

To

The Most Noble  
Marquis of Hamilton,  
from the Author.

37757/B/1





DR. MOSELEY'S  
TREATISE  
ON THE  
LUES BOVILLA;  
OR  
COW POX.

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SECOND EDITION:

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Price 5s.

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A  
T R E A T I S E  
ON THE  
L U E S B O V I L L A ;  
OR  
C O W P O X .

---

By BENJAMIN MOSELEY, M. D.

AUTHOR OF A  
TREATISE ON TROPICAL DISEASES ;  
OF A  
TREATISE ON COFFEE ;  
AND OF  
MEDICAL TRACTS,—

*Containing Dissertations on Sugar ; on the Yaws ; on Obi, or  
African Witchcraft ; on the Plague, and Yellow Fever of  
America ; on Hospitals ; on Bronchocele ; on Prisons, &c.*

PHYSICIAN TO THE ROYAL MILITARY HOSPITAL AT CHELSEA,  
MEMBER OF THE COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS OF LONDON, OF  
THE UNIVERSITY OF LEYDEN, OF THE AMERICAN  
PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY AT PHILADELPHIA, &c.

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SECOND EDITION,  
WITH CONSIDERABLE ADDITIONS.

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Πατερ, αδελφες αυτοις—ου γαρ οιδασι, τι ποιουσι.

LUKE, c. xxiii. v. 34.

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1805.

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OR  
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By BENJAMIN MOSELEY, M.D.  
AUTHOR OF A  
TREATISE ON TROPICAL DISEASES;  
OF A  
TREATISE ON GOUT;  
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Containing Descriptions of the Lues; on the Lues; on Gout; on  
Typhoid Fever; on the Typhoid; and Yellow Fever of  
America; on Cholera; on Dysentery; on Typhoid; on  
Typhoid; on the Typhoid; on the Typhoid; on the Typhoid;  
MEMBER OF THE COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS OF LONDON, OF  
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## PREFACE

TO THE

## SECOND EDITION.

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IN the former edition of this Treatise \* I selected only a few of the many communications, relative to the mischief, and failure of the Cow Pox as to its security against the Small Pox, which I had received since the year 1798; when the Cow Pox Inoculation was first brought into practice; and when I first gave it my decided opposition.

I thought then, as I do now, that experience is not necessary, to know the Cow Pox can-

\* Published in December 1804. Which, though the first edition as a detached Essay, it was the fourth time my sentiments had been before the Publick against Cow Pox Inoculation.

not be a preventive of the Small Pox.—For, on the principles of pathology, and analogy; from the laws of the animal œconomy, and the want of reciprocity between the two diseases, it is impossible to believe, without an entire subversion of our reason, that either should render the human frame unsusceptible of the other.

The Small Pox is not only destitute of affinity to the Cow Pox, but it has no affinity to any other disease whatever.—And the Small Pox, can only be mentioned with the Cow Pox, to illustrate their mutual dissimilarity.

The introducing a bestial humour into the human frame, besides, was not in my mind, in the most favourable constitutions, a matter of indifference, in respect to future health; and from analogous circumstances, I was not without apprehension, that in some habits, the most dreadful consequences might ensue.

Time and Experience have at length proved, that I was not influenced by erroneous conjectures.

Blindness,

Blindness, lameness, and deformity have been the result in innumerable instances; and its fatal venom has removed many an infant untimely from the world.

The security of the Cow Pox against the Small Pox, the great boon held out to the credulous English novelists, has been so fully upset, under every variety of circumstances, that I thought a few well-authenticated cases, to confirm the theory on which I opposed the practice, would satisfy all people of unbiassed judgment; and put a stop to this destructive insanity.

In my first expectation I have succeeded; but among the unthinking mass, there are many who have ascended in their delirious flights, far beyond the lure of reason; and can only be recalled by means, preposterous as their own ideas; or as theirs, by whom they have been perverted.

I have in the present Publication, from the solicitation of some friends, made an addition

of a few more important facts. Not that I think the unity of truth, acquires strength by numbers: no more than beauty is increased by flattery.

Nor is the solitary critic, of retrospective life, here in contemplation. This is not a subject of letters, or general science. On this topic, like other spectators, he must be influenced by those in the field of action; and in his determination, judgment may give way to passion.

He cannot clear away the darkness which surrounds himself; much less assist me, where I stand in need of help,—in combining words to describe a power, that can reach the *punctum saliens* of the sensorium of men, who talk of two sorts of Cow Pox,—which never existed; and of momentary periods for taking the matter for Inoculation,—on which nothing ever depended.

This is the cast, on whom I am destined to attempt to work without materials, the miracle of conception. This is the race, which I am doomed to follow into those creeping holes of Cow Pox subterfuge,—after the lost battle of the pustule and scar—where they have at length retreated  
from

from the face of day; and where I now behold them in their last moments, comforting each other for the good they have done, and reading their own melancholy works, by the expiring lamp of their JENNERIAN tomb.

We know Cow Pox matter, like that of the Small Pox, or any other eruptive matter, according to its state, is more or less active; and brings on symptoms earlier, or later. Yet the disease when produced is the same; depending on the habit of the person Inoculated.

Many are the erroneous notions, respecting the ingrafting distempers. Little is known of the operation of animal virus.

It is thought in general, that the quality of variolous matter, used for Inoculation, will influence the quality of the disease arising from it. But it will not;—and though it is usual, and certainly always adviseable, to select an healthful subject, and a benign sort to Inoculate from, yet all this, Prudence excepted, is of no consequence.

I know from good authority, that matter has been taken from a dead body, from the Con-

fluent Small Pox, and used for Inoculation, with the same success, as if it had been taken from a living subject, and the mildest disease.

Diseases, as well as animals, have their own specific virus. Where the Small Pox is, no other contamination can mix itself, or join in the excitement, and separate from the system with the fluid peculiar to that disease.

If it be urged, that matter taken from a subject in a state of putrefaction, may produce the evils of septic Inoculation,—my answer is, it may do so;—but then there will be no Small Pox. If it produce Small Pox, there will be no other morbid infection. But as this is the case, matter for Inoculation should never be taken from a body in a putrid state; lest the variolous influence should be extinguished, and the alternative follow.

The matter of Confluent Small Pox, before its variolous property has been changed by the process of corruption, is as safe, as pure, and as good for Inoculation, as any other. Why have not people the Confluent Small Pox, who  
are

are seized by contagion, from others in that state of the disease?

It is true also that no other disease can be carried into the habit, by the Small Pox.

Suppose a subject in the Small Pox to have inveterate scurvy; scrophula; itch; siphilitic infection; or consumption:—certainly no person ought to take matter from such a subject for Inoculation; were prejudice out of the question. But it might be done, with as much safety, as if none of these disorders were present.

Peculiar circumstances, which I had no share in creating, have rendered me acquainted with some of these facts; and accident the others.

If in differing in opinion, from so many respectable characters among my brethren in the profession, I should successfully contribute to put an end to the baleful practice of Cow Pox Inoculation, many will have reason to deplore the occasion of the victory; and it will be but a triumph over a lamentable weakness in human nature.

That my predictions have been fulfilled, I consider as a misfortune to mankind. The Small Pox has increased its power of doing harm, by the defeat of the vain attempts, which the votaries of fond hope have made to subdue it.

The people at large, are not to be reproached for putting their faith in this splendid imposition on humanity.—But to the credit of their discernment and parental feelings, the middle and inferior classes have taken precedence, in renouncing the delusion.—At this moment, unless attacked by surprize, or with threats, or cajoled by artifice,—all of which have been practised on them—there are none now among them, to be found in London and the adjacent villages, who will expose their children to Cow Pox Inoculation.

In the country, the people have not the advantage of those in the metropolis; and it becomes the Clergy, without loss of time, to undeceive their parishioners; and to inform them, that the Cow Pox is no security against  
the



the Small Pox ; that the Small Pox attacks people who have had the Cow Pox, at times and seasons, when they cannot guard against it ; and that the Cow Pox, contrary to what they have been instructed to believe, is attended with innumerable evils ; and is often fatal.

Many of the Clergy, who have taken so active a part in promulgating Cow Pox doctrines, are to be excused ; as their own profession does not seem to furnish their abundant zeal with sufficient engagement. Therefore, if on this occasion they have gone a little out of their road, it is only hoped that they will return into it as fast as possible.—It is likewise hoped, when any medical dispute shall arise hereafter in the world, that they will wait until it is over ; before they join the wrong side of the question.

I have been informed, that some of these gentlemen have not only preached, but have practised Cow Pox Inoculation. I hope this is not true. Our College gives no encouragement to any of its members to meddle with the affairs of the Church ; and may reasonably expect, that no  
member

member of the Church \* will interfere with the affairs of the medical profession; especially as our ancestors considered their interference improper in matters, where one would have thought, there could have been no particular harm †.

There are many excellent medical men, who have taken up this subject in haste; trusting to the reports, and opinions of others. They, I know, have abjured it; from that dignity of mind which cannot persevere in error.

There are others, who think it disgraceful to leave off doing mischief, when once they have begun; and the number of these is considerable. —I am no persecutor; and can forgive that hardness of head, in which an impression once made, remains indelible. —But the College of Physicians have a duty to perform; and I trust that this business will not escape them.

It has been the custom, lately, of Cow Pox enthusiasts, to talk of the comparative mor-

\* “*Quem religio et lex ecclesiastica à medicinæ functione ablegavit.*”

† “*Neve honestum putemus CLERICO, inter cetera, tractare res, morbosque muliebres.*” *Statut. Coll. Med. Londinensium.*

tality, and accidents between the Small Pox, and Cow Pox, — to the great advantage of the latter; and to call in the aid of early periods, and musty Philosophical Transactions, before the proper treatment of the Small Pox was known.

Argument on this ground is useless.—When the Cow Pox is a preservative against the Small Pox, the subject may then be taken into discussion.

The mischiefs of the Natural Small Pox, we all know, are great enough; but as those mischiefs may be prevented by Inoculation, that is the proper subject for consideration.

If the evils of the Small Pox were greater than they are, — what does the Cow Pox to better our situation? — Like a brutal foe to mankind, it treacherously disarms us; leaves us defenceless; lulls us into imaginary security, — and then exposes us to assassination.

The Bills of Mortality, which are never correct, are likewise resorted to; for deaths from  
the

the Natural Small Pox; and for casualties from Inoculation.

There is no denying, but that great mortality is occasioned by the Natural Small Pox.—But to lessen the number of deaths, let the same zeal and expence,—but not the same indiscretion—be employed to propagate the Inoculation of Small Pox, as have been for that of the Cow Pox, and we shall hear no more of those terrible computations, collected from the confined and neglected habitations, of poverty and distress.

It was stated by two Physicians, before DR. JENNER'S Committee in the House of Commons, that on an average, “one person in three hundred die from Small Pox Inoculation.” It was added by one of them, that this is the general computation,—“when performed in the best manner.”

Opinions, from gentlemen so deservedly high in the estimation of the Publick, must have been maturely considered, before they were delivered to that august Assembly.

I have

I have of late reflected on this statement, so seriously detrimental to the credit of Small Pox Inoculation; and cannot conceive from what source these learned Physicians made their calculation.

I have too great respect for their skill, to imagine for a moment, that it was from their own practice.

Old women in the country, when Small Pox Inoculation was in fashion, Inoculated whole villages, by the assistance of DIMSDALE'S book; without the loss of one in as many thousands.

The statement could not be made from the SUTTONS' practice; who, with their assistants, Inoculated in Europe, America, and the Indies, nearly half a million of people; and it has not been proved, that either SUTTON himself, or any of his five sons, ever lost a patient, from circumstances imputable solely to the Small Pox\*.

\* SUTTON, and some of his sons, were Inoculated by Dr. Rodberd now living at Ipswich; before the cool treatment was used in the Small Pox. DIMSDALE was Inoculated by SUTTON, after the cool treatment was introduced.

I knew

I knew one of the SUTTONS' deputies in the West Indies, who Inoculated between twenty and thirty thousand negroes and others; and he never lost a patient. If he had, I should have known it. For the practice then was new; the man unpopular; and all the medical tribe at war with him.

An eminent Surgeon, now in London, Inoculated for the SUTTONS many thousands. He Inoculated several hundreds in one day; and I am authorised in asserting, that he never met with the smallest accident, or trouble.

DIMSDALE says, in twenty years extensive practice he was "so fortunate as not to lose a patient under Inoculation; except one child, who after the eruption of a few distinct pustules, died of a fever; wholly independent of the Small Pox \*."

He likewise says, "that in more than 1500 children Inoculated by him there were neither abscesses in the axilla and other parts, nor tedious

\* *Treatise on Inoculation for the Small Pox.* Ed. 7th, page 1.

ophthalmias, nor troublesome ulcerations in the place of insertion; and only one who had so much as a boil in the axilla, and that in a child who had an issue in the same arm, and which was at that time dried up\*.”

DIMSDALE, whose experience no person can dispute, never saw the Small Pox twice in the same person. “ I firmly believe,” says he, “ no one has ever had, or can have, the Small Pox a second time, either in the Natural way, or from Inoculation †.”

The statement could not be taken from DR. ARCHER’S practice at the Small Pox Hospital; for it is as well known to those gentlemen, as it is to me, that he never lost a patient from Inoculation.

If then one in three hundred do perish by Inoculation, there must be great ignorance in the operator. He must either Inoculate improper objects, or not understand Inoculation.

\* Pages 56 and 57.

† Page 60.

Ignorance will Inoculate people in such a state of health and habit of body, as should not be Inoculated; and Ignorance will not know how to prepare people for the eruptive fever, or to manage them in it; nor be able to judge from the appearance of the arm, whether mischief is portended or not; nor understand how to prevent it, when portended.—But every man, who ought to be suffered to Inoculate, knows all these things; and knowing them, as correctly as the SUTTONS and DIMSDALE did,—instead of one in three hundred dying of the Small Pox from Inoculation, there need not be one in three hundred thousand\*.

As Skill was not taken into the computation of those who assert that one in three hundred die from Inoculation, so I have not taken Ignorance into my calculation of one only dying in three hundred thousand.

\* I do not here speak exclusively of the SUTTONS and DIMSDALE. There are several Physicians, Surgeons, and Apothecaries, now in this town, who are well acquainted with the practice, and safety of Inoculation.

I am



I am aware also that nurses, and the subjects themselves, are often guilty of great misconduct; and that fatal accidents have been the consequence.

It is on this ground of anxiety to the Inoculator, that the practice and the patient suffer. — But slight evils, discovered in time, may be remedied; and the arm is a faithful criterion.

The SUTTONS and DIMSDALE, had their careless nurses, and refractory patients; but they counteracted their deviations by vigilance and sagacity.

Cow Pox Inoculators may well exclaim against the cares of Small Pox Inoculation, — when their trade is *otium cum dignitate*; and can be as well carried on by a fool, as by a philosopher.

It is certain that Inoculation, for several years previous to the Cow Pox rage, was conducted in a very slovenly and negligent man-

ner. Recurrence now must be had to the cautious and rigid practice of the SUTTONS, and DIMSDALE; and such methods pursued, as will be found recommended in the following pages.

The necessity of an immediate restoration of Small Pox Inoculation, must strike every person interested in the welfare of society, and the happiness of his fellow creatures. Policy and Humanity call strongly on the Legislature, for assistance in this important and salutary work. The number of valuable beings, exposed to the ravages of the Small Pox, by reliance on the Cow Pox, has increased to an alarming degree, within the last six years.

We have no lives to throw away, by unwarrantable projects. Our population, if not diminishing, is yearly becoming less adequate to the wants of our situation in Europe; and the defence of our widely-extended empire.

In the course of a few years more, unless Small Pox Inoculation be universally adopted, the rising generation will be condemned to a  
most

most cruel, and perilous condition. — What dreadful havoc must ensue whenever the Small Pox shall rage epidemically, as it did before the practice of Inoculation !

In many families there will be none to attend the sick. Nurses will quit their patients for their own safety ; and servants fly from their masters houses, to shun the pestilence. Then we shall experience an horrid scene of public and private calamity ; brought on by a medical experiment,—embraced, without due consideration ; extended, by a rash transgression over the bounds of reason ; and after the fullest conviction of its inutility, obstinately continued, by the most degrading relapse of philosophy that ever disgraced the civilized world.

B. M.

*London, Albany House,  
23d of April, 1805.*



A  
T R E A T I S E

ON THE  
LUES BOVILLA,

OR  
COW POX.

---

P A R T I.

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IN the year 1798 the COW POX *Inoculation* *Mania* seized the people of England *en masse*.

It broke out in the month of April,—like a symptomatic eruption of Nature; the planet Mercury—the delusive author of “vain and fond imaginations,” being then in the zodiacal sign of the Bull.

It increased as the days lengthened; and at Midsummer large societies, of the medical profession which was first attacked, were distempered to an intolerable degree.

While some members of these distinguished bodies were absorbed in deep study, and intense thought, for the good of their patients, the mania stole upon them, taking advantage of the absence of their intellects.

These medical orbs, fixed fast in their firmament, were not known to have had any motion, for the last twenty years. Now they suddenly advanced; left their proper centre of gravity; and surprised the gazing world.

Nothing but what I have mentioned had happened, either in the moral or physical order of things, as præcursor to so extraordinary an event. Effects succeeded causes, as in former years. The sea continued to be green, and salt; and the Thames flowed down to it as usual.

The higher ranks of every description were soon infected by the Doctors, who set the example with a spirit worthy of the Agricultural Society; by experimenting their own flock.

The philanthropist, the calculator, and statesman, were all captivated with the notion, that millions of lives would be saved annually; by which means, neither manufacture, nor slaughter, need to stand still for want of hands.

The tender parent was pleasantly irritated with the “amiable insanity\*.” It promised to remove all cares from the nursery; to mend the race of beauty; and to chase a loathsome disease, and with it ugliness and deformity, from the face of the earth.

The Doctors renounced all discussion, concerning the right of parents, to take what liberties they pleased with their infants; whose sympathies and antipathies, as they cannot be known, they determined to be proper objects for experiment.

It was never agitated to what extent of conscience a parent might go, when children cannot judge for themselves; know nothing of the game that is playing, and are compelled into a lottery, where there can be no losers but themselves.

Parents were not told, that, the project failing, their children, when more advanced in years, would be submitted to the continual dread of the Small Pox; that they might neither be able to undertake business, or pleasure; travel into foreign countries, or stay at home, with a mind at ease; lest the Small Pox, at some unlooked-for hour, should attack them; and

\* HOR. Lib. iii. Od. 4.

that they might not be able to get rid of this dread, by Small Pox Inoculation, as formerly; or by going into infected company; this state of susceptibility being suspended by the Cow Pox poison, while its uncertain action remained in their constitutions.

There was no suspicion excited at the time, in the minds of parents, that before six years should elapse, doubting of the security of the Cow Pox, their alarms would induce them to expose their children to new vexation, to undo what they had done.

The country Lord, Squire, and Parson, incumbered with time, and benevolence, had here employment offered to them; and an opportunity of doing, as they were told, a great deal of good, for a very little money; and also of making themselves better acquainted with their tenants, peasantry, and parishioners.

It was represented as no inconsiderable portion of good fortune to every class of the community; and that it was a distemper that ought to be longed for; particularly by women with child; especially if scrophlula, or mental derangement, had ever appeared in the family. MONRO, and PINEL, were to be starved; and  
*Bedlam,*



*Bedlam*, and the *Bicêtre*, converted into Cow Pox stations.

Wars, rebellions, and religious ferocity, have had their lucid intervals in England. Here, the national mind suffered no pause; but was rapidly borne away in one continual paroxysm of belluous fury.

Ratiocination in such a time was dangerous to its possessor; and many discreet people thought, that among public, as with private maniacs, there was no safety, but by affecting insanity.

Junius Brutus could not have performed better than some. Others acted a spurious part; and not much to their advantage. For, the genuine Cow Poxers gave no quarter. The *قران Koran*, or the *شمشير Shimshyr*, was the law.

Men, who before this epidemic raged in their veins, were not noted for any particular ill manners, or extravagant behaviour; and went about their professional affairs, in the ordinary way; now, possessed of the Taurine spirit, became very alarming; and were not to be met at the bed-side, or even in the streets, without danger\*.

\* See Treatise on the *Influence of the Moon*. TROPICAL DISEASES. Ed. 4th.

It is always a great consolation to temperate minds, that,

*“ nothing violent lasts long.”*

Instead of calm investigation, sedate argument and deliberation, justifying the procession of the Cow Pox Inoculation into the world, it was ushered in, by a theatrical triumph over all the laws of reason; and in open defiance of every principle of pathology, and analogy, in medicine.

At this I revolted. Being satisfied, that the Cow Pox had no affinity to the Small Pox, I was of opinion, that it could not be a certain, and permanent preventive of the Small Pox; and as no person had then the advantage of time, and experience, I was not without apprehensions, from the mischiefs I had seen occasioned by the poisonous virus of deceased animals in France and Germany, that the Cow Pox might be an injurious, and even a fatal contamination of the human frame.

I had a small work then in the Press, when the Cow Pox Inoculation was first practised; and I thought I might render the publick some service, by taking that opportunity of informing them, that this practice had not the unanimous approbation of our Faculty.

The following is the substance of what occurred to me at the time. It has been twice reprinted\*. I should have been more serious, had the conduct of the most active Cow Pox agents been less offensive to literature, and science.

### “ COW POX.

“ The *Cow Pox* has lately appeared in England. This is a new star in the Æsculapian system. It was first observed from the Provinces. It is so luminous there, that the greasy-healed hind feet of Pegasus are visible to the naked eye. The hidden parts of that constellation, which have puzzled astronomers, as to the sex of Pegasus; and which HIPPARCHUS, TYCHO, HEVELIUS, FLAMSTEAD, and HERSCHEL, could never discover. The reason now is evident.

“ The medical Pythonissas are divided in their opinion respecting this phenomenon.

“ Great events are foreboded.—Some pretend that a restive greasy-healed horse will kick down all the old gally-pots of GALEN.—Others,

\* *Medical Tracts*, in January 1799; and in another edition of the same work, in January 1800.

that the people of England are becoming like the inhabitants of a wilderness, beyond the land of Cathay, seen in 1333, by the rare and inimitable Sir JOHN MANDEVILE,—who, he says, were “ wild, with horns on their heads, very hideous and speak not; but rout as swine\*.”

“ To preserve, as far as in me lies, the genesis of this desirable—this excelling distemper, to posterity,—I mention, that it is said to originate in what is called, the *greasy heel* distemper, in horses. These *greasy heels* are said to infect the hands of people who dress and clean them. The hands of people thus infected are said to infect the teats of cows in milking them. The teats of these infected cows in return, are said to infect the hands of others who milk them; and so the distemper is said to be propagated among the country people †.

“ The virtues of this charming distemper are said to be an amulet against the small-pox; that it is mild and innocent; and communicated with safety by inoculation.

\* Quarto ed. 1677. chap. 87.

† See JENNER'S first Publication, intitled “ An Inquiry,” &c. concerning the Cow Pox,” in June 1798.

“ Wonderful

“ Wonderful things do certainly appear in all ages; the great ERASMUS mentions a man, one *Philario*, an Italian, who in Holland was much afflicted with worms. While the worms were in his body, he spoke the Dutch language fluently. When his physician cured him of the disorder, he could not speak a word of that language. The Dutch worms and the Dutch language left *Philario* together \*!

“ In this *Cowmania*, it is not enough for reason to concede, that the Cow-pox may lessen, *for a time*, the disposition in the habit to receive the infection of the Small Pox.

“ All cutaneous determinations; catarrhal, and eruptive fevers,—such as the Chicken Pox; and every disease of the lymphatics; and medicine, tending, to what SYDENHAM would call depurating that system, do the same.

“ Surgeons know, that the first inflammation of any membrane is the most violent: and that reiterated inflammation deadens sensibility.

“ But no complaint to which people are repeatedly subject, as the Cow-pox, can perform all circumstances in the habit, equivalent to

\* CARDAN. *De Rerum Varietate*, Lib. viii. c. 43.

the Small-pox, which people never have but once.

“ Besides, the Small-pox does not destroy the disposition in the habit to receive the Cow-pox.

“ If that be the case, the Small-pox and the Cox-pox, then, are not analogous; but radically dissimilar.

“ The Small-pox is undoubtedly an evil; but we understand the extent of that ill; which we had better bear,

*“ than fly to others that we know not of \*.”*

“ Inoculation has disarmed the Small-pox of its terrors; and reduced it to management †.

“ I have inoculated in the West Indies, and in Europe, several thousands. I never lost a patient. I speak subject to the animadversions of contemporaries. I should not have mentioned this, but that it gives me an opportunity of saying many others have done the same, with the same success. Accidents, in the inoculated Small-pox, are uncommon; and we all know

\* SHAKESPEARE.

† In 1721, and the two following years, there were only 447 persons inoculated in Great Britain.

from experience, that disease, properly treated, leaves nothing after it injurious to the constitution.

“ The subject, respecting the distempers of the brute creation, of which we know but little, has not been overlooked by the learned and curious; nor is history destitute of many instances of their fatal effects to the human race\*.

“ Can any person say what may be the consequences of introducing a *bestial* humour—into the human frame, after a long lapse of years?

“ Who knows, besides, what ideas may rise, in the course of time, from a *brutal* fever having excited its incongruous impressions on the brain?

“ Who knows, also, but that the human character may undergo strange mutations from *quadrupedan* sympathy; and that some modern Pasiphaë may rival the fables of old?

“ I mention this serious trifling, not from disrespect to the ingenious, nor to discourage inquiry; the object well deserves it;—but the doctrine of engrafting distempers is not yet

\* See *Medical Tracts*, Ed. 2d, p. 214.

comprehended by the wisest men; and I wish to arrest the hurry of public credulity, until the subject has undergone a deep, calm, and dispassionate scrutiny; and to guard parents against suffering their children becoming victims to experiment.

“What misery may be brought on a family after many years of imaginary security \* !”

I flattered myself that either my ridicule, or my reasoning, in the preceding publication, had some effect for a while; but I deceived myself. The indecorous became more so. Reason was dethroned, and trampled under foot. The tempest raged. The press groaned dreadfully; and the English language, expired under the load of Cow Pox Pæans.

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On the 2d of December 1799, the second year of the practice of Cow Pox Inoculation, an Institution was established in Warwick Street, with great patronage, and subscription; for gratuitous inoculation.

\* This was the first opposition the Cow Pox Inoculation met with.

Gentlemen



Gentlemen of the first character in Physic, Surgery, and Pharmacy, had the direction of this Institution; which was conducted with great humanity towards the poor, and with all the skill, of which the subject was capable.

*Physicians.*

George Pearson, M. D. F. R. S.

Lawrence Nihell, M. D.

*Consulting Surgeons.*

Thomas Keate, Esq. F. R. S.

John Rush, Esq.

*Surgeons.*

Robert Keate, Esq.

John Gunning, Esq.

*Visiting Apothecaries.*

Augustus Brande, Esq.

Francis Rivers, Esq.

Mr. Everard Brande.

From this trunk, and its numerous confederated ramifications, in town and country, the Cow-Pox doctrine extended; and gained protection and patients, with reports, from every part of England.

On the 19th of July, 1800, an Advertisement appeared in the daily paper called *The Morning Herald*, which excited much attention.

#### ADVERTISEMENT.

“ Many unfounded reports having been circulated, which have a tendency to prejudice the mind of the Public against the Inoculation of the Cow Pox, we, the undersigned Physicians and Surgeons, think it our duty to declare our opinion, that *those persons who have had the Cow Pox are perfectly secure from the infection of the Small Pox.*—We also declare, that *the inoculated Cow Pox is a much milder and safer disease than the inoculated Small Pox.*

William Saunders, M. D.  
 Matthew Baillie, M. D.  
 Henry Vaughan, M. D.  
 Maxwell Garthshore, M. D.  
 J. C. Lettsom, M. D.  
 James Sims, M. D.  
 John Sims, M. D.  
 William Lister, M. D.  
 Robert Willan, M. D.  
 C. Stranger, M. D.  
 Alexander Crichton, M. D.  
 Thomas Bradley, M. D.  
 Thomas Denman, M. D.

Richard

Richard Croft, M. D.  
 R. J. Thornton, M. D.  
 John Abernethy,  
 S. Chilver,  
 Henry Cline.”

Besides the preceding names, the Advertisement contained,—

ἄλλοι εὐκνημιδὲς Ἀχαιοί,

to the amount of about a score.

Here I beg leave to say, complaint has been made, that in my former edition, I thus lessened the momentum of the Advertisement, by diminishing the weight which composed it.

The circumstance so complained of, happened merely from my desire of brevity;—

“ *brevis esse laboro.*”

It is now with great pleasure I insert the remainder of the respectable names, there omitted.

William Blair,  
 Astley Cooper,  
 Edward Ford,  
 J. M. Good,  
 James Horsford,  
 Joseph Hurlock,

Francis

Francis Knight,  
James Leighton,  
James Moore,  
Thomas Paytherus,  
Thomas Pole,  
J. W. Phipps,  
John Ring,  
James Simpson,  
H. L. Thomas,  
Jonathan Wathen,  
Thomas Whateley.

The solemn declarations in the Advertisement,—uncalled for, and arising from pure conscientious motives, could not fail to have great effect with the publick.

It was not to be supposed that so many well-informed men had made up their minds hastily, on a subject which so much concerned their characters; and the dearest interests of society.

But as the unfounded reports, alluded to in this Advertisement, originated with me, no other person having opposed the Cow Pox Inoculation *in limine*, I thought it my duty to examine the matter deeper. I was again prepared for the Press. Considerations, however, far more weighty than the defence of my opinions, or the apprehensions of imputation, for attempting

attempting to damp the ardour which was then favouring Dr. JENNER, made me relinquish my design. I now prosecute it with reluctance.

In March 1802, I received the following summons from the House of Commons.

*“ At the Committee to whom the Petition of Dr. Jenner is referred, Admiral Berkeley in the Chair,*

*Ordered, Martis, 23<sup>o</sup> die Martii, 1802.*

*That Dr. Moseley do attend this Committee to-morrow at 2 o'clock.*

*(Signed) G. Berkeley.”*

I attended accordingly; and waited until my professional private engagements required that I should ask permission, for leave to return the next day. I then had the honour to be examined,

*“ On Dr. Jenner’s Petition respecting his discovery of Vaccine Inoculation,”*

and gave the following opinion; which appears, No. 30, in the Appendix to the Report of the Committee, printed by order of the House of Commons, on the 6th of May 1802.

“ It requires more time than has yet elapsed, since the practice of inoculation for the Cow Pox commenced, to enable me to give a correct opinion on a subject of such magnitude to the human race. Neither do I think this can properly be done until the enthusiasm which has hitherto accompanied this novelty in medicine subsides.

“ I attempted, at the time, in a medical miscellaneous work, when this practice first spread itself, to arrest the hurry which I perceived was bearing away the public opinion like a torrent\*.—But I then found, inculcating caution had no effect; and that there was no reasoning with minds in a state of inflammation; and I accordingly suppressed all farther observations, which I intended for the publick; as I should then have done no good, and made many unhappy.

“ How far the Cow Pox may be advantageous, and preferable to the Small Pox, must depend on the result of time and experience.

“ If the Cow Pox, as it is said, be a certain preventive against the Small Pox; so that people who have had the Cow Pox can never have the Small Pox:—

\* See page 6.

“ If, as it is said also, that it do not leave any foul humours in the blood, or vitiate the constitution of people inoculated therewith :

“ If, as it is moreover said, that it be a disease, mild in its progress, and safe in its termination;—for introducing the Cow Pox, and suppressing the ravages of the Small Pox, Dr. JENNER will have conferred a most essential benefit on mankind.—

“ But these are points, on which I am not yet satisfied.”

This opinion so little favouring Cow Pox Inoculation, had no more effect on the Committee, than my publication against it, four years before, had on the publick.

It ought not, when compared with what follows; given in evidence before the same Committee.

“ DR. ASH, Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, stated that he had three of his own children inoculated with it; he considers it as a much milder disease than the inoculated Small Pox, as it has never yet proved fatal, nor is it capable of being caught by contagion. It is an effectual and permanent security against the

Small Pox; which fact has been sufficiently proved by the immense body of experiments which have been made. The Cow Pox has less tendency to stir other diseases in the human frame than the inoculated Small Pox, which has been sometimes known to leave behind it a disposition to Scrophula and other complaints.”

“ MR. HOME, F. R. S. Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, and Surgeon to St. George’s Hospital. His own opinion is best stated by having had one of his own children inoculated with vaccine matter; and he is perfectly satisfied with its security: and whenever he has been called in to inoculate children of delicate constitutions for the Small Pox, he has always objected to it, and used his influence and advice in favour of Vaccine Inoculation, which disturbs the constitution less than almost any other disease.”

“ DR. WOODVILLE, Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians, and Physician to the Small Pox Hospital, considers Dr. Jenner as the original discoverer of Vaccine Inoculation. He has introduced it in one of the hospitals under his care, in consequence of the communications of Dr. Jenner. He gives the preference to the Vaccine over the Small Pox Inoculation, because he finds it equally certain in  
securing



securing the patient from the Small Pox, because it is without danger or risk of life, and not, like the Small Pox, contagious. One patient in the hospital was said to have died of the Vaccine Inoculation; but in his opinion it was not so, as he had previously caught the Small Pox in the natural way, to which his death ought to be attributed. He has inoculated 7,500 patients up to last January with the Vaccine disease, about half of which number have been since inoculated with Small Pox matter, in none of whom did the Small Pox produce any effect."

"DR. BLANE did not desist from making inquiries, as some of his children have suffered much from the Small Pox. His inquiries led him to see how it was practised in the Inoculation Hospital, from whence he came away so much prejudiced against it that he inoculated one of his children with the Small Pox; soon after he found the opinions he had taken up, to arise from the Vaccine having mixed itself with the variolous infection in this hospital; and his farther inquiries ended in a perfect conviction of the merits of Vaccine Inoculation, insomuch that he inoculated another of his children with it, who went through it perfectly well, and has since resisted the variolous infection, which was performed seventeen months after the other.

If the Vaccine was universally substituted, he thinks the Small Pox must in a short time be extinct. He has heard of objections and prejudices against this method, but upon inquiry he has found them grounded on fallacy or misrepresentations; an instance of which occurred in the 10th regiment of Dragoons, where he found that the lancets made use of had been confounded with others armed with variolous matter, which probably occasioned the report of Small Pox infection having succeeded the inoculation with Vaccine matter. He gave two or three other instances equally injurious to the practice of Vaccine Inoculation, which were evidently founded on misapprehension. He believes most of these cases to have arisen from the using of matter taken at too late a period of the pustule, which may equally happen in inoculating for the Small Pox with virus taken at an improper period of maturation.”

“ MR. KNIGHT, Surgeon Extraordinary and Inspector General of Army Hospitals, considers Dr. JENNER as the inventor of Vaccine Inoculation, and prefers it to that of Small Pox, from its being so mild and uncommunicative a disease, without the risk or danger which accompanies the Small Pox; has seen some cases of spurious kind, which he considers to arise exactly from the mistakes mentioned by the last witness, and  
which

which the Small Pox infection is equally liable to; he attributes the failure of the few instances mentioned to have arisen, to inexperience in the treatment. He knows of no disorders which can be excited by Vaccine Inoculation."

"The Reverend G. C. JENNER is conversant in the practice of Vaccine Inoculation, and has inoculated 3,000 persons, without meeting with one unfavourable case, although he has inoculated persons from the earliest infancy to eighty years of age, and under those circumstances in which it would not be prudent or indeed safe to inoculate with variolous virus, such as children at the time of dentition, and women in every stage of pregnancy, from the first month to the last week. Upwards of two hundred of his patients have since been inoculated with active Small Pox matter, and at least an equal number exposed to contagious effluvia, but in no one instance was the Small Pox produced. On the arms of some of those inoculated with Small Pox, a slight local inflammation shewed itself, which disappeared in the course of four or five days; some of these persons were put to the test of the Small Pox, after a period of a year. The perfect pustule is always to be distinguished from the imperfect or spurious, by those who have paid a proper attention to the practice of Vaccine Inoculation.

He believes that Vaccine Inoculation will frequently supersede the infection of the Small Pox, when the patient has been exposed to a variolated atmosphere previous to the inoculation, in confirmation of which he related a case under his own immediate observation. A boy, infected with the natural Small Pox, came home to his father's cottage; four days after the eruption had appeared upon this boy, the family (none of whom had ever had the Small Pox), consisting of the father, mother, and five children, were inoculated with Vaccine virus; on the arm of the mother it failed to produce the least effect, and she had the Small Pox; but the six others had the Cow Pox in the usual mild way, and were not affected with the Small Pox, although they were in the same room, and the children slept in the same bed with their brother, who was confined to it with the natural Small Pox, and subsequently they slept with their mother. He is of opinion, that if the practice of Vaccine Inoculation is universally adopted, it will in a short time annihilate the Small Pox. He has known many instances of the infection not taking in the early part of his practice, owing to his using Vaccine virus taken at too advanced a stage of the disease; but, since he has made it a rule never to inoculate with matter after the eighth or ninth day of the disease, he has seldom met with a failure.

failure. He inoculated 238 individuals on the same day, with recent fluid virus, taken on the eighth day of the disease, and every one of them had the Cow Pox in the most perfect manner. The progress of the Cow Pox is in general uniform; he has seen a few exceptions; one or two cases have occurred when the progress of the disease has been retarded for at least a fortnight before there were any visible appearances of the inoculation having succeeded. The course of the spurious disorder is universally quicker than the perfect, so as to form a certain criterion between the sorts, in every case which has come under his observation; when the pustule assumes the genuine character, the patient may be considered as safe from any future attack of Small Pox, although there has been no apparent constitutional indisposition."

"MR. JOHN GRIFFITHS, Surgeon to the Queen's Household, and to St. George's Hospital, has inoculated upwards of 1500 persons with Vaccine matter, not one of whom has had any untoward symptom; among them three of his own children, at various periods within three years."

"DR. THOMAS DENMAN considers Vaccine Inoculation as a safe practice, and believes it to be a perfect preventive of the Small Pox, if properly

properly conducted ; and he considers Dr. Jenner exclusively as the discoverer.”

“ MR. WILLIAM CUFF, Drawing Master, stated, that from having been employed between three and four years in making the plates for illustrating Dr. Jenner’s System of Inoculation, he had formed precise ideas of the difference between the true and spurious Vaccine pustule.”

“ DR. CROFT has paid particular attention to Vaccine Inoculation ever since its first introduction : from that time his own children have been inoculated with it, and he has uniformly recommended it to his patients ; he has even recommended infants to be inoculated at the end of the month, but he never dared to recommend the inoculation of the Small Pox earlier than at two years of age, except under very particular circumstances. He is of opinion, that if the Vaccine Inoculation were generally introduced, it would be productive of greater blessings on mankind than any other discovery that was ever made in medicine, as it would ultimately cause the Small Pox only to be remembered by name.”

“ DR. NELSON, Physician to the Vaccine Pock Institution, believes that about 700 persons had  
been

been inoculated in that institution, that they had universally done well, and none of them had since had the Small Pox, though a considerable number of them had been inoculated with variolous matter, and exposed in a variety of ways to the contagion of Small Pox. He had found by repeated experiments that it was certainly best to take the matter before the eleventh day, although he had seen it produce the true Vaccine disease when taken as late as the thirteenth, but it was more sure of exciting the disease when taken at an early period. He recollected about three cases, where the patients had been repeatedly inoculated without any appearance of a true Vaccine vesicle; he believed these three patients were afterwards inoculated with Small Pox, without effect; he had seen several cases of Small Pox going on at the same time with the Vaccine disease, but those cases were so favourable, that he could not say whether the Vaccine Inoculation had any effect upon the Small Pox. He had never observed any disease to have been excited by the Vaccine Inoculation; on the contrary, the health of sickly children was in general much mended by it."

“ SIR GEORGE BAKER, F. R. S. Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and Physician to Their Majesties, recollects having had a correspondence with the Rev. Herman Drew, of  
Abbots

Abbots in Devonshire, 25 years ago; the result was, there was an opinion prevailing in his neighbourhood, that dairy maids, who happened to get the Cow Pox, were no longer subjected to accidental infection of the Small Pox. The papers relating to this subject were burnt by accident. He knows of no instance of the Vaccine Inoculation creating or exciting any constitutional disorder, or of its being fatal.”

“ DR. PEARSON, F. R. S. Physician to St. George’s Hospital, and to the Vaccine Pock Institution, states himself to have been acquainted with the practice of Vaccine Inoculation since 1799; he derived his knowledge in the first instance from Dr. Jenner; afterwards he got information from other sources [refers to letters from Dr. Pulteney and the Rev. Herman Drew, dated in 1790, containing an account from Mr. Dolling at Blandford, of persons who have had the Cow Pox from the Cow, being inoculated with the Small Pox without having received any infection therefrom; and particularly in one case related by Dr. Pulteney, of a farmer in Dorsetshire, who inoculated his wife and children with matter taken from the teat of a cow, who all did well, and were afterwards inoculated for the Small Pox; but no eruptions followed]. Upon being asked, Whether the information



information contained in these letters arose from Dr. Jenner's publication of his discovery, or from previous knowledge of Vaccine Inoculation? he answered, That he imagined they were independent of each other. He states, that the discovery of inoculating with the Vaccine matter from one human being to another, is exclusively Dr. Jenner's. He farther stated, that although Dr. Jenner first set on foot the Vaccine Inoculation, it was established by the extensive practice of other persons; to wit, Dr. Woodville and himself, who both published Treatises and Lists of Cases on the subject; he said, that they had in the course of this practice discovered some errors in the theory and opinions first published by Dr. Jenner; which opinions, however, he said, on being questioned, Dr. Jenner had not retracted, or admitted to be erroneous; and being asked, Whether Mr. Cline had not inoculated with Vaccine matter furnished by Dr. Jenner, before he and Dr. Woodville began the practice? he said, he could not distinctly recollect."

“ DR. THORNTON, Physician to the Mary-le-bone Dispensary, stated the case of two children belonging to Lord Somerville's coachman, whom he inoculated three years ago, with what he supposed to be true Cow Pox matter; the matter from which the inoculation was performed

formed at that early period of Vaccine Inoculation, was taken indiscriminately as long as there appeared a pustule from whence matter could be procured, he being unacquainted at that time, that the Cow Pox Inoculation ceased to produce the disease after a certain period, which was known to Dr. Jenner, and published by him, and forms one of the important discoveries respecting the new practice; he was some time afterwards informed that these two children had the Small Pox, and upon examining their arms, there were found no scars, which is a criterion that these children had not had the true Cow Pox, and he was confirmed in this belief by the mother of the children declaring that the pustules had advanced more rapidly than in the true Cow Pox; this case appears to him important, as exhibiting a proof that all other cases adduced against the general principle of security from Vaccine Inoculation, must arise from want of acquaintance of the inoculator with the period when to take the matter; which difficulty he deems to be now completely done away, by Dr. Jenner having elucidated a subject before involved in much obscurity. He further states that matter taken from a pustule, which was a week old, never failed to produce the true Cow Pox; but in the aforementioned instance of the two children, he has great reason to believe that it was taken  
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the fourteenth day, or later; he states another source of spurious cases in the lancet being corroded with the Cow Pox Matter, on which it is placed: he inoculated a week before some patients from the same matter with which he inoculated the afore-mentioned children, who went through the disease in a regular way; one patient in particular has been, during these last three years, inoculated with Small Pox matter at least twelve different times; and has even slept with a person who died of the natural Small Pox, and has been otherways exposed, but could not take the infection. He says, when he was in the North, at Lord Lonsdale's, he inoculated upwards of 1000 persons, and completely satisfied himself, and all the medical practitioners in that part of England, that the Cow Pox was a mild disease, hardly deserving that appellation; not contagious, never disfiguring the person, never producing blindness, never fatal, nor exciting other diseases; equally safe, whether during the period of pregnancy, or the earliest infancy, or extreme old age."

“MR. KEATE, Surgeon General to the Army, and Surgeon to the Queen, and to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, stated, that some papers given to him, relative to inoculation, by his nephew, and mentioned by Dr. Pearson, had never been made public; that in 1799, in  
consequence

consequence of seeing a number of Dr. Pearson's patients, he had practised and endeavoured to extend Vaccine Inoculation in the army, and to the poor of London. He thinks it easy to distinguish whether the patient has effectually had the disorder; that it excites no humours or disorders in the constitution. He considers Dr. Jenner as the person to whom much merit is due for publishing the cases of Vaccine Inoculation, which practice he never heard of before that publication."

"MR. ROBERT KEATE, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, and Assistant Surgeon to St. George's Hospital, stated, that the papers alluded to by his uncle were given him by Mr. Nash, the son of the author; that he understood they were written about 1781; and being asked whether Dr. Jenner was known to Mr. Nash, said, he had heard from Mr. Battiscombe yesterday, that he believed he had heard Mr. Nash (the author of these papers) and his sister mention the name of Dr. Jenner, but was not at all certain it was this Dr. Jenner."

"MR. THOMAS NASH said, the papers were written by his father between the year 1781 and 1785; that, at his death, they were sent by his mother to her brother Mr. Battiscombe, who, without making them public, or divulging their contents,

contents, gave them to the witness in 1795 or 1796; he kept them to himself until 1799 or 1800, when he gave them to Mr. Robert Keate; he heard from rumour that Dr. Jenner might have been known to his father; heard it from Mr. Robert Keate; he was inoculated by his father in 1781, and supposes that it might have been with Vaccine matter, as it appears by the manuscripts, and by information from his mother, that his father was at that time making experiments of Vaccine Inoculation.”

“ MR. GARDNER has known Dr. Jenner more than 22 years, and been in the constant practice of hearing his medical opinions and discoveries. It was in the month of May 1780, that Dr. Jenner first informed him of the particular nature of the Cow Pox as a sure preventive from Small Pox, and the theory he had framed on the subject; declaring his full and perfect confidence that it might be continued in perpetuity of inoculation from one human being to another, in the same way with the Small Pox.”

“ MR. BIRCH, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, Surgeon to St. Thomas's Hospital, and Surgeon Extraordinary to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, has seen Vaccine Inoculation often, but has never practised it, and does not  
D think

think that he has seen facts sufficient under his own inspection, to form a positive judgment, having been frequently deceived by the reports of facts in other matters. A case occurred in St. Thomas's Hospital of a child at the breast, the mother being admitted for fever, which proved to be Small Pox; the child was inoculated for the Cow Pox (not by the witness, for he objected to this new experiment), and went through the Vaccine disorder satisfactorily in the opinion of those who inoculated him. After the Small Pox had terminated in the mother, her child was taken very ill with fever; but on the appearance of eruption he grew better, and in that state they were dismissed. The witness saw the child afterwards, and believes that the eruption was no other than the Small Pox; though it was called at that time an hybrid disease. He made no notes, nor can he recollect the day on which the eruption appeared, nor does he know that it was later than in the usual progress of the Small Pox. Similar circumstances occurring soon afterwards in the same hospital, in two or three cases, made it evident that patients, having previously received Small Pox infection, were not secured from the consequences of it by Vaccine Inoculation: none of these cases were fatal. He has no doubt, that in the above cases the patients were infected with Small Pox previous to their inoculation  
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with Vaccine matter: but he is of opinion that if they had been inoculated with the Small Pox matter, they would only have had the inoculated sort of Small Pox, and would have escaped the natural sort. His own practice in Small Pox Inoculation has been extensive and successful; and he never lost one patient. He has heard much of spurious Cow Pox, and all the failures which have been talked of have been attributed to that. He knows no instance of a person, after having gone through the Cow Pox, catching the Small Pox upon being exposed to it."

" DR. LISTER, Physician to St. Thomas's Hospital, and formerly Physician to the Small Pox Hospital, stated, that in July 1800, a woman, named Sarah Howard, with a child, Abraham Howard, about twelve months old, at her breast, was admitted for Small Pox on 24th July. Sarah Howard was taken ill on the 19th July, and, according to her account, the Small Pox appeared on the 20th. Abraham Howard was inoculated with Cow Pox matter on the 26th July, and became ill on the 2d of August; an eruption was first seen on the 9th, and was first discovered by him on the 12th; it had then only two or three pustules, one on the wrist, and another on the neck, which were scabbing, and contained a small quantity of pus.

He did not see them after, but understood that the pustules disappeared in two or three days; but he saw the child afterwards, and there were no marks where the pustules had been. His opinion at the time was, that from the appearance of the pustules, it was impossible to determine the nature of the eruption; it was probable that it was eruption connected with teething, as the child about that time cut two teeth; it might, however, have been local Small Pox, such as takes place in nurses, who have already had the Small Pox, in nursing Small Pox patients; it was possible, however, that it might be constitutional Small Pox; but this is unlikely, both from its appearing too late after exposure to Small Pox infection, and from no illness having preceded it; for the illness which took place on 2d August, was too long before to be the occasion of an eruption which appeared on the 9th: but whatever was the nature of the eruption, the case certainly affords no objection to the practice of Cow Pox Inoculation, as the child had been so long exposed to Small Pox infection, before it was inoculated with Cow Pox. He conceives that the inoculation of Small Pox in the metropolis, has been one of the great causes of keeping up the infection of that disease, and, consequently, of its spreading; he believes Vaccine Inoculation to be a much milder disease, and equally with  
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the Small Pox Inoculation to prevent the casual Small Pox, and at the same time not to be capable of communicating infection by contact or effluvia.”

“ MR. CLINE, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, and Surgeon to St. Thomas’s Hospital, stated, that in July 1798, he received some Vaccine matter from Dr. Jenner, with which he inoculated a boy who had not had the Small Pox; when he had gone through the stages of Vaccine Inoculation, he tried to infect him with Small Pox by inoculation, but in vain. This circumstance, together with the communications he received from Dr. Jenner, produced the strongest conviction in his mind of the great utility of this practice, and he therefore recommended it strongly to all his friends, amongst whom was Sir Walter Farquhar; and he perfectly recollects the conversation relative to the emolument Dr. Jenner might derive from the practice of Vaccine Inoculation; but Dr. Jenner at that time declined settling in London. Mr. Cline looks upon it as the greatest discovery ever made in the practice of physic, for the preservation of the human race, as the Small Pox has been the most destructive of all diseases. He was consulted upon the case of a child of Mr. Austin at Clapton, with whom it was said the Cow Pox Inoculation had failed; but from

particular inquiries of the parents and nurse, he was perfectly convinced the child had never received the Vaccine disease, and this evidence Mr. Taylor, the surgeon who inoculated it, confirmed. He thinks that experience has sufficiently demonstrated that persons inoculated with the Cow Pox, are incapable of receiving the Small Pox; and he believes that in the instances where the Small Pox has been caught, and the patient has, before the coming out of the disease, been inoculated with the Cow Pox, it mitigates the virulence of the Small Pox. The Vaccine Disease is not contagious, nor does it create any blemish on the human frame; nor does it excite scrophula, or any other disease, which is sometimes the case with the inoculated Small Pox.

“ In November, 1800, he performed the operation for the Stone on William Rensch, a child in Isaac's Ward of St. Thomas's Hospital. In a few days after, hearing that this boy was in great danger of catching the Small Pox, he directed that he should be inoculated with Cow Pock Matter, which took effect, and proceeded in the usual manner: but in thirteen days after this inoculation, a few eruptions appeared that seemed to be variolous.

“ Admitting

“ Admitting these eruptions were the true Small Pox, the time of their appearance shows the infection had been received before the child was inoculated with Cow Pock Matter: for the natural Small Pox frequently does not appear until sixteen or eighteen days after the patient has been exposed to infection.

“ A second case was in November 1801. The child of Mary Solloway, in Mary’s Ward of the said hospital: this child was known to have been exposed to the infection of Small Pox, and therefore the mother permitted it to be inoculated with Cow Pock Matter, but in four days after, the Small Pox appeared, and the disease was very severe; however the child recovered.

“ A third case was a patient of Dr. Lister’s, whose mother had the Small Pox. In six days after the complaint had appeared in the mother, the child was inoculated with Cow Pock matter, and the complaint from this inoculation proceeded as usual; but in about fifteen days a few eruptions appeared that were of a doubtful nature.

“ From the most minute inquiry, these are all the cases which have occurred in St. Thomas’s Hospital, where variolous eruptions have suc-

ceeded the Vaccine Inoculation, in each of which there can be no doubt that the patients were exposed to the infection of Small Pox previous to their being inoculated."

"DR. ROWLEY, Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians, was at Oxford last July, and was informed by Professor Wall and other Professors, that there were several children in Oxford who had received the Small Pox after having been inoculated with the Cow Pox. He visited the Mary-le-bone Infirmary, and saw two children in the Small Pox; the father of the children informed him that Dr. Williams and Mr. Jenner had inoculated these children in the preceding autumn, and supposing his children secure from Small Pox, he had permitted them to go where the Small Pox existed, which they caught; one of them died, the other recovered. He never had an opportunity of mentioning this circumstance to Dr. Wall afterwards. He did not examine the arms of the children, where the Cow Pox Inoculation was said to have taken place. He has not seen many cases of spurious Cow Pox; he has seen ulcers succeed in the beginning of Vaccine Inoculation, but that has been entirely obviated by the subsequent practice; he does not know by what change in the practice these disastrous circumstances are now prevented; he has seen  
symp-

symptoms of a worse nature arise after Small Pox Inoculation, particularly scrophula and abscesses, which have appeared in different parts, and at last proved fatal.”

“DR. BRADLEY, Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians, and Physician to the Westminster Hospital, believes Vaccine Inoculation will prevent the Small Pox to the extent of human life; for the natural Cow Pox has already been proved to do so. He thinks that if Dr. Jenner had settled in London, and kept the practice a secret, he might have made £.10,000 per annum for the first five years, and double that sum afterwards. He believes the computation of deaths occasioned by inoculated Small Pox, to be one in three hundred in England.”

“SIR WALTER FARQUHAR, Baronet, Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians, and Physician to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, stated, that he never heard of Vaccine Inoculation, previous to its introduction by Dr. Jenner. Two of his own grand-children were inoculated at the same time; one with the Small Pox in the usual manner, who had it first in a favourable manner, but latterly attended with considerable eruption and convulsion fits; the other child was inoculated with the Cow Pox, which he underwent in the mildest manner possible,

sible, and on the 12th day from the inoculation was brought home to his brother, and lived with him during the progress of the Small Pox, without the smallest symptoms of catching it. He considers Vaccine Inoculation as the greatest discovery which has been made for many years; thinks Dr. Jenner has suffered in his fortune materially by making this discovery public; that on its first being communicated to him by Mr. Cline, he said, that if Dr. Jenner was confident of its success, and would reside in London, he would insure him £.10,000 *per ann.*; but that if he suffered the secret to be divulged, every practitioner would get hold of it, and Dr. Jenner lose all chance of emolument. This has actually happened, and he has therefore lost the opportunity of making his fortune. He is opinion that Vaccine Inoculation is a permanent security against variolous infection, and it never has proved fatal. The general computation of the mortality of the Small Pox, when performed in the best manner, is about one in three hundred."

" DR. JAMES SIMS, Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians, and President of the Medical Society of London, stated, that he was originally adverse to Vaccine Inoculation, but his confidence has been increasing in it every hour, from the repeated trials and authorities  
cited

cited of its efficacy. He never heard of it before Dr. Jenner's publication, to whom alone he attributes the discovery, which he looks upon to be the most useful ever made in medicine; he thinks that if Dr. Jenner had kept it a secret, as he might have done, he might, during his life (if protracted to a moderate length) have become the richest man in these kingdoms. The Vaccine Disease does not introduce any other disorder into the human frame. The computation made of deaths occasioned by the natural Small Pox, by Dr. Jurin and others, is one in six. He laid before the Committee a testimony, unanimously resolved upon by the Medical Society of London (which consists of above 150 members resident in the metropolis, and of more than double that number residing elsewhere) in favour of this very important discovery, signed by himself as President."

" DR. SAUNDERS, Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and Physician to Guy's Hospital, considers Vaccine Inoculation as one of the most important discoveries that was ever made for the benefit of the human race, and believes that if the practice continues to prevail, it bids fair ultimately to extirpate the poison of the natural Small Pox. He considers Dr. Jenner as the first person who ascertained the various and important facts upon this subject, and who made an application of those facts for  
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the benefit of mankind. He further stated as his opinion, that if Dr. Jenner had rendered the subject more studiously mysterious, and by that means secured to himself in some degree a monopoly of the practice, instead of acting towards the publick and the profession in the liberal and candid manner he has done, it would have been a source of much greater emolument to him."

" DR. LETTSOM, F. R. S. Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians, and Physician Extraordinary to the City of London Lying-in-Hospital, stated, that he looked upon Dr. Jenner to be the discoverer of Vaccine Inoculation. He believes that the Inoculation of the Cow Pox secures the person inoculated from the Small Pox, as much as the method of inoculation for the Small Pox, with this difference, that the Cow Pox is not infectious. Vaccine Inoculation has diminished the fatality occasioned by the natural Small Pox, by lessening the number susceptible of taking it. He thought that the genuine Cow Pox was never fatal; he had reason to conclude that about 60,000 persons had been inoculated with Cow Pox. He had heard cursorily of four deaths, but upon minute inquiry he was convinced that three of them had no connection with the Cow Pox; of the fourth he had received no accurate information.



mation. He had not known any inconveniences to follow the spurious sort of Cow Pox. He further stated, that if Dr. Jenner had kept this practice a secret to himself, he might have derived immense pecuniary profits; and that, considering the apparent incredibility of the practice to common observation, and the secrecy with which the Suttonians long monopolized the inoculation of Small Pox, he was fully convinced that Dr. Jenner might have exclusively kept the practice to himself for a long period. Upon being asked, Whether he had ever known a patient, who had been inoculated for the Small Pox, undergo that disease a second time? he replied, that he had two relations inoculated under the Suttonian method, both of whom afterwards took the Small Pox in a natural way, and one of whom died; and less than twelve months ago, he had attended two children in different families, the parents of which assured him that they had been inoculated for the Small Pox a year or two before his attendance, when both were attacked severely with the natural Small Pox."

" DR. FRAMPTON, Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and Physician to the London Hospital, considers the Cow Pox as a safe disease, and far milder than the inoculated Small Pox; he has never found it fail in preventing the  
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the attack of Small Pox. He has inoculated three of his own children (one of them two years and a half old) whom he had inoculated three several times with the Small Pox matter without effect. He considers Dr. Jenner as the original proposer of Vaccine Inoculation. He did not imagine that he could long have kept this new practice an entire secret, although by not making it public, in the manner he has done, he might undoubtedly have reaped much greater emolument."

"DR. BAILLIE, Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and late Physician of St. George's Hospital, stated, that he had not the opportunity of seeing many cases of Cow Pox (because it was so mild as scarcely to deserve the name of a disease) but he had seen however a few cases, in order to become thoroughly acquainted with the appearance and progress of the Cow Pox pustule. He believes that when a patient has properly undergone the Cow Pox, he is perfectly secure from the Small Pox. In the present improved state of society and of physic, it might be difficult to keep any discovery of this sort altogether a secret; but if Dr. Jenner had not chosen openly and honourably to have explained to the public all that he knew upon this subject, he might, considering the difficulties that attend the determination of  
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the most proper time for taking the Cow Pox matter for inoculation, and the exact appearance of the fluid in its most proper state, have acquired a considerable fortune. He thought this new mode of inoculation the most important discovery that had ever been made in medicine, because the disease might be given safely in the earliest periods of infancy, in the weakest constitutions, and under peculiar circumstances, in which the Small Pox was always very hazardous; as for example, during pregnancy. The Cow Pox, not being communicable by effluvia, like the Small Pox, if it were adopted universally, would ultimately banish the Small Pox from the class of diseases. He had never heard of an instance in which the Vaccine Inoculation had introduced or excited any disease; but he had known instances of the absorbent glands becoming enlarged and scrophulous, soon after a patient had undergone the Small Pox; these instances happen sufficiently often to make a general impression upon the minds of medical men, that the constitution was sometimes excited to form scrophula, in consequence of the irritation that it had previously undergone during the Small Pox."

This was the whole substance of the medical testimony, given before the Committee. There were several other professional gentlemen examined;

amined; but all of them held the same opinions;—and all in favour of the Cow Pox.—Therefore I hope no offence will be taken at my having omitted their names; and request to refer for my apology to page 15.

After the Report of such a body, or rather soul of evidence, the Parliament voted £.10,000 to DR. JENNER, clear of all contingencies and expences.

Thus sanctioned by the English Parliament the practice of Cow Pox Inoculation became universal in this country; and extended to many other parts of Europe, and to America.

In January 1803, “The ROYAL JENNERIAN SOCIETY for the EXTERMINATION of the Small Pox” was instituted, in Salisbury Court, Fleet Street.

Benevolence, and—

*“ good will towards men,”*

so characteristic of the English nation, were never more truly displayed, than on this occasion.

Impressed

Impressed with the fullest conviction, that the universal propagation of the Cow Pox would exterminate, by anticipation, the Small Pox,—almost all the great and good people in the land, by patronising this Institution, thought to accomplish the blessed and god-like work.

It was conducted by the following gentlemen.

MEDICAL COUNCIL.

*President,*

Edward Jenner, M. D.

*Vice-president,*

J. C. Lettsom, M. D.

William Babington, M. D.

Robert Batty, M. D.

Gilbert Blane, M. D.

Thomas Bradley, M. D.

Isaac Buxton, M. D.

John Clark, M. D.

Alexander Crichton, M. D.

Richard Croft, M. D.

Thomas Denman, M. D.

William Pitts Dimsdale, M. D.

Philip Elliott, M. D.

Sir Walter Farquhar, Bart. M. D.

E.

W. M.

W. M. Fraser, M. D.  
James Hamilton, M. D.  
William Hamilton, M. D.  
William Hawes, M. D.  
Robert Hooper, M. D.  
Alexander J. G. Marcet, M. D.  
Samuel Pett, M. D.  
Richard Powell, M. D.  
James Sims, M. D.  
William Lister, M. D.  
Joseph Skey, M. D.  
Thomas Turner, M. D.  
Robert Willan, M. D.  
John Abernethy, Esq.  
John Addington, Esq.  
C. R. Aikin, Esq.  
William Chamberlaine, Esq.  
Henry Cline, Esq.  
Astley Cooper, Esq.  
John Curtis, Esq.  
John Dimsdale, Esq.  
Edward Ford, Esq.  
Joseph Fox, Esq.  
William Gaitskell, Esq.  
John Griffith, Esq.  
Everard Home, Esq.  
Joseph Hurlock, Esq.  
Charles Johnson, Esq.  
George Johnson, Esq.  
Thomas Key, Esq.

L. Leese, Esq.

John Pearson, Esq.

John Ring, Esq.

James Upton, Esq.

Allen Williams, Esq.

*Secretary to the Medical Council,*

John Walker, M. D.

This Society, for EXTERMINATION, spared no pains to extend this new part of the new doctrine; as the following selections from their publication, will shew.

*“ An ADDRESS to be presented by Clergymen, at the Baptism of Children.*

*“ To Fathers and Mothers,*

*“ You who are parents must feel yourselves not less bound by religion, than prompted by affection, to guard your child from every impending evil; and especially from infectious diseases endangering its life. No human malady can give more serious cause of alarm than the SMALL POX. When taken in the natural way, it is, as you well know, violent, painful, and often fatal. Even in those who recover from it, the countenance is permanently disfigured, or the constitution receives some irretrievable*

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injury,

injury, by loss of sight, deafness, tedious ulcers, white-swellings, consumption, &c.—In the Small Pox, communicated by Inoculation, there is certainly less danger; but to ensure success, the most anxious attention and nicest management are requisite for a length of time.—Notwithstanding every precaution, the inoculated Small Pox has, in many cases, proved fatal: and it is further highly objectionable, since, by spreading infection, it endangers the lives of all persons in the neighbourhood, who have not previously had the disease. A mild and certain preventive of the Small Pox was a few years ago providentially discovered by the **JENNERIAN INOCULATION** of the Cow Pock. This, after the strictest inquiry, has been approved and recommended by the British Parliament; and is now extensively practised, under the patronage of their Majesties, and the whole Royal Family. The new Inoculation may be safely performed at every season of the year, and at every period of life, since it occasions no material disorder, nor is attended with any danger whatever. At the same time no infection is communicable from the persons inoculated to others with whom they have intercourse. Thus this simple and easy process, without endangering the community, preserves all those who undergo it from a most loathsome disease; and never excites in  
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the constitution the dreadful maladies above-mentioned, which so frequently succeed both the natural and inoculated Small Pox.

“ That you might not remain ignorant of so inestimable a blessing, this short statement is presented to you ; and as you value the life of your infant, and the safety of your neighbourhood, you will immediately avail yourselves of the advantage offered to you ; for doubly poignant must be your sorrow, if, by neglecting so to do, your child should perish, or be materially injured by the Small Pox.

“ (Signed)

“ Minister of ”

Great subscriptions were made in this cause of humanity. The Duke of Bedford gave £ 52. 10 s. The East India Company £ 100. The Corporation of the City of London £ 500. The whole amount of the first subscription, in which were the names of almost all the philanthropists in England, was something more than £ 3500.

After the statement of the subscription, the Directors conclude their pamphlet concerning the plan of the Institution, with the following

exhortation, and directions for bequeathing money to them, by Wills, and Testaments :

“ The public must be aware that in an undertaking of such magnitude, where information is necessary to be so widely and generally diffused, and where so many agents are requisite to carry the designs of the Society into effect, a very considerable expence will unavoidably be incurred.

“ The Directors therefore earnestly appeal to that prompt liberality, which, upon important occasions, has ever been a distinguishing characteristic of the British Public, to enable them to prosecute with success a plan, which involves not only the dearest interests of human nature, and the soundest principles of national policy, but the reputation of this country, where the invaluable discovery originated, in the eyes of Europe, and of the world.

“ The following form is recommended to those who may be disposed to become Benefactors to the Society by their last Will ;

“ I give and bequeath the Sum of £ . . . .  
out of my personal Estate, to the Trustees for  
the time being, of the ROYAL JENNERIAN SO-  
CIETY, for the EXTERMINATION of the  
SMALL

SMALL Pox, established in London in 1803, to be applied towards the charitable designs of the said Society.”

With the Society's pamphlet, another was circulated, written by the Rev. Thomas Alston Warren, for the benefit of his parishioners; which the Directors advertise, and thank him for his “handsome permission to print it, for the use of the Society,”—the substance of which is as follows.

“ *An ADDRESS from a Country Minister to his Parishioners, on the Subject of the Cow Pox, or VACCINE INOCULATION.*

“ *Good Neighbours,*

“ It has pleased Almighty Providence, that a discovery should be lately made of the highest consequence to mankind; and as it may very materially affect you and your families, I shall state to you my sentiments respecting it, in as short and plain a manner as I possibly can. About four or five years since, an eminent physician, Dr. Jenner, published to the world a method he had just before found out, to prevent people from taking that dreadful disease, the Small Pox; and this was by inoculating them with another disease, infinitely more safe

and mild, called the Cow Pox. Now this latter complaint had been long known in Gloucestershire, and some other parts of England, and been in these considered as a security against Small Pox; but it never before had been spread by inoculation. The statement of Dr. Jenner was so curious, that medical men directly began to make experiments, which might prove whether the discovery were really useful; and every day more and more confirmed the following facts: namely, that the Cow Pox was a disorder which certainly secured those to whom it was given from the Small Pox; and that in no one instance had it proved fatal.—No instance occurred where the Small Pox was caught, after the constitution had been clearly affected by the Cow Pox.”

“ The infinite importance of the discovery became now obvious. Many of the first physicians and surgeons, who of course best understood the subject, inoculated their own families; many children of the first nobility likewise had the Cow Pox, and uniform success attended it; infants under a month old, women far advanced in pregnancy, men who had come to threescore years and ten, all alike had the disease in the mildest manner: no confinement was necessary, no infection was spread, no danger incurred. It next began to be introduced into public hospitals;

pitals;—the famous Small Pox Hospital near London has made such use of the Cow Pox matter, as to inoculate more than 13,700 persons with it, of which great number not one case hath proved unsuccessful\*. Dispensaries and Infirmaries throughout England followed the example; so did the surgeons in the Navy and Army; and it was proved, that our brave seamen and soldiers could successfully ply the ropes, direct the cannon, and handle the musket, whilst undergoing this new inoculation. Our enemies did not like this at all.”

“ In considering it, remember, that the care of health is a moral, nay more, a religious duty. We cannot be comfortable in ourselves, or serviceable to society, or useful to our families, when under the infliction of disease. Now God, who allows so many sicknesses to prevail, has given reason to man, and medicine to heal these sicknesses.—He has mercifully created herbs, and many other things, which possess counteracting and healthy properties; and if, by a certain slight operation, we can secure ourselves from the danger of a loathsome, and

\* “ This is copied from the printed Report of the Small Pox and Inoculation Hospitals to June 1803; in which it is also stated, that Variolous Inoculation there “ might be considered as generally superseded by the substitution of the Vaccine Inoculation.”

frequently

frequently mortal disease, so far from this being impious, it even becomes a duty.”

“ Others object to the Vaccine Inoculation, because the complaint came originally from the Cow. Now, neighbours, consider if this be not very ridiculous. In the first place, what animal is more clean in its own food, or affords more healthy food to man than the Cow? We drink its milk, we eat its flesh; and if Providence have mercifully ordained that we should, through its means, secure ourselves from a loathsome disease, shall we in this latter instance only object to it? There are some of our medicines derived from animals, but these we do not on that account object to; they do us good, and we care nothing about their origin—if, therefore, the Cow Pox be a blessing, why should we refuse to benefit by it, because that likewise comes from an animal? This objection about the poor harmless Cow can, I think, want no farther answer.”

“ Some, however, I have met with, who grant the mildness of the Vaccine Inoculation, and would willingly admit all its other blessings, but doubt its security. They have fears that it is not, as they say, the right sort; and some few stories have been told of persons inoculated by the Cow Pox, who afterwards  
caught

caught the Small Pox.—Neighbours, depend upon it that these stories are in some degree, or altogether, untrue.”

“ They (the Doctors) doubtless think the Vaccine Inoculation, as I certainly do, one of the greatest mercies, exclusive of the blessings of Religion, ever offered to man.”

“ Neglect not, therefore, I exhort you, both as a Friend and Minister, such proffered blessings. Secure yourselves from danger, preserve your children; and still render most grateful thanks to Almighty God, who has in this instance so providentially permitted to man the means of defence against “ the pestilence that walked in darkness, and the sickness that destroyed in the noon-day.”

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My humane friend DR. LETTSOM, who has long and faithfully served the publick, entered into this new doctrine with that warmth, and generosity, which always distinguish his actions.

He says, in his answer to DR. THORNTON'S work \*, “ After what has been written by me

\* DR. THORNTON'S—“ Facts decisive in favour of Cow Pox,” 1804.

and others on Vaccination, the practitioner who now inoculates with the Small Pox is guilty, if not in a criminal court, yet *in foro conscientiæ*, should that child die, of murder.”

My equally humane friend, to whom this passage is addressed, goes further in his rejoinder; and says,—“ whether the child should die or not, I believe the same serious charge would apply \*.”

We live and learn: and it is more pleasant, though not more common, to be instructed by our friends, than by our enemies.

Before this information I always considered it, as a maxim in physic, that—

*“ killing is no murder.”*

Now I am taught, that the Coventry Act of Medicine is repealed; and that there may be—

*“ murder, where there is no killing.”*

I think I can define murder, better than either of my learned friends.

\* DR. THORNTON'S Letter to Dr. Tilloch, September 1804.

Thus



Thus—If a poor woman carry her child to be inoculated for the Small Pox, and implores the Inoculator not to give it the Cow Pox, and he, disregarding her entreaties, and deceiving her, inoculates her child and gives it the Cow Pox, and that the child is seized some years afterwards with the confluent Small Pox, and dies,—that is murder.”

“ *Let the gall'd jade wince.*”

I know that both my learned friends, luckily for the community, are better physicians, than they appear to be casuists. Prescribing for pulses, is more in their way, than prescribing for consciences.

They understand more of HIPPOCRATES and GALEN, than of SANCHEZ and ZACCHIA.

They do not seem to be aware that the former famous and profound Jesuit, speaking of the “causation of causes,” determines it to be almost a deadly sin, to make use of Cows, as my two learned friends have done, without a Bull from Rome\* ; and the latter lays it down as a very serious case of conscience indeed, to inoculate for the Cow Pox, when the Small Pox

“ \* De Peccatis *Ἰετροῦ* ab Ignorantiâ oriundis.”

Inoculation is so well understood for its safety and efficacy; and has been so long proved, and authorised by experience.

ZACCHIA is more severe than even my friend THORNTON. He is of opinion, that—"whether a child should die or not," from Cow Pox Inoculation, the Inoculator,—for deviating from a certain, secure, and well-known path, into one that is uncertain, new, and doubtful, ought to do penance at the Old Bailey\*. Nay, he even insinuates that a small Pilgrimage at the Cart's Tail would be very proper, for those sinners, whose crime has been increased, by disorderly behaviour in defence of it.

If two philosophers, THORNTON and LETT-SOM, to whom the world is largely indebted, can—the moment they change their gods, become persecutors, and anathematize all poor mistaken souls, who have not had their visitation of *Cowism*;—ought any man to take up his pen against the authors of the many volumes of ignorant, illiterate audacities, which have defiled

\* "Cæterum ante alia statuendum, quod Medicus, qui in medendo incertas, novas, dubias, et extra quotidianum praxim existentes opiniones sequitur, gravem errorem committit; cum ex conscientia teneatur sequi sententias certas, securas, et communiores." *De Erroribus Medicorum à Lege Punibilibus*. Quæst. VII. 2.

the press, for the last four years, in support of the topic of their conversion?

My learned friend LETTSOM is, as he well may be, much surprised, after what he has written,—he, who to the advantage of the publick, so well upset that *Water Serpent*,—that second Hydra—*Meyersbach*, and all his urinals,—to find that there should still exist a single foe to the Cow Pox,

“*from Indus to the Pole.*”

But, alas! my friend should recollect, that Troy could not be saved; even with Hector's arm\*.

The virulent, and unmannerly essays and pamphlets, which this subject has given birth to, have surfeited every person of reflexion.

In defence of a cause, when impertinence is substituted for argument, and jargon for discussion, it is time to suspect that there is more to be defended than there ought to be.

\* ————— “*Si Pergama dextrâ  
Defendi possent, etiam hac defensa fuissent.*”

VIRGIL. *Æn.* ii. v. 291, 292.

This has excited a severer scrutiny of the Cow Pox, than would otherwise have taken place; and particularly when facts, as clear as day, have been borne down by low subterfuge, evasion, and falshood, to prop a fabric both feebly, and incautiously constructed.

But this is not all. Threats, and menaces have been employed, to the inferior practitioners; to silence them from speaking truth; and exposing any circumstance, militating against the Cow Pox.

Since the former edition of this Treatise, I have received much intelligence of this sort. A very respectable apothecary has informed me, that when he related to one of the violent Cow Pox enthusiasts,—for I do not in these animadversions allude to any but the violent and intemperate,—several instances of Small Pox, after Cow Pox, occurring in his own practice,—that enthusiast told him, he would be ruined if he did not hold his tongue. The Cow Pox medical men he said were numerous, and powerful; that they had their eye on every person who made observations against the Cow Pox; and that they were determined to do all the injury they could to any men, who should make known any cases of mischief, or failure.

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He then produced a list of names from the Advertisement, and different Institutions, to intimidate this gentleman; but the silly bigot lost his labour\*, and met with the contempt he deserved.

This is Cow Pox philosophy!

Even the News-papers, and Monthly Publications, have been inaccessible, or insulting, from some cause or other, to every information, unfavourable to the Cow Pox *Mania*.

If the Cow Pox were what these advocates assert, there could be nothing so impolitic and unnecessary as their proceedings. For time, and time alone, the guardian of truth, must decide its fate.

Mr. GOLDSON's publication † has been treated with the greatest indecency; for which he, as a searcher after knowledge, ought to rejoice; especially when he considers the attention with which his efforts have been received, by men whose minds are capable of philosophic discussion.

\* These men are well known; and they may be assured, that the Publick, in return, begin to have an *eye* upon them. At least it shall not be my fault if the Publick have not.—But more on this subject hereafter.

† Cases of SMALL POX subsequent to VACCINATION, published in March 1804.

He perhaps was not aware, that in commencing war against Cow Pox infatuation, it was necessary to disregard scurrility, and abuse.

An Anti-Cow Pox author should take example from the Alligator, on entering the lists; and swallow a great deal of dirt, before the combat, to enable him to sink his antagonist in the mud.

Though I am ready to admit that the Cow Pox is not contagious,—yet I know the Cow *Mania* is; and that the malady, whether arising from empty ventricles of the brain, or from excessive thickness of the *os frontis*, makes the distempered, to men not steeled against the infirmities of his fellow creatures, more objects of pity, than of resentment;—more proper,—than any infected from the Levant,—to perform solitary quarantine on beds of straw, with a regulated diet, usual in such cases, than for the rational pursuits of society.

Mr. BIRCH of St. Thomas's Hospital, an excellent surgeon in the safe school of orthodox practice, and an enemy to surgical quackery,—because he would not join in the hue and cry against the Small Pox Inoculation, has met with almost as little civility as Mr. GOLDSON.

But

But he thought of that properly. He again entered the temple of the Scythians; and saw their idol, the poor old Cow, converting into a Golden Calf.—Some of her apostles were milking; some selling the cream; others selecting the best parts of their theology for roasting and boiling; and others carrying on no despicable quantity of trade, with the offal.

For my part, though I could not at first bring myself to treat seriously a subject, which was both ridiculous and contemptible, as represented in the magic lanthorn of its itinerant exhibitors, yet I most seriously wished to have it thoroughly discussed, with candour, temperance, and good manners.

But this has not been done; and the farce, which commenced in Quixotic buffoonery, having tired its audience, is changed for a tragedy, of fanatic impiety.

It surpasses all rational belief, that some enthusiasts were so transported from their sober senses, as to meditate an application for the interference of Parliament, to prevent all further inoculation for the Small Pox, under the severest pains and penalties. Others, not stopping here, and before they could possibly know whether the Cow Pox would prove a blessing,

or a curse, wanted this experiment in medicine to make a part in parental duty; and to be blended, in the House of God, with our duties to the Supreme Being.

The Archbishop of Canterbury was even applied to; petitioning his Grace to recommend the Cow Pox to the Bishops; desiring at the same time, that they would enjoin the Clergy in their respective dioceses, to preach its divine attributes, from their pulpits.

One step further, and the climax would have been complete.—Application ought to have been made, praying that all Non-conforming parents might be excommunicated; and that their children should be denied Christian burial, unless purified for the next world,—with the Cow Pox.



A  
T R E A T I S E

ON THE  
LUES BOVILLA,

OR  
COW POX.

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PART II.

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COW POX A PERFECT SECURITY AGAINST THE  
SMALL POX.

IT is said in the Advertisement,

*“ that those persons who have had the Cow Pox,  
are perfectly secure from the infection of the Small  
Pox\*.”*

This unqualified declaration, sent into the world when the Cow Pox was only an infant, filled up all the vacuity of desire; and, coming from such respectable parentage, was received,

\* See page 14.

as if this *spes gregis* had already arrived at the years of discretion.

The wise CATO was not fond of very forward children\*. He found by observation, I suppose, that when they were too wise for their age, they are generally conceited, and short-lived.

These gentlemen knew the effect their *fiat* would have on the publick, or else the Advertisement were useless; and that any modification of their opinion, would not reach the laudable end proposed,—which was, to remove the apprehensions, occasioned by the “unfounded reports;” and to clear the way for the universal good they intended.

Though no person can have a higher respect for the professional knowledge and sagacity of these gentlemen, on any other subject, than I have;—here, I candidly confess, that I wish they had delivered their sentiments in the following manner.

“We have had only two years experience,—  
“nay not so much—not two,” of the effects of  
Cow Pox Inoculation. In which time, we have

\* “Odi puerum præcoci ingenio.” M. C.

found it a security against the Small Pox, in all cases that have come within our knowledge. But whether its security may not terminate in a certain time, or at different times in different habits, we hitherto have not had it in our power to ascertain.

“ But we advise caution ; inasmuch as the security failing, this distemper, of which we are totally ignorant, may prove one of the greatest scourges ever experienced by society.

“ This being our opinion, we advise also that no persuasion or influence should be used, to incline parents whose minds are satisfied, from happy experience, with the Small Pox Inoculation, to have their recent offspring inoculated with the Cow Pox ; lest any misfortune should arise to subject such counsel to reproach. And we admonish our brethren, who with us have embraced this new doctrine, to remember, as there are other medical persons who have not embraced it, that they should, agreeably to the Statutes of our College \*, comport themselves, in maintaining their new opinions, with the greatest

\* “ Si medici in diversas eant sententias, ita ut in eandem praxin inter se consentire nequeant, summâ tamen prudentiâ et moderatione sic se gerant, ut eorum discordia in artis præjudicium non cedat.” *Stat. Collegii Medicorum Londinensium.*

prudence and moderation; that the profession may not be disgraced by their conduct.”

Mr. BIRCH, not wishing to give up easily, the safe practice of Small Pox Inoculation, which he had followed many years without one evil accident, began, with great good sense, to form a proper estimation of this new doctrine, to direct himself by,—before he ventured to give his opinion for the guidance of others: and after some years of diligent observation, and search for information from various sources, the result of his labours confirms him in the opinion I originally advanced, and have ever maintained,—“that the Cow Pox is not a preventive against the Small Pox\*.”

What then deceived the authors of the Advertisement, and what now deceives others, is, that inoculating with variolous matter several persons who have had the Cow Pox, was, and is still found, by many,—among whom are Dr. WOODVILLE and Dr. PEARSON, to have no effect; and that breathing infected air, with those labouring under the Small Pox, has likewise no effect.

This rather proves, that these unsuccessful experimenters have yet to learn, what I hope

\* See his Publication in October 1804.

they

they will hereafter,—a method of conveying the Small Pox into all habits, Nature's peculiarities excepted,—which have never received it.

That the Cow Pox is a security against the Small Pox, or to speak more correctly, lessens the disposition to receive it, in some habits, for a time, is known to every body; and was to a friend of mine, sixty years ago.

Mr. GOLDSON found no difficulty in giving the Small Pox to people who previously had the Cow Pox; neither did that skilful and judicious apothecary, Mr. RICHARD WALKER, of St. James's Street, find any, in giving it to Mr. Matthew Montague's child, in May 1802, who had the Cow Pox five months before\*; and from Mr. Montague's child inoculated others, all of whom had the Small Pox in the usual way.

The following letter from Mr. BOWEN, Surgeon and Apothecary at Harrow, which I select from many I have received of the same kind, belongs to this part of our subject.

“ Harrow, Middlesex, 17th Dec. 1804.

“ Sir,

I inoculated my child, at six weeks old, with Vaccine matter, four years and a quarter ago.

\* There were some wiseacres, who said this was not Small Pox; so little did they know of the matter,

The

The pustule was perfect in its appearance, and went through the different stages satisfactory to my mind; and I have no doubt but it was the genuine disease. I have inoculated the child every year since with variolous matter, without its having the least effect; and the last of these trials was twelve months since. From those repeated proofs of the efficacy of the Vaccine, I fully depended. But lately having some Small Pox patients, I was induced to inoculate the fourth time; which was done on the 28th of October last, from a boy who was blind nearly three weeks in the natural Small Pox, and to my great surprise the pustule on the arm formed itself properly; and the eruptive fever began between the 5th and 6th of November, with head-ache, fœtid breath, violent sickness and lassitude, and the pulse remarkably quick. The next day there appeared twenty or thirty eruptions on different parts of the child's body, which died away as usual. From one on the arm, I inoculated a boy on the 8th, named Knapp of Northolt, who had all the regular symptoms of the Small Pox; the pustules being very large, and more than a thousand; and from him I inoculated many others, who had all the regular Small Pox.

“I have had several children as patients, who, having been inoculated with the Cow Pox, and gone through the disease, have subsequently  
received

received the variolous matter by inoculation; and had all as strong symptoms of Small Pox as my little girl; and I inoculated from most of them. I have now several patients who were vaccinated last summer at the Institution in Broad-street, Golden-square, falling ill with arms punctured with variolous matter. Do such cases as these daily occur with you?—I think they must with many practitioners who are silent on the subject. I remain, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

B. BOWEN.

To

John Birch, Esq.

Spring Gardens.”

Thus we find, that Dr. PEARSON and Dr. WOODVILLE, both learned and clever physicians, men who have laboured hard, and honourably in the profession,—cannot do, what Mr. WALKER, Mr. GOLDSON, and Mr. BOWEN can.

This is no wonder. All men cannot do all things. “*Petimusque damusque.*”

Dr. WOODVILLE and Dr. PEARSON, probably, can do some things, which Mr. WALKER, Mr. GOLDSON, and Mr. BOWEN cannot.—But that is best known to themselves.

Dr.

Dr. WOODVILLE confessed, in his evidence in the House of Commons, which I have already inserted, that he could not give the Small Pox to people who have had the Cow Pox; and Dr. PEARSON has confessed the same, in a late publication, which I have heard of, but not seen.—I read for improvement; and wait for his next series of experiments, in hopes of finding the Doctor's knowledge, great as it is,—increased.

In the mean time, I, who have no concern with the Cow Pox, intend to work at the same subject; for I feel professional indignation, that my brethren PEARSON and WOODVILLE should sink in any comparison; especially with three Surgeons and Apothecaries.

In our present state of perilous uncertainty, when the Cow Pox has only the power to prevent the effect of variolous infection for a period of which every person is ignorant, it becomes our duty to explore a method of preparing the system of all people who have undergone the Cow Pox, by regimen and medicine, for the reception of the Small Pox, by Inoculation; in the safe, old SUTTONIAN and DIMSDALIAN way.

I have



I have often succeeded in graduating some perverse habits for the reception of the Small Pox; which had resisted frequent variolous exposure, and repeated Inoculation.

In this great undertaking, they who have given most cause for the necessity of the remedy, should be most zealous to find it.—It is they who have woven the web; and ought to labour at this nocturnal Penelopean task.

Nothing can be done however on this subject, until it is first ascertained, what it is, that the Cow Pox adds to, or takes from the habit, to render it temporarily unsusceptible of the Small Pox.—The conclusion then is obvious; that the object will be obtained, by destroying the addition, or by restoring the privation, occasioned by the Cow Pox.

What then will belong to medicine, regimen, and management, will come under consideration.

Whoever shall be so fortunate as to make this discovery, will facilitate the tendency of the system for the reception of the Small Pox, by obeying the proper time, or season of the year, for putting the Inoculation into execution.

The

The operator here, must imitate Nature: and take that Season of the year for Inoculation, when the Small Pox, in general, appears naturally.

The Small Pox usually appears epidemically about the end of Autumn, or the beginning of the Spring. But for the most part, in the latter season;—in March, and the beginning of April.

At these Seasons, the disposition of the air, every person knows, favours all epidemical diseases.

When the Small Pox appears epidemically about the vernal equinox, it is generally of a favourable sort.—But when it breaks out earlier, in January, or the beginning of February, it rages with great violence; and proves confluent and mortal. So it is, when it appears at the end of Summer, or beginning of Autumn; as it was last year, when Mr. Hodges's children, with some others, demonstrated the fallacy of Cow Pox security.

This is the doctrine to be attended to in common years. But as we are to follow the footsteps of Nature, the fittest time of all for conveying the infection to those who have had the

Cow

Cow Pox, or to any obstinate habit is, when the Small Pox rages spontaneously; in its worst state; and is most malignant, and mortal;—be that season of the year what it may.

For here, the atmosphere cherishes the pestilence; and disposes the human frame for its reception.

Many, I fear, will prove the truth of what I now assert, before the mischief can be prevented, by the means which I hope will be devised; or a general disposition prevail to inoculate repeatedly, at the proper Seasons, until the Small Pox is produced.

The Cow Pox possesses no more specific power to resist the Small Pox, than the Scald-head; or a violent state of the Itch; or the Yaws; or the Leprosy; or the *Pustule Maligne*; or the temporary influence of any morbid Inoculation from diseased animals; or the bites of venomous creatures; or wounds, that dissectors of dead bodies sometimes accidentally give themselves \*. With these may be included other febrile, eruptive, and cutaneous disorders †.

\* THOMPSON, in his *Loimotomia*, page 133, says, in 1665 he nearly lost his life, by cutting his finger, in opening the body of a person who died of a spotted fever.—Many have perished from this sort of inoculation.

† See page 9; and *Medical Tracts*, p. 214. Ed. 2d.

When

When I was at *Dijon*, in 1786, M. ENAUX of that city had just published his Treatise on the *Pustule Maligne*.

The *Pustule Maligne* was never well described before in France.

There were several in the Hospital at *Dijon* when I was there, with this distemper; and M. MARET the Physician told me, that the mischiefs of the *Pustule Maligne* yielded as little to ordinary methods, as some of those of the Cow Pox are found to do.

The *Pustule* itself is exactly the same as the Cow Pox pustule. Its infection, appearance, progress, symptoms, and termination are the same. Yet it does not peculiarly originate from the Cow. Several diseased animals give it; but the *Pustule* is the same: at least the French have made no discrimination\*.

Many dreadful accidents happen from it; chiefly in the Southern departments of France. Ulcers, tumours, mortifications, loss of limbs,

\* “ La *Pustule Maligne* n’attaque jamais que les Vachers, les Pâtres, les Laboureurs, les Maréchaux, les Tanneurs, les Bouchers, et généralement ceux qui touchent, soignent le bétail, &c.” PRECIS, sur la *Pustule Maligne*, par M. ENAUX, à *Dijon*, 1785, p. 169.

and life, sometimes occur, among the country people, who have the care of Cows, and other cattle. At that time, there was no suspicion that it would operate against the Small Pox infection.

There are two villages, well known to those who have been at Constantinople, within a few miles of that City, where the Small Pox, and even Plague, seldom appear; and never violently, or epidemically. They are called *Kiahad-Khane*, and *Ayas-Aga*. The people are subject to constant eruptive complaints. This is also well known. But there is a circumstance, that I do not recollect has ever been noticed; which is, that these people have the care of the Grand Seignior's horses, to the amount of many hundreds; which are at pasture in the meadows, in the valley between those villages.

Do they derive their eruptions from the horses heels?—

Are the eruptions the preventive of the Small Pox?

During my residence in the West Indies, I never knew any negro with the Yaws, or Elephantiasis, to have the Small Pox spontaneously; though living in the midst of it.

My inquiries in Rome, at the Hospital *di S. Gallicano*, the receptacle for all the Scald-headed patients of Rome, and the Campania, which are very numerous \*, were satisfied that people affected considerably with that disorder, are not subject to Small Pox contagion.

I have recommended the prosecuting this subject in the West-Indies, by variolous Inoculation in the Yaws, Elephantiasis, Lepra, Cocobey, and Cakras; and I make no doubt but the result will be interesting.

It is well known to every man grounded in pathology and practice, who can distinguish one disease from another, that no person ever had, or can have, the Small Pox twice. From the specific nature of the disease, it is impossible it should be otherwise.

There are some medical people so unskilled in their profession, as to pronounce the Small Pox on Mr. Hodges's daughters in Fulwood's Rents, Holborn, and Mr. Smith's daughter in Wilderness Lane, Blackfriars, all of whom had formerly the Cow Pox, to be the Chicken Pox †.

It

\* See *Medical Tracts*, Ed. 2d, p. 250.

† Mr. Hodges's two daughters, Anne aged five years, and Mary aged three years, were both inoculated for the Cow Pox,

It is not likely that such practitioners should understand the treatment of Small Pox, or Chicken Pox; who do not know one from the other.

It is such long-sighted people as these, who have seen Cows in the Small Pox; and the Small Pox twice on the same person; and I should not be surprised if they had seen it three times.—But I know that neither the SUTTONS, nor DIMSDALE, ever knew any person to have it a second time.

Men so bewildered by the Cow Pox, should trust themselves with caution in undertaking to inoculate any person for the Small Pox; or in having the care of a patient in that disease. Should they fail in this duty to society, it is to be hoped that the publick will be on its guard.

Pox, by Mr. Wachsel, inoculator at the Small Pox Hospital. Anne was inoculated in October 1800, and Mary in May 1802. Both had the Cow Pox to Mr. Wachsel's satisfaction. In the month of September 1804, they were both seized with Small Pox, and Mary had it to a considerable degree. The Small Pox then raged in Fulwood's Rents. Mr. Hodges informed me, that these children had repeatedly been exposed to the Small Pox; and three times in his own house, since they had the Cow Pox, without effect, before.

Mr. Smith's daughter, aged five years, had the Cow Pox from inoculation in 1800; and in November 1804 had the Small Pox in the natural way.

Some others who visited Mr. Hodges's children, for the purpose of prescribing the exact dose of what ought, and what ought not to be believed, went so far as to admit that these cases were,

“ SUPPOSED SMALL POX.”

Such was the determination of the following Committee, in a publication intitled a “REPORT of a MEDICAL COMMITTEE, on the Cases of SUPPOSED Small Pox, after Vaccination\*.”

COMMITTEE.

Dr. Gower.

Dr. Ash.

Dr. Pemberton.

Dr. Willan.

Dr. Temple.

Dr. Clarke.

Dr. Croft.

Dr. Yelloly.

Dr. Skey.

Mr. Addington.

Mr. Pears.

Mr. Morgan.

Mr. Wigham.

\* In November 1804.



I, with some experienced medical men, saw those children. We did not *suppose* (if any doubt, or ambiguity be implied by *supposing*) but actually knew these cases to be genuine Small Pox; before they were proved so to be, by the test of Inoculation from them. We afterwards visited proofs of this fact, in children inoculated from this *Supposed Small Pox*; who had the real Small Pox from it, in the regular and usual manner\*. We also saw others, inoculated, from those inoculated, who all had the Small Pox; and some to a considerable degree.

I can only suppose, there may be a disease called, the *Supposed Small Pox*; but, as I have never seen it in my travels, or even heard of it before, it becomes me to be silent on the occasion; after remarking, that these cases disclaim all relation to the wandering tribe of Non-descripts.

Indeed, as a medical friend observed to me, at the house of one of the children, in Theobald's Road, inoculated by Mr. Morgan from Mr. Hodges's daughter Mary, "—it does not

\* Mr. King's child, in White Hart Court, Castle Street, Leicester Square, aged six months, inoculated from Mr. Hodges's daughter by Mr. Spencer, had to the amount of fifty or sixty pustules in the face, and several hundreds on the body and limbs. This was in October 1804,

require eyes to ascertain the Small Pox; if a person has but the use of the ends of his fingers.”

*Accoucheurs*, they say, have eyes in the ends of their fingers.—These androgynous cases should have been submitted to their, or to some *Sage-femme's*, more accurate examination; for the satisfaction of those, unfortunately deprived of the two precious senses of seeing and feeling.

It being now the fashion to come to all resolutions on Anti-Cow Pox opinions, as well as Cases, by COMMITTEES,—as it is on every thing of importance in the City, by DINNERS,—I wish to submit to that Committee,—whether Central or Radial,—before which this Essay of mine must be arraigned, some very serious questions in the Cow Pox way, for previous cogitation.

Would the Eye Water with which, HERODOTUS says in the Euterpe, King Pheron was restored to his sight after he had lost it for ten years by an Ægyptian Ophthalmia \*, cure the blindness of those gentlemen who visited Mr.

“ \* —γυναικος ουρα νιφαμενος τους οφθαλμους, η τις παρα τον εωιτης ανδρα μονον περατηκε, αλλων ανδραν εουσα απειρος.”

ΙΣΤ. ΔΕΥΤ.

Hodges's

Hodges's daughters, and were laughed at by Mrs. Hodges for not knowing the Small Pox?

Can that Eye Water be procured in *q.s.* among the Cow Pox conjuxity,—pardon this word, as I coined it on purpose for the Committee—to answer the demand in such obstinate cases?

Does the Committee not think it adviseable, that each of their members, who is lucky enough to have it in his power, should use some of this Eye Water in future, whenever there is to be an examination of cases of Small Pox, after Cow Pox?

These things,—being far beyond the grasp of individual hands, can only be properly conjobled—another word almost new for the Committee,—by the deep, plumbing, gregarious, Vaccinian Incubation.

But to return to the business before us.

The air of Fulwood's Rents, seems to be fatal to the spells of Cow Pox wizards.—Hunted from every other part of the town, Truth seems to have erected her standard in this humble court.

There is a man now living in these Rents, by name William White, a shop-keeper; who had

the Cow Pox in Oxfordshire eighteen years ago, from milking infected Cows. Both his hands were much ulcerated. Two years afterwards he had the Small Pox; being inoculated by Mr. SUTTON. Lately he has had two children inoculated for the Small Pox, convinced from experience, as he says, that the Cow Pox is no security against it.

I know another man, William Denton, who had the Cow Pox twenty-five years ago, when he lived with Mr. Daniel Mallard, dairy-man, at Vocal Spring in Wiltshire. Mr. Mallard himself, and both his other milkers, had the Cow Pox at the same time; from one infected Cow that Mr. Mallard had lately bought, from which his whole dairy, consisting of fifteen Cows, was infected. Ten years afterwards he, William Denton, was attacked in London with the Small Pox,—the confluent sort; and lost his right eye by it; and was otherwise much marked, as may now be seen.

Two years and a half ago, he had the Cow Pox, a *second time*, at Mr. Warren's, in Knightsbridge, where he now lives (November 1804); at the same time, several others of Mr. Warren's servants had that distemper, it being then among his Cows.

Both

Both his hands and arms were each time affected, to a great extent. The first time he was extremely ill, with all the worst degrees of Cow Pox concomitants\*.

It must be considered by any man, not burthened with vanity, as a disagreeable task to quote himself for authority. But in connecting circumstances of events, it is sometimes justifiable; nay even necessary.

It was my opinion, in the beginning of the Cow Pox Inoculation, which I gave in answer to a question on this subject, and which the person to whom my answer was given, then published,—“that people who have had the Cow Pox, though proof against variolous exposure, and repeated Inoculation, would not be proof against the infection of the Small Pox, whenever that disease should be very malignant, and rage epidemically, through some peculiar disposition in the air; by which disposition, the Measles, and Small Pox, when epidemic, always prevail †.”

This has been so fully proved in a variety of instances, since the time of my prediction, by

\* So much for the preservative power of *natural* Cow Pox. See page 41.

† See Gentleman's Magazine for March 1800, page 213.

the late events in London, and its vicinity, known to every person\*,—that, in addition to other facts already stated, we are sorry to conclude,—

“*That those persons who have had the Cow Pox are NOT perfectly secure from the infection of the Small Pox.*”

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#### MILDNESS AND SAFETY OF THE COW POX.

When I delivered my evidence in the House of Commons concerning the Cow Pox, the apprehensions I at first published were not then justified. At least instances of ravages, and corruption, which I thought must follow the “introducing a *bestial* humour into the human frame,”—had not come to my knowledge.

Almost every other evidence tended to a supposition, that the Cow Pox venom lost its

\* At the time Mr. Hodges’s children had the Small Pox, it raged epidemically in the neighbourhood; and four persons died of it, within a fortnight, in the Court in which they live. It was the same about Wilderness Lane; and on the day I visited Mr. Smith’s daughter, there was a child dead in the house, from the confluent Small Pox.

deleterious quality, in passing through foreign strainers.—Like that of the Persian peach tree, mentioned by DIOSCORIDES; whose indigenous produce is poison. But the tree transplanted in Ægypt, the soil there changes its nature; and it yields an wholesome fruit\*.

Would to God the hopes, which succeeded my apprehensions, were realised by the touchstone of Truth, Time.—That if the Cow Pox produced no good, it would do no harm, to the human constitution!

I then had not seen—“the hot burning, and the quick flesh that burneth, having a white bright spot, somewhat reddish or white, in sight deeper than the skin, and spread much abroad in the skin †;”—nor any other of the direful Cow Pox tokens, on the unclean themselves.

Within the last two years, these hopes of mine have been entirely defeated; by a multitude of deplorable cases, and misfortunes, subsequent to the Cow Pox Inoculation, never heard of from the inoculated Small Pox.

\* Περὶ Περσέως, Β. πρ. κ. ρπζ.

† Levit. chap. xiii. אֵתְנָה טִמְאָה טִמְאָה

I have

I have lately had many under my care, for diseased eyes, inveterate eruptions, corroding ulcerations, and various sorts of Itch, in London and the neighbourhood of Chelsea. My accounts from the country are full of dismal histories of ulcerated arms, and mortifications; of which one person lately died.

The “foul humours, and vitiations of the constitution,” have been the cause of so much expence to many of the poor, that their neighbours have taken alarm; and allege, that they cannot afford to have their children inoculated *gratis*, for the Cow Pox.—This has for some time past been well known to me, and to many others.

I have made inquiry among some medical people, concerned in the principal practice, to know whether these things happen frequently in the Metropolis. The answer has generally been, that such untoward events seldom occur; with the usual addition, of fathering them on ignorance and mismanagement.

I have now under my care, at Fulham, two children of four, and five years of age, who were inoculated for the Cow Pox in May.



In the beginning of the last month (October) they broke out, in the hands and arms, with a malignant Itch. Afterwards, large pustules appeared in the palms of their hands, and the Itch spread all over their bodies. Some of the pustules were about the size of a small cherry; and filled with a bright *green*,—others with a bright yellow, and somewhat *bluish* matter; of the consistence of laudable pus.

Several of the pustules had broken, before the children were brought to me; and are now (November 1804) in a state of acrid, painful ulceration.

I have had several similar cases lately.—I never saw matter so coloured, antecedent to the introduction of the Cow Pox; which has brought with it many phænomena; particularly of the cutaneous kind.

Several practitioners, with whom I have conversed since the first edition of this work, have also seen matter, from Cow Pox suppurations, of the colours above mentioned. Mr. Birch lately saw the bluish matter in the child of a servant belonging to Mr. East in the Adelphi; and he has now another under his care, the daughter of a workman at Mr. Banks's, instrument-maker in the Strand, who broke out  
three

three months after it was inoculated, with very small tumours. One on the arm enlarged, and inflamed; others smaller, appeared on the body and forehead. They are now (November 1804) about the size of hazle nuts, inflaming and suppurating. A child in a similar state was carried to him two years ago; which baffled all that could be done by medicine and change of air, and the patient died in a miserable manner.

The symptoms, and demonstrations, whether internal or external, of diseases consequential of Cow Pox, are totally new; and differ, in every particular, from established nosological definition.

The case of Dr. Smyth Stuart's child, at Billericay in Essex, among others, was a striking instance of the want of *mildness*, and *safety*, of the Cow Pox venom. This child was inoculated on the 8th of April 1802. The appearance of the pustule was favourable, and went on well until the 14th day; when the arm inflamed to an alarming degree, accompanied with hard painful tumours, and blotches, that terminated in obstinate phagedenic ulcers; which resisted every internal medicine, and application. It was in a constant state of restlessness; and lingered until the 1st of October following, when it died in the most distressing pain.

I have

I have seen children die of the Cow Pox, without losing the sense of torment even in the article of death\*.

I saw one child, in Chelsea, that died on the 16th day after Inoculation; who shewed evident signs of severe anguish, on being touched in the slightest manner, at the very moment she expired. Her terrible illness, from tumid inflamed limbs, inveterate, acrid rash, and eruptions, was from the first accompanied with a continual screaming; from agony, in every part of the surface of her body. This child was five years old, inoculated in perfect health on the 12th of the month. The mischief commenced on the 20th; with a painful, pricking sensation in the skin: great fever, and incessant restlessness.

I forbear to say more.—Not for want of other instances, on this part of the subject. Parents are sufficiently wounded, where the misfortunes happen, without having their names handed about in public print, to aggravate their feelings; and seeing themselves recorded, and pointed at, as monuments erected by Providence, to be a warning to others.

\* “*Curæ non ipsâ in morte relinquunt.*”

VIRG. *Æn.* vi. 444.

Enough

Enough has been said, I fear, to make us regret,—“ *that the Inoculated Cow Pox is NOT a much milder, and safer disease, than the Inoculated Small Pox.*”

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### SMALL POX EXTERMINATION BY COW POX.

Physicians who propose to themselves this arduous work imagine, I suppose, that they have secured a fast hold of the origin, and cause of the Small Pox.—I do not think they have. When and where it first appeared, no person knows. As to the cause, that will not be found, I believe, either in a Stable; or a Cow-house; or in the rotten foot of an Horse, or a Camel; or in any bestial humour.

The moderns attribute the first noticing the Small Pox, to RHAZES, an Arabian Physician, and Historian, as he is called; who was born in Persia in the year 860, and lived 120 years.

RHAZES himself mentions it as an old disease; with which GALEN, though he has omitted to give any account of its treatment, RHAZES says, was well acquainted. He speaks also of AARON, an Ægyptian physician, who wrote

wrote on the Small Pox, in Alexandria, in the year 622.

RHAZES might have seen some of GALEN'S works, that have not come to our hands. But in those he mentions, I do not find any thing sufficiently descriptive of the Small Pox, to support the conclusion he makes from GALEN'S words.

The following passage, in GALEN'S ninth Book of the Use of the Parts, RHAZES says, alludes to the Small Pox.

“ The collected superfluous humours putrifying, and becoming more acrid and hot, excite inflammations, erysipelas, herpes, carbuncles, fevers, and an innumerable train of other diseases\*.

How this can be considered to include the Small Pox, I do not discover. What is to be found in the other references in GALEN'S works, is still more remote †.

\* —φλεγμονας, και ερυσιπελατα, και ερπητας, και ανθρακας, και πυρετους, και μυριων αλλων οχλον αποτικτει νοσηματων. Κεφ. Α.

† On Pulses; and the Fragment on the Timæus of PLATO.

I think RHazes might with better evidence have stated, that the disease was known to HIPPOCRATES. For, certainly in the first book of Epidemics, the case of *Silenus* appears very much like the Small Pox. If it were not, it has more affinity to that disease, than any other case, or description of symptoms, which can be found either in HIPPOCRATES, or GALEN.

He says, *Silenus* was attacked “by a vehement fever, with pains in the loins, heaviness in the head, and stiffness in the neck; with a purging.”—In this there is nothing remarkable. On the second and third days succeeded “black stools, black urine, and phrenzy.” On the sixth day a “thin sweating about the head came on, with lividness, and coldness of the extremities.” On the seventh, “suppression of urine.” On the eighth “a cold moisture diffused itself over the whole body; and red eruptions appeared, with sweat; they were round, small pimples, which continued, but did not mature\*.—He died on the eleventh day. He was about twenty years of age.”

In this case I have not detailed all the particulars; but I think enough appears to shew,

\* εξανθηματα μετα ιδρωτος ερυθρα, στρογγυλα σμικρα, οσον ινχοι, παρεμενον, ουκ αφισταντο.

it is not unreasonable to conclude that *Silenus* died of the Small Pox. HIPPOCRATES says his πυρ, or burning fever, succeeded excesses committed by his patient, in bodily exertions and drinking; and this may account for the violence of the symptoms.

The eruptions being retarded until the eighth day, or until a little before death, is not uncommon in hot climates, when life can be protracted; in cases, where the blood has broken down its boundaries, and runs off by stool and urine; or by uterine discharges; with all the functions of nature in confusion.

Whether the Small Pox originated in Asia, or Africa, we know not; and how it spread into other parts of the world, is equally a matter of uncertainty.

Communicating the Small Pox from one person to another, was practised in Africa long before Inoculation was used in Asia, or in Europe.

I learnt from Africans brought to the West Indies, that one of their methods is, to diet and prepare the patient who is to have the Small Pox, properly. This done, he is carried to the person, from whom he is to receive the  
H 2 disease,

disease, and made to eat with him, and stay some time with him. A mild and benign sort is always chosen. Then the patient goes home, and waits the coming on of the disease; which is managed with such success, as to encourage the practice universally in some of the districts of Africa.

RHAZES shews it was a popular disease in his time; and says “no mortal, except by chance here and there one, escapes it;” and he endeavours to explain “how it happens that scarcely any one mortal escapes it.”

He asserts, and reasons to shew, that children are more obnoxious to it, than grown up people; and that aged people are almost exempt from it. He says, “in advanced age, the disease will scarcely appear; unless perhaps in putrid, malignant, and pestilential constitutions of the air, in which this disease chiefly rages.”

He observes, that “thin and dry bodies, or a cold temperament, are not subject to the Small Pox; and if they happen to be attacked by it, they have but few, and without danger, with very slight fever; because, such habits extinguish the disease in the beginning.—That it rages most at the end of the Autumn, and beginning of the Spring.”

He



He says also, that “ the disease cannot be generated in such whose blood still abounds with too much humidity, and is very *corrupt* \* ; or who perhaps, when they were children, had been attacked by the Chicken Pox †, and were then of a dry temperament, and lean.”

In these observations AVICENNA concurs ‡ ; and there is more sagacity and important truth in them, than in all that has been written on the Small Pox ever since.

EXTERMINATORS of the Small Pox will here find many obstacles to remove, before the blessed epoch of its extinction can be expected.

This atchieved, the Small Pox, the Measles, and the Hooping Cough, will then all be interred in the same grave.

\* We see here that corrupting, and vitiating the blood, will prevent the Small Pox.

† The Chicken Pox, we know, is a temporary preventive of Small Pox. See page 9.

‡ Lib. IV. fen. 1. tract. 4. c. 5.

## ANOTHER ADVERTISEMENT\*.

## “ PLYMOUTH DOCK.

“ The undersigned medical Gentlemen of this town have seen, with extreme concern, the late malignity of the Small Pox, which in several instances have again swept away nearly whole families. They lament these effects of this destructive disease, the more at this time, because they have immediately arisen from the introduction of it by inoculation, a practice which, from its commencement, has, by maintaining a source of perpetual circulation to this fatal poison, added considerably to its general mortality. Adverting to these irresistible facts, they having again consulted together, and after a most deliberate re-consideration of all the existing circumstances connected with Vaccine Inoculation, feel themselves conscientiously and professionally called upon to adhere to their former resolutions and reciprocal engagements, and have accordingly renewed their determination not to inoculate for the Small Pox, excepting after the inoculation for the Cow Pox : and that only in peculiar circumstances where an

\* This appeared in the evening Paper called the *Star*, on the 26th of December 1804.

experiment may be required to satisfy doubting parents; but in no instance can they recommend the exposure to so malignant a poison.

“ They judge the communication of these resolutions, coupled with the practice of inoculating their own families with the Cow Pox exclusively, the most decisive and satisfactory means of conveying to the Publick their perfect reliance on this mild preventative for protection against the Small Pox.

“ While the undersigned are industriously and disinterestedly endeavouring to remove so pestilential a disease from this town, it would give them the highest satisfaction to see the medical gentlemen in the neighbouring towns generally and unitedly engaged in adopting similar means to accomplish so desirable an end. In prosecuting therefore the attainment of a great public benefit, by a means sanctioned and recommended by the Legislature, they deem it no deviation from the strictest attention to professional etiquette, respectfully to solicit the co-operation of their medical brethren.

Vaughan May, M. D.

Robert Sargent,

Daniel Little,

Richard Dunning,

Digory Morris Spry,  
 John Smith,  
 John Lower,  
 John Penkivil,  
 John Bone,

*Surgeons.*

“ N. B. The Subscribers again invite the poor in this neighbourhood to avail themselves of this mild and effectual protection against the Small Pox: they can be inoculated gratuitously at the usual time and place, or at any time by application to the respective houses of the Subscribers.

“ December 18, 1804.”

Lest this Advertisement, originating so far from the metropolis, should not have all the consequence required in so laudable a design, I shall take the liberty of adding to it, the decision of the Holborn Committee, before mentioned\*; being the result of deliberation on the cases of Mr. Hodges's children; where the means proposed, so well justified the conclusion.

“ *The COMMITTEE, therefore, with one accord, subscribes to the established opinion, that*

\* See page 84.

*if Vaccination were universally adopted, it would afford the means of finally EXTERMINATING the Small Pox."*

It unfortunately happens for EXTERMINATORS, that the Small Pox is an atmospheric disease. It appears, and disappears, like other epidemics. It never visits the same person twice. The Measles, and the Hooping Cough, are also atmospheric diseases, in their original nature, and are bounded by the same law \*.

Distempers depending solely on the local application of virus, such as the Itch, the Lues Venerea, the Cow Pox, or any other bestial humour from diseased cattle, may be revived as often as the respective virus is insinuated into the system †.

It is not so with the Small Pox, or Measles. There is no avoiding the causes of these diseases;—and when they happen, the lymphatic system, of which we know but little, undergoes so complete a revolution, from one

\* “ Morbi, ab aëre contagioso homines infestantes, idem corpus bis raro, aut nunquam afficiunt.” DODONÆUS, Prax. Med.

† I know a woman who had the Cow Pox always when the dairy where she lived was infected; which was three times. She had it each time in a very troublesome manner.

invasion,

invasion, that there is no pabulum left, to support another.

Atmospheric diseases, whether contagious or not, which spread epidemically, as I have often observed on former occasions, are not to be put a stop to, until the inscrutable cause which feeds their rage is exhausted\*.

Diseases undergo changes. This most of us have lived long enough to see. Some of those we read of, in sacred as well as in prophane history, are extinct; and others, mutilated by time, are possibly now among the catalogue of our modern, and popular maladies.

The Small Pox, in my opinion, and there is nothing known to the contrary, undergoing some changes, has been coëval with that state of the atmosphere, which corrupted by time, from its primordial purity, gave birth to epidemical diseases.

The atmosphere of every part of the earth was never contaminated at the same time. Otherwise, the names of the Plague at Athens,

\* See Treatise on the Dysentery, in the work on *Tropical Diseases*; and that on the Plague, and the Yellow Fever of America, in *Medical Tracts*.

the Sweating Sickness in England, and the Yellow Fever in America, would not be known.

The corruption of the atmosphere began, perhaps, in the oldest inhabited parts of the earth. This may account for the Plague and Small Pox being first heard of in Arabia, or Ægypt; or other parts of Asia, or Africa; and why regions in similar latitudes in the Western hemisphere, have been exempt from their visitation. What fabulous conceits have been propagated on the cause of the Yellow Fever of America!

That calamity would long since have been *exterminated*, had its cause not resided exactly where that of the Small Pox has its habitation;—above all human reach.

I hope I shall not surprise EXTERMINATORS, when I assure them, it is my further opinion, —as I know they cannot continue the habit unsusceptible of the Small Pox, but by Small Pox,—that unless they can stop the mutations of the air; bind up the exhalations of the earth; arrest the ordinance of nature, which bids the corporeal elements of man continually to change, and gives him no prescient intelligence of the approach, or inherent power to resist the attack of diseases—they will have the mortification to  
leave

leave their unfinished work in the hands of Almighty God.

EXTERMINATORS must see, that their specific wears out in the habit; and they are sensible that they do not know how to fix it; nor what constitutions shall preserve it the longest. If then it be not permanent, and to all people the same, how can it exterminate the Small Pox?

The great BOERHAAVE should now be living. He certainly entertained hopes, that “some time or other,” an antidote would be found against the Small Pox; even though the infection were already in the system\*.

BOERHAAVE then did not know, that variolous inoculation will, after the habit has been infected by contagion, overtake the infection, and subdue its violence; and give, with proper management, a mild termination to the disease.

\* “Correctio specifica niti debet invento remedio opposito illi veneno contagioso, quod tam parva mole susceptum reliqua parit, ut effecta.—Quale inveniri posse, comparatio historiæ antidotorum, et indoles hujus mali, faciunt sperare; et ad indagandum impellit summa hinc futura humano generi utilitas.” Aphorism. 1390 et 1391. *De Cognoscendis et Curandis Morbis.*

Our



Our MEAD, also, should be alive again. He treats the Batavian Æsculapius's hopes with contempt.

He says,—“ whoever thoroughly considers all the circumstances of this subject, which I have hitherto explained, must justly wonder how the learned Dr. BOERHAAVE could be induced to hope, that some time or other a specific antidote may be found against this contagious poison,—the Small Pox ; that is, by which it may be so thoroughly destroyed, that though it had been received into the body, it may not produce the disease.

“ But the principles and elements of things are so certain, and so well established by the permanent laws of nature, that whosoever should endeavour to change them, would act like those philosophers by fire (as they style themselves), who labour hard to transmute their baser metals into gold ; and when continual disappointments have convinced them of the vanity of their hopes, actually extract gold out of the purses of the ignorant and credulous \*.”

\* MEAD's Works. Ed. 4th, 1672, p. 320.

## CONCLUSION.

I have proved in the preceding pages, that the Cow Pox is no security against the Small Pox; and that the Small Pox is no security against the Cow Pox.

For example;—William Denton, a dairyman, now living with Mr. Warren, who keeps a considerable number of Cows at Knightsbridge, had first the Cow Pox violently; then the confluent Small Pox, and lost one of his eyes by it; then he had the Cow Pox again.

I have also proved that the Inoculated Cow Pox is not a milder, or safer, disease than the Inoculated Small Pox.

For example:—among other disasters, Mr. New's daughter, to whom I was called, in Chelsea, sixteen days after the Inoculation; and Dr. Stuart's son in Billericay, six months after the Inoculation, died the most deplorable victims to the Cow Pox.

I have likewise proved, that all attempts to exterminate the Small Pox, by the Cow Pox,  
or

or by any other means, are as vain as the flight of Icarus, or the toil of Sisyphus.

First,—because the influence of the Cow Pox is not permanent in the human frame; next,—because the Small Pox is not merely a disease of contact, like the Cow Pox, but has its origin in the atmosphere, and is thereby also an epidemic.

For example;—Mr. Hodges's children, with many others, after having had the Cow Pox, and resisted Small Pox effluvia repeatedly, for several years, were attacked by the Small Pox, when it raged epidemically in London.—It has been the same with others, who had resisted repeated Inoculation.

It is urged in favour of Cow Pox Inoculation, that—“ in a great proportion of cases there is no perceptible indisposition; nevertheless, the person vaccinated is not less secure from the future infection of the Small Pox, provided the progress of the vesicle has been regular and complete \*.”

This is incredible. No person can believe that a pustule on the arm, whose influence has never

\* Address of the Royal Jennerian Society, page 49.

reached the lymphatic system, can have made any alteration in that system.—I can as soon believe that the author of this opinion, would secure a person from the Small Pox, by looking on him.

Pre-occupancy is the law of Nature here.

Excite a febrile commotion in the lymphatic system, and saturate it with Cow Pox virus,—and that will, for a time, keep out the Small Pox.

The more the lymphatic system is thus acted on, the greater and longer the security against the Small Pox.—But this is frightful, when compared to the Lady-like aphorism, which tells people, that “no disease is a perfect security against the worst disease known to mankind.”

The cavity, scar, or loss of substance at the part Inoculated, is not the criterion of security. It is a sign, but an uncertain one, that the habit has been sufficiently contaminated. The fallacy of this unerring test, is at length exposed. I have seen this mark in all the recent cases of Small Pox, after Cow Pox.

When

When the action of the virus can be traced from the part of its insertion along the absorbing vessels into the body, and fever succeeds, that is the security,—such as it is. This may, and often does happen, without leaving after it any vestige, where the matter was inserted.

These are points, to which people who will write on the subject should turn their thoughts.

Next to the absurd notion, that the Cow Pox Inoculation is nothing, and does nothing to the human constitution, is the conceit, that it requires no preparation; no care in its progress; nor cleansing the habit after it.

If it does nothing to the human constitution, all these things may be true. But if it does enough to prevent the Small Pox, these things cannot be true; and we find that a disregard to this non-entity is followed by much mischief; filthy Itches, and bodily defædations.

To this sort of negligence may be attributed most, if not all the accidents which have happened, from Small Pox Inoculation.

For some years past, among subjects in health, there has been no attention, scarcely, to the preparation and regimen, previous to the  
I time

time of Inoculation; or from thence to the eruptive fever; on the latter, almost the whole of the event depends.

It is next in importance to have the patient properly exercised, in the open air, during the eruptive fever;—then moderating that action, and cooling process after the fever, for the maturation of the pustules, according to circumstances, and the Season of the year; then cleansing the habit after the disease; and lastly to regulate the return to the accustomed diet, and mode of living.

It should be remembered by every person concerned in Inoculation, that the Small Pox fever differs from every other fever in nature. It is, as I have recorded on another occasion, “*sui generis*, and terminates in phlegmons. It requires a treatment of its own. For example, cooler air than is required in a state of health is necessary. Raising a sweat is prejudicial; and often changes the distinct into the confluent sort. On the contrary, in other fevers, their solution is commonly by sweat. Cold air applied, as in the Small Pox, impedes that solution, and changes an intermittent into a remittent; or both into a continued fever\*.”

\* *Tropical Diseases*, Ed. 4th, p. 247.

By a correct adherence to these things, the SUTTONS and their agents, in the improved state of their practice, met with never-failing success.

In respect to the preparation, we must always be guided by the constitution of the subject.— But in general, where there has been nothing done previous to the operation, on the following morning an active Calomel purge should be given. This must be repeated every other day, until the eruption appears.

The bowels should be moved once on each of the intermediate days; which commonly happens, from the nature of the diet; if not, recourse must be had to some cooling laxative fruit, which indeed may be eaten freely on these days, when it can be procured, through the whole preparation. But not on the days of medicine.

When fresh fruit cannot be procured, stewed prunes, tamarinds, roasted apples, or a solution of manna and cream of tartar, should be taken; wherever there is a tendency to costiveness.

The SUTTONS generally gave their Calomel purgative in the morning; and unless it operated briskly five or six times, it was aided by jalap, salts, sena, or some other cathartic.

DIMSDALE usually gave his Calomel powder at bed time; with a dose of salts, or a purging draught of sena, &c. on the following morning\*.

Meat, broths, butter, cheese, and spices of all kinds, also spirituous liquors, wine, and malt liquors, are to be avoided. Salt and sugar may be used, to render the diet palatable; and lemon-juice, or vinegar likewise; excepting on the days of purgation. Shell-fish are prohibited; but other light kinds of fish may be eaten sparingly, at dinner, for five or six days, after the operation;—but not longer, until the disease is over,

The SUTTONS frequently used no previous preparation to the operation. DIMSDALE generally kept his patients for a week or ten days on regimen, and gave them two or three purges before it; though he says he has “often been obliged to Inoculate without any, and always had the same success †.” The SUTTONS Inoculated children from a month old, without any regard to dentition; excepting during the immediate indispositions occasioned by it. DIMSDALE declined, if possible, Inoculating children under two years old; but he Inoculated pregnant women, and people in extreme age, with success.

\* *Treatise on Inoculation*, Ed. 7th, pages 18, 31, 33.

† Page 82.



DIMSDALE always gave two or three doses of salts, or common purging draughts, after the disease was over. The SUTTONS seldom gave any purgative medicine whatever. DIMSDALE advised great caution in his patients returning to their animal diet. The SUTTONS paid but little regard to this.

These skilful Inoculators all knew, by the arm, whether there had been any foul play in the Nurse; or carelessness in the Parent; or irregularity in the Patient; and by their vigilance were never deceived into that danger, which I believe has often occurred to others,—to the discredit of Inoculation.

The secret of the SUTTONS, and their superior success, consisted in a stricter diet, and more preparatory purging, than what was used even by DIMSDALE. They had besides acquired great sagacity in prognostics from the arm, by experience; and from thence could regulate almost the number of pustules, they wished to produce.

They estimated their fame to their disadvantage. Instead of taking the merit to themselves, for great was their merit, they gave it all to what they called their *secret*;—or their purging powder.—They ought to have known, that a very simple article put to their secret, would instantly disclose it.

DIMSDALE'S Treatise on Inoculation should be in the hands of every practitioner. It is replete with good sense, liberality, and medical science; and though there might be some improvements made in the work, yet it is the best guide for Inoculation, and the treatment of the Small Pox, extant.

The Cow Pox Itch is a new distemper; and though it is unlike the common Itch, and indicates an entirely different mode of treatment from its appearance, yet it yields, as that does, to sulphur and mercury. This is not generally known; and has embarrassed practitioners, who have been afraid of making external applications. So these Itches have spread, in corroding ulcers, over the whole body; which might easily have been cured in their beginning.

Here is another object for investigation; and may lead to some discovery respecting the origin and nature of the Common Itch.

I wish that those who want all the world to have the Cow Pox would well examine it; and inform us what it really is. Hitherto, it has not been the same thing for two years together.

If any person will let the miracles alone, and shew the machinery which performs them, even I may become a proselyte.

But

But until this is done, I cannot set an human being's life at risque. I cannot wound an infant's arm while smiling in my face, and sending forth those looks which seem to say,—

*“ You know not what you do.”*

In pursuing a philosophic subject, for the attaining of truth, candour and fair dealing are necessary instruments to be employed.

I know of no evils attending the Cow Pox, but those of the nature I have mentioned. But they indeed are bad enough.—As far as my experience has been, I think I am authorised in hoping, that there are none, which lie long dormant in the constitution. They generally commence with the distemper; or soon follow;—and are, for the most part, of the cutaneous kind. They have no affinity, or connexion with Scrophula;—the inheritance of the moist, pallid, pituitous people of England.

This is consolation to parents, whose children have passed through the Cow Pox ordeal, without accident.—May time confirm it \*!

\* I am sorry to say, time has not confirmed it. Since the former edition, several children have died from diseases brought on by the Cow Pox, where no ulcerations had appeared; and others have lost their nails, and ends of their fingers, several months after the Inoculation.

But let me not commit the fault, I blame in others. I do not warrant this. Though the Cow Pox virus may have no inherent relation to Scrophula, yet it may, like any other cause, impair the habit for the rise of that disease, on the ruins of health.— There are people who assert, this has been often the case:—and I know one Philosopher, who says that the Cow Pox virus deadens, or dephlogisticates the system; and he thinks he has observed, in some children, a diminution of mental acumen after the Cow Pox.

It is not my desire, nor would be if I had the power, to hasten the Cow Pox out of the world, as rashly as it was hastened out of chaos,—because it does not execute the impossibilities, which folly has laid to its charge.

Yet let the practice be confined solely to experiment; and let no person rely on it, as a preventive of the Small Pox.

There may be some good in the Cow Pox, if we can bring it under proper management. If it be only a temporary security against the Small Pox, it may still be turned to some account; employed to prevent the destructive rage of the Small Pox in Fleets, Camps, and  
Armies;

Armies; and on board African ships, to guard against its ravages, which are sometimes dreadful, during their voyage to the West Indies; and on Plantations there, for occasional purposes, when surprised by the Small Pox, breaking out in an epidemic season.

But it never must be relied on, for any durable purpose. I have lately been informed that it has completely failed, confided in as such, in the West Indies. The negroes on many Plantations have been Inoculated for the Cow Pox; and trusting to its security, have afterwards suffered by the Small Pox severely, and great mortality has happened.—There are several people now in London, Blacks as well as Whites, who had the Cow Pox in Jamaica; but since their arrival in England, they have had the Small Pox, from Inoculation.

When I suggest converting the Cow Pox into use, I hope it will be understood that I speak hypothetically. — Gaining time to Inoculate for the Small Pox, at leisure, would be a great atchievement. But as we know that there is no possibility of fixing Cow Pox security, and making it permanent,—we must first ascertain the critical period when it leaves the habit; or what I think practicable, a method for preparing every person, as I have already mentioned,

mentioned, for the reception of the Small Pox, and time the operation, so as immediately to surmount the Cow Pox influence.

If these things cannot be accomplished, Cow Pox Inoculation is only capable of disappointment and mischief; and the practice should for ever cease.—It has done enough.

I allow the boldness of the conception, was a masterly stretch of the mind. It is the abuse of a great thought, I reprobate.

Had it produced the magnificent effects proposed, DR. JENNER could never have been sufficiently rewarded by the human race.

The idea of destroying the Small Pox, was grand.—The mental prospect of forcing this dreadful scourge from the hands of nature, was sublime; but unfortunately for society,—for DR. JENNER, and the credit of his discovery, he was not left to prosecute it deliberately in the country; and to investigate it in a quiet, philosophic manner, through a succession of many experimental years.

The manufacture was still in embryo, when the raw materials were brought, unfit for use, to market:—and they were snatched from his possession,

possession, in their crude state, by a set of medical jugglers, besotted and stupified with the gigantic novelty, and scattered like firebrands among the Philistines.

I shall now take my leave of the subject, for the present; having performed the task imposed on me, by imperious circumstances.

The Cow Pox *Illuminati* will, I trust, consider me, like a poor Indian travelling through a pathless wood.—I can only break the boughs, and knot the weeds, as I go along; to mark a track for my return.

The first part of the history of the world is the history of the human race. It is a history of the progress of the human mind, and of the development of the human soul. It is a history of the human race, and of the human mind, and of the human soul.

The second part of the history of the world is the history of the human race. It is a history of the progress of the human mind, and of the development of the human soul. It is a history of the human race, and of the human mind, and of the human soul.

The third part of the history of the world is the history of the human race. It is a history of the progress of the human mind, and of the development of the human soul. It is a history of the human race, and of the human mind, and of the human soul.

The fourth part of the history of the world is the history of the human race. It is a history of the progress of the human mind, and of the development of the human soul. It is a history of the human race, and of the human mind, and of the human soul.

The fifth part of the history of the world is the history of the human race. It is a history of the progress of the human mind, and of the development of the human soul. It is a history of the human race, and of the human mind, and of the human soul.

The sixth part of the history of the world is the history of the human race. It is a history of the progress of the human mind, and of the development of the human soul. It is a history of the human race, and of the human mind, and of the human soul.



# APPENDIX

TO THE

## SECOND EDITION.

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### No. I.

Mr. Baillie's son, aged one year, had the Cow Pox in April 1799; inoculated by Mr. Sandys, apothecary in Kentish Town. He was seized with the Small Pox in February 1801, and had it very full; but of the distinct kind. Mr. Jenkins, apothecary, in Sloane Square, attended him in the Small Pox.

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### No. II.

Mr. Robinson, surgeon and apothecary at Rotherham, towards the end of the year 1799, inoculated ten children with the Cow Pox matter.

ter. He procured it from Dr. Pearson, in Leicester Square. All these children had the Cow Pox; as others were inoculated from them, and had it. A month afterwards they were all inoculated with Small Pox matter; and resisted the infection. A few months after this, the Small Pox broke out in the parish, and one of the children caught it; which was of the confluent sort, and died.

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### No. III.

Richard Curling, aged nearly six years, son of Mr. Curling, No. 18, George Street, Portland Chapel, had the Cow Pox in May 1800; inoculated by Mr. Ring, apothecary in Swallow Street, Hanover Square. Nine months after, he had the Small Pox in the natural way. He had ulcerations about his body, and was otherwise much disordered after the Cow Pox.

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### No. IV.

Mr. Thomas Alexander, grocer, No. 368, in the Strand, London, had three children, two daughters

daughters and a son, inoculated for the Cow Pox, in the month of November 1800; by Mr. Potier.

Mr. Potier had the matter, from the Cow Pox Institution, in Warwick Street; and paid half a guinea for having the three lancets infected with Cow Pox matter, with which he inoculated the children.—The lancets thus infected, he received from the Institution; inclosed in a paper, which was sealed with the arms made use of by the medical promoters of the Institution.

These three children all had the Cow Pox, in the usual way. The elder girl's, and the son's arms, were so much inflamed and ulcerated, where the matter was inserted, that great danger was apprehended, from the virulence and malignity of the infection.

The son went into the country, after he had the Cow Pox;—but the two girls, remaining at home, caught the Small Pox, in the natural way.

The younger girl was first seized with the Small Pox. After previous indisposition, the eruptions appeared on the 24th of December 1800.—She had the disease mildly; but a child of Mr. Harding's, hatter, No. 342, Oxford Street, who

who received the infection from her, had the confluent Small Pox.

The elder daughter was seized with the Small Pox eruptive fever, on the 8th of January. On the 12th the eruptions were distinctly out, and scattered over her whole body.

I saw these children while under the Small Pox; but Mr. Walsh, apothecary, in the Strand, had occasion to observe the whole progress of the disease.

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No. V.

In November 1800 Mr. Brooks, of Leeds in Yorkshire, inoculated two children there, with the Cow Pox. They had the distemper; and others were inoculated from them with success.

In February following they were both seized with the Small Pox, and had it dangerously. They were visited by that learned practitioner Richard Walker, Esq. late of St. James's Street; and Mr. Hay of Leeds; with Mr. Brooks, who had inoculated them with the Cow Pox.

## No. VI.

Mr. Green's child, at Malden in Essex; and Mr. Mitchell's child of the same place, had the Cow Pox, in the year 1801, by Inoculation; and both of them had the Small Pox afterwards by Inoculation.

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## No. VII.

The infant son of Mr. C—e, in Great George Street, Hanover Square, was inoculated with the Cow Pox, and had the distemper; from which he sickened, lingered, and died.

An infant of Mr. D——n's in Weymouth Street, was inoculated with the Cow Pox, by Dr. Underwood. The arm ulcerated to an alarming degree, and much disease followed. Several opinions were taken on this child's case; which is well known to have been nearly a fatal one.

Mr. W. Garton, in Old King Street, Bristol, had his child, a year old, inoculated for the Cow Pox by Dr. Fox of that city. The child was afterwards tormented with acrid eruptions. Two years after the Cow Pox Inoculation this child caught the Small Pox, and had it severely.

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### No. VIII.

Edward Bozzard, aged five years, son of Mrs. Bozzard, in Armstrong and Wyat's timber-yard, opposite Chelsea Water Works, had the Cow Pox in April 1801; inoculated at the Institution in Golden Square. He was seized with Small Pox in January 1803, and had it to a great degree; as may now be seen in his face. He was never well after the Cow Pox; but always breaking-out in ulcerations, with fevers, headache, and wasting, until he had the Small Pox; since which, he has been in perfect health. He was attended in the Small Pox by Mr. Cul-lurne, apothecary, in Eaton Street, Pimlico.

## No. IX.

Mr. Gamble, of Bungay in Suffolk, a gentleman of great age, respect, and character, in May 1801 informed Mr. William Walker, the astronomer, that in the early part of his life he assisted SUTTON in his practice of Inoculation; and that there had always been a tradition in that grazing part of the county, and also in Oxfordshire where he practised with Mr. SUTTON, that the Cow Pox preserved people against the Small Pox; but that he had two instances, in two women servants, in his own family, to prove the contrary. Both of them had, in his service, the Cow Pox from milking the Cows. One of them left Mr. Gamble; and being satisfied that she could not have the Small Pox, undertook, seven years after she had the Cow Pox, to be a nurse in the Yarmouth Hospital. There she caught the Small Pox, and died. The other was then living with Mr. Gamble, and recovering from the Small Pox, when Mr. Walker saw her.

## No. X.

Charles Hillam, aged four years, son of Mr. Hillam, No. 44, Castle Street, Oxford Street, had the Cow Pox when six months old; inoculated by Mr. Lewis, of the Golden Square Institution, in July 1801. He was seized with the Small Pox two years after; and his brother Richard, who had not had the Cow Pox, caught the Small Pox from him. Mr. Roberts, apothecary, in Warwick Street, Golden Square, inoculated from these children, and his patients had the Small Pox in the usual manner\*.

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## No. XI.

Mary Hart, aged upwards of three years, daughter of Mr. John Hart, No. 17, Adams

\* I inform the Publick, that Mr. Roberts, among the many friends of humanity who have voluntarily offered their assistance, to restore the only security against the ravages of Small Pox,—has written to me to say, that he is ready to Inoculate the poor for the Small Pox, free from all expence; and he requests that all poor children suffering from the effects of the Cow Pox may be sent to him; and they will have advice and medicines gratis.

Street,



Street, Portman Square, had the Cow Pox in October 1802; inoculated by Mr. Wachsel at the Small Pox Hospital, who satisfied her mother, that her child was secure from ever having the Small Pox. In March 1803 this child was seized with the Small Pox; and had it in a favourable manner;—about 40 pustules. She caught it from a relation under Inoculation, by Mr. Robinson, apothecary in Duke Street, Grosvenor Square.

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## No. XII.

Henry Semon, aged three years, son of Mr. Semon, taylor, in No Name Court, Bedford Bury, had the Cow Pox in April 1803; inoculated by Mr. Morris, apothecary, in Chandos Street. He had the natural Small Pox in June 1804.

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## No. XIII.

Mary Goulds, aged nearly two years, daughter of Mr. Goulds, No. 38, Bow Street, Covent Garden, had the Cow Pox in March 1804. She was inoculated by Mr. Wachsel at the

Small Pox Hospital. In March 1805 she was seized with the Small Pox; and had it to a considerable degree.

Joseph Goulds, her brother, aged three years, caught the Small Pox of his sister. He also had the Cow Pox two years and an half before; inoculated by Mr. Brown at Camberwell.

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No. XIV.

Mr. Richardson, surgeon and apothecary in Sloane Street, inoculated two young ladies, of ten and fourteen years of age, in his neighbourhood, with the Cow Pox, in September 1804. They both had the distemper. In February 1805 he inoculated them with variolous matter, and they both had the Small Pox.

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No. XV.

Mr. Varley's son in law, aged nearly three years, of Broad Street, Golden Square, was inoculated for the Cow Pox two years ago, by Mr. Wheeler of Oakingham; and had the distemper in the usual way. In the beginning of  
the

the present month, April 1805, he was inoculated for the Small Pox, by Mr. Sandal of Windmill Street; and has now, at the time of my writing, the disease upon him.

The Rev. Mr. Gray of Oakingham had his son, then aged two years, inoculated for the Cow Pox, from Mr. Varley's son in law; and Master Gray had the Cow Pox. Six months ago, he was inoculated for the Small Pox, which he had in a favourable manner; and several children were inoculated from him, who all had the Small Pox in the regular way.

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[No. XVI.]

Mr. William Englefield, of the Assembly House in Kentish Town, had two children, one aged eleven months, the other nearly two years, inoculated with the Cow Pox in January 1805, by Mr. Sandys, an apothecary in the neighbourhood. They had the distemper in the usual way. These children previous to their Inoculation were healthy, and free from any eruptions. Soon after their Inoculation, the elder son William, broke out in violent ulcerations, and died in a miserable

miserable condition. The younger son John, nearly experienced the same fate; but was saved by the judicious treatment of Dr. Rowley.

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## No. XVII.

Upper Berkeley Street,  
23d March, 1805.

Sir,

On Tuesday the 5th of this month, I was sent for to visit Thomas Bambridge, aged five years, son of Mr. Thomas Bambridge, living at No. 17 in Adams Street, Portman Square.

I found the child had an erysipelatous appearance about the abdomen and upper part of the thighs. The pulse was quick, hard, and full. The tongue coated and dry; the skin hot; with slight shiverings, delirium, sickness, and very restless. I gave him saline, and antimonial medicines. On Wednesday the delirium was somewhat abated. On Thursday much the same. On Friday some Small Pox eruptions appeared in different parts of the body. On Saturday very full of eruptions, running one into the other, threatening a dreadful confluent kind; which I am sorry to say it proved to be. On Sunday still fuller. On Monday and Tuesday,

day, much the same, and the face very little swollen. The extremities much more so. On Wednesday the child lost the sight of his right eye entirely. On Thursday, which made the eleventh day, he appeared sensible. On Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, much the same; and kept up his strength tolerably well. On Monday he refused nourishment; laboured under great anxiety and restlessness. He grew rapidly worse, and on Tuesday morning at one o'clock, the 19th of the month, and the 16th day of the disease, he died. I omit the particulars of the treatment, which, through his dreadful case, was such as is usual on these occasions; but where there was not the smallest prospect of being useful to the patient.

This child, Sir, was inoculated by Mr. Wachsels at the Small Pox Hospital in February 1800, for the Cow Pox; and had the disorder to his satisfaction; and he gave the mother of the child full assurance, that it would never have the Small Pox, as the Cow Pox marks on the arm were perfectly as they should be.

The child you know, Sir, expired a little before you arrived at the house; but several others of the faculty saw him through the whole progress of the disease; and some violent supporters of the Cow Pox: among the visitors was  
Mr.

Mr. Wachsel himself; but in this case they had nothing to say. Indeed it was impossible they should.

I remain, Sir, your obedient  
humble servant,

To GILBERT BURNETT.  
DR. MOSELEY,  
Albany House, Piccadilly.

No. XVIII.

Upper Berkeley Street,  
29th March, 1805.

Sir,

Harriet Bambridge, sister to Thomas Bambridge before mentioned, aged nearly three years, was also inoculated for the Cow Pox, by Mr. Wachsel, in October 1802, and had the disorder to his entire satisfaction. She also has had the Small Pox. You, Sir, are very well acquainted with the general state of the case; but I beg leave to send you the particulars, as I attended her, to lay before the Publick if you please.

She sickened considerably on Sunday the 17th instant. The pulse was very quick; the tongue dry, and coated; the skin dry and hot;

with shiverings, offensive breath, sickness of the stomach, pain in the head, and lassitude. She had been drooping for several days before. On Monday a number of eruptions appeared, and the violence of the fever abated; but she was very restless in the night, and the fever remained four days. I saw her every day. Some of the pustules matured; and the scabs are not yet fallen off. She, as well as her deceased brother, caught the Small Pox from their infant sister, whom I inoculated on the 5th of the last month. This child has been seen by many gentlemen of the profession, and some of them deny her disease to be the Small Pox. But they are vehement advocates for the Cow Pox.

Mrs. Bambridge informs me, that Dr. Walker of the Central Inoculation House, on looking at the child's arm when he went to see her brother, and observing the Cow Pox marks, said it was impossible she could ever have the Small Pox.

Mrs. Bambridge also informs me, that two gentlemen, one a man midwife in great practice in this town, the other a surgeon to a public hospital, both declared that this was not the Small Pox; and that the latter said, the eruptions only arose from sleeping in the same sheets

sheets which her brother had slept in. However the symptoms, regular course, duration, and nature of the case, will refute them. I know it was the Small Pox; but as you frequently saw the child yourself, I leave the matter to you for superior opinion.

I remain, Sir, your obedient  
humble servant,

To GILBERT BURNETT.  
DR. MOSELEY,  
Albany House, Piccadilly.

To put No. XVIII. to the proper proof, but not for any satisfaction of my own, the case being clear enough, I advised Inoculation from Harriet Bambridge.

Mr. Burnett accordingly inoculated Patience Edwards in Adams Mews, a child three months old, on the 22d of March, from her. Patience Edwards had the Small Pox in the usual, and regular manner:—about 150 pustules. I saw this child often during the disease; and had others inoculated from her;—all of whom had the Small Pox properly.

Mr. Burnett inoculated Elizabeth Walter, in Berkeley Street, aged two years and an half, on the 6th of April, with matter taken from Patience Edwards; and the child had the Small Pox  
in



in a slight, but perfect way. This child had the Cow Pox, when five months old. Inoculated by MR. TUSON, surgeon, in Bulstrode Street.

Mr. Maybank, surgeon and apothecary in Sloane Street, inoculated Lady Sykes's footman's child, Jane Nightingale, fourteen months old, on the 7th of April, from Patience Edwards. This child had the Small Pox also, and favourably;—about 80 pustules.

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I hope it will not be thought, that the preceding are the only instances of the mischief, and failure of the Cow Pox, which have come to my knowledge since my last Publication. I have received nearly a thousand of a similar nature; for which, though I have not made use of them on the present occasion, I beg leave to make my acknowledgments; and to assure those gentlemen, who have favoured me with information, that their communications shall not be lost.—If I have not leisure to publish them myself, I will take care that they shall be put into proper hands; and be given to the world.

Here

Here I must take the liberty to observe that it will best suit the purposes of public good, for which I intend the facts sent to me, of the mischief, and failure of the Cow Pox, to have them exact; not only as to the name, and age of the parties, but also as to the month, and year, when they had the Cow Pox; and the name of the person who Inoculated them; and the month and year when they had the Small Pox afterwards; and the name of the medical man, by whom they were attended. I likewise entreat, that all remarks accompanying cases, may be stated as concisely as possible.

FINIS.

*Books published by the same Author, and sold by  
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