titles with advice about farriery/equine medicine for each decade from 1560 to 1719. There are two surges in the number of new titles—from 1600 to 1620 and from 1670 to 1690, caused first by Markham’s horsemanship books and then by racing manuals. Figure 1.3, however, graphs the number of editions issued throughout this period and two decades beyond of titles first printed from 1560 to 1719. This shows the increase in books with advice about farriery/equine medicine issued throughout the seventeenth century, which Figure 1.2 does not show, through the reissuing of older titles

²⁷ Peter Edwards, *Horse and Man* (London, 2008), p. 89.

²⁸ G. L., *The Gentleman’s New Jockey* (London, 1687), to the reader.

and new titles. This was partly because Markham's books became increasingly popular after the 1620s and were reprinted tens of times before 1700. Then a second surge of new titles and editions surrounding John Halfpenny's book and racing manuals (1672) built upon the number of books with advice about farriery/equine medicine between 1670 and 1700. However, between 1695 and 1719, only three new titles were published and the number of editions fell from twenty-six in the 1680s to eight between 1710 to 1719. Between 1705 and 1719, Markham and Solleysel's books were the only farriery books reprinted. Therefore, there is a drastic decline in books with advice about farriery/equine medicine from the late 1690s to 1719.

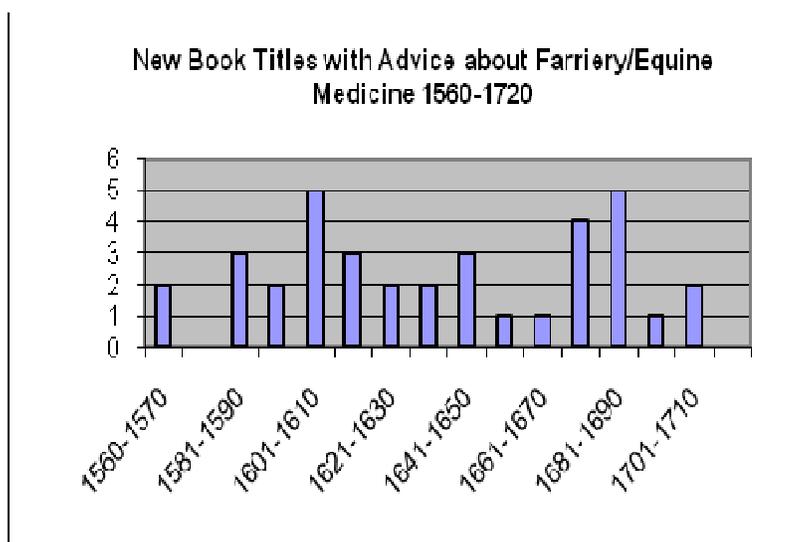


Figure 1.2, New Titles 1560–1719.

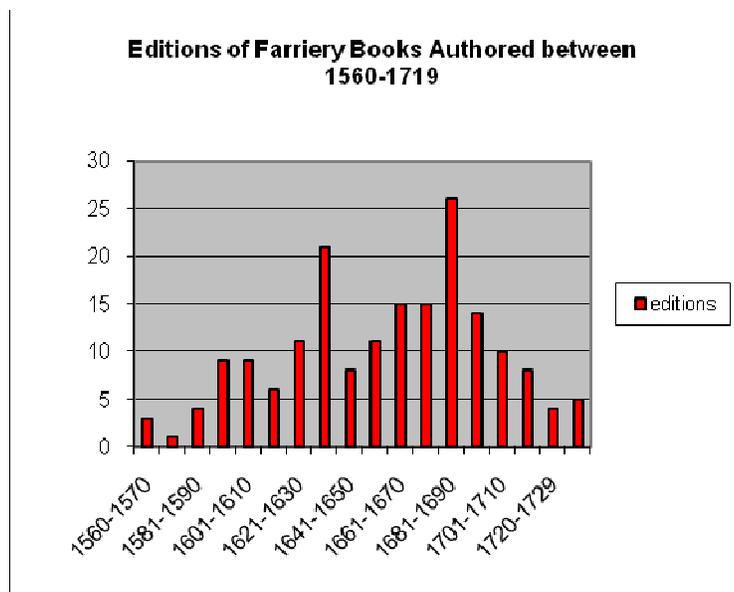


Figure 1.3 Editions of Farriery Books 1560 – 1719. (This graph includes only editions of titles that were originally printed between 1560 and 1719. The last two decades do not include editions from new titles, 1720–1739.)

This decrease is more accurately defined, however, as a gap in the number of books because the number of new titles and editions rapidly increases from 1720 to 1740. To demonstrate this more clearly, Figure 1.4 graphs the total number of books issued from 1720 to 1740 with advice about farriery/equine medicine. From c. 1720, publishers began issuing new titles more readily than the two previous decades, and in the 1730s there were more new authors writing about farriery/equine medicine and more new titles being issued than in any other decade since the 1560s. Many titles produced after 1720 were reissued and replaced the success of Markham’s and Halfpenny’s books. As will be shown, this also marks a fundamental shift in the way authors gave advice about farriery.

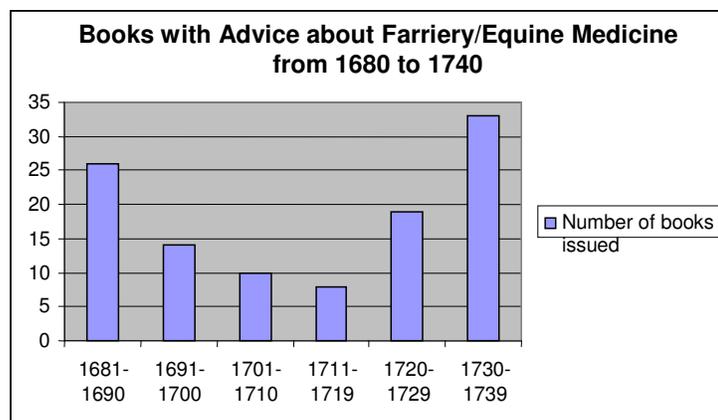


Figure 1.4, Books with Advice about Farriery/Equine Medicine from 1680 to 1740.

This new approach to farriery/equine medicine began with a series of books by William Gibson in the 1720s.²⁹ He lived from 1680 to 1750 and authored four of the most influential books on eighteenth-century farriery/equine medicine. Gibson's influence found its way into almost every farriery book up to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Originally trained as a surgeon,³⁰ he developed an interest in equine medicine while in the Sixteenth Dragoons.³¹ He wrote his third book, *The True Method of Dieting Horses*, for their benefit.³² His last book claimed he had treated hundreds of military and gentry horses to show he was qualified to write a practical guide from this experience.³³ J. F. Smithcors argued that Gibson's experience as a surgeon in the military directly influenced his practice in equine medicine.³⁴ Further, his human medical training led him to connect farriery with contemporary medical theory and practice. His first three books, focused on equine anatomy, equine disease and equine pharmacy, themes that provided a new model for books with advice about farriery/equine medicine. Farriery/equine

²⁹ J. F. Smithcors, 'William Gibson, Surgeon-farrier, on fevers,' *History of Medicine*, 2 (1958), p. 210.

³⁰ West Sussex County Records Office, Chichester, MS, Pas 130/33, this is Gibson's apprentice certificate.

³¹ William Gibson, *Farrier's New Guide* (1720), preface.

³² William Gibson, *True Method of Dieting* (1721), p. ij.

³³ William Gibson, *A New Treatise on the Disease of Horses* (1751), preface.

³⁴ J. F. Smithcor, 'William Gibson, Surgeon-Farrier, on Fevers', p. 210–211.

medicine broke away from horsemanship, husbandry and racing literature and became its own genre.³⁵

Contemporaries saw Gibson's farriery monographs as 'new' and wrote of him as the creator of a 'new farrier'. Sir William Hope, an equestrian and translator of Jacques Solleysell's book, thought Gibson's work was monumental and enlightening. He stated, 'I may truly venture to say of you, what a French person of quality once said of the great Duke of Newcastle, when he saw him ride on his finest manag'd horses, The bridge is now drawn up, and there in none to come after you.'³⁶ He continued, 'You have indeed writ so Learnedly upon the Subject, and so much like a Physician, that I am afraid they are only the more Expert and Judicious who can reap the wished for Benefit from your Labours: But be that as it will I am mightily well pleased that I can truly say, *Britain* has now a GIBSON, as *France* had formerly a SOLLEYSELL.'³⁷

A New Field—1720–1800

Many of Gibson's contemporaries agreed with Hope that his work marked a change in the way authors wrote about farriery/equine medicine. By the end of the eighteenth century veterinary surgeons were calling this shift the beginning of veterinary surgery. Only four decades after Gibson's death, John Lawrence, a prolific author on equine care, stated that William Gibson was 'the father of veterinary science, to who all succeeding authors as well as all true lovers of the Horse are under infinite obligation.'³⁸ Though Gibson was not

³⁵ Frederick Smith, *The Early History of Veterinary Literature*, (4 vol, London, 1976), vol II, p. 11–22; J.F. Smithcor, *Evolution of the Veterinary Art*, (London, 1958), pp. 255–257. idem., 'William Gibson, Surgeon – Farrier, on Fevers', pp. 210–220.

³⁶ Gibson, *Method of Dieting*, p. a.

³⁷ *ibid.*, p. b.

³⁸ Lawrence, *A Philosophical* (1796), p. 28.

the ‘father of veterinary science’, he began a new way of writing about farriery and equine medicine that caused Lawrence to see his writing as similar to early nineteenth century veterinary writing and unlike books written before 1720.³⁹

After the publication of Gibson’s books, the number of farriery/equine medical books being produced increased and continued to increase throughout the century. From 1720 to 1800, authors wrote eighty-four new titles about farriery/equine medicine, which, in total, were issued over 300 times.⁴⁰ Figure 1.5 demonstrates that nearly twice as many works discussing farriery/equine medicine were published between 1720 and 1800 than from 1560 to 1719—twice the number of books in half the time. Additionally, there were four times more authors and three times more new titles in the later period. From 1720 to 1790 there was an average of 8.5 new titles printed per decade, considerably more than in 1560–1719 (2.25). (Figure 1.6) Additionally, in the 1790s, publishers issued 25 new titles. Figure 1.7 demonstrates that between fifteen and ninety editions of these books were printed each decade, averaging around thirty per decade. In comparison, the largest number of books printed in a decade between 1560 and 1719 was twenty-five with an average of ten books issued per decade. (Figure 1.2)

This new medicalised farriery literature, similar to vernacular medical books and self-care literature, gave people information. It can also be seen as part of the democratic world of medical knowledge and self-help in the eighteenth century. Like farriery literature, the number of eighteenth-century domestic medical texts was drastically increasing. Ginnie Smith argues that though there are no accurate estimates of numbers of titles, the estimates

³⁹ William Gibson, *The Farrier’s New Guide* (1720); idem., *The Farrier’s Dispensatory* (1721); idem., *The True Method of Dieting Horses* (1721); idem., *A New Treatise on the Diseases of Horses* (1751).

⁴⁰ For a comparison of a specific kind of human medical books during the same period of time see, Smith, ‘Prescribing the Rules of health’.

that do exist provide ‘an unconfirmed increase of 33 per cent in the British literature [which] indicates a significant market expansion.’⁴¹ In comparison, farriery/equine medical texts increased by over 100 per cent in the eighteenth century.

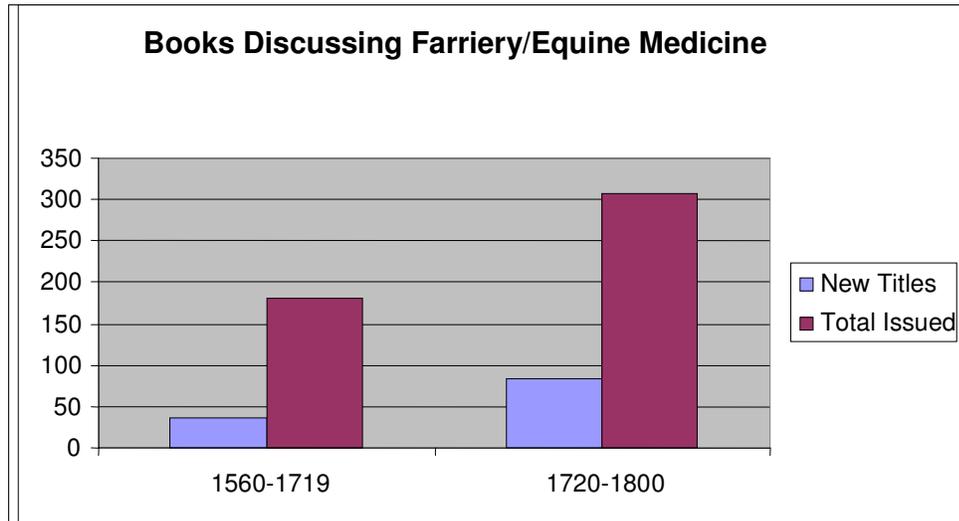


Figure 1.5, Comparison of Books Issued from 1560 to 1719 and from 1720 to 1800.

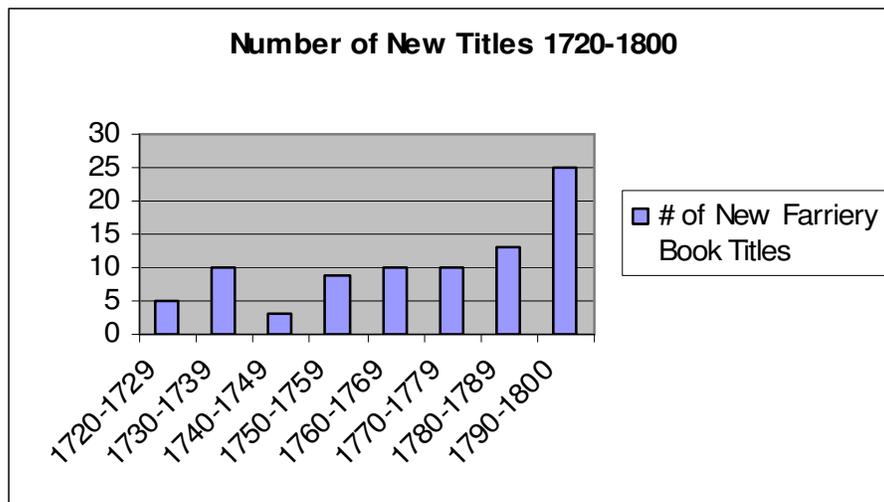


Figure 1.6, Number of New Titles 1720–1800.

⁴¹ Smith, ‘Self-help and Advice in the late 18c’, p. 252.

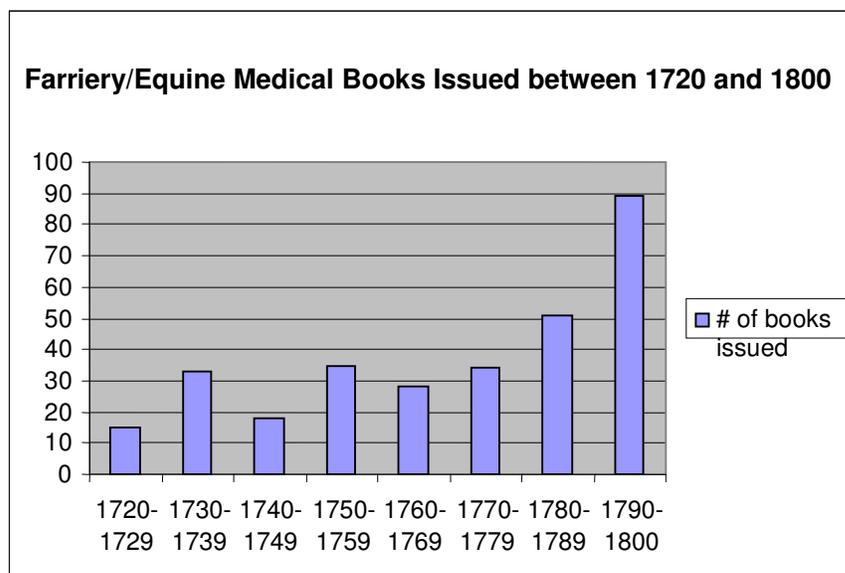


Figure 1.7, Books Issued Between 1720 and 1800.

The general book trade was drastically increasing during this period, which also resulted in an increase in fariery/equine medical books. James Raven wrote, ‘During the eighteenth century the pace of most book trades development was startling, even in comparison with many other eighteenth-century domestic industries. After vigorous growth from the late 1690s, publication rates mushroomed between the late 1740s and the end of the century.’⁴² The second increase of the general book trade at the end of the century parallels the most drastic increase since 1560 in books discussing fariery/equine medicine. Raven showed the rate of annual average growth in the book trade more than doubled from 1780 to 1800.⁴³ As for fariery/equine medical books, more new titles were published and old titles were reissued, causing a similar trend as in the general book trade from 1780 to 1800. Henry Bracken’s 1737 *Fariery Improv’d* (discussed below), for example, was reprinted twelve times after 1788,⁴⁴ and John Bartlet’s fariery books,

⁴² James Raven, ‘The Book Trade’, in Isabel Rivers (ed.), *Books and Their Readers in Eighteenth-Century England: New Essays* (London, 2001), p. 2.

⁴³ James Raven, ‘The Book Trade’, *Books and Their Readers in Eighteenth-Century England: New Essays*.

⁴⁴ Henry Bracken, *Fariery Improv’d* (1737); William Burdon, *The Gentleman’s Pocket Farrier* (1730).

originally issued in the 1760s (discussed below), also began to be reprinted in the 1790s.⁴⁵

Authors like William Taplin issued new titles in the late 1780s that were reprinted throughout the 1790s.

Even though the publishing history of farriery works often followed general trends in the book trade, other factors clearly had a more immediate effect. First, while the book trade from 1690 to 1740 was growing rapidly, the number of farriery titles published fell to its lowest point since the sixteenth century in the 1710s. Second, books discussing farriery increased in number in the 1720s,⁴⁶ twenty years earlier than the mushrooming of the general book trade. Therefore, this boost is best explained by an increasing interest in farriery, the appeal of the new specialised way of writing about farriery/equine medicine, newfound interest in horseracing, increased mobility in travel, the hunt and other factors discussed in the introduction, like breeding.

One can demonstrate the change in books discussing farriery/equine medicine after 1720 relatively easily, through a simple search of ESTC. Seventeenth-century written works with 'horsemanship' in the title contain substantial amounts of advice about the medical care of horses, while the eighteenth-century texts are mostly riding books and horse management books.⁴⁷ (However, if one searches both periods of the database using just the word *farriery*, one would find most of the database's books, both horsemanship and general farriery books.) Moreover, from 1720 to 1800, books with advice about farriery/equine medicine began to specialise in topics such as anatomy, disease and

⁴⁵ John Bartlet, *Gentleman's Farriery* (1759).

⁴⁶ William Gibson, *The New Farrier's Guide* (1720).

⁴⁷ See, John Adams, *Analysis of Horsemanship* (1799); Henry William Bunbury, *Annals of Horsemanship* (1796); John Maples, *The Art of Horsemanship* (1780); J. L. Jackson, *The Art of Riding* (1765); William Cavendish, *A General System of Horsemanship*.

drugs.⁴⁸ There were also very specific topics discussed in single books, such as books about diseases, like Edward Snape's *A Treatise on Those Two Diseases in Horses Termed Glanders and Farcy* (1791), Richard Ford's *The Inoculation for Horses with Stranlges* (1790) and Thomas Prosser's *A Treatise on Stranlges and Fevers in Horses* (1795). Additionally, some authors even wrote specifically about legs, hoofs and/or shoes, like Jeremiah Bridges' *No Foot No Horse* (1752), E. G. LaFosse's *Observations and New Discoveries Made upon the Horse and a New Method of Shoeing Horses* (1755) and James Clark's *Observations upon Shoeing Horses* (1770).

Authors writing between 1720 and 1800 distinguished themselves from the advice written by authors from 1560 to 1719, claiming superior knowledge. Gibson explained that seventeenth-century books discussing farriery were 'more like systems of old Astrology, than as if they had been composed for the cure of horses.' He explained that pre-1720 authors were 'not rightly acquainted with the Animal Oeconomy, [they] have accounted for many of the diseases, not from the True mechanism of the body of a horse, but in speculative and abstracted ways; which is so far from leading any one into the nature and cause of diseases, that it must rather bewilder [the] pupils, and bring them farther into the Dark.'⁴⁹ He and other authors after him proclaimed a higher knowledge from their understanding of physiology and anatomy, whereas older horse-care authors based their writings upon Galenic tradition and Italian horsemanship literature. Gibson chided the writings of Blundeville, Markham, DeGrey and Solleysel because they did not discuss anatomy and physiology sufficiently. After the middle of the eighteenth century, even the most practical and non-theoretical guides were expressing vascular theories of disease,

⁴⁸ William Gibson, *New Guide*, this is two books in one dealt with separately on anatomy and disease; idem., *Farrier's Dispensatory* (London, 1723); idem., *True Method* (London, 1721); idem., *New Treatise on the Diseases of Horses* (London, 1751).

⁴⁹ Gibson, *The Farrier's New Guide*, sig. A3.

like the Farlow farrier, John Jones's *The Practical Farrier* (1790). Jones compiled a list of his recipes for each disease for the use of farmers. However, he also described each disease according to vascular theories and anatomic structure, such as his description for strangles: 'This disorder proceeds from an impure and corrupt state of the blood, or gross humour oppressing the brain.'⁵⁰ Even though his book was far from technical, he described the physiology and anatomy of the horse often. The anatomical structure of the horse body was commonly described in eighteenth-century farriery/equine medical books, whereas very few books discussing farriery/equine medicine from 1560 to 1719 even alluded to the anatomy of the horse. (See chapter 6) Many post-1720 authors attempted to medicalise farriery advice by derailing previous advice and combining practical farriery with medical theory and anatomy.

After 1720, the size of farriery books shifted, and the way readers used books with advice about farriery/equine medicine may well have changed in consequence. Figure 1.8 compares the sizes of the books issued from 1560 to 1719 and from 1720 to 1800, showing the percentages of each book size. Comparing the sizes of books between two different centuries is difficult because there were varying sizes of paper used between the two periods. To make the comparison as clear as possible, I have used the traditional terminology for the different sizes and a general idea of the vertical height of the books.⁵¹

From 1560 to 1719 nearly sixty per cent of the books were quartos and twenty per cent were octavo. Depending upon the number of pages in the books, a quarto was cumbersome and generally not a book you would carry around with you. Only eight of the

⁵⁰ John Jones, *The Practical Farrier* (Ludlow, 1790), sig. B.

⁵¹ This is very general, especially the vertical size. I did this in order to get an idea of the sizes without listing every book. For further descriptions of folds and sizes, see Phillip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, pp. 57–109.

thirty-four titles were under 100 pages, and many were over 300 pages—the average being 231 pages. Markham, Halfpenny and Solleysell’s books were all quartos between 300 and 600 pages depending on the edition, not least because they also discussed other aspects of horsemanship. Readers would less likely to use these books as practical guides in the stable.

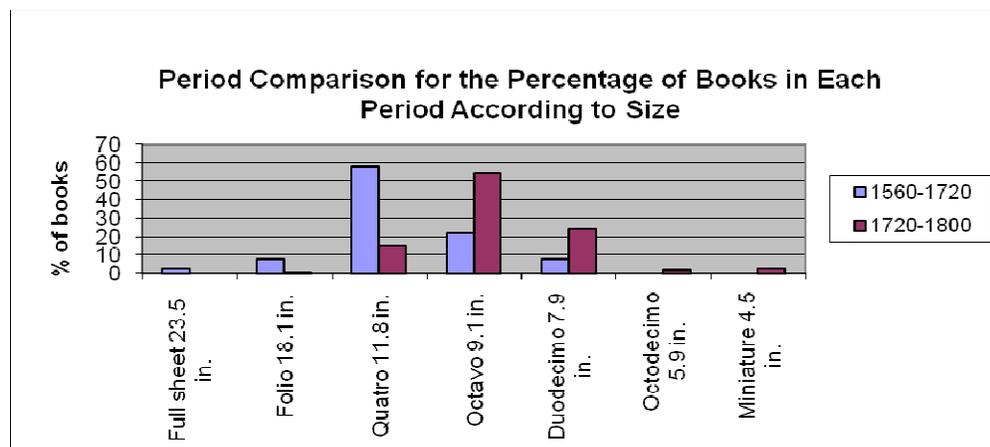


Figure 1.8. Size of Books.

However, from 1720 to 1800, books discussing farriery/equine medicine were smaller and more practical. Titles like *The Gentleman’s Pocket Farrier* and *The Traveller’s Pocket Farrier* show that many authors intended their readers to take their books with them to the stable, to carry them while travelling and to use the advice. Many of the books referred to their practicality. Even those that were larger than the average pocket claimed to contain practical advice about farriery.⁵² (Figure 1.8) After 1720, farriery books were rarely folios, while before 1720 they were never published in smaller formats,⁵³ as folios would have been awkward to carry. As these books changed in size, so did their probable use.

⁵² The Society of Country Gentlemen, *The Practical Farrier* (London, 1733); William Ellis, *Every Farmer his Own Farrier* (1759); John Leeming, *Every Man His Own Farrier* (1771); John Blunt, *Practical Farriery*; St. John Paulet, *Every Man His Own Farrier*; Francis Clater, *Every Man His Own Farrier*; William Griffiths, *A Practical Treatise on Farriery* (Wrexham, 1784); John Jones, *The Practical Farrier* (Ludlow, 1790); Edward Snape, *Practical Treatise on Farriery* (London, 1791); Samuel Drinkwater, *Every Man His Own Farrier* (London, 1796); William Taplin, *A Compendium of Practical and Experimental Farriery* (London, 1796).

Gibson's *Farrier's New Guide* (1720) condensed Andrew Snape's folio *The Anatomy of an Horse* (1683) into a smaller manageable size. Gibson did this, as did many others, to allow for a larger readership that would include farriers and surgeons.

The price of these books also decreased. After 1720, prices ranged from 6 pence for smaller books and pamphlets to 12 shillings for *The Stable Directory* (1788).⁵⁴ Most farriery books cost between 2 shillings and 3 shillings, 6 pence, though there were many books of around 100 pages that cost about 1 shilling. The most popular books were generally between 200 and 300 pages, costing around 2 shillings, 5 pence. Very large books, like William Merrick's *Classical Farrier*, were highly priced at around 12 shillings, and books sellers also sold popular editions of many books for high prices.⁵⁵

Generally, however, 4 shillings was the high end of farriery books.⁵⁶ In comparison, using a sample of sixty-two domestic medical titles from 1770 to 1820, Ginnie Smith argued, 'Lay and "semi-professional" works were more likely to be slim, small, cheap, and of the earlier "miscellaneous" format. Authors with an "interest", or ambition, wrote longer, more heavily structured works, of higher price and larger size. The average price of a family advice book ranged from six shillings to half a guinea and above for the most

⁵³ Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, p. 107.

⁵⁴ Book prices from 1720 to 1800 are only known for some books, some prices were printed on the covers and others listed in contemporary catalogues, but many were not listed at all.

⁵⁵ Merrick, *The Classical Farrier* (1788) had 800 pages.

⁵⁶ These catalogues include the cost of many of the databases farriery books, Bent, William. *The London Catalogue of Books in all Languages, Arts and Sciences, that have been Printed in Great Britain, Since the Year M.DCC* (London, 1773); J. Annereau, *Annereau's Catalogue, for 1800* (London, 1800); *Literature and Language An Appendix to the Catalogue of all Books and Pamphlets Published for Ten Years Past* (London, 1800); Benjamin White and Son. *A Catalogue of an Extensive and Curious Collection of Books in Every Language, and Class of Literature* (London, 1792); William Bent, *A General Catalogue of Books in all Languages, Arts, and Sciences* (London, 1785); William Bent, *The London Catalogue of Books* (London, 1791); William Bent, *The London Catalogue of Books* (London, 1799), p. 181; John Binns, *A Catalogue of Books, Containing Several Valuable Libraries* (Leeds?, 1789); John Binns, *A Catalogue of Books, for 1797, Containing several Valuable Libraries* (Leeds, 1797). Only eight books had prices on their title page.

detailed works.⁵⁷ The fluctuation in both the cases often depended upon the occupation of the author.

Even the common farrier could have afforded to buy some of these books. In the middle of the eighteenth century, a farrier made between 12 and 15 shillings per week, though some made much more than this.⁵⁸ (See chapter 3) Though farm labourers, making around 19 pounds per year, could not afford these books, farriers, making 27–40 pounds per year, may have been able to buy a farriery book.⁵⁹ Therefore, because of the reduced cost of farriery books, tradesmen and others could afford them, though gentlemen, horsemen and husbandmen continued to be the primary consumers.

Though the readership of farriery/equine medical books printed between 1720 and 1800 expanded, gentlemen remained the advertised target readership for most of the books. The title pages continued to advertise the books to gentlemen, but as books became smaller and more practical, one must see this as rhetorical. As we will see below, some of the books did not require extensive literacy skills because they were mostly made up of lists of ingredients for mixing pills and potions for horses. Therefore, the market for these books expanded. Some even rhetorically advertised their books for farriers, farmers and even labourers. It is difficult, however, to verify that people with lower socio-economic status owned or read these books. Nevertheless, many of the books had numerous editions and used books were frequently for sale. For example, almost two dozen booksellers between 1788 and 1800 from London to Glasgow advertised Francis Clater's *Every Man His Own*

⁵⁷ Smith, 'Self-help and Advice', p. 263.

⁵⁸ R. Campbell, *The London Tradesman* (London, 1747), p. 237. Joseph Collyer, *The Parent's and Guardian's Directory and the Youth's Guide in the Choice of a Profession or Trade* (London, 1761), p. 136–7.

Farrier (1783) in printed catalogues for as low as nine pence.⁶⁰ Low cost used books and minimal literacy requirements created a great deal of possibility that people with lower socio-economic status could have been owning and reading these books.

What is clear, however, is that the gentry were consuming these books. Using Clater's book as an example again, the catalogues that advertised *Every Man His Own Farrier* second hand were often collections that the booksellers bought from the gentry and nobility. Such as the collection advertised in *J. Todds Print Catalogue* (York, 1799), which had several copies of Clater's book and came from the collections of Marmaduke Tunstall and Lord Viscount Fairfax's collections. Additionally, gentry and noble ownership of farriery/equine medical books (1720-1800) is easily demonstrated from the marks left in the books. First, there are a good number of these kinds of books that have family seals on the inside cover. One example, in the Smithcors Collection, of a very practical book that one would expect farmers and farriers to be more interested in than the gentry (James Clark, *Observations on the Shoeing of Horses*, 1782), bears the seal of the right honourable lord Banff and the 1770 edition, which has the seal of William Charles De Meuron, Earl of Fitzwilliam. Second, some of the extant books list the owners in the first couple of pages. Existing examples of Henry Bracken's *Farriery Improv'd* include one copy (1737 edition) that claims to have been owned first by 'William Addison, St. Johns College Cambridge' then by 'Henry Harmen, M.D.' in 1850.⁶¹ There are also other copies of *Farriery Improv'd* that show similar kinds of ownership such as an 1738 edition

⁵⁹ Jeffrey G. Williamson, 'British Inequality during the Industrial Revolution: Accounting for the Kuznets Curve,' in Y.S. Brenner, Hatmut Kaelble, and Mark Thomas (eds.), *Income Distribution in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 62.

⁶⁰ Thomas Lucas, *A Catalogue of Two Libraries* (Birmingham, 1793).

⁶¹ Smithcors Collection, Henry Bracken, *Farriery Improv'd* (London, 1737), title page.

owned by Thomas Tullis M.D., or a 1752 edition that was given by Captain Lockhart to Mr. Murray.⁶²

The Authors

Examining the authors of eighteenth-century farriery/equine medical books can add to our understanding of the changes in literature after 1720. Ginnie Smith showed the occupational diversity of authors within her sampling of domestic medical titles from 1770 to 1820. She writes, ‘On paper, twenty-six authors were stated M.D.s or held public positions, while seven implied they were full-time general practitioners. . . . Six authors . . . stated they were surgeons. . . . Five were chemists, pharmacists or purveyors of drugs. . . . Three more obviously dealt in drugs. . . . Eight were lay authors. . . . Two . . . could have been “genteel . . . and five were anonymous.’⁶³ Up to one third of the authors were laymen, but authors who practiced medicine or had some kind of medical training wrote more than two-thirds of the books.

The profile of the men writing books discussing farriery/equine medicine changed drastically after 1720. From 1560 to 1719, save one surgeon and several farriers, all of the authors claimed to be gentlemen/horsemen.⁶⁴ Though most of them claimed to have superior knowledge of farriery/equine medicine, none of the authors had medical/anatomical training. By contrast, Figure 1.9 demonstrates that after 1720 new

⁶² Washington State University, Smithcors Collection.

⁶³ Smith, ‘Self-help and Advice’, pp. 262–263.

groups, especially farriers and others claiming to have been trained in medicine/anatomy, including a handful of surgeons, a physician, druggists and apothecaries, and veterinary surgeons, published on farriery/equine medicine. Though gentility remained an important feature of authors' self presentation, medical knowledge and medical training also became influential to the success and popularity of their books. Surgeon and physician authors of farriery books formed the ideal combination of gentility and medical training. Many of these authors highlighted their experience and their years of practice, noting them on the title pages of their books.⁶⁵

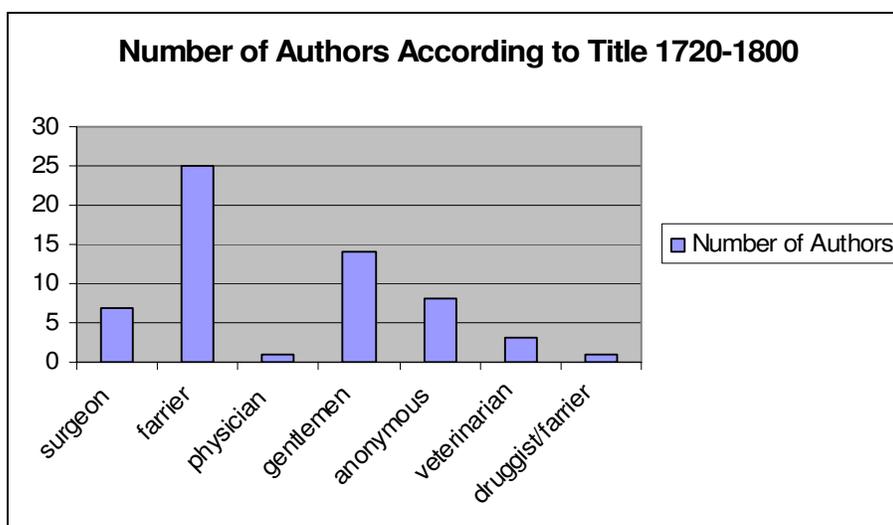


Figure 1.9, Number of Authors According to Title 1720–1800

The rhetoric of medical expertise became important in farriery/equine medical books. A good example of this new focus is John Reeves's *The Art of Farriery* (1758). Reeves painted himself as a learned farrier who had developed an important 'system' of farriery

⁶⁴ Robert Barret, *The Perfect and Experienced Farrier* (1660); Thomas Grymes, *The Honest and Plaine Dealing Farrier*, (London, 1636); William Poole, *The Country Farrier* (London, 1648); Andrew Snape, *The Anatomy of an Horse* (1683).

⁶⁵ Society of Country Gentlemen, *The Practical Farrier*, (1733); Matthew Allen *The Farriers Assistant* (1737); John Reeves, *The Art of Farriery in Theory and Practice* (1758); William Ellis, *Every Farmer His Own Farrier* (1759); John Blunt, *The Practical Farrier* (1773); John Jones, *The Practical Farrier*, (1790); William Taplin, *A Compendium of Practical and Experimental Farriery* (1796); There are also a series of 'Do it yourself books'.

from his ‘many years in the practice of Farriery, and acquired reputation by his success in curing the various Diseases of Horses’.⁶⁶ He also claimed on the title page that an ‘eminent physician . . . Revised, Corrected, and Enlarged’ his book, adding ‘such a just theory of Farriery, as will probably throw great light on the art and lead men to a more rational practice.’⁶⁷ Reeves’s work thus combined the strongest kinds of medical expertise: the practicality of a learned farrier and the theoretical knowledge of the physician. Moreover, in the conclusion, an eminent surgeon, Dale Ingram, wrote a chapter about equine leg anatomy and strains. Reeves’s book was the most popular book written by a farrier between 1720 and 1800.⁶⁸ Comparing Reeves’s title page to Markham’s title page demonstrates this shift. (Compare Illustrations 1.1 and 1.2.) Markham’s title page depicts the horseman, whereas Reeves’s title page describes farriery/equine medicine as an art and highlights practice, theory and anatomy. *The Art of Farriery* was supported by physicians and surgeons rather than gentlemen and nobles. Instead of a subcategory of horsemanship, farriery became more medically oriented and self-contained.

⁶⁶ Reeves, *The Art of Farriery*, p. 5.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p.5.

⁶⁸ Reeves, *The Art of Farriery* (1758). There were five editions of this book.

Geo. THE *Baillie*
ART of FARRIERY
 BOTH IN
THEORY and PRACTICE

Containing the
CAUSES, SYMPTOMS, and CURE of all DISEASES
 incident to **HORSES.**

WITH
ANATOMICAL DESCRIPTIONS,
 illustrated with **CUTS,**

For the better Explaining
The STRUCTURE, and accounting for the **VARIOUS**
DISORDERS of these useful **ANIMALS.**

AS ALSO
 Many Rules relating to the Choice and Management of
HORSES of all Kinds, and useful Directions how to
 avoid being imposed upon by **JOCKIES.**

Wherein some egregious Errors of **FORMER WRITERS** are
 occasionally pointed out.

By **Mr. JOHN REEVES,**
 Farrier at Ringwood, Hants.^K
 The whole Revised, Corrected, and Enlarged by a **PHYSICIAN.**

To which is added,
 A new Method of curing a **STRAIN** in the **BACK SINEWS,**
 and the **ANATOMY** of a **HORSE'S LEG,**
 with some Observations on **SHOEING,**
 By an **EMINENT SURGEON.**

L O N D O N :
 Printed for **J. NEWBERRY,** at the Bible and Sun in St. Paul's
 Church-Yard; and **B. COLLINS,** in Salisbury.

MDCCLVIII.

Illustration 1.2, *The Art of Farriery*

Authors like Reeves were far more influential than the few authors who were not focused on medicine or medically trained. Figure 1.10 categorises authors by occupation or status and graphs the number of editions their books had. Authors without claims to formal medical training (gentlemen and anonymous) wrote only 45 of the 307 books issued between 1720 and 1800 (14 per cent); medically/anatomically trained authors wrote the other 86 per cent. In comparison to Ginnie Smith's sampling of domestic and self-help

titles from 1770 to 1820, the percentage of laymen writing farriery/equine medical texts from 1720 to 1800 was half as many as in Smith's results—even though there were almost no physicians who wrote farriery/equine medical books. Nevertheless, authors of farriery/equine medical books clearly became much more medically oriented in the eighteenth century.

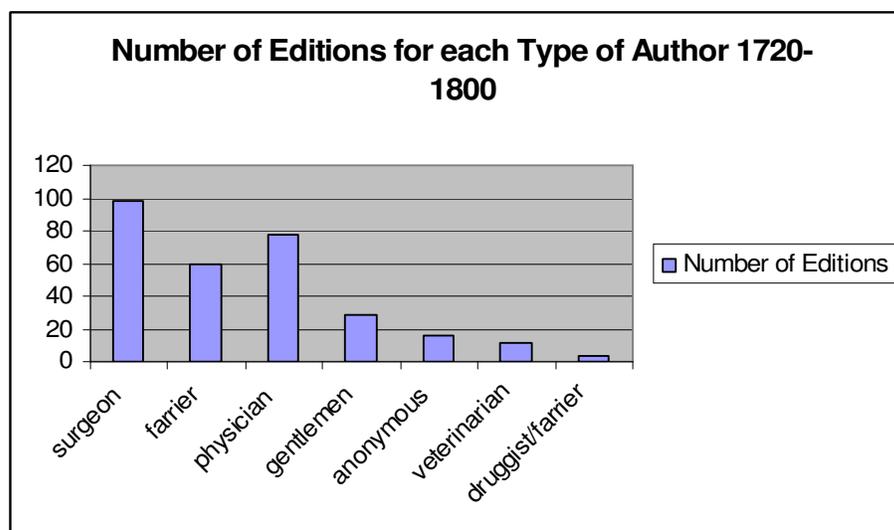


Figure 1.10. Type of Author and Number of Editions 1720–1800.

Furthermore, the laymen (gentlemen) who authored books discussing farriery/equine medicine after 1720 focused on medicine more heavily than the previous period's laymen authors. For example, Patricius Goodall wrote *A Short Dissertation on the Pneumatic Engine*, which discussed a new therapeutic method for fumigating horses.⁶⁹ He saw farriery as distinct from horsemanship. Strickland Freeman, a horseman, also wrote specifically about 'horse-medicine'. He saw farriery as a medical duty of the gentleman to preserve the horse body. His writing focused on specific medical practices and therapeutics in *Observations on the Mechanism of the Horses Foot* (1796). Though they were still horsemen, the literature they wrote had begun to describe farriery/equine

⁶⁹ Patricius Goodall, *A Dissertation on the Pneumatic Engine* (Nottingham, 1765).

medicine as a specialised medical knowledge similar to the way medics had begun describing farriery/equine medicine. Regardless of these changes, these laymen's books were not frequently reissued like they had been before 1720—John Halfpenny's book was reprinted thirteen times by 1719 and *Markham's Maister Peece* was reprinted twenty-five times by 1719.

Twenty-five farriers wrote works on equine care from 1720 to 1800, compared with only three farrier authors from 1560 to 1719. The knowledge and experience of farriers had only occasionally been included in farriery books by authors like Markham, who claimed to have consulted farriers. Eighteenth-century farrier authors, however, wrote practical books about general farriery and specialised topics within farriery, never including horsemanship. This may reflect greater literacy and intellectual confidence on the part of farriers, while also demonstrating a shift to more medically oriented advice about farriery. There were several authors, such as J. Thompson, author of *The Complete Horse Doctor*, who claimed that several gentlemen asked him to write his book because he had thirty-seven years of experience, and others like John Jones and John Reeves, who both claimed similar endorsements.⁷⁰ It is likely that most authors were from the highest levels of farriery practice, such as several of the King's farriers. Andrew Snape Jr. published his *Anatomy of an Horse* in 1683 and his descendant Edward Snape wrote two influential books in the 1790s.⁷¹ William Merrick, also farrier to the King, authored a large volume in 1788.⁷² However, the author most beloved by veterinary historians was the farrier to the King in Scotland, James Clark, who published on shoeing, disease prevention and equine

⁷⁰ John Jones, *The Practical Farrier*; John Reeves, *The Art of Farriery*; J. Thompson, *The Complete Horse Doctor* (London, 1763).

⁷¹ Edward Snape, *A Treatise on those two Diseases in horses Termed Glanders and Farcy* (London, 1787); idem., *A Practical Treatise on Farriery*.

⁷² William Merrick, *The Classical Farrier*.

physiology.⁷³ Many of these books authored by farriers were reprinted up to five times, like Reeves's, and most were reprinted at least two or three times.⁷⁴ Between 1720 and 1800 there were more than sixty editions of farriery books written by farriers.

Furthermore, the number of new farrier authors is demonstrative of how important the farrier had become as a source about horse medicine. Ginnie Smith found in her sample that physicians outnumbered most of the other kinds of practitioners writing about domestic medicine.⁷⁵ Like the physician in Smith's sample, farriers had written the most titles and become the dominant kind of author of farriery books. (Figure 1.9) Though farrier authors' books were not reissued as much as surgeons and physicians' farriery books, farriers had become a significant authority for advice about farriery.

An increasing amount of authors also came from medical occupations. (Figure 1.10 and 1.10) The first example of this is the veterinary surgeon and druggist/farrier.⁷⁶ Veterinary surgeons began writing after the LVC was created in the early 1790s, marking the emergence of 'new farriery' authors. After 1800, veterinary surgeons became increasingly important authority figures, although the content of their books was often similar to that of eighteenth-century farriery/equine medical writing. The druggist/farrier authors wrote books that would advertise their medicines and increase business. Like the veterinary surgeons, druggists began to write books in the 1790s. Francis Clater, wrote *Every Man His Own Farrier*, which had twenty editions by 1810, giving him international recognition.⁷⁷ Even though Smith's sample of domestic medical literature shows there were far fewer laymen authoring books (8 or 62), the number of farriery books being

⁷³ James Clark, *The Observations on the Shoeing of Horses* (Edinburgh, 1770); idem., *Treatise on the Prevention of Disease* (Edinburgh, 1788).

⁷⁴ John Reeves, *The Art of Farriery*.

⁷⁵ Ginnie Smith, 'Self-help and Advice in the Late 18C', p. 262. She showed that 26 of the 62 titles were authored by M.D.s and those that held public positions.

⁷⁶ OED shows the term veterinary surgeon first being used in 1790.

written by authors with medical occupations was clearly increasing and the authority for giving advice about farriery was also shifting.

A small group of surgeons wrote the majority of the most influential books on equine care from 1720 to 1800. One might suspect farriery was an outlet for surgeons, like the case of surgeons practicing midwifery in the 1720s, and that surgeons became farriers to avoid the overcrowded market for surgery. However, very few surgeons began practicing farriery, though many occasionally cared for horses. The few that did practice farriery had very few things in common with each other and practiced farriery for very different reasons—even though they all claimed they were improving it. William Prosser, surgeon-apothecary, claimed he was experienced and knowledgeable in physic, and only began farriery to improve the state of it in the 1790s.⁷⁸ Whereas, in the 1760s William Osmer and his brother practiced farriery to make a living even though they were both trained surgeons. Therefore, this group of surgeons entered farriery randomly throughout the century. Nevertheless, this small group had a powerful influence on eighteenth-century farriery. Though the seventeenth-century surgeon was associated with barbers, butchers and bleeders, during the eighteenth century the figure of the surgeon began to change. The creation of the Company of Surgeons in 1745, which later became the Royal College of Surgeons in 1800, marked one change in the perception of the figure of the eighteenth-century surgeon, while by the end of the century this figure became associated with refined practices, often being called apothecary-surgeon. Irvine Loudon identified this figure as marking the genesis of the general practitioner.⁷⁹ Though in reality many

⁷⁷ Francis Clater, *Every Man His Own Farrier* (1823, 23rd edition), preface.

⁷⁸ William Prosser, *Treatise on Strangles*, preface and advertisement.

⁷⁹ Irvine Loudon, *Medical Care and the General Practitioner 1750–1850* (Oxford 1986); M. Pelling, ‘Medical Practice in the Early Modern Period: Trade or Profession?’ in W. Prest (ed.), *Profession in Early Modern England* (London, 1986). T. Gelfand, ‘The Decline of the Ordinary Practitioner and the Rise of the Modern Medical Profession’ in S. S. Tatum and D.E. Larson (eds.), *Doctors, Patients and Society: Power*

surgeons did not match the image of this kind of surgeon, those who wrote farriery books often identified themselves with the ideal figure of a surgeon to bolster their credibility. Six surgeon authors wrote 15 titles about farriery/equine medicine from 1720 to 1800.⁸⁰ These works went through 98 editions. In contrast, from 1560 to 1719 there was only one surgeon who wrote a farriery book, which never had a second edition.

In addition to the surgeons who wrote farriery books, there was one physician who wrote on these matters who was also hugely influential. (Figure 1.10) Seventy-eight editions of the farriery works of Henry Bracken of Lancaster were published from 1720 to 1800. He began writing farriery books by editing several popular farriery books—*The Gentleman's Pocket Farrier* being the most popular, with twenty-five editions. Bracken made comments throughout Burdon's book at the bottom of each page, causing publishers to reissue it frequently throughout the second half of the eighteenth century. It also caused Bracken to begin writing about farriery independently. One can also see the connection between Burdon and Bracken by Burdon's abridgement of Bracken's work at the end of the century rather than producing a new book.⁸¹ Realising Bracken's interest in farriery/equine medicine and his potential to write books that would sell, J. Shuckburgh, the publisher of some of Burdon's editions, encouraged Bracken to write a book on farriery/equine medicine, which he had published two years later—*Farriery Improv'd*. It had thirty-five editions during this period, more than any other farriery medical book in

and Authority in Medical Care (Ontario, 1981). Ivan Waddington, *The Medical Profession in the Industrial Revolution* (Dublin, 1984).

⁸⁰ William Gibson, *The Farrier's New Guide* (1720); idem., *The Farrier's Dispensatory* (1721); idem., *The True Method of dieting Horses* (1721); idem., *A New Treatise on the Disease of horses* (1751); William Osmer, *A Dissertation on Horses* (1756); idem., *A Treatise on the Diseases and Lameness of Horses* (1761); John Bartlet, *The Gentleman's Farrier* (1759); idem., *Pharmacopoeia Hippiatrica* (1766); Thomas Wallis, *The Farrier's and Horseman's complete Dictionary* (1766); John Blunt, *The Practical Farrier*; William Taplin, *The Gentleman's Stable Directory*, Vol. I and II (1788 and 1790); idem., *A Compendium of Practical and Experimental Farriery*; idem., *Mulum in Parvo*; Thomas Prosser, *A Treatise on Strangles and Fevers in Horses* (London, 1790).

⁸¹ William Burdon, *Bracken Abridg'd* (1796).

the database.⁸² Another of his most popular books, *The Traveller's Pocket Farrier*, also had many editions.⁸³ Further, Bracken wrote *Ten Minutes Advice*, which was very similar to the *Pocket Farrier* and often times confused with *The Gentleman's Pocket Farrier*. Bracken also edited and translated M. La Fosse's book on glanders and was intending to edit Andrew Snape's *The Anatomy of an Horse*.

Part of the reason Bracken's books were reissued so often was due to his authority as a physician writing about farriery. However, though his printers and publishers always portrayed him as an MD, David Harley has shown there is no record of Bracken taking an MD.⁸⁴ He may have been no different from a surgeon-apothecary, like William Taplin or Thomas Prosser, or an extremely early general practitioner.⁸⁵ In 1772, more than three decades after *Farriery Improv'd* was issued, J. Gregory wrote, 'If a surgeon or apothecary has had the education, and acquired the knowledge of a physician, he is a physician to all intents and purposes.'⁸⁶ Thus, though Bracken lived much earlier than the emergence of the general practitioner, his readers believed he was a physician and one of the most important authors writing about farriery in the eighteenth century. For example, Dr. A. G. Sinclair defended Bracken by appealing to his status as a physician in the 1790s after Taplin criticised Bracken in print.⁸⁷ John Bartlet argued that Bracken's books altered farriery definitively for the good of the art because he was the only 'Physician' to write extensively about equine medicine.⁸⁸ Therefore, his occupational status was highly important to the influence of his books. This may have been because he also wrote human

⁸² Henry Bracken, *Farriery Improv'd* (1737 vol. I and 1743 vol. II).

⁸³ Bracken, *The Traveller's Pocket Farrier* (1742).

⁸⁴ David Harley, 'Ethics and Dispute Behavior in the Career of Henry Bracken of Lancaster: Surgeon, Physician, and Manmidwife,' in Robert Baker, Dorothy Porter, and Roy Porter (eds.), *The Codification of Medical Morality* (London, 1993), 47–72.

⁸⁵ Irvine Loudon, *Medical Care and the General Practitioner* (1986), see, ch. 1 and 2.

⁸⁶ J. Gregory, *Lectures on the Duties and Qualification of a Physician* (London, 1772).

⁸⁷ Taplin, *Gentleman's Stable Directory*; John Lawrence, *A Philosophical and Practical Treatise on Horses* (1796).

medical books and debated several important human medical topics, such as midwifery and lithontriptics. He also drew the attention of several human medics in discussions about the horse eye from what he wrote about in *Farriery Improv'd*.⁸⁹ Therefore, Bracken's advice about farriery was highly influential partly because of his perceived occupation as a medical authority, showing that farriery advice had become medical.

Furthermore, the books of only five authors, including Bracken's, make up fifty-one per cent of editions of the farriery/equine medical books written between 1720 and 1800.

Figure 1.11 graphs the number of editions each of these five authors had. Besides Burdon, whose book Bracken edited, these authors were all originally practitioners of human medicine. Thus, farriery advice was dominated by the advice that came from those in medical occupations. This says more about authority rather than content also, because most of the other forty-nine per cent focused on medicine also. Putting things in a broader perspective, there were more books published by these five authors than the total number of farriery books published from 1560 to 1719.

⁸⁸ John Bartlet, *Gentleman's Farriery*, preface.

⁸⁹ Henry Bracken, *The Midwife's Companion* (London, 1737); idem., *Lithiasis Anglicana* (London, 1739); idem., *Translation of Maitre Jan's Diseases of the Eye*; P. Kennedy, *Critical Letters from Dr. Henry Bracken (of Farriery) on Kennedy's Ophthalmographia or Treatise on the Eye* (London, 1739). See also Maehle, *Drugs on Trial* (London, 1999), pp. 55–125.

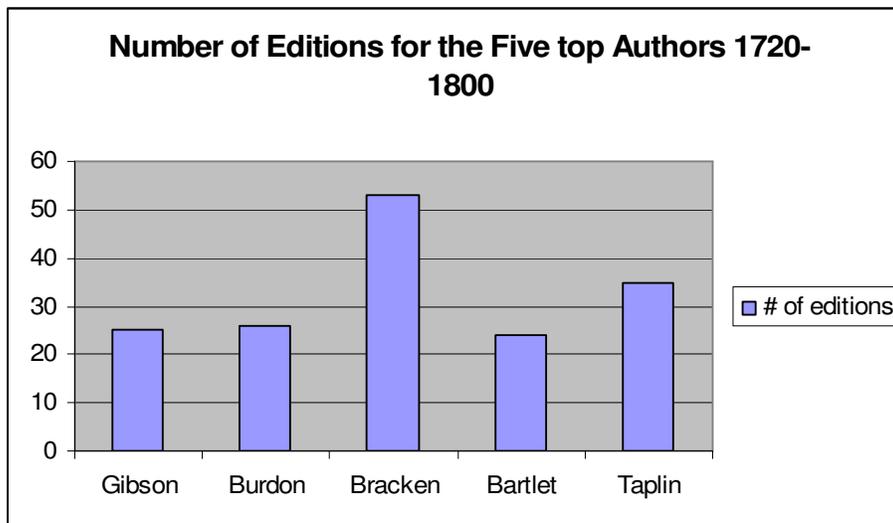


Figure 1.11, Number of Editions of the Top Five Authors.

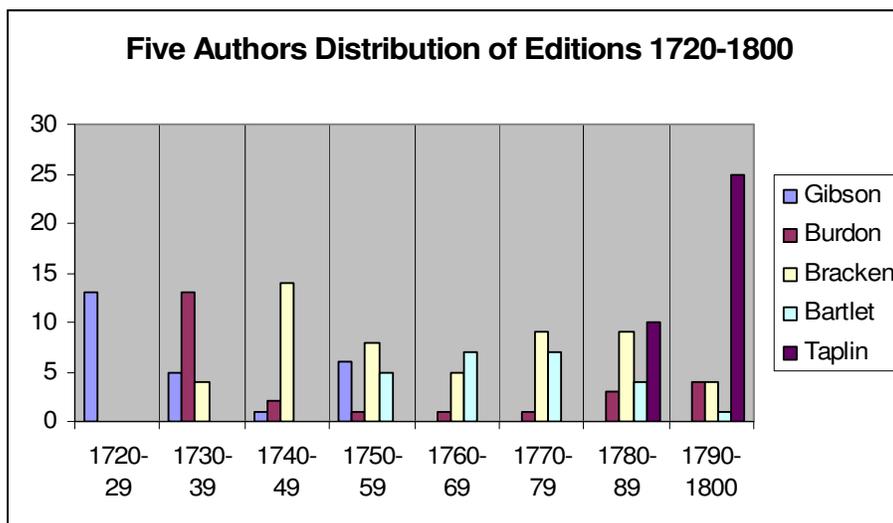


Figure 1.12, Distribution of Editions (Original in Colour)

Conclusion

By analysing farriery/equine medical literature I have demonstrated a major shift in the way authors gave advice about horse care beginning in 1720. This shift marks the medicalisation of farriery literature and highlights the possibility for even broader

developments in equine medicine during this period. The remainder of this dissertation addresses important questions this chapter has begun to develop, such as (1) did the medicalisation of farriery literature cause practitioners to become more medical, (2) was there a new style of farriery and (3) how did new ideas about anatomy and physiology change farriery in the eighteenth century?

