# “My Method and Medicines”: Mary Trye, chemical physician

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‘My Method and Medicines’:  Mary Trye, Chemical Physician.

When Mary Trye published her only known work, *Medicatrix; or the Woman Physician* in 1675, it was in defence of the attacks on her late father, Thomas O’Dowde, and also an impassioned justification of their shared belief in the science of chemical medicine.[1] The text was framed around a series of ‘excoriating’ attacks on Henry Stubbe to whom she called the *Medicus* at *Warwick.*[2] A vocal critic of chemical medicine, Stubbe was a prolific author whose works include *An Epistolary Discourse Concerning Phlebotomy* (1671), which emphasised his adherence to the Galenic humoral bodily economy model that advocated bloodletting to rebalance suspected excesses of blood, one of the four main humours. Trye was offended not just by the potentially libellous comments Stubbe made about her father in his printed works, but more significantly by comments in Stubbe’s ‘*private Notes and Manuscripts*’ that had been passed to her.[3] These notes showed that Stubbe had continued his comments about O’Dowde many years after the latter’s death during the Great Plague of 1665. The papers perhaps came into Trye’s possession during her recent visit to Warwickshire:  indeed, she had dedicated her treatise to Lady Fisher who lived at Packington Hall in Warwickshire.[4]  This article intends to demonstrate not only how the ‘scientific’ belief system Trye practiced and advocated in her treatise was inextricably connected to her father’s teachings and legacy, but how her practice and writings show her to be a forward thinking, assertive woman in her own right.[5]

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[1] Mary Trye was the daughter of Thomas O’Dowde, groom of the bedchamber to Charles II and a prominent advocate of chemical medicine. The title plays on the term ‘mediatrix’ which in the Catholic Church refers to the intercession of the Virgin Mary as mediator. Here Mary Trye is interceding to defend her father.
[2] Stanton J. Linden, ‘Mrs Mary Trye, Medicatrix: Chemistry and Controversy in Restoration England’, *Women’s Writing: The Elizabethan to Victorian Period* 1, no 3 (1994): 341-53 (343).
[3] Mary Trye, *Medicatrix; or the Woman-physician* (London: Henry Broome and John Leete, 1675), 45.
[4] Trye, *Medicatrix,* A2.
[5] As Isabelle Clairhout has pointed out, the use of the term ‘scientific’ can be viewed as problematic or anachronistic for the early modern period, since it had no currency in the way we understand it today until the nineteenth century. However in this context the term usefully describes the chemical theories adhered to by Trye and her contemporaries. See Isabelle Clairhout, ‘Erring from Good Huswifry? The Author as Witness in Margaret Cavendish and Mary Trye’, *Renaissance and Reformation* 37, no.2 (2014), 81-114 (82, n. 2.).

While it is the case that 'Paracelsian' had become a term of abuse from the late sixteenth century on, the chemical medicine fray into which Trye waded is in many ways a side issue from the take up of using chemical cures to treat diseases.[6] As Allen Debus has noted, the rise of chemical cures was not a new idea in the Restoration but one that had developed alongside humoralism, with the result that 'chemical methods were quietly adopted by herbalists in the sixteenth century'.[7] Indeed, as Bruce T. Morgan has stated, 'Chemical remedies had been admitted into the *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis* in 1618.[8] Philippus Aureolus Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim (1493-1541), better known as Paracelsus, claimed that three elements in the body, salt, mercury, and sulphur were the cause of all diseases. The eminent physician J. B. Van Helmont took the mantle from Paracelsus, since, as Margaret Healy has explained, for iatrochemists 'the key to disease resided in a strange bodily phenomenon called the "Archeus" ("the chemical and spiritual governor of the body"). Here, the "seeds of disease" were implanted and it was the interaction between the power of the imagination and the agitated Archeus that produced the signs and symptoms of illness'.[9] Trye's contemporary, Jane Sharp, clarified in her 1671 midwifery textbook that

> *alchymists* lay the cause of all Children's diseases on the Seed of the Parents; as plants have not the causes of their destruction from the Elements, but from their own Seed; as also we see, that when the Plague or any Epidemical disease rageth, all are

[6] Bruce T. Morgan, *Distilling Knowledge: Alchemy, Chemistry, and the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 80.
[7] Allen Debus, *The Chemical Philosophy: Paracelsian Science and Medicine in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century* (New York: Neale Watson, 1977), 24.
[8] Bruce T. Morgan, 'A Survey of Chemical Medicine in the 17th Century: Spanning Court, Classroom, and Cultures', *Pharmacy in History*, 38.3 (1996) 121-33 (126).
[9] Margaret Healy, 'Defoe's Journal and the English Plague Writing Tradition', *Literature and Medicine* 22, no.1 (2003), 22-44 (36).

> not infected, because they have not that matter in them that will so soon take as it doth with others.[10]

In this system blood is the main life force as is evidenced by the quotation from Leviticus 18.14 'For the Life of all flesh is the blood thereof' on the frontispiece of *Medicatrix.*

Diseases caused by chemical imbalance were thought by chemists to be best cured by chemicals, since '*the Lord hath Created Medicines out of the Earth*: And he that is wise may find them, but not without experiment'.[11] Debus associates this belief that chemical medicines were God given and there to be discovered, in order to combat the propensity to disease that humans incurred as a result of the Fall,[12] with the new reformed religious, educational and economic thinking of the humanist age.[13] This notion further distanced chemical medicine from exponents of the non-Christian humoralism of the ancients, and specifically, from the practice of bloodletting. Furthermore, Stanton J. Linden has explained that '[t]he critical difference between typical Puritan "providential" view of calamity and that of O'Dowd and Mary Trye is that in the former humans are resigned to suffer passively', whereas for the new healers, 'plagues and other catastrophes, though sent by God, call forth the application of human ingenuity to new methods of healing'.[14] Another guiding principle was empiricism and practical skills. Paracelsus wrote that 'The physician does not learn everything he must know and master at high colleges alone [...] From time to time he must consult old women, gypsies, magicians, wayfarers, and all manner of peasant folk and random people, and learn from them'.[15] The statement is significant for while the Restoration proponents of chemical medicine did include some traditionally educated physicians, they were mainly comprised of men from other backgrounds. Thomas O'Dowde was a trained

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[10] Jane Sharp, *The Midwives Book, or the Whole Art of Midwifery Discovered*, ed by Elaine Hobby (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 71.
[11] Trye, *Medicatrix*, 76.
[12] Trye, *Medicatrix*, 75.
[13] Debus, *The Chemical Philosophy*, 3.
[14] Linden, 'Mrs Mary Trye', 347.
[15] Richard G. Olson, *Science and Religion 1450-1900* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 49.

apothecary, so he would have had a good knowledge of the traditional herbal cures designed to rebalance the humours and would have been self-taught in chemical cures.

Women, of course, have always been key healthcare providers from the housewife who prepared kitchen physic, which often involved chemical processes, to the midwives and wise women mentioned by Paracelsus.[16] Women had also long practiced medicine in a more formal way too: indeed Margaret Pelling and Charles Webster's study found some sixty women medical practitioners in London alone in 1600.[17] Significantly, of course, there was no option for women to become qualified physicians, and so receive professional recognition from the College of Physicians, since they had no access to a university education. In a constant bid to assert its authority, between 1581-1600, the College prosecuted '21 women practitioners' in London among the various apothecaries and physicians who were prosecuted for various misdemeanours.[18] However, as Bruce T. Morgan has explained, 'the line between kitchen and apothecary was not always clearly defined'; it is equally true that cooking and alchemy were closely connected and so 'a long tradition of preparing chemical medicines [...] had also become a vernacular subject suitable to women'.[19]

O'Dowde's decision to train his daughter and only child, to work with him in chemical cures seems less remarkable given this context. However, it seems that Trye continued to live and work with her father after her first marriage to a merchant, Edward Stanthwaite, at the relatively young age of eighteen.[20] She lamented, for instance, that on the

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[16] Margaret Pelling and Charles Webster, 'Medical Practitioners', in *Health Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth* Century, ed. by Charles Webster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 165-236 (183).
[17]Margaret Pelling and Charles Webster, 'Medical Practitioners', in *Health Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. by Charles Webster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 165-236 (183).
[18] Margaret Pelling and Charles Webster, 'Medical Practitioners', 183.
[19] Morgan, *Distilling Knowledge*, 53.
[20] As Mary Dowde, Trye was baptised 30 July 1642 in at St Clement Danes, Westminster, a parish to which her parents were connected throughout their lives. Reference ID 2:11CSNWK, 'England, Select Births and Christenings, 1538-1975' via <www.Ancestry.com> [Accessed April 2016]. Trye's first marriage took place on 13 December 1660. Trye was listed as Mary Dowda. London Metropolitan Archives, 'St Saviour 1653-1673' via <www.ancestry.com> [September 2015].

day in 1665 that her father was exposed to the plague, she would have normally been out seeing patients with him.[21] Indeed, when she wrote *Medicatrix*, Trye claimed to have had 'Twelve years Experience' as a healer, meaning that she dated beginning to practice medicine in her own right in 1662 when she was twenty.[22]

The Stanthwaite marriage appears to have been vexed by money difficulties, since in her will Jane O'Dowde, Trye's mother, specified that her legacy of several hundred pounds be placed in trust if Stanthwaite was still alive at the time of her death as she resented how much of their wealth Stanthwaite had run through.[23] Given both the way her father was disappointed in his promise of financial reward from the King[24] and this marital experience too, it is unsurprising that money and the tension between charging for treatments, so making a living from being a doctor, and the Christian duty to treat the poor, are recurrent themes in *Medicatrix.*[25]

Unlike some contemporary women authors, Trye made no apology for writing for publication. In her address to Lady Fisher she claiming that 'it is little of Novelty to see a Woman in Print' she opened by emphatically asserting that she could 'equal the Arguments of [Stubbe's] Pen in those things that are proper for women to engage'.[26] She also refuted the notion that women should not speak out, 'But certainly if I may speak my thoughts (though

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[21] Trye, *Medicatrix*, 57.
[22] Trye, *Medicatrix*, 106.
[23] Probate of the will of Jane O'Dowde, dated 12 Feb 1665. Prerogative Court of Canterbury and related probate jurisdictions 'PROB11; piece319' via <www.ancestry.com> [September 2015]. Thomas O'Dowde died intestate, and the administration of his estate document and the probate register of Jane O'Dowde were entered the following February. Trye's mother's will was clearly rewritten in the brief gap between her husband's death and her own since she described herself as Thomas O'Dowde's widow. Her wishes were not enacted since Trye applied for and was granted powers of administration over her father's estate the October following his death. See 'PROB 32/1/3 Thomas O'Dowde' *National Archives*. I am most grateful to Dr Gillian Spraggs for her translation of this Latin document.
[24] Trye, *Medicatrix*, 31.
[25] Marie Loughlin, 'Mary Trye: Medicatrix', in Helen Ostovich and Elizabeth Sauer, eds., *Reading Early Modern Women: An Anthology of Printed Texts and Manuscripts, 1500-1700* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 108.
[26] Trye, *Medicatrix*, sig. A4 and p. 2. As Isabelle Clairhout has pointed out, it was the case that increasing numbers of women were 'open about the fact that they wrote with a view to having their work published'. 'Erring from Good Huswifry?', 81.

the *Medicus* may say a wamans [sic] thoughts signifie little)', implying that only a man as objectionable as Stubbe would dismiss a woman out of hand.[27] Nonetheless, Trye was sensitive to the fact that woman's lack of access to higher education could be used against her in this regard. She countered by arguing that some of the most educated men were lazy, as some 'boasted of Letters, but understood not Medicines; Words were the perfection of their Practice'.[28] Indeed, she repeatedly referred to Stubbe's verbosity calling him a 'verbalist' while she endeavoured to avoid the 'Prolixity, which is a crime we Women are guilty of'.[29] In doing this as Linden has argued, Trye took 'a powerful anti-rhetorical stance' that she used to great effect positioning Stubbe as a dealer in words while she dealt in 'matter'.[30] Her statement strongly echoes Jane Sharp's argument that it was not 'hard words' such as Latin and Greek terms that made a good physician, but a combination of empirical and theoretical experience.[31] The classical languages were also a sore point for O'Dowde, as he had even been declared 'iliterate' by the College of Physicians because of his lack of Latin.[32] Trye claimed to have studied history 'as well as our *Campanell*' and that she was able to apply it properly in context since she knew the 'vast difference between wit and wisdom'.[33] Indeed, Trye was able to demonstrate this when, as Marie Loughlin has indicated, she 'applies the life of Cicero to Stubbe with devastatingly satirical results'.[34] Trye wrote that this modern age had been 'kind' to women learners in the volume of vernacular translations that was currently available to them. They thus benefitted from the same types of English translations of classical texts that facilitated Jane Sharp's research for *The Midwives Book* albeit for Sharp at

[27] Trye, *Medicatrix*, 38.
[28] Trye, *Medicatrix*, 42.
[29] Trye, *Medicatrix*, 3.
[30] Linden, 'Mrs Mary Trye', 345.
[31] Sharp, *The Midwives Book*, 12.
[32] Harold J. Cooke, 'The New Society of Chemical Physicians, The New Philosophy, and the Restoration Court', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 61 (1987), 61-77 (75).
[33] Trye, *Medicatrix*, 19.
[34] Loughlin, 'Mary Trye: Medicatrix', 110.

great personal expense.[35] Trye was at pains to point out that she is not dismissive of formal education, 'if I myself had never so many Children, if I could possibly do it, I would breed them Schollars'.[36] She was mother to at least one son, William, born in November 1671, three years before she wrote her book, and could have had other children in her time in Warwick; significantly, however, she did not limit her pedagogy to her sons, but to all prospective children.[37]

*Medicatrix* was completed at the end 1674, when she was thirty-two years old and confident in her practice. She was in London at this time, having apparently recently returned from Warwickshire. According to *Medicatrix*, the Tryes lodged in The Feathers, in the rural and upmarket area of Pall Mall, near St James's Palace home of Charles II's brother James.[38] This address, with its royal associations had been used to market the countess of Kent's powders, a remedy for fever endorsed by physicians such as Thomas Willis.[39] As mentioned above, the dedicatory epistle is to Lady Fisher, better known as Jane Lane, who helped Charles II escape from Worcester following the royalist defeat.[40] In addition, Trye's father held the position of one of the 'Groom[s] of the Chamber to his Sacred Majesty Charles II'. Loyalty to the crown, therefore, is another recurrent theme in *Medicatrix* and *The Poor Man's Physician.*

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[35] Sharp, *The Midwives Book*, 5.
[36] Trye, *Medicatrix*, 73
[37] England, Select Births Deaths and Marriages via ancestry Records of St Martin's in the Field via <www.ancestry.com> [September 2015]. The records of the birth (1 November 1671) and baptism (13 November 1671) of William lists him as Guilielmus Trye. Mary remarried on 17 June 1670, having been widowed sometime between the deaths of her parents in 1665 and 1670. The marriage record states 'Trye, Berkley, of St Paul, Covent Garden, Middlesex, gent, bachelor, about 30, and Mary Stanthwait, of same, widow, about 25 [she was 28]– at Fulham or Hammersmith, co Middlesex, 17 June, 1670. Berkeley Trye took his first name from the aristocratic Berkeley family which has connections to the Tryes dating back to the early fifteenth century.
[38] Edward Walford, 'Pall Mall', in *Old and New London: Volume 4* (London, 1878), pp. 123-139. *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/old-new-london/vol4/pp123-139 [accessed 19 April 2016].
[39] Edward Walford, 'Pall Mall', in *Old and New London*; Thomas Willis, *Dr. Willis's Practice of Physick* (London, 1684), p. 114. Recipes were reproduced in health guides to make a homemade version of this powder.
[40] Linden, 'Mrs Mary Trye', pp. 342-43.

Following the dedicatory epistle, *Medicatrix* is ordered into two main sections, the first, 'Vindication of Mr O'Dowde and Chemistry against the Calumnies of Mr Stubbe' of sixty-nine pages; the second, '*Revival of* Dr O'Dowdes *Medicines* [and] *the Authors Opinions*' *of Learning* of fifty-seven pages. One of the most extraordinary parts of the book is Trye's direct challenge to Stubbe, that she will cure two smallpox cases 'by my Methods and Medicines' for every one he can show he has cured by 'Phlebotomy and his Method'[41] a challenge she reiterates in the postscript. Here Trye claimed that her persistence came not soley from the duties incumbent upon her as the child of a wronged man - a duty she felt *Medicatrix* had discharged - but also from Elizabeth I's motto '*semper eadem*' or ever the same.[42] Given that O'Dowde had wagered £500 to Stubbe and other Galenical physicians in a similar challenge that was not taken up, it probably did not elicit any reaction from Stubbe, who in fact died shortly after *Medicatix* was published.[43] It does, however, demonstrate Trye's strong conviction held in her chemical methods. Whether their peers would have seen the test as credible is a moot point for by the time of his death Stubbe appears to have lost any standing he had once enjoyed. His contemporary Anthony Wood, commented that thanks to his argumentative personality and drinking he 'became a ridicule, and undervalued by sober and knowing scholars and others too'.[44] This fits, too, with Trye's own assertion that Stubbe was a latter day 'Sir *John Falstaffe*'.[45]

The book closes with an extended advertisement for the types of cures Trye could offer. She stated that she had inherited both the knowledge and the medicines necessary to 'preserve the Body in Heath, and restore it to Health when lost'.[46] Trye began with smallpox

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[41] Trye, *Medicatrix*, p. 107.
[42] Trye, *Medicatrix*, 127.
[43] Trye, *Medicatrix*, 122.
[44] Mordechai Feingold, 'Stubbe , Henry (1632–1676)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26734, accessed 13 Oct 2015]
[45] Trye, *Medicatrix*, 123.
[46] Trye, *Medicatrix*, $K^r$.

and claimed that her range of treatments which included cordials, elixirs, and medicines were 'so easie, safe, and effectual, and the Patient is put to so little trouble or hazard, that I never yet to this day knew of any Person that either my Father or myself gave Medicine too, that dyed of this Disease'.[47] The key implication in Trye's argument is the need to consult a practitioner such as herself, since in the books of traditional humoral medicine a recipe or a suggestion of the best medicine follows the discussion of the particular illness. In *Medicatrix* and other chemical medicine tracts, no information about the nature of the medicine is offered, quite deliberately. As Harold Cooke has explained, '[t]he true medicine came from experiment and the intuition of the properly prepared initiate'.[48]

Trye's treatment of gout, the next condition on her advertisement is particularly robust. She advised a 'Medicinal Milk, *an* Aural Tincture, *Two sorts* of Radiant Pills' in conjunction with a purge, a cordial, and some unguents for the relief of external symptoms. The aim of this combined treatment was the dispersal of the 'sharp acrid *Humours*, congealing between the joints'.[49] Gout was a common disease which Trye had also discussed at length in the main text, and she had even suggested that she needed to teach Stubbe how to treat it since he had apparently declared it incurable: 'I see I must be his *Tutor* as well as his *Opposer*'.[50] Trye was clearly alert to the fact that this extensive list could put the less well off from seeking help, and like her father before her, took pains to stress that she often treated the poor out of 'Charity to the Sick'. This remains another constant, then, in both Trye's work and *The Poor Man's Physician*, as suggestions for homemade 'kitchen physic' versions of the promoted cures are never tendered; instead both works reiterate the reassurance that if a

[47] Trye , *Medicatrix*, K$^{v}$.
[48] Cooke, 'The Society of Chemical Physicians', 66.
[49] Trye, *Medicatrix*, K2$^{r}$.
[50] Trye, *Medicatrix*, 116.

patient could not afford the treatment, he or she would still be helped through consultation.[51] In this respect, the chemical physicians kept their cures a mystery at step that also served to increase reliance on the physician, rather than, for example, on the self-help recipes increasingly offered in other English language medical texts.

It is probable that Trye took such a robust stance on gout, a common aliment, because of the embarrassment the illness had caused the family in the past. O'Dowde's 'miscalling of a Disease' gave others the opportunity to attack his practice.[52] He had described how he successfully treated Richard Rawlinson from Harrow of gout after he had been tormented by 'Galenist' physicians and had been bedridden for fourteen weeks. The referral of Rawlinson to O'Dowde was something he considered 'providential' and the cure nothing short of miraculous as after one dose of 'a proper Medicine' the man was on the path to recovery. However, Rawlinson accused O'Dowde of misrepresenting the case, an accusation that led O'Dowde to be threatened with prosecution by the College of Physicians.[53] He lamented that rather than being lauded for his success, he had been 'threatened to be Sacrificed, Scourged, and brought to account'.[54]

The above comment by O'Dowde highlights another common theme running through O'Dowde and Trye's work: their sense of being victims of persecution. O'Dowde complained that if

> Jesus Christ *himself were now on earth professing and curing Chymically, though to a miracle; rather than be admitted (so) to do Universal Good, he would be vilified, scorned, condemned, and crucified; there should not want a (Galenical) Doctor for*

[51] Thomas O'Dowde, *The Poor man's Physician, or the True Art of Medicine* , third edn (London: F. Smith, 1665), A4. This work is called the third edition despite being the first full work, as it is an expansion on O'Dowde's previous advertisements. See Cooke, 'The New Society of Chemical Physicians', 67, n. 29.
[52] O'Dowde, *Poor Man's Physician*, preface.
[53] Cooke, 'The New Society of Chemical Physicians', 72.
[54] O'Dowde, *Poor Man's Physician*, 5-6.

> *the Chair, a Chyrurgean to Mount the Tree, and a troop and guard of Apothecaries to pierce the side, and secure his Resurrection, from declaring to the sons of men, that easie, secure; and expeditious Method of* Heretick Physick.[55]

O'Dowde thereby hyperbolically associated his own experiences with Christ's passion. The context of the new medicine, as distinctly Christian by contrast to humoralism is also subtly reinforced throughout *Medicatrix*. For instance Trye described how Stubbe used 'hard names' against chemical physicians to 'crucify[ ] them with ungentleman-like language'.[56]

Trye accused Stubbe of gloating that her father, much praised for remaining in London to treat the sick during the Great Plague of 1665, eventually died of the pestilence. However, her desire to correct the record as to the circumstances of O'Dowde's death reveals an overlap between the chemical philosophy and humoralism. Indeed as Isabelle Clairhout has explained, although chemical physicians denounced Galen, their practice often represented a 'more nuanced and pragmatic' approach by using such humoral stalwarts as purges, as, for example, in the cure for gout, discussed above.[57] Trye argued that it was the fact that her father developed a craving for 'a Muskmillion' or cantaloupe melon, which she advised him not to eat, that had allowed the plague to take hold in his body. She went further and claimed that any chemical physician would agree that 'any light surfeit' would be the 'in-let and retainer [sic]' of the plague'.[58] Eating uncooked fruit was something Galenic medicine cautioned against believing its cold, wet properties would adversely affect the health of the eater. Numerous anecdotal accounts exist of people who believed their relatives died or became ill from eating fruit: in 1648, when Alice Thornton, a royalist gentlewoman, recorded in her autobiography that her uncle had recently died 'of a surfeit of eating melons, being too

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[55] O'Dowde, *Poor Man's Physician*, preface.
[56] Trye, *Medicatrix*, 46.
[57] Clairhout, 'Erring from Good Huswifry?', 86.
[58] Trye, *Medicatrix*, 46.

cold for him'.[59] Trye went on to explain that she would normally be practising with her father, but was otherwise occupied the next day, and that his condition was subsequently exacerbated by the smell from a patient with a carbuncle who was so fat that he emitted 'the most horrid stench he ever smelt'.[60] Bad smells, or miasma, were also thought to transmit disease.[61] The combination of events would have left O'Dowde vulnerable according to traditional and 'new' physicians. Trye insisted that O'Dowde was so busy treating patients that he neglected to take any of his own medicines, ascribing his death to this neglect.

It is significant that for all her feisty tone and assertiveness, Trye ultimately felt bound by the codes of what was appropriate for a woman of some status to write about. As Clairhout has pointed out, 'Trye was careful not to break too many social norms by touching upon subjects that are deemed unfit for a woman'.[62] Whereas Jane Sharp, a practising midwife, wrote in a forthright manner about women's diseases in the context of successful reproduction, Trye was the daughter of a courtier with connections to aristocracy, and her second husband seems to have been related to gentry from Gloucester; her social rank, therefore, may explain her reticence to discuss these matters in print. In her final paragraph, entitled, 'Diseases attending Women', Tyre commented that the 'diseases incident to this Sex are many, and not proper here largely to be discoursed on; therefore I purposely omit them'.[63] She reassured her reader that she nevertheless did have effective medicines for women's diseases. It is a telling postscript, however, and seems to suggest that the envisioned reader is a man following the chemical medicine argument, rather than a woman or family man looking for a general cure.

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[59] 'Alice Thornton: From *A Book Of Remembrance*, c. 1668', in *Her Own Life: Autobiographical Writings by Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen*, ed. by Elspeth Graham, Hilary Hinds, Elaine Hobby, and Helen Wilcox (London: Routledge, 1989), 145-62 (152).
[60] Trye, *Medicatrix*, 57.
[61] Joseph P. Byrne, *Encyclopedia of the Black Death* (ABC-CLIO, 2012), 88.
[62] Clairhout, 'Erring from Good Huswifry?', 103.04.
[63] Trye, *Medicatrix*, final page.

This article has demonstrated that Mary Trye's chemical medical practice and, indeed, her wider beliefs were inextricably tied to her father's practice and legacy. It is not, then, so much the case as Linden maintained that Trye 'emerges as a spokesperson for a new and progressive practice', since as Clairhout has argued, 'she derives at least part of her authority as a writer' from O'Dowde.[64] Significantly, however, Trye does present herself as an experienced and outspoken female practitioner who took for herself the title of woman physician. This strength of character allowed her as a woman working in a man's field to build on O'Dowde's legacy and pursue a practice of her own even after two marriages and motherhood.

[64] Linden, 'Mrs Mary Trye', 350; Clairhout, 'Erring from Good Huswifry?', 92.