SIR WILLIAM PADDY, M.D. (1554–1634)

bу

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INTRODUCTION

JOHN AUBREY described Sir William Paddy, M.D. as 'an incomparable person', and 'one of the first learned men who made a physician's practice his study'.¹ Paddy's medical leadership influenced the professional development and legal responsibilities of contemporary English physicians, and his literary interests exemplified the qualities and difficulties around him during the Elizabethan, Jacobean, and Carolinian periods of British history.

Few facts surround his early life in London. His parents, Roger and Margery Paddy, had commercial and coastal freight-shipping interests, which provided ample financial support to William and his younger brother, Nicholas.² William attended Merchant Taylors' School from 15 January 1568 to 1570. Among his friends were Lancelot Andrewes, Giles Tomson, and Thomas Dove, who later became the Bishops of Winchester, Gloucester, and Peterborough, respectively, and who translated parts of the King James I version (1611) of the Bible. Edmund Spenser, a poor 'free journeyman's son' who later became England's poet laureate, also went to Merchant Taylors' during this time. Paddy then entered St. John's College, Oxford, as a commoner in 1571. Here he earned the B.A. degree on 7 July 1573. He studied and practised medicine in the University of Leyden during the next sixteen years, and returned to England after receiving the M.D. degree on 21 July 15898 (fig. 1). After examination by the College of Physicians on 23 December 1589 for a permit to practise within London's city limits, he had yet to be incorporated as an M.D. at Oxford University. Between the two dates of his double incorporations at Oxford on 22 October 1591 and 11 July 1600, several events marked Paddy's initial advancement within London's medical circles. He became a 'desector of the Anathomies' in the Worshipful Company of Barber-Surgeons from 1596-1609,4 yet received a fine in 1598 for dissecting a cadaver in the Barber-Surgeons' Hall without its president's permission. He spent an increasing amount of time as a member of the College of Physicians, beginning as Licentiate (9 May 1590), advancing to Fellow (25 September 1591), being elected Censor (1595, 1597-1600), and later becoming President during 1609-11, and 1618.

Paddy relied on the written records of ancient medical and philosophical authority, and as a Galenist, he opposed the study of nature and chemical experimentation—

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which the Paracelsians increasingly advanced. His early practice in London showed decisive interests in medical education, and he demonstrated surgical techniques and showed poor people how to treat and prevent the common illnesses and injuries. But his correspondence during this time described ideas about other medical concepts. Two letters by Paddy to Leyden's Joannes Heurnius (1543–1601) (professor of medicine and several times Rector of the university), and two by Heurnius to Paddy, remain extant in the Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit in Leiden.⁵ Written during 1592, the letters contain questions and answers about prescriptions, medical discoveries, reputations of their contemporaries, and certain points which centred around Heurnius's later publications.

PADDY AND KING JAMES I

Paddy was eventually supported by Sir Robert Cecil, in whose household he held medical responsibilities from 1594 to 1602. No records show that Paddy practised within Queen Elizabeth's court, and he did not associate with Dr. William Gilbert (1540-1603), the queen's chief physician, who wrote De Magnete in 1600. Gilbert despised contemporary physicians who blindly followed the theories of ancient medical writers. Nor did Paddy refer to Dr. Lancelot Browne (d. 1605), physician to both Queen Elizabeth and James I, who wrote Healthes Preservative and a Whip for a Dog Leache (1605). The fact that Paddy kept his personal and professional dealings outside the queen's control points to peculiar circumstances which led to the accession of King James VI of Scotland to the throne of England in 1603. Evidence shows that by 1602, Paddy should be recognized as the previously unknown 'No. 40' within the secret correspondence between King James and about one dozen Englishmen. Identifying numbers gave address codes to these individuals, so that secret deliveries could be made among the numbered participants. Sir Robert Cecil (known as 'No. 10') used this intelligence network to arouse secret support for James, and Paddy, employed as a physician in Cecil's service, assisted him by collecting and disseminating useful information. The profession of physician brought him into intimate contact with the influential members of society, and in addition to medical responsibilities to Cecil's family and other private patients, Paddy served as a communications liaison between Cecil and other wealthy Londoners. In a letter to Cecil, King James ('No. 30') expressed his appreciation to him and 'No. 40' for their assistance in helping him to prepare his way to the English throne:

For I must plainlie confesse that both ye and youre faithful collegue 40 haue by youre uigilant and iudiciouse caire, so ayselie settelid me in the only richt course for my goode, so happelie preseruid the quenis [Elizabeth's] mynde from the poison of iealouse praeiuduce, so ualiantlie resisted the crooked coursis of sum seditiouse spirits quho can never uearie secretlie to sting the heiles of honest men . . . But not that heirby I have any intention to desyre you or 40 (quhom I alluayes and ever shall accounte as one) any uayes to alter . . . youre accustumed forme of ansouring me.

Paddy had the opportunity to voice Cecil's interests to many of his patients, and he often reported their names and political persuasions. William's brother, Nicholas Paddy, Lancaster Herald in the College of Arms, may have secured this same type of

information for James's accession attempt. Again James wrote to Cecil:

... it shall thairfore suffise me that ye rest in a full and certaine persuasion of my love and thankefull mynde to you both, quhairof this my hand shall serve for a witnesse unto you, assuring 40 that, uith goddis grace, he shall never be disappointed of his confidence in my honestie upon youre relation, and as it never was, nor shall be, my course to preasse him, or any, beyonde the boundis of thaire dewtifull allegeance to thaire souveraine...thus praying 40 to be assured that by youre meanes only he shall heare from me, that he maye thairby discerne if any other worde come to him in my name that it is but false and adulterate coine...?

Some misunderstanding between Cecil and Paddy, however, provoked James to assert his own personal feelings about this matter of unquestioned obedience to the king's will. This left an indelible mark of appreciation and the promise of protection for Cecil's and Paddy's past services to him, as is shown in the following letter from James to Paddy:

... ever since your entrie thair unto [i.e., Cecil's service], did long ere nou sufficientlie persuaide me of youre honest and lawfull affection to my service, yet having lattie the assurance thairof confirmed, both by the faithfull testimonie of 10, as lykeuayes by youre own uordes utterid in aenigme to my servant ashton, I uolde not omitte to sende you these few lynes of my own hande, as uitnessis of my thankefulness, and as by my lettir to you and 10 conjunctile ye are allreadie certified on my honest and upricht course uith youre souveraigne... that all my dealing with you shall euer be accompanied uith these three qualities, honestie, seacreatie and constancie; but as I uill deale with you by no other uaye but by the meanes of 10, so may ye assure youre self that youre straite and steadfast conjunction with him in my service is the only uaye to enable you both thairin, and to disappointe all my maliciouse and undeseruid aduersaries.

As a political reward for Paddy's faithful service to him and the Cecil family, and for the express appreciation of the '10-40' influence as a kingmaker, James I knighted Paddy at Windsor on 9 July 1603, then appointed him to Court practice, and officially made him his personal physician. Why the king tried to bolster Paddy's confidence before he appointed him as chief physician, became clear many years later in the American Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Paddy never married, but he adopted a son in 1600 or 1601, and named him William. This son rose to a position as a wealthy merchant leather tanner in London, but left England four months after Sir William's death. Sailing from Southampton on 6 April 1635 with fifty-two other passengers on the James of London, he arrived in Plymouth on 3 June and prospered there and in Boston until his death on 24 August 1658.9 Here he displayed the identical coat of arms that was granted to his father and uncle in 1591. The adoption of this boy may have been a social responsibility thrust upon the physician by the Cecil family. James's letter to Paddy had all but promised a sinecure for his political assistance, as well as for his favour of adopting the boy, and Paddy probably felt that his faithfulness to the Cecil family would be rewarded.

Marcus Gheeraerts, portrait painter of the Cecil family and many members of the Royal family, also painted William Paddy's portrait (fig. 2) when the physician was forty-six years of age. His code name of 'No. 40' is symbolically revealed in this portrait at two different points. Four rampant lions surround an escutcheon on his coat of arms, and Paddy's left hand, highlighted in the forefront of the pose, displays four fingers held in an oval shape, signifying the combinations of four and zero.

John Aubrey's sketch of Sir William Paddy, found among the Aubrey MSS. in the Bodleian Library, identified Paddy's untitled Latin poem about the death of Queen Elizabeth, in which he hopes that 'the new king, a very Solomon, would have no need of a physician.' Although this thirty-eight-line poem caused some to say that Dr. Paddy worked better with a lancet than with his pen, later forms of his poetry provided better examples of his literary skill. He probably wrote this poem in St. John's College, where he and his servants occupied rooms in the front quadrangle from Christmas Term 1602 to Michaelmas 1604. Here he also wrote several medical treatises noting symptoms, precautions, and treatments of the bubonic plague, and he later served on a committee which evaluated the results of his findings. During the plague years 1593, 1603, and 1625, Paddy contributed preventive plague controls to London health officials.

King James and his family travelled to Oxford after the plague had subsided, and Paddy wrote a commendatory verse to Dr. Matthew Gwinne's play, Vertumnus, sive Annus Recurrens, 11 performed before the Royal audience at Christ Church on Friday, 29 August 1605. Entitled 'Ad Eruditissimum Collegam Doct. Guinne. In Detractores Poeseos', it set the stage for the Johnian production. Inigo Jones (1573-1652) designed the scenery and directed the performance for Gwinne's play, and used the first scenery-shifting devices then known to the English stage. William Shakespeare visited John Davenant in Oxford shortly after King James's entertainment, and probably secured advice about the use of Gwinne's play structure—especially the legend of the weird sisters, which he used in the 1606 Globe Theatre and Hampton Court performances of Macbeth. 12 Gwinne's only medical work, In Assertorem Chymicae, 18 contained a laudatory verse by Paddy, entitled 'In Viri omni Literarum genere instructissimi'. This eighteen-line poem supported Gwinne's refutation of the claims made in Francis Anthony's Medicinae, Chymicae et veri potabilis auri assertio. 14 Contemporary accounts showed that Paddy, in accordance with other physicians including Drs. John Craige, Richard Forster, Thomas Fryer, and John Hammond, agreed that 'metallic potions were no better than those made of animal or vegetable compounds'.15 Gwinne stated that Anthony's celebrated but secret remedy, called 'potable gold', really contained no gold at all. Paddy wrote a prefatory poem to Thomas Rawlin's Admonito pseudo-chymicis seu alphabetarium philosophicum, 16 which castigated Anthony's writings about potable gold.

King James and the royal family again visited Oxford University between 27-30 August 1605. Discussions, plays, and debates centred around the king's interests in medicine, jurisprudence, and theology, and Paddy debated against the question of 'whether the morals of nurses are imbibed by infants with the milk'. ¹⁷ This subject greatly interested King James, who believed that it was better to feed infants from a bottle rather than to depend on a wet nurse of doubtful morals. Shakespeare may have borrowed this very question from the debate when he raised the motif in *Macbeth*. This would, as Sir Sidney Lee points out in his *Life of Shakespeare*, 'conciliate the Scottish King's idiosyncrasies'. If any record of this argument survived the Jacobean period, it would be interesting to compare it with the mid-eighteenth-century promotion of the 'booby-pot' (baby bottle).

The second debate at Oxford resolved 'whether the frequent smoking of exotic

tobacco is salutary for those in health'.18 Smoking became fashionable to many Englishmen during the early part of the seventeenth century, and Paddy pleased King James by arguing against its use. 'This smoking of tobacco', James said, 'should have no place either in the lives of sober men, or in the schools of wise doctors'.19 The king's contempt for smoking had earlier revealed itself in his A Counter-Blaste to Tobacco (1604), and he showed his hatred of the plant by placing a retail tax of 6s. 10d. on the sale of each pound. 20 Fortunately Paddy had by now given up the use of tobacco, which would have been distasteful to James. In 1620 the king granted a commission to Paddy and several other grocers, merchants, and apothecaries to write the directions for sorting and distinguishing various grades of tobacco before permitting its sale.²¹ The first edition of Dr. Raphael Thorius's Hymnus tabaci praised tobacco for its medicinal virtues, and symbolized the poet's mythological concept of tobacco's discovery by Bacchus and Silenus among the Indians of America. Books I-II, entitled 'De Paeto seu tabaco', were placed under the protection of Thorius's patron, Dr. Paddy, whose name was replaced by *Phoebus* in the dedication to the second printed edition.²² Thorius (M.D., Leyden, 31 December 1590, and L.R.C.P., 1596) apostrophized that 'Tu Paddaeo fave, nec enim praestantior alter Morbifugae varias vires agnoscere plantae'. Paddy thought that tobacco fumes eased stuffy noses and stopped head-cold soreness.

Medical responsibilities to the king meant a variety of different duties, and Paddy assisted in a conservation effort to preserve the deer protected by a sovereign warrant in the Enfield Chase during 1599 and 1600. Accompanied by two others during Allhallowtide, Paddy counted all the deer, and totalled eighteen does and forty-five bucks. Some historians say that King James liked animals better than men, and that he preferred some sports over the affairs of court. He went to Newmarket in 1624 to watch horse races and hawking events, but his health had weakened considerably, and he could no longer participate in these sports, which had become so popular during his reign. Since 1604, the Palace at Newmarket became the traditional racing box for the Stuarts. Soon after returning from Newmarket, King James became ill at Theobalds, Hertfordshire, where Dr. Hayes and Woolphengus Banger (the king's surgeon and apothecary) initially described his sickness as a tertian ague, and immediately prescribed three jalops.²⁸ Because of their twenty-two years of friendship, the king requested Paddy's presence. Paddy came to the Palace on 25 March 1625, and shortly declared that his examination of the King revealed the following points: (1) 'The malignity of the ague was the chief malady, and plasters were used several times'. (2) King James was an aged person, 'being 60 years old'. (3) 'He had a plethoric body full of ill humours', and (4) 'the King was adverse to physic and was impatient under it'.24 Through the afternoon of 26 March, Paddy, Archbishop George Abbot, and Bishops John Williams and Godfrey Goodman remained near the king, who died about twenty-one hours later on 27 March. Paddy then wrote this account in the endpapers of the King's Book of Common Prayer, which was kept in his home on London's St. Michael Wood Street until he gave it to St. John's in 1633:25

beyng sent for to Thibaulde butt two days before the death of my soveraigne Lord and master King James: I held it my Christian dutie to prepare hym, telling hym that there was nothing left for me to doe (in ye afternoone before his death ye next daie att noone) butt to pray for his

soule. Wherupon ye Archbishop and ye Lord keeper, byshop of Lincolne, demaunded yf His Majestie would be pleased that they shold praye with Hym whereunto he cheerfullie accorded. And after short praier these sentences were by ye Bishop of Lincolne distinctlie pronounced unto hym, who with his eies (the messenger of his Hart) lyfted up into Heaven, att the end of every sentence, gave to us all therby, a godly assurance of those graces and livelie faith, whereunto He apprehended the merite of our Lord and onlie Saviour Christ Jesus, accordinglie as in his godlie life he had often publiquelie expressed. Will. Paddy.²⁶

A certificate was given to the attending physicians to sign, stating that the jalops and plasters were safely administered to the king before his death. But the doctors refused to sign the document, because they did not know whether the jalops used on the king were the same as those ingredients mentioned in the certificate. If King James were poisoned, it could not be medically proved. Two years later, when a Parliamentary committee voted the poisoning theory to be 'a transcendent presumption', it rested its case upon the statement given under oath by Paddy and other physicians.²⁷ King James, like his son Henry in 1612, died soon after eating large quantities of grapes, nectarines, strawberries, and cherries.²⁸ During plague years, in which the king died, fruit could not be purchased on London streets, and the features of Paddy's medical diagnosis may have partly alluded to the effects of eating bad fruit. Simon Kellawaye, writing from his home in Kingsmill, Devon, on 8 April 1593, prescribed specific recipes for preventing and curing the plague: 'All rawe fruites are to be refused, except those which tend to a sowre taste, as Pomgarnards, dammaske prunes, Pippins, red and sowre cherries, and Walenuts, Quinches and peares, preserved are verye good eaten after meales.'29

Sir Theodore Turquet de Mayerne (1573–1655), praised Paddy in the preface to Moffett's *Insectorum Theatrum*,³⁰ titling his remarks, 'Generoso Viro, Eqvitiavrato, Archiatro Regio, D. Gulielmo Paddy.' Other physicians with whom Paddy consulted during Prince Henry's fatal illness on 8 November 1612, were Drs. Thomas Fryer, John Craige, Thomas Moundeford, Mark Ridley, Edward Lister (brother of Sir Matthew Lister), and Richard Palmer. Mayerne later wrote two clear accounts of the yet unknown typhoid fever which took the life of the king's favourite son—although a prescription named 'diascordium' failed to prolong his life.

THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS

Dr. Helkiah Crooke's book, Mikrokosmografia,³¹ met strong opposition from Paddy and Sir Matthew Lister. Both men were 'sent to the Bishop of London, John King, to arrange that the whole work should be suppressed and the printer paid, or, failing that, that Book IV should be deleted.'³² Paddy criticized the way that Crooke brought discredit upon the College of Physicians by presenting anatomical studies in English. He objected to the public sale and distribution of English-language medical texts because he did not want the secrets of medicine revealed to everyone. Crooke replied to Paddy's charge against his book on 21 April 1618, saying that he had only meant to accuse Paddy and Matthew Gwinne of certain irregularities of public dissections at Barber-Surgeons' Hall.

Matthew Gwinne's authorship of *The Phisitions of London* (1607?) cannot be proved, yet it announced his retirement from Gresham College in September 1607, where he occupied its first endowed medical post as the Professor of Physic. The

first and last lines indicate a questionable reputation among some physicians' characters, but vindicate Sir William when the poem begins and ends: 'Ladies now glad ye, here comes Dr. Paddye/ And so farewell bawdy doctors'. Another anonymous version, found in a poem entitled Let Closestoole and Chamberpot Choose Out a Doctor, repeats its claim that 'Ladies all glad'e, here comes doctor Paddye/So farewell bawdy doctors'. If some London physicians shared dubious distinctions, Paddy, himself, showed similar tendencies at the age of fifty-five when he fled from a compromising situation with Sir John Kennedy's wife. When surprised in her home by her irate husband and his Scottish bodyguards, neither Paddy nor Lady Kennedy had time to put their clothes on, and scarcely had time to escape to the home of a friendly neighbour. Another report, dated 5 October 1609, claims that Paddy 'now walks London streets with three or four men in defence of his dimissaries.'

When Paddy presided over the College of Physicians in 1609, he admitted Thomas Lodge (c. 1558–1625) to membership on 9 March. This traveller, physician, scholar, poet, and dramatist, is chiefly known today for his romance of Rosalynde, which Shakespeare took as a model for As You Like It. He published a number of other romances, as well as some notable lyric poetry and verse satires, a treatise on the plague, and translations from classical and modern authors. Many of the books that Paddy gave to St. John's College in 1602 bore the same titles as those cited by Lodge in A Treatise of the Plague, 36 a lengthy book completed in London's Warwick Lane on 19 August 1603. This comprehensive catalogue of plague treatments listed the symptoms then known to medicine, and the remedies of ancient authorities such as Galen, Avicenna, Aegineta, Hippocrates, Diascorides, and many more. Written in English, it gave the common man a chance to choose his own precautions and cures, during those terrible days when many London physicians, including Paddy, deserted the city for the safety of the country. Lodge also suggested many ways to prevent the plague's apparent lingering effect among household commodities. Since London anticipated its arrival in 1602, inhabitants left the City in great numbers. The plague climaxed in August and September 1603, and slowed considerably by February 1604. Not since the epidemic of 1563 had so many Londoners died, and Parliament was prorogued late in 1604. Parliament passed an act in 1604 which provided 'for the charitable relief and ordering of persons infected with the plague'.³⁷ Violation of this law carried the death penalty.

Thomas Dekker, John Davies, Thomas Lodge, and many anonymous authors of plague tracts, described the horrors of those times. John Davies summed it up when he described the helpless plight of the physician: 'For all observed the Pestilence was such as taught to scorne the help of Phisicks art.'38

Although the College of Physicians guarded its privileges, Paddy disputed the acceptance of midwives, apothecaries, and 'quacks' into its ranks. He continually defended the medical and ethical qualifications of physicians and surgeons. With high regard for the status of the medical profession, he claimed that 'physicians are by their science chirurgeons without further examination,' and with his four censors, he administered each new member's oath to King James and to the College of Physicians.³⁹ He strengthened the reputation of the College, and he encouraged the apothecaries to improve the quality of their practice. When Dr. Atkins supported his

own scheme to advance the position of the apothecaries within the Grocers' Company, Paddy protested that the College had agreed to no such authorization. He maintained that if anything should be decided, it should seek a resolution only among the apothecaries, grocers, and the City of London—not the College of Physicians. Many of Paddy's decisions standardized and regulated the production and sale of medicines, and he frequently issued reports, and established administrative procedures.⁴⁰

As a fleet medical examiner, he attested that 'the surgeons of this fleet are all experienced men who have been in the Indies long, have performed extraordinary cures, and are men approved for their sufficiency in their profession, and such as will scorn to be examined'. After the East India Company was chartered on 31 December 1600, Paddy may actually have served as a ship's doctor somewhere in the East Indies, because a ship's captain once wrote in his log that 'Sir William Padye put to me a youth who was drowned at the Cape'. His interest in nautical affairs prevailed throughout his life, and his name appears on the charter granted to the Company of the Merchant Discoverers of the North-West Passage. Earlier, Paddy had signed a grant that permitted Henry Hudson and others to set out in April 1610, to locate a northwest passage through America to the South Sea. In a letter to Secretary Conway, Paddy recommended that Robert King (son of Dr. John King, Bishop of London) be made an infantry captain among those soon going to sea, 'God knoweth whither'.

CONTACTS WITH DR. ROBERT FLUDD

Although Paddy was Anglican, he knew Dr. Robert Fludd (1574-1637), the eminent Rosicrucian, and a most prolific writer. Fludd used 'a kind of sublime, unintelligible cant to his patients, which by inspiring them with a greater faith in his skill, might in some cases contribute to their cure.'45 Fludd believed that 'bad demons caused diseases, and that the pious physician had to fight against them.'46 No account of Paddy's medical philosophy showed similar thoughts about the treatment of disease. However, when Paddy gave a pneumatic organ to St. John's College in 1618, evidence points to the mutual appreciation that both men shared in organ music.⁴⁷ Fludd later dedicated his Medicina Catholica (1629) to Paddy, and this work contained the earliest-printed reference to blood circulation. 48 Before Paddy died, he gave two of Fludd's books to the St. John's College Library. Since Fludd graduated from St. John's in 1600, he probably shared memories of his experiences with his fellow alumnus. Fludd established his practice at Christ's Church Hospital around 1605, and the most graphic idea of his work shows an engraving which reveals a patient who is bedded down inside a 'Castle of Health'—one side of which has been broken down by cold weather, and flying creatures attack the sick man inside.

PUBLIC LIFE

Sensitive to the unfortunate circumstances of his poorer patients, Paddy performed many services free of charge. Infants abandoned on his doorstep often received his endorsement for other families (or individuals) to adopt and support. Paddy also treated the extremely wealthy. At the age of seventy, he issued a certificate permitting Dame Constance Lucy, a wealthy widow, to reside in London—because of her age

and infirmities. He was one of six who performed an autopsy on the body of Lady Arabella Stuart, who died in the Tower of London. 49 He also approved of the heated water at Bath, where he sent Chief Justice Richardson during the summer of 1634 for fear of palsy. When the Earl of Southampton languished in the Tower, Paddy treated him for 'a quartain ague and a swelling in his legs and other parts of his body'. 50 The problems of judging the mentally incompetent and knowing what to do with them posed a perplexing dilemma for the clergy, judges, and doctors, alike. On 29 March 1604, Paddy denied that Mr. Brian Bridger, a minister, 'was a lunatic for claiming that Bishops that enforce men to subscribe to the ceremonies of the Church of England are therein anti-christs'. 51 This problem recalled another subject debated before King James at Oxford during his visit of August 1605—concerning 'Whether the imagination can produce real effects'. Obviously, Paddy felt that a man's actions were the deciding factors rather than his statements or threats.

More evidence of his public prominence indicated that his attitude toward the legal aspects of the medical profession should be incorporated into law. Speaking before the Lord Mayor of London (Sir Henry Montagu) on 4 October 1614, Paddy argued successfully that the members of the College of Physicians (then about forty-one in number) should be permanently excused from military conscription. During the same speech, he drew attention to the privileges of physicians and surgeons as they were officially ruled in the Statutes of Henry VIII: (1) examinations and licensing were required of doctors, and unlicensed individuals were forbidden to practise; (2) surgeons were to be discharged from duty as constables, etc.; (3) foreign-born surgeons were not to be considered as menial handicraftsmen; (4) physicians were to be allowed and encouraged to practise surgery; and (5) an act was passed which incorporated barbers and surgeons into one Company.⁵⁴ Previous Statutes of Henry VIII empowered the College of Physicians to prosecute those who practised in London without its authority, and James I redefined and confirmed the College Censors' powers to fine and imprison those found guilty of doing so. 'The fine for unlicensed practice in London sometimes amounted to £100, and £40 and £45 fines were common'.55 (Paddy earned £100 per year in 1606.) To regulate London medical practice even more, the College of Physicians ruled in May 1607, that medical graduates of Oxford and Cambridge had to be licensed by the College if they wished to practise in London, or within seven miles from the City's walls.

While his Court practice and responsibilities to King James provided an ample salary, Paddy no longer had to devote himself entirely to his medical practice. His political activities demanded much time, yet he had no enthusiasm for the apparent frustrations of this responsibility. He sat in King James's first Parliament (1604/11), and he represented Thetford, Norfolk, in the House of Commons, where he served on numerous committees. Three months before the king angrily dissolved Parliament

on 29 February 1611, Paddy called for an order 'to determine how members should be called to Parliament', or whether members should 'be warned to attend his Majesty's person'. 56 James ultimately lost control of the House, and Paddy did not sit in the 'Addled Parliament' of 1614, nor in the later Parliamentary sessions. But his interest in legal matters maintained his reading activities until his last years, and Lewes Paddy, his nephew and the executor of Sir William's estate, delivered law books in two large hampers to Mr. Edwardes, then headmaster of Merchant Taylors' School. Likewise, Paddy's 'London neighbour, Humphrey Dyson, gave the Statutes at Large in two volumes printed in 1618'. 57 During his last years he sometimes lived at St. John's in a small, bottom-floor house facing the Great Gate—provided for him (according to Aubrey) by Archbishop Laud.

BEQUEST TO ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD

Paddy's initial gift of 420 medical books to St. John's 'founded a rare collection of medical works'. ⁵⁸ Since his alma mater showed more interest in this collection than did Thomas James, the first Librarian of the Bodleian Library (which had officially opened on 8 November 1602), Paddy wondered if Bodleian 'susceptibilities' might not be provoked by his decision to give his books to St. John's. John Sandesbury, St. John's first custos bibliothecae, maintained the College Library in 1603, ⁵⁹ and entered Paddy's contribution in the Benefactors Book. In addition to 156 titles donated in 1633, another of Paddy's nephews selected a group of twenty-one books and eighteen manuscript collections after Sir William's death on 3 December 1634. ⁶⁰

His body was conveyed from his home on St. Michael Wood Street in London's Cripplegate Ward, and his will requested that he be decently buried in the St. John's College Chapel, without unnecessary ceremonies. 'He was', said a College chronicler, 'a member as munificent as learned', ⁶¹ and he willed £2,800 (increased by codicil to £3,200) to endow the College's organist and choir. He left additional money for book purchases in the library, and promised to pay 40s. annually toward the library-keeper's salary from the rents and profits of his copyhold with appurtenances, located near Woodstocke. As long as this money arrived at St. John's, the 'College agreed to elect his nominee', ⁶² but all of Paddy's money, together with £500 of Bishop Buckeridge's legacy, purchased an estate in Warwickshire several years later. ⁶³

John Aubrey noted that Paddy borrowed for his fellow-collegian, William Laud, a manuscript written by the Venerable Bede (673–735). A Paddy's authority to loan books and MSS from the St. John's College Library provided research interests for many readers. Different titles circulated through various households before returning to St. John's. Archbishop Laud later donated a copy of Bayer's *Uranometria* (1603) to its library in 1634—a book which Paddy originally received from a grateful patient in 1627. Both Paddy and Laud enjoyed a lengthy friendship with Sir Robert Cotton and his great library. Paddy's will describes some of his most prized titles, such as his 'rich and extraordinary Ortelius', containing coloured maps of the English shires, as well as his Koevius's maps of Britain's seventeen counties. His MSS collection pertained to many subjects, some of which he had borrowed from numerous friends, including four from Henry Savile of Banke. Paddy collected fine editions from English and European printers, and also had a number of volumes specially bound

in London. Aristophanes' Comodiae novem (Venice, Aldus, 1498), probably tooled in Paris between 1550–1560, represented an example of fine French binding that Paddy gave to St. John's in 1613.67 He also donated a copy of John Speed's Geography of Britain to the library. Despite Speed's eminence as a cartographer, his Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain (1611), and the History of Great Britain (1632) placed him as the first English historian—compared to earlier annalists and chroniclers. Speed knew the Paddy family, and both households were connected with London's Merchant Taylors' Company.68

CONCLUSION

Thomas Heywood (d. 1641) wrote poetry, plays, and a myriad of epitaphs, pageants, and panegyrics, and on 5 December 1608 wrote a complimentary verse to a group of London physicians, in his first non-dramatic production of *Troia Britanica*:

As famous Butler, Pady, Turner, Poe, Atkinson, Lyster, Lodge who still survive: Besides these English Gallens thousands moe, Who where they come, death and diseases drive From pale sicke creatures: and all Cordials know, Spirits spent and wasted to preserve alive, In this with Gods and Kings they are at strife, Physitians Kings and Gods alone give life. 49

These physicians, in addition to those mentioned before, practised under devastating conditions during a time when medical advances came slowly and painfully. Paddy influenced the English medical profession in the development of the technical and legal responsibilities of the individual physician, and he effectively supported the many writers of the period who chose to promote the medical cause. He reinforced his beliefs by constantly emphasizing the privileges of membership in the College of Physicians, and he continually idealized the contributions that the College had made and would continue to provide for members of the English medical profession. As Anthony à Wood mentioned during Paddy's last days at Oxford, he 'was esteemed one of the prime physicians of his time'.70

REFERENCES

- 1. Some additions to Aubrey, by the Dean of Winchester', Cornhill Magazine, 1922, 52, 76, 79.
- 2. Nicholas Paddy (d. 1602) was Rouge Dragon Pursuivant, and later Lancaster Herald in the College of Arms. See also H. Stanford London, *The College of Arms*, London Survey Committee, 1963, pp. 134–35. In 1595, Lord Burghley wrote to Sir Robert Cecil certifying that Nicholas Paddy traced pedigrees for thirty-six years (HMC Cecil 10, p. 518), and recommended that he be promoted to Lancaster Herald of Arms.
- Paddy's twelve theses are preserved in holograph in University of Leyden records, Arch. Sen. en Fac. 347, f.53r.
- 4. Court Minute Books of the Barber-Surgeons Company (Guildhall Library MSS. 5257/2, fol. 60v, and 5274/4, p. 87. See also Sidney Young, Annals of the Barber-Surgeons of London, London, Blades, East, and Blades, 1890, pp. 364-65.



Figure 2.

Portrait of William Paddy, M.D., by Marcus Gheeraerts, 1600.
(Thomas-Photos, Oxford.)



Figure 1.
Portrait of William Paddy, M.D., by R. Dellow, 1591.
(Thomas-Photos, Oxford.)

- MOLHUYSEN, P. C. Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit (1574-1811), S'Gravenhage, 1913-1924. R. G. P. XX (1574-1610), p. 465. See also, R. W. Innes Smith, English-speaking Students at the University of Leyden, Edinburgh, Oliver & Boyd, 1932, p. 176.
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 See also Hatfield MSS., vol. 135, fol. 53, dated 3 June 1602. (Italics and parentheses mine.)
- 7. Ibid., p. 16. (Italics and parentheses mine.)
- 8. Ibid., pp. 77-8. See also Hatfield MSS., vol. 135, fol. 101, dated 29 July 1602. (Italics and parentheses mine.)
- 9. HILLS, CLARK LEON, History and Genealogy of the Mayflower Planters and First Comers to Ye Olde Colonies, Cape Cod series, 2, Washington, D.C., Hills Publishing Co., 1941, p. 48. As the first treasurer of the Plymouth Colony, William Paddy (1600 or 1601-1658) knew John Beauchamp, a London merchant who assisted the Plymouth inhabitants in various commercial affairs. Beauchamp knew both Sir William in London, and his son in Plymouth.
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 Signed: 'Guil: Paddy, Eques, Doctor, Regius Medicus,' (Sig. C₁, 16 lines). See also John Ward, The Lives of the Professors of Gresham College (1740), New York, Johnson Reprint, 1967, p. 263; and Henry N. Paul, The Royal Play of Macbeth, New York, Macmillan, 1950, pp. 17-24.
- 12. Greg, Walter Wilson, A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration, London, The Bibliographical Society, 1970, vol. 2, p. 937. Although Macbeth is not mentioned, 'in some copies a small cancel-slip over a marginal note on H₈ (in the speeches for James's entrances) substitutes "Duncan" for "Donald" as the name of the King of Scotland in the time of Banquo.'
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- 14. Anthony, Francis, Medicinae, Chymicae, et veri potabilis auri assertio, ex lucubrationibus F. Anthonii, Cambridge, C. Legge, 1610 (STC 668).
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- 16. RAWLIN, THOMAS, Admonitio pseudo-chymicis seu alphabetarium philosophicum, in quo D. D. Antonii aurum potabile obiter refutatur . . . , London, Edward Allde, 1610 (STC 20768).
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- 41. CSP Col., vol. 4, p. 243, no. 404, 3 February 1624. Only new fleet physicians ultimately needed examination by Drs. Paddy, Raven, Atkins, and Winston.
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- 57. Costin, op. cit., p. 75. Mr. Edwardes delivered these two hampers to St. John's. Paddy had asked St. John's officials to select the books they wanted for the College Library. But they declined, so Paddy chose what he saw fit to send, and stipulated in his will that St. John's might sell any duplicates in order to purchase other acquisitions.
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- 60. Date of death is not given in the *Dictionary of National Biography* account, but a funeral certificate in the Royal College of Arms notes it, and shows what coat of arms was to have been exhibited at his funeral. Paddy's will was drawn up on 23 August 1634, and proved on 10 December.
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