# A Diet for a Sensitive Soul: Vegetarianism in Eighteenth-Century Britain

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While vegetarianism has a long history in Western culture, it reemerged forcefully in late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Britain. Three main motivations for vegetarianism converged in this period: religious, medical, and moral. In addition, a vegetarian diet entered mainstream medical and popular thought in the works of the physician George Cheyne. By the time of Joseph Ritson's *Essay on Abstinence from Animal Food* in 1802, however, vegetarianism was about to rejoin the irrational fringe, exemplified in the nineteenth century by Sylvester Graham and his followers. [1]

In this essay, I shall focus on three vegetarians of the period: the radical hatter Thomas Tryon (1634-1703), George Cheyne (1671-1743), and the man of letters Joseph Ritson (1752-1803). Cheyne's work, especially his *Essay of Health and Long Life* (1724) and *The English Malady* (1733), defined the nascent concept of the sensitive character and explicitly connected it to diet and lifestyle. To Cheyne, a vegetarian diet was preeminently a diet for the sensitive soul. Over the century, the sensitive soul negotiated a path from the overtly religious Tryon to the covertly religious Cheyne to the professedly antireligious Ritson. To each, in addition, vegetarianism was part of a wider critique of contemporary society.

Tryon was one of a number of religiously motivated vegetarians in the period following the English Civil War. [2] The context of his ideas can be delineated by examining an earlier exemplar of them, Roger Crab (c. 1621-80). In the 1650s, Crab abandoned his haberdashery (hatters and radicalism seemed to have had a symbiotic relationship) for "a small Roode of ground." According to the publisher of his rambling and curious 1655 pamphlet, *The English Hermite, or, Wonder of this Age*, this small plot of ground provided both Crab's habitation (in "a mean Cottage of his own building") and sustenance, for "his dyet is onely such poore homely foode as his own Rood of ground beareth, as Corne, Bread, and bran, Hearbs, Roots, Dock-leaves, Mallowes, and grasse." What was "most strange and most to be admired" about Crab's "Hermeticall kinde of life" was his refusal to eat meat or drink alcohol. His publisher referred to the imitation of the life of Christ and the prophets, but Crab's own explanation of his motives was more complex. [3]

He repeated the common belief that Adam was a vegetarian, and that meat-eating was a consequence of the fall: "Thus we see that by eating and drinking we are swallowed up in corruption." [4] Like medieval ascetics, Crab rejected

the body or "the old man," as the site of sin: "Therefore let us put off the old man with his fleshly Laws, which reached no farther than the government of earthly bodies." Killing animals for food also replayed the murder of Christ, often represented as a lamb. Therefore, butchers were inclined to violence; but those who bought the meat were equally so: *"Mars*being the god of War, is the governour of these destroyers: **[End Page 34]** and while he can get flesh to feed on, he will encrease his desires to destroy flesh." Yet in the midst of his fulminations against the godless, Crab also addressed the health risks and expense of eating meat. His experience during the Civil Wars had shown him that meat and alcohol would "inflame...blood, venom...wounds, and encrease...disease." The title page of his pamphlet announced that he could "live with three Farthings a week"; and like the Levellers, he condemned those who "drank in one day as much as a bushel of barly will make, which will keep two ordinary families a whole week in bread" (pp. 2, 4, 7). [5]

Tryon, somewhat Crab's junior, took advantage of the outpouring of vernacular literature during the Interregnum and studied theology, astrology, alchemy, and medicine. In the late 1650s, he embraced the works of the German mystic Jacob Boehme (1575-1624), who rejected formal religion in favor of individual illumination. [6] According to Tryon's own account, "The voice of Wisdom...called upon me for separation and self-denial" and led him to drink only water and eat only bread and fruit. The voice later relented somewhat and allowed Tryon to eat butter and cheese as well. [7] He retained this diet for the rest of his life, practicing what B. J. Gibbons describes as "a peculiarly gastronomic Behmenism" (p. 115). In the early 1680s, the inner voice urged Tryon to write; and over the next two decades he poured out an astonishing number of texts, mainly on health and vegetarianism, but also on politics, slavery, brewing, the interpretation of dreams, and frugal living.

Tryon's advocacy of an ascetic diet developed and extended Crab's arguments.

Meat was not eaten, claimed Tryon, in the "first and purer Ages," and Adam's fall was a turning point: when man gave in to his "Bestial Nature," he lost power over the animal world. Tryon argued, "It is not said, That the Lord made all Creatures for Man to eat...but he made them for his own Glory and Eternal Honour." [8] "Be not insensible," he wrote, "that every Creature doth bear the Image of the great Creator according to the Nature of each, and that he is the Vital Power in all things." Like Boehme, Tryon believed "The whole visible world is nothing else but the great body of God." Destroying part of this body was a serious transgression, and cruelty against it awakened God's wrath. [9]

Like Crab, Tryon also believed that eating meat made men violent from the "Beastial passions" of animal blood. He explained this in quasi-Paracelsian terms:

for when any Creature is killed, the great pain and agony...does so powerfully awaken the Center of the wrathful Fire, and also the internal Poysons which are the Root of every Life, that the said fierce Poysonous Spirits seize the Blood.

These spirits escape into the air when the animal bleeds, infecting those exposed to the blood, especially butchers: "For all things have sympatheticil Operation... every thing does secretly awaken its like property" (*Miscellanea*, pp. 35-37, 40).

The rhetoric of the 1650s is especially evident in Tryon's railing against luxury. Meat was both a symbol and an evident component of a wasteful, luxurious diet. "Innocent, simple" vegetables and herbs were preferred to "improper mixtures or wanton Sauces," which would "Prolong...the Pleasures of the Palat." Tryon opposed the burgeoning English trade that imported exotic products. Why "Disquiet, Conquer, and Rob Innocent peaceable People," he asked, to add unnecessary luxury to the English table? Exotic food was in any case unsuitable for the English temperament: it "merely serves to stupify the Intellectuals, and distemper the Body with incurable Diseases" (*Wisdom's*, pp. 23, 26, 98-100). Since the **[End Page 35]** upper classes, not the frugal housewife, pursued this taste for the exotic, Tryon's critique had levelling implications, as did his condemnation of "Hunting, Hawking, Shooting, and all violent oppressive Exercises" (*Wisdom's*, p. 7).

Tryon gained a certain following for his dietary ideas. In his youth, Benjamin Franklin, for example, briefly became a "Tryonist" (Spencer, p. 232); and earlier, John Evelyn, virtuoso and Fellow of the Royal Society, declared the "wholesomness of the Herby-Diet" in his *Acetaria: A Discourse of Sallets* (1699). Such a diet, he noted, was also Godly, for did not the patriarchs follow it and live prodigiously long lives? [10] In parallel arguments, the French chemist Louis Lémery's *Traité des aliments* (1702), translated into English in 1704, extolled a Golden Age of primitive vegetarians: "Men were better and more Vertuous...they were also more strong and robust, lived longer, and were subject to less Diseases than we." Although not a vegetarian, Lémery explained that meats "are for the most part injurious to our health, because they excite violent fermentations in us, which corrupt our humours, whereby the solid parts of the Body lose their recurring vertue, and at last the principles of Life are destroyed." [11] Besides questioning the healthfulness of meat, both Evelyn and Lémery agreed that killing animals for meat was cruel. Evelyn referred to "the cruel Butcheries of so many harmless Creatures" (p. 153); and Lémery wrote that although the first men ate vegetables,

yet they did not long confine themselves within such Rules of Moderation; they had not only the cruelty to deprive Animals of their Milk and Eggs, but

they pursued these poor Creatures into their most hidden Recesses, in order to kill and eat them. (p. 136)

Cruelty, however, played little rôle in George Cheyne's advocacy of a vegetarian diet. Like Tryon, Cheyne railed against luxury and gluttony. In his 1720 *Essay on the Gout* he hectored his patients in Bath as "the *Rich*, the *Lazy*, the *Voluptuous*." "TEMPERANCE only," he thundered, "Divine, Innocent, Indolent and Joyous *Temperance* can Cure or effectively Relieve the *Gout."* [12] Unlike Tryon, Cheyne spoke from experience, for he constantly struggled against the temptations of the table. Never thin, his weight fluctuated between the merely hefty and the shockingly obese--32 stone (448 pounds)--and his periods of excess were accompanied by a variety of mental and physical ailments. While to Cheyne diet was primarily a medical concern, in his personal struggles it was also fraught with moral and religious significance.

Although he eschewed an overtly religious motive, like the spiritual autobiographers of the time he used his own life as an example. In this he was quite unlike his fellow physicians. [13] His early writings on natural philosophy were much admired, but professional success as a practicing physician eluded him. Like his contemporaries, in search of clients he haunted coffeehouses and taverns, drawing-rooms and dining-rooms; but this diligent quest for patrons had deleterious effects on his waistline. Menus survive for lunches given by his patient, Lady Betty Hastings, in the 1720s; a typical one includes almond soup, boiled pike, "Batter'd rabbit," calf's foot pie, a breast of veal ragout, goose, tongue, chicken, "sheeps--ragood," gravy soup, and "Salmond Troots." The only vegetables are "sallid" and "sorol cabbeg." [14] It is not surprising that Cheyne, already robust, became seriously overweight and remained so for many years.

Cheyne went to Bath to find relief for his own symptoms, but stayed to practice medicine. Bath's physicians, including Cheyne, increasingly turned to dietary **[End Page 36]** therapies. He first was exposed to the virtues of a vegetarian diet by Dr. Taylor of Croydon, who had cured himself of epilepsy by means of a milk diet. Taylor impressed Cheyne with his health and vigor: "He told me, he could then play six Hours at *Cricket* at *Banstead-Down*, without Fatigue or Lowness." [15]

Cheyne drank milk enthusiastically, even engaging a milk woman to bring it to him fresh. In addition, he reports,

I used *Seeds*, *Bread*, *mealy Roots*, and *Fruit* with my Milk indifferently, taking them all to be pretty near of the same Nature and Class of Foods: *Milk* being *Vegetables* immediately cook'd by *Animal Heat* and *Organs*, and directly (without going to the Circulation) drawn From

their *Chyle*, or from an *Emulsion* of Vegetables in the Stomach. (*English Malady*, p. 37)

But he soon lapsed, and despite following what he thought a moderate diet--including "not above a Quart, or three Pints...of *Wine* any Day"--his weight inexorably rose. By the early 1720s he could barely walk, and he was finally forced to return to a vegetable diet for relief (*English Malady*, pp. 337-38).

Near the height of his crisis, Cheyne wrote *Essay of Health and Long Life*, the book that would bring him lasting fame. Published in 1724, it went into multiple editions and was still in print a century later. Written in the well-worn tradition of "long-life" manuals, which included Luigi Cornaro's popular *Trattato della vita sobria* (1558, with numerous translations and editions), Cheyne's *Essay*, nearly half of which concerned diet and evacuations, was organized as a commentary on the Galenic "non-naturals"--eating and drinking, sleeping and waking, exercise, evacuations, air, and the passions. Lord and Lady Carmarthen, who were "subject to the infirmity of too much Good nature, & so of being tempted to drink more wine than water," [16] typified Cheyne's "hyppish" patients. Cheyne lectured his patients on the page and no doubt in person:

There is nothing more *ridiculous*, than to see tender, *hysterical* and *vapourish* People, perpetually *complaining*, and yet perpetually *cramming*, crying out, They are ready to *sink* into the Ground, and faint away, and yet *gobbling* down the *richest* and *strongest* Food, and highest Cordials, to oppress and overlay them quite. (p. 115)

Health was the responsibility of the individual, a physical and moral imperative: "He that *wantonly* transgresseth the *self-evident* Rules of Health, is guilty of a Degree of *Self-Murder,"* a crime against God as well as nature (pp. 4-5).

In the *Essay*, Cheyne did not advocate a fully vegetarian diet, although he did present it as an ideal, speculating that God provided animal food after the Deluge only to shorten human life. He emphasized moderation, which included a light diet of white meats and vegetables, and drinking water (especially Bath-water) rather than alcohol. Cheyne described in detail the most suitable foods. Young fruits and vegetables and those that appear earliest in the spring are most easily digested, "because they have less of the *solar* Fire in them." Similarly, young animals and those of lighter flesh are more easily digested than larger, redder-fleshed animals whose juices contain more salt and fat. *"Strong, poignant, Aromatick* and hot" tastes were to be avoided, both for their abundance of obnoxious salts, and for their excessively stimulating effects on the appetite. *"Rich Soop, high Sauces*," and other elaborate modes of cookery were "the Inventions of *Luxury*, to force an unnatural*Appetite."* [17]

In *The State of Physick: and of Diseases* (1718), the physician John Woodward had **[End Page 37]** blamed rich foods for all the illnesses of civilization, both physical and moral; and earlier Tryon had similarly protested against "foreign" food. Cheyne was not new then in seeing the English as victims of their own success, trade and the expanding empire now weighing down the English dinner table. "We have ransack'd all the parts of the *Globe,"* said Cheyne, "to bring together its whole Stock of Materials for *Riot, Luxury,* and to provoke *Excess*" (*English Malady*, p. 49). The public virtues of commerce, as Bernard Mandeville claimed in the *Fable of the Bees* (1714), could lead only to the private vices of luxury and gluttony. [18] Yet Cheyne was no Leveller. He could hardly object to wealth, since he pursued it assiduously. For his upper-class audiences, however, he idealized the yeoman diet: plain local food and fermented (not distilled) drink. This was a diet of the country, and Cheyne idealized rural life--as had Crab, Tryon, and Evelyn--over the crowded, dirty, and hectic life of the city.

The *Essay* especially addressed his many patients who suffered from some variety of the "spleen" or the "vapours." Many illnesses were derived from the passions; and sensitive, intelligent, imaginative people were most liable to their influence: "The *Stupid* and Ideots" were not affected. Cheyne characterized the sensitive not as Hogarthian eaters of roast beef, but as *"tender* and *valetudinary."* This description fed into the desire of the upwardly mobile to differentiate themselves from the less sensitive orders immediately below them. In addition, this description was particularly applicable to women, or any men who cultivated the feminine emotions. [19] Red meat in particular had long been viewed as distinctively masculine and, in Tryon and others, was associated with passion and violence; and humans, Cheyne said, do not naturally have "those *voracious* and *brutish* Appetites" for red meat, nor bodies suitable to digest it. He replaced red meat with milk, a food associated with women and motherhood. [20] The idea of choosing some foods over others could also have a class bias, since those of a comfortable level of income had more freedom to choose what to eat, and they composed Cheyne's audience. [21]

*Essay of Health and Long Life* was a best-seller and spawned many imitators and detractors. Most of the detractors focused on Cheyne's dietary strictures: one verse epistle declared, "For my Physician I accept your Book; / But, by the *Gods!* -- you ne'er shall be my *Cook!"* [22] Nonetheless, patients flocked to him. By the late 1720s he had finally returned to health by means of a strictly vegetarian diet, about which he became increasingly evangelical. In *The English Malady*, he continued to define the sensitive soul, using himself as an example. He reiterated his dietary advice, but added to it a strong religious subtext culminating in his autobiographical case at the end of the book.

A plain diet refined to its essentials of milk, vegetables, and seeds, Cheyne argued, would return the corrupt body to a (peculiarly English) Adamic purity. Whereas the "Pop-gun Artillery" of coffee, tea, chocolate, and snuff could not damage health, luxurious gluttony certainly could (*English Malady*, pp. iv-v, 302). Cheyne denied he was a Leveller, viewing himself rather as an advocate of moderation. Far from enjoining his readers to "turn *Monks* [and] run into Desarts," his strictest diet, he said, was only for the most desperate cases. Though he no longer ate meat, he did not expect all of his patients to follow him to that extreme (pp. iii-vi).

Although fasting and abstinence was "not more a *religious* than it ought to be reckon'd a *medical* Institution" (p. 283), Cheyne situated his argument within a context of sin and redemption. John Wesley's young "Methodists" agreed that **[End Page 38]** discipline of the body was prerequisite to discipline of the soul and included dietary restrictions inspired by Cheyne's works. [23] Most of the nervous problems suffered by Cheyne's patients resulted from their way of life, and God had given humans free will to choose to sin or not. His own case was clearly an account of conversion as well as of cure. Cheyne was deeply involved in mystical circles and read many of the same authors read by Tryon, including Boehme, whom Cheyne introduced to his friend, the theologian William Law. Law's discussion of regimen in his popular devotional works, *A Practical Treatise upon Christian Perfection* (1726) and *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life* (1728), shows clear parallels with Cheyne's *Essay of Health and Long Life*.

Cheyne's later works, the *Essay on Regimen* (1740) and *The Natural Method of Cureing the Diseases of the Body, and the Disorders of the Mind Depending on the Body* (1742), further united his religious and medical ideas. In the *Essay an Regimen,* he argues both that God did not intend humans to eat meat, and that only fallen men could possess the hardness of heart required to "see the convulsions, agonies, and tortures of a poor fellow-creature." He could not, he said, "find any great difference, on the foot of natural reason and equity only, between feeding on human flesh and feeding on brute animal flesh," except custom (p. 70).

Cheyne's religious arguments were soon forgotten, however, by the flurry of "long-life" authors who emphasized a vegetable diet as the secret to health. Among the most popular was the Florentine physician Antonio Cocchi (1695-1758), whose *Del vitto pitagorico per uso della medicina* (1743) was translated into a number of languages. [24] Vegetable (although not necessarily vegetarian) cookbooks also appeared, such as the aptly titled *Adam's Luxury, and Eve's Cookery,* which, like Evelyn's *Acetaria,* combined gardening with cooking instruction. [25] In a similar vein, in *Émile*(1762), Jean-Jacques Rousseau advised a vegetable diet as the most natural for children. [26]

Joseph Ritson borrowed from all of these sources for his *Essay on Abstinence from Animal Food as a Moral Duty* (1802). A lawyer, self-taught man of letters, political radical, and professed atheist, Ritson became, by his own account, a vegetarian at the age of nineteen after reading Mandeville's *Fable*. [27] His *Essay* is largely a compendium of facts and opinions on the subject from a wide range of authors, from the classics to eighteenth-century seamen. While his main objection to eating meat was the cruelty of killing animals, he seemed more concerned with the effect of cruelty on humans. He did, however, question the boundary between animals and humans with accounts of apes and wild children who tested that divide:

The only mode in which man or brute can be useful or happy, with respect either to the generality or to the individual, is to be just, mild, mercyful, benevolent, humane, or, at least, innocent or harmless, whether such qualitys be natural or not. (p. 40)

Ritson spent several chapters detailing the healthfulness of a vegetarian diet, with lengthy quotations from Cheyne and "old Tryon." He attributed the high incidence of infant and child mortality in the 1800 Bills of Mortality to "the untimely, and unnatural use of animal food." Ritson once more invoked the Golden Age of long-lived forebears and primitive Christians, but also noted that the Tahitians were said by Captain James Cook to have few diseases: this golden age was less a specific historic time than a state of mind. Like Cheyne, Ritson idealized **[End Page 39]** the yeoman diet; but he went even further and praised what would in fact have resembled the diet of the very poor, such as the Irish potato or Scottish crofters' oatmeal (pp. 192-95). As radically, Ritson anticipated modern environmental arguments in his discussion of land use. He asserted that despite enclosures and improvements in English agriculture, England could feed no more people than formerly, because the meat diet required the use of more land than did the vegetable diet: "What is gain'd in the melioration of the soil is lost in the quality of the produce," he argued (p. 84).

The main thesis of Ritson's argument against cruelty--a thesis found also in Rousseau and Kant--was that "the use of animal food disposes man to cruel and ferocious actions." [28] Apart from standard classical references to Porphyry, Plutarch, and Ovid, Ritson employed numerous examples of primitive peoples to illustrate both the virtues of vegetarianism and the vices of meat-eating. Although he did not enter the ongoing discussion on the primitive versus the civilized, his use of anthropological accounts is highly original, as are some of his conclusions. Although most modern commentators believe that animal sacrifice replaced ceremonial human sacrifice, Ritson argued the opposite: priests accidentally tasted animal flesh in the context of a burnt sacrifice and, liking the taste, progressed to eating meat outside of the sacrificial context. Such was their greed for eating flesh that they turned to

human flesh, which could be justified on religious grounds. Ritson's anticlericalism is evident; but he condemns not only Christianity, but--using examples from a number of travel accounts--religion in general (pp. 102-03). [29]

Ritson went on to argue that eating human flesh was an inevitable consequence of eating animal flesh. Although Cheyne had equated the two, it is unlikely that he believed them necessary corollaries. "The progress of cruelty," stated Ritson (p. 124), "is rapid. Habit renders it familiar, and hence it is deem'd natural." Although it was an intellectual leap from "The emperour Domitian, [who] began his favourite pursuit with the murder of flys, and ended it with that of men" (p. 95) to claims of cannibalism, to Ritson this was a logical progression. He mustered as evidence accounts of cannibalism worthy of a modern tabloid, ranging from the ancient Scythians to shipwreck tales to mysterious primitive tribes. Although Sidney Lee's comment that Ritson's book "bears marks of incipient insanity" seems extreme, the book is undoubtedly eccentric (*DNB*, sv. Ritson, Joseph).

Despite his self-description as a "Jacobin" and his opposition to slavery (which he believed was another consequence of meat-eating), Ritson displayed little consciousness of class differences. His condemnation of "the barbarous and unfeeling sports (as they are call'd) of the Engleish [*sic*]" included both aristocratic pursuits and those of working people, and has none of the fierce radicalism of Tryon's critique of "oppression" (p. 88). He also displayed little concern for animals themselves and did not ponder animal sensibility or emotion. He seemed unaware of utilitarian arguments against animal suffering, even though Jeremy Bentham's famous query--"the question is not, can they *reason?* Nor, can they *talk?* But, can they *suffer?"*--had been published in 1789. To Ritson, becoming a vegetarian was purely an intellectual decision, and the purpose of his book was to bombard the reader with facts. In contrast, John Oswald's highly emotional *Cry of Nature* (1791), was much more widely read. [30]

In the eighteenth century we see the development of a discourse on a vegetarian diet that included a multiplicity of arguments. Tryon offered in some ways **[End Page 40]** the most sophisticated arguments for a vegetarian diet, encompassing medical, religious, economic, and moral reasons. Yet the radical traditions of the 1650s from which he drew quickly made his arguments seem out-of-date, however striking they seem now. Cheyne was by far the most influential of these authors in the eighteenth century, and health-related arguments continue to form a strand of vegetarian thought; however, Ritson's moral emphasis makes his work more of a contribution to current mainstream thought than his use of evidence or suspect argumentation might have predicted.

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## Notes

1. See James C. Whorton, "'Tempest in a Flesh-Pot': The Formulation of a Physiological Rationale For Vegetarianism," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 32 (1977): 115-39.

2. Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World* (N.Y.: Pantheon, 1983), p. 291.

3. "The Publisher to the Reader," not paginated. The publisher is not identified. See Christopher Hill, "The Mad Hatter," in *Puritanism and Revolution* (1958; rep. N.Y.: Schocken, 1970), pp. 314-22; and B. J. Gibbons, *Gender in Mystical and Occult Thought: Behmenism and its Development in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ., 1996), pp. 114-15.

4. "To the Impartial Reader," not paginated. See Jean Soler, "The Semiotics of Food in the Bible," in *Food and Drink in History*, ed. Robert Forster & Orest Ranum; trans. Elborg Forster & Patricia M. Ranum (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ., 1979), pp. 126-38; and Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (1966; rep. London: Ark, 1984), pp. 41-57.

5. On Christian asceticism, see esp. Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast* (Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1987). On butchers and their supposed violence, see Thomas, pp. 294-95, who notes that the widely held belief that butchers were ineligible for jury duty was false. Hill speculates on Crab's possible association with the Levellers (p. 315).

6. Serge Hutin, *Les disciples anglais de Jacob Boehme aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: Denoel, 1960), pp. 71-73; Gibbons, pp. 114-16. Also see Tryon in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Colin Spencer's account in *The Heretic's Feast: A History of Vegetarianism* (Hanover & London: Univ. Press of New England, 1995), pp. 206-09, is largely a paraphrase of the *DNB*article. There is not, to my knowledge, an extended modern account of Tryon.

7. *Some Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Thos. Tryon Late of London, Merchant* (London: T. Sowle, 1705), p. 27.

8. *Miscellania: or, A collection of necessary, useful, and profitable tracts on variety of subjects, which for their excellency, and benefit of mankind, are compiled in one volume* (London: T. Sowle, 1696), pp. 29-30.

9. *Wisdom's Dictates: or, Aphorisms and Rules, Physical, Moral, and Divine, For Preserving the Health of the Body* (London: Tho. Salusbury, 1691), p. 6, and *Tryon's Letters upon Several Occasions* (London: for Geo. Conyers & Eliz. Harris, 1700), p. 65, cited in Hutin, p. 73 & n.182, and *Miscellania*, p. 49.

10. (London: B. Tooke, 1699), p. 137

11. *A Treatise of Foods, In General...* (London: John Taylor, 1704), pp. 5-6. I have found no mention of Evelyn's diet, but if he was a vegetarian it would surely have been remarked upon.

12. *An Essay on the Gout, with an Account of the Nature and Qualities of the Bath Waters*, 3rd edn. (London: G. Strahan, W. Mears, & H. Hammond, 1721), pp. 96-98.

13. For further discussion, see Anita Guerrini, "Case History as Spiritual Autobiography: George Cheyne's 'Case of the Author'," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 19 (May 1995): 18-27.

14. Ruth Perry, *The Celebrated Mary Astell* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago, 1986), App. E, p. 456.

15. Cheyne, *The English Malady: or, A Treatise of Nervus Diseases of all Kinds* (London: G. Strahan, & J. Leake at Bath, 1733), p. 336.

16. Cheyne to Hans Sloane (23 Jan. 1720/21), British Library, Sloane MS 4034, f. 336.

17. *Essay*, pp. 92, 21-27, 29. See Bryan Turner, "The Government of the Body: Medical Regimens and the Rationalization of Diet," *British Journal of Sociology* 33 (1982): 254-69, esp. 259-66.

18. Ed. Phillip Harth (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), Remark L.

19. *Essay*, pp. 171, 158. See John Mullan, "Hypochondria and Hysteria: Sensibility and the Physicians," *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation* 25 (1984): 141-77, and Terry Castle, "The Female Thermometer," *Representations* 17 (1987): 1-27.

20. *Essay*, p. 92. See Bynum, pp. 189-91.

21. On class, see Turner, "Government," and *The Body and Society* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984), pp. 76-80.

22. *An Epistle to Ge - ge Ch - ne MD FRS Upon His Essay of Health and Long Life with Notes Physical and Metaphysical. By Pillo-Tisanus, a Lover of the Mathematicks, and Practitioner in the Occult Sciences* (London: J. Roberts, 1725), p. 9.

23. On Wesley, see V. H. H. Green, *The Young Mr. Wesley* (N.Y.: St. Martin's, 1961).

24. English trans., *The Pythagorean Diet* (London: R. Dodsley, 1745).

25. *Adam's Luxury, and Eve's Cookery; or, The Kitchen-Garden display'd* (London. R. Dodsley & M. Cooper, 1744).

26. *Emile, où De l'education* (Amsterdam, Jean Neaulme, 1762); Barbara Wheaton, *Savoring the Past* (1983; rpt. N.Y.: Simon & Schuster, Touchstone, 1996), pp. 224-25; Jean-Claude Bonnet, "Le système du repas et de la cuisine chez Rousseau," *Poétique* 6 (1975): 244-67.

27. (London: Richard Phillips, 1802), p. 201. Biographical details are from *DNB*, s.v. Ritson, Joseph, a very hostile account by Sidney Lee. Once more, much of Spencer's account in *The Heretic's Feast* is a paraphrase of the *DNB*.

28. *Essay on Abstinence*, p. 86; Kant, "Duties Towards Animals and Spirits," in *Lectures on Ethics*, trans. Louis Infield (N.Y.: Century, 1930), pp. 239-40.

29. There is an immense literature on the 18th-century discourse on the nature of the primitive; an intro. is Clarence J. Glacken, *Traces on the Rhodian Shore* (Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1967).

30. Bentham, *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* (London: W. Pickering, 1823), p. 143n.; Oswald, *The Cry of Nature; or, An Appeal to Mercy and to Justice, on Behalf of the Persecuted Animals* (London: J. Johnson, 1791); Spencer, p. 234.