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T R E A T I S E  
O N T H E  
S C U R V Y .

I N T H R E E P A R T S .

C O N T A I N I N G

An Inquiry into the Nature, Causes,  
and Cure, of that Disease.

Together with

A Critical and Chronological View of what  
has been published on the Subject.

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C H A P. IV.

*The prophylaxis, or means of preventing this disease, especially at sea.*

**F**OR the prevention of this disease at land, a warm, dry, pure air, with a diet of easy digestion, consisting chiefly of a due mixture of animal and vegetable substances (which is found to be the most wholesome food, and agreeable to the generality of constitutions) will for the most part prove sufficient.

Those who are liable to it by living in marshy wet soils, and in places subject to great rains and fogs; and others who inhabit unwholesome damp apartments, as the lower floors and cellars of a house in winter, should remedy these inconveniencies by keeping constant fires, to correct this hurtful moisture; which will still prove more effectual for the purpose, if made of aromatic woods. But it is rather adviseable for persons threatened with this malady, to remove into dry, chearful, and better-aired habitations. Their principal food in such a case should be broths made of fresh flesh-meats, together with plenty of recent vegetables, if they can be procured; otherwise of preserved roots and fruits. Their bread ought to be made of wheat-flour, sufficiently leavened, and well baked; and at their

the teeth too bare; or remaining lax, and covering too much of them; and being subject to bleed on the slightest touch.

meals

meals they are to drink a glass of good sound beer, cyder, wine, or the like fermented liquor. The observance of these directions, together with moderate exercise, cleanliness of body, and contentment of mind, procured by agreeable and entertaining amusements, will prove sufficient to prevent this disease from raising to any great height, where it is not altogether constitutional.

In towns or garrisons when besieged, officers should take care that the beds, barracks, and quarters for the soldiers, be kept dry, clean, and warm, for their refreshment when off duty; and that their men be sufficiently provided with thick cloaks and warm cloaths, for shelter against the inclemency of cold, and rains, when necessarily exposed to them. The ammunition-bread should be light, and well baked, and their other provisions as sound and wholesome as possible. To correct the too gross and solid quality of these, they would do well to join vegetables, even the most common, and such as are to be met with on the ramparts, with their other food. This precept becomes still more necessary, when the garrison's provisions in store are spoiled or unsound; in which case the use of vinegar is recommended by several authors. *Bachstrom's* advice, of sowing the seeds of the antiscorbutic plants (*a*), so that these may grow up with the grass on the ramparts, will, upon this occasion, be found very beneficial. They can

(*a*) *Vid. Observationes circa scorbutum, &c.* p. 36.

indeed

indeed be under no difficulty in procuring some of the most salutary of them at all times, if they are provided with their seeds, such as the garden-creffes; which, in a few days, even in their apartments, will supply them with a fresh antiscorbutic salad. When the army is in the field, they generally meet with such plenty of wholesome vegetables, as are sufficient to prevent this disease becoming fatal to many of them, except in desert and depopulated countries.

But the prevention of this calamity at sea, and the preservation of a truly valuable part of mankind, *viz.* the seamen of all nations, from its fatal and destructive malignity in long voyages and cruises, is what in a particular manner demands our attention, and has exercised the genius of some of the most eminent physicians in all parts of *Europe* for above a century past.

A *German* who had acquired a considerable fortune in the *East-Indies*, by being *Dutch* Governor of *Sumatra*, was so affected with pity and humanity for the many afflicted sailors he had observed in this malady, that, imagining the art of chemistry, which at that time made a great noise in the world, might probably furnish some remedy for their relief, he erected and endowed a perpetual professorship of that science at *Leipsic*. He nominated his countryman *Dr. Michael*, a very great chemist, who was the first university-professor of chemistry in *Europe*; and remitted



ted him a considerable sum of money, in order to bear the expence of his experiments, with a promise of a much greater, in case he succeeded in the discovery of a remedy for prevention of the scurvy at sea. The Doctor spent an incredible deal of time and labour in preparing the most elaborated chemical medicines. Volatile and fixed salts, spirits of all sorts, essences, elixirs, electaries, &c. were yearly sent over to the *East-Indies*; nay, even the *quinta essentia* (which became afterwards a celebrated *nostrum* for the scurvy in *Germany*) of the chemical oil of the seeds of scurvy-grafs. But all proved ineffectual.

*Bontekoe* recommended to the *Dutch* sailors an acrid alkaline spirit; *Glauber* (b) and *Boerhaave*, a strong mineral acid, viz. *sp. salis*. The Royal navy of *Great Britain* has been supplied, at a considerable expence to the government, by the advice of an eminent physician, with a large quantity of *elixir of vitriol*; which is the strong mineral acid of vitriol combined with aromatics. Wine-vinegar was likewise prescribed upon this occasion by the college of physicians at *London*, when consulted by the Lords of the Admiralty; which differs from all the former, being a mild vegetable acid procured by fermentation. Vinegar has been indeed much used in the fleet at all times. Many ships, especially those fitted out at *Plymouth*, carried with them cyder for this purpose, upon the recommendation of

(b) In his book, intituled, *Consolatio navigantium*, &c.

the learned Dr. *Huxham*. The latest proposal to the Lords of the Admiralty was a magazine of dried spinage prepared in the manner of hay. This was to be moistened and boiled in their food. To which it was objected by a very ingenious physician (*c*), That no moisture whatever could restore the natural juices of the plant lost by evaporation, and, as he imagined, altered by a fermentation which they underwent in drying.

Moreover, all the remedies which could be used in the circumstances of sailors, that at any time have been proposed for the many various diseases going under the name of a *scurvy at land*, have likewise been tried to prevent and cure this disease at sea: the effects of several of which, besides the before-mentioned, I have myself experienced, *viz.* salt-water, tar-water, decoctions of guajac and saffrafas, bitters with *cort. winteran.* and such warm antiscorbutics as can be preserved at sea, *viz.* garlic, mustard-seed, *pub. gri comp. et spirit. cochlear.*; which last was formerly always put up in sea-medicine chests. I have also in various stages, and for different symptoms of this distemper, made trial of

(*c*) *Dr. Cockburn.*—The Doctor's judgment is fully confirmed by experience. We find the college of physicians at *Vienna* sent to *Hungary* great quantities of the most approved antiscorbutic herbs dried in this manner; which were found to be of no benefit. Many of these would have their virtues as little impaired by drying as spinage, *e g.* marsh trefoil. *Kramer* tried almost every species of dried herbs to no purpose. Vid. part 3. chap. 2.

most of the mineral and fossil remedies which have been recommended for the scurvy at land; such as mercurial, chalybeate, antimonial, vitriolic, and sulphurous medicines. But, before I mention the result of these experiments, and the observations made upon the effects of several remedies that have been most approved of in this disease, it may not be amiss to take notice, that the want of success hitherto in preventing this fatal malady at sea, seems chiefly owing to these two causes.

1<sup>st</sup>, The methods of preservation have been put in practice too late; that is, when the disease was already bred; it being generally then that *elixir vitriol*, vinegar, cyder, and other antiscorbutics, were administered: whereas certain precautions seem necessary to prevent the first attacks; it being found, that almost all diseases are easier prevented than removed.

2<sup>dly</sup>, Too high an opinion has been entertained of certain medicines recommended by physicians at land, rather from a presumption founded on their theory of the disease, than from any experience of their effects at sea. Indeed the causes which they were supposed to obviate, were often none of the true and real occasions of the distemper. Thus lime-water has been long since prescribed to correct the too great quantity of sea-salt necessarily used by sailors. And the college of physicians at *London* gives it as their opinion, that *Lowndes's* salt made from brine, was prefer-

able for salting sea-provisions, to that made of sea-water, even to the bay-salt; from a suspicion of some noxious qualities in this salt which might occasion the scurvy. *Sp. sal. el. vitriol.* and vinegar, were deemed proper antidotes to the rank and putrid state of sea-provisions, and water; or perhaps to the putrescent state of the humours in this disease.

But whatever good effect for the last purposes these may be supposed to have had in a smaller degree; yet experience has abundantly shewn, that they have not been sufficient to prevent this disease, much less to cure it. And the same may be said of many others. The consequence of which is, the world has now almost despaired of finding out a method of preventing this dreadful evil at sea; and it is become the received opinion, that it is altogether impossible there, either to prevent or cure it. But it is surprising, that this ill-grounded belief, so fatal in its consequences, should have gained credit, when we see people recovering from this disease every day (even in the most deplorable condition, and in its last stages) in a short time, when proper helps are administered. I have already given an instance of seventy people cured in the bad air of a ship, without being landed (*d*). I shall hereafter produce other instances of this disease being cured at sea, though these must have occurred to every person who has

(*d*) P. 61.



had occasion there to be conversant with scorbucal cases (*e*).

It may be proper, in order fully to remove this prejudice, to observe, that an epidemical scurvy, either at sea or land, is an adventitious, not a natural disease: that is to say, it is not owing to any spontaneous degeneracy of the human body, from a healthful condition into this morbid state; but to the influence of very powerful and active, but such plain and obvious causes as have been before assigned (*f*). And it is constantly experienced, that when these causes do not subsist, or are corrected and guarded against, the disease may be effectually prevented. This will admit of a demonstration from many facts. Officers are seldom or never affected with the scurvy; even the subaltern and petty officers generally keep free from it, while it commits great ravage among the common seamen. There have occurred frequent instances of *English* and *Dutch* ships being in company together, where the former were in great distress from this disease; while the latter, by a very small difference in their diet, were quite healthy. But what is sufficient to convince the greatest sceptic, that this calamity may be effectually prevented, is the present healthfulness of *Newfoundland*, the northern parts of *Canada*, and of our factories at *Hudson's*

(*e*) Many instances have already been given in Mr. *Ives's* journal, part 2. chap. 1.

(*f*) Part 2. chap. 1.

bay. In those parts of the world, the scurvy was formerly more fatal to the first adventurers and planters, than it was ever known at sea; which facts I shall have occasion presently to mention, and account for. And as it is a satisfaction to know that this disease may effectually be prevented, so it is likewise an encouragement to the utmost diligence in discovering, and putting in practice, the means proper for that purpose.

It being of the utmost consequence to guard against the first approaches of so dreadful an enemy, I shall here endeavour to lay down the measures proper to be taken for this end, with that minuteness and accuracy which the importance of the subject, and the preservation of so many valuable and useful lives, justly demand; and at the same time shall, as much as possible, avoid offering any thing that may be judged impracticable, or liable to exception, on account of the difficulty or disagreeableness of complying with it. And, *lastly*, I shall propose nothing dictated merely from theory; but shall confirm all by experience and facts, the surest and most unerring guides.

What I propose is, first, to relate the effects of several medicines tried at sea in this disease, on purpose to discover what might promise the most certain protection against it upon that element.

The medicine which succeeded upon trial, I shall afterwards confirm to be the surest

preservative, and most efficacious remedy, by the experience of others.

I shall then endeavour to give it the most convenient portable form, and shew the method of preserving its virtues entire for years, so that it may be carried to the most distant parts of the world in small bulk, and at any time prepared by the sailors themselves: adding some farther directions, given chiefly with a view to inform the captains and commanders of ships and fleets, of methods proper both to preserve their own health, and that of their crew.

It will not be amiss further to observe, in what method convalescents ought to be treated, or those who are weak, and recovering from other diseases, in order to prevent their falling into the scurvy; which will include some necessary rules for resisting the beginnings of this evil, when, through want of care, or neglect, the disease is bred in a ship.

As the salutary effects of the prescribed measures will be rendered still more certain, and universally beneficial, where proper regard is had to such a state of air, diet, and regimen, as may contribute to the general intentions of preservation or cure; I shall conclude the precepts relating to the preservation of seamen, with shewing the best means of obviating many inconveniencies which attend long voyages, and of removing the several causes productive of this mischief.

The

The following are the experiments.

On the 20th of *May* 1747, I took twelve patients in the scurvy, on board the *Salisbury* at sea. Their cases were as similar as I could have them. They all in general had putrid gums, the spots and lassitude, with weakness of their knees. They lay together in one place, being a proper apartment for the sick in the fore-hold; and had one diet common to all, *viz.* water-gruel sweetened with sugar in the morning; fresh mutton-broth often times for dinner; at other times light puddings, boiled biscuit with sugar, &c. and for supper, barley and raisins, rice and currants, sago and wine, or the like. Two of these were ordered each a quart of cyder a-day. Two others took twenty-five drops of *elixir vitriol.* three times a-day, upon an empty stomach; using a gargle strongly acidulated with it for their mouths. Two others took two spoonfuls of vinegar three times a-day, upon an empty stomach; having their gruels and their other food well acidulated with it, as also the gargle for their mouth. Two of the worst patients, with the tendons in the ham rigid (a symptom none of the rest had) were put under a course of sea-water. Of this they drank half a pint every day, and sometimes more or less, as it operated, by way of gentle physic. Two others had each two oranges and one lemon given them every day. These they eat with greediness, at different times, upon an empty stomach. They continued



but six days under this course, having consumed the quantity that could be spared. The two remaining patients, took the bigness of a nutmeg three times a-day, of an electary recommended by an hospital-surgeon, made of garlic, mustard-seed, *rad. raphan.* balsam of *Peru*, and gum myrrh; using for common drink, barley-water well acidulated with tamarinds; by a decoction of which, with the addition of *cremor tartar*, they were gently purged three or four times during the course.

The consequence was, that the most sudden and visible good effects were perceived from the use of the oranges and lemons; one of those who had taken them, being at the end of six days fit for duty. The spots were not indeed at that time quite off his body, nor his gums sound; but without any other medicine, than a gargarism of *elixir vitriol.* he became quite healthy before we came into *Plymouth*, which was on the 16th of *June*. The other was the best recovered of any in his condition; and being now deemed pretty well, was appointed nurse to the rest of the sick.

Next to the oranges, I thought the cyder (g) had the best effects. It was indeed not very  
found,

(g) *Extract of a letter from Mr. Ives.*

I judge it proper to communicate to you, what good effects I have observed in the scurvy, from the use of cyder and seawater, during the last cruise I made in the western squadron, with my honoured benefactor Admiral *Martin*. But as I do not pretend to have taken notice of any thing, more than  
merely

found, being inclinable to be aigre or pricked. However, those who had taken it, were in a fairer way of recovery than the others at the end of the fortnight, which was the length of time all these different courses were continued, except the oranges. The putrefaction of their gums, but especially their lassitude and weakness, were somewhat abated, and their appetite increased by it.

merely a palliative benefit from them, I think, without mentioning particular cases, it will be sufficient for me to inform you, that, in our preceding cruise with the western squadron, his Majesty's ship *Yarmouth*, of 70 guns and 500 men, was not only troubled with the scurvy in common with other ships, but, in spite of all my endeavours, lost in it a proportioned number of men. Upon our return from that cruise, I took an opportunity to represent to the Admiral, that as vegetable juices of all sorts were from experience found to be the only true antiscorbutics, and I had myself formerly experienced the good effects of apples, it was reasonable to presume that cyder must certainly be of service. This suggestion agreed with some accounts the Admiral had received from others; and he with great readiness bought, and put under my care, several hogheads of the best *South Ham* cyder. During the next cruise, each scorbutic patient had daily a quart or three pints of cyder; and as many of them as I could prevail on, took twice a-week three quarters of a pint of sea-water in a morning. In all other respects I treated them as I used to do people in the scurvy; which you well know, from the conversation which has often passed betwixt us on this subject, was with squill vomits, pills composed of soap, squills, garlic, &c. *elixir vitriol.* and other medicines suited to the different stages and symptoms of the malady. In one word, we had this cruise as many scorbutic patients as any other ship, in proportion to our complement of men. But although all the rest buried a great many, some to the number of 20, others 30, 40, 50, and upwards; yet the *Yarmouth* did not bury more than two or three; and these at the latter end of the cruise, all our cyder having been expended for a week or ten days before. Upon our arrival at port, we sent to the hospital a great many in very dreadful circumstances.

As to the *elixir of vitriol*, I observed that the mouths of those who had used it by way of gargarism, were in a much cleaner and better condition than many of the rest, especially those who used the vinegar; but perceived otherwise no good effects from its internal use upon the other symptoms. I indeed never had a great opinion of the efficacy of this medicine in the scurvy, since our longest cruise in the *Salisbury*, from the 10th of *August* to the 28th of *October* 1746; when we had but one scorbutic case in the ship. The patient was a marine (one *Walsh*); who, after recovering from a quotidian ague in the latter end of *September*, had taken the *elixir vitriol*, by way of restorative for three weeks; and yet at length contracted the disease, while under a course of medicine recommended for its prevention.

There was no remarkable alteration upon those who took the electary and tamarind decoction, the sea-water, or vinegar, upon comparing their condition, at the end of the fortnight, with others who had taken nothing but a little lenitive electary and *cremor tartar*, at times, in order to keep their belly open; or a gentle pectoral in the evening, for relief of their breast. Only one of them, while taking the vinegar, fell into a gentle flux at the end of ten days. This I attributed to the genius and course of the disease, rather than to the use of the medicine. As I shall have occasion elsewhere to take notice of the effects

fects of other medicines in this disease, I shall here only observe, that the result of all my experiments was, that oranges and lemons were the most effectual remedies for this distemper at sea. I am apt to think oranges preferable to lemons, though perhaps both given together will be found most serviceable.

It may be now proper to confirm the efficacy of these fruits by the experience of others. The first proof that I shall produce, is borrowed from the learned Dr. *Mead* (b).

“ One year when that brave Admiral Sir  
 “ *Charles Wager* commanded our Fleet in the  
 “ *Baltic*, his sailors were terribly afflicted  
 “ with the scurvy : but he observed, that  
 “ the *Dutch* ships then in company were  
 “ much more free from this disease. He  
 “ could impute this to nothing but their dif-  
 “ ferent food, which was stock-fish and gort ;  
 “ whereas ours was salt fish and oat-meal (i).  
 “ He was then come last from the *Mediterranean*,  
 “ and had at *Leghorn* taken in a great  
 “ quantity of lemons and oranges. Recol-  
 “ lecting from what he had often heard, how  
 “ effectual these fruits were in the cure of  
 “ this distemper, he ordered a chest of each  
 “ to be brought upon deck, and opened, every  
 “ day. The men, besides eating what they  
 “ would, mixed the juice in their beer. It  
 “ was also their constant diversion to pelt

(b) *Discourse on the scurvy*, p. 111.

(i) The first is seldom now put on board ships of war, and of the last, *English* sailors eat but little,



“ one another with the rinds, so that the deck  
 “ was always strewed and wet with the fra-  
 “ grant liquor. The happy effect was, that  
 “ he brought his sailors home in good health”.

I have been favoured upon this occasion, by different gentlemen, with many instances of the like good effects of these fruits in this disease at sea; particularly by Mr. *Francis Russel*, now surgeon general to the island of *Minorca*, in a cruise performed by the *Princess Caroline* off the islands of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*; where, according to his relation, some of these fruits got at *Vado*, preserved great part of the crew, which otherwise must undoubtedly have perished.

An ingenious surgeon of great merit and experience in the *Guernsey*, when extremely distressed by the scurvy (*k*), has the following observation in his letter upon it. “ I have  
 “ great reason to believe, that several lives  
 “ were absolutely preserved, when we were  
 “ at sea, by a lemon squeezed into six or  
 “ eight ounces of *Malaga* wine mixed with  
 “ water, and given twice a-day.”

I am informed, it was principally oranges which so speedily and surprisngly recovered Lord *Anson's* people at the island of *Tinian*. Of which that noble, brave, and experienced commander was so sensible, that, before he left the island, one man was ordered on shore from each mess to lay in a stock of them for their future security.

(*k*) See the case of that ship, chap. 1. p. 69.

My ingenious friend Mr. *Murray*, who has favoured me with so many useful observations upon this disease; and has had the greatest opportunities of being acquainted with it, as he for a considerable time attended the naval hospital at *Jamaica*, whilst our great fleets were in the *West-Indies*, and was likewise surgeon of the *Canterbury*, expresses himself thus in his letter. “As to oranges and lemons, “I have always found them, when properly “and sufficiently used, an infallible cure “in every stage and species of the disease, if “there was any degree of natural strength “left; and where a diarrhœa, lientry, or “dysentery, were not joined to the other “scorbutic symptoms. Of which we had a “most convincing proof, when we arrived “at the *Danish* island of *St. Thomas* (1); “where fifty patients belonging to the *Can-* “*terbury*, and seventy to the *Norwich*, in all “the different stages of this distemper, were “cured, in a little more than twelve days, “by limes alone; where little or no other “refreshments could be obtained.”

It was reasonable to ascribe this to the eminent virtues of these fruits; as it is well known, and daily experienced, that without such remedies scorbutic people will infallibly die in the purest land-air. But what cures such deplorable cases, must still more powerfully prevent them. Perhaps one history more may suffice to put this out of doubt.

(1) See the former part of this letter, chap. i. p. 67.

“ In the first voyage made to the *East-Indies* (m), on account of the *English East-India* company, there were employed four ships, commanded by Captain *James Lancaster* their General, viz. the *Dragon*, having the General and 202 men, the *Hector* 108 men, the *Susan* 82, and the *Ascension* 32. They left *England* about the 18th of *April*; in *July* the people were taken ill on their passage with the scurvy; by the 1st of *August*, all the ships, except the General’s, were so thin of men, that they had scarce enough to hand the sails; and, upon having a contrary wind for fifteen or sixteen days, the few who were well before, began also to fall sick. Whence the want of hands was so great in these ships, that the merchants who were sent to dispose of their cargoes in the *East-Indies*, were obliged to take their turn at the helm, and do the sailors duty, till they arrived at *Saldania* (n); where the General sent his boats, and went on board himself, to assist the other three ships; who were in so weakly a condition, that they were hardly able to let fall an anchor, nor could they hoist out their boat without his assistance. All this time the General’s ship continued pretty healthy. The reason why his crew was in better health than the rest of the

(m) Vid. *Harris’s* collection of voyages, and *Purchas’s* collection, vol. 1. p. 147.

(n) A bay near the Cape of *Good Hope*.

“ ships,

“ ships, was owing to the juice of lemons ;  
“ of which the General having brought some  
“ bottles to sea, he gave to each, as long as  
“ it lasted, three spoonfuls every morning  
“ fasting. By this he cured many of his  
“ men, and preserved the rest : so that al-  
“ though his ship contained double the num-  
“ ber of any of the others ; yet (through the  
“ mercy of God, and to the preservation of  
“ the other three ships) he neither had so  
“ many men sick, nor lost so many as they  
“ did.”

Here indeed is a remarkable and authentic proof of the great efficacy of juice of lemons against this disease ; as large and crowded ships are more afflicted with it, and always in a higher degree, than those that are small and airy. This little squadron lost 105 men by the scurvy. Upon its afterwards breaking out among them when in the *East-Indies*, in a council held at sea it was determined, to put directly into some port where they could be supplied with oranges and lemons, as the most effectual and experienced remedies to remove and prevent this dreadful calamity.

I cannot omit upon this occasion observing, what caution is at all times necessary in our reasoning on the effects of medicines, even in the way of analogy, which would seem the least liable to error. For some might naturally conclude, that these fruits are but so many acids, for which tamarinds, vinegar, *sp. sal. el. vitriol.* and others of the same tribe,  
would



would prove excellent *succedaneums*. But, upon bringing this to the test of experience, we find the contrary. Few ships have ever been in want of vinegar, and, for many years before the end of the late war, all were supplied sufficiently with *el. vitriol.* Notwithstanding which, the *Channel* fleet often put on shore a thousand men miserably over run with this disease, besides some hundreds who died in their cruises. Upon those occasions tar-water, salt water, vinegar, and *el. vitriol.* especially, with many other things, have been abundantly tried to no purpose: whereas there is not an instance of a ship's crew being ever afflicted with this disease, where the before-mentioned fruits were properly, duly, and in sufficient quantity, administered.

I elsewhere observed the uncertainty of such theories as are founded upon the chemical principles of acid and alcali (*o*): for although acids agree in certain properties; yet they differ widely in others, and especially in their effects upon the human body. Of theory in physic the same may perhaps be said, as has been observed by some of zeal in religion, That it is indeed absolutely necessary; yet, by carrying it too far, it may be doubted whether it has done more good or hurt in the world.

Some will perhaps say, that these fruits have been often used in the scurvy without success; as appears from the experience of

(*o*) Part 1. chap. 2.

physicians, who prescribe them every day in that disease at land. And here we may again observe the fatal consequence of confounding this malady with others. Legions of distempers (according to *Willis* and others) very different from the real and genuine scurvy, have been classed under its name: and because the most approved antiscorbutics fail to remove such diseases, hence we are told by authors (*p*), that it is the masterpiece of art to cure it. But this is contradicted by the daily experience of seamen, by the journals of our sea-hospitals, and by the yearly experience of our *English East-India* ships at *St. Helena*, and the *Cape of Good Hope*. So that nothing can be more absurd, than to object against the efficacy of these fruits in preventing and curing the real scurvy, because they do not cure very different diseases.

Some new preservative might here have been recommended; several indeed might have been proposed, and with great shew of the probability of their success; and their novelty might have procured them a favourable reception in the world. But these fruits have this peculiar advantage above any thing that can be proposed for trial, that their experienced virtues have stood the test of near 200 years. They were providentially discovered, even before the disease was well known, or at least had been described by physicians. *Ronsseus*, the first writer on this subject, men-

(*p*) *Boerhaave*, and many others.

tions them (*q*); and observes, that in all probability the *Dutch* sailors had by accident fallen upon this remedy, when afflicted with the scurvy, in their return from *Spain*, loaded with these fruits, especially oranges. Experience soon taught them, that by thus eating part of their cargo, they might be restored to health. And if people had been less assiduous in finding out new remedies, and trusted more to the efficacy of these fruits, for preventing this fatal pestilence to seamen, the lives of many thousand sailors, and others (*r*), (especially during the last war) might in all probability have been preserved. But some have been misled to recommend many other things, as of equal, if not superior antiscorbutic qualities to these; and have reduced them to a level with other acids, and many falsely supposed antiscorbutic medicines: from whence the many unhappy disappointments

(*q*) Epist. 2.

(*r*) Vid *Kramer's* observations, part 3. chap 2. the best ever made on this disease; which abundantly confirm all that is here advanced. In a book published afterwards he makes the following remarks. The scurvy is the most loathsome disease in nature; for which no cure is to be found in your medicine chest, no not in the best-furnished apothecary's shop. Pharmacy gives no relief, surgery as little. Beware of bleeding; shun mercury as a poison: you may rub the gums, you may grease the rigid tendons in the ham, to little purpose. But if you can get green vegetables; if you can prepare a sufficient quantity of fresh noble antiscorbutic juices; if you have oranges, lemons, or citrons; or their pulp and juice preserved with sugar in casks, so that you can make a lemonade, or rather give to the quantity of three or four ounces of their juice in whey, you will, without other assistance, cure this dreadful evil. *Krameri medicina castrensis.*

hitherto

hitherto met with in preventing this disease at sea, seem to have arisen.

We are told, that at the siege of *Thorn*, when this calamity raged with great violence in the town, it was the last and most earnest petition of the diseased, that some of these fruits might be permitted to enter their gates, as the only hopes of life, and last comfort of the dying patient (*s*). In this disease, when drugs of all sorts are nauseated and abhorred, the very sight of these fruits raises the drooping spirits of the almost expiring patient. I have often observed (upon seeing scorbutic people landed at our naval hospitals) that the eating of them was attended with a pleasure easier to be imagined than described. Hence Lord *Delawar*, a very great sufferer in this malady (in the relation of his case to the Lords and others of the council of *Virginia*) very pathetically expresses himself thus. “ Heaven “ has kindly provided these fruits as a specific “ for the most terrible of evils (*t*).”

As oranges and lemons are liable to spoil, and cannot be procured at every port, nor at all seasons in equal plenty; and it may be inconvenient to take on board such large quantities as are necessary in ships for their preservation from this and other diseases; the next thing to be proposed, is the method of preserving their virtues entire for years in a

(*s*) *Bachstrom observ. circa scorbutum*, p. 15.

(*t*) *Purchas*, vol. 4. p. 16.



convenient and small bulk. It is done in the following easy manner.

Let the squeezed juice of these fruits be well cleared from the pulp, and depurated by standing for some time; then poured off from the gross sediment: or, to have it still purer, it may be filtrated. Let it then be put into any clean open vessel of china or stone-ware, which should be wider at the top than bottom, so that there may be the largest surface above to favour the evaporation. For this purpose a china basin or punch-bowl is proper (*u*); as generally made in the form required. Into this pour the purified juice; and put it into a pan of water, upon a clear fire. Let the water come almost to boil, and continue nearly in that state of boiling (with the basin containing the juice in the middle of it) until the juice is found to be of the consistence of a thick syrup when cold. The slower the evaporation of the juice the better; and it will require at least twelve or fourteen hours continuance in the bath heat, before it is reduced to a proper consistence.

(*u*) In the former edition I had said, that a common earthen vessel, well glazed, would answer the purpose. But I have since been informed by a very ingenious gentleman, that making this *rob* in a coarse earthen vessel, he found the glazing of it dissolved by the acid, and converted into a sugar of lead. To prevent the dangerous consequences of which, I published a short paper in the *Edinburgh Monthly Magazine* in *May* 1754, which was soon after reprinted in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. It was then drawn up in haste. Since that time, by repeated experiments, I find that the coarse glazed earthen vessels are unfit for this and some other uses.

It

It is then, when cold, to be corked up in a bottle for use. Two dozen of good oranges, weighing five pounds four ounces, will yield one pound nine ounces and a half of depurated juice; and when evaporated, there will remain about five ounces of the *rob* or extract; which in bulk will be equal to less than three ounces of water. So that thus the acid, and virtues of twelve dozen of lemons or oranges, may be put into a quart-bottle, and preserved for several years.

I have some of the extract of lemons now by me, which was made four years ago. And when this is mixed with water, or made into punch, few are able to distinguish it from the fresh squeezed juice mixed up in like manner; except when both are present, and their different tastes compared at the same time; when the fresh fruits discover a greater degree of smartness and fragrancy.

The learned Dr. *Mead* ascribes some salutary effects to the fragrancy of the fresh fruits, when he observes, that by the sailors pelting each other with the rinds in Admiral *Wager's* ship, the decks were strewed and wet with this wholesome liquor. Was any thing to be expected from perfuming the air with the fragrancy of these fruits, it is easily done at any time by a few drops of their essence, or the aromatic oil contained in the rinds. An addition of a small quantity of this to the extract, gives it the smell and fragrancy of the fresh fruit in great perfection. And if it is also re-

quired to be taken inwardly, a few drops of it upon sugar may be given along with the extract. But it is the saponaceous juice alone, of these fruits, that is here requisite; and their entire salutary virtues may be obtained by taking that inwardly; as appears plainly by the relation of Captain *Lancaster's* voyage, where the juice of lemons kept in bottles, not only prevented the disease, but cured it, at sea. This juice must either have been mixed up with spirits, or something else, to preserve it (*w*); and consequently differed much more  
in

(*w*) Lemon juice is extremely difficult to preserve, whereas orange-juice will keep in any voyage by the following method. Let the fruit be well picked, so that no orange is squeezed which is in the least spoiled, which might otherwise taint the whole of the juice. After straining, it must be put in a clean vessel (a cask is commonly used) and a large sediment will be deposited, besides a cake of lighter feces, which swims atop. The clear juice in the middle of these must be drawn off by means of a cock free from either, and put into small pint bottles. Each bottle, after having a little of the best *Florence* oil poured atop of the juice, must be well corked, and the access of the air prevented by a covering of wax or resin over the cork. I have been told, that as orange-juice will keep so well, and may be bought at any season of the year in *London*, there seems no occasion for recommending the rob of these fruits; and that even oranges and lemons properly taken care of, may be preserved long at sea. But such who talk in this manner, are unacquainted with the conveniencies at sea, the disposition of mariners and some of their officers. 'Tis necessary they should consider we are not now prescribing for persons at land, who have large cellars and ample conveniencies, nor for the captains of men of war and their officers, who are seldom afflicted with this disease. These gentlemen may for their proper and infallible security, carry out the juices of scurvy-grass, creffies, and oranges, or the *succi ad scorbuticos*, which by a method of preserving them now sufficiently known, will keep good and fresh the space of a year or two. But no master of a merchant ship will, no captain  
of

in quality from the fresh fruit than what is proposed.

However, if it be judged of any consequence to preserve the perfect fragrancy of the

of a man of war can, lay up a necessary store of such juices, or even a sufficient quantity of oranges, or of their juice, for the preservation of a whole ship's company. Besides, when a ship touches at a proper place where a supply of oranges, limes, or citrons can be had, and it is in the power of every sailor to purchase as many as he will, they have neither conveniencies for keeping the fruits, nor of depurating and preserving the juice of oranges. Whereas, by making the *rob* of these fruits in the manner here directed, with little more than a day's trouble, they may lay up in a quart bottle as much as will serve them for several years in other voyages, and by its constant use, purify their constitution entirely from the scorbutic taint. Now though it is well known some of the sailors are very thoughtless, and take but little concern about their health, yet doubtless there are many among them who reflect, and will take the proper pains when instructed. For the sake of these the *rob* is recommended, as also to the surgeons of ships (when in a place where plenty of these fruits can be procured, and their virtues can be reduced into so small a compass) leaving it to the officers to provide themselves with the fresh fruits or their juices. 'Tis indeed a pity that the men of war and the ships in the *East-India* company's service, are not supplied with either the juice of oranges, or the extract of lemons. I am informed, there are persons in *London* who would insure the keeping of the orange juice made by them for a twelvemonth: and one may almost affirm, that three gallons of such juice, which may be purchased for less than twenty shillings, will preserve a merchant-ship from the scurvy in a passage round *Cape Horn*. But however cheap, however simple this remedy may appear to be, if it is not to be had at sea, the whole chest of sea-medicines will not avail the unhappy patients. Some persons cannot be brought to believe, that a disease so dreadful and fatal at sea, can possibly be prevented or cured by such easy means. They would have more faith in some elaborate composition dignified with the pompous title of an antiscorbutic golden elixir, or the like. But the affair in question is of too serious and important a nature to trifle with; and where the health and lives of so many thousands



the fruit, I have found, upon experiment, that there are several other ways of doing it. They who intend this extract for acidulating punch, may infuse some of the fresh peel of the oranges or lemons into the spirit before it is used. I have known some who distil brandy themselves from their spoiled wines, throw these peels into the still. Either of the methods makes a most agreeable and fragrant punch with the *rob*. The essential oil of the rind is thus so subtilised, and incorporated with the spirit, as to be itself converted as it were into a purer spirit. And it will not then have the heating quality, nor affect the head afterwards so much as the simple oil may do, when taken in too great a quantity.

But, for this purpose, I find it is sufficient to add a very small quantity of the outer peel to the extract a little before it is taken off the fire, and there will be all that is requisite to make it entirely equal to the freshest fruit; in so much that the nicest taste will not be able to distinguish any difference. Its virtues

are concerned, it would be unpardonable to impose upon the public. Facts are sufficient to convince the unprejudiced, and the following is too much to the purpose to be omitted. A ship lately upon going out of port, found they had a man on board bad in the scurvy. The officers being well provided with lemons for punch, ordered all their squeezed lemons to be given him. He every day eat the pulp, rind, and what little juice remained behind, of three or four lemons: by which means the disease was so far from gaining ground upon him, that after continuing three months at sea in a cruise, he returned much freer from the scurvy, than when he set out on the voyage.

(as must appear to any one so far conversant in chemical principles, as to know there is nothing more lost here than water, with a scarce perceptible acid) will be found nothing inferior to the fresh fruit (*x*).

In this manner prepared, it must be kept in bottles, where it will remain good for several years. When made in a proper place and season, it will come very cheap; and our navy may be supplied with it at a much easier rate than any thing as yet proposed. It will be found extremely wholesome on all occasions, but especially to correct bad brandy, and other noxious spirits, often drank by sailors in immoderate quantities. Rum in the *West-Indies*, arrack or brandy, when served them by way of allowance, should always be first mixed up

(*x*) This I think cannot be doubted by any person who has used it, or who will take the pains to make proper comparisons and trials with it, and the freshest orange or lemon-juice. Indeed the benefit presumed to be derived from the flavour is so small, that the plain extract is quite sufficient. Officers, by putting in a little of the candied peel in their punch, will give it the agreeable flavour wanted. And there is another and very elegant method of obtaining and preserving the entire virtues of the lemon or orange skins. Rub the outside of the skins against a piece of loaf-sugar. The inequalities on the surface of the sugar serve as a grater, and tear open the little cells in which the essential oil is contained. This essence flows plentifully out, and is imbibed by the sugar. When one part of the sugar is sufficiently impregnated and wet, scrape it off with a knife, and put it into a bottle: repeat the same operation until the whole essence is extracted from the rinds. The sugar does not in the least impair or alter its aromatic virtues; and in this manner it will keep good for many years. When mixed with the juice or *rob*, the whole virtue of the fruit is exhibited.

with the *rob.* This will not only make them more palatable, but, what is a matter of much greater moment, will convert these poisonous pernicious draughts into a sovereign remedy for, and a preservative against a scorbutic habit, the bane of seafaring people.

I shall add one observation in its favour. The island of *Jamaica* is much less liable to sickness at present than formerly. Our fleets in the *West-Indies* in the beginning of the war were much more sickly than in the latter end of it, when indeed they were surprisingly healthy. This, with great reason, has been universally ascribed to the drinking a great quantity of this acid, by making their punch sour and weak.

I proceed to some farther directions given for the information of commanders of ships, and those who have proper conveniencies, who may relieve the sick, upon occasion, with their stores. And it may be proper to acquaint them, that most berries, and several fruits, when gathered two thirds ripe on a dry day, while the sun shines, if put into earthen pots, or rather in dry bottles, well corked, and sealed up, so that no air or moisture can enter, will keep a long time, and, at the end of a year, be as fresh as when new pulled. These the captains may supply themselves with at every port in *England*, from the pastry-cooks shops, with proper directions for their preservation. Green gooseberries will keep for years, if, after being put into dry  
bottles,

bottles, their moisture is exhaled, by putting the bottles slightly corked into a pot of water, which is allowed to come nearly to boil, and continue so for a little; when a very small quantity of juice yielded by them is to be thrown away, and they are afterwards kept close stopt. These would prove a soveraign remedy for the sick: and, by such methods, ships in long voyages, when touching at any place for water and provisions, may likewise lay up a sea-store of berries and fruits.

Various wholesome herbs and roots may likewise be preserved at sea, according to the different directions given for that purpose in books of chemistry and confectionary; such as small onions in a pickle of vinegar, &c. Most green vegetables, as cabbage, *French* beans, and others, are preserved, if put when dry in clean dry stone-jars, with a layer of salt at bottom; then a thin layer of the vegetable covered with salt, and so alternately, till the jar is full; when the whole is to be covered with salt and well pressed down with a weight, and its mouth close stopt, that no air or moisture may enter. At using, the salt is to be washed off by warm water; when the vegetable, after keeping a year, will be found fresh and green. I have been told, that in this manner that soveraign never-failing remedy, the *Greenland* scurvy-grass (y), may be pre-

(y) Vid. a letter concerning it, chap. 5. also the extraordinary case of a sailor related by *Bachstrom*.

served,



served, and that parts of it have been brought over quite fresh and green.

Every common sailer ought to lay in a stock of onions. I never observed any that used them fall into the scurvy at sea. When this stock is exhausted, the captains may have recourse to their pickled small onions; and with fowls, mutton, or portable soup, and the pickled cabbage before-mentioned, of which the *Dutch* (z) sell great quantities, they will be able

(z) The *Dutch* sailors are much less liable to the scurvy than the *English*, owing to this pickled vegetable carried to sea. *Vid. Kramerii epistolam de scorbuto.* A mess of this given twice a-week boiled in their peas, seems all the addition requisite to be made to the present victualling of the navy, for the effectual prevention of the scurvy. It may be objected, That its saltness would rather prove hurtful in this disease. But this objection is founded upon a very false opinion, that sea-salt breeds the scurvy: the contrary of which has been fully demonstrated, chap 1. and is confirmed by numberless instances of giving salt water in very bad scurvies, both at sea and land, with great benefit to the patient. See Mr. *Ives's* letter, p. 150. Dr. *Grainger's*, chap. 5.

The truth is, that vegetables preserved in this manner, so far from being salt after<sup>d</sup> duly washing them in warm water, require to be eat with salt: they are thus preserved quite succulent and green. Their virtue is the same as if taken fresh out of the garden, and the method infinitely superior to the drying of them, like hay, as was proposed; which would entirely destroy their antiscorbutic quality; as will be made appear when we come to inquire (chap. 6.) into the properties and virtues peculiar to green succulent vegetables, so essentially requisite for the prevention, and in the cure of this malady. To the surgeon's necessaries in long and sickly voyages, it would not be amiss to add some boxes of portable soup; and at all times some pots of preserved small onions, together with some *French* prunes. When the scurvy begins to appear, or even when its approach is apprehended, the ship's company ought to have some of these onions, or when there are none on board, some garlic or shellot

able to make a broth at sea, almost the same with what is used in our naval hospitals for recovery of scorbutic people. I have known several captains, who, by carrying out boxes filled with earth, which stood in their quarter-galleries, were supplied with wholesome salads, after being some months out of harbour.

shellot (supplied them by the surgeon) boiled in their water-gruel; and of this they ought to make a hearty breakfast. They should be put on  $\frac{1}{2}$  or  $\frac{1}{3}$  short-allowance of salt beef and pork, to be eat with mustard and vinegar, and have a small quantity of ginger given them by the surgeon to mix in their puddings, which will make them much lighter. In lieu of their salt meat, the purser may supply them with cyder, wine, or the spruce beer afterwards recommended; or if they are served with brandy, he may furnish them with sugar and a sufficient quantity of orange-juice to make it into punch. A gallon of orange juice is sold for six shillings, which allowing an ounce of it to each man in the day, will serve 128 men, and the expence be three-pence half-penny a week for each; whereas when at  $\frac{1}{3}$  short-allowance of beef and pork, there becomes  $4\frac{2}{3}$ d. per week due each man. This overplus of the short-allowance money will be sufficient to enable the purser to furnish molasses for the punch of the ship's company, as also a mess of either green or pickled cabbage once a week. These are to be had at any port in *England* for a farthing a piece. If they are likely to spoil, they may be served out in their peas-soup, after being a week or two at sea, which would be a great refreshment to the people, and the means of securing them against a future scurvy. The peas ought always to be served out in full allowance, and this mess would be greatly improved by the addition of dried mint or thyme, garlic, &c. Thus might the scurvy in all probability be effectually prevented in our navy, without putting the government to a farthing expence, by a commutation of provisions and necessaries, at the discretion of the purser and surgeon, and a proper regulation of their diet. It is demonstrable from the most incontestable experience, that a soup of boiled cabbage and onions, will cure an adventitious scurvy in its first stage, either at sea or land, in any part of the world. By a like soup, with  
addi-

bour. A cask of rich garden-mould put occasionally in boxes on the poop, and sown with the seed of garden-creffes, would furnish these at any time. Such seeds will likewise grow in wet cotton.

Besides fresh and preserved fruits and vegetables, fermented liquors of all sorts are

addition of fresh flesh-meat, seventy people were perfectly cured in the *Guernsey*, without one of them setting foot on shore. This was not owing to the flesh in their soup, but to the vegetables: for I have known some favourites of the Captain's who had fresh mutton-soup given them almost every day, without the least benefit, until they arrived at port; where they were cured in a few days by the same soup, with the addition of vegetables. And that vegetables have the same effect at sea as at land, is plain from Mr. *Ives's* journal (see p. 100.) where the people continued to recover at sea from the 29th *November* that they left *Vado*, until the 25th *December*, by means of fruits given them.

A gentleman on board the Commodore at that time told me, that the whole squadron was greatly distressed with the scurvy, and in particular the Commodore's ship; in so much, that, after having used all means, to no purpose, that could be thought of to put a stop to the malady, he was at last obliged, for the preservation of his people, to stretch over to the coast of *Italy*, and leave his station for a while. At this time many were extremely bad. Upon his arrival at *Vado*, he found the whole country covered with snow; and such was the severity of the winter, that there was hardly any kind of greens to be got for the relief of his distressed crew. Upon which this excellent commander (now Adm. *Osborn*) very wisely directed his people to buy up all the oranges and lemons in the town. His boats brought on board a considerable quantity of them. He likewise supplied his squadron with some fresh beef. Being obliged to make but a very short continuance at *Vado*, he directly returned to his station with a store of these fruits, but with his men still in a bad condition. He continued cruising at sea for three weeks, in very rough weather. Notwithstanding which, by means of these fruits, many who were very bad, and all who were in the first stage of the disease, were perfectly recovered while at sea, and the lives of the whole crew preserved.

found

found beneficial in this disease. Some of them however are more antiscorbutic than others. By my own experience, I found cyder the best of any I have had occasion to try. And it would seem an excellent method of preserving other vegetable juices (gooseberries, blackberries, currants, elderberries, or even *Seville* oranges) to ferment them into made wines or beer. These I am persuaded will be found preferable to many medicated antiscorbutic ales and wines by infusion, that might here be recommended.

It is pretty remarkable, that the first northern colonies in *America* were extremely subject to this disease. The *French* especially upon their first planting *Canada* and *New-France*, suffered so much by the mortality it occasioned in the winter-season, that they had often thoughts of abandoning their settlement; even the natives were not exempted from the ravage of this cruel evil (*a*): whereas not only these colonies, but others in a colder and more northern situation, are at present quite healthy. One would be apt to ascribe this, to the many hardships and inconveniencies infant-colonies are necessarily exposed to; were it not, that we see many poor people wintering yearly in *Newfoundland*, where this disease was formerly so fatal, who from poverty suffer equal, if not greater hardships, than the first planters during the severity of winter. They are, for almost eight months

(*a*) See part 3. chap. 1.



in the year, destitute of fresh vegetables, and live entirely on salt and dried fish, coarse bread, and much worse fare than a ship's provisions. Their air is likewise grosser, colder, and moister, than is commonly the case at sea. Notwithstanding which, they keep pretty free from the scurvy. And this is ascribed to their common drink, which is spruce beer.

It is indeed matter of surprize, and was taken notice of before as the most convincing proof that this calamity may be prevented any where, that the people who reside at our factories in *Hudson's bay*, are so very healthy; where, according to *Ellis's* account, they sometimes do not bury one man in seven years out of a hundred that are in their four factories (*b*): whereas the first adventurers to that part of the world, who wintered in the same places, were almost all destroyed by the scurvy, *viz.* Capt. *Monck's* people in 1619 (*c*), Capt. *Thomas James's* at *Charleton* island in 1631 (*d*), and most others who attempted it. A set of sailors, consisting of seven men, was left two winters successively, in the years 1633 and 1634, at *Greenland* and *Spitzbergen*, by way of experiment: but every man of them next spring was found to have died of the scurvy (*e*). The unhappy fate of those people, who all perished in this great misery, and

(*b*) See voyage to *Hudson's bay*.

(*c*) *Churchill's* collection of voyages, vol. 1. p. 541.

(*d*) *Harris's* collection of voyages, vol. 2. p. 406.

(*e*) *Churchill's* collection, vol. 2. p. 347.

left behind them a journal of their piteous misfortunes, seems to have been owing to the world's ignorance of the distemper at that time, and the pernicious methods recommended to them for preservation ; which we find were chiefly purging antiscorbutic potions, distilled spirits, *viz.* brandy, and the like ; all which infallibly increased the malady, and hastened their unhappy end.

From these unsuccessful trials it was judged impracticable to pass the winter in those parts. But the following accident afforded the most convincing evidence of this mistake. A boat's crew, consisting of eight men, was by chance left behind, and obliged to winter in almost the same place (*f*). The season proved equally rigorous and severe. The poor fellows had nothing to trust to for sustenance but what their guns procured. Thus luckily were every one of them preserved alive, by being unprovided with what might have been deemed necessary (though in effect pernicious) means of subsistence and preservation. They had no brandy, no coarse hard biscuit, nor salt flesh-meats, &c.

But what deserves particular consideration, is, that those who live on the coarsest food, with a salt diet, and use spruce beer at the same time, are seldom or never afflicted in the coldest and most norther countries. It was observed in *Holland*, that when the custom of drinking wine more freely was practised,

(*f*) *Churchill*, vol. 4. p. 745.

this distemper became less frequent (g). And among the first cures recommended to the world was wine, with wormwood infused in it (h); which was afterwards long used by way of prevention in *Saxony*, where this evil was peculiarly endemic (i). Fermented vinous liquors of any kind are indeed very beneficial. But it appears by the experience of the northern *American* colonies, as also of several countries up the *Baltic* in *Europe*, &c. that genuine spruce beer is, above all others, not only an effectual preservative against it, but an excellent remedy.

The antiscorbutic virtue of the fir was, like many other of our best medicines, accidentally discovered in *Europe* (k). When the *Swedes* carried on a war against the *Muscovites*, almost all the soldiers of their army were destroyed by the true marsh or marine scurvy, having rotten gums, rigid tendons, &c. But a stop was put to the progress of this disease, by the advice of *Erbenius* the King's physician, with a simple decoction of fir-tops; by which the most deplorable cases were perfectly recovered, and the rest of the soldiers prevented from falling into it. It also proved an excellent gargle for the putrid gums. From thence this medicine came

(g) *Bruneri tract. de scorbuto.*

(h) See part 3. chap. 1. *Olaus Magnus.*

(i) See part 3. chap. 2.

(k) *Vid. Moellenbroek de arthritide vaga scorbutica, p. 116. Etmulleri opera, p. 2.* said by some to have occurred in the army of *Uladislaus* King of *Poland*.

into great reputation, and the common fir, *picea major*, or *abies rubra*, was afterwards called *pinus antiscorbutica*. *Pinus sylvestris*, the mountain-pine, has likewise been found highly antiscorbutic, of which a late accident has furnished a convincing proof. In the year 1736 two squadrons of ships fitted out by the court of *Russia*, were obliged to winter in *Siberia*. One commanded by *Demetrius Laptiew*, not far from the mouth of the river *Lena*, was attacked by the scurvy. The men in their distress by chance found near them this tree growing in the mountains, and experienced it to have a most surprising antiscorbutic virtue. At the same time while *Alexius Tschirikow* was passing the winter in the river *Judoma*, where it runs into the river *Maja*, a considerable number of his men were dreadfully afflicted with that disease. After various fruitless attempts to discover a remedy able to put a stop to this cruel disaster, he at length accidentally hit also upon the pines which grew plentifully on the mountains, by which all his men were recovered in a few days. In some the medicine proved gently laxative, in others it affected the body so mildly, that its operation was scarce sensible (1).

I am inclined to believe, from the description given by *Cartier* of the *ameda* tree, with a decoction of the bark and leaves of which his crew was so speedily recovered, that it was

(1) *Gmelin flor. Sibiric* p. 181.



the large swampy *American* spruce tree (*m*). For although the pines and firs, of which there is a great variety, differ from each other in their size and outward form, the length and disposition of their leaves, hardness of wood, &c. yet they seem all to have analogous medicinal virtues, and great efficacy in this disease. The shrub spruce, of that sort vulgarly called the *black*, which makes this most wholesome drink, affords a balsam superior to most turpentine, though known only to a few physicians.

A simple decoction of the tops, cones, leaves, or even green bark and wood of these trees, is an excellent antiscorbutic: but it will I am apt to think become much more so when fermented, as in making spruce beer; where the *molasses* contributes, by its diaphoretic quality, to make it a more suitable medicine. By carrying a few bags of spruce to sea, this wholesome drink may be prepared at any time. But where it cannot be had, the common fir-tops used for fuel in the ship, should be first boiled in water, and the decoction afterwards fermented with *molasses*, in the common method of making spruce beer; to which a small quantity of wormwood and horse-radish root (which it is easy to preserve fresh at sea) may be added. It ought to be

(*m*) See part 3. chap. 1. *Hackluit's* collection of voyages, vol. 3. p. 225. Some have believed it to be the *sassafras*, others the white thorn; but, in his third voyage, he mentions the white thorn, and makes the *ameda* to be three fathom in circumference.

drunk when pretty brisk or new, and taken in sufficient quantity, which will be found the most efficacious antiscorbutic perhaps of any fermented liquor, as being of a diuretic and diaphoretic quality. In extremity tar-water may be tried, fermented in like manner; by which it will certainly become much more antiscorbutic.

We come now to observe what treatment is proper for convalescents, or those who are recovering from tedious fits of sickness, by which they have been greatly exhausted and weakened. Here the prevention of the scurvy will depend much upon two articles, *viz.* a proper diet and exercise. The former must be adapted to the weakness of their digestive powers, and the sharp acrimonious condition of the blood and juices. The latter must be suited to the debilitated state of their body. We find, that when people in this condition at land, and much more so in the moist sea-air, are put directly upon a gross viscid diet, they are very apt to become scorbutic. For these, in the first place, we would recommend an allowance of flour instead of salt beef and pork; and (sea-biscuit being too gross food for them) this must be well leavened, and baked into fresh bread, instead of being cooked into puddings and dumplings, as is common; which will be found an excellent antiscorbutic; and is, together with vegetables, eagerly longed for by scorbutic persons. It may appear a direction not easily to be com-

plied with, to people unacquainted with sea-conveniencies. But many ships, especially all ships of war, have an oven; and it is a practice with most captains, to have their own bread baked twice or thrice a-week, while at sea. When the patient is extremely weak, a little of this fresh bread should be boiled in water, and made into panada; adding a few drops of the juice or extract of lemons, and a spoonful of wine.

The other parts of diet should be oat-meal and rice gruels, flumery, roasted or stewed apples, if they can be got, stewed barley, with raisins or currants, sago and wine, &c. but particularly the pickled green cabbage, and small onions, boiled with the portable soup made weak. Most food and drink ought to be acidulated with the orange or lemon-juice; which at such times proves highly grateful, both to the palate and stomach of the patient; who by degrees, as his appetite, but especially as his strength increases, is to be indulged with more solid food: though he would do well to abstain for some time from grosser animal substances, and take no other restorative but wine, with the proper vegetable and lightest farinaceous substances. A caution is here requisite, that to the convalescents nourishment should be given often, but in a small quantity at a time, so as not to oppress the organs of digestion.

It is likewise a matter of great importance, that the body weakened by preceding sickness,  
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be by degrees habituated to exercise. Nothing can be more inhumane, than to oblige a poor weak man to undergo more fatigue than his strength can bear; nor any thing more prejudicial to his recovery, than, under the notion of preserving him from the scurvy, to force him too soon to do the ship's duty. On the other hand, a total neglect of exercise is peculiarly productive of this disease. The rule then is, to proportion the continuance and degree of it, to the strength and condition of the patients; to begin with the most gentle and easy at first, and proceed gradually to the more violent, as they acquire strength. Thus, after being accustomed to sit up some hours through the day in bed, they are then to be allowed to get out of it, and continue so, as long as their strength, without great weariness or fatigue, will permit. They may next be put into a sling hung below the fore-castle, or betwixt decks; which will affect them not only by causing a change of air, but at the same time give spirits and refreshment. They will afterwards be able to bear riding on a cross deal laid betwixt two chests, where the successive concussions of the body will be more sensibly perceived. And it is to be remarked, that as weak persons at land generally find the greatest benefit from exercise in a coach, chaise, or on horseback; so the convalescents in a ship, especially scorbutical people, will receive much more advantage from this exercise, than from walking,



running, or any kind of muscular motion, in which a great exertion of strength is required. The reason seems to be, because these latter are attended with a waste and dissipation of spirits; and are generally followed with weariness and fatigue: whereas, by the frequent succeeding agitations of a jolting machine, the circulation is promoted, the fibres of the body strengthened, and the weakened animal functions invigorated, without any considerable loss of spirits, which such people cannot well bear.

These and the like exercises are absolutely necessary to prevent the scurvy in those who have hurts, sprained joints, ulcers on their legs, and other ailments, which confine them below, and disable them from walking; in which case they soon become scorbutic, when living on the gross sea-diet.

Others upon recovery may, at the same time they practise these exercises, be made to walk a little upon deck, so as not to over-fatigue themselves; and afterwards be put upon such duty as their condition will permit them to perform: having recourse, if needful, to *elixir vitriol*, bitters, the bark, or steel, according as they may be requisite to perfect their strength and recovery. To which, however, nothing will contribute so much, and at the same time more effectually prevent the scurvy, as bodily exercise; which will be found to agree best with them when the stomach is not full, or rather just before meals. It is observed,  
that

that when scorbutic people use no exercise, the disease advances very fast upon them at sea: therefore, if they can bear only the most gentle motions, these are often to be practised; and the body is not to be permitted continually to rest, without some sort of action. When confined to bed, frictions may be used upon their limbs and body. Let it however be remembered, that too violent exercise is as dangerous and pernicious in this disease as too little.

I proceed now to point out the means of correcting or removing many inconveniencies which occur at sea, especially those which are observed to be productive of this malady. A most powerful and principal cause of which (*n*), and indeed of many others at sea, is the moisture of the air, and consequently the dampness of their lodging; especially during a long continuance of thick close weather, or a stormy and rainy season. And this is found to be the most frequent cause of this fatal disease, whose effects are rendered still more pernicious when combined with cold; these require in a particular manner to be guarded against. And they are either immediately to be corrected, or their effects and consequences prevented.

As to the first: Although we cannot at once remove a person into another climate, or into the land-air; yet we can easily give to the air he breathes, a more salutary quality,

(*n*) See Part 2. chap. 1.

by rendering it at any time warmer or colder, moister or drier, as the exigency of the case and circumstances may require. I observed elsewhere (*o*), that the noxious qualities of the moist air at sea were greatly heightened by being confined in so close a place as a ship, without a succession, or fresh supply of it. But as that inconvenience is guarded against by the use of *Sutton's* machine (or the much more effectual and excellent invention of ventilators by the reverend Dr. *Hales*) (*p*) which extracts all such foul and putrid air, and thus will prevent many infectious malignant fevers caused from thence; so there seems nothing wanting to make it likewise an excellent preservative against the scurvy, but that it should correct the moisture of the sea-air, and dry or warm it betwixt decks when needful.

This I conjecture it might be made to do by some additional contrivances, which may invert its operation; that is, instead of drawing up the air from below, the air warmed by the fire in the gallery or fire-place, may be forced betwixt decks through its pipes when requisite. I mention it only (for experiments alone must make this improvement, and with such caution as to prevent detriment by it) to induce something of this kind to be thought of by proper judges. If the additional machinery were but small, and not

(*o*) Part 2. chap. 1.

(*p*) See his book on ventilators.

incommodious in the ship, the advantages derived from it would be very great. These are evident from what has been said in discoursing on the causes of the scurvy (*q*). It must prove highly serviceable in cold climates, and in northern voyages in the winter (where the sailors not only become terribly scorbutic, but are often chilled to death with the cold, and at other times have their limbs mortified) if, by a simple contrivance of this sort, the fire used for dressing their victuals, could be made to warm them even when in bed. When the *French* men of war winter in *Canada*, or *Lewisburg*, they have always a stove between the decks.

Fire made with any of the aromatic woods, or even with common fir or pine, juniper, and the like, effectually corrects this disposition of the air, and at the same time renders it more salutary in other respects. It is observable, that betwixt the tropics, the rainy seasons prove the most unhealthy and dangerous, not only at land, but in ships; giving rise to malignant fevers, scurvies, &c. In this case, without any inconvenience or danger, a clear open fire, properly secured, when in harbour, might be lighted betwixt decks, to stand upon the hatchways in a stove; which would greatly purify the air, and destroy its hurtful moisture, without much increasing the heat, if burnt in an open hatchway. There is certainly less danger, nay, less

(*q*) Chap. I.

heat,



heat, attending a fire burning for an hour or two in the day there, guarded by a centinel, than having fifty or sixty candles lighted in an evening; or burning them constantly night and day in the orlope, and other dark places: whence such parts of the ship are continually replete with the nauseous effluvia of rank corrupted tallow. It would seem indeed no difficult matter, to convert even these into medicinal preservatives against the scurvy, and other putrid diseases from bad moist air, by the addition of some proper aromatic in their composition. The burning of spirits will be of service in the sick-apartment. The captains, or those who can afford them, will find the myrtle wax candles the best for use in a moist sea-air.

Next to be considered, are the best means of preventing the effects and ill consequences of such air, when not corrected by the methods proposed.

Fire, as before observed, is the most certain consumer and drier of humidity. We moreover find, that the exhalations of aromatics, though, properly speaking, they do not dry up moisture, yet prevent the pernicious effects of it upon the human body, by diffusing through the air a subtile acid, of an antiseptic and astringent quality, opposite to the putrid and relaxing tendency of moisture. Thus we often observe many asthmatic persons greatly affected with a moist wind, and in a damp season hardly able to breathe; but upon throw-

throwing a little benzoin, or the like aromatic gum, on a red-hot iron, by which their chamber is well perfumed, and the air replete with these aromatic particles, they are sensible of relief, and breathe much more freely. So here I would recommend a most simple and easy operation, to be performed in such damp seasons in a ship; which is, putting a red-hot loggerhead in a bucket of tar, which should be moved about, so that all the ship, once or twice a-day, may be filled with this wholesome antiseptic vapour.

Persons for proper security, during a scorbutic and moist constitution of air, should go well cloathed, and shift often with dry linen. Driness and cleanliness of body are excellent preservatives against this malady. They should use the flesh-brush, or frictions with a dry cloth on their skin; eat a bit of raw onion, or a head of garlic, in a morning before they are exposed to the rains and washings of the sea. Whatever promotes perspiration is useful; and perhaps nothing will do it more effectually at this time than a raw onion. Nor ought these farther precautions to be omitted, of using proper exercise in the day, and having their bedding kept always dry, not binding it up close together till sufficiently aired and dried.

When they are threatened with the approach of this disease, they ought, at going to bed, to promote a gentle *diaphoresis*, by draughts of water-gruel and vinegar, with  
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the addition of lemon-juice, or the extract. They should use plenty of mustard and onions with their victuals; and may then indulge more freely in the use of fermented vinous liquors, *viz.* cyder, beer, and wine: but when of necessity obliged to drink spirits, they ought always to dilute them a little with water, and acidulate them with the acid of oranges or lemons. These directions will preserve seamen not only from the scurvy, but from many other diseases, as coughs, catarths, &c. arising from an obstructed perspiration in a moist air.

The water and provisions being often in such an unsound and corrupt condition, as may be supposed to increase the virulence of this evil, it will not be improper to add some considerations for preventing and remedying these inconveniencies.

Water is with difficulty preserved sweet at sea (*r*); and sometimes cannot even be procured wholesome at places where ships may touch. There are two sorts of bad water. The first is, putrid and stinking; the other, a hard heavy water that is not putrid, but which will not incorporate with soap, or break peas when boiled in it. Both are very unwholesome.

Water at sea will sooner or later putrify, according to its various contents, and the man-

(*r*) See Dr. *Alston's* excellent method of preserving water good and wholesome at sea by quick-lime, part 3. chap. 2. also Dr. *Hales's* curious philosophical experiments, and his directions to preserve water and provisions at sea.

ner in which it is kept. It has been experienced, that, by fuming the casks with burning brimstone, water will keep longer sweet. Some add a little oil of vitriol to it; which likewise preserves it a longer time from putrifying. It is a common practice, and a very good one, to throw a little salt into water while warming; and as it grows hot, there will arise a thick feculent unwholesome scum, which is carefully to be taken off as it casts up. And this should always be done in boiling peas and oat-meal.

When the water is become putrid and stinking, one manner of sweetening it is, by taking out the bungs of the casks, exposing it to the air, and shaking, and pouring it from one vessel into another. Another way is, by letting it quickly come to boil; taking care not to boil it too long, which would expel the most active parts of the water. This will still be rendered sweeter, and more wholesome, when a little of the juice or extract of lemons is added to it; which is much safer for common use, than the mineral acids of *vitriol*, or salt, ordered by some on this occasion. The acid will likewise contribute to precipitate the earthy particles of the water, and the various *animalcula* with their sloughs, now destroyed by the boiling.

But as this may be found troublesome to do for a whole ship's company, there is another method of sweetening putrid water. Some  
times,



times, as is observed by my learned friend Dr. *Home* (s), by keeping such water close and warm in a large vessel, it will become fit for use when the process of putrefaction is once over; by which the noxious and putrescent particles having been made quite volatile, will fly off of themselves; as is often the case of the *Thames* water. A large cask of stinking water closely bunged up, should be put into the galley, and kept in a degree of warmth sufficient to promote this process of putrefaction: the effect of which will be, that the heterogeneous putrescent particles rendered thus volatile, will all quickly escape; and the putrefaction by this means being stopt, the water becomes wholesome, and fit for use.

Besides this putrid water, sailors are often obliged to use, for want of better, a hard water, as it is called, replete with foreign, saline, and terrestrial particles; which is found to be very unwholesome, though fresh and sweet. To make this wholesome and salutary, the stone filtre used on board several ships is very proper, where the water does not abound with vitriolic or marine salts. But its operation is tedious, and it can never pass a sufficient quantity for the use of a ship's company. Sand is the fittest body for separating these heterogeneous and unwholesome particles from water. Upon this occasion I must again refer to

(s) In his ingenious essay on the *Dunse* Spaw, p. 119.

the ingenious essay on the *Dunse Spaw* (*t*). As this method however is troublesome and tedious; for if the sand is sea-sand before it is made use of, it must be purified of all its salts: and it has been found that the sand when used for some time lost its power of softening water, the Doctor has published an easy, cheap, and expeditious method of softening all hard waters by means of potash or alkaline salts, which convert the noxious saline particles into salutary nitrous salts, and precipitate the earthy parts of these salts which occasion hardness in water (*u*).

When the provisions of beef and pork are putrid and rancid, it will be most advisable not to eat of them; or at least to correct their

(*t*) P. 120. The *Austrian* army, when incamped in *Hungary*, find no good water, unless when on the banks of some great river. So, when obliged to use lake-water, they purify it in this manner. A long small boat is divided into several different apartments by cross partitions. They fill them all, except the last, with sand. The boat is put into the lake. A hole level with the surface of the water is made in the end of the boat, which lets the water into the first division; from this it gets into the second, by a hole made in the bottom of the first partition; from the second it runs into the third, through a hole in the top of the second partition; and so alternately above and below, that it may be obliged to pass through all the sand. At the top of the last division there is a pipe, through which the water comes, at pleasure, as pure as from a fine spring. And thus seamen when abroad meeting with such water, may purify even the hardest kind of it. And for the same purpose in a house he proposes some casks divided in the middle, and filled with sand; into the first of these divisions the water may be thrown as into a cistern; the casks ought here to be joined by pipes; and by making it thus circulate through eight or ten divisions filled with sand to the top, a pure spring may be had any where.

(*u*) See his *E. Say* on Bleaching.

bad qualities, by using at the same time plenty of vinegar, oranges, lemons, and vegetables. I am afraid any method that might be proposed to sweeten putrid flesh, will be found not easy to be put in execution at sea.

There are several ways generally known of recovering spoiled beer, wines, and other fermented liquors; and as these liquors are all of them antiscorbutic, they are well worth preserving. Yeast should be carried to sea for this and other purposes. When it has grown stale by keeping, a little flour, sugar, salt, and warm beer, are to be mixed with it; or even hot water and sugar only. By adding to it the grounds of strong beer, and letting the mixture stand a little before the fire, it will serve either to work beer, or bake bread. In case there is no yeast on board, honey, sugar, leaven, or molasses, may be used to renew the fermentation of liquors.

The dry provisions, oat-meal, peas, and flour, are apt to be corrupted and spoiled by weevils, maggots, and by growing damp and mouldy. These destructive vermine may be killed by the fumes of brimstone in a close place. But even then the weevils, when eaten, are found to be very unwholesome, and are said to have such a caustic quality, as, when applied to the skin in the form of a poultice, to raise blisters like the *cantharides*. When no better provisions can be procured, the flour, oat-meal, or peas, should be put in a heap, and then these vermine will come to  
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the top of it ; so that a great number of them may be taken away, and sifted out with the dust. The parcel is to be stirred and heaped again, until as many of them as possible are removed. The groats and peas may be turned over into a wire-sieve, which will let the dust and weevils pass through it.

Sound good bread is a most important article at sea. The biscuit, when mouldy and spoiled, should be put into a warm oven, or under the fire-place, till the putrid moisture is quite exhaled, and the *animalcula* destroyed. These are afterwards to be well beat out of it, and then it may be eat dipt in vinegar. Close casks preserve biscuit and other dry provisions best ; and all possible care should be taken to keep them dry, and free from dampness.

## C H A P. V.

### *The cure of the disease, and its symptoms.*

**I**F proper precautions were taken for the prevention of this disease, and the rules which have been laid down for that purpose were complied with, we should seldom have occasion to meet with it in a high degree either at sea or land. It is indeed difficult to persuade some to practise, when in health, what is necessary to preserve so valuable a blessing. All mankind have not the benefit of a pure wholesome air, warm dry lodgings,  
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with