**Dickens and medicine : an exhibition of books, manuscripts and prints to mark the centenary of his death; with an introduction and bibliography.**

### Contributors

Wellcome Institute of the History of Medicine.

### Publication/Creation

[London] : The Library, The Wellcome Institute of the History of Medicine, 1970.

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# *Dickens and Medicine*



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*The cover-illustration shows a view of the entrance to Little Ormond Yard, Great Ormond Street. From an original water-colour by J. P. Emslie, 1882. (See exhibit no. 60 in the Catalogue.) Design and layout of cover by Elizabeth Charles.*

*Exhibition Catalogue No. 5*

# *Dickens and Medicine*

*An Exhibition of Books, Manuscripts and Prints to mark the Centenary of his Death: with an Introduction and Bibliography*

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PRINTED BY Unwin Brothers Limited
THE GRESHAM PRESS OLD WOKING SURREY ENGLAND

*Produced by 'Uneoprint'*
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## Introduction

It has been said that Dickens never really understood, let alone sympathized with, doctors; and that if he had done so he would surely have introduced them more often into his novels, as his French counterpart Balzac did into his. Certainly his few doctor-friends were more noted for their radical or unorthodox views than for their conformism to the values and beliefs held by the majority of their colleagues in the higher reaches of the profession. The fact is, of course, that Dickens positively hated the grosser aspects of social privilege wherever they lay; nor did he have the slightest compunction in exposing them to ridicule, as he did with great effect in *Our mutual Friend.*

This is not to say that he disliked doctors as such, much less that he bore resentment against those of them who had climbed high in their profession. He had neither need nor cause to. Perhaps the worst that can be said of him is that he retained a deep distrust of doctors' remedies ('The longer I live the more I doubt the doctors') at a time when it was fashionable to do so. Indeed, it was not at all unusual for doctors themselves to display similar attitudes in private and even at professional gatherings. Nevertheless, when the occasion demanded, Dickens submitted himself to the care of physicians ('I have delivered myself over to be physicked', as he put it in a letter to his sister-in-law Georgy), though he was perfectly capable of managing without them when he so wanted:

> 'I began to recover my voice, and I think I sang half the Irish Melodies to myself as I walked about, to test it. I got home at ½ past 10, and mustard-poulticed and Barley-watered myself tremendously' (letter to Georgy, 1858).

Sceptical of doctors' drugs Dickens had little more sympathy with their efforts through Parliament to reform the structure of their profession. Always a fervent believer in private enterprise and an opponent of monopolies he objected to the centralizing tendencies of the various Medical Bills which Parliament was debating in 1857 (see the article 'Doctors' Bills' in *Household Words,* July 11th, 1857). Much of his venom was directed against the Royal College of Physicians. In the end, and despite Dickens, the doctors' bills, or more precisely one of them, gained the assent of Parliament. Out of the 1858 Medical Act came the order, discipline and legislative protection which are nowadays taken for granted but which were then sorely needed.

**Fringe Medicine**

One of Dickens's best friends was Dr John Elliotson, professor of medicine (1831-1838) at University College, London: a man who so antagonized his colleagues by his eagerness to use mesmerism as a form of therapy that he was forced to resign his Chair (to the disgust of his students) and to devote the rest of his life to private consulting work. A kindly man, Elliotson was viciously attacked in the columns of the *Lancet* for his devotion to what was considered mere quackery. Dickens, for his part, was greatly impressed by what he saw of the professor's deomonstrations, so much so that he frequently recommended friends to put themselves in the care of 'that good fellow Elliotson'. He himself

tried more than once to emulate his medical mentor, and with some success judged by John Forster's account of how he 'mesmerised' his wife Kate during a tour of America in 1842. He was no less successful with other subjects, including John Leech the well known satirist who contributed scores of drawings to the early volumes of *Punch* and many to Dickens's own novels.

But this was not Dickens's only incursion into the 'fringes' of medicine, for he was also interested in phrenology ('I hold phrenology, within certain limits, to be true'), and warmly supported the claims advanced by the 'cold water-cure' enthusiasts: chief amongst whom were Vincent Priessnitz in Germany and Captain Claridge in England. The 'water-cure' appealed particularly to the stronger minded of the overfed upper-class Englishman, for whom fresh air and abundant cold water (both for bathing and drinking) were a welcome relief from the standard and ineffective medication handed out by doctors at that time. A good insight into the rationale of the typical 'water-cure' patient can be obtained from a book written by another of Dickens's friends, viz. Edward Bulwer-Lytton's *Confessions of a water patient,* London, 1846.

**The Medical Student**

One does not look, then, in Dickens's novels for a rose-coloured picture of the Victorian medical world; no more than one expects him to represent other professional groups, say lawyers, as being motivated entirely (or even largely) by disinterested impulses. This being said, even the most sensitive of doctors reading his novels today can still be grateful for the delightful portraits of the medical students Bob Sawyer and Jack Hopkins *(Pickwick Papers)* who, though roguish, are eminently likeable; and there is surely little to which one could object in the conscientious character of the general practitioner, Allan Woodcourt *(Bleak House)* whose wife pays the novelist's most impressive tribute to doctors when she says:

> 'I never lie down at night but I know that in the course of that day he has alleviated pain, and soothed some fellow-creature in the time of need ... Is not this to be rich?'

**Nurses and Midwives**

One could hardly say the same of Dickens's nurses who are generally an unkempt and sordid band of people—from the midwife who delivered Oliver Twist in a workhouse, to Mrs Gamp and Betsy Prig of *Martin Chuzzlewit.* Both were sadly representative of the standard of nursing available to the poor. Mrs Gamp was the private nurse who 'went to a lying in or a laying out with equal zest and relish' and who could usually be recognized by the smell of spirits which she gave off: whilst Betsy Prig (from St. Bartholomew's) 'administered the patient's medicine by the simple process of clutching his windpipe to make him gasp, and immediately pouring it down his throat'. Such was the state of affairs, not altogether exaggerated, which precipitated the government enquiries into workhouse infirmaries during Dickens's own lifetime.

**Hospitals**

Hospitals were always a close concern of Dickens from the day in 1842 when he supported a 'Sanatorium' (or nursing home as it would now be called) for members of the middle classes. Founded by Southwood Smith, a physician-philanthropist who was a close friend of Dickens, it was situated in Devonshire House, Regent's Park, quite close to where the novelist was then living. Its object was to provide comfortable well-heated rooms and skilled medical assistance for clerks and similar types of workers who were unfortunate enough to be in lodgings rather than homes. From the beginning it attracted the most bitter opposition from within the medical profession, the fear being that Smith would steal custom which would otherwise have gone to private physicians. Another objection raised was that hospital wards harboured infection. After three uncertain years, and despite a charity performance of Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humor* in which Dickens took part, the Sanatorium was forced to close through lack of funds; not to be copied for many years to come.

**Children**

Another movement which received Dickens's whole-hearted support was the campaign to establish children's hospitals. Children had always aroused his compassion. His novels abound in them; he was at his best with them; and nothing touched him quite so much as the thought that they should suffer or die early. He was only too ready, then, to deliver a speech at Freemasons' Hall in 1858 as part of a fund-raising dinner for England's first children's hospital (Gt Ormond St., founded 1852), and to allow an article of his in praise of this new institution ('Drooping buds', in *Household Words)* to be used as promotional literature.

But this was not the end of his campaigning for children's hospitals for he also lent his support to the East London Hospital for Children (founded 1868). In the words of the *British medical Journal* (Feb. 8, 1868), was it not scandalous that a district of 1 million people should have to rely almost entirely for medical provision on one hospital (i.e. The London)! 'Somehow', wrote one correspondent, 'philanthropy, stimulated by enterprise, is infinitely more active at the West-End.' Two other children's hospitals were opened in the wake of Gt Ormond St and the East London: i.e. the 'Victoria Hospital' in Chelsea (1866), and the 'Evelina' in Southwark (1869).

Dickens's sympathy for children also shows itself in the attention he gave to the problem of foundlings. In no less than four of his works *(Sketches by Boz; Barnaby Rudge; Little Dorrit;* and *No Thoroughfare)* he either mentions or gives a significant place to the famous Foundling Hospital in Coram's Fields: an institution which he also describes objectively in an article ('Received, a blank Child') published in *Household Words* (19 March, 1853).

Not far removed from foundlings were the children consigned to the boarding schools and 'academies' which advertized regularly in the newspapers. Dickens actually visited some of these establish-

ments in Yorkshire, later depicting them in *Nicholas Nickleby* and elsewhere. It was always one of his most fervent wishes to see introduced a system of compulsory state education where there would be less emphasis on religion and rote-learning and more on the inculcation of crafts and useful knowledge. In this way he hoped that crime would be reduced and the country enriched. The very year in which he died saw the inauguration of a new and more progressive era in Britain's educational history, for it was then that Parliament passed the Elementary Education Act.

**Workhouse Infirmaries**

Another category of people for whom hospital provision was dismal in the extreme was the pauper, or the workhouse inmate. Indeed, conditions in workhouse infirmaries, where nurses were usually elderly, ignorant and poorly paid, were so bad that the government was obliged to enquire into their management through a Select Committee appointed in 1861. Unaccountably the Committee advised only minor changes; and it was therefore left to a committee appointed in the following year by the *Lancet* periodical to make the real seriousness of the situation publicly known. 'The State hospitals', reads its Report, 'are in the workhouse wards. They are closed against observation, they are under the government of men profoundly ignorant of hospitals rules'. A direct outcome of this sensational attack on public complacency and blindness to the truth was the formation of an Association for the Improvement of the London Workhouse infirmaries; the secretary of which was Dr Ernest Hart and one of whose members was Charles Dickens. From the deliberations of this long overdue body came proposals for humanizing workhouse infirmaries and for the segregation of the sick from the able bodied. It is no accident that England embarked during the following ten years on the most frenetic period of hospital building ever experienced in this country either before or since.

Dickens's part in the work of the *Lancet* Commission has never been properly elucidated but we may imagine that it was no small one. At least this was the opinion of the anonymous writer of his obituary in the *British Medical Journal* who said:

> 'But among all the radical reforms of recent days, we may be allowed to single out one in which we know him to have taken special interest—one of which he may be considered as the original promoter—the amelioration of workhouse infirmaries, on which we started five years ago a Commission of Inquiry. We never failed to find him, amid much official irritation and obloquy, a most able and judicious coadjutor . . .'.

Almost certainly this tribute was written by Ernest Hart, a prominent member of the *Lancet* Commission and later to become editor of the *British Medical Journal.* He had once before express-

ed his appreciation of the help and advice which Dickens had given to the commissioners (see the editorial 'Our mutual Friend' in the *Lancet* for 1865), on which occasion he had quoted a piece of the novelist's own testimony;

> 'In the majority of the shameful cases of disease and death from destitution, that shock the public and disgrace the country, the illegality is quite equal to the inhumanity—and known language could say no more of their lawlessness.'

**Sanitation**

Dickens had every opportunity to know how Commissions and government appointed bodies worked. His own brother in law, Henry Austin, an engineer, had been Secretary to the General Board of Health from 1848 to 1852 and Assistant Secretary to the Metropolitan Sanitary Commission in 1847. The two collaborated in the production of articles on public health for *Household Words* and the *Examiner;* whilst a graveyard scene in *Bleak House* owes its origin to a published *Report on Extra-Mural Sepulture* sent to Dickens by Austin.

An even better social contact was Dickens's close friend Southwood Smith, a Unitarian physician who devoted his life to the betterment of the poor, especially of the sick poor. None knew better than he the squalor and degradation of these people's lives, for unlike most of his colleagues and fellow members of the middle classes he had taken the trouble to investigate at first hand the vast and overcrowded districts where the poor congregated: both in London and in Edinburgh. His reports on housing, on the employment of women and children in mines, and on the districts of Southwark and Bethnal Green were all well known to Dickens who had been his companion on several of his brave sorties into the unkown territory of London's East End. *Oliver Twist* and *Bleak House* bear the impress of this close relationship between the two men and in their pages occur passages which are taken almost verbatim from one of Smith's reports to Parliament.

Sanitation was almost as much a preoccupation with Dickens as it was with Edwin Chadwick, or with Southwood Smith, or with Angela Burdett Coutts. The latter was his lifelong friend and fellow crusader in social matters, and it was on his advice that she paid for the erection of tenements for the poor in Bethnal Green. His own way of directing attention to the need for drastic improvements in the ordinary Londoner's evironment was by publishing articles, many written by Henry Morley a former doctor, some by himself, in his periodical *Household Words,* a supplement to which, entitled *Household Narrative of Current Events* (1850-1855) regularly contained a whole section detailing the latest sanitary advances. It was thus quite in character for Dickens to have addressed the opening meeting of the Metropolitan Sanitary Association (formed with the express intention of lobbying for the in-

clusion of London in the provisions of the 1848 Public Health Act) with a fervent plea for new houses in working class districts. On another occasion he advocated the public registration of sickness:

> 'It is most true', he said (*All the Year Round,* no 86, pp. 227-8) 'that we have never studied, and are still neglecting to study, with any accuracy, the statistics of sickness and health'.

These words were written only two years after the death from cholera of 150 children in a child-farm at Tooting: no mean statistic in itself and one which had been impressed on Dickens's mind from the moment when he had first heard of the scandal and been moved to protest. His four articles on the subject were published in the *Examiner.* They reveal his burning indignation against a society which could produce such dreadful calamities and yet remain largely impervious to them. They also show Dickens working in close communication with the Board of Health (Henry Austin, Southwood Smith, Edwin Chadwick) whose voice had also been raised against the men held to be ultimately responsible, i.e. the Poor Law Commissioners.

**Prostitution**

Prostitution and disease (and, for that matter, crime) go hand in hand, reacting and feeding on each other to an extent which is not always fully appreciated. Dickens, as that rare combination of idealist and practical man, was one who understood the immensity of the problem which prostitution represented for Victorian society and who moreover worked hard to alleviate it. His method was to establish, in association with Miss Burdett Coutts, a 'home for fallen women' which was later given the euphemistic title of Urania Cottage, and for almost ten years he planned and organized it whilst she paid the bills.

> 'I would begin', he once said in a letter to her, 'with some comparatively small number—say thirty—and I would have it impressed upon them, from day to day, that the success of the experiment rested with them, and that on their conduct depended the rescue and salvation, of hundreds and thousands of women yet unborn'.

So great was the public impact of the work which Dickens and his like accomplished in the 1840's and 1850's that it inspired Dr William Acton (an authority on the problem) to welcome 'the change of tone' that had come over society's attitude to prostitution during those years. By this he meant that the subject could now be discussed in polite society and even between ladies.

Oddly enough Dickens's connection with this project was known to few people and was certainly never publicly advertized. Even his article about the Cottage (*Household Words,* 1853) was left unsigned and without any indication of where the 'Home' was.

Dickens, of course, transmuted these experiences—as was his wont—into his novels, and one does not have to look far amongst his female characters for the typical prostitute from the London streets: one recalls Nancy, the loyal companion to Bill Sikes in *Oliver Twist,* and Alice Marwood in *Dombey and Son.*

**Diseases**

The morbid and sordid sides of life held a peculiar fascination for Dickens. That they affected his reformist instincts goes without saying, but they also influenced his approach to his characters, and the circumstances in which he placed them. Towards the end of his life when he was engaged in exhausting public readings his love of the morbid caused him to dwell almost lovingly on some of the more horrific incidents in his novels. But even at its most normal the Dickens world has an element of the bizarre, which derives in no small measure from its creator's knowledge of abnormal behaviour.

**Neurology and Psychiatry**

A case in point is the wonderful portrait of senile dementia in Old Chuffey, Anthony Chuzzlewit's clerk; whilst a victim of the same insidious condition is Mrs Smallweed *(Bleak House)* who had 'an eternal disposition to fall asleep over the fire and into it', made worse by her paraplegic husband's habit of tossing cushions at her in periodic fits of annoyance. One might mention, too, the case of multiple personality combined with loss of memory manifested in the person of Dr Manette *(Tale of Two Cities),* as well as the numerous pictures of mental defectives of whom Barnaby Rudge, with his 'wan and haggard aspect', and 'the wildness of his face', is the best known example.

Perhaps the most remarkable instance of clinical observation is the account of Mrs Gargery, the victim of a blow to the head, in *Great Expectations.* Her loss of speech, impairment of memory and paralysis of the right side are typical consequences of the attack to which she had been subjected and Dickens's description of her physical signs are confirmed in the medical literature by Paul Broca (1861) and Hughlings Jackson (1864). Another case of aphasia (loss of speech) can be found in the Honourable Mrs Skewton in *Dombey and Son.* There are yet other examples, as we shall see, of Dickens acting the part of diagnostician in his novels.

**'Non-Restraint'**

Whenever Dickens became concerned with a matter of social importance, or with a confused set of circumstances, his custom as often as not was either to ferret out the facts for himself *in situ* or to depute a reliable person to do this for him. This is why, at the height of the controversy over lunatic asylums, he visited St Luke's Hospital for the insane (then 100 years old) in Old Street Road of which he wrote down his first-hand impressions in an article entitled 'A curious dance round a curious tree' *(Household Words,* 17th Jan., 1852). So complimentary was he to the

regime of 'non restraint' in vogue there and so favourably inclined to the hospital management that he willingly gave his permission for the article to be reprinted as a promotional pamphlet. Its effect on the public was no doubt enhanced by the contrast which it drew between the new regime and the old (see Dickens's almost verbatim quotation from a textbook of the bad old days, John Haslam's *Observations on Madness and Melancholia,* 2nd ed., 1809). This visit, incidentally, was only one of many paid to St Luke's where Dickens hoped to find (and probably did find) material for his books. Nor, in this same connection, should we fail to mention his trip to a similar institution (Park House Asylum, Highgate), described in an article entitled 'Idiots' *Household Words,* 4th June, 1853) written in collaboration with W. D. Wills. It is here that Dickens reveals his knowledge of progressive institutions in foreign countries, notably the Bicêtre Hospital in Paris and Dr Guggenbühl's pioneer establishment for cretins in Switzerland.

'Non-restraint' was a convenient term coined in the early 19th century for a more free and easy regime in asylums. It implies the freedom for patients (who had been previously shackled and chained) to move around their hospital quarters in an atmosphere of relaxed discipline. One of the foremost supporters of this revolutionary development in psychiatric practice was Dr John Conolly, a friend of Dickens and a great humanitarian doctor who had been responsible for introducing important reforms into Hanwell Asylum during the 1830's. Inexplicably this most kindly of men was pilloried (under the name Dr Wycherley), as were the Lunacy Commissioners of the mid-1860's, in Charles Reade's novel *Hard Cash,* 1863, which Dickens had first serialized in his periodical *All the Year Round* under the title *Very Hard Cash.* Not surprisingly both Dickens and Reade were attacked most venomously in the columns of the leading medical journals for their alleged irresponsibility. They had, said the *British Medical Journal,* 'cast diabolical charges upon the character of all medical men connected with the management of lunatics and . . . insulted the whole profession'. A retraction from Dickens was called for and duly appeared in the form of a notice disclaiming responsibility for the views of his contributor. He nevertheless continued to publish Reade's novel week by week until completion.

This unfortunate episode in the relations of Dickens with the medical profession is completely out of character and rather hard to explain. Normally speaking the medical journals had the greatest admiration for him, in particular for his knack of being able to write about disease with accuracy and perception. On this occasion, however, the *British Medical Journal* was less kind, indeed downright cruel, protesting that the 'medical profession [had] long looked with an evil eye on a good deal of his instruction'— notably on the 'mesmeric novels' (see Bulwer Lytton's 'A strange story' published in *Household Words*); on his ghost stories *(Christmas Carol)*; and on his account of spontaneous combustion *(Bleak House).*

**Diagnostic Ability**

But Dickens's reputation was powerful enough to resist any temporary resentment he may have aroused in a few sensitive breasts. Indeed these same journals published obituaries praising him in most generous terms for his diagnostic expertise. They had good reason to, if only for his impressive feat (surely equalled by no other writer) of being quoted in leading textbooks of his time (see the description of Smike's 'hectic fever' in *Nicholas Nickleby* which was reprinted word for word in W. Aitken's *Science and Practice of Medicine,* 3 ed., vol. 1, 1864; J. Miller's *Principles of Surgery,* 2 ed., 1850; as well as in their American and French equivalents). Can one wonder at the *British Medical Journal's* comment (June 18, 1870):

> 'What a gain it would have been to physic if one so keen to observe and so facile to describe had devoted his powers to the medical art'!

Other examples of his acute understanding in medical matters could be quoted. For example, in a book-review written in 1848 he thought it worth noting that malaria appeared 'to yield to calomel in the first instance and strong doses of quinine afterwards more than to any other remedies'. Which was no less than the truth, though it was far from being recognized as such by a majority of the medical profession.

In his usual perceptive way Dickens even doubted Sir Henry Thompson's diagnosis that the lameness in his own left leg was a case of gout. His heart, as he said to his physician Frank Carr Beard, 'had been fluttered'. Indeed it had, and worse, as the eminent consultant Sir Thomas Watson well knew when he advised his irrepressibly energetic patient to rest from his fearfully exhausting public readings. The end came on June 9th, 1870, from an attack of apoplexy or, as we should say today, a stroke (cerebral thrombosis).

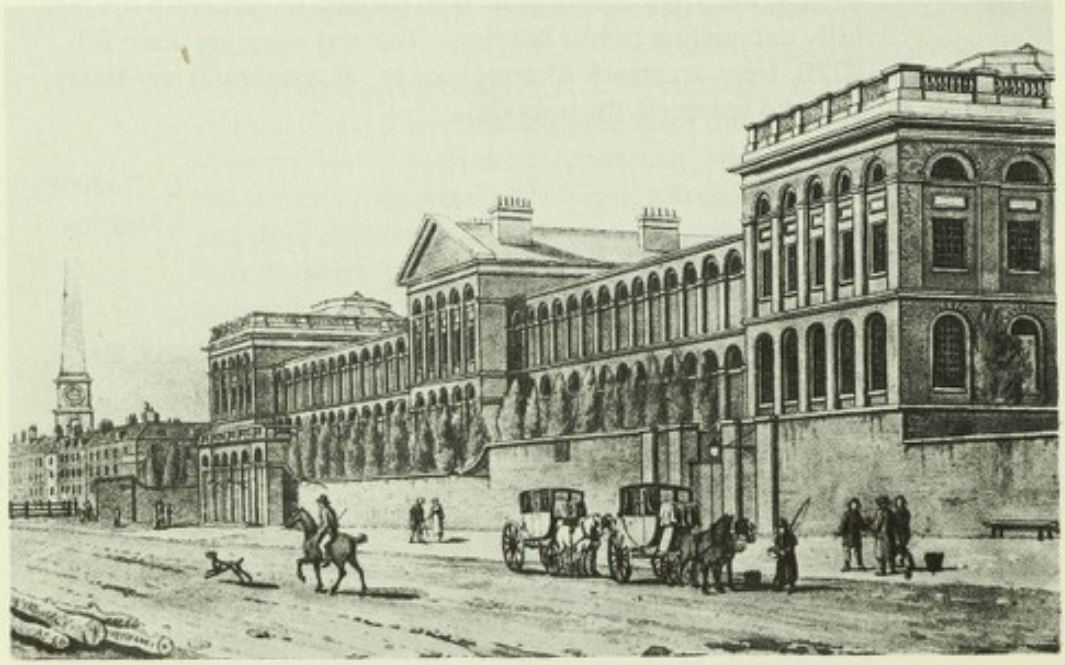
E. GASKELL
Librarian.

*Acknowledgments*

In the work of preparing the catalogue I have received much help from my secretary Miss C. Tonson-Rye, and from Dr Renate Burgess (Keeper of Prints) and Miss Brenda Sutton (Assistant Librarian).

OUTFALL OF THE SOUTHERN METROPOLITAN SEWERAGE

[Cat. no. 72]



LUNATIC HOSPITAL OF ST LUKE'S

[Cat. no. 89]

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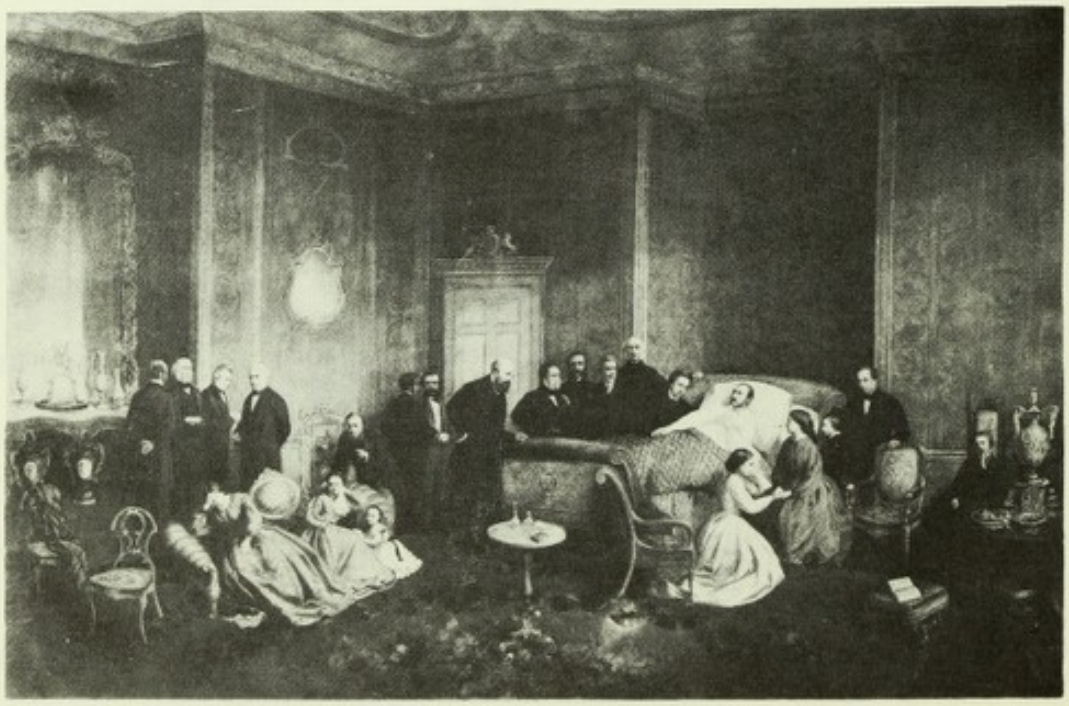
JOHN ELLIOTSON: Professor of Medicine at University College; mesmerist; and friend of Dickens

[Cat. no. 37]

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE AT SCUTARI

[Cat. no. 57]



DEATH OF THE PRINCE CONSORT IN 1861

[Cat. no. 80]

## CATALOGUE

### Books and Manuscripts

**HASLAM, John.** *Observations on madness and melancholy: including practical remarks on those diseases; together with cases: and an account of the morbid appearances on dissection.* 2nd ed. London: J. Callow, 1809. [1

Haslam, Apothecary to Bethlem Hospital, collected some of the first statistics of insanity, but was eventually dismissed by the Governors in 1816 for using what they considered unnecessary restraining treatment.

**LONDON GENERAL DISPENSARY.** *Plan of the General Dispensary . . . for affording gratuitous advice and medicines to the sick poor.* London: C. H. Reynell, 1817. [2

The dispensary had a waiting room for patients, a dispensary room and consulting rooms for the district medical officer.

**SMITH, Thomas Southwood.** *The philosophy of health; or, an exposition of the physical and mental constitution of man, with a view to the promotion of human longevity and happiness.* 2 vols. London: C. Knight, 1836-7. [3

**SMITH, Thomas Southwood.** *Appendix to the 5th report of the Poor Law Commissioners.* London: W. Clowes, 1839. [4

Southwood Smith, together with Edwin Chadwick, was the foremost pioneer in the struggle against the ignorance and apathy of the public towards the problems of poverty and disease. From 1848 until 1854 he was one of the Commissioners on the First General Board of Health.

**CHADWICK, Sir Edwin.** *Report . . . from the Poor Law Commissioners on an inquiry into the sanitary condition of the labouring population of Great Britain; with appendices.* London: W. Clowes, 1842-3. [5

This report, the result of three years' work by the Poor Law Commissioners, was not published as an official document as its contents were considered to be too controversial.

**CLARIDGE, R. T.** *Hydropathy; or, the cold water cure, practised by Vincent Priessnitz, at Graeffenberg, Silesia, Austria.* 3rd ed. London: J. Madden, 1842. [6

Captain Claridge who together with his family was treated by Priessnitz introduced his methods to the British public in this work which attracted wide-spread attention.

**ELLIOTSON, John.** *Numerous cases of surgical operations without pain in the mesmeric state; with remarks upon the opposition of many members of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society and others to the reception of the inestimable blessings of mesmerism.* London: H. Baillière, 1843. With author's autograph dedication. [7

Elliotson, a friend of Dickens and Thackeray, was one of the first to perform surgical operations with the aid of hypnotism, but his views were bitterly opposed by Thomas Wakley, editor of the *Lancet.*

**ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE EMPLOYMENT . . . OF CHILDREN IN MINES ETC.** *The physical and moral condition of the children and young persons employed in mines and manufactures.* London: J. W. Parker, 1843. [8

At the beginning of the nineteenth century it had taken 25 years of legislation to reduce the hours of labour of a child of nine to sixty-nine hours a week and by the 1840's conditions were not found to be much improved.

**COMBE, George.** *Elements of phrenology.* 6th ed. Edinburgh: Maclachlan, Stewart, 1845. [9

Dickens was phrenologized during his visit to America in 1842 by Lorenzo Fowler at the residence of the Hon. John Davis. He was credited with having a large brain, great energy, a combative nature and a very high sense of humour!

**GUGGENBUEHL, J.** *Extracts from the first report of the Institution on the Abendberg, near Interlaken Switzerland, for the cure of cretins.* Trans. by W. Twinnig. London, 1845. [10

The Abendberg was the first residential institute for the teaching and medical care of mentally defective children. It closed after an official enquiry in 1858 although its influence continued.

**LYTTON, Edward Bulwer,** *1st Baron Lytton. Confessions of a water patient; in a letter to W. Harrison Ainsworth Esq.* 3rd ed. London: H. Baillière, 1847. [11

After a breakdown, Lytton the novelist tried hydropathy and recorded the results in this work.

**SIMPSON, Sir James Young.** *Account of a new anaesthetic agent, as a substitute for sulphuric ether in surgery and midwifery.* Edinburgh: Sutherland & Knox; London: S. Highley, 1847. [12

Simpson was the first to substitute chloroform for ether having discovered its less irritating effects in 1847.

**GENERAL BOARD OF HEALTH.** *Report . . . on the epidemic cholera of 1848 and 1849.* London: W. Clowes, 1850. Contains two appendices, one by Dr Sutherland, friend of Dickens. [13

This report finally acknowledged that contaminated water might have something to do with the spread of cholera—a disease which killed at least 110,000 in the United Kingdom during this two year epidemic.

**METROPOLITAN SANITARY ASSOCIATION.** *First report on the chief evils affecting the sanitary condition of the Metropolis.* London: The Association, 1850. [14

On pp. 24 to 26 can be read Dickens's address to the Association, of which he was a member, on the subject of rehousing the poor. Better houses were in his view an essential prerequisite to improvements in health. He mentioned Jacob's Island (described in *Oliver Twist*) as one of the blots on the London landscape. This district had in fact been one of the worst hit by the recent cholera epidemic.

**MILLER, James.** *Principles of surgery.* 2nd ed. Edinburgh: A. & C. Black, 1850. [15

Miller worked as Robert Liston's assistant in Edinburgh and became Professor of Surgery on the death of Charles Bell. On p.46 appears an account of hectic fever, along with an extract from *Nicholas Nickleby.*

*THE THIRD-YEAR student's correspondence on the existing abuses at St. Bartholomew's Hospital. Corrected from the Lancet. With an address to the governors respecting the management and present condition of St. Bartholomew's Hospital.* London: W. Kent, 1853. [16

**CONOLLY, John.** *The treatment of the insane without mechanical restraints.* London: Smith, Elder, 1856. [17

As early as 1839 Conolly began to treat the insane at Hanwell Asylum without using any form of restraint.

**AUSTIN, Henry.** *Report on the means of deodorizing and utilizing the sewage of towns; addressed to the . . . President of the General Board of Health.* London: H.M.S.O., 1857. [18

Austin was the consulting engineer of the Sewer Commissioners and Dickens's brother-in-law.

**DICKENS, Charles.** Autograph letter to Georgina Hogarth, his sister-in-law, concerning his health. London, 7 August 1857. [19

**SELECT COMMITTEE ON LUNATICS.** *Report.* 2 vols. [London,1859]. [20

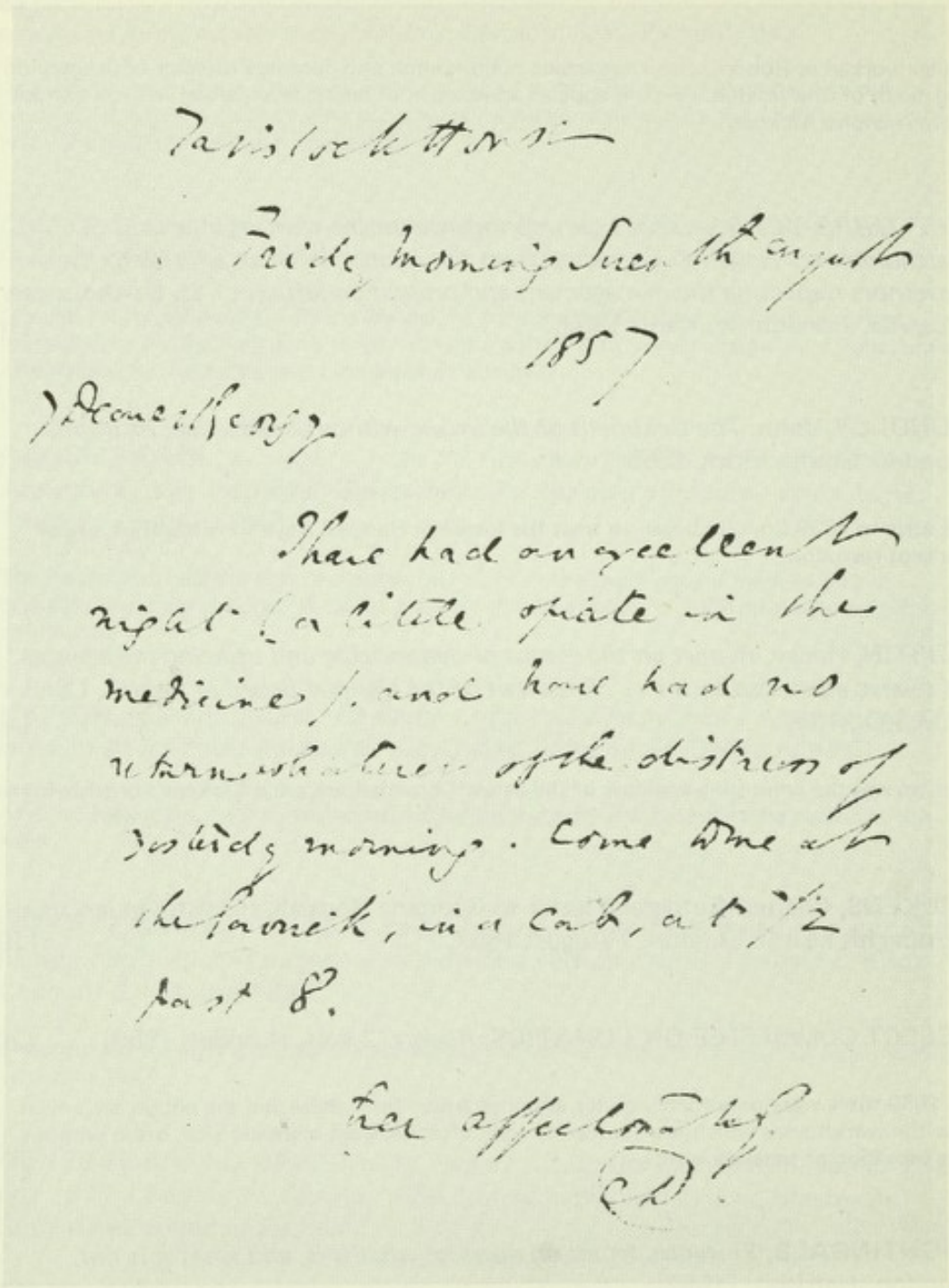
In 1859 there were only forty county asylums. Apart from these and the public asylums it was the workhouses which were forced to look after indigent mentally sick, often without the provision of separate wards.

**NIGHTINGALE, Florence.** *Notes on nursing: what it is, and what it is not.* London: Harrison, [1859]. [21

Cecil Woodham Smith in her life of Florence Nightingale says of *Notes on nursing* 'Neither its good sense nor its wit has dated, and [it] can be read today with enjoyment.'

**AITKEN, Sir William.** *The science and practice of medicine.* 3rd ed. 2 vols. London: Griffin, 1864. [22

Sir William Aitken worked as a pathological anatomist in Scutari during the Crimean War and was nominated in 1857 to take charge of the Army Medical School planned by Florence Nightingale and Sidney Herbert. In Vol. 1, p. III, Aitken quotes a passage from *Nicholas Nickleby.*



LETTER FROM DICKENS TO HIS SISTER-IN-LAW GEORGY

*'I have had an excellent night (a little opiate in the medicine) and have had no return whatever of the distress of yesterday morning. Come dine at the Garrick, in a cab, at ½ past 8.'*

[Cat. no. 19]

**JACKSON, John Hughlings.** Loss of speech: its association with valvular disease of the heart, and with hemiplegia on the right side. Defects of smell. Defects of speech in chorea. Arterial regions in epilepsy. *Clin. Lect. Repts. Lond. Hosp.,* 1864, **1,** 388-471. [23

Jackson studied aphasia for 30 years. He emphasised the psychological causes but for a long time the importance of his work was not recognized.

**WEST, Charles.** *How to nurse sick children. Intended especially as a help to the nurses at the Hospital for Sick Children.* 3rd ed. London: Longman, 1864. [24

West was accoucheur and teacher of midwifery at St. Bartholomew's and the Middlesex Hospital as well as physician to Gt. Ormond Street and published several works on paediatrics and gynaecology.

**DICKENS, Charles.** Signed cheque for £150, payable to Frederick Ouvry. Messrs. Coutts & Co., 1865. [25

**LANCET SANITARY COMMISSION FOR INVESTIGATING . . . WORK-HOUSE INFIRMARIES.** Reports. *Lancet.* 1865, **ii,** 14, etc. [26

**DICKENS, Charles.** *Speech on behalf of the Hospital for Sick Children, 49 Great Ormond Street.* London: Folkard & Son, 1867. Reprinted in *J. Pediatrics,* 1956. [27

**ACTON, William.** *Prostitution considered in its moral, social, and sanitary aspects, in London and other large cities and garrison towns. With proposals for the control and prevention of its attendant evils.* 2nd ed. London: Churchill, 1870. [28

Acton's painstaking survey made him one of the pioneers in the investigations out of which came the Contagious Diseases Act of 1866. This second edition is much enlarged and revised.

**WATSON, Sir Thomas.** *Lectures on the principles and practice of physic.* 5th ed. rev. 2 vols. London: Longmans Green, 1871. [29

Sir Thomas Watson, physician to Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, published his lectures in book form and for thirty years they continued to be the chief English textbook of medicine.

**REFUGE FOR HOMELESS AND DESTITUTE BOYS,** 8 Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Fields. Leaflet (4 pp.) appealing for donations; p. 4. contains two woodcuts of interior-scenes. [30

THE NURSE: a figure reminiscent of Mrs Gamp.

[Cat. no. 58]

A SCENE AT THE EVELINA HOSPITAL

[Cat. no. 62]

## Prints

*Phrenological Illustrations, or an Artist's View of the Craniological System of Doctors Gall and Spurzheim,* by George Cruikshank. London: George Cruikshank, 1827. 28 x 56 cm. [31
Contains six plates, each with five or more coloured etchings

Dr Franz Joseph Gall [1758-1828] and Johann Caspar Spurzheim [1776-1832] founded the pseudo-science of phrenology, which taught that a person's character could be read from the bumps on his skull. Their ideas were popular throughout the 19th century and had a certain influence on the progress of research into cerebral localization.

*At the Phrenologist's.*
Water-colour by John Leech. c. 1830. 33 x 30 cm. [32

Leech was a medical student (St. Bartholomew's) turned artist. He contributed drawings to *Punch* and to Dickens's *Christmas Carol.*

*Calves' heads and brains or a phrenological lecture.*
Coloured engraving by J. Lump [sic] from a drawing by L. Bump [sic]. Published for the artist at St. Peter's Alley, Corn Hill, London, September 1826. 25 x 32 cm. [33

The lecturer is probably George Combe [1788-1858] of Edinburgh, author of *Elements of Phrenology,* 1824, the second edition of which was attacked in the *Edinburgh Review* for September 1826. The inset picture to the right shows 'Mr Liston as Tony Lumpkin'—an allusion to the surgeon Robert Liston [1794-1847].

*If this science be cultivated I doubt not but the time will come when on hiring a servant an examination of the organick manifestations of the mental faculties as developed at the superficies of the pericranium, will supercede the necessity of further enquiry into character.*
Coloured engraving by W. Taylor. Published by W. Taylor, c. 1820. 20 x 25 cm. [34

*Phrenological survey of the head of a [very] Prime Minister. i.e. Sir Robert Peel.* (Follit's Phrenology no. 4.), published by J. Follit, c. 1840. 41 x 28 cm. [35

*Rare specimen of comparative craniology. An Old Maid's skull phrenologised.*
Coloured engraving by F. C. Hunt from a drawing by E. F. Lambert. Published by Harrison Isaacs, Charles Street, Soho, c. 1830. 29 x 36 cm. [36

*Portrait of John Elliotson M.D.*
Lithographed from a picture by James Ramsay. c. 1840. 32 x 22 cm. [37

Elliotson [1791-1868] was professor of medicine at University College, London, from 1831 to 1838, and was a very close friend of Dickens.

*Two woodcuts showing a mesmeric session.*
c. 1840. 17 x 10 cm. [38

*Animal magnetism—an operator putting his patient into a crisis.*
Engraving by Dodd from E. Sibly's *Key to physic,* London, 1810. 28 x 22 cm [39

*Wasser Anwendungsformen in der Wasser-Heilsanstalt zu Gräfenberg.*
Engravings, c. 1830. 57 x 39 cm. [40

Eight scenes of the establishment for cold water cures, founded by Vincent Priessnitz in 1822. The regime which he laid down for his patients made no concessions to the weak.

*The cold water cure.*
Six engraved caricatures by George Cruikshank c. 1830. 17 x 10 cm. [41

Four caricatures of the cold water cure.
(1) *Coming down hill to Malvern.*
(2) *An air douche on the summit of the beacon*
(3) *The Ascending douche.*
(4) *The Douche.*
Woodcuts published by Rock and Co., London, 1860. 22 x 23 cm. [42

*Great Malvern, from above Foley Terrace.*
Lithograph by Newman & Co., 48 Watling Street. Published by H. Lamb, Royal Library Malvern. 30 x 44 cm. [43

An especially popular spa with the health-conscious Victorians.

*General Sea Bathing Infirmary, Margate.*
Coloured engraving by Robert Ashby. Drawn by W. Pickett. c. 1800. 13 x 21 cm. [44

The fashion for sea-bathing began in the reign of George III. Margate Infirmary, founded by Dr John Lettsom in 1791, flourished throughout the 19th century.

*South-Gate of Yarmouth, Norfolk.*
Engraving by L. Storer, for *The Antiquarian and Topographical Cabinet* from a drawing by William Brand. Published by William Clarke, Bond Street, October 1807. 14 x 16 cm. [45

*Entrance to Bath from the South side of the bridge.* [and] *The hot baths and New Infirmary, Bath.*
Two engravings by J. B. Allen. Drawn by Thomas H. Shepherd. Published by Jones and Co., Finsbury Square, London, March 28th, 1829. 46 x 31 cm. [46

*Captain Jekyll's patent vapour bath. The cloak is made of oil'd silk, which does not expose the person: as it is here represented to shew the aparatus of the bath.*
Engraving from *Important Facts . . . [on] Captain Jekyll's patent portable vapour bath, etc.* London: Saunders & Otley, 1828. 27 x 23 cm. [47

Captain Jekyll recommended his portable invention for a wide variety of disorders.

*Portrait of Samuel Hahnemann.*
Mezzotint by R. Woodman after a painting by G. E. Hering. Published Manchester: Hering and Remington, n.d. 44 x 31 cm. [48

Hahnemann [1755-1843] was a physician and the founder of homoeopathy. This novel system of medicine, based on the principle of like curing like, was extremely popular in Victorian England and represented an alternative approach to the as yet unproved conventional therapeutics. Dr Fred. Quin, a leading English homoeopathist, was a friend of Dickens.

*L'homoéopathie, ou les malices de la médecine.*
Lithograph by Magnier. Cover of song-sheet, published Paris: N. Paté, n.d. 26 x 34 cm. [49

*Banting.*
Coloured lithograph by R. J. Hamerton. Printed by Metzler & Co., London, c, 1864. 34 x 24 cm. [50

Cover of song-sheet. Caricature of the public passion for slimming, brought on by the publication of William Banting's book *Letter on Corpulence,* in 1864.

*The fox and the goose.*
Caricatures, etched and published by George Cruikshank, 1833. 19 x 27 cm. [51

Underneath the scenes of the London and British Colleges of Health appear several verses poking fun at their founder, James Morrison, an acute business-man who made a fortune from patent-medicines.

*View of the Fancy Fair, held in May 1830 at the mansion and grounds of John Penn, Spring Gardens, St. James's Park, and for the benefit of Charing Cross Hospital.*
Coloured lithograph by G. Scharf. London, published by the artist, 1832. 32 x 43 cm. [52

The Hospital was founded in 1821. George Scharf senior [1788-1860], who was born in Munich, came to London in 1816 and introduced lithography to this country.

*Guy's Hospital.*
Coloured engraving by J. Rogers. Designed by N. Whittock, c. 1830. 21 x 27 cm. [53

*St. Bartholomew's Hospital.*
Coloured engraving. c. 1815. 18 x 15 cm. [54

*Design for the new St. Thomas's Hospital, the foundation stone of which is to be laid by the Queen next Wednesday.*
Woodcut from the *Penny Illustrated Paper,* May 19th 1868. 29 x 41 cm. [55

*The Christmas tree at the Middlesex Hospital.*
Woodcut. Source unknown. c. 1850. 24 x 30 cm. [56

*Florence Nightingale in the military hospital at Scutari. Scene—night, when that excellent and benevolent young lady is going her rounds among the brave wounded, and sick soldiers, to see whether their wants have been properly administered to.*
Coloured lithograph by J. A. Benwell. c. 1856. 30 x 44 cm. [57

The vogue for more realistic illustrations of Florence, showing her in working costume, was begun by the *Illustrated London News* in response to readers' demands. This still left room for sentimentality as Benwell's lithograph makes clear.

*The Nurse.*
Coloured lithograph by W. Hunt. From a drawing by Hullmandel. Published by Ackermann, c. 1825. 31 x 20 cm. [58

*Hospital for Sick Children, 49 Great Ormond Street, London.*
Water-colour by J. P. Emslie, 1882. 27 x 42 cm. [59

Founded in 1852 by Dr Charles West.

*View of the entrance to Little Ormond Yard, Great Ormond Street.*
Water-colour by J. P. Emslie. 1882. 28 x 18 cm. [60

*Festival at the East London Hospital for Children on New Year's Eve.*
Woodcut from the *Illustrated London News,* 1870. 22 x 27 cm. [61

Founded in 1868.

*Christmas comes but once a year: a scene at the Evelina Hospital.*
Coloured reproduction from a painting by C. J. Staniland. From *The Graphic* Christmas number, 1882. 39 x 28 cm. [62

Founded by Baron Rothschild in memory of his wife, in 1869.

*Fork Grinding at Sheffield, 1860.*
Etching by J. Palmer. From *The Illustrated London News,* March 10th, 1866. 35 x 46 cm. [63

Showing children and youths at work.

THE MEDICAL STUDENT

[Cat. no. 95]


A VICTORIAN OBSESSION: the dreadful effects of drink

[Cat. no. 68]

*The Foundling Hospital, Guildford Street.*
Coloured engraving by J. Henshall. Drawn by Thomas H. Shepherd. From *London and its Environs in the Nineteenth Century,* London: Jones & Co., 1829.
21 x 24 cm. [64

Abandoned children were a serious problem in Victorian London: hence the string of homes set up for them by Dr Barnardo in the latter years of the century. London's first home for foundlings (shown here) was opened in 1739.

*The Foundling.*
Etching from a painting by G. B. O'Neill which was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1852. 32 x 46 cm. [65

The year in which the Great Ormond St. Hospital was founded.

*Sunday at the Foundling Hospital.*
Tinted woodcut from *The Illustrated London News,* extra supplement, December 7th, 1872. 42 x 58 cm. [66

*Intemperance.*
Coloured lithograph from a series; designed by T. C. Wilson. c. 1840. 24 x 21 cm. [67

Shows mother with three children and drunken husband. The artist was possibly the Rev. T. C. Wilson, a writer and preacher on temperance.

*The Bottle,* by George Cruikshank.
In eight plates. Dedicated to Joseph Adshead, Esq. of Manchester.
London: published for the artist, by David Bogue, September 1st, 1847.
55 x 38 cm. [68

Traces, in Hogarthian style, the downfall of a family through drink: the youngest child dies, the son and daughter take to the streets, whilst the husband—now insane—kills his wife. The story was dramatized in eight theatres at once, and Matthew Arnold wrote a sonnet in praise of the plates. Cruikshank became an abstainer *after* he had finished them.

*The Drunkard's Children. A sequel to The Bottle,* by George Cruikshank.
In eight plates. Dedicated to Joseph Adshead, Esq, of Manchester.
London: published for the artist, by David Bogue, July 1st 1848.
55 x 38 cm. [69

The son becomes a thief and is transported to Australia, where he dies in misery. The daughter is left 'homeless, friendless, destitute and gin-mad.' She commits suicide.

*Clerkenwell Interior.*
Woodcut from *The Builder,* March 12th 1853. 31 x 21 cm. [70

*Overcrowding, and other sanitary derangements, in 1862.*
11 woodcuts from *The Builder,* June 14th 1862. 33 x 21 cm. [71

*Engine-house, Crossness: out-fall of the southern metropolitan sewerage.*
Woodcut by J. M. Williams from *The Builder,* August 19th 1865. 34 x 22 cm. [72

*Sanitary Shortcomings: London in 1862.*
3 woodcuts from *The Builder,* July 26th 1862. 34 x 24 cm. [73

*Boring operation, seen in Gray's Inn Lane, in connection with the main drainage of the Metropolis.*
Woodcut. Source unknwon. c. 1860. 14 x 17 cm. [74

*Microcosm dedicated to the London Water Companies. Monster soup commonly called Thames water, being a correct represention [sic] of that precious stuff doled out to us!!!*
Engraving by Paul Pry (i.e. William Heath). Published by T. McLean, c. 1827. 29 x 41 cm. [75

In 1827 a commission was appointed to look into the Metropolitan Water Supply. Its report contained no suggestions for remedying the deplorable contamination and was attacked in the *Times.*

*The Microscope. Displaying to the horror-stricken old woman the wonderful inhabitants of a drop of water.*
Coloured lithograph. No. 2. of a series entitled 'Spooner's Transformations.'
London: William Spooner, c. 1840. Artist unknown. 28 x 23 cm. [76

The microscope became increasingly popular after improvements effected to it during the 1830's. It even found its way into soirées and parties.

*To the inhabitants of the Parish of Clerkenwell.*
Letterpress poster. Published London, Nov. 1, 1831. [77

***Instructions to the populace on preventive measures against the approaching Indian Cholera. Signed by two churchwardens.***

*A London Board of Health hunting after cases like a cholera.*
From *The Looking Glass or Comical Journal,* 1832. 16 x 24 cm. [78

The first great cholera epidemic in Britain broke out in 1832. Others followed in 1848 and 1854, in which year Dr John Snow was able to demonstrate the water-borne nature of the disease. The actual causative organism was discovered by Koch in 1883

*Portrait of Dr John Snow [1813-58]*
Photograph. n.d. 39 x 28 cm. [79

Anaesthetist who administered chloroform to Queen Victoria in 1853 at the birth of Prince Leopold. He also demonstrated that the cholera vibrius can be water borne.

*The last moments of H.R.H. The Prince Consort.*
Coloured lithograph by W. L. Walton after a painting (artist unknown) in the Wellcome Institute. Printed by C. J. Culliford, London, c. 1861. 45 x 54 cm. [80

Prince Albert died of typhoid in 1861. His death caused an outcry in the press and focused attention on the issue of sanitation. Ironically, the Prince was noted for his active interest in hygiene and sewerage and had submitted a number of his own models to the Great Exhibition of 1851. To the left of this deathbed scene stand four doctors—Sir Thomas Watson, Sir William Jenner, Sir James Clarke and Sir William Ferguson. Sir William Jenner was an authority on this disease the cause of which (typhoid bacillus) was discovered by Eberth in 1880. It was estimated that 50,000 cases occurred each year in England.

*Portrait of Sir William Jenner [1815-98].*
Engraved from a painting by Frank Hall, 1888. 49 x 37 cm. [81

Jenner was born in Chatham, Dickens country. He was professor at University College Hospital, physician at Great Ormond Street and Physician-extraordinary to the Queen. He differentiated typhus from typhoid.

*Portrait of Sir Thomas Watson [1792-1882].*
Engraved by Samuel Cousins after a painting by George Richmond. n.d. 56 x 42 cm. [82

Watson was President of the Royal College of Physicians and was consulted by Dickens's physician, Dr Beard, in the novelist's last illness

*Portrait of Joseph, Lord Lister.*
From a drawing by Wilfred C. Appleby. n.d. 90 x 38 xm. [83

Lister introduced antisepsis in 1867, just after Pasteur had demonstrated the existence of bacteria.

*William Norris: confined in this manner in Bethlem Hospital.*
Coloured etching by G. Arnald from a sketch from life done on May 2nd 1814. Published October 20th 1815. 49 x 33 cm. [84

The report of the Committee on Madhouses, 1815, has this to say about conditions at Bethlem: '[William Norris] had been confined about 14 years . . . was fastened by a long chain . . . was mostly lying down, and . . . it was inconvenient to raise himself . . . We discovered that all the male patients who were then naked and chained to their beds in their cells, were in that situation by way of punishing for misbehaviour, and not from disease'.

Improvements rapidly followed and the patients were removed to the steam-heated New Bethlehem Hospital.

*Front view of Bethlehem Hospital.*
Coloured engraving (plate 49) from Cassell's *Old and New London.* Vol. 6. London: Cassell, c. 1873. 18 x 26 cm. [85

*New Bethlem Hospital, St. George's Fields.*
Coloured aquatint (plate 19) from R. Ackermann's *Repository of Arts* published July 1st 1817. 15 x 23 cm. [86

*Portrait of John Conolly, M.D., Warwick.*
Lithograph by T. M. Baynes from a painting by Thomas Kirby, Leamington, c. 1835. 34 x 27 cm. [87

Conolly [1794-1866] was physician to the Hanwell Asylum.

*Lunatic's Ball. Somerset County Asylum.*
Drawn and lithographed by Katharine Drake. 38 x 43 cm. [88

A scene of merry-making in 1848. Above one of the doors is the inscription 'harmony'.

*Lunatic Hospital of St. Luke's*
Coloured engraving. Source unknown. c. 1840. 17 x 24 cm. [89

Dickens often visited this hospital in search of material for his books.

*Types of insanity,* from photographs taken in the Devon County Lunatic Asylum. c. 1860.
Lithographs of seven cases. 20 x 13 cm. [90

Photography was frequently used by doctors in mental hospitals during the latter part of the 19th century.

*The Geological Lecture Room, Oxford.*
Lithograph, coloured by hand. Printed by C. Hullmandel from a drawing by N. Whittock. 1823. 31 x 41 cm. [91

Shows a lecture by Professor William Buckland in the Ashmolean Museum. Amongst the audience are the Presidents of Corpus and Jesus, the Bishop of Oxford, and Dr. Drabnay, the Professor of Chemistry.

*King's College, London. Distribution of prizes in the threatre by the Archbishop of Canterbury.*
Engraving by H. Melville from a drawing by T. H. Shepherd. c. 1840. 16 x 25 cm. [92

King's College was founded in 1829.

*Interior view of the eastern end of Mr. Gray's Academy, Great Smith Street, Westminster.*
Lithograph by J. Miller. c. 1830. 24 x 30 cm. [93

In 1830 there were no less than 250 'Gentlemen's Academies' and 380 'Ladies' Academies' in London. The one shown here is well furnished with scientific apparatus, unlike the one which Dickens himself began to attend in 1824 (i.e. Wellington House Academy in Hampstead Road).

*The distribution of prizes to the medical students of St. Thomas's Hospital by His Royal Highness the Prince Albert, June 26th 1845.*
Coloured lithograph by W. H. Kearney. Printed by C. H. Fairland. 40 x 48 cm. [94

Note the nose-gays held by some of the ladies present. Kearney was an aquarellist and co-founder of the London Water-Colour Society.

*The medical student.*
Woodcut, c. 1850. 23 x 16 cm. [95

*The medical student.*
Engraved cover to song sheet. Written by Albert Smith. London: L. Lee, c. 1860. 25 x 35 cm. [96

In the style of, and possibly drawn by, John Leech.
The second verse reads:

'Yes indeed he's a medical Student
And he wears such a horrible rough coat,
Fitted up with those nasty wood buttons,
Which he fastens quite up to his throat.
Then his Hat cost about four and nine,
With a brim very broad and quite flat.
'Tis a pity that Medical Students,
Have such love for a Gossamer Hat!'

*Written examination for ye degree of M.D. Edinburgh University April 1855. N.B. ye unfortunate undergraduates are in ye agonies of composition.*
Lithograph after a student's pen and ink drawing. Initialled J.Y.S. 1862 in bottom right hand corner. 28 x 29 cm. [97

The professor invigilating the examination is probably James Young Simpson.

*Portrait of Sir James Young Simpson [1811-70].*
Etching by A. Watson Turnbull after a photograph. n.d. 56 x 38 cm. [98

Obstetrician in Edinburgh and discoverer of chloroform (1847). Queen's Physician in Scotland.

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