

Analysis of Medical Advertisements in English Newspapers, 1690-1750

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Summary

Medical advertisements in English newspapers between 1690 and 1750 were examined from the aspect of gender. Subjects considered were who read the advertisements, who bought the products advertised, what conditions and cures were described, what references there were to women and where and how the products were sold. The analysis shows that women continued to be very much involved in health care at a time when there was growing pressure from male professional physicians to establish superiority over popular healers, who were often female.

Résumé

Les publicités médicales parues dans les journaux anglais de 1690 à 1750 ont été ici analysées sous l'angle des femmes. Qui étaient les lectrices de telles publicités? Qui étaient les acheteuses de ces remèdes proposés? Quelles variétés de maladies étaient décrites et quels types de remèdes étaient suggérés? Comment était-il fait référence aux femmes? Où et comment les produits étaient vendus? Cette analyse montre que les femmes étaient très concernées par les problèmes de santé à une époque où, justement, la pression s'avérait grandissante de la part des médecins hommes pour établir leur suprématie sur des guérisseurs populaires qui, fréquemment, s'avéraient être des femmes.

If you want health, consult our pages,
You shall be well, and live for ages.
Our empirics, to get them bread,
Do every thing - but raise the dead¹.

These cynical lines, from the *Reading Mercury* of 20 December 1784, encapsulate the hopes and doubts of consumers of popular medicines advertised in newspapers of the time. Advertisements can reveal a great deal about early modern society, perhaps more than the "news" itself. R.B.Walker's quantitative analysis of advertisements in general, and Lisa Forman Cody's examination of medical advertisements, have considerably improved our understanding of the growth of the consumer society and the marketing of "quack" medicines². However, medical advertisements have never been examined from the point of view of gender. Between 1690-1750, there was a proliferation of nostrum makers, while male professional physicians, surgeons and apothecaries were trying to establish their superiority over popular healers, who were mainly female³. This study looks at who read the advertisements and bought the products, what conditions or illnesses the advertisers claimed could be cured, what references there were to women in the advertisements and where and how the products were sold.

Those Who Read The Advertisements And Bought The Products

Middle and upper class men were the greatest readers of the newspapers and their advertisements during this period. Newspapers were often read in coffee houses, where men congregated to hear about news, gossip and political scandals, and perhaps purchase the latest nostrum. Neither money nor literacy was required to enjoy newspapers. For a penny a saucer of coffee could

be nursed for hours, with someone always reading the papers aloud to an eager audience⁴. During 1709, eighteen newspapers were published in London, usually single sheets with news, mostly foreign, on one side and a few advertisements on the other. By 1725, most papers were four pages, the last one devoted entirely to advertisements⁵. The proportion of advertisements that were medical varied each day, from none up to 50%. By 1750 about 60% of English men in general could read⁶ and it is reasonable to assume that most readers of the advertisements were male. However, to assume that women lacked access to the papers or the ability to read and utilize them would be a mistake. Women were not totally excluded from coffee-houses, indeed many unmarried women conducted business there, including some who sold quack medicines⁷. Reading newspapers was a favourite pastime among well-to-do families. Not only were women avid readers of novels, but both husbands and wives read aloud books, sermons and newspapers to one another and friends for their personal edification and entertainment⁸. It has been estimated that at the end of the seventeenth century about 25% of English women could read, this figure rising to about 40% by 1750⁹.

Medical advertisements were then of special interest, when self-diagnosis and treatment of illnesses were seen as personal responsibilities. Although the wise-women and other traditional female healers of rural England were gradually being supplanted by professional, licensed physicians, women were still care-givers for family and household, even in the cosmopolitan medical marketplace of London¹⁰. The careful housewife had a family medicine chest well stocked with supplies of purges, vomits, pain-killers, and tonics". She might prepare them herself, perhaps from recipes in a book like *The COMPLETE HOUSEWIFE: OR, Accomplish'd*

*Gentlewoman's Companion*¹². Otherwise, they could be bought from the abundant apothecary shops or from the men and women who eagerly sold nostrums in coffee-houses, and from their houses, shops and warehouses. These "quack" medicines were cheaper than those prescribed by professional doctors and thus more readily available to men and women of modest means¹³.

Few advertisements were aimed directly at women. From 1-14 October 1724, the *London Daily Courant* printed three medical advertisements on most days. Of eighteen such, eleven made no reference to gender and only one, on 2 October, a cure for "The VAPOURS in WOMEN," could be said to have appealed specifically to women. There were two printings of an advertisement for tobacco, considered an eye strengthener as well as being good for a number of illnesses, and three for a "Miracle of a Medicine" that would cure a wide variety of eye problems. That this would be useful for women was indicated by the claim that it would make it possible to "thread a fine Needle, which before they were obliged to use Spectacles to."

Who actually purchased these remedies is unclear. While both men and women had access to the advertisements, relatively few women entered the establishments where the medicines were sold or had access to ready spending money¹⁴. Those who could afford the services of a professional physician were not the intended audience for quack medicine advertisements. Walker's analysis of three London newspapers showed that the higher the social level of the readership, the fewer medical advertisements were printed. The *London Evening Post* from 3 January to 25 February 1749 had none, while the middle class *General Advertiser* from 2-28 January had 12, and the lower toned *Penny London Post, OR The Morning Advertiser* of 4 January to 27 February had 127, including eighty-nine cures for venereal disease¹⁵. However, wages for workers were generally so low that only the very cheapest medicines were affordable, and even these would require a sacrifice. One "Dr. Rock", for example, charged as much for a tincture for curing tooth-ache as a worker would spend per week on rent¹⁶. It is reasonable to assume that the market for these advertisements was that broad band of society between the labouring poor and the pseudo-gentry of the urban rich.

Illnesses And Nostrums Appearing In Newspaper Advertisements

The illnesses supposedly curable by the remedies advertised covered a wide spectrum. They

included tooth or eye problems; problems of digestion and elimination (colic, looseness, stomach troubles and worms); chest problems, (coughs and colds to asthma and consumption); problems involving women's reproductive systems and childbirth; "nervous" disorders (hypochondria, hysteria and melancholy), conditions resulting from lifestyle (alcohol abuse, or overindulging in sex or masturbation, venereal diseases), and miscellaneous others, (gout, scurvy, rheumatism, the itch, the stone and gravel, bleeding of all kinds, hernias, and diabetes). Presumably, advertisements promising relief from paralysis due to hard drinking and fast living were intended primarily for males¹⁷. Most included long lists of ailments, a few of which were exclusive to women. "Dr. JOHN CHESHIRE'S RESTORATIVE STYPTICKTINCTURE," for instance, was a curative not only for digestive problems such as loss of appetite or vomiting, "rheumatism of the stomach", "loosenesses" and bleeding of noses, piles or wounds internal or external, but also the "immoderate Evacuations of the Female Sex, whether in the Circumstances of Lying-in, Miscarriage, or otherwise". The Tincture could cure bleeding regardless of cause or gender¹⁸. Many of these "quack cures" stressed that they would not only bring health without resorting to bleeding or salivation but were so pleasant tasting and gentle that they could be given to babies.

The advertisements bore no clear relationship to contemporary health crises. On 10 December 1739, the *Reading Mercury* printed a list of causes of death for the week. It included 42 from smallpox, 46 from fever, 92 from consumption and 127 from convulsions. The two medical advertisements in that issue, for "Daffy's Elixir Salutis" and "The most Incomparable and Never-failing Chymical DROPS," claimed their usefulness in consumption, but as one claim among many, the mention of consumption on this day being coincidental.

Nostrums advertised during this period changed little, although there was a great increase in those for venereal diseases after 1720. Differences did depend on the readership. The *London Gazette*, the official government organ, carried very few medical advertisements before 1720 and none thereafter. Those that appeared were conservative, offering no miracle cures. The *Penny London Post OR The Morning Advertiser*, by contrast, between 23 November and 14 December 1744 carried eighteen advertisements for venereal disease cures, with one for "Dr. Rock's anti-venereal Electuary" appearing eight times. Such advertisements were to the point. Directions to Dr Rock's residence where the "electuary" could be bought, were followed by:

"BEING a choice Composition made up of Ingredients

truly valuable for their being very rightly adapted to expel the Venereal Infection; for it certainly cures fresh Claps, and carries the Remains of ill cured Old-ones, be they ever so obstinate; it hinders the spreading Malignity, attracting by its insinuating Faculty the Venom, or morbid Matter, (as a Lodestone does iron; heals, strengthens and invigorates the generative Parts, without (as is common) leaving any Remnant of Taint behind"¹⁹.

Such advertisements were common in London newspapers, but absent in provincial ones. The closest to a hint for a cure for venereal disease in a provincial paper were those such as for "Belloste's Pills"²⁰, which besides being a purifier of the blood and good for skin problems, offered a cure for "many other Diseases incident to human Nature." In addition to curing a variety of stomach and intestinal disorders, "Dr. Blgrave's Drops" were also supposed to be useful in treating "Fits of the Mother" and "After-Pains in Women's Lying-in". This was one of the few advertisements actually mentioning specific women's maladies. Another, "The most wonderful Cleansing and Strengthening DROPS," a venereal disease treatment, also prevented miscarriage, a very real danger to pregnant women if undergoing treatment for the "secret disease". Assigning a socially acceptable value, (the avoidance of miscarriage) to a remedy, may have allowed the successful marketing of a product whose appeal lay primarily in anti-venereal treatment. "CHASE'S BALSAMICK PILLS," described in the *London Daily Post, and General Advertiser*, 1 January, 1750, were noted to be produced by a former man-midwife and apothecary.²¹ After touting its usefulness for anything from coughs to gout, the advertisement continued, "For preventing Miscarriages; and they are most necessary Medicine that can be given to Women after sharp and difficult labours, instantly relieving, as well as preventing those acute Pains, and [unreadable] weakness that frequently succeed upon a critical Birth." The advertisement suggests that though primarily intended for the use of midwives and nurses, the prudent woman of childbearing years kept a stock handy in her own medicine chest since they were equally useful for measles, small-pox, chicken-pox, whooping cough and gripe.

Dr. Hooper's Female Pills, advertised mainly in the provinces, though widely available, were specifically for female complaints. The "best medicine ever discover'd for young Women, when afflicted with what is vulgarly call'd the *Green-Sickness*," they could be taken by females from seven to seventy. A month after childbirth, the pills would "purge off those gross Humours, which, when retain'd, generate numerous Diseases, and render Women unhealthy all their Lives." They prevented the disorders

appearing in women passing through menopause and yet "openfed] those Obstructions which Virgins are so liable to." Pregnant women were warned not to take Hooper's Pills, presumably because of the danger of miscarrying. Was this a suggestion that the pills could end an inconvenient pregnancy?²²

Men or women suffering from "Hypochondriac, Hysteric or Vapourish Disorders" could benefit from a few doses, which would induce a "universal Chearfulness in the Body."

"Dr. Hooper's Female Pills" were one of the most successful of the nostrums advertised in early modern English newspapers. The advertisements were long and expensive and the product was marketed for many years, including as far away as Boston in 1761^P

Advertisements generally only identified men and women as consumers when the product was intended to cure similar, but sex-specific, disorders. Three such advertisements in the *London Daily Post, and General Advertiser* in 1740 were: The "So-much fam'd HYPO DROPS for hypochondriac melancholy in men and vapours in women," "An infallible Cure for Barrenness in Women and Impotency in Men," and "The most wonderful Cleansing and Strengthening DROPS, for all Sorts of Gleets and Seminal Weakness, and Imbecilities of the Generative Parts and Faculties preventing miscarriage in Women." In these cases the main illnesses, nervous and sexual disorders, occurred in both sexes.²⁴

References to Women in the Advertisements

Women were active in the preparation of the products advertised. Mrs. Pinter's advertisement for the "Juice of Liquorice," a cough mixture, appeared in the prestigious *London Gazette* of 3 March 1690. Mrs. Gegondee, "the sometime Governess of St. Luke's Workhouse in Old-street," advertised a cure for "the ITCH and other Cutaneous Diseases."²⁵ Mrs. Isobel Inglis prepared "Dr. Anderson's or the Scotch Pills" after the death of Anderson's widow. Some of her aura must have adhered to this highly successful remedy, as it continued to be sold into the twentieth century.²⁶ While some women who made or sold nostrums were widows who had inherited the recipes, it was the purported expertise of Mrs. Gegondee which offered readers reason to purchase the commodity. The most successful female practitioner was Mrs. Joanna Stephens, who was awarded £5000 by Act of Parliament, for publishing her cure for gout, which consisted largely of soap, snails, honey and eggshells.²⁷

Women were occasionally mentioned in lists of people selling various remedies throughout the provinces. For instance, the advertisement for "Smith's Ague Tincture" in

the *Northampton Mercury*, 28 December 1741, was accompanied by a list of nineteen agents from Northampton to St. Ives. It included three women. Mrs. Mary Tyler, who featured prominently in earlier advertisements for Smith's tincture, possibly owned a coffee-house or tavern called the Golden Ball, in Northampton²⁸. In some advertisements she was merely included in the long list of agents, while in others, her name and location were printed first, before the name of the product and well before the name of the apothecary who prepared the medicine. It appears that Mrs. Tyler was the main vendor of the remedy and that she and her place of business were prominent fixtures in Northampton.

Some medical problems were of such an intimate nature that a woman might prefer to purchase medical goods from another woman, and the ability to do so could be a significant marketing feature in the advertisements.²⁹ An advertisement for trusses in the *Penny London Post* of 19 November 1744 ended: "N.B. His wife attends those of her own sex"³⁰. Another way of increasing trade was to include women's testimonials and these appeared frequently in advertisements, especially those for eye-care. Appended to an advertisement for "a most Sovereign Water for the Eyes" is this rather strange testimonial: "Mrs. Barker, Mantua-maker in Angel-Court, in the Park behind Mr. Shepherd's Brew-house in the Borough of Southwark, being very bad with her Eyes, and could not get no Relief, was perfectly cured by making use of this Water, as has been several others. Price 1s.6." As a mantua maker, Mrs. Barker would not have been able to afford to advertise to increase her own trade. Fortunately, this "testimonial" advertised not only the eye wash available at Mr. Wooderson's, but also her own business, giving precise directions to her shop.³¹ Not all testimonials were genuine, and readers were sometimes warned against believing them³². Advertisements for "Dr. BATEMAN'S PECTORAL DROPS" sometimes featured long declarations of its miraculous ability to cure disabling rheumatic conditions. In one such, two women, J.M., wife of Mr. Ab. Nutter of Huddersfield, Yorkshire, and another identified only as the wife of Mr. Stoney, of the same town, claimed to have been released from crippling pain of several years' standing.³³ In the absence of any consumer protection laws, advertisers were free to make whatever claims they wished. The inclusion of women's testimonials, whether real or fictional, demonstrated a belief that women's opinions were respected enough to sell the products.

The Gendered Places of Sale

Intense marketing seems to have been the key to survival in this highly competitive field. Nostrums that

became household names were available through many routes. These included coffee-houses, booksellers and newspapermen, apothecaries, mantua makers, milliners, butchers, and from the makers' warehouses and private dwellings. Coffee-houses were logical and convenient places in which to sell nostrums. In his satirical book, *London Spy*, Ned Ward described a typical coffee-house as having walls decorated with gold frames within which were "phials of a yellowish elixir, favourite pills and hair tonics, packets of snuff, tooth-powder made of coffee-grounds, caramels, and cough lozenges, all vaunted as infallible."³⁴ Though "Stoughton's great Cordial Elixir" was sold at "Coffee-houses in and about the City of London," it was also available from many booksellers and from Stoughton's home. An energetic entrepreneur, Stoughton also offered his elixir to anyone who wanted to resell it in places where it was not yet available³⁵.

Some nostrums demanded less obvious outlets. The purveyors of cures for venereal disease needed discretion, whether selling to women or to men³⁶. Cures were available from only one person, usually the maker, sometimes his agent. G. West, "a Regular Surgeon", placed his address at the top of his advertisement for a cure for the French Distemper, with this note below: "There is a Back-Door into Goose-Alley, a Golden Ball hanging over it, that leads to my surgery"³⁷. Those wishing to consult the surgeon could be assured of at least some privacy by using the back door. It was not even necessary to visit the vendor in order to obtain his wares. Mr. Johnson, a baker, would sell bottles of a venereal cure, one that also prevented miscarriages, to messengers³⁸. An advertisement for "The Secret Disease and a GLEET," in the *Daily Journal* 1, 9 and 14 October 1724, offered to deliver, "Carriage-Free", either the purging lotion for venereal disease or the strengthening lotion for a gleet (a symptom of gonorrhoea) to any person who wrote to the "Author's Servant." As S.J. Reiser has pointed out, this was a not uncommon way for even licensed physicians to carry out their practice³⁹. This advertisement was one of a number for remedies that could also be purchased personally under the pretext of buying innocent pamphlets.

Between 1 to 14 October 1724, a rash of advertisements in the *Daily Journal* and the *Daily Courant* described pamphlets and nostrums available "Up One Pair of Stairs at the Anodyne Necklace for Children's Teeth without Temple Bar". Some, like the above for "The Secret Disease and a GLEET," were open about the nature of their remedies. Others gave no hint whatsoever, initially, about the reasons someone might ascend that one flight of stairs. A favourite was offset by a large woodcut of the sign to be found at the shop selling the anodyne necklace, and

Equally Safe for Both Sexes, Vesalius, XI, I, 26-32, 2005

headed by apparent legitimacy:

"Just publish'd, and proposed to the Consideration of the Curious, I AN Enquiry into the Question, Where the Swallow, the Nightingale, the Woodcock, the Fieldfare, Stork, and other Birds of Passage, go and reside, during their Absence from us."

The reader was directed to the familiar address for a free copy of the pamphlet. The true purpose of the advertisement, however, then became plain:

"But it will not be given to any Boys, nor Girls, nor to any paulty Persons pretending to be sent for it....At the same Place is also given Gratis the Practical Scheme, explaining the Symptoms and Nature of the Secret Disease, a Broken Constitution and a Gleet, shewing what every One in these Circumstances ought necessarily to know concerning their Condition."

Any regular reader of the *Daily Journal* or *Daily Courant*, with its advertisements for "Of the EYES All Bloodshot", "Tobacco for the Head and Eyes", and "Of the ITCH", would know that they were all available at the same address⁴⁰. No advertisement contained any indication that the products would be used for venereal disease. The book about birds, along with the availability of several innocuous nostrums, not least, the famous anodyne necklace, (a popular cure for babies' teething problems), would have provided cover for anyone seeking information on, and a remedy for, venereal disease.

It is unlikely that respectable women would have gone to this well-known shop. Located near the Rose Tavern and not far from the King's Playhouse, the area had been a favourite after-theatre location in Samuel Pepys's day. However, by the time of these advertisements, the tavern was considered somewhat dangerous, with a reputation as the haunt of gamblers and "rufflers"⁴¹. Women were much more likely to buy patent or proprietary medicines at one of the many popular toyshops. In addition to children's toys, ornaments and nick knacks, haberdashery and paper products these also sold popular nostrums⁴². The *Daily Courant* normally printed advertisements for nostrums available from toyshops alongside those for theatres⁴³. What could be more natural than ladies extending their entertainment after the theatre by visiting a nearby toyshop, to see the decorative items for sale there?

Conclusion

The period from 1690 to 1750 witnessed, among other developments, increased urbanization, an increase in work for wages, the development of the newspaper and a decrease in access to land for "physick" gardens.

There were moves to consumerism and a boom in marketing through newspapers, especially for books and medicines. In medicine, physicians, surgeons and apothecaries increasingly sought to discredit women, gradually pushing to exclude them from midwifery, previously an almost exclusively women's domain⁴⁴. Yet, as Earle remarked, proportionally more London women were working in medicine then than ever before⁴⁵. He attributed this to the commercialization of medicine and nursing, the high demand for medical services because of rising urban wages and a newfound disinclination to suffer pain. While most women working in medicine at this time appear to have been nurses, Earle also pointed out that there were a good number of female "quacks"⁴⁶. Porter has portrayed several women who made successful livings as non-licensed practitioners⁴⁷. Examination of the advertisements certainly confirms that many purveyors of popular medicine were women. While some prepared their own nostrums and some only sold remedies, it is very likely that many others were buying them to administer to those at home or possibly to sell on.

Women had a long tradition as healers, both within their families and households, and in the wider community. An elite served the community by providing medical care in person, or by preparing medicines to be dispatched to the patient's bedside⁴⁸. Women did not simply stop helping others, a fact born out by the advertisement for "The COMPLEAT HOUSEWIFE," mentioned above, which suggested that the medical receipts therein would be of use to "such publick-spirited Gentlewomen as would be beneficent to their poor Neighbours"⁴⁹. This was a traditional cultural imperative which could be raised by adversaries to their advantage. Women could continue to open their medicine chests, now often stocked with inexpensive nostrums, to help those in need. While excluded from the professions because of lack of education, they slid easily into the one area left open, that of quack medicine. Regular practitioners had made themselves an exclusive club, charging fees that placed them out of reach of the masses. Those who could not afford these turned to those advertising miracle-cures, available at affordable prices. In this predominantly male marketplace, women found a niche that allowed them to remain active in their traditional field. The trade in popular nostrums involved women greatly. They made, bought and sold remedies, and occasionally, like Joanna Stephens made their fortune from them.

The advertisements show that the remedies were not usually presented as gender specific. The majority appear directed towards men, who had the mobility and

funds necessary to obtain the products. Where a gender *is* specified, it is always female, since the male is understood in all other instances. The general impression is that most products were being marketed to both sexes. When the marketer claimed a remedy was equally safe for both sexes, this was implicitly an appeal to females, for it was *their* bodies which were "the weaker vessel," experiencing menstruation, pregnancy and lactation⁵⁰.

References and notes

1 Anon. (From *Reading Mercury*, 20 Dec. 1784) quoted in K.G. Burton, *The Early Newspaper Press in Berkshire (1723-1855)*, Reading, 1954 (MA Thesis reworked).

2 R.B. Walker, "Advertising in London Newspapers, 1650-1750" in *Business History*, 15, n.2 (July) 1973, and Lisa Forman Cody, "No Cure, No Money," or the Invisible Hand of Quackery: The Language of Commerce, Credit, and Cash in Eighteenth-Century British Medical Advertisements" in *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, v. 28, Julie Chandler Hayes and Timothy Erwin, eds. Baltimore. The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999.

3 Doreen Evenden, *The Midwives of Seventeenth-century London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 186-187. See also Doreen Evenden Nagy, *Popular Medicine in Seventeenth-Century England*, (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1988) for degree of Stuart women's involvement in health care.

4 Aytoun Ellis, *The Penny Universities: A History of the Coffee-houses*, (London: Seeker & Warburg, 1956), 45-46.

5 Jeremy Black, *The English Press in the Eighteenth Century*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), 105. (Information about the number of advertisements is from my own calculation.)

6 David Cressy, "Literacy in Context: Meaning and Measurement in early modern England," in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds., (New York: Routledge), 1993.

7 Brian Cowan, "What was Masculine about the Public Sphere? Gender and the Coffeehouse Milieu in Post-Restoration England," in *History Workshop Journal*, 51, 2001, 146-147.

8 Naomi Tadmor, "In the even my wife read to me': Women, Reading and Household Life in the Eighteenth Century," in *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England*, James Raven, Helen Small and Naomi Tadmor eds., (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 162-174.

9 Cressy, op. cit., 3 14.

10 Peter Earle, *A City Full of People: Men and Women of London 1650-1750*, (London: Methuen, 1994), 130-131.

11 Roy Porter, *Disease, Medicine and Society in England 1550-1800*, (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 1987), 28-29.

12 "The COMPLETE HOUSEWIFE: Or, Accomplished Gentlewoman's Companion. Being a Collection of upwards of six hundred of the most approv'd recipes in [list of cooking recipes]...To which is added a Collection of above three hundred Family Receipts of Medicines, viz. Drinks, Syrups, Salves, Ointments, and various other Things of sovereign approved Efficacy in most Distempers, pains, Achs [sic], Wounds, Sores, &c...*Northampton Mercury*, 29 June 1741.

13 "Quack" was a derogatory term generally applied to charlatans and non-licensed medical practitioners. Though not all quack medicines were ineffective, their creators were universally criticised, especially for their lack of formal education. See Roy Porter, *Health for Sale: Quackery in England 1660-1850*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), 1-20.

14 Roy Porter, *Health for Sale: Quackery in England 1660-1850*. 51-52.

15 Walker, op. cit., 123.

16 Dr. Rock's Tincture for curing the Tooth-ach, advertised in the *Penny London Post*, 28 November 1744, cost 1 shilling, the same amount Jeremy Black estimated as a workman's rent in 1754 (Jeremy Black, *The English Press in the Eighteenth Century*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), 1987, 106.)

17 The advertisement headed, "To Persons of either SEX, Afflicted with any Species of the Palsy, or other Nervous Decays," in *London Daily Post, and General Advertiser*, 20 December 1740, is only one of several that made this claim.

18 *Northampton Mercury*, 29 June 1741.

19 Dr. Rock's advertisement in the *London Daily Post, and General Advertiser* of 1 January 1750 was considerably longer, with a graphic list of symptoms, and claimed that the cure could be effected "without the knowledge of the most intimate Relations."

20 *York Courant*, 8 August 1738

21 *London Daily Post, and General Advertiser*, 1 January 1750

22 *London Daily Post, and General Advertiser* 13 December 1740

23 James Harvey Young, *The Toadstool Millionaires: A Social History of Patent Medicines in America before Federal Regulation*, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1961), 3. Other English nostrums to make the voyage to the new world were Bateman's and Stoughton's Drops, Anderson's Pills, British Oyl and Daffy's Elixir.

24 "HYPO DROPS": 4 December, Infallible Cure: 6 December, Cleansing and Strengthening Drops: 16 and

30 December 1740. See also: *Daily Courant* 2 to 14 October 1724. During that period, the *Courant* published eighteen medical advertisements, three being for both men and women.

25 *London Daily Post*, and *General Advertiser*, 6 December 1740

26 *London Gazette*, 13 February 1690 Anderson's pills were still being sold in 1956 (Ellis, op. cit. 138)

27 *London Gazette*, 22 March 1740 and John Camp, *Magic, Myth and Medicine*, (New York: Taplinger Publishing Company, 1974), 93.

28 *Northampton Mercury*, 26 January, 11 May and 21 September 1741.

29 Jean Donnison. *Midwives and Medical Men: A history of Inter-Professional Rivalries and Women's Rights*. (London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1977), 21

30 *Penny London Post*, 19 November, 1744. Also Porter, *Health for Sale*, 84-85. Porter indicated that it was fairly common for female patients to be examined by a quack physician's wife or sister.

31 Cited in, Earle, *A City Full of People*, 118. Earle pointed out that a mantua maker might make only about £10 per week compared to a milliner, the highest status needle trade. He indicates that though they were fairly poor, mantua makers usually were daughters of such educated men as esquires, clergymen and gentlemen. We may assume therefore that they were also usually literate.

32 Roy Porter, *Health for Sale*, 191. Other methods of implying the worthiness of nostrums were claiming that they were used by royalty or nobility, or were recommended by the King's physicians, e.g. "The Juice of Liquorice" had been prepared for the use of her Royal Highness the Princess of Denmark, the future Queen Anne. (*London Gazette*, 27 February-3 March 1690.)

33 *Northampton Mercury*, 6 May 1745.

34 *Ned Ward, London Spy*, quoted in Ellis, 45.

35 *London Gazette*, 15 April 1710.

36 Kevin Siena, "The Foul Disease and Privacy: The Effect of Venereal Disease and Patient Demand in the Medical Marketplace in Early Modern London," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*. 75 (2001), 199-224.

37 *London Daily Post*, and *General Advertiser*, 1 January 1750.

38 *London Daily Post*, and *General Advertiser*, 13 December 1740.

39 S. J. Reiser, "Examination of the Patient in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in Reiser, *Medicine and the Reign of Technology*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 6.

40 *Daily Courant*. "Of the EYES All Bloodshot" ran on 2, 7 and 14 October, "Tobacco for the Head and Eyes"

ran on 5 and 12 October, and "Of the ITCH" appeared on 9 October 1724. While "the itch" could be associated with venereal disease, these advertisements were not worded so as to make that obvious or explicit.

41 Henry C Shelley, *Inns and Taverns of Old London*, (Boston: L.C. Page & Company, 1909), 127-128. A "ruffler" posed as a discharged soldier but actually worked as an itinerant robber. *Dictionary of Slang*, (London: Cassell, 1998).

42 Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class*, 46.

43 *Daily Courant*, 10 April, 1710, carried advertisements for "An Incomparable Tincture" available from Mr. Payne's Toyshop, and "The Royal Chymical Wash-Ball" available from Mrs. Gilbert's Milliner and Toyshop. On the same page were advertisements for plays at the Queen's Theatre in the Haymarket and the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. On 7 October 1724, an advertisement for "Vivifying Drops for BARRENESS in Women and Imbecility in Men," was placed directly opposite advertisements for entertainments at the Theatre Royal in Drury-lane and in Lincoln's-Inn Fields.

44 Doreen Evenden, *Midwives*, 186-187.

45 Earle, *A City Full of People*, 131.

46 Ibid, 132.

47 Porter, *Health for Sale*, 82-85.

48 Mendelson & Crawford, 312, 320. See also, Doreen Evenden Nagy, *Popular Medicine*, 60-61

49 *Northampton Mercury*, 29 June 1741.

50 Antonia Fraser, *The Weaker Vessel: Women's Lot in Seventeenth Century England*, (London: Methuen, 1984), 65-88.

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