

SAMUEL BARROW, M.D. PHYSICIAN TO CHARLES II AND ADMIRER OF JOHN MILTON

by

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ON THE north bank of the Thames, close to Putney Bridge, the parish church of Fulham still preserves a faintly rural air, despite the encroachment of modern industrial building and traffic. In the Tower Chapel a monument in marble is dedicated to the memory of Lady Dorothy Clarke and her second husband Dr. Samuel Barrow. The monument, said to be the work of Grinling Gibbons, was erected by George Clarke after the death of his mother in 1695, and, as we would expect from that man of refined taste, it is simple, handsome and impressive. From the inscription we learn that the Lady Dorothy was first married to Sir William Clarke, secretary at war to Charles II, and that Samuel Barrow was the king's physician-in-ordinary and judge advocate to the English army. The arms of the families are rendered, Barrow's being two swords in saltier between four fleur-de-lis.

A black marble stone in the south transept floor gives us more information. As translated by Fèret¹ the epitaph reads:

Sacred to the pious Memory of Samuel Barrow, M.D., descended from an ancient family in the county of Norfolk, Physician in Ordinary to Charles II and above twenty years Advocate-General and Judge Martial to the English army; which offices he undertook by the King's command, having followed Albemarle and by his counsels expedited the return of Charles. He married once, the widow of Sir William Clarke, Knt. Of this most happy pair, Death broke the union which it alone could, after they had, for sixteen years, exhibited a rare example of conjugal love, 12 Kal. Ap. 1682 [i.e. 21 March 1682-3]. The affection of the Survivor unbroken. He died aged 57.

It would seem to be a simple matter to find out more about so distinguished a person, but the usual books of reference are silent. He is neither mentioned in Munk's *Roll* nor in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and details of his career can be pieced together only from many scattered sources. As we shall see, Barrow is of interest to the doctor, the military lawyer, the student of literature, and the historian of the seventeenth century. It therefore seemed worth while to find out a little more about him.

The epitaph in Fulham Church is misleading when it refers to Barrow as coming from an ancient Norfolk family. It is true that there was a prominent Norfolk family in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, of whom the most distinguished was Henry Barrow, the radical religious thinker, executed by Elizabeth in 1593; but Samuel Barrow came from a Cambridgeshire family of gentry, small landowners and

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Medical History, 1974, vol. 18.

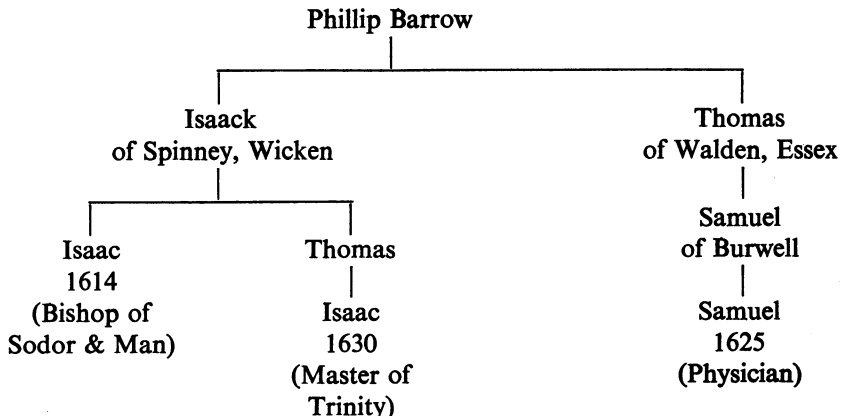
professional men, among whom were doctors, lawyers and churchmen. His great grandfather was Phillip Barrow or Barrough, a medical man of Burwell, near Cambridge, who was licensed by the university to practise surgery in 1559 and physic in 1572.^{2,3} He was the author of a very successful book, *The method of phisicke—containing the causes, signs and cures of inward diseases of man's body from head to foot*. . . . It ran into nine editions the first in 1590, the last in 1652. A modern scholar, John Shrewsbury,⁴ states that if it added nothing to contemporary knowledge about the nature of plague, it was one of the most readable and competent medical books of its time. It still seems to have been in circulation in 1683 when Tillotson⁵ produced his edition of Isaac Barrow's works and it is also mentioned by Aubrey.¹⁴

Phillip's brother Isaac was also a medical man, a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1561, M.D. 1600, and admitted to Gray's Inn in 1602. He died in February 1616–7.^{6,7,8}

Phillip's fourth son was Thomas of Walden whose eldest son, Samuel, a barrister, entered Gray's Inn in February, 1616/7.⁹ He married Judith, daughter of George Fitzgeffrey of Bedford; their first child, also named Samuel, the subject of our inquiry, was born in 1625. The visitation of Essex of 1634⁶ gives him as about nine years old. There were several other children, Thomas (?1628), Abigail, Dorothy (1630), Judith (1632), Elizabeth (1634) and George (1635).¹⁰

Two other members of the Barrow family are of some distinction. The first is Isaac Barrow (1614–80), Bishop of St. Asaph, Sodor and Man, who led a turbulent career because of his Royalist sympathies. He was a grandson of Phillip and thus first cousin to Samuel's father. The most brilliant and renowned of the Barrows was undoubtedly Isaac (1630–77) the bishop's nephew and Samuel's second cousin. He was Gresham Professor of Geometry in 1662, Lucasian Professor of Mathematics 1663–9 (the immediate predecessor of Sir Isaac Newton), and finally Master of Trinity in 1672. Aubrey¹¹ confirms the family relationship, saying that Samuel was "cosen-german" to Thomas Barrow, Isaac's father.

Table 1



Samuel Barrow, M.D., physician to Charles II

At the age of fourteen, Samuel entered Trinity College, Cambridge, as a Pensioner, on 5 July 1639. His tutor was a Mr. Willis.¹² There is no record of matriculation but he became a scholar in 1641 and graduated B.A. in 1643–4. There is no record of his early education but it is possible that he attended school at Charterhouse. According to Aubrey, Isaac Barrow¹³ was sent to Charterhouse for two years but was then taken away and sent to Felstead where he remained for four years. The reason for the removal was that the headmaster was “negligent of him, which the Captain of the school acquainted his father (his Kinsman) and sayd that he would not have him stay there any longer than *he* did, for that he instructed him.”

If Isaac entered Trinity when he was thirteen, in 1643, he would have left Charterhouse in 1638 or 1639: Samuel entered Trinity in 1639 and would have left Charterhouse at about the same time as Isaac. It is therefore very likely that Samuel was the captain of the school and kinsman referred to by Aubrey. Neither Barrow appears among the *Alumni Carthusiani*.¹⁵ The register of admissions prior to 1680 is no longer extant.

In the ten years after his graduation from Trinity in 1644 nothing can be discovered about his career. In 1644, the year of the Parliamentary victory of Marston Moor, the University of Cambridge was going through a particularly difficult time. The autumn and winter of 1643–4 saw a further intensification of the persecution of the prelatial party. Because of the necessity of taking the covenant about a third of the fellows of Cambridge colleges withdrew or were ejected and the university was subjected to drastic reform.¹⁶

The only hint that we have of what happened to Barrow is in *The chronicle of the kings of England*¹⁷ where it is remarked that he was “ejected out of Trinity Colledge in Cambridge for his affection to his Majesty”. As this second continuation stated to be by an impartial hand is attributed to Sir Thomas Clarges, who knew Barrow well, the statement may be taken as reliable.

Certain reasonable speculations may be made. Somewhere in the ten years after leaving Cambridge he must have studied medicine. At some university he gained his M.D. He may well have gone abroad as there is no trace of his ever having received the doctorate of Cambridge, Oxford, the Scottish universities or Dublin. He is not in the list of doctorates of Padua or Leyden. Possibly he went to France or to Holland.

Another question that must be asked in view of his subsequent career was whether he ever studied law. His father and great-grand-uncle Isaac Barrow had both been at Gray’s Inn, but there is no record of Samuel having been at any of the Inns. One must assume that as far as the law went he was a layman.

The next positive facts about Barrow relate to the year 1654, ten years after he left Cambridge. He was appointed, on 20 February, physician to the army of General George Monk (later first Duke of Albemarle), in Scotland.

After the defeat of the Scottish armies, at Dunbar on 3 September 1650, and Worcester, on 3 September 1651, the country was ruled by an army of occupation. In the early campaigns Cromwell’s physician had been the celebrated Jonathan Goddard, Fellow of the College of Physicians, Professor of Physic at Gresham College in 1655, and one of the founders of the Royal Society.

A warrant of 6 April 1653 to Matthew Wright the apothecary for drugs and

medicines for the use of the army in Scotland had been approved by Doctors Wright and Short.¹⁸ A similar warrant of March 1652 had been approved by Jon. Goddard.¹⁹

As conditions in Scotland settled it was necessary to have a more permanent arrangement for the medical care of the troops and in February 1654 two doctors were appointed as physicians to the army in Scotland, Dr. Claudius Fenwick (1622–69)^{20,22} and Dr. Samuel Barrow.²¹ Both commenced duty on 20 February 1653–4 and were paid at the rate of 10s. a day. After May 1654, Barrow remained the sole physician.

No record of when Barrow first arrived in Scotland has been traced. He was then twenty-nine years of age, and had probably obtained his M.D. in 1653/4, ten years after leaving Trinity, perhaps just prior to his appointment in Monk's army. He may have come north as a trooper.

Thomas Gumble, General Monk's chaplain, who knew Barrow well, says that "there were known many young Physitians and other students in other liberal Arts, and Professions, that thought it a Preferment".²³ We do not know how Barrow obtained this responsible post. The comparable post of physician to the army in Ireland was occupied by the brilliant William Petty, and Henry Glisson, M.D., brother of Francis Glisson, was physician general to the second Earl of Manchester's army.

Like all great generals, Monk was concerned for the health of his men. His first biographer Gumble remarked that "He took care for Lodging and Feeding of his Souldiers, as a Father would do of his Child, and would play the Physician himself often times having many receipts for them".²⁴ At the end of his career, Monk expressed his views more directly. He regarded medical care as an important factor in maintaining the morale of his troops. He observes "You must also have a great care of those souldiers which fall sick, or are hurt, upon a march; for this alone will not only encourage souldiers to undergo any danger, or labour, but by it you will win their affections, so that they will never forsake you".²⁵ His attention to detail can be demonstrated by his remonstrance with Cromwell regarding the appointment as surgeon to the artillery train of a certain Mr. Fish whom he regarded as inefficient.²⁶ The following extract from his Order Book, 21 February 1659, also demonstrates his solicitude:

Letter to Dr. Pugh. The understanding that the souldiers in the hospitall doe suffer through some neglect in nott being look't after, his lordship thinkes fit to acquaint him, that he expects hee should doe his duty as chyurgeon to the hospitall, and himself or make to apply all enternall [*sic*] medicines and what is necessarie for chyurgical cures, and for what relates to physick and internall medicaments Mr. White, apothicary, is to take care to supply them and Dr. Burrow will be helpful upon occasion with his advice.²⁷

It is evident that the physician to the army acted mainly in a consultative and administrative capacity. ". . . there were medical officers to the army and chaplains to the army, who had a general superintendence of the regimental surgeons and chaplains".²⁸ The Military Hospital was in Heriots Hospital, Edinburgh, which the English took over.²⁹

Apart from his medical duties which were not too onerous, Barrow became involved in the political discussions that followed the death of Cromwell in September 1658.

Samuel Barrow, M.D., physician to Charles II

He won Monk's confidence and became a member of that inner group that advised the General in the delicate political situation between the death of Cromwell and the Restoration.

In December 1659 just before the decision was made to march into England, Monk promoted several of his officers. "About this time he rewarded many with Preferments, as all his Colonels; and Major Mills he made adjutant general of the whole army and Samuel Barrow, the physician of the army, judge advocate for their services."³⁰

During his stay in Scotland, Barrow made other valuable and life-long friendships, particularly with William Clarke, General Sir Thomas Morgan and Thomas Clarges, Monk's brother-in-law.

It seems strange that Barrow could combine the post of senior medical officer of the army with an important legal office, especially as there is no evidence of his legal training. In the Cromwellian army "A judge advocate with two 'marshal generals' or rather provost-marshal-generals, of horse and foot superintended the administration of military justice."³¹ "The business of the judge-advocate was to draw up charges and to see that legal formalities were properly observed in the trials of prisoners."³² Barrow would have doubled his pay by taking on the extra post.^{33,34} Not until eighty years after the first Mutiny Act (1689) was the office conferred upon a duly elected member of the Bar. "Early English Military Law, accordingly, was law administered by laymen".³⁵

Barrow's involvement with politics began before his appointment as judge advocate. The importance of Monk and his army increased enormously with the fall of Richard Cromwell at the end of May. Monk was faithful and loyal to the Cromwells, father and son, but had to think out his position afresh after, as he put it, "Richard Cromwell forsook himself".³⁶

Nicholas Monk visited his brother at Dalkeith in July 1659, ostensibly on family business but in reality as a Royalist agent. He was fully instructed "how to manage his negotiations with caution, and to communicate with none but the General, except Dr. Samuel Barrow, Physician to the Army, a very discreet Gentleman, and Mr. John Price his chaplain."³⁷ This illustrates how close Barrow was to the General.

The General conferred with his close advisers, Dr. Price, his chaplain, Dr. Thomas Gumble, the Presbyterian chaplain in the Council in Edinburgh, and Barrow, and it was agreed to send a declaratory letter, drafted by Price, to the Rump at Westminster, representing their dissatisfaction at the long session of that Parliament, desiring them to call up their members and to make such rules for future elections that the Commonwealth Government might be secure by frequent successive parliaments.³⁸ The letter was agreed to and signed on the Sunday evening by the four, together with the adjutant Jeremiah Smith. They were all sworn to secrecy.

Smith was preparing to leave to take the letter to Edinburgh for the signatures of other sympathetic officers when Monk decided to wait until the next post from England. This brought the news that a premature Royalist insurrection in Cheshire led by Sir George Booth, a protégé of Monk's, had been completely crushed by General John Lambert, acting for the Government. The letter was burnt. Thereafter Monk for a time moved even more cautiously.

Consultations and discussions with Barrow, with Gumble, and particularly with Thomas Clarges, continued. A treaty signed by commissioners on behalf of Monk and by Charles Fleetwood seemed to effect a reconciliation but on 19 November, only four days later, Monk, in consultation with some of his chief officers and Barrow, resolved to disown the treaty.

On 30 December 1659 Monk took the decisive step of striking camp at Coldstream on the Scottish border and marching into England, reaching London on 3 February 1660. In the course of this march Barrow acted as a mediator between the General and prominent citizens. At Northampton for example the gentry were in some doubt about presenting their petitions "till Dr. Barrow and some other Gentlemen about the General, advised them to go on with their Address, and to be content with such Answer as they received, in Expectation of the future Effect."³⁹ John Collins, uncle of Sir William Clarke, gives an account of a dinner at his house at Stanmore on Sunday 29 January on the march to London from St. Albans.⁴⁰

Monk was officially the servant of the Rump, one of several commissioners. The breaking point came when the Council of State ordered Monk to take action against the hostile City of London. This was highly unpopular. Price (Monk's chaplain) writing in 1680 suggests that this was an act of provocation by Monk, basing this on a statement by Thomas Scot when under arrest.^{41,42} Although supposed to be the source of this information, Barrow himself writes differently.⁴³ Commenting on Skinner's book, he says that Monk had no option. He had either to obey orders or quit his command. This is much more likely. At any rate, as a result Monk's popularity declined. Clarges immediately told the General of the ill consequences of the event and that the only way to redeem the situation was to return to the City, and declare for a full parliament. Monk with his natural caution wanted to postpone the decision. Barrow called on Clarges immediately after his interview and pressed him to return to Monk and urge him to delay no further as the Council of State were becoming suspicious. Clarges, Barrow, and two other officers who could be trusted returned to Monk and persuaded him to take instant action. Barrow was "appointed to gain what Intelligence he could against the next morning".⁴⁴ Monk retired to the City the next day, took his stand against the Rump and demanded the recall of the secluded members. The result, as everyone knew, could only be the restoration of the king.

When negotiations with Charles began, Barrow was selected as Monk's agent, together with Clarges, in direct talks with the king at Breda.^{45,46,47} Barrow was trusted, Clarges was not. Hyde had sent to England George Morley, a protestant minister and royalist agent, to make contact with the presbyterians and convince them that Charles was not a Roman Catholic. Morley's Calvinism was a great factor in winning them over but he acknowledged Barrow's help in his report to Hyde (10 May). "The Doctor of Physic who assisted writer with the Presbyterians."⁴⁸

Another correspondent also announcing the visit of Barrow and Clarges, suggests that Hyde should arrange a private audience for Barrow with the king, without Clarges, as he is the advocate general to the army "whose temper he understands better than any one person. . . . It is expected that they will both be Knighted".⁴⁶ This, strangely enough, does not come about. The mistrusted devious Clarges does receive

this honour, but the trusted straightforward Barrow does not. Why? It is Hyde's friend Morley who pronounces the damaging words: he has heard "something of the Doctor's relations with Cromwell".⁴⁸ We do not know what rumours were abroad, or whether Oliver or Richard was the Cromwell referred to. There is no mention of Barrow in any of the published writings of Oliver Cromwell. Our curiosity is aroused by Morley's remark but there is no clue to what is behind it.

In those critical years, Barrow probably spent more time in political and legal business than in medicine. In July 1660, for example, Monk (now Lord Albemarle) on behalf of the Lords, Commons and Treasury enquiring into what Crown Lands or rents were in the possession of the officers and soldiers of his regiments of horse, directed that two copies of the particulars should be sent to Dr. Samuel Barrow, then staying with the Clarkes at their home in Pall Mall.⁴⁹ In August 1660, Barrow was rewarded by his appointment as physician-in-ordinary to the king with a fee of £100 a year.⁵⁰ In 1679 he is listed among the king's physicians, Ferdinando Mendes, Sir Charles Scarborough, Sir Edward Greaves, Dr. Cox, Dr. Barrow, Sir Alexander Frasier, Dr. Talbor and Dr. Dickinson.⁵¹ Early in 1661 probably, he was made judge advocate general in the first permanent establishment of the guards—with a pay of 12*s.* 6*d.* a day and 2*s.* 6*d.* a day for a clerk. No warrant or commission for Barrow's post has been found.⁵² The work was not very heavy as his successor noted twenty years or more later. "There being hardly any land forces in England but the Horse and Foot Guards there were not very frequent occasions for Courts Martial."⁵² However, there was probably more work than indicated by the records which survive. In the Public Record Office, there is a summary of courts martial held by Barrow and his successor George Clarke⁵³ showing only four under Barrow. From the courts-martial book⁵⁴ there are references to nine warrants to Barrow, including the four in the summary, and in the Calendar of State Papers Domestic there are another three, making twelve in all.^{55,56,57} They are widely scattered, four for the year 1666, the rest from 1668 to 1679. It is obvious that the books have been kept haphazardly and many of the drafts have been lost.

The earliest warrant for assembling a court martial recorded in the book was to "Doctor Samuell Barrowe, Judge Advocate to his Majies Forces" from his old chief Albemarle, dated 9 January 1666, concerning lieutenant Alexander Walwyn:⁵⁴ the trial itself took place on 7 February. The details of this, however, are preceded by a most complete account of the court martial of Thomas Hanslope for speaking mutinous and opprobrious words against his captain, Sir Thomas Daniels. This lasted from 20 May to 4 June and he was sentenced to ride the wooden horse for six days having his crimes written on his breast and back. He was also to "run the Gauntelop, and be Cashier'd and render'd incapable to serve in His Majesty's Armies". Hanslope appealed and a warrant for another court martial was issued on 27 August but, as he did not repent or submit, the appeal was rejected. At times Barrow probably had to deal with other kinds of medico-legal problems. For example, when a surgeon named Samuel Kerr put in a claim for payment for services rendered to troops in Flanders in the absence of the regular surgeon, the petition was referred to the Commanding Officer, Sir Charles Littleton, the Surgeon-General, John Knight, and also to "John Barrow".⁵⁸

The next notable event affecting Barrow was the death in 1666 of his friend Sir William Clarke. Clarke (1623–1666) was a lawyer who took part in Cromwell's invasion of Scotland and from 1651 was secretary to the Army of Occupation, serving under Richard Deane, Robert Lilburne and Monk. In 1648, he married Dorothy, heiress of Thomas Hyliard of Hampshire. After the Restoration, Clarke became secretary at war and attended Albemarle on the *Royal Charles* during the engagement with the Dutch fleet in the battle of the Downs. He was fatally wounded when his right leg was shot off by a cannon ball and died at sea on 4 June 1666. He was buried in St. Nicholas' Church, Harwich, where the memorial with the inscription composed by Barrow can still be seen. Written in Latin, it is elaborately phrased, but there is probably a great measure of sincerity in the grief expressed at the tragic loss of a worthy man.^{59, 60} Clarges wrote a letter of condolence to the widow from the *Royal Charles* on 8 June: "I am so afflicted for the losse of my deare friend Sir William Clerk that I have more need to receive consolation from others than to give it. But I cannot omitt writeing to your Ladyship to desire and beseech you since this fatall stroke cannot be recalled that your Ladyship will have so much respect to that sweete pledge of both your loves, as for his sake to moderate your grief, that your health be not impaired by it."⁶¹ Sir Charles Firth in the preface to the Clarke papers adds rather sarcastically "The widow took this advice and married again in the same year."⁶² This is inaccurate and unfair. Lady Dorothy married Barrow over two years later on 23 July 1668, in Hammersmith Church. In the application for the licence of May 1668 Barrow is described as "Doctor of Physic, bachelor 40" (he was in fact forty-three). Dorothy Clarke is described as "Widow about 26". This is a gross error or the most extravagant gallantry. She had married Clarke in 1648 (twenty years earlier). It is more likely that she was about thirty-six.^{63, 64, 65}

Masson, Milton's biographer, describes her as the wealthy widow of a knight.⁶⁶ Although Clarke's epitaph says he left a "moderate estate", this would seem to be an understatement. Nevertheless George Clarke, the son, says the greater part of it was lost by the purchase of a bad title at Grantchester, near Cambridge. As early as 20 August 1666 there is a petition of Lady Dorothy to the king for settlement of a pension for the receipts of Kent and Sussex on herself and her only son, an infant, in consideration of the irreparable loss of her husband, slain at sea in His Majesty's service.⁶⁷

The marriage was a very happy and successful one. George Clarke writing many years later paints a delightful picture: "A few years after my father's death [actually 1668 when George was seven years old] to my great good fortune and her own happiness, my mother married that excellent person Dr. Samuel Barrow. They lived together many years and were a pattern of conjugal affection and indeed I believe there never was a more humane good natured and virtuous and truly religious couple."

Young George left school because of the smallpox and never returned. He writes: "but my father-in-law took the kind trouble to read the Greek and Latin classic authors to me, and so continued till he sent me to the University. During the time I was under his care he gave me opportunities of learning to dance, fence, wrestle, write, cast accounts, and as he was most indulgent to me took me with him into all

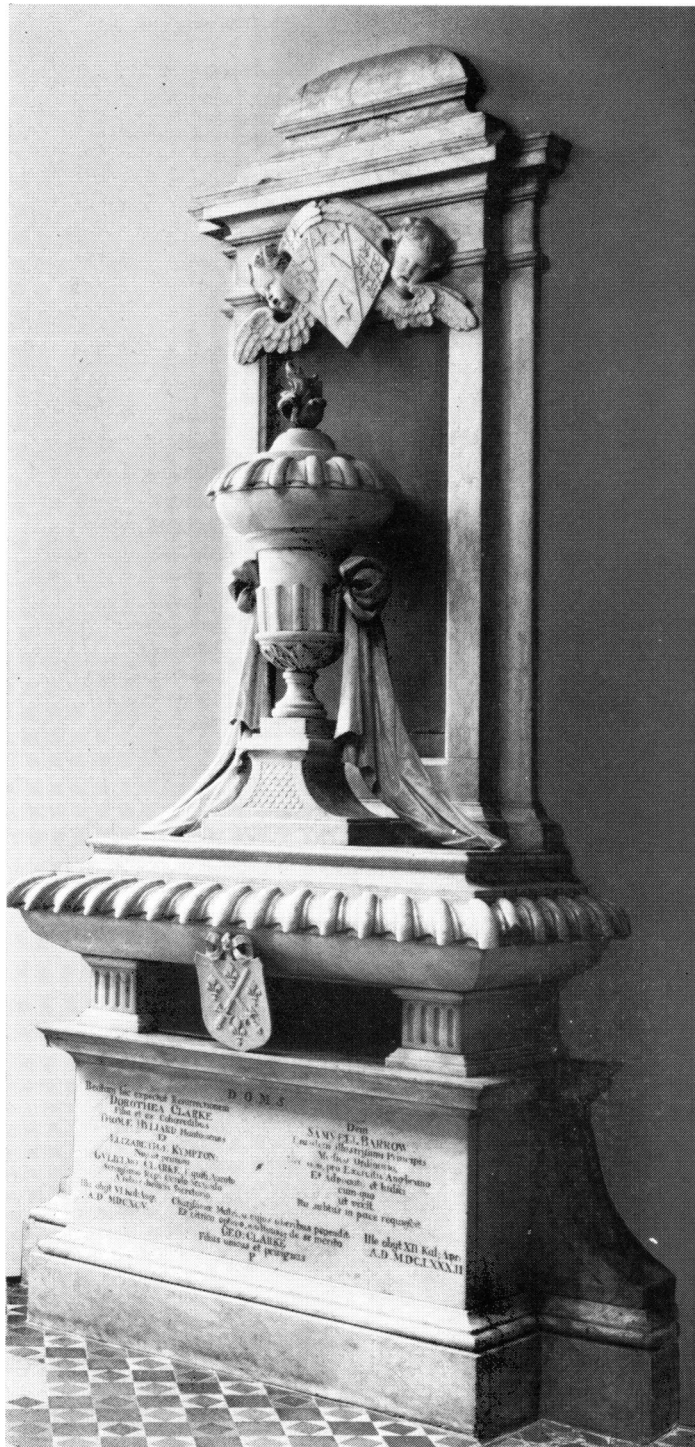


Figure 1.
 Monument to Dr. Samuel Barrow and Lady Dorothy Clarke
 in Fulham Church.

Samuel Barrow, M.D., physician to Charles II

companies and places where anything was to be seen worth observation, that, as he used to say, there might be as little new to me in the world as could be when I grew up to be a man.”⁶⁸

It is unfortunate that George gave no more details. There is no confirmation of statements by Masson that Barrow was an eminent court physician and had a large medical practice in London: they are merely colourful guesses.

There seems to be no information available on Barrow’s medical activities after the Restoration, no letters from patients, or medical records kept by Barrow himself. He was not a Fellow of the College of Physicians and he was not on the staff of any hospital.⁶⁹

The Barrows lived in Fulham and Samuel must also have had rooms in town. In the application for the marriage licence (1668) he is described as being of the parish of St. Martin in the Field. In his will (1676) he is of St. Mary in the Savoy.⁷⁰ More precisely in 1675 a letter was addressed to him, at the Golden Key nigh the Savoy in the Strand.⁷¹ There was a Golden Key by the Exeter Change (pulled down 1829) on a site in present-day Burleigh Street.⁷²

Barrow evidently kept in touch with old friends and was recognized as an authority on the events of 1659–60. He encouraged Sir Thomas Morgan, an old comrade-in-arms of Monk, to write an account of the expedition he led to Dunkirk in 1657 on Cromwell’s orders. From Morgan’s letter of 1675, it appears that Barrow read the first drafts. Moreover after Morgan’s death (?1679) it was Barrow who arranged for the publication. “It may not be improper to add, that these papers came to the publisher’s hand, from the gentleman, at whose request they were wrote, and to whom Sir Thomas Morgan confirmed every paragraph of them, as they were read over, at the time he delivered them to him . . .”⁷³ A little later in 1677, Thomas Skinner, a physician in Colchester, was urged by Christopher, the second Duke of Albemarle, to write Monk’s biography. It was suggested to him that Barrow, who had possession of Sir William Clarke’s papers, might help him. Skinner had already written a book on the events leading to the Restoration⁷⁴ and he sent Barrow a copy of this, asking for his comments and emendations (May 1678).^{75,76} In a further letter (31 July 1678) Skinner asks him to favour him “with such Alterations and additions as in yr better knowledge of all that affaire, you should find necessary, and directing them to the number, on the severall pages, where you find them most needefull.” He must have had a favourable reply to his first letter because he goes on to say “The same account of that helpe you had promised me, I gave to my Ld. of Bathe as I returned from you”.^{76,77} Barrow seems to have carried out his promise. This book now in the library of Worcester College has been preserved and on the fly-leaves Barrow has scrupulously made his comments giving the page references as Skinner had asked.

Firth comments rather churlishly that Skinner did not appear to have received much help from Barrow⁷⁵ but this is contradicted by the book itself. Barrow had taken the trouble to read it and annotate it most carefully. Perhaps the book never reached Skinner, as it obviously remained in Barrow’s possession. Skinner died in 1679 and he may have been ill some time before this. Skinner’s *Life of Monk* was published posthumously in 1723.

Barrow wrote very little himself. He began a history of the Civil War but did not get very far with it.⁷⁸ It has no particular historical or literary merit and he tells us practically nothing about himself. He mentions that as a young man he heard all the arguments and later experienced the events of the war and Restoration—but alas gives no details.

In 1681, Barrow fell ill but, generous as ever, concerned himself with his stepson's career and endeavoured to get permission for George Clarke to share his commission of judge advocate. The king would only agree to give him the Commission if Barrow would resign. Shortly after this was arranged, Barrow died on 21 March 1682 and was buried in Fulham Church four days later.⁷⁹ Clarke mourned the death of his stepfather "to whom I had a thousand obligations and whose memory I shall always respect . . . as I ought to do, for the tender care he had of me and the great love and kindness he ever showed me."⁸⁰ It is refreshing to read of such a warm family relationship.

No portrait seems to have survived, but Aubrey, who must have met him, says "He was a very good-humoured man. He much resembled and spoke like Dr. Ezerel Tong."⁸¹ The latter was a friend of Aubrey's who admired his educational methods. Later he became associated with Titus Oates.⁸²

An important aspect of Barrow's life is his friendship with John Milton. What evidence do we have of it? David Masson, includes Barrow in the list of Milton's admirers and visitors after the publication of *Paradise Lost* in 1667.⁸³ Parker also includes him in the list of Milton's friends.⁸⁴ That Barrow greatly admired *Paradise Lost* is demonstrated by the Latin verses he wrote in praise of the poem prefixed to the second edition of 1674. We do not know if they were specially written for the second edition or whether they had been sent privately to Milton beforehand as a token of admiration. Certainly Milton must have thought highly enough of them to agree to their publication together with Marvell's eulogy in English. The Latin verses are signed "S.B.M.D.". John Toland, Milton's first biographer, attributed them to Barrow. "I shall end my account of this Divine Poem with a Copy of Latin Verses made upon it by Samuel Barrow, a Doctor of Physic."⁸⁵ This attribution can be confidently accepted. It is very much in the style of Barrow's eulogy of Sir William Clarke recorded on the monument in St. Nicholas' Church, Harwich. The appreciation of *Paradise Lost* expressed by Barrow is in keeping with what we know of his high level of taste and classical scholarship. After reading *Paradise Lost* says Barrow, you will think that Homer sang only of frogs, Virgil only of fleas. The old Romans and Greeks must yield to the Master.⁸⁶ Nevertheless in spite of the hyperbole, the assertions do not appear ridiculous. We must agree with Masson that the verses indicate that Barrow "was a scholarly and intelligent man whose admiration was worth something".⁸⁷ One must think highly of Barrow that he could recognize the greatness of a contemporary poet and express such enthusiastic praise for a man in relative obscurity, poverty and disgrace.

The Latin verses seem to be the only direct link between Barrow and Milton and the only evidence on which the assumption of their friendship is based. Are there any other possible ways in which they may have become acquainted? It is doubtful that they could have met in early life. Milton left Cambridge in 1632 and Barrow did

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not go up until 1639. Was there any link at Hammersmith? According to Parker⁸⁸ the discovery of 4 Chancery Town Deposits in the Public Record Office “make it clear that from 14 September 1632 to 8 January 1635 perhaps earlier, perhaps later, the Milton home was not at Horton but at Hammersmith.” Perhaps the Miltons had been influenced by the knowledge that Nicholas Crisp (1598–1665), with whom they were certainly acquainted, had built a great house at Fulham just outside the border of the parish of Hammersmith and had contributed largely to the building of the Chapel at Ease there (1631). Crisp had grown up in Bread Street, where John Milton, ten years his junior, was born, and had married Anne Prescott of All Hallows Parish. He was a prominent figure in the City of London, engaged in trade with West Africa. As a Royalist, his activities were limited and he was under a cloud during the Commonwealth, but in 1660 he was chosen as one of the City’s representatives to Holland to welcome Charles II. As we know, Barrow was married in Hammersmith Church in 1668 and lived in Fulham—but this is over thirty years after the Miltons lived there.

At the time of the Restoration, Milton was in great peril. His last important pamphlet *The ready and easy way to establish a full Commonwealth* was addressed to General Monk. Barrow as a close intimate of the General would no doubt have seen the pamphlet and become interested in the author. The poet went into hiding but important people, such as Marvell and Clarges used their influence to save him. Barrow was working closely with Clarges at this time, and may have had a hand in protecting Milton.

It is clear that Barrow was a man of great integrity. Tolerant, generous and kindly, he favourably impressed all those who met him. In an age of licentiousness and loose behaviour his conduct was irreproachable. He was a loyal friend. His married life seems to have been happy: he was devoted to his wife and there was a strong bond of affection to his stepson to whom he behaved with exemplary kindness and generosity. Perhaps the discretion which made him so useful as a negotiator on Monk’s behalf prevented him from committing too much to writing, and a natural modesty equally prevented him from pushing forward his views. This is unfortunate for the would-be biographer who has to build with such scanty materials.

His will drawn up in 1676 when he was in perfect health adds little to our knowledge. He reiterates he is Doctor of Physick of the parish of St. Mary’s in the Savoy. As we would expect of him he left everything to his “dearly beloved wife” Dame Dorothy Clarke and in the event of her predeceasing him, he left everything to her son George, except for some small gifts to any surviving brothers and sisters.⁸⁹

Barrow deserves some remembrance. He was not a great doctor, but must have been a worthy and honest one. He played an energetic and important part in one of the critical phases of English history. He arouses our interest in being the first judge advocate general, holder of the first recorded courts martial in the War Office book. His instant and unstinted recognition of Milton’s genius prompts our admiration, especially as such recognition was limited to only a few. He was a man of considerable culture and his character was of a kind we would esteem in a friend and fellow physician.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the archivists and librarians of the London Borough of Hammersmith and of Worcester College, Oxford. I must also thank Mr. J. E. Ward for the translation of Barrow's manuscript, the Vicar of All Saints' Church, Fulham, for permission to photograph and the Vicar of St. Mary's, Burwell, for the references from the Church Register. Finally, thanks are due to Dr. John Vyse and the British Museum for the photographs.

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