place suggest that this is the same Henry Moythen who is referred to in the dialogue.

Robin Hamilton
Independent Scholar, Darlington

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RAMAZZINI, JOHNSON, AND RAMBLER 85: A NEW ATTRIBUTION

Bernardino Ramazzini (1633–1714) is remembered today as the founder of the study of occupational diseases. In his own day, he was ‘one of the greatest intellects of the seventeenth century’ and was a widely influential medical theorist.1 The following paper seeks to establish a hitherto unrecognized allusion to Ramazzini in Samuel Johnson’s Rambler 85 (8 January 1751).

A polymath, poet, philosopher, meteorologist, epidemiologist, physician, teacher, and scientist, Ramazzini was born 4 October 1633 in Carpi, a small town in the Duchy of Modena.2 He studied medicine and philosophy at the University of Parma, receiving his doctorate in 1659. After additional study in Rome, he became the town physician at Canino; in 1682 he was charged with establishing a medical department at the University of Modena, where he was appointed Professor ‘Medicinae Theoricae’. In 1700, the year he published his greatest work, De morbis artificium diatriba (‘Treatise on the Diseases of Workers’), he received a chair in Practical Medicine at Padua, the most prestigious medical faculty in Italy. After suffering from blindness and cardiovascular disease, Ramazzini died at age 81 on 5 November 1714, victim, as one writer liked to think, ‘of the peculiar diseases of the learned which he had described so well,’ and having achieved European-wide fame.3 In 1982, Irving J. Selikoff of the Mt. Sinai School of Medicine in New York founded the Collegium Ramazzini, an international community of scholars devoted to occupational and environmental health—an organization that continues to thrive today.

Ramazzini’s master work, the groundbreaking De morbis artificium diatriba, was the first medical treatise devoted to the diagnosis of trade diseases. Largely consisting of brief chapters on individual occupations, the work uses empirical observation to analyse such maladies as the diseases of painters (who suffer from, among other things, trembling of joints, blackness of teeth, melancholy, loss of smelling), of the cleansers of jakes (galling of the eyes), of laundresses and washer-women (menstrual disorders, dropsy, eczema), and of tradesmen who sit much (stiff limbs, crooked backs). The book quickly acquired classic status. In the eighteenth century alone, the Latin original went through a further seven editions, and was translated into Dutch, English, French, German, and Italian. The first English version appeared in 1705, and a new edition of that was published in 1746, with a reprint in 1750.

As we shall see momentarily, Johnson had a number of textual or indirect contacts with Ramazzini; however, an additional and quite substantial connection has hitherto eluded notice. In the first paragraph of Rambler 85, Johnson writes:

Many writers of eminence in physick have laid out their diligence upon the consideration of those distempers to which men are exposed by particular states of life, and very learned treatises have been produced upon the maladies of the camp, the sea, and the mines. There are, indeed, few employments which a man accustomed to anatomical enquiries, and medical refinements, would not find reasons for declining as dangerous to health, did not his learning or experience inform him, that almost every occupation,


3 Garrison, ‘Life as an Occupational Disease’, 682.
however inconvenient or formidable, is happier and safer than a life of sloth.4

Given our knowledge of Ramazzini’s fame and influence, he certainly must be reckoned among the small group comprising the ‘writers of eminence in physick’. More specifically, the references to ‘the maladies of the camp, the sea, and the mines’ correspond directly to the titles of chapters from De morbis: chapter 42, ‘Of the Diseases Usual in Camps’; chapter 30, ‘Of the Diseases of Fishermen and Mariners’; and chapter 1, ‘Of the Diseases of Metal-Diggers’.5 Of camp diseases, Ramazzini mentions fevers, contagions, miasma, and dysentery; of sea diseases, dropsy and ulcers; of mine diseases, difficulty of breathing, phthisic, apoplexy, palsy, cachexy, foot swelling, loss of teeth, gum ulcers, joint aches, as well as lung and brain disorders.

Further supporting this attribution is our awareness that Johnson is known for at least three additional connections with the eminent Italian physician. First, in Adventurer 39 (20 March 1753), an essay on sleep, Johnson writes: ‘Without touching upon the fatal consequences of a custom, which, as Ramazzini observes, will be for ever condemned, and for ever retained’. The passage alluded to, and in a sense transposed, is found in De morbis, chapter 17, where the custom in question is not actually sleep, but the chewing and smoking of tobacco.6 In the same Adventurer, and just shortly before the passage cited, Johnson also appears to have another passage from Ramazzini in mind, this time from a different work. The ‘avowed votaries’ of Night, whom Johnson says ‘appropriate to festivity the hours designed for rest’, are very reminiscent of the princes described in chapter 7 of De principum valetudine tuenda, where Ramazzini devotes considerable space to the ancient, continued, and virtually unalterable tradition of rulers winning, dining, and being entertained virtually all night, as well as to the precautions they should therefore take to prevent the damage to their health such a lifestyle could cause. Second, editor of Shakespeare and Dryden Edmond Malone, who assisted Boswell in the composition of the Life of Johnson, noted that Johnson’s dear friend Richard Bathurst (d. 1762) was ‘conversant’ with Ramazzini’s writings.7 In Anecdotes of the Late Samuel Johnson, Hester Thrale Piozzi describes the mention of deceased Bathurst drawing involuntary tears to Johnson’s eyes—Bathurst may well have communicated his knowledge to Johnson.8 Finally, the De morbis was ‘translated’9 into English by another of Johnson’s friends, Dr Robert James, whom Johnson knew from childhood. Johnson and James collaborated extensively on the latter’s Medical Dictionary.


5 I use the chapter titles of the English translation by Johnson’s childhood friend, Robert James, from his 2nd edition of 1750—the one closest temporally to Rambler 85. Given that Johnson uses the plural ‘Many writers of eminence’, it may be that he has additional sources in mind. Other possibilities might include Georgius Agricola’s (1494–1555) De re metallica (Basil, 1556); William Cockburn (1669–1739), Sea Diseases: or a Treatise of their Nature, Causes, and Cure, 2nd edn (London, 1706); and John Pringle (1707–82) Observations on the Diseases of the Army, in Camp and Garrison (although this last was published in 1752, shortly after publication of Rambler 85). Johnson later met Pringle (who was a good friend of Boswell’s) with ill effect (see Boswell’s Life of Samuel Johnson, ed. G. B. Hill, rev. L. F. Powell, 2nd edn, 6 vols (Oxford, 1934–64), III, 65; V, 376 and 384). Despite these additional candidates, it seems a strong probability, given the evidenced marshalled in this note, that the Rambler passage is indebted primarily to Ramazzini. Ramazzini himself often refers to other authors, in his chapter on camp diseases, for example, to the Dutch chemist and physician Jan Baptist van Helmont (1579–1644) and George Barnstorf, physician to the Duke of Hanover; hence Johnson’s use of the plural ‘many writers of eminence’ may itself derive from Ramazzini’s treatise.

6 The Yale editors conjecture that Johnson here alludes in Adventurer 39 to De morbis, chapter 43, ‘‘Tis a monstrous way, says Ficinus, to sit up late a Nights, and so be fore’d to be a bed after the next sun, and this he says is the fault of many students’. However, the similarity to chapter 17 (‘So bewitching is that incurable Custom of Chewing and Smoking Tobacco, that as it will ever be condemned, it will ever be retained’) is evident.


8 Hester Lynch Piozzi, Anecdotes of the Late Samuel Johnson, LL.D., During the Last Twenty Years of His Life, in Memoirs and Anecdotes of Dr. Johnson, ed. Arthur Sherbo (London and New York, 1974), 66.

9 Comparison of the texts shows that James’s version was not a new translation, but rather a retouching of the 1705 English rendition.
and the James edition published in 1746, his version of Ramazzini’s *De morbis*, the *Health Preserved in Two Treatises*. Scholars O. M. Brack and Thomas Kaminski have definitively established Johnson’s intimate involvement in James’s *Medical Dictionary*; they have also noted that James’s Ramazzini text was originally conceived as part of the *Medical Dictionary*. Given these multiple points of contact, it seems clear that Johnson was, at the very least, conversant with the writings of the eminent Italian physician and further, was in a position to appreciate Ramazzini’s influence and importance. Hence, the possibility that Johnson refers to Ramazzini’s *De morbis* in paragraph one of *Rambler* 85 seems only a few degrees short of certainty.

This discovery not only enhances our understanding of the *Rambler*, in establishing a new allusion to Ramazzini in essay 85, as well as spelling out with greater specificity ‘the maladies of the camp, the sea, and the mines’ that Johnson may have had in mind. It also confirms Johnson’s strong interest in and involvement with Italian letters, evidenced elsewhere, for example, in his proposed edition of Politian (Angelo Poliziano, 1454–94) in 1734; his references to Pontanus (Giovanni Pontano, 1426–1503), in *Rambler* 4, paragraph three and *Rambler* 28, paragraph seventeen; his citation of the pastoral poet Jacopo Sannazaro (1458–1530) in *Rambler* 37, paragraph nine; Johnson’s reflections upon Italian poetry in *Rambler* 88 (paragraph seven) and the ‘Life of Milton’ (paragraphs 22 and 206); and, of course, Johnson’s friendship with and mentorship of Italian émigré Guiseppe Baretti (1719–89), whom Johnson assisted with his 1760 *Dictionary and Grammar of the Italian Language*.12

**A POSSIBLE SOURCE FOR GOLDSMITH’S *THE CITIZEN OF THE WORLD***

**SOURCES** for Oliver Goldsmith’s *The Citizen of the World* (1762) such as Louis Le Comte’s *Nouveaux memoires sur l’état present de la Chine* (1697), J. B. Du Halde’s *A Description of the Empire of China* (1738, 1741) and Marquis d’Argens’s *Lettres chinois* (1751) have almost thoroughly been excavated.1 No attention, however, has been paid to a source for the editor’s note in Letter VII and the footnote in Letter XLVII in the work of Goldsmith. It is highly likely that the notes are not Goldsmith’s own inventions and that he is indebted to Daniel Defoe’s *Serious Reflections of Robinson Crusoe* (1720)2 for giving the notes.

The editor’s note in Letter VII runs:

*The Editor thinks proper to acquaint the reader, that the greatest part of the following letter, seems to him to be little more than a rhapsody of sentences borrowed from Confucius, the Chinese philosopher.*

The footnote in Letter XLVII goes:

*This letter appears to be little more than a rhapsody of sentiments from Confucius. Vid. the Latin translation.*

1 O. M. Brack, Jr. and Thomas Kaminski, ‘Johnson, James, and the *Medical Dictionary*’, *MP*, lxxxi.4 (1984), 378–400. Brack and Kaminski note the close relationship between the Ramazzini translation and the *Medical Dictionary*, quoting from James’s Preface to the former (ix): ‘The following Sheets were intended for the Medicinal Dictionary; but the Desires of the Publick to see the Work compleated, and the Impatience of the Booksellers to have it finish’d oblig’d me to omit it, tho’ the Importance sufficient to deserve the Notice of the Publick.’


3 Hereafter referred to as *Serious Reflections*.


6 Ibid. II, 200. The Latin translation is *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus* (Paris, 1687). No successful attempt has been

ANTHONY W. LEE

University of Maryland, University College

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