For Wesley there *was* a level at which religion and medicine were fused. Thus he shared with Cheyne the view that the most remarkable rules for preserving life and health were at the same time moral duties commanded by the author of nature. He also had no doubt that bodily disorders could be caused and influenced by a person's state of mind. Indeed, one of the real strengths of Madden's analysis is her identification of the several levels at which Wesley's eclectic theology did shape his medical priorities, even if the connections were largely invisible in his text. His understanding of the Fall lay behind his description of the earth as "one great infirmary". Salvation itself was a form of healing. The simple life he advocated, in protest against the debilitating indulgences of his age, was precisely what the imitation of Christ required. The instilling of hope into a patient resonated with the larger eschatological hope of a future life, grounded ultimately in Christ's resurrection. There were connections, too, with the natural theology that Wesley articulated more fully in his *Survey of the wisdom of God in the creation*: medical intervention was the re-tuning of a machine that had been wonderfully made.

Despite these and other interconnections that Madden finds in his sermons, she is surely correct, in principle, to say that, at the crucial level of treating specific diseases, Wesley's eyes could be, and were, focused on the natural, not the supernatural. By carefully tracing his many theological and medical sources, and by devoting an entire chapter to an assessment of his therapies (including his minority enthusiasm for electrification), she largely succeeds in portraying him as more a representative of the English Enlightenment than a deluded dilettante. By her own admission, however, there are issues she has preferred not to engage, such as Wesley's interest in both faith healing and the miraculous. How the rectification of that omission, and even Wesley's belief in the efficacy of prayer (which he described as "that medicine of medicines"), might qualify her reappraisal is perhaps a nice question.

John Hedley Brooke,
Harris Manchester College, Oxford

Martyn Beardsley and **Nicholas Bennett** (eds), *'Gratefull to providence': the diary and accounts of Matthew Flinders, surgeon, apothecary and man-midwife, 1775–1802, vol. I: 1775–1784*, The Publications of the Lincoln Record Society, vol. 95, Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2007, pp. xxv, 166, illus., £30.00, $55.00 (hardback 978-0-901503-59-6).

Despite several decades of intensive research into the social history of English medicine, surprisingly few sets of practitioners' papers have been printed. Matthew Flinders, a medical practitioner based in Donington, Lincolnshire, in the late eighteenth century, kept an unusually detailed record of his life and work, and this edition of his manuscript notebooks will be welcomed by all students of the period.

Characteristically for its time, Flinders' manuscript was a hybrid of account, diary and memorandum. Its main content is a record of his household's cash receipts and expenses, in which his professional earnings and expenses are mingled. Alongside these financial records are a set of notes and records detailing aspects of his practice, which gradually diminish in scale until they disappear completely in the second volume (yet to appear), and diary passages recording the events of his life. Flinders was an able and helpfully brief diarist. His notes include topics such as the birth of his children, the death of his wife, the inoculation of his servants, his own health, his travels around the area, and major purchases such as a new horse or cow. He also regularly summarized his financial position, debts and credits, and interests in prose.

As his accounts of his medical activities reveal, Flinders was an example of that fabled beast, the provincial general practitioner. He is labelled here variously as an apothecary,

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surgeon, and man-midwife, and described himself in those terms. The medical memoranda he wrote allow us some interesting insights into his relations with his patients and other practitioners, the intensity and range of his practice, and his midwifery work—including details of his use of forceps. They also give some sense of his expenditures, earnings and costs, such as the carriage of drugs.

Flinders is an interesting figure in general. He came from a medical family—his father John had also been an apothecary in Donington and his brother succeeded him in his practice—and he trained in London before returning home to practise. His first son turned from the family trade to become a noted explorer, charting the Australian coastline, among other achievements. Flinders was also a literate man whose record of his book purchases allows us to see him engaging in the print culture of the period, buying both general literary works, and medical publications.

The editors have done sterling work in producing a very clear and well structured edition. They have also provided an able 25-page introduction tracing the life and family of Flinders, and offer a tidy contextualization to his manuscript and practice. Somewhat unfortunately, they appear not to have known about Irvine Loudon's discussion of Flinders in *Medical care and the general practitioner* (1987). None the less, much can still be gained from this source, and I expect that Flinders will soon become a regularly discussed character in studies of eighteenth-century medicine.

Patrick Wallis,
London School of Economics and Political Science

A M G Rutten, *Blue ships: Dutch ocean crossing with multifunctional drugs and spices in the eighteenth century*, translated by Dr J Wormer, Rotterdam, Erasmus Publishing, 2008, pp. 154, €32.50 (hardback 978-90-5235-199-5).

From time immemorial, mankind has used natural substances as essential resources for many purposes, such as clothing and building materials, as spices, dyes and medicinal drugs. They have, therefore, always been important commodities and objects of exchange for many cultures. With the development of the first global commercial system, early modern European overseas enterprises imported great quantities of botanical goods from around the world and introduced them to Europe; these influenced medicine, pharmacy, diet, and the economy. It is well known that the Dutch determined the global commercial exchange during the seventeenth century and well beyond it, thus making an important contribution to the exploration of useful natural products from all over the globe. For this reason, A M G Rutten's study concentrates on the influence of Dutch commercial enterprises on the world-wide distribution of the so-called multifunctional drugs—products that could be used for both industrial and medicinal purposes—and their significance for Europe. Rutten explicitly focuses on primarily industrial products that were also used for medicinal purposes, as he explains using indigo as an example. He then presents a survey of the development of the Dutch trading companies and juxtaposes them with the former trade in multifunctional drugs in the Mediterranean area.

In the main part of the book, the author investigates different centres of global commerce as well as various geographic regions in terms of their significance as suppliers of these drugs to Dutch traders. He presents examples, such as pepper, ginger and nutmeg, and explains their historical tradition and industrial and medical applications. Vanilla, for instance, a plant native to Central America, was used as a spice but also as a remedy against nervousness and sleeplessness, and was included in many European pharmacopoeias. Nowadays, vanilla is still an important aromatic substance in the food industry. Rutten then turns to the medical-pharmaceutical aspects of multifunctional drugs and explores their presence in various

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