Commissioner Ram. Th
with the author's
best Respects. —

AN

ANSWER

TO

DR. MOSELEY.

Printed by S. Gosnell,
Little Queen Street

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ANSWER

TO

DR. MOSELEY,

CONTAINING

A DEFENCE

OF

VACCINATION.

BY JOHN RING,

MEMBER OF THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF SURGEONS IN LONDON, AND OF THE MEDICAL SOCIETIES OF LONDON AND PARIS.

Physician, heal thyself.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. MURRAY, NO. 32, FLEET STREET.

1805.

PREFACE.

Dr. Moseley's pamphlet reminds us of the tower of Babel. There is the same spirit of contradiction; the same confusion of tongues; and the same labour in vain.

As a proof of the first position, if we ask him for the cow-pock, he gives us the small-pox; if we ask him for light, he gives us darkness; if we ask him for life, he gives us death.

As a proof of the second, his performance is so interlarded with Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, that he seems to speak a leash of languages at once, besides his own, which he turns into a strange jargon. And as a proof of the third, although vaccination had just before received a severe shock, from the cases in Fullwood's Rents, no sooner had Dr. Moseley published his philippic against it, than it began to revive.

It is evident, therefore, that he has been building castles in the air. All his efforts to overturn vaccination are fruitless; and the stone which this builder rejected, is become the chief stone in the corner.

Even according to his own confession, his two first efforts, to convince Parliament and the Public of the inefficacy of vaccination, proved fruitless; yet he could not be deterred from appearing in print a third time. We may therefore say with Dryden,

> Authors, when damn'd, once died like other men;
> But our damn'd author lives, and writes again.

He may, however, console himself with this reflection, that if he has done no good in the cause, he has done no harm; and that when he rests from his labours, his works will follow him.

Some people, who only estimate a book by its bulk, may wonder at my thinking Dr. Moseley's pamphlet dear at five shillings; but surely we may well think it dear at that price, when every

syllable of it, which is new and valuable, may be contained in a nutshell.

Nevertheless, his publication is not to be treated with contempt; on the contrary, it requires a long answer. It contains a considerable number of fallacious reasonings, which it is necessary to expose; a considerable number of misrepresentations, which it is necessary to correct; a considerable number of false reports, which it is necessary to contradict; and a considerable number of calumnies, which it is necessary to refute.

AN

ANSWER,

&c. &c.

WHEN we read Dr. Squirrel's title-page, in which he insinuates that the cowpock is the scrofula, and Dr. Moseley's, in which he insinuates that it is the murrain, we may well join with the latter, and say; Forgive them, for they know not what they do.

It is, indeed, the peculiar fate of vaccination, that there never was a topic on which so many people write, and pronounce their judgment, without the least pretensions to any knowledge of the kind. As one proof of this, we need look no farther than Dr. Moseley's preface to the second edition of his pamphlet; in which he informs us, that when vaccine inoculation was *first* brought into practice, he gave it his *decided opposition*. Thus the most valuable discovery ever made by man was to be sacrificed to prejudice and ignorance, and to be condemned without a trial.

Dr. Moseley says, vaccination was brought

into practice in the year 1798. Thus he antedates it one year; but this is a trifle, when gentlemen talk of what they do not understand. Dr. Jenner published the first part of his work in June 1798; but the practice did not become general, nor did Dr. Moseley give it his decided opposition, till the following year.

"I thought then," says Dr. Moseley, "as I now do, experience not necessary in order to know that the cow-pox cannot be a preventive of the small-pox." After this, we have little reason to expect, that he will give a just and impartial verdict on the occasion. A man whose mind is warped by prejudice, and biassed by some preconceived hypothesis, is ill calculated to hold the scales of justice, and to discover the truth.

He tells us, that among the unthinking mass there are many, who can only be recalled from their delirious flights by means as preposterous as their own ideas. This will account for the strange jumble of ideas crowded by Dr. Moseley into his pamphlet. This will account for his delirious flights, and his frantic effusions. It is, indeed, impossible to perceive the flights of his disordered imagination, without exclaiming, "Physician, heal thyself."

There are people who suppose, from Dr. Moseley's setting such a high price on his pamphlet, that he means to indemnify himself for the loss he sustains, as an inoculator for the small-

pox, and as a physician, by the introduction of the cow-pock. This opinion is probably well founded; but other reasons may also be assigned for such an apparent extortion. Every gentleman who will condescend to write in a preposterous way, and to expose himself, for the public good, should be well rewarded; and those who cannot be reclaimed by any means, but such as are preposterous, ought to pay for their folly.

In the second edition, Dr. Moseley tells us, he has made an addition of a few important facts. I shall prove what he calls facts, to be little more than fabulous conceits. By adding a few more, as occasion requires, he may swell his book, and raise its price, *ad infinitum.*

It would be equal injustice to the reader, and to Dr. Moseley himself, not to give a specimen or two of his remarks; which are, indeed, as preposterous as any heart can wish. He says, " 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."

Here it is evident, that Dr. Moseley tries to divert his readers from the principal point in dispute; which is not whether there are two sorts of the cow-pock, or two hundred; but whether there is one sort capable of preserving the human species from the small-pox.

One of the first practical remarks made by Dr. Moseley is, that nothing depends on the time of taking the matter. This is so contrary to the general observation of inoculators, both in the small-pox, and the cow-pock, that it deserves no refutation. But we must recollect, that the more absurd and preposterous any idea is, the more consistent it is with the design of Dr. Moseley.

In pursuance of this design, he tells us, there is a cast of people, on whom he is destined to attempt to work a miracle; that this miracle is the miracle of conception; and that he is destined to work it without materials. This is, indeed, a hard and cruel destiny. There is no reason to suppose, that Dr. Moseley is a conjurer, or that he can work miracles at all. At any rate, we cannot expect him to work them without materials. But if he works any miracle at all, it will be the miracle of a *false* conception.

The Doctor, however, tells us, that he is reserved for a still harder fate; and that he is

doomed to follow the stupid race, who talk of two sorts of cow-pox, and particular periods for taking matter, into the creeping-holes of cow-pox subterfuge; where they can scarcely hide their own diminished heads.—In this retreat he now beholds them, comforting each other, poor souls! for the good they have done; and reading their own melancholy works by the expiring lamp of their Jennerian tomb.

It is happy for the friends of vaccination, that they have some comfort.—Driven from the face of day, by the victorious arm of Dr. Moseley, their lot would be truly deplorable, had they not the consolation to reflect, in their last moments, that they have endeavoured to render an essential service to their fellow-creatures. As to Dr. Moseley and his friends, it is happy for them, that they are in a state of prosperity, and require no consolation of this kind.

But let them not be too proud of their victory, nor grow vain in consequence of a little temporary success; which is no certain proof of their talents, or of the merits of their cause. The race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong:—

" ——and here let those
Who boast in mortal things, and wond'ring tell
Of Babel, and the works of Memphian kings,
Learn how their greatest monuments of fame,
And strength, and art, are easily outdone
By spirits reprobate, and in an hour,

What in an age they with incessant toil,
And hands innumerable, scarce perform."

After telling us, that nothing depends on the time of taking matter, Dr. Moseley admits, that cow-pock matter, small-pox matter, or any other eruptive matter, is more or less active according to its state; and brings on symptoms earlier or later. He might have added, it brings on different symptoms; but he was determined, as usual, to be preposterous and perverse.

He had, indeed, by his own remarks, fully established his position, that there are many erroneous notions respecting the ingrafting of distempers; for surely a greater number of erroneous notions, on that or any other subject, was never before crowded together into one point of view.

He tells us, little is known of the operation of animal virus. This is surprising, after so many years spent by Dr. Moseley in medical researches; and in kindly communicating the result of his labours, in so many forms, to the public. Is it for this the press has so often groaned with Treatises on tropical Diseases, Dissertations on the Yaws, Dissertations on Obi or African Witchcraft, Dissertations on the Plague, Dissertations on the yellow Fever of America, Dissertations on Hospitals, Dissertations on Prisons, Dissertations on the Cow-pox, and Dissertations on the Small-pox, by the learned author of the Treatise now before us?

However ignorant we may still be of the nature of one animal virus, we have but little reason to complain of want of attention, on the part of Dr. Moseley; for he tells us, that although the basis of the present work, published in Dec. 804, was the first edition as a detached essay, it was the fourth time his sentiments against vaccination had come before the public. These sentiments had made so little impression, that they were almost forgotten; and it was necessary to remind the public of the immense weight of obligation under which they labour.

The learned author tells us, it is thought in general, that the quality of variolous matter used for inoculation, will influence the quality of the disease arising from it. This, he tells us, is a mistake. He advises us always to select an healthful subject, and a benign sort of small-pox, to inoculate from; but at the same time informs us, that all this, prudence excepted, is of no consequence.

It is fortunate, that amid the reveries of such a writer, prudence for once steps in.

Nullum numen abest, si sit prudentia rebus.

Prudence is certainly advisable on all occasions; but what have the rash and preposterous observations which follow to do with prudence?

The Doctor says, he knows from good authority, that small-pox matter has been taken from a

dead body, and used for inoculation with the same success, as if it had been taken from a living subject, and the mildest disease. Prudence, however, has never yet made such an experiment, and never will. Neither will prudence ever publish an account of such rash and unwarrantable experiments, without branding them with the stigma they deserve.

To do the learned author justice, he allows that matter should never be taken from a body in a state of putrefaction; otherwise it may produce all the evils that ensue on the insertion of putrid matter. The very thought of such evils is, indeed, enough to harrow up the soul; and call to mind the ever-honoured and ever-mournful names of Walsh and Peckwell. If, therefore, the disciples of Dr. Moseley take matter from a dead body, in order to inoculate for the small-pox, let prudence guide their hands; let them not transgress the rule of their master, by taking matter from a body that is in a state of putrefaction.

Dr. Moseley maintains, that no other disease can be conveyed into the habit with the small-pox. In this point medical practitioners agree with him. He then gives a list of diseases; and says, no person ought to take matter for inoculation from any subject who labours under them, even if prejudice were out of the question; al-

though it might be done with perfect safety. This is a preposterous observation; but it was Dr. Moseley's intention to be preposterous.

The learned author tells us, that peculiar circumstances, which he had no share in creating, *has* rendered him acquainted with some of these facts; and accident with the others.—This is a remarkable instance of modesty and candour. After such a singular display of learning, he disclaims all merit; and acknowledges that these inexhaustible treasures of knowledge are not the fruit of patient study, and laborious investigation; but the result of accident, and blind chance.

This is not the only instance of modesty we meet with in Dr. Moseley's pamphlet; for he says, "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 victory; and it will be but a triumph over a lamentable weakness in human nature."

It is remarkable, that so many respectable characters should be guilty of such weakness; and that such weak men should be so respectable; but lamentable indeed must be the weakness of the friends of vaccination, if it is not stronger than the strength of their professional brethren, who oppose the practice.

Dr. Moseley says, it is impossible to believe,

that the small-pox should render the human frame insusceptible of the cow-pock, or that the cow-pock should render it insusceptible of the small-pox, without an entire subversion of reason. To prove this, he talks about analogy, pathology, the laws of the animal economy, and the want of reciprocity between the two diseases.

How different from such language was that of Dr. Hunter, who, after spending a long life in the investigation of the laws of the animal economy, openly avowed, in his latter days, that the machinery of the human frame was so infinite, the parts so delicate, and their relation to, and influence upon, each other so incomprehensible, that he looked on himself in the true and humble light of a mere inquirer.

"Such," says that learned and elegant writer, Dr. Mac Donald, "were the modest words of Dr. William Hunter,—the honour of his country, his age, and his profession." Had medical men followed the steps of this departed genius, or had they kept in view what they were taught by Bacon, *non fingendum aut excogitandum quid natura ferat aut faciat, sed inveniendum est*,—surely, independent of the benefit humanity would have derived from such a conduct, it would have conferred the highest honour upon themselves, and the science they professed.

"To prove that this saying of Bacon is founded on sacred truth, I shall adduce two well-known

instances, namely, the discovery of the circulation of the blood, and that of irritability. These two discoveries are the greatest ever made in medicine, or perhaps in any science; and have justly immortalized the names of Harvey and Haller; yet they were made by a few simple experiments, while the most acute speculations of former philosophers failed in the attempt.

"In relating this, I have no wish to expose the science of medicine on its weakest side. No; by pointing out these errors my great object has been, to place in a stronger point of view, and reflect higher honour upon, the labours of those eminent men, who have improved the science they cultivated; of men, whose discoveries promise to humanity such benefits, that they deserve to be ranked among the immortal benefactors of mankind."

But Dr. Moseley entertains very different notions from Dr. Mac Donald. He considers vaccination as a splendid imposition; but thinks the people at large excusable, for placing a confidence in the practice. He gives the middle and inferior classes great credit for their discernment and parental feelings; and for taking the lead in renouncing the delusion. This is a compliment to the middle and inferior classes, at the expense of the superior; and looks like an *ad captandum*. The Doctor informs the public, that he inoculates for the small-pox, and cures all the

disorders occasioned by the cow-pox; and though he despairs of his quondam friends, the superior class, he still hopes to catch a few gudgeons among the people at large.

He says, the people in the country have not the advantage of those in the metropolis: that is, they cannot consult such oracles of physic as Dr. Moseley, Dr. Squirrel, and Mr. Birch,—

Nec tam præsentes alibi cognoscere divos.

Dr. Moseley seems also to doubt, whether the people in the country can read; he therefore judiciously proposes, that the Clergy shall read for them, and explain all the words of his book. Should it be thought necessary to preach a sermon on the occasion, his motto will serve for the text.

The learned author informs us, that many of the Clergy have taken an active part in recommending vaccination; but he thinks their conduct also excusable; because, he says, they have not sufficient employment for their abundant zeal. He tells them, however, that it is now their duty to undeceive their parishioners; and to inform them, that the cow-pock is no security against the small-pox. This is what few people, even if they were told so by the Clergy, would believe to be true; and what few of the Clergy do not know to be false.

Dr. Moseley is willing to pardon the Clergy, for the sin they have committed in promulgating

vaccination, upon condition of repentance; but at the same time he advises them, when any medical dispute shall arise in future, to wait till it is over, before they join the wrong side of the question. Hence it appears, that when the dispute is over, they have Dr. Moseley's free consent to join the wrong side, as soon as they think proper.

Dr. Moseley has been informed, that some of these gentlemen have not only preached, but also practised vaccination. He says, he hopes it is not true; though all the world know it is true; and trusts the College of Physicians will exert their authority, to prevent the repetition of such a misdemeanour. The statutes of the College say, *Neve honestum putemus clerico, inter cætera, tractare res morbosque muliebres.*—Dr. Moseley, however, says, he sees no reason, why the Clergy should not handle matters of that sort.

He tells us, artifices have been practised on the people of London, and those of the neighbouring villages. A number of artifices have indeed been practised, particularly on the inhabitants of a village on the bank of the Thames; and it is probable, no one is better acquainted with the nature of those artifices, or the names of their authors, than the Physician of Chelsea College.

Dr. Moseley acknowledges, that there are many excellent men who have taken up the subject of vaccination; and he will considerably

strengthen his arguments when he can prove, that there are many excellent men who set their faces against it. He declares he is no persecutor; and can forgive that hardness of head, in which an impression, when once made, remains indelible. I am no persecutor; and can forgive that hardness of head, on which it is impossible to make any impression.

It is admitted by Dr. Moseley, that the mischiefs of the natural small pox are great; but he maintains, that they may be prevented by inoculation. How unfortunate it was, that Dr. Moseley did not communicate this secret to the world, before vaccination was introduced; which has lessened the value of his discovery, and may prevent him from receiving a parliamentary reward.

He tells us, it was stated before Dr. Jenner's Committee in the House of Commons, that on an average, one person in three hundred *die* from the inoculation of the small-pox. It is much to be lamented, that gentlemen will not be satisfied with murdering their patients by variolous inoculation, without also murdering their mother tongue.

Dr. Moseley informs us, that he and Mr. Birch have inoculated great numbers of people, without losing a single patient. As this extraordinary fact rests entirely on their own *simple* assertions,

——credat Judæus Apella,
Non ego.

Dr. Moseley, however, tells us, that old women have done the same. But I would advise him to omit this remark in his next edition; otherwise it may be supposed, that Dr. Moseley and Mr. Birch are no more than old women.

Dr. Moseley informs us, that ignorance does not understand inoculation; or, in other words, that ignorance is ignorance. The Physical Society have instituted an order of merit; into which only those persons are to be elected, who make some notable discovery. Dr. Jenner is the only member hitherto elected; and Dr. Moseley stands a fair chance of being the second; though some people are inclined to consider him as a *not-able.*

Dr. Moseley thinks no one ought to be suffered to inoculate for the small-pox, but such as understand the practice as well as Dimsdale or Sutton. This rigid law will, I fear, go too far, and deprive the public of the services of Dr. Moseley and his friends. The Doctor tells us, that instead of one in a hundred, or one in three hundred, not more than one in three hundred thousand *need* die under inoculation of the small-pox. He tells us, however, that he has not taken ignorance into his calculation; so that it is evident, he is reckoning without his host.

It is rather strange, when Dr. Moseley tells us,

people *need* not die under inoculation of the small-pox, that so many should fall victims to that practice, besides the incalculable mischief done to society, by spreading the natural infection. Be the cause what it may, the inoculation of the small-pox often proves fatal; yet while it is profitable, advocates for the practice will not be wanting. Instead, however, of saying, that a person who is inoculated with the small-pox *need* not die, we should rather say, *needs must when the Devil drives.*

But Dr. Moseley still takes care to furnish us with arguments against himself; like a Dutchman, who supplies his enemies with arms and ammunition. He is another Penelope; what he weaves in one sentence, he unweaves in another. After telling us, that people who are under the inoculation of the small-pox may escape a number of perils; that they need not die of the physician, that they need not die of the surgeon, and that they need not die of the apothecary; he confesses they may die of the nurse. What avails it, therefore, that the wretched victims of variolous inoculation survive the dangers of the lancet, the prescription, and the pill, when, at last, they are to die by the hands of an old woman?

Dr. Moseley candidly confesses, that nurses, and the patients themselves, are often guilty of great misconduct; and that fatal accidents have been the consequence. He tells us, that Sutton

and Dimsdale also had their careless nurses, and their refractory patients; but these great men counteracted such deviations by their own vigilance and sagacity. Alas! if this is the only chance of safety to the unhappy persons who submit to variolous inoculation, it is a forlorn hope. The majority of them, at least, have no such resource. If they call on Dimsdale or Sutton in their distress, they must call in vain.

Dr. Moseley represents the life of an inoculator for the small-pox, as a life embittered with cares. It may perhaps, in future, be rendered still more intolerable by the stings of conscience. As to vaccination, the Doctor tells us, it is *otium cum dignitate*; and may as well be carried on by a fool as by a philosopher. This is the highest compliment he could pay to vaccination; since it shews the safety of the practice.

It is acknowledged by Dr. Moseley, that for several years before the introduction of the cow-pock, inoculation was conducted in a very negligent and slovenly manner. What wonder then, that vaccination also should sometimes prove unsuccessful, when so many of the fools, described by Dr. Moseley, were to be turned over to a new trade!

As to the *otium cum dignitate* attending vaccination, Dr. Moseley endeavours to reduce the friends of the practice to the level of their professional brethren; and to prevent them from enjoying

much ease. They will have enough to do, if they inquire into all the idle reports he has circulated; and when they have done this, he threatens to circulate as many more. If, however, it is really true, that vaccination is so simple and easy, and can be carried on as well by the fool as by the philosopher, it is probable, many of those who now write against the practice will hereafter adopt it.

Dr. Moseley says, there is a necessity for an immediate restoration of the inoculation of the small-pox. I am far from acquiescing in this opinion; and only regret, that the necessity of any man should induce him to persevere in the practice. Dr. Moseley thinks the interference of Parliament necessary on this occasion. If, however, the wisdom of Parliament should interfere, and the Legislature interpose its strong arm, it will not be with the view of promoting the inoculation of the small-pox, as some self-interested persons have proposed; but either with an intention of suppressing the practice altogether, or of confining it within due bounds.

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

FIRST PART OF DR. MOSELEY'S TREATISE.

Dr. Moseley informs us, that in the year 1798 the cow-pox inoculation mania seized the people of England *en masse*.—The inoculation of the cow-pock was not introduced into general practice till the year following; hence it appears, that Dr. Moseley is still determined to stumble at the threshold; and that he can never speak of the *cow-pox* without making *a bull*.

He says the mania first attacked the medical profession; who, it seems, were so mad as to study the interest of their patients, instead of their own. While they were thus employed, we are informed by Dr. Moseley, this amiable insanity took advantage of the absence of their intellects, and stole upon them unawares. He represents the medical luminaries of that day to have been in a woful condition; for he says, their orbs were fixed fast in their firmaments; and they were not known to have had any motion for the last twenty years.

Dr. Moseley tells us, that the higher ranks were soon infected by the Doctors; who set an example in vaccination, by making the first experiments in their own families. They also went

about, it seems, doing a great deal of good for a little money, and even without any recompense at all. They might therefore very well appear to Dr. Moseley, and all other rational people, to be mad.

Dr. Moseley informs us, that at the period alluded to, he had a small work in the press; and he took an opportunity of informing the public, that the new practice had not the unanimous approbation of the faculty. The work in which the Doctor inserted his remarks, was his Treatise on Sugar; which, it is said, he was employed to write by the West India merchants, in consequence of their having so large a stock of that article on hand, that it was become quite a drug.

On this account, it is said, they engaged a medical gentleman, who had sufficient leisure for the task, to recommend a little of this pleasant medicine to the public. Dr. Moseley seems conscious, that his remarks on vaccination were equally indiscreet and unseasonable; he therefore endeavours to apologize for them, by pretending that they were occasioned by some publications on the other side. I know nothing, however, that could justify such an attack.

His remarks are as follows.

" *Cow-pox.*

" The *cow-pox* has lately appeared in England. This is a new star in the Esculapian system. It was first observed from the provinces. It is so

luminous there, that the greasy-heeled 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-heeled horse will kick down all the old gallipots of Galen.—Others, 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 Mandeville; 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.

" 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 his disorder, he could not speak a word of that language. The Dutch worms and the Dutch language left *Philario* together.

" In this *Cow-mania*, 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 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 cow-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 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 ingrafting distempers is not yet comprehended by the wisest men, and I wish to arrest the hurry of public credulity, until the subject has undergone a deep, calm, 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!"

This memoir, Dr. Moseley tells us, has been twice reprinted; first, in Medical Tracts, in January 1799; and secondly, in another edition of the same work, in January 1800. This is printing and reprinting, not reprinting twice; but the Doctor is fond of a bull. When he says, he should have been more serious, had the conduct of the most active cow-pox agents been less offensive to literature and science, he makes rather a lame apology for his premature opposition, or his levity on so serious and important an occasion.

At that time, only the first part of Dr. Jenner's

Inquiry, and Dr. Pearson's Inquiry, had appeared. I know nothing in either of those publications that can serve as a pretext for Dr. Moseley. He says, "I flattered myself, that either my ridicule, or my reasoning, 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."

Here it is necessary to remind the reader, that Dr. Moseley fixes on April as the month in which vaccination appeared. This could not have been April 1798, for Dr. Jenner had not then promulgated his discovery: it must have been April 1799. When, therefore, he endeavours to palliate the scurrilous remarks he published on the subject by subsequent transactions, he is rather unfortunate. This hint was necessary to be given to the opponents of vaccination, and to some of the pretended friends of the practice; who are so ignorant as to suppose, that the friends of vaccination first provoked hostilities, and began the contest. They little suspect, that Dr. Moseley was punishing a crime three months at least before it was committed.

The first account I read of Dr. Moseley's Treatise on Sugar, in which his satire on vaccination is also contained, was in the Medical Re-

view for June 1799; from which I shall make an extract, in order to shew how far Dr. Moseley was qualified for the task he undertook; that of elucidating the history, and promoting the consumption of sugar.—" Dr. Moseley begins this elaborate, but *singular* Treatise, by a variety of *amusing* extracts from several authors; tending to elucidate the history of sugar. The first part relates to the sugar-cane, and the establishment of plantations or works for its cultivation, and for the extraction of its juice: the second refers more particularly to the history of sugar itself; and the third treats of its properties and use in diet and in medicine."

Here the Reviewers observe, that Dr. Moseley has entirely overlooked one of the principal sources of information, respecting the early culture and management of sugar-canes. They also complain, that he disappoints them in their expectations. He promises much, and performs but little. He talks about the extraordinary virtues of sugar, but leaves it almost entirely to his readers, to find out what they are.

Some people imagine, that sugar causes worms: Dr. Moseley thinks it cures them. But we do not hear that the sale of worm powders is lessened since his publication; nor see sugar-candy advertised as a specific for worms, under the sanction of a Bishop, or the warrant of a Judge.

Hence it appears, that Dr. Moseley did not fully accomplish the intended object; although he might have been supposed to be in some measure qualified for the undertaking; having practised as an apothecary in the West Indies for a considerable time.

The Reviewers tell us, that Dr. Moseley introduces many desultory observations on several other subjects, besides that on which he professes to treat; that he passes on from one thing to another, till he comes to the cow-pox. In short, he tries to amuse his reader, when he ought to instruct him.

If Dr. Moseley was incapable of throwing light on a subject, which was continually under his observation for so many years; if he did not understand the virtue of sugar, how should he be capable of throwing light on vaccination, or ascertain the value of a practice to which he was a perfect stranger? Having had neither experience in vaccination, nor authentic information on the subject, he should have tried to divert his readers as usual: he should have been content with telling another story about African witchcraft, and three-fingered Jack.

Having seen an abstract of his ill-timed and illiberal strictures in the Review before mentioned, I could not suffer them to pass without animadversion. I therefore inserted the following

answer to them in the Medical and Physical Journal for August 1799.

To the Editors of the Medical and Physical Journal.

" GENTLEMEN,

" Doctor Moseley, in his Treatise on Sugar, lately published, expresses a suspicion, that the cow-pox can only render the habit insusceptible of the small-pox '*for a time.*'—This is refuted by volumes of evidence, and a cloud of witnesses. He says, 'Inoculation has disarmed the small-'pox of its terrors.'—This is refuted by the whole world.

" He asserts, that 'accidents in the inoculated 'small-pox are uncommon.'—Would to God experience did not disprove that assertion, and convince practitioners in general, that no care, no skill, ever did, or ever can, tame that dreadful hydra—the small-pox!

" He tells us, 'We all know from experience, 'that disease, properly treated, leaves nothing after 'it injurious to the constitution.' That we do not all know it, is certain: if Dr. Moseley has been so happy as to discover the secret, I hope his humanity will prompt him to disclose it.

" It is well known, that the small-pox, whether natural or insititious, is one of the most common causes of scrofula; and my experience leads me to believe, that the absurd custom of

giving cathartics after this and other eruptive disorders, by debilitating the habit, augments their tendency to produce that horrid disease.

" Dr. Moseley tells us, ' he wishes not to dis- ' courage inquiry;' and admits that ' the object ' well deserves it;' yet with some degree of inconsistence, he adds, that he wishes ' to guard pa- ' rents against suffering their children becoming ' *victims to experiment*.'—My wishes are not less ardent than his: he wishes to prevent children from becoming victims to *experiment*; I wish to prevent them from becoming *victims to the small-pox*.

" Dr. Moseley intended his eccentric remarks, which are introduced rather mal-à-propos in a Treatise on Sugar, as an antidote for what he calls the *cow-mania*.—He himself seems to labour under the *cow-phobia*. He asks, if any person can say, ' what may be the consequences of in- ' troducing a *bestial humour* into the human frame, ' after a long lapse of years?'—I beg leave to ask, in my turn, if any person can say, what may be the consequences, after a long lapse of years, of introducing into the human frame *cow's milk, beef-steaks, or a mutton-chop?*

" I hope medical men will in future be cautious, how they prejudice the public mind against a fair trial of a practice, warranted by observation, and recommended by a physician of distinguished abilities; and not spread a serious alarm, where

even the vulgar and illiterate, who are generally most averse to all innovations, and of course to all improvement in the practice of physic, have not hitherto hinted a suspicion.

" Dr. Moseley argues, as if the cow-pox were a new disease in the human species; a supposition which it is unnecessary to refute. One of the advantages proposed by Dr. Jenner and Dr. Pearson, from the establishment of the new practice, is, that although the disorder in question is so common, and has long been well known in many parts of the kingdom, *it never has been suspected to leave behind it any other disease.*

" I am happy in being able to add my testimony to that of Drs. Jenner, Pearson, and Woodville, in confirmation of the efficacy of the new practice; having inoculated with variolous matter, twelve persons whom I had previously inoculated for cow-pox, all of whom escaped the infection of the small-pox."

In consequence of the preceding observations, I received a letter from Dr. Jenner, whom I had never seen, nor corresponded with till then, of which the following are extracts.

" *Cheltenham, Aug.* 16*th*, 1799.

" Dear Sir,

" The very candid and satisfactory manner in which you have delivered your sentiments on the

variolæ vaccinæ, cannot but be gratifying to the public in general, and to my feelings in particular. I write this to express my thanks to you.

"It is a little vexatious to find, that so many should take up the subject, and give their decisions to the public, without understanding it in the least; but after the castigation that one of these gentlemen has experienced from your hands, I hope they will in future be more cautious."

Dr. Moseley says, he flattered himself, that either his ridicule or his reasoning had had some effect; but he afterwards discovered, that he had deceived himself. He may, however, in spite of all his modesty, justly claim the honour of having tainted the minds of "weak and unthinking people" with prejudices against vaccination. In this he has followed the example of Sir Richard Blackmore; who, at the commencement of the inoculation of the small-pox, instilled similar prejudices into the public mind.

In his dissertation on the inoculation of the small-pox, he labours to prove, that by this method, other diseases may be communicated from one person to another, together with the small-pox; and that those who have the small-pox by inoculation, are not secure from a future attack of the disease. It is a little remarkable, that such prejudices, which have long been considered as

vulgar errors, were at first excited, and have since been revived, by a physician.

It is also remarkable, that as Dr. Moseley derives part of his information from Mr. Birch, a surgeon of St. Thomas's Hospital, whom he calls an excellent surgeon in the safe school of orthodox practice; Sir Richard Blackmore derived part of his information from Mr. Tanner of the same hospital; whom he calls an experienced and judicious surgeon. Thus far the parallel between Sir Richard Blackmore and Dr. Moseley holds good. It holds good also in another respect: the information they derive from these two surgeons of St. Thomas's Hospital is equally insignificant. The statement of Mr. Tanner is contradicted by time and experience, and that of Mr. Birch by Dr. Lister and Mr. Cline.

The evidence of those two surgeons was intended to prove, that inoculation is no security against the small-pox. The argument adduced by Mr. Tanner, to shew that variolous inoculation affords no such security, is founded on the following experiment. A person who had undergone the small-pox, was inoculated with variolous matter; the consequence of which was a discharge from the arm, and anomalous eruptions in other parts; such as appear when the genuine distemper is not produced.

Sir Richard Blackmore did not rest his argu-

ment on this case alone; but speaks of it as by no means singular. He thinks the idea of inoculation proving a preservative against the natural small-pox contrary to experience and observation. He specifies one case, which occurred in the practice of Mr. Maitland, the surgeon who had inoculated Lady Mary Wortley Montague's own son, when at Constantinople. In this case, there was considerable fever, and efflorescence of the skin; together with three or four pustules on the head, and a copious discharge of matter from the inoculated part; and Mr. Maitland deemed the patient secure.

She was the daughter of Mr. Degrave, a surgeon, in Berwick Street, who gave the following account of what she had undergone, and all to no purpose. " Before she came home, after inoculation, she had a sort of itch, which he cured. Three weeks after inoculation she had a large boil on her ham; another on her side, which ran plentifully for a fortnight or three weeks; notwithstanding she had been purged twice before the first boil appeared.

" The suffusions, or flushings, which discoloured the skin, continued for twelve days after the inoculation. She had a nausea, and loss of appetite; was weak, listless, giddy, and had terrible frights in her sleep; and continued in this state for twelve weeks after the operation. She was then seized with a pain in her back, and

three days afterwards the small-pox came out; of which she had a pretty heavy burden." Such was the state of the inoculation of the small-pox, when Sir Richard Blackmore wrote on the subject; which shews, that, like vaccination, either from the fault of the practice, or of the practitioner, it was attended with some evils, of which its opponents took advantage.

Nor were medical practitioners the only enemies with which the inoculation of the small-pox, when in its infancy, had to contend. It also met with enemies among the bigotted and superstitious part of the clergy. It triumphed, however, like Hercules, over opposition, by its own native strength; and strangled the two serpents.

One of the most furious of its clerical persecutors was a Mr. Edmund Massey, lecturer of St. Alban, Wood Street; who preached a sermon against the practice at St. Andrew's Holborn, on Sunday, July 8th, 1722. His text was: *So Satan went forth from the presence of the Lord, and smote Job with sore boils, from the crown of his head to the sole of his foot.*

In his discourse on this subject, Mr. Massey gravely observes, that the Scripture is silent with respect to the particular nature of the distemper inflicted on Job; which has occasioned the different interpreters to form a variety of conjectures concerning it. He therefore hazards an opinion of his own, which he thinks as likely to be true,

as any other that has hitherto been advanced, namely, that Job's distemper was the confluent small-pox; and that he was inoculated by the Devil.

Mr. Massey contends, that nothing can invalidate his opinion; which, he observes, receives additional weight from this circumstance, that the practice of inoculation is derived from the very country where Job resided. He maintains, that diseases are sent by Providence, for the trial of our faith, and the punishment of our sins; and thinks they are hung over our heads *in terrorem.* To illustrate this point, he reminds his audience, that some people are honest for fear of a gaol, some are chaste for fear of infection; some are just for fear of shame, and some are religious for fear of going to hell.

He therefore considers the inoculation of the small-pox, with a view to alleviate or exterminate the disorder, as a diabolical operation. He allows it is one of the fundamental laws of nature, to promote the good of mankind; but he doubts whether life is a good or an evil. If it be a good, he maintains, that it is as little beholden to this practice for its preservation, as to any other invention whatever.

Sir Richard Blackmore denies that inoculation was attended with any evident advantage; but the learned divine goes farther; he affirms that it was attended with a material disadvantage.

He says, "*the confessed miscarriages in this new method are more than have happened in the ordinary way*; and if this be our case now, how much worse must it needs prove, if God for our presumption, and contemptuous distrust of his good providence, should suffer the delusion to gain ground; and these *physicians of no value*, these *forgers of lies*, as Job expressed it, to obtain, and grow into credit among us? Such, I fear, they may be accounted, who so confidently tell us, what is impossible for them to know; that they who undergo this experiment, are thereby for ever secured from any future danger and infection.—This is a bold assertion indeed; and, if such experiment were lawful, and consistent with the rules of Christian practice, I wish to God it were also true."

Such was the opposition which the inoculation of the small-pox had to encounter, at its first introduction into this kingdom, in the eighteenth century. We have, therefore, great reason to congratulate ourselves, on the very powerful support which vaccination has received from the clergy in general of the present age, who are no longer the slaves of a gloomy superstition; from the most liberal and enlightened characters of every rank; and from the most disinterested part of the medical profession.

Of the sincerity of Mr. Massey's protestations against the inoculation of the small-pox, I am

not inclined to doubt. He could not have any interest in opposing the practice; nor jealousy of a rival, in those who introduced it. He lashes the poor inoculators, however, without mercy; and it may be of some use to Dr. Moseley and Dr. Squirrel, to furnish them with a fresh supply of slander from his sermon, since their own stock must be almost exhausted.

Mr. Massey is confident the most learned and judicious of the faculty will never acquiesce in so destructive a scheme. He hopes a time will come, when these preparers of poison and spreaders of infection will have a stigma affixed on them, to distinguish them from their brethren; and that they will not be permitted to mingle with other professional men. He thinks this would be as presumptuous, as it was in the Devil to mingle with the sons of God.

He compares those practitioners, who bring on diseases, to the harlots described by Solomon: *Experto crede Roberto.* "These harlots," Solomon and Mr. Massey say, "entice us, till a dart strike through our liver; and we haste to their snare; not knowing that it is for our life."

Mr. Massey proceeds to remark, that he cannot apprehend how it conduces to the preservation of mankind, to force on them a dangerous distemper, which, he says, when thus forced on them, is no security against future infection; when that distemper might otherwise never afflict them; and

if it did, might perhaps be so light, as to be attended with but little inconvenience.

He contends, that it is an unequal stake, a substance against a shadow, to make men run into a certain danger, lest they should fall into an uncertain one; and that this practice contributes no more to the preservation of mankind, than it would contribute to the safety of a fortified town to open the gates, invite the enemy, and surrender, lest at some future time the place should be taken by surprise.

Mr. Massey next endeavours to prove, that if inoculation be weighed in the balance of religion, it will be found wanting; and that we have no reason to expect the blessing of Divine Providence, if we thus seek for a disease, and bring it on ourselves.—A fair trial, however, has been now made of the practice, in all parts of the world; and long experience warrants us to conclude, that inoculation is attended with a blessing. The opinion of Mr. Massey has therefore been weighed in the balance of experience, and found wanting.

Mr. Massey observes, that the honour due to a medical man, which the wise Son of Sirach advises us to pay him, arises "from his being an instrument in the hand of Providence, to *restore health*, and to *prolong life*."—This is a very candid admission; it is, indeed, the highest honour to which any medical practitioner can pos-

sibly aspire. The first of these honourable functions is the object of the healing art in general; the last is the particular object of inoculation; and happily this object can now be accomplished without difficulty or danger, since the promulgation of the providential discovery of Dr. Jenner.

The reverend preacher confesses, that the faculty are enabled, as instruments in the hand of Providence, to restore health, and prolong life, by virtue of a wonderful insight into the nature of the mineral and vegetable world. Thus he allows them the undisputed possession of the vegetable and mineral kingdoms, but denies their title to the animal kingdom, from which they derive the noblest resources of their art; from which they derive the means of preventing diseases; from which they derive their imperial crown.

The last, but not the least objection urged by Mr. Massey against inoculation, is, that it tends to promote vice and immorality. He says, he believes it will be readily granted, that there is no one thing so universally dreaded as the small-pox. He thinks it a happy restraint on mankind, to keep them within the bounds of temperance; and is of opinion, that if they were once free from the apprehension of this uncertain visitor, they might give a loose to their inclinations.

He is of opinion, that if people were more healthy, they would be less righteous; he is inclined to think, that they ought to meet with obstructions in their progress through life; and

sometimes to be stopped by the way, like Balaam's ass.—Shakespeare says :

> What rein can hold licentious Wickedness,
> When down the hill he holds his fierce career ?

Mr. Massey answers, The small-pox. It has now, however, had a fair trial ; it has reigned on earth a thousand years ; yet, alas ! it has made but little progress in reforming the world.

I have now also before me a sermon in defence of inoculation, preached at Ingatestone, the residence of Mr. Sutton, in the year 1766, by the Rev. Mr. Houlton, of Witham, Chaplain to the Earl of Ilchester. His text was : " This sickness is not unto death."—The first argument he advances in favour of inoculation is, that it is attended with no danger ; an argument which may be urged with much more reason in favour of vaccination ; the second is, that it violates no divine command ; an argument which may with propriety be adduced, in vindication of either practice.

Mr. Houlton proceeds to shew, that inoculation is justifiable, not only in a medical, but also in a religious sense. He labours to dispel the mist of prejudice, which obstructed its progress. He maintains that the success of inoculation is such, as to render arguments on that head unnecessary ; and that nothing is wanting, but to expostulate with those who are prevented by scruples of conscience from adopting the practice.

He considers " inoculation as self-preservation, or rather as an endeavour to save our lives ; and

thinks such an endeavour cannot be displeasing to the Almighty."—In this respect, vaccination is, at least, equally justifiable; and in another, it has a great advantage over the inoculation of the small-pox. Some people, Mr. Houlton admits, may object to that practice, because it spreads the infection of the natural disease. This objection cannot be urged against vaccination.

Mr. Houlton avers, that we are prompted by reason to preserve our lives in all cases of danger; and that reason and experience teach us the means of safety. When, by the light of reason, and the assistance of Divine Providence, mankind have discovered inoculation,—when the fear of death is thus banished, and the prospect of life secured,—not to avail ourselves of this discovery, is to sin against knowledge, and to rebel against light. It is to act against reason; and to disregard experience, the best of wisdom.

Mr. Houlton asserts, that no argument can be drawn from the Scriptures against inoculation; one of the greatest discoveries ever made for the benefit of mankind. He therefore concludes, that as in this case there is no law, and consequently no transgression, it is rather a sin, than an act of obedience to the dictates of revelation, not to listen to the voice of reason.

In an appendix to his sermon, Mr. Houlton observes, that the progress of inoculation, like that of many other arts, had in general been ex-

tremely slow; owing to the ignorance and barbarism of the people by whom it was discovered; and to the sluggish genius and prejudice of the countries where it has been introduced, and attempted to be cultivated. He observes, that the French, who wished to be thought a sensible and enlightened nation, were in general averse from the practice. It is, however, but justice to them to allow, that they have eagerly adopted the practice of vaccination; and propagated it with an ardour unknown in this nation; or any other nation on earth.

It was necessary to remind the inoculators of the small-pox, who are the most interested, and the most bitter enemies of vaccination, that the practice they so much extol was not adopted without great opposition on one hand, and great reluctance on the other. It is well known, that it fell into such disrepute, as to be nearly discontinued, till it was revived by the zealous exertions of Dr. Jurin.

The advocates for that practice ought, therefore, to be content with stating the truth; and not try to persuade us, that it is not liable to any objections; or that no objections have hitherto been urged against it. Opponents out of number have risen up against it; among others Dr. Deering of Nottingham; who, in his pamphlet, entitled, "An Account of the improved Method of treating the Small-pox," published in 1737,

relates an instance of the natural small-pox occurring after inoculation.

The patient was a child of Dr. Croft. He was inoculated by Dr. Steigerthal, physician to King George the First. Dr. Deering was an eye-witness of the operation; and assures us, great care was taken in the choice of matter. He had the small-pox of the confluent kind, and in a severe manner, in consequence of this inoculation, and yet had it again *very full*, in the natural way, twelve months after. This, says Dr. Woodville, in his History of Inoculation, p. 217, is *a striking fact, which has never been contradicted.*

Another opponent, who started up against inoculation, was Dr. Pierce Dod, Fellow of the College of Physicians, and Physician to St. Bartholomew's Hospital.—This gentleman quotes a passage from Carolus Piso, to shew what a wonderful progress is made in medicine, in almost every age, by the contributions of ingenious men; yet he labours as much as possible, *like some modern authors*, to prevent any progress in the healing art in his own time.

Dr. Dod, as well as Dr. Deering, opposed the inoculation of the small-pox upon the same principle as Dr. Moseley and his adherents oppose vaccination; namely, that it is no security against a future attack of the disorder. The case published by Dr. Dod occurred in a son of Mr. Richards, member of parliament for Bridport;

who was inoculated for the small-pox. About sixty pustules came out; which maturated, scabbed, and went off in the usual manner. Two years afterwards he had the disease again, more severely, in the natural way. This case was communicated to Dr. Dod by Dr. Brodrepp, a learned and experienced physician, the grandfather of the child, who attended him on both occasions.

Dr. Dod, like some modern writers, relates this case of supposed failure with no small degree of exultation. As to the excuses made for inoculation by the friends of the practice, he, like Dr. Moseley and others in our times, considers them as artful pretexts, and mere evasions. When it is said, inoculation did not take place,—there was no eruption, at least no variolous eruption, and the like; he concludes, all that is said in favour of inoculation is not to be depended on; and that it is not a security against the future infection of the small-pox.

But, says he, "as it has been long since observed by the inimitable author of Hudibras,

> Surely the pleasure is as great
> In being cheated, as to cheat;

or else it is impossible inoculation should triumph so much over all its opponents."

This remark of Dr. Dod is more witty than wise. It was soon discovered, that those who listened to the opponents of inoculation were too often cheated out of their lives, as well as their

money. Even when they escaped with their lives, they were frequently compelled to pay a heavy ransom. Of this, the following is an instance: it is related by Dr. Dod himself. The subject of it, Mr. Prouse, in the year 1745, when the case was published, was one of the members of Parliament for the county of Somerset. It occurred when he was about twelve years of age. The account is taken from a letter written by his mother.

The eruption appeared on the 15th of October 1719; and on the third day he was seized with *a violent shortness of breath*; which increased the next day, so that he was *in danger of being throttled. He had the hiccough, rattled in his throat, fetched his breath double; grew senseless, looked black and blue; was convulsed all over, and lost one pulse in four.*

Such is the faithful picture of the small-pox, as it appeared in this case; drawn by the hand of an affectionate mother, who attended him the whole time. It is a very different scene from that of vaccination. Here, instead of the smile of happiness, and the bloom of health, is nothing but what is too horrid to contemplate:

——crudelis ubique
Luctus, ubique pavor, et plurima mortis imago.

The young gentleman was then at Bath, under the care of Dr. Bettenson, an eminent physician of that place; whose practice, in the present in-

stance, was very bold and decisive. By his direction, the attendants poured into the patient as much wine, brandy, and other spirits, as they could, every quarter of an hour, from morning till night. He then fell into a short slumber; and when he waked, was something better.

This plan, proving so successful, was continued till the thirteenth day of the disorder; so that for nine days he drank nothing weaker than strong beer, with at least two or three spoonfuls of brandy in every dose. This comfortable draught was generally given every hour; and agreed so well, that if ever they suffered a longer time to elapse, the young patient would presently grow sick, feverish, and light-headed; but on taking his cordial, he would become cool and easy.

On the night of the thirteenth day of the disorder, he was so restless and outrageous, that it was as much as three persons could do to hold him in his bed; but about seven in the morning a favourable alteration took place; and he was soon out of danger. During the time of his labouring under this terrible disease, he did not know it was the small-pox; but thought it was a surfeit, occasioned by eating too heartily of pork.

"The eclat of this recovery," we are told, "did a great deal of credit to old Dr. Bettenson;" and Dr. Dod says, if he is rightly informed, in

consequence of his success in this case, the Doctor was encouraged to treat some of his subsequent small-pox patients in the same manner; particularly the Earl of Powlet, and one or two of his brothers.—He tells us, the gentlemen of the county of Somerset have for the most part good stamina; of which, indeed, the foregoing case is one very *strong* proof.

Some other particulars of this case were afterwards communicated to Dr. Dod; among which are the following.—Master Prouse "was at first treated *in the same manner as other people*; and put upon a *very temperate*, if not too cool a regimen." —This shews that the hot regimen was not then in fashion. It is probable, therefore, that the success attending the case here related occasioned a revolution in the practice; and that the hot regimen again prevailed, till the time of Mr. Sutton.

Dr. Dod expressly says, that the good event of this process occasioned a pretty general run into a similar one, in those parts, during the time that the small-pox raged there in so malignant a form, as it did that winter and the spring following; and that the ill success of other cases was attributed to their not plying the sick sufficiently with spirituous liquors. As to Master Prouse's case, we are told, the plan was carried to a greater height than is before stated; and that they

never omitted to pour in such liquors for a quarter of an hour, without sensible detriment.

One physician, indeed, treated the case with ridicule; and said, the patient would have done every whit as well, if old Bettenson had ordered him to be dragged through a horse-pond.—Dr. Dod thinks he might have taken the hint from the Tartars; who, he says, have a very good way of curing fevers. When any one is seized with a fever, *they take him by the hair of the head, and shake him well; then swing him round, and throw him into the water*; by which means *a turn* is given to the blood, and the humours and spirits are altered, and so the fever is cured.

Dr. Bettenson, we are informed, was at first fearful of venturing on the plan, on account of the consequence of Master Prouse. But if the small-pox is so fond of strong liquors, if it is so insatiable as to require as much of them as can be poured down for nine days together, what must the poor do, who cannot sacrifice to this dæmon any thing better than water or milk-porridge?

Besides, we are told, this young gentleman took plenty of drops; and we have no reason to doubt that he took plenty of apozems, plenty of bolusses, and plenty of cordial draughts. He had, no doubt, plenty of medical attendance; and it was fortunate his father had plenty of money.

Moreover, the strong beer he drank was such

as cannot fall to the lot of every one. "It was some that his grandfather brewed, when he was Dean of Canterbury; sixteen years old, and of the black or noggish sort, of near twenty bushels to the hogshead." What is to become of the poor in this great metropolis, and all the neighbouring villages, when Dr. Moseley and his friends have once more disseminated the seeds of the small-pox among them? Dr. Moseley should either allow them the benefit of vaccination, or convert the New River into brandy, and the Thames into *strong beer, sixteen years old; of the black or noggish sort, of near twenty bushels to the hogshead.*

England is not the only part of the world, where the inoculation of the small-pox met with as great, and greater opposition, than the inoculation of the cow-pock has met with from Dr. Moseley and his friends. I long ago received from Dr. Waterhouse a small tract, entitled, "Inoculation of the Small-pox, as practised in Boston;" published at Boston in 1722. The author first abuses the clergy, who introduced the practice there, in spite of the Moseleys of New England. He then makes an apology for not adopting the practice.

One reason he gives is, that *poisoning* and *the spreading of infection* are, by the penal laws of England, *felony*.—He affirms that many persons had fallen victims to inoculation. One inocu-

lator affected to doubt the truth of such testimonies; but the author assures him, that in case an action was brought against him for felony, they would be worth his neck in any court of justice.

He also declares, that those who were inoculated often had the small-pox afterwards in the natural way; or had other diseases in consequence, and were rendered miserable for life. Nor does he omit to mention, what is daily verified, both in the inoculation of the small-pox, and in that of the cow-pock, that whatever disorders happen afterwards, during the whole course of their lives, both the patients and their neighbours will probably lay the blame on inoculation.

The author of the tract enters his protest, not only against the inoculation of the small-pox, but also against the rash and careless manner in which it was practised, by inoculating in a populous neighbourhood, and setting a whole town in a flame. He would not have approved of inoculating children with the small-pox in the vicinity of a great metropolis; and then sending them through the streets, like foxes with firebrands at their tails, spreading destruction in every quarter.

One of the great objections urged against the inoculation of the small-pox by this author is, that the patients walk about, and infect others by the running sores on their arms; and, in case any of them should appear in country towns, or in mixed assemblies, he advises they should be

treated as mad dogs. Those who had been inoculated with the small-pox were certainly rather unpleasant companions; for we are told by this author, that some of their sores, or inoculated issues, continued to run profusely three or four months after they went abroad, in consequence of the malignity of the humour. Hence he calls the disease thus excited a kind of lues, as Dr. Moseley calls that innocent affection the cow-pock.

But he had more reason to call it by that name; for an inoculator who wrote in vindication of the practice confesses, that the sores produced by the incisions, which he also calls issues, smell more or less, according to the degree of the distemper; and that in the confluent kind this discharge is more noisome, like the discharge of the natural confluent small-pox; which he represents as the most offensive thing imaginable. In one place, this advocate for the practice asserts, rather inconsistently, that he could not smell these running sores; but the author of the tract observes, that this must have been owing to a great cold, occasioned by his lucubrations, or night labours, in favour of inoculation.

He is rather uncharitable to those who practise the inoculation of the small-pox; for he says, when any unfavourable circumstance occurs, such as the death of the patient or other diseases, they are guilty of all sorts of lies and equivocations;

and endeavour to keep us in the dark. He also reproaches them with the mischiefs that ensue, from their spreading the natural infection; and affirms, that whatever deaths happen in consequence, the sin will lie at their doors. A perusal of this little tract, however unpleasant, may prove edifying to some modern authors, who are still zealous advocates for the inoculation of the small-pox.

Whatever may be the rash and unwarrantable assertions of those persons, and whatever motives they may have for their present conduct, I shall oppose to their statement the very candid and sensible testimony of the late Dr. Woodville. Speaking of the opposition which the practice excited, at its first introduction into Great Britain, and of the clamour with which it was for some time continued, he confesses, that the practitioner who introduced it had to encounter some accusations, which it was not easy to repel. He, like the ancient boaster who could leap so well in Rhodes, or the modern boasters who could inoculate so well in the West Indies, asserted, that the inoculation of the small-pox, as practised at Constantinople, was a mild process; and that not a single patient died under it, out of many thousands. But the result proved widely different from his flattering promises; three out of the twelve first persons whom he inoculated, had the distemper in a very severe and alarming manner;

and two of the next twelve fell victims to the operation.

Mr. Maitland was therefore considered to be selfish and ignorant. Of the latter, indeed, a very convincing and fatal proof soon occurred. Not knowing that the inoculated small-pox is infectious, he suffered the friends and attendants of his patient to fondle them; by which means six persons caught the natural disorder; to one of whom it was fatal. This, Dr. Woodville observes, proved an instructive lesson. I hope it will still prove an instructive lesson.

The following paragraph, in Dr. Woodville's History of the Inoculation of the Small-pox, whence the preceding remarks were also extracted, I shall subjoin in his own words. How far it may be applicable to present times and circumstances, every one must determine for himself.

" That inoculation did not constantly succeed in producing the distinct or favourable kind of small-pox, was at that time, *and still continues to be*, a melancholy truth. But the inoculators were at first unwilling to acknowledge it, and by attributing the death of people inoculated to other accidental causes, exposed themselves to just censure. On the other hand, the writers against inoculation pursued a conduct still more reprehensible. *Instead of waiting to ascertain such facts as might have enabled them to form just conclusions on the advantages and disadvantages of this new*

art, they immediately proceeded to employ falsehood and invective; reproaching the inoculators with the epithets of poisoners and murderers."

The whole history of inoculation, from its first introduction into this kingdom to the present day, furnishes a convincing proof of the force of prejudice, and of the fallacy of human reason. The subject is still under discussion; and whatever censure may be due to those authors and practitioners, who are actuated by self interested motives, I trust a general amnesty will be granted to others, for a number of unavoidable errors committed, in the infancy of the practice, on both sides:

——veniam petimusque, damusque vicissim.

ON THE LONDON TESTIMONIAL IN FAVOUR OF VACCINATION.

Dr. Moseley claims the merit of having opposed vaccination *in limine*. He attempted to nip it in the bud; and although he has lived to see the blossoms fully expanded, yet still he is hostile to the practice, and endeavours to deprive the public of its fruit.

Having been the first who opposed the new inoculation, he may be excused for arrogating to himself rather a greater share of merit than belongs to him; but he is mistaken in supposing,

that his opposition gave rise to the London Testimonial. It was not the intention of the gentlemen who signed that testimonial, thus to chastise Dr. Moseley for his frivolous remarks; nor

To break a butterfly upon a wheel.

The following allusion to the Testimonial, written in the second year of vaccination in the metropolis, and inserted in the first volume of my Treatise on the Cow-pox, remains as a memorial, that there were then more opponents of vaccination than one:—" Were I to recite all the arguments brought forward by Dr. Jenner alone, to prove that vaccine virus, in its perfect state, is a security against variolous contagion, no unprejudiced reader would deny that I had sufficiently established this position. But artful and designing men have deluded the public by false representations. One of them, when repeatedly called on, actually refused to give that evidence of the truth of his assertions, which he had publicly pledged himself to give; and shrunk from all inquiry.

" In the course of this work, I shall prove the safety and efficacy of vaccine inoculation, by the testimonies of some of the brightest ornaments of the medical profession. A considerable number of others might be added, did the cause require such support. Nothing can recommend a practice more effectually than the names I shall adduce; unless I were to mention the names of those who have set themselves in array against it.

" Some few respectable practitioners have been deluded by false reports, and expressed their apprehensions in a becoming manner; but there are certain persons in the lower order of the profession, who rise up in arms against it:

Omnigenumque deûm monstra, et latrator Anubis,
Contra Neptunum et Venerem, contraque Minervam
Tela tenent."

The following passages in the same publication likewise attest, that there were other opponents of the practice; one of whom was far more formidable than Dr. Moseley.—" Dr. Jenner saw with a prophetic eye, the blunders that might be committed by persons ignorant of the true characteristics of the cow-pox, when he concluded his description of the spurious sort in the following words: " This disease is not considered as similar in any respect to that of which I am treating; as it is incapable of producing any specific effects upon the human constitution. However, it is of the greatest consequence to point it out here; lest the want of a discrimination should occasion an idea of security from the infection of small-pox, which might prove delusive.

" In his second publication on this subject, Dr. Jenner enumerates other sources of spurious cow-pox in the human body; one where it is produced by the spurious disease in the brute animal,—another where it is produced by genuine matter, which has suffered a decomposition before it is taken from the cow,—and another where it is

produced by genuine matter, which has suffered a decomposition after it is taken from the cow.

" On these subjects he proceeds to offer some comments.—After observing, that it is not in his power to determine, to what length pustulous diseases in the udder and nipples of the cow may extend, and that many of these eruptions may transfer infection to the human body, he very judiciously admonishes those who are engaged in this investigation, to suspend controversy and cavil, until they can ascertain with precision, what is, and what is not, the genuine cow-pox.—Such was the prudent advice he gave; but, alas! how many have been deaf to his admonition!

" The necessity of observing this precaution, he illustrates by the following example.—A farmer who is not conversant with any of these maladies, but who may have heard of the cow-pox in general terms, may acquaint a neighbouring surgeon, that the distemper appears at his farm. The surgeon, eager to make the experiment, takes away matter, inoculates, produces a sore, uneasiness in the axilla, and perhaps some affection of the system. This is one way in which a fallacious idea of security, both in the mind of the inoculator and the patient, may arise; for a disease may have been thus propagated from a simple eruption.

" One of the first objects, then, of this pursuit, as I have observed, should be, to learn

how to distinguish with accuracy, between that peculiar pustule which is the true cow-pock, and that which is spurious. Until experience has determined this, we view our object through a mist. Let us for instance suppose, that the small-pox and the chicken-pox were at the same time to spread among the inhabitants of a country, which had never been visited by either of these distempers, and where they were quite unknown before; what confusion would arise! The resemblance between the symptoms of the eruptive fever, and between the pustules, in either case would be so striking, that a patient who had gone through the chicken-pox to any extent, would feel as easy, with regard to his future security from the small-pox, as the person who had actually passed through that disease. Time and future observation would draw the line of distinction.

"So, I presume, it will be with the cow-pox, until it is more generally understood. All caviling, therefore, on the mere report of those who tell us they have had this distemper, and are afterwards found to be susceptible of the small-pox, should be suspended."

To the foregoing extracts from Dr. Jenner's publication, I added the following remarks.—"Thus Dr. Jenner anticipated the cavils and controversies that might take place on this subject, from ignorance, inexperience, and error; but he little suspected *to what wilful misrepresentations*

his theory would give rise; and what temporary shocks it would sustain, from the most palpable perversions of truth, and from the pens of fiction and imposture.

Ah! sly deceivers! branded o'er and o'er,
Yet still believ'd!

" When the first publication in favour of this practice appeared, serious apprehensions were entertained by some respectable members of the profession. Dr. John Sims, in consequence of a representation made to him, of the inconveniences likely to result from cow-pox inoculation, published, in the first number of the Medical and Physical Journal, the case of a gentleman at Bristol, who, when young, twice had a disease which was supposed to be the cow-pox; yet afterwards had the small-pox.

" Hence Dr. Sims embraced the earliest opportunity of warning the public against the introduction of what was described to him as a loathsome distemper. He also, with a solicitude equally laudable, gave a timely caution against using lancets for vaccine inoculation, that had been used for the small-pox; a caution which cannot be too often repeated.

" The disease, however, under which the gentleman of Bristol laboured, if it was contracted by milking, was evidently of the spurious kind; for he says, his right arm was in a state of eruption, both the first and the second time, from one ex-

tremity to the other. He describes that with which he was afflicted, as one of the most loathsome of all diseases."

In the Medical Journal for October 1799, Dr. John Sims inserted another case; to which he very candidly added the following observations: "It may be expected that I should not withhold this case from the public: at the same time it must be acknowledged, that the experiments already instituted seem fully sufficient to decide, that the cow-pock matter, which has been used for inoculation, is effectual in preserving the patient from any future attack of the small-pox; unless it should be true, as has been suggested, *which I deem very improbable*, that the cow-pox enables the constitution to resist the contagion of the small-pox only for a certain length of time. It appears more probable, that there may be different diseases among cows, which are not very accurately distinguished; and in this point of view, the publication of this and similar cases may have its use; in exciting a due care, that the genuine matter only be taken for the purpose of inoculation."

Dr. Hooper also published a case of small-pox, which occurred in a man supposed to have had the cow-pox. But he has also very ingenuously retracted his error by signing the Testimonial in favour of Vaccination; which Dr. John Sims has also signed.—Not so Dr. Moseley, nor that other

early opponent of vaccination, whom I have represented as far more formidable than Dr. Moseley. If there was any individual whose opposition was likely to be of any serious consequence, he was the man.

This man had a desperate game to play. His income was not equal to his expenditure; nor were his talents equal to his ambition. The more his character was known, the less it was respected. He began his career by depreciating porter, in letters addressed to the Secretary of State, and in public lectures in Brewer Street and Hatton Garden, in order to promote the sale of brilliant, because it was brewed by his friend. He inserted fictitious cases in medical publications, and puffs in the daily papers, as too many of his medical brethren have done, and still continue to do. In short, if he was not a surgeon extraordinary, he tried to convince the public, that he was an extraordinary surgeon.

Other enemies of vaccination have published what they did not know to be true; but this man published what he knew to be false. One of his forgeries I exposed in the Morning Herald; and would have exposed others, but admission to the article was refused, though I offered to pay any sum that might be demanded for its admission, and to let the editor word it in his own way. Admission was also refused to an article written by the Rev. Mr. Ferryman; which he wished to

publish in that paper, in order to contradict a false report concerning vaccination from Maldon, which had appeared in the same channel. After this, and after every despicable quack in London has had access to almost every page of almost every daily print, by means of his silver key, and poisoned the public mind against vaccination, it ill becomes Dr. Moseley to complain, that "even the newspapers and monthly publications have been inaccessible, or insulting, to every information unfavourable to the cow-pox mania." The Herald, the Times, the Gentleman's Magazine, the Medical and Chirurgical Review, and other daily prints, other Magazines, and other Reviews out of number, contradict his assertion.

The progress of every new practice greatly depends on the respectability of the characters by whom it comes recommended. By this test I am content, that vaccination shall stand or fall. Even Dr. Moseley himself has borne testimony to the characters of the friends of vaccination; a testimony the more honourable to them, since it is extorted from their most violent and inveterate opponent.

P. 11. He confesses, that he differs in opinion from *many respectable characters* among his brethren in the profession. P. 14. He acknowledges, that there are *many excellent medical men*, who have taken up the subject. P. 16. Speaking of the evidence of two physicians given to the Committee

of the House of Commons, he says, *Opinions, from gentlemen so deservedly high in the estimation of the public, must have been maturely considered; before they were delivered to that august assembly.*

P. 5. He also admits, that among the enthusiasts who principally promoted the practice were men, who, before this epidemic raged in their veins, were not noted for any particular ill behaviour; but followed their professional business in the ordinary way. P. 13. Speaking of the Vaccine Pock Institution, he says, it was under the direction of gentlemen of the first character in physic, surgery, and pharmacy; that it was conducted with great humanity towards the poor; and with all the skill of which the subject was capable.

P. 14. Speaking of the Testimonial, he tells us, a complaint had been made, that in his former edition he had lessened the *momentum* of the advertisement, by diminishing the weight which composed it. He adds, It is now with great pleasure I insert the remainder *of the respectable names* there omitted. He then observes, that such a *solemn declaration, uncalled for,* and *arising from pure conscientious motives, could not fail to have great effect on the public.* He says, it is not to be supposed, *that so many well-informed men made up their minds hastily on a subject, which so greatly concerned their characters, and the dearest interests of society.* He even allows, p. 19, that his own opinion ought not to have any weight, when set

in opposition to such a body, *or rather such a soul of evidence*, as was delivered by *other medical practitioners* to the House of Commons.

This ill accords with his protestations, that experience is not necessary, in order to know that the cow-pock cannot be a preventive of the small-pox; that it is impossible to entertain such an idea, without an entire subversion of reason; that it is a delirious flight, and a lamentable weakness in human nature.

The following is the Testimonial alluded to, published in July 1800.

"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 future 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."

This Testimonial was signed by the following physicians: Doctors Saunders, Baillie, Vaughan, Garthshore, Lettsom, James Sims, John Sims, Lister, Willan, Stanger, Crichton, Bradley, Denman, Squire, Croft, Batty, Thornton, and Dennison.—It was also signed by the following surgeons: Abernethy, Blair, Chilver, Cline, A. P. Cooper, Ford, Good, Horsford, Hurlock, Knight,

Leighton, Moore, Paytherus, Phipps, Pole, Ring, Simpson, Thomas, Wathen, and Whateley.—It has since been signed by almost every other eminent physician and surgeon in the metropolis: and there is scarcely one medical practitioner of the least respectability, who has not either adopted the practice in his own family, or sanctioned it by his recommendation.

Having proposed the Testimonial, as the best means of refuting the false reports against vaccination, which were then, as well as now, circulated with great industry, I was much gratified on receiving the following information from Dr. Jenner, in a letter dated June 18th, 1803. It was communicated to him by Mr. Fletcher, who had left Bengal two years before.

" You must well recollect the Testimonial, to which, in the year 1803, you obtained the signatures of so many respectable medical gentlemen of the metropolis; and which was inserted in the periodical publications of the day. This Testimonial found its way to Bengal; and thus an immediate stop was put to all controversy, respecting the validity of the arguments in favour of vaccine inoculation; for the inhabitants, from that time, ardently sought for those means of inoculating their families, which they at length so happily possess."

Dr. Moseley tells us, that the unfounded reports, alluded to in the London Testimonial, ori-

ginated with him; because no other person opposed vaccine inoculation at its commencement. I cannot, however, allow him that credit. The author of the unfounded reports, at least of those unfounded reports which produced the greatest impression, and shook the public confidence most, was that unfortunate man, who tried to gain popularity, to raise himself into public notice, and to repair his ruined fortune, by writing against the cow-pox; but in vain.

On this occasion, I am compelled, however reluctant, to rescue these transactions from oblivion; and draw aside the veil which time has, in some measure, cast over them. Lest, however, any one should doubt the fidelity of the statement here given, I shall mention the names of two gentlemen, who can verify two of the most important facts.

The first was the insertion of an advertisement, requesting that those who knew instances of any person, who had had the small-pox after the cow-pox, would communicate them to the advertiser, at his house in Hatton Garden; where all parents, who thought proper to inquire, might receive intelligence of several failures of this kind, which had already occurred. In consequence of this advertisement, Dr. Croft applied five times, but the advertiser was either not at home, or denied. He therefore left a note, requesting the appointment of an interview; to which he re-

ceived an answer, that the advertiser would not now converse with any one on the subject; as he intended to enter into a controversy. Dr. Croft did me the favour to call on me with this information. He observed, that he did not know with whom the gentleman intended to enter into a controversy; but it should not be with him.

The other instance I shall bring, in which the same person circulated an unfounded report, was an advertisement in the newspapers, requesting the gentleman to come forward, who had informed the advertiser, at a public dinner of the Governors of the Marybone Dispensary, that two of his children, who had been vaccinated three months before, were then lying dangerously ill of the small-pox. Dr. Thornton, then physician to the Marybone Dispensary, assured me, that the advertiser, who was not a governor, bought a ticket, and dined at the public dinner; that he sat next to him; that he made particular inquiries of the other gentlemen who sat near him, and not a syllable had been said on the subject of vaccination at this meeting.

Another false report, published by the same adventurer, was refuted by Mr. Blair in the Gentleman's Magazine. Others were published by him every week, in Farley's Bristol Journal; and would have been refuted, as fast as circumstances would permit, had not the adventurer rendered it unnecessary; by putting an end to his existence,

at his house in Somerset Street, and convincing the world, that he was driven to this rash expedient by the desperate state of his affairs.

One of the modes in which he attacked vaccination was by advertising a pamphlet, that was to contain cases of failure, like those published by Dr. Squirrel and Dr. Moseley. But his melancholy catastrophe prevented him from writing the book; and left it to be executed by other hands. The fate of this wretched man, who was then universally considered as the leader, and the great champion of the enemies of vaccination, spread a general consternation among his deluded followers; several of whom were said to be assembled at his house, and celebrating their short-lived triumphs on the very spot,

Where he fell flat, and sham'd his worshippers.

During the time this artful man imposed on the credulity of the public, I received communications from Dr. Jenner and Mr. Henry Jenner; by which I learned, that an entire stop was already put to vaccination, in the neighbourhood of Bristol; and that every exertion must be made in order to counteract the base and unprincipled efforts of our opponents. On this account, I solicited a greater number of signatures to the Testimonial, and hastened its publication.

Dr. Moseley tells us, that when the Testimonial appeared, he was again prepared for the press; but considerations far more *weighty* than

the defence of his own opinions, or the apprehension of censure for damping the public ardour in favour of Dr. Jenner, caused him to relinquish his design. These *weighty* considerations probably were, the leaden contents of that lethiferous tube, which put an end to the deep conspiracy against vaccination in Somerset Street.

On the Examination of Dr. Moseley, before the Committee of the House of Commons, to whom the Petition of Dr. Jenner was referred.

Dr. Moseley, and some other gentlemen who are adverse to vaccine inoculation, do not understand, or do not wish the world to understand, why they were ordered to appear before the Committee of the House of Commons. Be it known, therefore, by these presents, that they were ordered to appear there, not on account of any particular knowledge of the subject, which they were supposed to possess; but in consequence of Dr. Jenner being advised by the Chairman of the Committee, as he could not possibly bring forward stronger or more respectable evidence in favour of vaccination, to summon those who were circulating unfavourable reports, in order to hear how little they could say against it.

Dr. Jenner acted wisely, in following the advice of his honourable friend, and able counsellor, who afterwards congratulated him on his success, and complimented him so far as to say, that he had raked the very kennels, in order to bring forward evidence against himself.—This hint seemed necessary, lest any gentleman should again boast of the opinion he gave before the House of Commons; and glory in his shame.

Dr. Moseley not only tells us, that, when ready for the press, he relinquished his design of publishing a second philippic against vaccination; but that even now he prosecutes it with reluctance. Here again it is necessary to acquaint the reader, what it is that prevented those gentlemen, who see so much mischief in vaccination, from coming forward before, and discharging their duty.—The fact is, they have already come forward once too often; they have provoked the pen of satire by their folly, and still smart under the lash.

This consideration has in some measure deprived Dr. Moseley of the literary assistance of his great and good ally, the author of "A Dressing for Lord Thurlow." That gentleman knows one thing, which is, that he who tries to give a dressing to another, may get a dressing himself.

This gentleman has long been a fellow-labourer of Dr. Moseley, in his attempts to prejudice the

public against vaccination. He has, indeed, now and then ventured to propagate a false report in a circular letter, or a Magazine; and prevailed on a young gentleman, once his pupil, to father one of his productions; in order to depreciate vaccination, and trumpet his own praise.

Our opponents, unaccustomed to victory, and for a long time reduced to the very brink of despair, having of late obtained some little advantage, are now flushed with success, and elated with their paltry triumph. Nay, they are emboldened to shew their faces again; and once more to take the field:

Quondam etiam victis redit in præcordia virtus.

Dr. Moseley has published the order of the Committee of the House of Commons for his attendance, with as much pomp and solemnity, as if it was an order for the twelve Judges to attend the House of Lords. He even thinks it necessary to inform us, that after attending, and waiting some time, he was obliged to ask leave of absence, on account of his professional engagements. It is certainly much to be regretted, that any medical man should be interrupted in his professional engagements, in order to deliver his sentiments on a subject which he did not understand. How far this remark is well-founded, any one may determine, after reading the following opinion of Dr. Moseley, given in answer to the questions put to him by the Committee.

" 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 public; 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;—if, as it is said also, it do not leave any foul humours in the blood, or vitiate the constitution of people inoculated therewith;—if, as it is moreover said, it be a disease mild in its progress, and safe in its termination; for introducing the cow-pox, and suppressing 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."

It cannot escape notice, that in his opinion given to the Committee of the House of Commons, Dr. Moseley says, three years are not sufficient to decide a question of such magnitude to the human race; whereas he tells us, in the very outset of his preface to his pamphlet, that no experience is necessary, in order to decide it. It is unnecessary for me to say, that his opinion had no effect on the Committee; since he tells us, himself, that it neither had, nor ought to have had any.

He also declared the following truism: If the cow-pock is mild, innocent, and a security against the small-pox, Dr. Jenner has rendered an essential service to mankind. This, to use Dr. Moseley's own language, the Committee might as easily have learned from a fool as from a philosopher. It was not for such information they called on Dr. Moseley.

Nothing, however, can be more evident, than his complete ignorance of the subject at that time; and it would have redounded more to his honour, if he had tried to conceal it, than thus to publish it to the world; and plume himself on his having exposed his nakedness in the House of Commons.

But I have a heavier charge to bring against him; which is, that he speaks of his opinion,

given there, as having been unfavourable to vaccination; whereas, when the whole of it is published, it may be questioned whether it is not rather favourable to the practice. He has a happy knack of laying his evidence on the bed of Procrustes; and lengthening or shortening it, as occasion may require. In the present instance it was too long, he has therefore lopped off the upper and lower extremities; and in his pamphlet given us the mere trunk.

I have now before me the Report of the Committee, printed by authority of the House of Commons, whence I shall supply those parts of Dr. Moseley's deposition, which he has so uncandidly omitted, because they did not suit his present design, namely, to disparage vaccination. He confessed, that although he had seen a great deal, and heard much concerning it, "*he was not conversant in the practice.*" Hence it is evident, the Committee had nothing to expect from him; that he was no judge of the matter; and it is no wonder, after this confession, that the Committee paid no regard to his opinion.

He said, it is true, that he was not satisfied; and I am afraid he never will be satisfied, unless he lives to see the extermination of the cow-pox. He acknowledged, however, that he knew no instance in which it had proved fatal. He declared, that when he ceased to make further inquiries into the subject, he destroyed all the information

he had received concerning it. He declared he had from that time thought no more about it; and that he could not even recollect the names of any persons, from whom he had received information of cases unfavourable to vaccination. He declared, that, since the practice had become so very extensive, his opinion had undergone very little alteration; *but he was inclined to think more favourably of it.* These sentiments so ill accord with Dr. Moseley's present purpose, that he has artfully suppressed them.

It is worthy of remark, that, generally speaking, no practitioners are so little *satisfied* with the evidence in favour of vaccination, or so little convinced of the *benefit* of the practice, as those who have been accustomed to inoculate for the small-pox, and who are fully convinced of the benefit of that practice. Hence, we learn from Mr. Shoolbred, no persons in Bengal are so blind to the vast advantages of vaccination, or such implacable enemies to the practice, as the Bramins. Our English Bramins are less satisfied, since we have diminished the mortality of the small-pox more than two thirds, than they were before. When the disease is exterminated, they will probably be less satisfied still.

It is candid in Dr. Moseley to admit, that such an opinion as his ought not to have any weight, when put in opposition to the evidence given by

other medical men before the Committee. To confirm the truth of this remark, I shall here subjoin a brief statement of that evidence.

With regard to the utility of vaccination, the Committee declares, that upon this head they have examined a number of witnesses, of the highest characters, and most extensive experience in the profession. They also declare, it was not for want of the testimony of several other equally respectable physicians and surgeons, whom Dr. Jenner was desirous of producing, that many other names are not inserted in their Report. But having received so considerable a body of evidence to the same purport, and with so little variation in opinion, they thought his case could sustain no injury, in being left to rest on the concurring depositions of those already examined; who had the most ample experience of the facts, and the best means of forming a judgment upon them.

The Committee then state, that the result of the testimony of all the medical men examined by them, with the exception of Dr. Moseley, Dr. Rowley, and Mr. Birch, is, that vaccination is of the most general utility, as a mild substitute for the small-pox; that it is incapable of being communicated by contagion; that it never produces any other disease, and never proves fatal; that it may safely be performed at all times, and under all circumstances,—that it tends to eradicate the

small-pox, and, if universally adopted, must ultimately extinguish the most destructive disorder that ever afflicted the human race.

The first testimony in favour of vaccination, brought before the Committee, and published in their Report, was that of Dr. Ash; who stated, that he corresponded with medical men in most parts of Europe; that the practice had spread rapidly through the whole continent, and met with the approbation of physicians. His own opinion of it was highly favourable; as a proof of which, three of his children had been vaccinated by Dr. Jenner.

Dr. Ash continues to entertain a favourable opinion of the practice; as a proof of which, his name has been added to the Testimonial, at the same time with that of Dr. Reynolds. He has also since had three other children vaccinated; two by Dr. Jenner, and one by me.

Mr. Home informed the Committee, that in the year 1788, Dr. Jenner gave Mr. Hunter a drawing of a cow-pock; and proposed vaccination as a preventive of the small-pox. Mr. Hunter advised him to prosecute the discovery; but thought the practice too new for him to decide on its efficacy at that time. Hence it appears, that Mr. Hunter was not fit to hold a candle to Dr. Moseley; who, the moment he first heard of so absurd a proposal, gave it his decided opposition. He did not think it necessary, or worth while, to

make any further experiments on the subject; he knew, "from the principles of analogy and pathology, from the laws of the animal economy, and the want of reciprocity between the two diseases," that no one could place any confidence in the inoculation of the cow-pock, "without an entire subversion of reason."

Not so Mr. Hunter;—he, though universally considered as the greatest physiologist and pathologist that ever existed,—though he has immortalized his name by elucidating the laws of the animal economy,—instead of checking "this delirious flight," as Dr. Moseley calls it, this "lamentable weakness" of Dr. Jenner, who had formerly been his pupil, and imbibed such fantastical notions from him, encouraged him to persevere. He thought, with that antiquated philosopher, Bacon, that we are not to determine by any fanciful hypothesis, but by actual experiment, what nature will do, or suffer to be done.

Mr. Home, as well as Dr. Jenner, is so unfortunate as to have imbibed the rudiments of his knowledge from Mr. Hunter; not from the fountain-head of science, Dr. Moseley. This accounts for what he communicated to the Committee respecting himself. He said, his own opinion was best stated, by his having had one of his own children vaccinated. He is perfectly satisfied with its security; and whenever he is called in to inoculate children of delicate constitutions

for the small-pox, he has always objected to it; and used his advice and influence in favour of vaccination, which disturbs the constitution less than almost any other disease.

Dr. Woodville informed the Committee, that he had introduced vaccination into the Small-pox Hospital; and that he gave it the preference over the inoculation of the small-pox; because it afforded the patient equal security against the future infection of that disorder, without endangering his life, or spreading any contagion. He had vaccinated 7500 patients; half of whom had since been inoculated with variolous matter, but resisted infection.

Dr. Blane stated, that he had recommended vaccination to the Admiralty in his official capacity; in consequence of which, the practice was introduced into the navy; where those who had been vaccinated were afterwards inoculated for the small-pox, but without effect.

He further stated, that the reports of all the navy-surgeons were favourable to the practice; and particularly on this account, that the men were not incapacitated by this operation, as they are by the inoculation of the small-pox; but still able to discharge their duty. So highly, indeed, did they prize this discovery of Dr. Jenner, that a meeting was held at Plymouth, at which a gold medal was voted to him as its author.

Dr. Blane also laid before the Committee testi-

monials in favour of vaccination, from Lord Keith and General Hutchinson, the commanding officers in Egypt. His own opinion of the advantages of vaccination was drawn from a comparison of that mild and safe affection with the small-pox; the mortality of which had greatly increased in consequence of partial inoculation; and was still increasing. He was of opinion, that if vaccination were universally substituted, instead of the inoculation of the small-pox, that disease, which had of late annually destroyed two thousand persons within the bills of mortality, and forty-five thousand in these united kingdoms, would soon become extinct. He observed that there were objections and prejudices against the practice. These he had inquired into; and discovered that they were grounded on fallacy and misrepresentation.

Mr. Knight informed the Committee, that he preferred vaccination to the inoculation of the small-pox, on account of its being mild, safe, and not contagious. He acknowledged that practitioners had sometimes been deceived by spurious pustules; an objection to which the inoculation of the small-pox is equally liable. He had not known any other disorder excited by vaccination.

The Earl of Berkeley stated, that his youngest son had been vaccinated by Dr. Jenner. About a year afterwards, a servant in the house caught the small-pox; and had the disease in a very

dangerous way. His Lordship therefore sent for Dr. Jenner, and desired him to inoculate the child, and a girl who had undergone vaccination four years before, with variolous matter. This was done; but without any effect. Another girl, who had been vaccinated, attended the maid servant until her death; yet resisted infection. The effluvia were so offensive, that all the other servants were obliged to remove to another part of the house.

Lord Berkeley further stated, that there was an old servant then living in his family, who had the cow-pox from milking cows fifty-seven years before; and had never been in the least cautious in guarding against the small-pox, but, on the contrary, had repeatedly exposed himself to its infection. His Lordship had once seen him sitting near a boy who had the small-pox; yet he had never caught the disorder.

The Rev. Mr. Jenner stated, that he had vaccinated three thousand persons without meeting with one unfavourable case; although he had patients under his care from the earliest infancy to eighty years of age; children under dentition, and women in every stage of pregnancy, from the first month to the last week. Upwards of two hundred of his patients had been since inoculated with active small-pox matter, and at least the same number had been exposed to the

natural infection; but in no one instance was the small-pox produced.

Mr. Jenner believes, that vaccination frequently supersedes the small-pox, when the patient has been for some days exposed to variolous infection. In this opinion the author of the present publication perfectly coincides. Having vaccinated a considerable number of persons who were exposed to the infection, and particularly sought for patients who were thus exposed, he is perfectly convinced, that the natural infection is as often superseded by vaccination, as by the inoculation of the small-pox.

The next person examined before the Committee was Dr. Marshall, now of Lymington; who first practiced vaccination in Gloucestershire in the year 1799, having received instructions on that subject from Dr. Jenner; who, in his "Inquiry into the Causes and Effects of the Variolæ Vaccinæ," has published some account of Dr. Marshall's very extensive and successful practice.

Dr. Marshall informed the Committee, that in July 1800, accompanied by Dr. John Walker, who assisted him in some of these inoculations, he commenced the practice of vaccination on board his Majesty's ship Endymion; eleven of whose crew were vaccinated, and went through the disease without any remission of their ordinary duty, or any deprivation of their usual allowance

of wine and other provisions. He also vaccinated all the soldiers of the garrison of Gibraltar, who had not had the small-pox.

The plague, at that time, prevented them from receiving their usual supplies of fresh provisions from Barbary, and they were excluded from all communication with Spain by the war; in consequence of which, their food consisted principally of salt provisions sent from England; and they likewise indulged in drinking new wine. This regimen, added to the excesses which soldiers usually commit, put vaccination to a severe test; especially when it is further considered, that, while under that operation, they still performed their ordinary regimental duty. So far, indeed, was vaccination from preventing this, that not a single case occurred where any application was necessary even for the arm, although the heat of the atmosphere was frequently upwards of ninety degrees; in corroboration of which, the certificate of the Surgeon Major was produced.

Dr. Marshall stated, that he had introduced vaccination into Minorca, and the British fleet there, with equal success; and also into Malta, where it was generally practiced, both among the troops and the inhabitants; and a Jennerian Institution for the inoculation of the poor was established by Governor Ball. In this island, the ravages of the small-pox had always been dread-

ful. Several of our men of war, then in the harbour, had at that time the small-pox on board; and had buried several men; in consequence of which, the Commanders in Chief issued general orders, for vaccinating such seamen and soldiers as had not had the disease. A certificate of the truth of this statement was delivered in to the Committee, signed by Sir Alexander Ball, Governor of Malta.

In Sicily, the small-pox had been, if possible, still more fatal than at Malta; for it was computed, that in the course of the year previous to Dr. Marshall's arrival, upwards of eight thousand persons had fallen victims to it, in the city of Palermo alone. On this account, vaccination was there received with enthusiasm; an institution similar to that at Malta was established by his Sicilian Majesty; and the small pox, which had begun its usual ravages, was arrested in its course.

Vaccination was extended throughout the whole island; and the people of Naples expressed an ardent wish for the practice to be introduced there also, on account of the benefits received from it by their fellow-subjects at Palermo. The mortality of the small-pox had been great at Naples; his Majesty therefore established a Vaccine Institution in that city; and the salutary art, thus patronised, was speedily adopted throughout the whole kingdom. Surgeons were ordered to

be sent from every province, in order to be instructed in vaccination; and, on their return, to propagate this beneficial practice.

On his leaving Naples, Dr. Marshall received the most honourable testimonies of approbation, particularly a very valuable gold medal, from his Majesty; who also appointed him his Physician Extraordinary, and directed his ambassador in England to represent the high sense his Majesty entertained of his services to the Secretary of State. The testimonial of his Sicilian Majesty was produced before the Committee.

After quitting Naples, Dr. Marshall practiced vaccination at Rome, Leghorn, and Genoa; and in every instance where it was put to the test, it resisted the infection of the small-pox. The contrary, indeed, has been asserted by an anonymous writer, in the Medical and Chirurgical Review. Such articles can only be admitted for the sake of defamation; or with a view to create a false alarm.

Dr. Marshall informed the Committee, that the medical practitioners of Naples, at his arrival, not placing any confidence in vaccination, instituted an experiment at the Foundling Hospital, without his knowledge, in order to determine the point. They first vaccinated a number of children, and afterwards exposed them to the infection of the small-pox in every form; which they resisted. This experiment, which excited the at-

tention of the whole city, completely established the reputation of the practice; and the medical men, who had at first been sceptical, now appointed a deputation to wait on Dr. Marshall, in order to express their conviction.

Dr. Marshall stated his opinion, that upwards of ten thousand persons had been vaccinated under his direction; many of whom were subjected to every possible form of variolous infection, but to no purpose.—He never knew vaccination excite any other disease; on the contrary, when weakly children were vaccinated it appeared to improve their health.

Having been introduced by Dr. Jenner to Dr. Marshall, when he was about to leave England, with the design of practising vaccination at Naples, and supplied him with the vaccine matter which proved successful, and was the happy means of planting the Jennerian inoculation at Gibraltar, Minorca, Malta, Sicily, and Naples, I corresponded with him during his absence, and published the information I received from him on this subject in the Medical Journal. I have since republished it in my Treatise on the Cow-pox.

The next evidence given before the Committee was that of Mr. Griffiths; who had ascertained the mildness of vaccination by extensive practice; and adopted it in his own family.

Dr. Dale bore testimony to the efficacy of the

casual cow-pox; having been assured by a very respectable medical man, that this opinion was founded on the observation of himself and other practitioners, in a great number of cases, during a period of thirty or forty years.

Dr. Denman declared, that he believed vaccination to be a safe practice; and a perfect preventive of the small-pox.

Mr. Cuff, an artist, who had long been employed by Dr. Jenner, and who has since been employed by the author of this publication, informed the Committee, that he thought some failures at Bath were occasioned by the ignorance and inexperience of the practitioners; who had mistaken spurious pustules for the genuine cow-pock.

Dr. Skey stated, that when he resided at Worcester, and the small-pox raged there, proving very fatal, he had checked the ravages of that disorder by vaccination. He also testified, that the inoculated cow-pock is beyond all comparison milder than the inoculated small-pox.

Dr. Croft stated, that he had paid particular attention to vaccination from the time when it was first introduced; having adopted it in his own family, and uniformly recommended it to his patients. He had advised that children should be vaccinated at the end of the month; but had never ventured to recommend the inoculation of the small-pox under two years of age,

unless peculiar circumstances required it. He gave his opinion, that in the child of Sir George Dallas, who had the small-pox from being previously infected, vaccination mitigated the disease. He had seen ill effects from matter taken at a late period. He was fully convinced, that if vaccination were generally adopted, it would be productive of the greatest blessings to mankind, and exterminate the small-pox.

Dr. Nelson, one of the physicians to the Vaccine-Pock Institution, bore witness to the safety, mildness, and efficacy of the practice. A considerable number of the persons vaccinated at that institution had been inoculated with variolous matter, and exposed in a great variety of ways to the infection of the small-pox; but in vain.—He had never known any disease occasioned by vaccination; on the contrary, the health of sickly children was commonly improved by the operation.

Sir George Baker stated, that he had received intelligence of the preventive virtue of the cow-pox twenty-five years before, from the Rev. Mr. Drew, of Abbots in Devonshire. He knows no instance of vaccine inoculation creating or exciting any constitutional disorder; nor of its proving fatal.

Dr. Pearson, one of the physicians to the Vaccine-Pock Institution, stated to the Committee the result of inquiries he had made relative to

the cow-pox; which tended strongly to confirm the safety and efficacy of vaccination.

Lord Rous stated, that in consequence of the fatality of the small-pox in his neighbourhood, in the county of Suffolk, he had vaccinated a considerable number of persons; and, among others, his own child when it was four months old. Many thousands had since been vaccinated in that part of the country, with uniform success. By these active exertions the prevailing epidemic was exterminated in that quarter; and the Directors of Bulcamp House of Industry had ordered the Small-pox House to be converted into an Infirmary for Fevers.

Dr. Thornton explained the cause of two failures, which had occurred in the children of Lord Somerville's coachman, inoculated by him. These cases occurred in the infancy of the practice, when Dr. Thornton did not know, that the success of the operation in any degree depended on taking the matter at an early period. He had great reason to believe, that in these instances it was taken on the fourteenth day, or later. He also observed, that at the commencement of vaccination, matter was sometimes preserved on lancets, till it corroded them: this had been another source of spurious pustules.

A very inveterate enemy of vaccination sent an account of these two cases to Scotland; in consequence of which, an honourable Baronet, anx-

ious for the safety of his children and neighbours, who had been vaccinated, wrote to Dr. Jenner; who requested me to accompany him, when he went to investigate the truth of the report. The mother of the children gave us a very clear account of the cases; from which it appeared evident, that neither of them had ever had the cow-pock.

Mr. Addington stated, that he had practised vaccination three years with uniform success; and put many of his patients to the test of inoculation with variolous matter, and exposure to the natural infection, without ever being able to communicate the disorder. Being careful in the choice of matter, he had never met with any case of spurious cow-pox, but he had seen many cases of spurious small-pox. He is of opinion, that objections of this sort may be brought with equal propriety against either practice.

Mr. Simpson stated, that he had ascertained the safety of vaccination; and expressed his perfect confidence in the practice, as affording a security against the small-pox. He knew one particular instance, in a child whom he had vaccinated, where an obstinate eruption, which had resisted the usual remedies, began to disappear about the tenth day; and on the twelfth had totally vanished.

Dr. Lind stated, that he was inclined to think the case of Clarke, the marine at Haslar Hospital,

was the small-pox. This opinion was corroborated by a letter from Dr. Hope to the Chairman of the Committee. The man had been inoculated for the cow-pock by Mr. Rickman, and was supposed to have had the disease in a regular manner; but Mr. Goldson has since told us, that when Mr. Rickman began the practice of vaccination, he soon found the matter become purulent after the eighth day: this is sufficient to render the case doubtful. Besides, Dr. Lind informs us, that Clarke was only the fifth or sixth patient of this kind, that had ever been under Mr. Rickman's care.

The Duke of Clarence was examined by the Committee, at his own request; and stated some cases, in favour of vaccination, which had come within his own knowledge. All the children of the servants of his Royal Highness had been vaccinated, and went through the disorder well; except one, whose indisposition was a little aggravated by the chicken-pox.

One of his Royal Highness's grooms having refused to be vaccinated, caught the small-pox; and the disease was attended with all the bad symptoms of the most virulent and confluent kind. He was attended by the mother of one of the children, who had been vaccinated eighteen months before. This child, and many others of those who had undergone vaccination, were

repeatedly in the apartment where the man lay, without catching the disorder.

Mr. Jordan informed the Committee, that he had received small-pox matter instead of cow-pock matter from the Small-pox Hospital; and that his patients had suffered severely in consequence of this mistake; not being prepared for such a disorder. This error, and others of a similar kind, had in several instances brought vaccination into disrepute.

Mr. Keate stated, that in the year 1799, in consequence of seeing some patients of Dr. Pearson under vaccination, he had adopted the practice; and endeavoured to extend it in the army, and among the poor of London. He is of opinion that it excites no humours, nor other disorders, in the constitution.

Mr. Birch stated, that he had often seen vaccine inoculation, but never practised it. He had not seen sufficient of it to enable him to form a positive judgment; having been repeatedly deceived by reports in other matters. He related some cases of children at St. Thomas's Hospital, who were vaccinated; yet nevertheless had the small-pox. They all recovered. He had no doubt that they were previously infected with the small-pox; but was of opinion, that if they had been inoculated with variolous matter, they would have had the inoculated, instead of the natural

small-pox.—He stated, that his own practice in the inoculation of the small-pox had been successful; and that out of more than two hundred patients, he had never lost one. He knew no instance of a person, who had undergone vaccination, catching the small-pox.

Dr. Lister, physician to St. Thomas's Hospital, formerly physician to the Small-pox Hospital, stated, that a woman in the small-pox, with a child at the breast, was admitted into the hospital on the 24th of July 1800. She had sickened on the 19th day of the month; and the eruption appeared on the 20th. Her child was vaccinated on the 26th of July, and was indisposed on the 2d of August. An eruption was discovered on the 9th, and seen by Dr. Lister on the 12th. It consisted of only two or three pustules; which were then scabbing. They disappeared in two or three days more; leaving no mark.

Dr. Lister thinks it impossible to determine the nature of this eruption. It was probably occasioned by dentition; as the child about that time cut two teeth. It might, however, have been local small-pox; such as takes place in nurses, from mere contact. It might possibly have been constitutional small-pox; but this Dr. Lister considers unlikely, from its not being immediately preceded by any illness; for the indisposition which occurred on the 2d of August was too long

before, to be the cause of an eruption which did not appear till the ninth. At any rate, no reasonable objection against vaccine inoculation can be drawn from this case; the child having been so long previously exposed to the infection of the small-pox.

It is the opinion of Dr. Lister, that the inoculation of the small-pox in the metropolis has been one of the principal causes of spreading and perpetuating the disorder. He thinks the inoculated cow-pock a much milder disease than the inoculated small-pox; and that it affords equal security to the patient; without being capable of communicating infection to others, either by effluvia, or by contact.

Mr. Cline stated, that in July 1798, he received some cow-pock matter from Dr. Jenner, with which he inoculated a boy who had not had the small-pox. He afterwards tried to infect him, by inoculating him with small-pox matter; but in vain. This circumstance, together with the communications he received from Dr. Jenner, produced in his mind the strongest conviction of the great utility of the practice. He therefore warmly recommended it to all his friends, particularly to Sir Walter Farquhar; and he recollects perfectly well the conversation he had with him, relative to the emolument which Dr. Jenner might derive from vaccination. But Dr. Jenner,

at that time, declined settling in London. Mr. Cline considers vaccination as the greatest discovery ever made in physic, for the preservation of the human race; as the small-pox has been the most destructive of all diseases.

He was consulted on the case of Mr. Austin's child of Clapham, with whom it was said, vaccination had failed; but, from particular inquiries of the parents and the nurse, he was perfectly convinced he had never had the cow-pock; and this opinion was confirmed by the testimony of Mr. Taylor of Wootton Underedge, who inoculated the child.

Mr. Cline thinks experience has sufficiently demonstrated, that those who have been inoculated with the cow-pock are insusceptible of the small-pox; and that in those instances where the patient is previously infected with the small-pox, vaccination mitigates the virulence of that disease. He declared, that the cow-pock is not contagious; that it neither creates any blemish in the human frame, nor excites the scrofula, or any other disease, like the inoculation of the small-pox.

In November 1800, hearing that William Rench, a boy on whom he had a few days before performed the operation for the stone, was in great danger of catching the small-pox, he had him vaccinated; but thirteen days after, a few eruptions appeared, which were supposed to be

the small-pox. Admitting this to be the case, it is evident the child had received previous infection, from the period when the eruption took place.

In November 1801, another child, who had been exposed to the infection of the small-pox, was vaccinated. Four days after, the small-pox broke out, and proved very severe; but the child recovered.

A third case occurred in a patient of Dr. Lister; whose mother had the small-pox. The child was vaccinated six days after the disease appeared in the mother; but in about fifteen days a few eruptions appeared, which were of a doubtful nature.

Mr. Cline had made the most minute inquiry into the subject, and informed the Committee, that these were the only cases that had occurred in St. Thomas's Hospital, in which variolous eruptions had succeeded vaccination; and there could be no doubt, that in every one of them, the patient was previously exposed to the infection of the small-pox.

After perusing the evidence of Dr. Lister and Mr. Cline, the reader must be rather surprised at Mr. Birch's regretting that these children were not inoculated for the small-pox instead of the cow-pock. In the first case, the small-pox seems to have been so far mitigated, as to have been only the shadow of a disease. In the second case

it was severe; but it is absurd to imagine, that four days before the eruption, the natural infection would have been superseded; and the patient have had the natural small-pox.

As to the third case, it is of no consequence what the eruption was; because it could not have been attended with any inconvenience or danger. Two or three pustules, whether they were the effect of dentition, as Dr. Lister suspected, or of the contact of variolous matter from the mother, or of an imperceptible variolous fever, could neither alarm the mother, nor injure the child. Mr. Birch was therefore as unfortunate in the sentiments he expressed before the Committee of the House of Commons, as his friend Dr. Moseley.

Dr. Rowley informed the Committee, that some cases had occurred at Oxford, in which the small-pox appeared after vaccination. Having heard of these cases, I made a particular inquiry concerning them; and the following is the result; which may be found in my Treatise on the Cow-pox, under the head, Oxford Cases.

P. 813. "Reports of vaccine inoculation having failed to prevent the small pox, in three cases at Oxford, have reached this metropolis. One of the patients was inoculated by the Rev. Mr. Jenner; and Dr. Jenner, to whom he shewed the case, agreed with him, that there was a sufficient deviation from the regular progress of the pustule, to warrant suspicion. I am likewise assured by

Dr. Jenner, that when the arm was examined, not the least vestige of inoculation was discernible. This, every one who is conversant in inoculation will allow, proves fatal to the report.

" The two other patients, I am informed, were inoculated by a very young man, who had no accurate recollection of the particulars; and, being asked on what day the efflorescence appeared, replied, he thought it was on the sixth day that it became extensive.

" This inquiry, like others of a similar kind, redounds to the credit of vaccine inoculation; for several children, who had been inoculated at the same time by Mr. Jenner, and pronounced secure, slept in the same room, and some of them in the same bed with the variolous patient, during the whole progress of the disease; yet escaped unhurt.

" Dr. Hooper informs me, that when at Oxford, he made inquiries concerning the cases which occurred there. The mother of the children inoculated by Mr. Jenner told him, the only difference that she observed between the pustule in the patient who has since had the small-pox, and the others, was, that it was smaller than the rest. I have no doubt but it was a spurious pustule."

In the same publication, p. 985, I added further particulars relative to the same subject.—" Mr. Jenner left Oxford within a few days after

the inoculation was performed. The care of the patient afterwards devolved on Dr. Williams, Regius Professor of Botany in that university; and a letter from this gentleman to Mr. Jenner, dated July 28th, 1801, gives the following account of the case:

"On the third day after inoculation, appearances of inflammation were visible, and we concluded that vaccination would succeed; but within seven or eight days, the pustule almost wholly vanished. I consequently made a memorandum at the time, that a future inoculation would be necessary; but other avocations, and the loss of the virus, prevented me from carrying my purpose into execution, till unfortunately the small-pox appeared."

Among the professors at Oxford, from whom Dr. Rowley derived his information on this subject, the name of Dr. Wall, the Clinical Professor, is particularly mentioned. To shew his opinion of these cases, I shall here insert a letter which I received from him while the Committee were sitting; and examining evidence on the merits of Dr. Jenner's petition.

"SIR, *Oxford, March 29th*, 1802.

"I ought long ago to have thanked you for your obliging present of the first part of your Treatise on the Cow-pox; but a great variety of engagements prevented me.

" I have been extremely pleased with the perusal of your impartial history of this invaluable discovery; and your firm and manly defence of it against calumny and detraction.—I hope the general voice of the nation, speaking in Parliament, will give its sanction to the merits of our excellent friend Dr. Jenner; by remunerating in the best way it can, for it can never render an adequate compensation, the eminent services which he has conferred upon the state.

" From the day when I first received intimation of Dr. Jenner's discovery of the effect of inoculating the vaccine, to the present hour, I have never varied in my opinion; though cases, exciting scepticism in some gentlemen, have occurred in this neighbourhood. Many of them have been explained; and the others might, I have no doubt, had it been possible to develope the whole progress of the several cases.

" Many years ago I learnt in, or by my connexions in, Gloucestershire, that those who have had the casual cow-pox could never have the small-pox. The fact, however singular, lay treasured up in my mind; and when Dr. Jenner's discovery came to my knowledge, it met a mind prepared, and ready to receive this extraordinary communication; which to most people appeared a dream, or an invention of fancy.

" Accept, Sir, my thanks for the exertions you have made in this great cause; and though I

have not the pleasure of your personal acquaintance, assure yourself, that I feel every sentiment of regard for a gentleman, who has proved himself so eminently the promoter of medical science, directed to its best end, the preservation of the lives of millions.

" I am, Sir,

" Respectfully and truly, yours,

" MARTIN WALL."

To this testimony concerning those cases, and the general efficacy of vaccination, I beg leave to subjoin a passage from my Treatise on the Cow-pox, p. 3; since it tends to confirm the sentiments expressed by Dr. Wall; and to prove, that those who deem a confidence in the prophylactic power of the cow-pock a new idea, and the friends of the practice visionaries, only betray their own ignorance.

" Having heard from the President of the Medical Society, some account of the species of inoculation proposed by Dr. Jenner, before his Dissertation on the subject appeared, I conceived an early prepossession in its favour; and anxiously waited for an opportunity of giving it a fair trial. I was the less surprised at the proposed substitute for the small-pox; having often been asked by my patients, whether the chicken-pox did not prevent it? which I knew it did not; and

whether the cow-pox did not prevent it?—a question which I was unable to resolve.

"Since the introduction of the new practice, I frequently meet with persons, who have long known the prophylactic virtue of the cow-pox; several of whom, having had the disorder in the casual way, have thus been preserved from the small-pox, though exposed to its infection.—This I mention only to prove, that the idea of the cow-pox being a security against the small-pox, is by no means new; and I hope I shall be able, in some measure, to correct that vulgar error, which is now the greatest obstacle to the general introduction of the practice."

In consequence of his communication to me, Dr. Wall was desired to address a letter containing his sentiments on the subject to the Chairman of the Committee, in order that they might come before the Committee in a more authentic form. In compliance with this request, he addressed two letters to the Chairman, of which the following are extracts.

Extract of a Letter from Dr. Wall to the Chairman, dated Oxford, April 2d, 1802.

"I do not presume to think, that it is in my power to add any thing to the force of the evidence, which must have been laid before you and the Committee of the House of Commons, tending

to evince, that the inoculated cow-pox is an indisputable security against the small-pox in any form; yet I feel it my duty to express my opinion, and to add one more to the many testimonies which have been presented to your Committee on the subject. I have not been myself a practitioner in the vaccine inoculation, my engagements preventing me; but the extensive excursions I often make into the country, have given me opportunities of conversing with numerous practitioners, and hearing their relations of the progress and result of their experiments; and I have never met with any instance which has shaken my opinion, that the cow-pox is a safe and efficacious preservative against the small-pox. I will not allege, that I have not heard of unfavourable cases, unfavourable I mean to the position I have just laid down; many such occurred at first, when the inoculation was conducted by ignorant and ill-judging persons; and it is wonderful, that more instances of failure did not occur. But when the process came to be conducted with more careful observation, such ill consequences and deceptions were very rare; and where they did take place, the source of the deception was often easily traced; and it was as easily proved, that the persons in question, on whom the small-pox appeared after vaccine inoculation, had really never been affected with the cow-pox. Some cases have apparently been at-

tended with greater difficulties; as they have been said to have been under the care of practitioners of eminent ability and judgment; yet even in these, if the progress could be properly investigated, some fallacy would be probably detected, as it has been so in many others. For, as it has been demonstrated by thousands and tens of thousands of instances, where the process of vaccine inoculation has been carefully observed and attended to, that the patient has ever after been incapable of receiving the variolous infection, it is most reasonable to suppose, that, if one or two instances of a contrary event have occurred, some mistake must have taken place in those cases, however eminent the abilities of the inoculator may have been. Let us reason upon this point in another mode. No one doubts the power of the inoculated small-pox to preserve a person from that disorder in future, whether by casual or artificial means. What then would any one say, if a man, having had the small-pox by inoculation, should apparently take the disorder a second time, either by contagion, or in any other way? Would he say, that the man had the small-pox twice? Would he draw any inference unfavourable to the generally received opinion of the efficacy and security of inoculation? No, certainly; if he had one spark of candour, he would say, that the first inoculation had not communicated the real small-pox, and had

not influenced the constitution in the manner which is necessary in order to secure it against future infection. Let candour then apply this argument to the cow-pox; and it will be with equal justness inferred, that if any person has been susceptible of the influence of variolous infection, after having been inoculated with vaccine matter, there has been some mistake in the case, and the person has really never had the cow-pox at all.

"I request the Committee, therefore, only to admit the same analogical argument here as in the case of small-pox; or even only to allow *exceptionem non tollere regulam*; and then, I trust, the discovery of Dr. Jenner can never be too highly estimated."

Extract of a Letter from Dr. Wall to the Chairman, dated Oxford, April 14th, 1802.

"Dr. Rowley certainly did not recollect correctly the conversation I had with him, when he was here in the summer of 1801. The account of different cases, which he has confounded in one statement, I think it will not be difficult to separate and distinguish.

"Early in the spring 1801, or some little time before (I will not pretend to be very correct in my dates), Dr. Williams and Mr. George Jenner inoculated, with vaccine matter, three children of —— Green, in George Lane. They were all sup-

posed to have gone through the vaccine disorder favourably. In the summer of the same year, one of those three children caught the small-pox, which prevailed epidemically in the neighbourhood; and had the disorder very mild. While the eruption was out on the child, or just dying away, Dr. Jenner happened to call upon me; and I took him to see the child. As soon as he came into the room, he immediately recollected that he had been there before; and, upon seeing the child, he said to the mother, 'Don't you 'remember my being in this room soon after 'these children had been supposed to have the 'cow-pox; and that, upon looking at this child's 'arm, I told you it had not had the cow-pox, and 'would not be secure from the small-pox, unless 'it were subjected to another inoculation with 'vaccine matter? At the same time, I told you, 'upon inspecting the arms of the other children, 'that they were safe.' This was the purport of his words. Whether I have given his exact expressions, I am not certain.

"Nearly at the time when the children above were inoculated by Dr. Williams and Mr. G. Jenner, Mr. Grosvenor and Mr. Swift inoculated with vaccine matter two children of —— Slater, butler to Sir Digby Mackworth. They were supposed to have gone through the disorder regularly and well; but both these children in July following caught the natural small-pox, and one

of them died. Of these cases I know nothing more, as I did not attend the children."

To the foregoing evidence, which was laid before the Committee, in answer to Dr. Rowley's deposition, I shall add the following, already published in my Treatise on the Cow-pox, p. 949:

"I am now about to notice a report, which, however erroneous, derived no small importance from the respectability of the channels by which it was circulated. The report was, that two young gentlemen, students at Oxford, who had been inoculated with the cow-pox by Dr. Jenner, and pronounced safe by him, had since had the small-pox, to which one of them had fallen a victim.

"This rumour crossed the waves of the wide Atlantic Ocean; and created great anxiety in the minds of those parents, whose children had undergone vaccination. An account of these supposed failures having been transmitted to a gentleman of Boston, by Mr. Erving, the American Consul, Dr. Waterhouse wrote to me, and requested that I would inquire into the particulars of this narrative.

"Though perfectly convinced that this rumour was totally destitute of foundation, I judged it necessary that it should be contradicted, on authority equally respectable with that on which it was propagated. I therefore wrote to

Dr. Wall, of Oxford, asking the favour of him to investigate the subject.

" Mr. Erving, the Consul, had heard the report from his father; who probably misunderstood a conversation which took place in a bookseller's shop, where he was present.

" I here insert Professor Wall's letter, which furnishes additional proof, that the new practice has nothing to fear from the most rigid investigation."

Copy of a Letter from Dr. Wall, of Oxford, dated April 13th, 1800.

" Dear Sir,

" The report which you mention in your letter is certainly very erroneous; but is probably built upon the history of the cases of the children which were inoculated by Mr. Grosvenor's assistant, Mr. Swift. We have no Dr. Smith, head of Trinity College, in this university; nor have we had any student die of the small-pox, after having been inoculated for the cow-pox: nor did Dr. Jenner inoculate those children, whose cases have been so much discussed and canvassed here and elsewhere, and lately before the Committee of the House of Commons. Dr. Smith, Master of Pembroke College, was probably the gentleman, whose conversation Mr. Erving overheard at Mr. Wright's shop; but he could not have stated the matter as has been represented. He is at present

from home, but I will shew him your letter as soon as he returns.

" With respect to the cases of those children, you and the gentlemen of the Committee have had my opinion fully. I do not believe they ever had the genuine cow-pox; and I am induced to adopt this opinion, expressly from the circumstance that they had *both of them* the small-pox, after they had been inoculated with vaccine matter, and had been supposed to have had the vaccine disease. So many thousand cases have occurred, to prove the efficacy of the vaccine inoculation in preventing the variola, that in any instance, where an exception appears to a law so generally established, I am always disposed to conceive there has been some mistake, or inaccurate observation. In many instances we have been able to trace the error, and detect the fallacy. One occurred in this place to Dr. Jenner and myself. I conducted him last summer to a house, where one of three children, and *one only*, whom his nephew had inoculated nearly a year before, with vaccine matter, had then the small-pox out upon him.—Dr. Jenner, upon examining the child, particularly the arm in which the vaccine incision had been made, and then looking round the room, said to the mother, 'Don't you re-' collect my being here soon after these children ' were inoculated; and that, looking upon this ' child's arm, I told you, the child had not had

'the real infection, and would not by that in-
'oculation be prevented having the small-pox,
'if it should be in the neighbourhood?' He told me also, that he examined at the same time the other children's arms, and pronounced them safe. Why the woman did not have the child reinoculated, as Dr. Jenner advised, I do not remember. In many other similar instances, and many such have occurred, and will occur, from the hasty inattentive mode in which the inoculation was performed by ill-judging and careless persons, the fallacy has been detected. In some, from distance of time, and other circumstances, it has been impossible to develope the mistake with equal satisfaction. But if it has been demonstrated in ten thousand instances, that the vaccine inoculation will prevent the small pox, what force, in opposition to such a general law, can ten, twenty, or even one hundred exceptions have, especially where it can be shewn, that many of these exceptions have been cleared up, and have ultimately afforded convincing proof of the general truth?

"Where positive demonstration cannot be adduced, analogy may be called in to our aid. The history of the inoculated small-pox will afford us much assistance. A gentleman of this neighbourhood inoculated the inhabitants of two or three villages, as he thought, with variolous matter; in consequence of which, an eruptive

fever, and a mild form of disorder, resembling small-pox, came on at the usual time. But after these people had been well some months, one half of them nearly, took the small-pox by contagion; and some had it very unfavourably. About the same time, a gentleman of eminence in the profession, residing in Kent, published, I think in the fourth volume of the Memoirs of the Medical Society of London (I have unfortunately mislaid that volume, so that I write from memory), with great candour, an account of a similar failure in variolous inoculation, under his care. Now, let me ask, do these cases, and many more of the same kind, excite in any one's mind the smallest doubt, whether the artificial introduction of variolous matter into the human body is a certain preventive of any subsequent influence of that matter on the same person, either naturally or by inoculation? Is it not immediately concluded, that there must have been some error in the conduct of the inoculation, and that those persons, who are supposed to have had the small-pox *a second* time, certainly had in the *first* instance some other fallacious eruption, and not the genuine variola? In the case of the vaccine disease, we ought to reason in the same way.

" With respect to the three exceptions, which have occurred here, they have never shaken my faith in the truth of the general law; which, I

think, has been as demonstrably proved as any proposition in natural philosophy or geometry: and I have no doubt but the time will come, when the medical world will express its wonder, that so many difficulties should have been raised upon such slight foundations, to prevent the progress of a discovery so highly advantageous to mankind, and so honourable to the discoverer.

"I am much concerned, that the account of any of these apparent exceptions to the general law, of which I have been speaking, has been transmitted in so improper a form to America. I have no doubt, you will do every thing in your power to rectify the opinion of Dr. Waterhouse on this important subject. I have not the happiness of knowing him either personally or by correspondence; but every body knows him from his zeal to promote medical science, and useful discoveries in every department of it. His opinion of course will be looked up to, as a guiding star for the direction of others throughout the United States; and therefore the most exact account of every fact, relating to the subject, should be transmitted to him. My remarks, such as they are, are very much at your service; to be employed in any way you please, if they can be made subservient to the cause of truth.

"I remain, &c.

"MARTIN WALL."

When I waited on Mr. Erving, he informed me, that having from the first interested himself in the question of vaccine inoculation, he had not only conversed on it as often as opportunity offered, but perused several publications on the subject; and the result of his reading had induced him to be of the sceptical side. Apprehending that injurious consequences would flow from the new practice, he had conceived it his duty to warn his friends of their danger. His note, which I subjoin, and the letter which he sent to Dr. Waterhouse, reflect the highest honour on their author; and must excite a blush, if any thing can excite a blush, in those who confess, that although the practice of vaccine inoculation, on which so great a portion of human happiness depends, has been promulgated for years, they have *never troubled their heads about it.*

Copy of a Note from Mr. Erving, dated April 18th, 1802.

" Mr. Erving presents his compliments to Mr. Ring; and is much obliged for the perusal of Dr. Wall's letter, which he herewith returns. He also returns, with many thanks, Mr. R.'s ingenious Treatise on the Cow-pox; which has afforded him great pleasure and instruction.

" The vaccine inoculation is so new and important a discovery, that it has excited the attention of all who feel themselves interested in the

welfare and happiness of their fellow-men. Mr. E. partaking in this general interest, has been induced to read, and make inquiries on the subject; and the opinions he has formed therefrom, have thrown him rather on the sceptical side, as to its permanent effects, in totally discharging the habit from all future susceptibility of the variolous infection. He now confesses himself an entire convert to the new doctrine; to which the multitudinous cases, recorded by Mr. Ring, have greatly contributed; and his only fears now are, that the practice being so very simple, and the operation and effects of the disease so innocent, it may descend into the hands of the ignorant, careless, and unwary; so as to defeat all the promised good effects, and by throwing the patient into a false state of security, leave him in a more perilous situation, from the variolous infection, than he was at first."

The Oxford cases, when fairly detailed, can scarcely excite the least apprehension in the mind of the most timorous parent; but, like other cases, they gave rise to considerable misrepresentation. The busy tongue of Fame, not content with the naked truth, must always exaggerate any failure. Here, as in the case of Mr. Grant's child at Portsmouth, for the sake of stage effect, the inoculator must be Dr. Jenner, who must pronounce his patient safe; and the children of

a butler must be magnified into young gentlemen at college. Had not Dr. Waterhouse instituted an inquiry into this alarming report, it is probable half the young gentlemen at Oxford would have died of the small-pox, after vaccination.

It is also fortunate, that an inquiry was instituted by the House of Commons; as it enabled the public, in some measure, to ascertain the extent of the supposed failures in vaccination, during the first three years of the practice. It also served to check the false reports which were then, as well as now, circulated with great industry by the busy tongue of Fame.

> Hæc tum multiplici populum sermone replebat
> Gaudens, et pariter facta atque infecta canebat.

The next evidence mentioned in the Report of the Committee is that of Dr. Bradley; who, from his extensive correspondence, as one of the conductors of the Medical and Physical Journal, stated, that the inoculation of the cow-pock had made a rapid progress, in both hemispheres; and was every where held in the highest estimation. He was of opinion, that vaccination is a permanent preventive of the small-pox; and that it mitigates the disorder in case of previous infection. He asserted, that although Dr. Jenner and others had assiduously laboured to instruct inoculators in vaccination, important errors were still committed in the practice, both at home and abroad. He had never known the cow-pock prove fatal;

and referred the Committee to Dr. Woodville, Mr. Cline, and the author of this work, for an explanation of the failures which were said to have occurred.

The pretended failures, up to that period, have already been disproved. There was one instance in which a child was said to have died after vaccination, in consequence of a mortification of the arm. This is not the fact; and even if it were, it is well known, that the same melancholy event has often occurred in the inoculation of the small-pox. In vaccination, it must be evident to every man of common sense, that if no more pustules than one be excited in one arm, and proper attention be paid to the case, it is scarcely possible the life even of the most tender infant can ever be endangered.

It is true, the contrary has been asserted, in a little tract falsely ascribed to Mr. Rogers. But it is well known the child in question was inoculated with matter dried before the fire by an attendant, through mistake; in consequence of which, it never had the cow-pock, and was to have been inoculated again by another practitioner. There was at one time a scab on the arm, of an ash colour, and a moderate size, without the least sign of inflammation; but the practitioner who had inoculated the child discontinued his attendance, considering the patient to be transferred to other hands, and the gentleman,

who was to have inoculated it again, did not visit it so often as he would have done, had he been apprised of that circumstance.

Having been consulted in this case, at an advanced period, it is but justice to state, that even then there was a flattering prospect of recovery, notwithstanding the child laboured under a violent cough, and also considerable fever from dentition. After the separation of the scab, in consequence of the application of a poultice, granulations began to appear, but the weather became extremely cold, and continued so for a fortnight; in consequence of which, and the ill state of the habit, the case proved fatal.

It is a perversion of truth, and an insult to common sense, to call this a case of cow-pock. Having been consulted at the time when the ash-colour scab was on the arm, I gave the same opinion which had before been given by Dr. Jenner; that the child never had the cow-pox. This is one instance of the candour and impartiality of the opponents of vaccination; who condemn the practice without proper inquiry, and make it responsible for every blunder that is committed.

With respect to Mr. Rogers, the reputed author of the little tract in which this case is brought forward, and hung up *in terrorem*, even if he had been the writer of the work, and had really been the author of the fulsome compliments there paid to his preceptor, no one could be much offended

with a young gentleman, who professes to say only what he is taught by his master; and writes under the influence *of Birch.*

Nevertheless, I would advise him, before he stands godfather to another of Mr. Birch's brats, to see the new disease which is said to be occasioned by the cow-pock. He will then see his old friend the scrofula; which, in the bantling he has adopted, the artist, who was no doubt properly instructed, has painted in hideous colours; and represented as an old friend with a new face. There is some policy in laying a copy of such a little tract, with a plate of the deepest die, on the table of the Royal Institution. By such a stratagem, an artist becomes a powerful auxiliary to an author; and the strength of the pencil compensates for the weakness of the pen.

But it is time to return from this digression. The next evidence given to the Committee, in favour of vaccination, was that of Sir Walter Farquhar, who stated, that he had two of his grandchildren inoculated at the same time; one with the small-pox, and the other with the cow-pock. The first suffered very severely; having a heavy burden of the small-pox with violent convulsions; the latter, who was inoculated with the cow-pock, scarcely suffered any thing. On the twelfth day after vaccination, he was brought home to his brother, who had the small-pox; and was with him during the remainder of the disease, without

being infected. Sir Walter Farquhar gave his opinion, that the cow-pock is a permanent security against the small-pox; and that it had never proved fatal.

Dr. James Sims, President of the Medical Society of London, informed the Committee, that he had been originally adverse to vaccination; but, from the repeated trials of its efficacy, and the authorities which had been cited, his confidence in the practice had increased every hour.

Dr. Sims is of opinion, that the cow-pock does not introduce any other disorder into the human frame. He laid before the Committee a testimony in favour of vaccination; which had been resolved on by the Medical Society of London, without a single dissenting voice.

The author of this publication stated his opinion, that vaccine inoculation is, beyond all comparison, the most important discovery ever made by man; that he considered it a permanent security against the small-pox; and that at least a thousand of his patients, who had undergone vaccination, had since been exposed to the infection of the small-pox; which they all resisted. He also declared his opinion, that the practice is attended with no danger; unless from ignorance, or neglect.

He also declared, that it is not more difficult to distinguish the real cow-pock than the real small-pox; and that he knows no advantage

which the inoculation of the small-pox possesses over that of the cow-pock, in this or any other respect.

Dr. Saunders informed the Committee that he considers vaccination one of the most important discoveries ever made for the benefit of the human race; and is of opinion, that, if properly promoted, it will exterminate the small-pox.

Mr. Taylor, of Wootton-under-Edge, informed the Committee, that he had inoculated the child of Mr. Austin, of Clapton, with cow-pock matter; but did not see the progress of the disorder; nor was the child attended by any medical man. From the account given by those who were with the child, he was apprehensive vaccination had not succeeded; and recommended that she should be inoculated for the small-pox. This was not complied with; and she caught the disease in the natural way.

Mr. Taylor also informed the Committee, that the case of a woman at Old Sodbury had been investigated by five or six persons; who were unanimously of opinion, that she had never had the cow-pox.

He moreover stated, that his own practice in vaccination had been considerable; that he had vaccinated two thousand persons, without a single failure, and without exciting any other disease.

Dr. Lettsom stated his opinion, that inocula-

tion of the small-pox, by spreading the natural infection, had increased the mortality of the disease. He thinks vaccination as great a security against the small-pox, as the inoculation of the small-pox itself, without the disadvantage of being infectious in any other form.

He is of opinion, that vaccination, while it checks the ravages of the small-pox, never proves fatal. He supposes, that in the metropolis and its environs, eight persons, on an average, die every day, fifty-six every week, and three thousand every year. He is sensible of the fatality of the small-pox, and the danger of that disease even under inoculation; and acquainted with some families who have suffered from the disease, both in its natural and its artificial form. He is sensible of the importance of vaccination to mankind; and therefore began early to make an inquiry into the subject. The result was favourable; and after the most minute investigation, he had not been able to ascertain a single unfortunate event.

Being asked, whether he had ever known a patient, who had been inoculated with the small-pox, have the disease a second time? he replied, that he had two relations who were inoculated with the small-pox, and afterwards caught the disorder in the natural way. To one of them it proved fatal. Within the last twelve months, he had attended two children in different families,

whose parents assured him that they had been inoculated for the small-pox; yet they were both severely attacked with the natural disease.

Dr. Frampton stated, that he considers the cow-pock a safe disease; and far milder than the inoculated small-pox; which he has never known it fail to prevent. He has vaccinated three of his own children; one of whom he had three times inoculated with variolous matter, but in vain. He declared, that the cow-pock is not contagious; and he has no reason to believe, that it ever excites or introduces any other disease.

Dr. Baillie stated, that the cow-pock is so mild, as scarcely to deserve the name of a disease; and he is of opinion, that those who have properly undergone vaccination are secure from the future infection of the small-pox.

He thinks this new species of inoculation the most important discovery ever made in medicine; because this affection may safely be communicated in the earliest periods of infancy, in the weakest constitutions, and even during pregnancy, when the small-pox is attended with the utmost danger.

Dr. Baillie stated his opinion, that the cow-pock, not being communicable by effluvia, is attended with peculiar advantage; and that, if it were universally adopted, it would exterminate the small-pox.

He also declared, that he had never heard of a single instance, in which the cow-pock had either

excited or introduced another disease; but he has known instances of scrofula from the small-pox; and such instances occur often enough, to convince medical men in general that this opinion is well founded.

To this evidence the Committee, in their Report, have subjoined several documents, tending still further to elucidate certain points which had undergone a discussion. They have also inserted a letter from Mr. Slater, of High Wycombe, stating, that in the month of June 1800, he inoculated a family of four children with the cow-pock; and that the matter was sent to him from London by a person, who assured him he received it from a brother of Dr. Jenner,

This account of the manner in which the virus was obtained is erroneous. Dr. Jenner neither has, nor had at that time, any brother. But there is a more important error in Mr. Slater's account of what fell under his own observation; which my previous correspondence with him enables me to correct. In his letter to the Chairman of the Committee, he states, that he had inoculated four children with the aforesaid matter; and having afterwards inoculated them for the small-pox, two certainly received infection, and two did not. In his letter to me, he states, that with respect to two of the children, he himself was doubtful whether they took the infection; but his partner, Mr. Bell, who had been concerned in

four general inoculations, and of whose judgment Mr. Slater entertained a very high opinion, had not the least doubt that they all had the small-pox.

In his letter to me, Mr. Slater mentions two families, that of the Rev. Mr. Brodbelt, and that of Mr. Widmer, in which eight children were vaccinated. Mr. Bell and Mr. Slater both agree, that six out of eight of them have since had the small-pox; and at no greater distance of time after vaccination, than three quarters of a year. This is rather too much even for the most credulous enemy of vaccination to believe.

But although it is unreasonable to suppose, that the whole eight, or even six out of the eight, had the constitutional small-pox, it is not at all improbable that as many had the local disease; and I am rather inclined to suspect, that this was really the case; knowing that in a great number of other instances, the same phenomena have occasioned a false alarm. This conjecture is grounded on an expression in his letter to me, wherein he says, the most incontrovertible proof of the children in question receiving the infection of the small-pox is, that others were inoculated from them, and had the disease.

I have been informed, that Mr. Slater is now become an advocate for vaccination. Whether this information is correct or not, it was necessary to point out the inconsistency in his evidence.

That which he gave to the Committee is much stronger than what he had given me, of which I published an account in my Treatise on the Cow-pox. If any of his patients really had the constitutional small-pox, it is of the utmost importance to prove, that they all had it; and consequently, there is not the least reason in the world to believe, that any one of them ever had the cow-pock.

The next article in the Report of the Committee, necessary to be noticed, is a letter from Mr. Nooth of Bath, in which he states, that he had frequently communicated the infection of the small-pox to those who had had the genuine cow-pox. This relates to the cow-pox received in the casual way. Mr. Nooth says, they had the disorder several years before they were inoculated for the small-pox; but, after the body of evidence of a contrary nature, brought forward by Dr. Jenner and others, some proof will be required, that these persons really had the genuine cow-pox. The charge advanced by Mr. Nooth against the inoculated cow-pock, is refuted by Mr. Cuff.

The next article consists of extracts from the manuscripts of my relation, the late Mr. Naish, surgeon, of Shaftesbury; who inoculated for the small-pox more than sixty persons, who were said to have had the cow-pox; of whom at least forty resisted infection; and he thought it very reasonable to presume that the rest had not the real

cow-pox, as they were no judges. He declares, that not only in his own opinion, but also in that of several other medical practitioners, the cow-pox is a prophylactic for the small-pox.

From some other remarks in the same manuscripts, it is probable Mr. Naish tried the experiment of inoculating the human species with the cow-pock, as others had done; but not that of transferring the virus from one human subject to another.

The next article is a letter from the Rev. Mr. Herman Drew to Dr. Pearson, containing the answers of Mr. Dolling, an inoculator at Blandford, who had for many years been in very extensive practice. Mr. Dolling had inoculated for the small-pox, many hundreds of persons who said they had had the cow-pox; and very few of them took the infection, so as to produce the small-pox. He is inclined to think, that those in whom variolous inoculation succeeded, deceived themselves with regard to their having had the cow-pox.

Mr. Dolling had inoculated seven children in one family; five of whom the mother had caused to be infected, by suffering them to handle the teats of the cow. Two of them took the small-pox; but to the other five who had had the cow-pock, he could not communicate the infection.

Mr. Dolling also stated, that Mr. Justins, a farmer of Yetminster, had inoculated his wife and

children with cow-pock matter. They have since been inoculated with small-pox matter by Mr. Trobridge of Cerne; but resisted infection.

Mr. Dolling does not state the time which had elapsed before they were put to the test of variolous inoculation; but the Royal Jennerian Society were informed by respectable authority, that it was fifteen years. This is a very strong proof of the durable effect of vaccination.

The Rev. Mr. Drew, and Mr. Bragge of Axminster, informed Sir William Elford, one of the members of the Committee, that there were also other instances in which people had inoculated themselves and others from the cow, for more than twenty years past. Mr. Drew himself had transmitted many letters to Sir George Baker on the subject, nearly twenty years before; and has also, since that time, paid some attention to the subject.

Mr. Tucker, of Coryton in Devonshire, also transmitted a letter to Sir William Elford, stating, that Mr. Bragge of Axminster had, twenty years before, proved the efficacy, and with great assiduity recommended the practice, of vaccination. He had likewise furnished Sir George Baker with various articles of intelligence, tending to prove that the cow-pock is a safeguard against the small-pox.

Mr. Tucker was of opinion, that Dr. Jenner's superior merit consists in his having effected the

introduction of vaccine inoculation; and ascertained the means of discriminating the real from the spurious disease. It would, however, be more correct to say, that Dr. Jenner's superior merit consists in ascertaining the efficacy of vaccination, whether the matter is taken immediately from the cow, or transferred from one human subject to another; and in promulgating his discovery to the world.

Mr. Gardner, of Frampton upon Severn, stated to the Committee, that Dr. Jenner had informed him the cow-pock was a preventive of the small-pox, twenty-two years before; and explained to him the theory he had framed on the subject; declaring his full and perfect confidence, that it might be perpetuated, by inoculation from one human being to another, in the same way as the small-pox.

Another article, published by the Committee, is the following answer of the Royal College of Physicians to the questions proposed to them.

" *College of Physicians, April 13th,* 1802.

" SIR,

" I have laid before the College the letter which I had the honour to receive from you a few days ago; and am directed by them to answer, that the extreme mildness of the symptoms generally attendant on vaccine inoculation is such,

that as well from their individual experience, as from the evidence of others, in favour of the practice, they believe it perfectly safe, when properly conducted; and highly deserving the encouragement of the public, on account of the ultimate great advantage expected from it, which can only be fully established by the extended and successful experience of many years.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"T. GISBORNE."

Such is the opinion of vaccination entertained by the Royal College of Physicians; an opinion which would be entitled to some respect, were it not in opposition to the opinion of Dr. Squirrel and Dr. Moseley.

The next article in the Report is the following extract of a letter from the Rev. Mr. Clinch to Dr. Jenner, dated Poole, Jan. 25th, 1802:—"I hasten to tell you the general result of my practice in the vaccine disorder, in the island of Newfoundland. I informed you in a former letter, that the matter sent me by your nephew, produced the effect completely; although, from the date, it was kept full four months.

"I began by inoculating my own children; and went on with this salutary work, till I had inoculated upwards of seven hundred persons, of all ages and descriptions. Many opportunities soon offered at St. John's, where the small-pox

was making great ravages, which afforded convincing proofs of the safety of the practice, to the inhabitants and servants in Trinity Bay. They saw, at first with astonishment, that those who had gone through the Jennerian inoculation were inoculated with the small-pox, and exposed to the infection, without the least inconvenience; and I hope it will every day become more and more extensive; as nothing can be more certain, than that it will annihilate the worst and most dreadful of all disorders, the small-pox."

The next article is an extract of a letter from the Rev. Mr. Finch of St. Helen's, Lancashire, to Dr. Jenner, dated Feb. 15th, 1802; by which it appears, that in addition to what he has already published in the Medical Journal for May 1800, he has now exterminated the small-pox from that town and neighbourhood. Ere he commenced the new practice, that malignant disease raged there with such virulence, that Mr. Finch frequently buried two or three children of a day, who had fallen a sacrifice to it; but it was then totally eradicated.

No instance had occurred of the small-pox after the cow-pock; but there was one instance in which it had occurred, in a child who had been inoculated for the small pox; and in whom, Mr. Finch declares, infection took place.

The next article is an extract of a letter from Mr. Kelson, of Seven Oaks, to Dr. Jenner;

containing the most decisive evidence of the efficacy of vaccination; which he had put to every test, and always with the most satisfactory result.

The Committee also state, that they have received testimonials in favour of vaccination from the Physical Society; and also from Manchester, Shrewsbury, Birmingham, and many other places, signed by medical names of celebrity. They also deem it proper to subjoin the following extract from the Address of the Members of the Jury of Health, and the Medical Committee of the Department of the Somme, to his Excellency the Minister Plenipotentiary of England for the Congress at Amiens.

"My Lord,

"The Jury are constantly occupied with whatever relates to the preservation of man. Vaccination has justly called forth their particular attention; and, in the course of a year, a great variety of experiments have been made here, for that purpose, upon more than six hundred persons.

"The first magistrate of this department has given every encouragement to our experiments; and the discovery which has been made in your country, has been stamped with the seal of infallibility in ours. Vaccination is now proved to be a preservative against the small-pox."

The next article in the Report is an account of one hundred and two persons who were put to the test of inoculation with variolous matter after vaccination, in the presence of the most eminent medical practitioners at Paris. This account was taken from the fourteenth number of the Encyclopedic Magazine; and communicated by the author of the present publication.

These persons were inoculated, by three punctures at least, with variolous matter, immediately taken from the pustule; but they all resisted infection.

To the "Evidence at large," published by the Rev. Mr. Jenner, some other testimonials are added in favour of vaccination. The first is as follows:

"*General Memorandum.*

"*Foudroyant, Malta, Dec. 9th,* 1800.

"The small-pox having made its appearance on board the Alexander, and other ships in the fleet, the Commander in Chief thinks it necessary to refer the respective Captains to the General Memorandums of the 19th of October last; and to recommend immediate application to Dr. Marshall and Dr. Walker, whose safe and excellent mode of treatment has been experienced on board the Foudroyant, and other ships, in preventing the dreadful effects so often attending the

small-pox; which may now so easily be avoided, without danger or inconvenience.

"By command of the Vice-Admiral,

"WILLIAM YOUNG.

"To the respective Captains, &c."

"*Certificates from Lord Keith and General Hutchinson, granted to Doctors Marshall and Walker.*

"These are to certify, that Doctors Marshall and Walker have administered vaccine inoculation to such of the crews of all His Majesty's ships under my command, at Gibraltar, Minorca, Malta, the port of Marmorice, and on the coast of Egypt, as had the opportunity, and were desirous of submitting to the operation: that these gentlemen have manifested the greatest assiduity for the extension of the practice, bestowed the most unwearied attention to its successful application, and, according to the information I have received from all quarters, exhibited it with perfect success.

"KEITH.

"Given under my hand, on board His Majesty's ship the Foudroyant, in the Bay of Aboukir, 29th March 1801.

" *Camp four Miles from Alexandria,*
12th of April 1801.

" This is to certify that Doctors Marshall and Walker attended at the hospital at Malta, for the purpose of inoculating the respective regiments of the expedition to Egypt, according to the General Orders of the late Commander in Chief, Sir Ralph Abercrombie; at which time the small-pox had got into the fleet, and was very fatal.

" Doctor Walker accompanied the expedition, with the approbation of the Commander in Chief, to Egypt, and introduced the new practice into the army in general; which was found effectual in arresting the ravages of the small-pox; those soldiers escaping it who submitted to his operation, and doing their duty as usual, while a few, who neglected the opportunity, were laid up.

" Major-general Hutchinson feels a sincere pleasure in recommending Doctors Marshall and Walker, for their indefatigable zeal in the service, to his Royal Highness the Duke of York; who always takes so lively an interest in whatever renders the situation of the soldier comfortable.

" J. HELY HUTCHINSON,
" Major-general."

These testimonies of the success attending vaccination in the Mediterranean, and the expedi-

tion to Egypt, are a sufficient refutation of the falsehoods and calumnies relative to this subject, which a certain illiberal retailer of shreds and scraps, and slander, has not blushed to admit into his contemptible publication; refusing to admit an answer.

When compared with such evidence as this, Dr. Moseley's opinion had not, and, every one will agree with him, it ought not to have, any effect. On the contrary, he says, " after the report of such a body, or rather soul of evidence, Parliament voted ten thousand pounds to Dr. Jenner." He then tells us, that vaccination, sanctioned by an English Parliament, became universal in this country; and extended to many other parts of Europe, and to America. This shews, how little Dr. Moseley is acquainted with the subject on which he has thought proper to write: *Scribimus indocti doctique.* Europe and America had eagerly adopted the practice long before this time; not thinking it necessary to wait for the sanction of an English Parliament; or any sanction, but that of medical men.

ON VACCINE INSTITUTIONS.

Dr. Moseley proceeds to give an account of the formation of the Vaccine Pock Institution, and the Royal Jennerian Society for the Extermination of the Small-pox; paying such compliments to the directors and conductors of those establishments, that many persons, who read his pamphlet, are at a loss to know, whether he meant to write in favour of vaccination, or against it. I have already noticed the compliment he pays to the Vaccine Pock Institution; that which he pays to the Royal Jennerian Society is as follows:

"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 with the fullest conviction, that the universal propagation of the cow-pox would exterminate the small-pox, almost all the great and good people in the land, by patronising this institution, thought to accomplish the blessed and godlike work."

My friend, Dr. Waterhouse, observes, in a little tract which he has lately sent me, concerning the ill effects of smoking, and drinking spi-

fits, that "book-making is now become a trade in Britain; where, instead of increasing the stock of knowledge, they are only pouring it out of one phial into another for sale."—Whatever truth there may be in this opinion, with respect to authors in general, no one who peruses Dr. Moseley's performance can doubt, that it is true with respect to him. He has swelled his pamphlet with the publications of the Royal Jennerian Society, and even with the proceedings in Parliament, on Dr. Jenner's petition; but as he has not yet quoted sufficient for his purpose, I would advise him, in his next edition, to empty all the phials on the shelves of both Houses of Parliament, and quote the statutes at large.

Yet in one sense Dr. Moseley has quoted too much; he has quoted more than he is able, or ever will be able, to refute. Of this kind is the evidence given before the Committee of the House of Commons; of this kind is the Address of the Royal Jennerian Society to Fathers and Mothers; and of this kind is the Rev. Mr. Warren's "Address from a Country Minister to his Parishioners," which he has permitted the Society to reprint and circulate.

The Address to Fathers and Mothers, which the Society recommend to be presented to parents, at the baptism of children, cannot be too widely disseminated, or too generally known. In my Treatise on the Cow-pox, I long ago endeavoured

to give additional publicity to a similar address of the physicians and surgeons of Geneva, which is presented to parents at the baptismal font. This address furnished the hint, and formed the basis, of that proposed by the Jennerian Society; to which it is the duty of every man to give every degree of additional publicity, that it is in his power to give. It is as follows:

The Address of the Royal Jennerian Society to Fathers and Mothers.

" 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 occasion a 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 injury, by loss of sight, deafness, tedious ulcers, white swellings, or consumptions.

" 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 any 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 single and easy process, without endangering the community, preserves all those who undergo it, from a most loathsome disease; and never excites in 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 yourself of the

advantages 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."

After giving some account of the establishment of the Royal Jennerian Society, and the measures they pursued in order to accomplish the great object of their wishes, the extermination of the small-pox, Dr. Moseley informs us, that great subscriptions were made in this cause of humanity. He says, the whole amount of the first subscription was something more than three thousand five hundred pounds; and in the list of the subscribers to this sum, he tells us, the names of almost all the philanthropists in England were included. If this is the criterion of philanthropy in England, there is reason to fear, that philanthropy in England is at a low ebb. When all the philanthropists in England united, in order to exterminate the small-pox for ever, from the whole world, it was reasonable to expect that they would have subscribed at least as much as would purchase a seat in Parliament for a rotten borough; or defray the expense of a city feast.

Among the philanthropists who came forward on this occasion, we look in vain for the name of Moseley; but as the Doctor has taken the trouble to copy the directions given by the Society, to those who think proper to bequeath money to

them by wills and testaments, it is possible he intends to remember them hereafter.

In the mean while, I cannot help expressing my regret, that the extermination of the small-pox, a work which calls for all the energy of Government, and all the wisdom of the Legislature,—a work in which the present generation and all posterity are so much interested,—should be left to the gratuitous exertions of individuals; or to the precarious and inadequate support of subscriptions. In my Answer to Mr. Goldson I observed, that according to the latest advices received from Geneva and Vienna, that most terrible scourge of the human race had for a considerable time been totally eradicated from those large and populous cities, by the aid of vaccination; and that if this country is not roused from her lethargy, the last part of the world where the small pox lingers, will be Great Britain.

It has often been asserted, and is generally believed, that vaccination is more highly esteemed, and more generally practised, in almost every other country, than in this where it was first discovered. In the Medical Journal for May 1805, I remarked, that "in France, it is cultivated with unremitting ardour; and all the energies of Government are called forth in support of the practice.

"Its propagation is there encouraged by something more than barren patronage and empty

names. It is there considered as a national concern. The Minister of the Interior has instituted a Society, over which he himself presides; and under his auspices, upwards of sixty thousand human beings have been secured from the ravages of the small-pox, within the space of three months."

Dr. De Carro long ago said, it had excited the astonishment of foreigners, that the Parliament of three united kingdoms, which granted ten thousand pounds to Dr. Jenner for discovering the practice of vaccination, had done nothing towards putting the practice into execution. If we are deaf to the calls of humanity, let us at least obey the dictates of policy; and pursue such measures as are calculated to promote population. I here subjoin a translation of the plan of the Society for the Extermination of the Small-pox in France. *Fas est et ab hoste doceri.*

" MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR.

" *Society for the Extermination of the Small-pox in France, by means of Vaccination.*

" *Letter of the Minister to the Prefects.*

" *Paris*, 14 *Germinal*, *An* 12.

" I invited you, Citizen Prefect, by my circular letter of last Prairial, to promote by all the means in your power vaccine inoculation; the immense advantages of which, for the increase of population, and the welfare of mankind, are so completely demonstrated.

" The Prefects in many departments are already impressed with a zeal worthy of the highest eulogiums, to fulfil in this respect the paternal views of Government; by establishing Committees of Vaccination, and organizing the practice of this salutary art, in the different districts submitted to their care. It is to second their generous efforts, to strengthen them, and to regulate them by a general impulse, that I again call your attention to this important subject.

" The Central Committee of Vaccination, whose report has reflected so much light upon that novel species of practice, have expressed a wish, that a new society for propagating vaccine inoculation should be established; for the purpose of accomplishing the extermination of the small-pox in France,—an object of the highest concern; the practicability of which, already self-evident, was, thanks to their zeal, still farther confirmed by striking examples and undeniable proofs. I am anxious to gratify this wish, which had been equally expressed by the National Institute. Men distinguished by their rank and talents have united themselves; forming a new society, the plan of which I now address to you. Of this society, the actual Members of the Central Committee of Vaccination, from their experience and their devotion to the cause, ought to constitute a part. I now invite you to share their labours, and to second their exertions.

" It belongs more particularly to the Prefects, to extend through the departments the measures which the Society has adopted; to the execution of which I am ready to dedicate all my attention.

" The advantages of vaccine inoculation are so obvious and so easily attained, that the most certain method of making them known is, to enable every class of citizens to estimate their just value. It is, in fact, the peculiar nature of this discovery, to work its own way, and to propagate itself readily by the evidence of its utility, and of the benefits it confers. Being exempt from every kind of inconvenience, and, when once performed, not subjecting the patient to any expense, we are naturally prejudiced in favour of the practice; while the epidemic small-pox, so frequently recurring, and sparing, in the most populous neighbourhoods, when it rages in all its fury, those who have been inoculated with the cow-pock, offers a satisfactory demonstration of its efficacy to every observer.

" It is necessary to apply ourselves particularly to this practice, in order to give it new life; and to multiply, under the immediate inspection of the people, the opportunities of judging of its advantage. By recommending it to the institutors of lyceums, the managers of religious establishments, the proprietors of manufactories, and the governors of workhouses, who employ a great

number of children, you will set our cities a salutary example.

" The children who are supported by the state, when vaccinated, and sent into the country, will also serve to make known the advantages of the new inoculation; unless, through the confidence of certain families in the skill of the faculty, or the zeal and good sense of some of the more intelligent inhabitants, it is already propagated there.

" The establishment of midwives, who are educated in the hospitals of Paris, in different parts of the country, the Juries of Medicine, and the Sisters of Charity dispersed through the several communes, will prove still more the means of propagating the knowledge and practice of vaccination among the people. But above all, we must exert our utmost endeavours, to enlighten the public opinion; for which purpose, all the facts, and all the results of experiments, should be carefully collected. The most striking instances of preservation, observed during the epidemic small-pox, should be published; and if errors present themselves, or ignorance presume to make false allegations, the former should be carefully corrected, the latter speedily and forcibly refuted. A great number of results would contribute to fix the public opinion.

" The natural effect of propagating vaccination

must be, to render the small-pox more and more rare. By keeping an annual register of the continual decrease of the number attacked with that disease, and of the proportion of its victims in our Bills of Mortality, we shall produce general conviction; and no cause will any longer retard the adoption of a practice, which is known to be the source of so great a benefit.

" This is the object we have in view; and, in order to attain it, we must dispute every inch of ground with the enemy whom we wish to exterminate, by a wise combination of efforts; and by an union of measures which embrace every part of France. It appears to me necessary, that the example already set by some Prefects, should be followed by all; and that the course they pursue, is calculated to obtain uniform evidence upon every point, and unquestionable results from every quarter.

" This end will be accomplished, by establishing in every department a Committee of Vaccination, composed of the most intelligent medical practitioners and associating with them citizens distinguished by their rank, fortune, and character. The ministers of the Gospel will be useful in these associations, on account of their influence. Many examples have taught us, what services they may render on this occasion.

" We must commit to the disposal of every

committee, in the towns where they are formed, one of the halls of the most frequented religious houses: with all the means necessary for constantly keeping up the practice of vaccination. In towns of a sub prefecture, committees of districts should be established, to correspond with the committee of the department; or we may supply the want of this measure, by appointing one or two of the most intelligent physicians, who shall be associated with the committee of the department.

"In order to extend vaccination through the country, one or two officers of health, in each canton, should be charged by the Prefect to vaccinate the poor gratuitously; or, if circumstances require it, the Prefect should appoint professors of the art, who shall be directed to propagate inoculation through the country, at stated times. Such resources should be combined as situations admit, and opportunities offer; and those should be preferred, which promise the greatest advantage.

"The instructions and advice which may be deemed necessary, and the supplies of vaccine matter, shall be procured from the Committee of the Society; who shall answer every demand without delay.

"The Prefects shall address to me, every month, the result of the measures they adopt; and inform me of such medical practitioners, and zealous citizens, as shall distinguish themselves

by their success, and their devotion to this cause; they shall also send to the Society the observations they collect. I recommend to their attention the arrangement of the tables, a model of which is annexed. They will take care to send me two copies.

" Such are the means, Citizen Prefect, which I have thought it my duty to propose; the success of which, in my opinion, will be the more certain, in proportion as they approach to the plan adopted by the Society. No object calls more loudly for your attention; it is one of the dearest interests of the state, and a certain mode of augmenting our population. By employing all the means in your power to enlighten the public opinion, by exciting the solicitude of families, and removing those obstacles which the fear of a trifling expense too often opposes to the greatest benefit, you will manifest to all the citizens, even in the lowest ranks of society, the advantage of the new practice, which secures their preservation.

" On my part I will second your efforts, I will support you with all the power of Government; and, confident of your zeal, and that of the Society which devotes itself to the accomplishment of this good work in which we are all engaged, I doubt not but we shall, in a few years, annihilate the small pox in France, as we have already an-

nihilated the leprosy, and many other calamities of this kind; of which no traces are to be found, but in obscure or insulated cantons, or in the page of history.

" I have the honour to be, &c.

" CHAPTAL."

" *The Plan of the Society for the Extermination of the Small-pox in France, by means of Vaccination.*

" The numerous experiments instituted in France, during the space of four years, prove, in the most incontestable manner, that the cow-pock is a security against the small-pox, by a process as certain in its effects, as it is mild and simple in its operation. Its success is established by more than a hundred thousand facts, verified by the Central Committee.

" During the four years that this Committee have pursued, with no less zeal than impartiality, the progress of vaccination, not a single fact has occurred that could shake the public confidence. It has been proved, that all which has been written to the contrary, has been the result of ignorance or of falsehood.

" We are now endeavouring to employ the means of diffusing the benefits of this salutary practice; and, by bringing it, as we hope, into general use, utterly to banish the small-pox. Such is the object of this new Society forming in

Paris, under the auspices of the Minister of the Interior; and which, already fortified by all the means Government can submit to its disposal, wishes to unite and concentrate every kind of knowledge, talent, reputation, and authority, in one point. The annexed ordinance of the Minister of the Interior, will explain the plan and organization of the Society.

" The extreme importance of this design, and the incalculable advantage which will result from its execution, leave no room to doubt, that every citizen, and every friend of humanity and of his country, will applaud the undertaking, and be eager to share our labours. Innumerable facts have demonstrated, that vaccination shields those who have submitted to it from the attack of the small-pox; and in the mean time, it is ascertained by proofs equally incontestable, that by multiplying it as occasion requires, we may banish this contagion from the most populous neighbourhood; and even from the precincts of a town or a city. Hospitals containing a thousand children, or more, have been thus preserved from an epidemic small-pox, by vaccinating those who had not undergone the disease. In some districts, where the epidemic small-pox had appeared, it was confined to, and extinguished in, the house where it first broke out, by vaccinating all the infants in the neighbourhood.

"To conclude: we have seen the infection, when spread over a large tract of country, arrested in its course at the gates of cities, where the inhabitants in general had been inoculated with the cow-pock. These memorable occurrences give us room to hope, that by propagating vaccination in every direction, and rendering the practice general, we may accomplish the extermination of the small-pox in France. This is the final object of our endeavours, the practicability of which is evident; and if we all cordially and strenuously unite in its execution, the French nation will set a great and glorious example to the world."

"*The Ordinance of the Minister of the Interior, concerning the Formation of a Central Society of Vaccination.*

"The Minister of the Interior, considering that the advantages of vaccination have been sufficiently ascertained, by the numerous experiments made, or collected, by the Central Committee established at Paris, and by the National Institute; that this method, already practised with success in almost every part of France, only requires a regular and uniform mode of propagation, in order to obtain every degree of extension of which it is susceptible, has issued the following decree.

" 1. There shall be at Paris, near the Minister of the Interior, a Central Society of Vaccination, of which the Minister shall be President.

" 2. The Members of the Society are,

Delaplace, Chancellor of the Senate.

Lacepede, Grand Chancellor of the Legion of Honour.

Fontanes, President of the Legislative Corps.

Portalis,
Fourcroy,
Regnault (de S. Jean d'Angeley) } Counsellors of State.

Bertholet, Senator.

La Rochefoucault Liancourt.

Corvisart, Physician of Government.

Coulomb, Secretary Gen. of the Minister of the Interior.

Thouret, Director of the School of Medicine.

J. J. Leroux, Professor of the School of Medicine.

Mongenot,
Jadelot, } Physicians of the Hospital des Enfans.

Marin, Surgeon of the Lyceum.

Doussin Dubreuil,
Guillotin,
Salmade,
Delaroche, } Doctors of Physic.

Parfait, { Member of the Central Bureau of Admission to the Hospitals.

Husson, Physician of the Hospital of Vaccination.

Hallé,
Huzard,
Tessier,
Cuvier,
Delambre,
Parmentier,
Pinel,
Degerando, } Members of the National Institute.

Duquesnoy,
Delessert, } Members of the Council Gen. of Hospitals.

Delasteyrie.

Coste, Physician of Invalids.

Barbier Neuville, { Chief of Division to the Minister of the Interior.

" 3. There shall be formed in the bosom of the Society, a Committee, consisting of sixteen Members, and the Secretary of the Society.

" 4. The Members of the Committee are Citizens Thouret, Corvisart, Pinel, Leroux, Hallé, Huzard, Guillotin, Salmade, Parfait, Delaroche, Marin, Jadelot, Delasteyrie, Doussin Dubreuil, Mongenot, and Husson.

" 5. The Secretary of the Society shall also be that of the Committee. The Minister appoints Cit. Husson to this situation.

" 6. The Prefects of the departments shall maintain a regular correspondence upon all subjects relative to vaccination, and to epidemic and epizootic small-pox; two copies of which shall be transmitted to the Minister; one for himself,

and the other for the Society. The Prefects who shall be at Paris upon leave, may assist at the sittings of the Society.

" 7. Instructions shall be sent to the Prefects, with which they shall be requested to conform, as far as their situation will permit. The plans they have already adopted, for propagating vaccination in their departments, shall be transmitted to the Minister, in order that, if necessary, and after the opinion of their Society has been taken, they may be sanctioned with his approbation.

" 8. An annual report shall be made to the Society, at its public meeting, upon the labours undertaken in France for propagating vaccination; and upon the registers that shall be sent by the departments.

" 9. Testimonials shall be granted, and rewards given, to those persons who have displayed the greatest zeal in propagating vaccination."

This arret is dated the 14th of Germinal, and the 12th year of the Republic; and signed Chaptal, Minister of the Interior.

" *Regulations adopted by the Minister of the Interior, for the Committee of the Central Society of Vaccination.*

" 1. The meetings of the Committee formed in the bosom of the Society, shall be held every Friday; and last from three to five hours.

" 2. The Committee shall meet oftener, if ne-

cessary, on receiving notice from the President of the Society.

" 3. The Committee shall correspond with the Prefects of departments; and render an account every week to the Minister, and every month to the Society, of the facts relative to vaccination, which are contained in that correspondence.

" 4. The President of the Committee is to be chosen by ballot, and by a majority of votes. He shall continue in office six months.

" 5. The Secretary is to have the charge of all correspondence that is carried on in the name of the Committee, to take copies of the registers sent by the Prefects; to answer every thing relative to the science, and to send out supplies of cow-pock matter. He is to present, at every meeting of the Committee, a report of the labours of the week, to keep the minutes, to draw up the verbal process, and attend without delay to all letters and memoirs. He is to be the organ between the Committee and the Minister.

" 6. The Secretary shall also answer all questions on the part of the administration of the Committees of the departments; but the answers on this subject shall be submitted to the general meeting of the Society; and signed, if possible, by the Minister, who is President of the Society.

" 7. There shall be a general meeting of the Society every month, in which the Secretary shall make a report upon the whole correspondence,

the progress of the new practice, the improvements that may be expected, and the rewards that are to be conferred.

" I hereby certify, that this is a faithful copy of the original, entered in the verbal process of the meeting held by the Minister of the Interior, at Paris, on the 18th of Germinal, and the 12th year.

" HUSSON, Secretary.

" N. B. The correspondence, and applications for cow-pock matter, are to be addressed under cover to the Minister of the Interior, ' Au Cit. ' Husson, Docteur en Medecine, Rue et Ecole de ' Medecine, Paris.' "

Here we discover nothing of that cold indifference and apathy, which have been too long perceptible in some other parts of the world; but one zealous, uniform, patriotic effort, to exterminate the small-pox, the most destructive of all diseases, and the most dreadful scourge of mankind.

I long ago mentioned, in my Treatise on the Cow-pox, with the honour they so justly deserve, the services rendered to this great cause of humanity by Dr. Friese of Breslaw. I am happy to hear, that merit like his has found patronage, where there was reason to expect it; and where Dr. Bremer of Berlin had experienced it before; who was appointed by the King of Prussia, Phy-

sician to the vaccine institution in that city, with a salary suitable to his situation.

His Prussian Majesty was the first crowned head, that submitted his own offspring to vaccine inoculation; he also followed the example of the King of Naples, by establishing a vaccine institution in the capital of each part of his dominions. Dr. Friese, who has lately favoured me with a second account of the progress of vaccination in Silesia, is the physician appointed to superintend the latter. The following is the letter which I received from him on this subject.

" Dear Sir, *Breslaw, June 9th,* 1805.

" The unremitting zeal with which you have endeavoured to promote the Jennerian discovery in your country, and the interest you have so philanthropically shewn, on hearing of its first providential introduction into Silesia, will, I hope, excuse me, when I take the liberty to trouble you with some further account of the successful progress which that invaluable prophylactic has since made, in this part of the Prussian dominions. Should the following report be deemed acceptable to the Editors of the Medical and Physical Journal, I shall feel myself highly gratified, by adding, as a foreigner, some further proofs to the evidence, that vaccination, when properly managed, every where proves a permanent security against the small-pox.

" I could not but be astonished when I read over the pamphlets of Messrs. Goldson and Squirrel. I apprehend the alarm they excite, will come at too late a period for them to flatter themselves with much success. At any rate, I am convinced the new doctrine, which they promulgate, will find but few proselytes in Germany; where both the governments and the people are more and more sensible of the advantages of the new practice; and where similar equivocal arguments advanced some years ago by the late Dr. Herz, Mr. Ehrman of Franckfort, and Dr. Matterschka of Prague, have been silenced by time and experience.

" You remember, perhaps, by my former letter, that there was also an adversary of some celebrity in Silesia, who rose up against the vaccine inoculation, at its first introduction into this country. His name is Mogalla, a physician known in Germany by his very valuable writings on the several mineral waters and bathing-places of Silesia, and by some other works on the veterinary art; but I have the pleasure to inform you, that this respectable practitioner has been converted by reason and evidence into one of the warmest friends and promoters of vaccination. I must add, that it was particularly by his assistance, that we are now in possession of two public vaccine institutions at Breslaw and Glogaw; which are to be regarded as the centres from

which the practice is spread, and continues to be spread, through every quarter of the province.

" His Majesty has been graciously pleased to appoint me not only a Counsellor of the Medical Department of Silesia, and a Director of the Royal Institution at Breslaw; but he has also honoured me with the superintendency of this new branch of the healing art, in the department of the Royal Chamber in this capital. The establishment of the vaccine institution has been so expeditious, that I found myself enabled to begin my operations on the 14th of April 1804, with equine matter, sent to me by my friend Dr. De Carro; from the very same source, of which you have spoken in the Medical and Physical Journal for Nov. 1804.

" I have the pleasure to subjoin a statement of the number of persons inoculated at the Royal Institution of Breslaw, from its establishment till the present day; as well as a general abstract of vaccinations performed by different medical men in all the subordinate districts of the department of Breslaw during the year 1804, from the annual reports. I hope you will see by these lists, that the progress of the Jennerian inoculation, during the course of the last year, has by far surpassed those of all the preceding, since the year 1800. I do not yet know all the particulars of the results of vaccination in the second department of the Royal Chamber at Glogaw; but I am in-

formed by private letters, that the number of persons vaccinated there is more than 10,000; the total number of inoculations successfully performed in the last year amounting to nearly 34,000; besides some thousands more, who have been vaccinated by surgeons of the army.

"Government have pursued measures well calculated to promote vaccination. I have been charged with the commission of writing not only a popular publication on it, which is ordered to be printed, and distributed among all classes of people; but also a brief instruction for the physicians and surgeons of the province; wherein I have endeavoured to give an account of this new discovery; and also to acquaint them with the genuine and spurious pustule, and the best method of inoculating, and treating the disease.

"Another measure not less favourable for promoting uninterrupted vaccination at the central institution of this city, is the grant of a sum of two hundred rix-dollars annually, destined for small premiums at a dollar each, to be distributed among children of the lower classes; who, for the sake of such a trifle, willingly comply with the rules and conditions of the inoculators. It must be particularly ascribed to this encouragement, that the institution has been enabled constantly to provide not only all Silesian inoculators, but also several of those of the adjacent countries, with fresh and genuine cow-pock matter;

having disseminated during the last year 1312 armed ivory lancets of Dr. De Carro's invention.

"Our mutual friend of Vienna has informed you, that several German clergymen have participated the labour of promulgating the new practice; and I have the pleasure to acquaint you that there are many in this country likewise, who partake in this laudable design. I even venture to assert, that there are some country clergymen in our province, who are so well acquainted with vaccination both in theory and practice, and have conducted it with so much care and skill, as justly to deserve the name of benefactors of their parishioners. In order to acknowledge the merits of these respectable divines, and at the same time to excite a laudable emulation among all the medical men of the province, Government have granted to several of those who have distinguished themselves in this line, small premiums from thirty to fifty rix-dollars.

"I find by the Medical and Physical Journal for March 1805, that Mr. Goldson is indefatigable in promulgating his cases of small-pox subsequent to vaccination; having just published a second treatise on that subject. I have perused the last numbers of the before-mentioned Journal, as well as several other refutations written on this occasion. I wonder that there are people who think the punishment you and Dr. Walker have inflicted on Mr. Goldson, in your Answer to his

production, too severe; nay, that there are some anonymous writers, who pretend Mr. Goldson's pamphlet is entitled to the most serious attention of the faculty. For my own part I cannot find, that the evidence of cases related by him, in order to prove that vaccination affords no permanent security against the infection of the small-pox, is so clear and satisfactory as they pretend. I shall have an opportunity of communicating to you some similar cases, which happened in Silesia; but I assure you, that after due inquiry, this could not in the least degree alarm the public, who, on the contrary, have every day had the satisfaction of seeing that the cow-pock is the only powerful and permanent preventive of that dreadful scourge of mankind the small-pox; which, in the course of the last year, destroyed several thousands of the rising generation, while those who had regularly undergone the operation remained secure from its malign influence and its dreadful contagion.

" A few mistakes indeed have lately been committed here, in the practice of vaccination. I shall mention one which occurred in the year 1802, at Brieg, a city, six German miles from this place. Mr. Taber, a surgeon, inoculated several children from the arm of a child, in whom the pustules were already approaching to the scabbing process. He confesses, he had at that time never seen the process of a genuine pustule.

This occasioned him to mistake the ulcers produced in the arms of these children, for the true kind; and to transfer from them a spurious and purulent matter to thirty-one persons, thinking they would all be perfectly secured by this operation. The small-pox, however, making its appearance at Brieg the next summer, three of the children were attacked by the disorder. At length perceiving his error, and having in the mean time acquired a sufficient knowledge of the true progress of vaccination, he inoculated the rest of his patients with genuine matter; in consequence of this, they all took the disease in the regular way, and resisted the small-pox; which then committed great ravages among those children, whose parents had refused the benefits of vaccination.

" I cannot omit stating three other cases of supposed vaccination, in children of one family, in a village in this neighbourhood; which greatly resemble those in Fulwood's Rents, and at Kensington. One child, a girl of four years, was attacked four weeks after by the confluent small-pox. I saw her on the eleventh day of the disease; and, as the physician who had performed the inoculation, and accompanied me, confessed he had not had an opportunity of observing its progress, I immediately tried a second vaccination on the two remaining boys, who had at this time large greenish and irregular scabs on their arms, remaining from the first operation. The inocula-

tion succeeded, and on the sixth day, true flat vesicles appeared, with the common depression in the centre; but on the seventh day they both became feverish, and on the ninth a small crop of distinct variolous eruptions broke out. The father, though a common country labourer, reproached himself for having delayed a second vaccination of his children; who, by rubbing and scratching the pustules, had entirely destroyed the progress of the first.

"Accept my best thanks for the honour you have done me, in the second volume of your excellent work, and believe me to be,

"With great respect,

"Dear Sir,

"Your obedient humble Servant,

"D. FRIESE."

Private individuals may not be competent to form a decisive opinion of the political conduct of the King of Prussia, for want of the necessary information; but we are all competent to determine, that the paternal care and solicitude which he has manifested on this occasion, to avert the horrors of the small-pox from his dominions, entitle him to the gratitude of his people; and stamp on him the character of a patriot king.

To the "Evidence at large," as laid before the Committee of the House of Commons, lately published, is added the debate which took place in the

House, when the Report of the Committee was read. This contains the very expression attributed to Admiral Berkeley. He there says, *we raked the very kennels for information against this practice.* This proves, that when the Committee summoned those gentlemen who are hostile to the practice to appear before them, they did not expect much information from them; and consequently, that those gentlemen have no reason to boast of their being examined in the House of Commons.

This remark of the Hon. Chairman of the Committee, who so ably discharged the duties of his office, arrested my attention, when I turned to the debate, in order to prove that the testimonies in favour of vaccination were deemed as satisfactory in this country, as on the continent of Europe; and that, if the practice is not equally encouraged, and equally promoted, we have no excuse.

It appears by the declaration of Admiral Berkeley, that the importance of vaccination was confirmed by the testimonies of the first medical practitioners in this country, the homage of Europe, and the united opinion of the whole world; with the exception of a few individuals, who had very little acquaintance with the subject. The Chancellor of the Exchequer confessed, that vaccination was the most important, or one of the

most important discoveries, ever made since the creation of man; that the value of the discovery was incontestably without example, and beyond all calculation.

Hence it appears, that if the legislative and executive governments of this country have not hitherto thought fit to interfere, in order to promote general vaccine inoculation, from whatever cause that delay has arisen, it has not arisen from any doubt of the utility or importance of the practice.

As a proof of this, it will be sufficient to state a few well-known facts. First, it was eagerly adopted by all the higher orders of the community; who still avail themselves of its advantages in their own families; and recommend and promote it, as far as their private influence extends. Secondly, it was eagerly adopted in the army and navy; and is become an essential and indispensable part of military discipline. His Royal Highness the Duke of York, as Commander in Chief, has even ordered, that every man in the service of Great Britain, either in the regular forces or the militia, who has not evident marks of the small-pox, shall be inoculated for the cow-pock.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence not only adopted and promoted the practice in his own household and neighbourhood, and supported it with his voluntary and unsolicited testimony before the Committee of the House of

Commons, but also afforded other memorable proofs, that he holds it in the estimation it deserves. When one of the founders of the Jennerian Society for the Extermination of the Small-pox applied to his Royal Highness, he declared, he should be proud to add his name to those of the other friends of humanity, who called that meeting.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales has also borne the most honourable testimony to this beneficial practice, and to the meritorious exertions of Dr. Jenner; a testimony, to which I cannot do justice but in his own words. It is contained in a letter to the Earl of Egremont, dated February 5th, 1805, and is as follows:

"Many thanks, my dear Lord, for your kind letter.—I am ever happy in putting myself into your hands; and on no occasion can I do it with more satisfaction than on the present; for no one can wish more sincerely well to the future success of vaccine inoculation than myself, being thoroughly persuaded of its efficacy, and of the incalculable advantages the world in general will reap from the indefatigable and praiseworthy perseverance, with which Dr. Jenner has brought it to its present perfection.

"I entreat you to authorize the Committee appointed to superintend this institution, to make use of my name in any way which they

may consider best calculated to promote their laudable design.

" I am, ever,

" My dear Lord,

" Most sincerely yours,

" GEORGE P."

Similar answers were returned from the other branches of the Royal Family. Their Majesties were also graciously pleased to honour the Society with their own immediate patronage; and permit it to bear its present title, as a distinguished mark of their approbation.

On the Address from a Country Minister to his Parishioners.

This Addres, written by the Rev. Thomas Alston Warren, of Kensworth in Hertfordshire, is the happy effort of a liberal, enlightened, and benevolent mind, labouring in season and out of season, in his profession and out of his profession; and only intent on doing good.—Dr. Moseley, however, quotes a long passage from his excellent publication, and then quits it with so much indifference, that he seems to say with the dunghill cock, I would rather have found a *barley corn* than this *jewel.*

It is true the beverage this grain affords is not to be compared to the nectar, which the practitioners of variolous inoculation quaff in their convivial hours; but surely they must be intoxicated with the fumes of "ale and viler liquors," as well as with the little temporary success they have lately obtained, when they turn the greatest improvement of the healing art into ridicule; and make a jest of a practice which is so essential to the happiness of mankind.

I shall so far follow the example of Dr. Moseley, as to enrich my publication with an extract from Mr. Warren's Address; which is as suitable to my purpose as it is foreign to that of Dr. Moseley; who cannot have inserted a long quotation from it, leaving the arguments it contains unrefuted, with any other design than that of making a book. I trust, however, that the solid arguments which the reverend author has there advanced, will produce a greater impression on the public in general, than they have produced on certain opponents of vaccination; otherwise he will have reason to lament, that he has cast his pearls before swine.

In an advertisement prefixed to this very able and valuable publication, Mr. Warren informs us, that in an endeavour to promote a parochial vaccine inoculation, he found some prejudices existed, which he deemed it his duty to counteract; and, strongly impressed with the incal-

culable advantages of the new practice, he drew up in much haste a familiar recommendation of it, which he originally designed for the perusal of his parishioners only; but having been advised to publish it in a cheap form, he has resolved to do so, hoping that its circulation may prove useful.

The Address itself is in substance as follows:

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; which was, by inoculating them with another disease, infinitely more safe and mild, called the cow-pox. This latter complaint had been long known in Gloucestershire, and some other parts of England, and been there considered as a security against the small-pox, but it had never before been propagated by inoculation. The statement of Dr. Jenner was so curious, that medical men immediately 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,—that it was not in the least infectious, since it could be propagated only by inoculation,—that no preparation was necessary before the disease was communicated, and no medicine during its progress,—that it affected the constitution so little, generally speaking, that persons under the complaint might follow their daily business just as well as if they were in perfect health,—and that in no one instance had it proved fatal. All this was not believed without the strongest and fullest evidence;—hundreds, nay thousands, after having had the cow-pox, were inoculated with small-pox matter, and exposed in other ways to small-pox infection, but in vain. No one instance occurred where the small-pox was caught, after the constitution had been evidently affected by the cow-pox.

The infinite importance of the discovery now became 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. In the Small-pox and Inoculation Hospital, it has been so much practised, that more than thirteen thousand seven hundred persons have been inoculated in this way; without a single unsuccessful case*. 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 soon became wise enough to imitate, in this respect, our example. The new, or vaccine inoculation has been introduced into France; and experiments have been made there on a very large scale, all of which tended to confirm its superiority. In Italy likewise, and Spain, it has been practised, as it has in Turkey, in the East and West Indies, and in the northern parts of Europe; and it is a delightful reflection, that in hot and cold climates it succeeds equally well. No doubt remains that it will, by the blessing of Heaven, spread throughout the globe; and in

* 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."

time utterly destroy that loathsome and dreadful disease the small-pox; which has justly been considered as a dreadful scourge of mankind.

No material discovery, however, has yet been made to the world, without having some prejudices to encounter, and some opposition to overcome; even Christianity, that best gift of Heaven, was not established without much controversy; and there have been some objections made to the cow-pox, or vaccine inoculation, which it may be proper just to notice.

Some people there are, who object to inoculation altogether, thinking it sinful and presumptuous willingly to incur a disease:—now this is a very old prejudice, having prevailed more or less for nearly a hundred years, that is, ever since inoculation was first introduced into England.—In considering it, let us 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. The Divine Power, who permits so many infirmities to prevail, has given reason to man, and medicine to heal those infirmities.—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 frequently mortal disease, so far from this being impious, it

even becomes a duty. You do not think it impious, I suppose, to take proper medicines when you are indisposed; or to have a finger or hand cut off, when in a state of mortification, to prevent the disease from spreading and quickly destroying you. In these cases you do not leave all to Providenee; justly considering that means are afforded you to remedy such evils, and reason given you to apply those means; and surely it is equally allowable, and equally wise, to prevent a disease from attacking you, as it is to cure yourself when it prevails; and the same reasoning holds good when a small complaint may be encountered, to ensure an escape from many distressing fears, and a very great danger.

Others object to 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? Did the means of security arise from the most unclean animal, the objection to their use upon this account, would, after a certain number of experiments, be idle. We have in the present instance all possible certainty, that no other disease inci-

dent to the animal is communicated with the matter, even when it comes directly from the cow. I myself have seen persons advanced in life, who had the cow-pox in their early years; and had since been subject to no other complaints than such as form the common lot of humanity. Many persons are now living, who had this disorder forty or fifty years ago, taking it directly from the cow; and have found no other effects from it, than a most comfortable and valuable security through life, against the danger of that noisome pestilence, the small-pox. Some of our medicines are derived from animals, but we do not on that account object to them; 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; but, if it did, remember, that we know nothing about the origin of other diseases; for aught we can prove, they might all, in the first instance, have come from some animal or other. There are writers who say, that the small-pox was originally communicated by the camel; however that be, we only know and feel, that the Almighty, doubtless for wise reasons, permits disease to rage in various forms; and we should be highly grateful, when the means of prevention or cure are in any instance pointed out to us.

Some, however, I have met with, who grant the mildness of 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 for the cow-pox, who afterwards caught the small-pox.—Neighbours, depend upon it, that these stories are in some degree, or altogether, untrue. There is no human subject, on which the evidence is so full and conclusive as on this; none on which so many experiments have been made with such uniform and complete success. If a thousand instances are not enough to prove that small-pox matter would not take, after the constitution had been affected by the cow-pox; ten thousand may be brought forward. The origin of these stories is probably this: though the cow-pox is full as likely to succeed by inoculation, under proper management, as the small-pox, it occasionally happens, that in the first instance the arm does not become inflamed, nor the constitution affected. In such cases, certainly, no security is gained; unless the inoculation be repeated, and attended with success, the small-pox may afterwards be caught. How many persons, inoculated for the small-pox, have afterwards, through the matter not affecting the constitution, taken it in the natural way! I solemnly assure you, that, as far as my information goes, no well-

confirmed instance has occurred, in which, after the inoculation for the cow-pox has been complete, the small-pox has been taken; but, if there were a few such, it is a well-known fact, that the small-pox sometimes affects the same person twice. Medical men know this: nurses, in the habit of attending those affected with this dreadful complaint, well know it likewise.

Such is the history of, and such the few easily-answered objections to, a practice, which is now spreading more and more throughout our own island, and the world. Societies are now benevolently formed, for the more general propagation of the cow-pox. Our most religious and gracious King and Queen, whom all their subjects ought alike to love and reverence, patronize one of these *. The Heir Apparent to the throne, and almost the whole of the Royal Family, are members of it; as are many of the first nobility, and nearly all the most eminent physicians and surgeons in the land. And what, think you, could make all these great and skilful men so desirous of promoting the cow-pox, except a conviction that it would promote the general good? They doubtless think vaccine inoculation, as I certainly do, one of the greatest mercies, exclusive of the blessings of religion, ever offered to man.

* The Royal Jennerian Society for the Extermination of the Small-pox, instituted at London, in 1803.

A few words more on the advantage of vaccine inoculation, and I have done. It is calculated that, in and near London alone, three thousand die yearly by the small-pox, and nearly forty thousand more in the United Kingdom; every one of whom might, under the new practice, through the blessing of Providence, be saved. I need not mention to you any particular instance, of parents suddenly snatched away from their children, or suddenly deprived of them. I need not point out to you widows and orphans, whom that cruel disease the small-pox has robbed of their greatest earthly blessing. Alas! you see and know too many! Besides, what distress and alarm is caused by this distemper, while it rages! The house where it prevails is avoided, acquaintance and friends are afraid to come near you; the body is often sorely afflicted, blindness for a time comes on, and lasting injury is often done to the eyes; and if, after a hard struggle, death is escaped, the countenance becomes marked and scarred in such a manner, as to change, through life, the appearance of beauty and health into that of deformity and disease.

At present, the manufacturer, or the husbandman, affected by the cow-pox, instead of being confined to his house or bed, and shunned by his neighbours, can, generally speaking, for a slight head ache will now and then come on for a few hours, follow his usual business, earn his usual

wages, and attend without inconvenience on the loom or the plough.

His wife can manage her family concerns; and his children, instead of sitting on the mother's lap, bloated masses of disease, can pick as usual the wool or the cotton, plait the straw, knit the stocking, or toss about the bobbins of the lace-pillow, only knowing, from a little inflammation on the arm, that they have any disease at all; for in infancy and childhood, this disease is more particularly mild. Or they may safely go to school while the disorder is upon them; and all may alike regularly attend upon divine worship.

When these children grow up and go into the world, the first question asked them, if they offer themselves for service, is, Whether they have had the small-pox? To this, if secured by the vaccine inoculation, they can give a satisfactory answer. Besides, neither they, nor you, after having this complaint, need ever entertain those fears about the small-pox, which detract so much from your happiness; and so greatly hinder the business of life. You may, at all times, safely go where your concerns lead you; to your neighbours, to market, to fairs, to church, without caring whether the small-pox rages around you or not. All this security and comfort are gained, where you pay for inoculation yourselves, by a very small fee, which I trust most of you could, for such important benefits, well spare; and where

it is done by the parish, as in wise and humane imitation of some of our neighbours, it now is among us, without any expense to you whatever*. 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 pointed out to man the means of defence against "the pestilence that walked in darkness, and the sickness that destroyed in the noon-day."

Such is the advice of your faithful friend, and affectionate minister, ——.

* All persons who choose to apply, may receive vaccine inoculation free of expense at any of the Stations of the Royal Jenerian Society, viz.

The Central House, No. 14, Salisbury Square, Fleet Street.
Fox's Lane, High Street, Shadwell.
No. 2, Epping Place, near Mile End Turnpike.
No. 6, John Street, Minories.
No. 120, Bishopsgate Without, corner of Skinner Street.
Vestry Room, Academy Chapel, Hoxton.
Sunday School House, No. 74, Golden Lane.
A new station to be provided at Clerkenwell.
Sunday School House, Gate Street, High Holborn.
Vestry Room, Broadway Chapel, Westminster.
No. 29, Great Castle Street, Oxford Market, Marylebone.
Vestry Room, St. John's Church, Southwark.
Vestry Room, Mr. Townshend's Meeting House, Rotherhithe.
Or at the School Room of the Rev. Rowland Hill's Chapel.

ON THE PUBLICATIONS OF DR. LETTSOM AND DR. THORNTON.

Dr. Moseley begins his remarks on the publications of Drs. Lettsom and Thornton, by returning the compliments they had previously paid to him. He then descants *on the sins of physicians arising from ignorance*; but when he next writes on this subject, I would advise him to touch it with a more tender hand.

He quotes the opinion of a Jesuit, in order to prove, that it is a high crime and misdemeanour to attempt to preserve the lives of children by the inoculation of the cow-pox; but that it is no crime to kill them by the inoculation of the small-pox. This must be a great consolation to him and his friends. Possibly he may next endeavour to prove, by the assistance of the same Jesuit, that the killing of children by the inoculation of the small-pox is not even manslaughter; and consequently, that they ought not to be branded for the crime.

For my own part, I am inclined to be full as severe as that other casuist mentioned by Dr. Moseley, according to whose opinion, "*Whether a child, who is inoculated for the small-pox in our present state of knowledge, die or not, the inoculator ought to do penance at the Old Bailey; and those sinners, whose crime has been aggravated by*

disorderly behaviour in defence of the practice, ought to make a short pilgrimage at the cart's tail."

I also agree with Dr. Moseley in thinking, that "*the virulent and unmannerly essays and pamphlets, which this subject has given birth to, have surfeited every person of reflection*; that when, in defence of any cause, *impertinence is substituted for argument, and jargon for discussion, it is time to suspect, there is more to be defended than ought to be.*"

Dr. Moseley himself, perhaps, in return, will agree with me, that "when any man takes up his pen *against the authors of the many ignorant, illiterate audacities*" *against vaccination*, "*which have defiled the press for the last four years*," he ought to apologize for his condescension.

Dr. Moseley tells us, that the writings of the friends of vaccination have excited a severe scrutiny into the practice. This is what they were intended to do. They have excited a scrutiny, which reflects very little credit on the opponents of the practice; some of whom have been guilty of every species of misrepresentation and falsehood, in order to delude the public, and gratify their revenge for the losses they sustain in consequence of vaccination.

Dr. Moseley pretends, that threats and menaces have been employed, in order to silence the *inferior practitioners*, and prevent them from speaking against the cow-pock. This is not to be credited; because every man must know, that such a con-

duct would injure any cause; and I here call on Dr. Moseley to publish the names of those *inferior practitioners*, who have been base enough to tell him such a falsehood.

It is certain, that scarcely any but the *inferior* practitioners, in any one department of the medical profession, have opposed vaccination; and we have great reason to believe, that almost every medical man, who has become an accomplice in the conspiracy, and formed a *combination to raise his wages*, may safely put his hand upon his breast, and upon his heart, *if he knows where to find it*, and exclaim, "My poverty, and not my will consented."

It is true, Dr. Moseley also tells us, that he had some information of this kind from a respectable apothecary. When the name of this gentleman is published, we shall be able to form a judgment of his respectability. This respectable personage informed him, that when he related to one of the violent cow-pox enthusiasts, several instances of the small-pox after the cow-pox, which had occurred in his own practice, this enthusiast told him, he would be ruined, if he did not hold his tongue; that the cow-pox medical men 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 mischief they could to any man, who

should make known any cases of mischief, or failure. Dr. Moseley also tells us, however, that the silly bigot lost his labour. A silly bigot indeed; and almost as silly, as the silly blockhead who could think of telling such a silly story.

We are next told, that the newspapers and monthly publications, from some cause or other, have been inaccessible, or insulting, to those who wish to communicate information unfavourable to the cow-pock. As a proof that this charge is ill-founded, we need only refer him to his own communications, and those of his friends, Dr. Squirrell and Mr. Birch, in the Gentleman's Magazine; and to those of all the quacks in London, in the daily prints.

One monthly publication, however, deserves to be particularly noticed, viz. the Medical and Chirurgical Review; which admits unfavourable reports against vaccination and the friends of the practice, however improbable, and however false, and refuses to admit an answer; which admits a charge, though unauthenticated, and refuses to admit a refutation, though sanctioned with a name.

Dr. Moseley sympathises with Mr. Goldson in the fate of his pamphlet. He is of opinion, that any one who enters the lists against those who write in favour of vaccination, should follow the example of the alligator, and swallow a large

quantity of dirt, in order to sink his antagonist in the mud; as he himself seems to have done on the present occasion.

He talks about *men* not steeled against the infirmities of *his* fellow-creatures; which shews that he has as little mercy on the laws of grammar, as he has on his antagonists. He thinks the cow-mania infectious; and seems to doubt, whether emptiness, or thickness of the skull, is not a predisposing cause of the disorder. Had this been the case, we know some violent opponents of vaccination, who would long since have become zealous advocates for the practice.

He describes Mr. Birch as an orthodox surgeon; as one who is not tainted with the new heresy; and tells us, that on this account he is treated with almost as little civility as Mr. Goldson. He tells us also, that Mr. Birch entered the temple of the Scythians, and saw a poor old cow turned into a golden calf. He tells us, that even during the process of this transformation, some of her apostles were milking, and others selling the cream. Thus it appears, that one discovery has led to another; the discovery of vaccination has led to that of the philosopher's stone.

Dr. Moseley informs us, that he could not at first bring himself to treat seriously, a subject so ridiculous and contemptible, as represented in the magic lantern of its itinerant exhibitors: This is rather unfortunate, since he had before

told us, that it is an object well deserving of inquiry; that it ought to undergo a deep, calm, and dispassionate investigation; and that it was not to be supposed, so many well-informed men, who signed the Testimonial in its favour, had made up their minds hastily on a subject, which so much involved their characters, and the dearest interests of society.

It is the more unfortunate, and the more remarkable, that Dr. Moseley cannot easily bring himself to treat this subject seriously, when he tells us, that no person can have a higher respect for the professional knowledge and sagacity of the gentlemen who signed the Testimonial, on any other subject, than he has.

With regard to the itinerant exhibitors, whom Dr. Moseley so justly ridicules for their folly, it is strange that either the cow-pock mania, or any other mania, can make men so forgetful of their own interests, that they should turn itinerants; and recommend a practice, which holds out no reward but poverty and ruin. I must, however, beg leave to ask Dr. Moseley, whether it is not as honourable to go about doing good, as to go about doing mischief? Whether it is not as honourable to go about telling the truth, as to go about circulating falsehood? And whether it is not as honourable to go about for the sake of practising gratuitous inoculation, as to go about in quest of a fee?

He says, it surpasses all rational belief, that any persons should think of applying to Parliament, in order to restrain the inoculation of the small-pox by law. He himself of course does not believe it. Others, he tells us, wanted to make vaccination a part of parental duty; to be blended, in the house of God, with our duty to the Supreme Being. This is probably a misapprehension of Dr. Moseley; occasioned by the distribution of papers at the baptismal font, in some parts of the continent; a practice which our countrymen are not so profane as to imitate. As to Dr. Moseley, he must be shocked at the very idea of such impiety, even if it were at the distance of a thousand miles!!!

Dr. Moseley tells us, that the Archbishop of Canterbury himself "was 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." I hope the gentlemen, who waited on his Grace, did not use the same bad language as Dr. Moseley has done; otherwise it is no wonder, the prayer of their petition was rejected.

Dr. Moseley assures us, that "he most seriously wished to have the subject of vaccination thoroughly discussed, with candour, temperance, and good manners." As a proof of this, he tells us, that it is *a farce*, that it is *contrary to all rea-*

son; that it is *a vain attempt, a fond hope, a splendid imposition on humanity*, and *a brutal foe to mankind.* He tells us, that a confidence in it is *a lamentable weakness in human nature*; and that no experience is necessary to decide the question.

He talks of *cow-mania, greasy heels, and bestial humours*; a most convincing proof, how sincerely he wishes for a *deep, calm, and dispassionate investigation!* He says, the cow-pox farce commenced in Quixotic buffoonery. His attack on vaccination reminds us of the renowned attack on the windmill; but a windmill would not be in much danger, when attacked with such weapons.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SECOND PART OF DR. MOSELEY'S TREATISE.

In this part of his Treatise Dr. Moseley expresses an opinion, that the friends of vaccination were rather too sanguine in their hopes of success, from the new practice. I shall answer him in the words of one of the most zealous and able advocates of the practice, Dr. Mac Donald; in his remarks on Mr. Goldson's pamphlet, published in the Medical Journal for October 1804.

" He who, from a zeal for the discovery, should suffer his eyes to be shut against conviction, and

attempt to conceal its failures, would indeed commit an act beneath the dignity of the profession; *but he who imposes on the ignorant, under the mask of candour and moderation,—who spreads vain alarms, and provokes controversy upon a subject, in which he must so sensibly feel his own deficiency, is guilty of a deed far more beneath the dignity of the profession; and far more unbecoming one, who is intrusted with the welfare and happiness of the public.*"

In the same Memoir Dr. Mac Donald alludes to Dr. Moseley, and to the defeat he had already sustained. He observes, that medical practitioners were surprised at the appearance of Mr. Goldson's pamphlet; having witnessed the repeated triumphs of vaccination, and the downfal of those arguments, which were once suggested by the sophistry of a Herz, the ignorance and self-interest of a Vaume, and the ridicule of a Moseley; and therefore they could be no strangers to the difficulty which would attend the fabrication of new objections.

In the former part of his Treatise, Dr. Moseley made the most piteous complaints, of the manner in which Mr. Goldson's publication was treated by some persons; and endeavours to comfort him by reminding him of the respect shewn to his labours by those persons, whose minds are capable of philosophical discussion. That the mind of Dr. Mac Donald is capable of philosophical

discussion is well known to all the world, *and particularly to Mr. Goldson*; I shall therefore lay before my readers a concise statement of his sentiments concerning that gentleman's performance.

As to Mr. Goldson's qualification for the task he undertook, Dr. Mac Donald's sentiments may readily be known from the passage already quoted. The following is his opinion concerning the motives which gave rise to the performance:

"Whether it was an anxious wish to discover error, and a sincere love of truth, which induced our author to lay his work before the public, is a question not easily to be determined. If we were allowed to judge from the facts before us, we should be apt to conclude, that he had been actuated by passions far more powerful. For, to see the discoverer of vaccine inoculation so far neglect him, as to take no notice of his letter, could not but excite some resentment in a man, who was accustomed to be looked up to by medical practitioners; and when the Rev. Mr. Griffin, a gentleman not belonging to the profession, from motives of the purest philanthropy, encroached on a practice, so glaringly neglected by the medical men in his neighbourhood, as to draw on them the censure, that they were 'a century behind the whole world in improvement;' it was very natural to expect, that one of them would be provoked to stand up for the honour of

the faculty; to clear them from the imputation under which they laboured; or at least to give some reasons to the world, feeble as they are, in extenuation of their neglect."

Dr. Mac Donald observes, that Mr. Goldson is far from acknowledging these to have been his motives; and rather endeavours to conceal them, by making strong professions of liberality and candour; as instances of which Dr. Mac Donald mentions the following. In the very beginning of his introduction he tells us, that "vaccine inoculation has been spread throughout almost every part of the civilized world, with a rapidity which stands without example in the history of science;" and no wonder, says Dr. Mac Donald, for a discovery which, as Mr. Goldson remarks, was, "to render the human constitution insusceptible of a disease so highly contagious, and so fatal to mankind as the small-pox, could not fail to attract immediate attention."

But Mr. Goldson tells us, this "was an event more to be wished for, than expected;" and then, to heighten the surprise, and to raise suspicions in the minds of the uninstructed, he informs us, that all "these important consequences are to succeed a small puncture with a lancet, without producing any material indisposition; and totally free from any risk of danger."—This, in Mr. Goldson's opinion, carries with it an air of mystery; and he is very much surprised, "that it

should have been so readily adopted; and carried into practice to such an extent."

After adducing many instances of Mr. Goldson's ignorance of the subject on which he presumed to write, Dr. Mac Donald observes, that as no conclusions can be drawn from these cases, he shall take no further notice of them. He asserts, that with regard to the other cases related by Mr. Goldson, the same want of accuracy is conspicuous throughout the whole. "We have," says he, "every reason to call in question the purity of the matter which was used. The proofs that the children had the cow-pock, are too vague to be satisfactory; and whatever Mr. Goldson's erudition may be, on other subjects, his knowledge of vaccination amounts to little more than nothing; so that we cannot deem his authority satisfactory. We must therefore leave it undecided, whether the children have had the cow-pox or not; *but as Mr. Goldson has given us ample proofs, that the cases which he considered to be the small-pox were diseases of a different description,* I shall, in the subsequent remarks, direct my chief attention to that part of his pamphlet."

After many judicious remarks concerning the first case of pretended small-pox after vaccination, brought forward by Mr. Goldson, Dr. Mac Donald proceeds as follows:—"Mr. Goldson informs us, that when the history of this case reached London, the opinions of Messrs. Ring,

Paytherus, Dr. Willan, and the Medical Society in Bolt Court, differed from that of the medical gentlemen in his part of the country. They all agreed, that the attempt to excite the small-pox had failed." They had likewise no doubt, that the same train of symptoms may be excited in persons who have passed through the small-pox, either in the casual manner or by inoculation.

" Mr. Ring, in his letter to Mr. Grant, has entered more fully on the subject; and given satisfactory proofs, that the case in question was not the small-pox; however, it appears, that Mr. Goldson has shut his eyes and ears to conviction; and persists in his former opinion.

" He particularly notices an observation of Mr. Ring, which, he says, experience does not confirm; viz. that the sudden disappearance of the pustules ' is a sufficient proof it was the ' small-pox, which always continues a longer ' time.' In answer to this, Mr. Goldson proceeds thus: ' We well know, that in many instances ' the small-pox does not maturate, but retires in a ' few days; although the patient is perfectly se- ' cure: and as I before observed, one of the gen- ' tlemen who saw Mr. Grant's child, remarked, ' that he had lately inoculated one, where the ap- ' pearance of eruption was not greater than in ' this instance.'

" I am exceedingly sorry," adds Dr. Mac Donald, " that I cannot subscribe to the opinion

of Mr. Goldson and his friend. Mr. Ring's assertion is perfectly just. The true variolous eruption goes through a regular course, and always continues a longer time; but no dependance can be placed on an eruption which never suppurated, and only lasted three days. Perhaps, at some future period, we may hear a little more of the case Mr. Goldson's friend speaks of; and then the public will be entertained with a marvellous history of a second infection of the small-pox; in the same manner as we now are with Mr. Goldson's cases of the small-pox subsequent to vaccination."

Dr. Mac Donald appeals to the authority of Huxham, in order to prove, that a variolous eruption of a spurious kind frequently occurs in those who have already had the small-pox; particularly in nurses, and other persons who attend patients labouring under the disease. This is a circumstance, which some people at present affect to doubt; or to consider as new.

" Hensler, formerly a practitioner in Altona, and at present a Professor of the university of Keil, once a strenuous defender of the small-pox inoculation, at the time when the practice was first introduced into Germany, relates several cases of this description. He mentions, that a child had the small-pox at the same time with an elder sister; that four years afterwards she was infected again by a younger sister, who died of

the small-pox. She was feverish for three days; when a general eruption broke out, consisting of pustules containing a limpid matter; but they only lasted five days.

"Another similar case is that of a woman, who having had the small-pox when young, attended upon one of her children labouring under the confluent disease. She was seized with a violent fever, which lasted twenty-four hours; when six large pustules made their appearance, containing a thin purulent matter. They stood eight days; and did not dry up till a considerable time after.

"The following interesting case, related by the same author, shews that the variolous contagion has the power of locally infecting the skin, even when it cannot exert its influence on the constitution. A lady who had one of those constitutions, which upon every occasion had resisted the variolous contagion, and was therefore deemed unsusceptible of the disease, when nursing her child, while labouring under the small-pox, was accustomed to make it lean against her cheek; in consequence of which an eruption of twenty pustules appeared upon her cheek and breast. These pustules disappeared in four days.

"The same is corroborated by Hufeland; who says he has frequently observed, during an epidemic small-pox, that when children, who never had the small-pox, slept with others la-

bouring under that disease, instead of being infected with the real small-pox, they were only attacked with a spurious eruption. This eruption, he informs us, was attended with fever, and consisted of pustules containing purulent matter; but as they did not go through their regular course, he did not hesitate to pronounce them spurious; and the event proved he had not been mistaken; for several of these children afterwards caught the real small-pox, and some of them even during the same epidemic.

"All that I mean to demonstrate," says Dr. Mac Donald, "is, that the study of this important subject *has been shamefully neglected*; *and that the distinctions between the true and the spurious small pox are but imperfectly known*; *witness the pamphlet under consideration. When, therefore, we hear of such cases, we ought to be very cautious before we pronounce our opinion.*"

Dr. Mac Donald admits, that the idea of a second infection, either of the small-pox or the measles, is by no means new; on the contrary, it was formerly prevalent; and a number of instances of both kinds are to be met with among the more ancient writers on these subjects.

My readers are probably by this time convinced, that the mind of Dr. Mac Donald is "capable of philosophical discussion;" yet he appears perfectly insensible of the respect and attention due to Mr. Goldson's lucubrations. Dr.

Moseley avers, that Mr. Goldson, as a searcher after truth, ought to rejoice at the treatment his publication has met with. If censure is the criterion of merit, Dr. Moseley, whose publication has hitherto met with nothing but censure, will have as much reason to rejoice as Mr. Goldson.

Dr. Moseley also complains of the disrespect shewn to the opinion of Mr. Birch; and tells us, that *Mr. Birch is not willing to give up the practice of inoculation for the small-pox*, because it is so safe, and because he has followed it many years without one evil accident. Could this assertion be verified, it might still be questioned, how far any practitioner is justifiable in continuing a practice, which so often proves unsafe in the hands of others:

Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.

But it is not true, that the inoculation of the small-pox is so safe in the hands of Mr. Birch. It is not true, that he has never met with any accident after this operation. There is evidence to the contrary, in the Defence of Vaccination, published in the Gentleman's Magazine for March 1805. An abscess took place in one of his patients, a relation of a Member of Parliament, at the very time when he was giving his opinion that the practice was innocent; and Mr. Cline was consulted on the occasion.

Dr. Moseley pretends, that those practitioners who signed the Testimonial, and others, were led

into their error, not so much from the difficulty of communicating the small-pox to those who have had the cow-pox, as from their want of skill. Nay, he affirms, that even Dr. Woodville himself, although he had been Physician to the Small-pox Hospital so many years, was incompetent to the task. The only persons, it seems, who are endowed with this wonderful faculty, are "Mr. Goldson of Portsea, Mr. Bowen of Harrow, and that skilful and judicious apothecary, Mr. Richard Walker of St. James's Street."

With respect to Mr. Goldson, it appears by the extracts from Dr. Mac Donald's observations, that the answer to his pamphlet, which I long ago published, is founded on the solid basis of reason and truth; and this opinion is confirmed by the united testimonies of the most celebrated inoculators in all parts of the world. I shall only state the sentiments of the gentlemen who preside over the Vaccine Institution in Edinburgh, in order to shew the improbability of Dr. Moseley's hypothesis, that vaccination is only a temporary security against the small-pox. These sentiments are expressed in the last paragraph of their Testimonial in favour of vaccination, which is inserted at length in the Medical Journal; and in my Answer to Mr. Goldson.

"*They think it must be the opinion, not only of the medical gentlemen of Edinburgh, but of every thinking man, that if vaccination is a security against*

the small-pox for a year, it must be a security against it for life. The contrary idea appears to them very unphilosophical; and repugnant to their ideas of physiology and pathology. They think Mr. Goldson's pamphlet founded on such false principles, that no part of it can do any harm, EXCEPT THE TITLE; *and that the title can do no harm, but with weak or unthinking people.*"

Mr. Bowen's evidence against vaccination originated from error; and has given rise to great misrepresentation. Having vaccinated one of his children above four years previous to the date of his communication, he put her to the test of variolous inoculation three years successively, and each time she resisted infection; but on the fourth inoculation, a pustule rose in the arm, which was followed by febrile symptoms, and some eruptions, all of which, except one, died away without maturation. From this pustule, which was on the fore-arm, Mr. Bowen inoculated another patient, and produced the small-pox.

It is well known, and has been proved by examples, that a local pustule may be produced by inoculation in those who have had the small-pox, as well as in those who have had the cow-pox; and that constitutional symptoms, together with a rash, or miliary eruption, are also sometimes produced in such a case. As to a single pustule, capable of yielding matter, it may also easily be excited in consequence of the applica-

tion of virus by the nails of the patients, either immediately after the operation, or at any subsequent time during the continuance of the pustule; and this is no uncommon occurrence, either in variolous or vaccine inoculation.

When any person is inoculated for the small-pox, who has neither had the small-pox nor the cow-pock, a pustulous eruption takes place in the neighbourhood of the primary pustule; and the whole constitute a cluster of small-pocks, which become more or less confluent. But in the present instance there was only a solitary pustule in the place of inoculation; as in those who are put to the test after they have had the small-pox.

Another circumstance worthy of notice, in those who are put to the test after the small-pox or the cow-pock, is, that in general there is a considerable itching of the part, which disposes the patient to rub or scratch the pustule; and of course to aggravate the inflammation, as well as the constitutional symptoms; and to produce a secondary inoculation.

Mr. Bowen also put the children of the Rev. Mr. Evans to the test, and produced pustules in the arm, from which he inoculated others, and propagated the small-pox far and wide. This was owing to his not considering that local pustules may be produced in persons who have had the small-pox, as well as in those who have had

the cow-pock. He is now convinced of his error; and thinks it probable, that the pustule on the fore-arm of his own child was occasioned by the application of matter to the part. This is the more likely to have been the case, when it is stated, that in the children of Mr. Evans the arms itched much; the pustules were early in their appearance, and rapid in their course; and the children broke the pustules by scratching them.

It must give great pleasure to many of my readers to know, that Mr. Bowen is now so far convinced of the fallacy of his experiments, as again to prefer vaccine inoculation. He has not only applied to me for cow-pock matter for his general practice; but in particular for Mrs. Evans, who has lately submitted another child to vaccination. Thus the liberal part of the community are open to conviction; and the mist of prejudice gradually vanishes before the light of truth.

With regard to Mr. Walker, the third gentleman who is said to be such an adept in disseminating the small-pox, it will be found full as difficult to prove his superior skill, as that of Mr. Goldson or Mr. Bowen. The truth is, we have no satisfactory evidence, that the children of Mr. Montagu, on whom Mr. Walker is said to have wrought this miracle, have ever had the genuine cow-pock, or the genuine small-pox.

We are told, indeed, that Mr. Walker inocu-

lated from them with success; but we are not told whether the matter was taken from the arm, or from an eruption. If it was taken from the former, it is a very weak argument to advance against vaccination; because the same may be done from the arm of a person who has before had the small-pox.

But even if it can be proved, that these children had the small-pox constitutionally, the following document will shew that the credit of vaccination has nothing to fear in this instance.

The Report of Messrs. Ring and Addington to the Medical Council of the Royal Jennerian Society on the Cases of Mr. Montagu's Children.

"By our former Report, dated June 2, 1803, it will appear, that we had waited on Mr. Montagu of Portman Square, in order to inquire into the cases of two of his children, who were said to have had the small-pox after vaccination. Mrs. Montagu's confinement prevented us from pursuing our inquiries further in the family at that time; but Mr. Montagu assured us, that as soon as Mrs. Montagu was sufficiently recovered, we should be permitted to wait on her, and to examine the arms of the children, agreeably to our request. He added, that Mrs. Montagu, as the natural consequence of maternal attention, must necessarily have the most accurate recollection of the particulars of those cases; but he

wished it to be understood, that, in the opinion of Mrs. Montagu and himself, vaccine inoculation had not, in these instances, afforded a satisfactory result.

" In our former Report we stated, that, by the advice of Mr. Montagu, we had also waited on Mr. Walker, apothecary, of St. James's Street, by whom the children were inoculated for the small-pox, in order to know his opinion of the effect of that inoculation.

" Mr. Walker informed us, that an eruption had taken place in both children; but, as we wished for as accurate an account of the particulars as possible, we requested him to favour us with the cases in writing; informing him, at the same time, that we were deputed by this Society to inquire into the subject.

" Mr. Walker said, he had given a statement of the cases in writing to Mr. Birch; from whom he promised to procure a copy, and transmit it to us: but, notwithstanding we wrote to him twice several months ago, reminding him of his promise, and again requesting the statement, we have not yet received an answer.

" In the course of last summer, Mr. Montagu called on Mr. Ring; and informed him, that as soon as Mrs. Montagu was sufficiently recovered, it had been thought necessary for her to go into the country. He added, that when his family

returned to town, the proposed inquiry should take place.

"The Board of Directors having lately sent a message to the Medical Council, desiring to know whether a Report had been received concerning these cases, we thought it incumbent on us to renew our application to Mr. Montagu. We accordingly wrote to him on the 23d of last month; but we have not hitherto received any answer.

"By a letter from Mr. Bunny of Newbury, dated June 23, 1803, we learn that the two children of Mr. Montagu had been inoculated by him about three years before with cow-pock matter, taken on the *thirteenth* day; that the arms of the children inflamed *and came forward towards suppuration*; and that *one, if not both of them, rubbed off the head of the pustule on the fourth day.*

"Mr. Bunny does not recollect any thing further concerning the pustules. He confesses he was at that time inexperienced in vaccine inoculation. He then thought infection had taken place in these cases; but he now thinks otherwise.

"By a letter from Dr. Jenner, dated June 24, 1803, we are informed, that early in the summer of 1801, Mrs. Montagu consulted him concerning these children. On examining their arms, he observed, that in the eldest the cicatrix, which the vaccine vesicle invariably leaves behind, was totally wanting; and that, in the other, the im-

pression was much more superficial than common. He therefore advised, that they should both be inoculated again; and that, in the mean time, every precaution should be taken to avoid the small-pox.

"This report we deem it our duty to make without further delay. We regret the reluctance of the parties to afford such information as would enable us to fulfil our commission. Could the whole evidence of the cases be obtained, there is every reason to believe, it would be sufficient to remove every doubt that has arisen on this subject, and to vindicate the character of vaccination.

"JOHN RING.

"*May* 25, 1804. "JOHN ADDINGTON."

I lately saw a case, which convinces me, that Mr. Walker is not backward in condemning vaccination. A child in Midford Place had an eruption of two or three pimples on the temples, in consequence of exposure to severe cold. The next day a violent ophthalmia took place; attended with a very considerable swelling of the eyelids, so as to cause temporary blindness. The eruption continued to spread; particularly about the nape of the neck; where the mother had applied a blister on account of the inflammation of the eyes.

The child was carried to Mr. Walker, who pronounced the disorder to be the small-pox.

Being informed of the case, I went to see it, together with Dr. Willan and Dr. Adams; and we were all much surprised that any medical man should give such an opinion. The eruption was of the same kind, as that which often occurs to weakly children in cold and windy weather. It covered the face, and the upper half of the body; and was very confluent; but there was not a single eruption below the navel, nor upon either of the extremities.

Mr. Walker had seen the case a second time the day before, with Mr. Birch; and they both assured the mother it was the small-pox. It is, however, worthy of notice, that they did not spread the alarm all over the town as usual; nor take any matter for inoculation. It was more prudent to be satisfied with sounding an alarm in the neighbourhood. Greater publicity might have led to detection. Mr. Wachsel at length saw the case, and ridiculed the notion of the small-pox continuing to come out for a month.

In a note on the cases of Mr. Montagu's children, Dr. Moseley says, "There were some wiseacres, who said this was not the small-pox; *so little did they know of the matter*." It seems, indeed, to be the wish of some people, that *the public should know but little of the matter*; otherwise they would not dread a thorough investigation of the subject.

Dr. Moseley goes so far as to affirm, that the

cow-pock possesses no more specific power to resist the small-pox, than several other diseases which he enumerates. This needs no refutation. He then speaks of two villages in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, where the horses of the Grand Seignior are at pasture, and the people are supposed to be protected by them from the small-pox; and this anecdote he relates, as if it were his own.

While others wish to restrain the inoculation of the small-pox, he recommends it as a remedy for several other diseases. In this he seems to be actuated by such a determined spirit of opposition, that he reminds us of the electors of a rotten borough, who supported a candidate that was a member of the Hell-fire Club. When their opponents exclaimed—*No Hell-fire!* they cried out, *Hell-fire for ever!*

Dr. Moseley tells us, "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 small-pox twice:" and that, "from the specific nature of the disease, it is impossible it should be otherwise."

Had Dr. Moseley deigned to impart one single ray of his new light to his professional brethren, and other poor mortals, who think the nature of the small-pox inscrutable, who have been long groping in the dark, and trying to find it out, but

in vain, they might in time be grounded in pathology as well as himself; and be able to distinguish their right hands from their left, or one disease from another. All the most eminent physicians and surgeons, with whom I have the honour of being acquainted, are of opinion, that it is possible to have this distemper twice. When Dr. Moseley contends that it is not possible to have it twice, he forgets the rule in logic, that it is not possible to prove a negative; but he cares no more for logic, than he does for the cow-pox.

I have on other occasions fully refuted the vulgar error, that a person cannot have the small-pox twice, particularly in my Treatise on the Cow-pox, and my Answer to Mr. Goldson; but for the sake of my present readers, who may not have those publications in their possession, I shall here recapitulate a sufficient number of instances, to satisfy any unprejudiced person of the truth of my position.

Cases of Small-pox a second Time.

One of the most remarkable cases, and one which is as well authenticated as any medical fact whatever, is that of Mr. Langford, a farmer of West Shefford, near Newbury; who, when about a month old, had the small-pox, together with three others in the family; of whom one, a man-servant, died of it. Mr. Langford was so much marked, and disfigured, as to attract the notice of

all who saw him; so that no one could doubt of his having had the distemper, and in its most malignant form.

This case was communicated by the late Mr. Withers, surgeon, of Newbury, to the Medical Society of London; and published in the fourth volume of their Memoirs. It is also well known to many persons, who are living witnesses of the truth of the statement. One of them, Mrs. Cooke, at No. 2, in Kemp's Court, Berwick Street, knew Mr. Langford well; and declares, that in consequence of this first attack of the small-pox, he was very much pitted, scarred, and seamed.

Having once suffered so severely from the disorder, he considered himself secure from any future attack; and whenever the poor in his neighbourhood had the small-pox, he used to attend, and assist in accommodating them with such necessaries as their cases required.

In the year 1775, when he was upwards of fifty years of age, and a grandfather, he became indisposed, in consequence of overheating himself, and continued ill two days. A fortnight after he sickened for the small-pox, and had all the symptoms commonly attending those who are seized with that distemper. The eruption appeared on the fourth day, and on the day following became universal; and Mr. Withers, who was now decidedly of opinion that it was variolous, desired

that such of his friends as had not had the small-pox, would avoid all further intercourse with him. This advice was treated with contempt.

From the singularity and importance of the case, Mr. Withers expressed a wish that a physician might be consulted; in consequence of which, Dr. Collet visited him on the part of his friends, and Dr. Hulbert at the request of Mr. Withers. This was the more necessary, as the whole neighbourhood ridiculed Mr. Withers's opinion of the complaint occurring a second time. Even Dr. Hulbert laughed at the idea, till he saw the patient; when both he and Dr. Collet were convinced, and pronounced the disorder to be the small-pox.

Neither Mr. Langford, nor his friends, could be reconciled to this opinion; he had therefore no inclination to pursue the means which were recommended; nor his friends to enforce them. Dr. Hulbert, though desirous of continuing his attendance without a fee, was dismissed after his second visit. Under these disadvantages, the patient had but an indifferent chance of recovery from a bad case of the confluent disease; of which he died on the twenty-first day.

Four of the family, as also a sister of Mr. Langford, whose son had visited him, being seized with the small-pox, fully satisfied the neighbourhood of the real nature of the complaint, which nothing short of this could have done. His sister

died; and Mrs. Cooke informs me, that another person also fell a victim to the same virulent distemper.

This case was thought so extraordinary, as to induce the rector of the parish to record the particulars of it in the parish register.

Instances of a recurrence of the small-pox are not unfrequently met with in ancient authors; but the veracity, or the judgment, of those who relate them, has been called in question. This, however, as Kirkpatrick remarks, is not sufficient to disprove a statement of facts. He observes, that Mr. Samuel Dwight, in a Treatise published in London in 1722, has given an account, and apparently from his own knowledge, of a nurse, who had the confluent small-pox twice, and afterwards died of the disorder, from attending a patient who laboured under it in a severe manner, and being closely confined to the apartment for three weeks. Mr. Dwight affirms, that her face and body were miserably scarred by the disease twice before; a circumstance, says Kirkpatrick, *in which it was difficult to be mistaken.*

The opinion of the late Dr. Heberden, in the first volume of the Medical Transactions, has deservedly met with great respect. Cases of a recurrence of the small-pox are rare; and whenever they are supposed to happen, it is full as likely that the attendants are mistaken, as that nature

deviates from her general law; but it by no means follows, that such a deviation never takes place.

There is, however, a fashion in opinions, as well as in dress, and it is common to run from one extreme into another. Formerly it was thought people had the small-pox six or seven times; lately it was the prevalent opinion that they could not have it twice; and those who were witnesses of such cases, were fearful of being ridiculed, if they published them to the world.

In proof of this, I need only state the manner in which Mr. Purton of Alcester introduced a case of the kind, in the Medical Journal for May 1801. His narrative is as follows:

"It has been so generally considered as a fact, that a person once affected with the small-pox is safe from having it a second time, that I feel a considerable degree of diffidence in sending you the following statement of a case, by which it is indisputably proved, that it is possible for the variolous infection to take place a second time in the same person, and this even in the natural way.

"My partner, Mr. Bloxham, a gentleman of sound judgment, who has been established forty years in a very extensive business, and who visited the patient with me through every stage of the disease, has not a doubt of the nature of the case; nor should I have troubled you on the present

occasion, if my mind had not been thoroughly convinced of its accuracy.

" I have been told by an elderly lady of respectability, that she knew a person who certainly had had the small-pox twice; and her statement was so very accurate and circumstantial, that it was sufficient to stagger the firmest sceptic; but I confess that my opinion remained unchanged, until the following case came under my own observation.

" The circumstance of a person having the small-pox a second time, from its rarity, must be considered as a singular phenomenon in pathology; therefore I cannot conceive in what way, even if it was generally known, it can injure the cause of variolous inoculation; but it decisively proves, that the small-pox may in a few rare cases be received twice by the same person; and therefore it ought to be known; and this case deserves more particular attention, because the subject of it was not inoculated for the small-pox, but received the disease in the casual way, on both occasions. In the first attack, her mother caught the disease from her, and narrowly escaped with her life. The last time I saw her myself; and any person who has doubts, may be satisfied by inoculating with some of the matter which I have preserved.

" This case is farther entitled to notice, because no greater security against the small-pox

can be expected from the vaccine inoculation than from the infection of the natural small-pox; therefore the preference of the cow-pock would not be invalidated by the occurrence of an occasional case, in which the small-pox might be caught after inoculation for the cow-pock, if such an instance should arise.

" The subject of the present case is Maria Hunt, of Exhall, near this town, aged twenty-two years; she caught the small-pox when she was five months old, and had them very violent, as the marks at this time sufficiently testify.—Her mother caught the disease of her, and had it to so alarming a degree, that the apothecary who attended, had scarcely a hope of her recovery. The mother is still living, from whom I received this account, which was also corroborated by the testimony of many respectable neighbours.

" On the 4th of March last, the whole village of Exhall was inoculated with variolous matter, and this young woman was appointed one of the nurses. On the 3d of April, she was attacked with severe rigors, pains in the head and back, sickness, and other usual symptoms of approaching fever. The two following days she was extremely ill; the fever increased to an alarming height, attended with delirium, through most part of the night previous to the appearance of the eruption; which shewed itself on the 6th of April, early in the morning. The eruption continued to increase

for several days; her throat became sore, with a sense of fulness, from the number of pustules covering the fauces; and they continued filling, until they completely maturated.—About the 9th day from the appearance of the eruption, those upon her face began to turn, and in a few days after, those upon the rest of her body.

"I never thought of taking any matter till the thinner contents of the pustules were nearly absorbed; but however, I have obtained a very sufficient quantity; part of which I will send to you, or any gentleman who wishes for further confirmation, to make trial of it.

"The above is a just detail of this extraordinary case; which I leave to medical men to make their own comments upon.

"I am, &c.

"J. PURTON."

These cases are sufficient to refute Dr. Moseley's opinion, that no person can have the small-pox twice, even in the natural way. Instances of its occurring after variolous inoculation are so numerous, that they would fill a volume. Many of them may be found in my Treatise on the Cow-pox, and in the Medical Journal. That of a child of the Earl of Westmeath, whom I lately saw, a horrid spectacle, covered from head to foot with the small-pox, two years after having that

disorder by inoculation, is still recent in the mind of the public.

Dr. Moseley thinks there was no excuse for deeming the disorder in Fullwood's Rents, or that in Wilderness Lane, the chicken-pox. With respect to the former, as far as my information extends, few persons entertained any doubt. The latter was a milder case; and when notice was given of it, there were none of those indentations on the pustules, which usually attend the small-pox at an early period; but the mother of the child declared, that there had been such indentations on the preceding day. This shewed the probability of the disorder being the small-pox; which afterwards became more evident.

But had any one remained doubtful of the nature of the complaint, he need not be ashamed to own it. The similarity of the chicken-pox to the small-pox is sometimes so great, at the period when this case excited a doubt, as often to deceive the most eminent physicians in Europe. This is what every intelligent man must know; and what every candid man must confess.

It is positively asserted by the mother of this child, that the pustule did not increase to the usual size, nor last the usual time. The patient ought therefore to have been vaccinated again. They did not bring her to me according to their promise; and, on account of the distance, I could

not see her more than once. When I inspected the pustule, it appeared small, but genuine; the areola itself did not exceed the size of a pea. Mrs. Smith assured me, that certain persons, who have since published an opinion of this child having had the cow-pock, declared to her, they were convinced she never had the disease: this is a specimen of their consistency, and of their candour.

Dr. Moseley talks about persons, who pretend that they have seen the small-pox in cows. I know not whom he alludes to. He modestly insinuates, that he and his friends are the only practitioners who understand inoculation. The inoculation he recommends is that of the small-pox. It is true this practice often proves fatal; but he tells us, for his own part, he has always considered it a maxim in physic, *that killing is no murder*.

He is, however, not satisfied with engrossing variolous inoculation, but he and his friends must also engross all the practice of the natural small-pox. He cautions the friends of vaccination not to undertake the inoculation of the small-pox, nor to attend any one in the natural disease. But if they dare to disobey this injunction, he hopes the public will be on their guard, and not employ them. Here the Doctor is a little *off his guard*; and gives us room to suspect, that he has other motives for writing against vaccination, be-

sides the vanity of being an author, and the profits of his publication.—Let mine enemy write a book. For my own part, however, I am far from wishing to disturb the opponents of vaccination in their lucrative practice, or to encroach on their rights; and therefore take the liberty to propose, that the small-pox be assigned, and confined, to them and their heirs for ever.

THE CASES IN FULLWOOD'S RENTS.

These cases were announced to the public by the following manifesto, which appeared in the Times.

" *The Vaccine Pock.*

" The importance attached to the Jennerian system of inoculation for the vaccine pock, not only in the united kingdom, where the inventor has been honoured with national approbation, and parliamentary reward, but in every part of Europe, and in our dominions in Asia and the West Indies, is likely to meet a very considerable check from a recent occurrence; which, if duly substantiated, goes to prove, that all the reliance placed upon previous inoculation for the vaccine pock, as an infallible security against future infection from that dangerous and ravaging malady,

the small-pox, stands upon a very equivocal foundation.

" Two female children, the daughters of a Mr. Hodges, tailor, in Fullwood's Rents, Holborn, the one five, the other three years old, had both been inoculated, by the medical attendant at the Small-pox Hospital, near St. Pancras; the former about four years, and the latter about five years ago; and on both the infection took place, and passed regularly through all its stages. For near six weeks past, the ordinary small-pox has been extremely prevalent in the neighbourhood of Fullwood's Rents, and both the children, it is supposed, caught the disease, with which they have been affected to a very dangerous degree, and narrowly escaped with their lives; having been covered with a prodigious quantity of the pustules, though of what are usually deemed a very good sort. Four children have died in Fullwood's Rents of the disease; one of which, a fine boy of four years old, caught the infection, it is imagined, by playing with those two children; and from the goodness of the pock, many medical practitioners *was* induced to take variolous matter from those children, in order to inoculate others.

" This circumstance, *extraordinary* and interesting as it is justly deemed, has very generally come to the knowledge of the faculty; more than two hundred of whom have been, within these three days, to see the children, who are *yet thickly co-*

vered with the decaying pustules. Some of those gentlemen, and those not the least eminent, have asserted, that the disorder from which the two children *have just recovered*, was not the small-pox, but the chicken-pock; while others maintain, that it is not only possible that the infection of the small-pox may be caught after that of the cow-pock, but that even the *small-pox itself may be taken a second time by the same person.*

"The former assertion, as well as the latter, has been directly contradicted by the opinion and experience of all the medical gentlemen who have seen the children, except by the two gentlemen who have hazarded the assertions; and particularly by both the Doctors Sutton, whose experience has been, perhaps, more extensive in the business of inoculation than any others of the faculty now existing. A consultation of the faculty will be held this day at a surgeon and apothecary's, in Featherstone Buildings, Holborn, whose child is now ill of the small-pox, and the matter for whose inoculation was taken from one of the children above mentioned: a proof that the disorder with with which they were affected, was not, as asserted by a very eminent professor, the chicken-pock.

"The case which we have thought it our duty to submit to the public, offers the strongest ground which has yet occurred since the first propagation of the Jennerian system, to shake the

credit of that important discovery. The points only which seem to excite any doubt are, whether the infection for which the children were inoculated at the Small-pox Hospital, was the true vaccine; and whether it was completely absorbed in their system. It appeared to have been the same as was communicated to many hundred of others; and what is more remarkable, a period of two years intervened between the inoculation of one child and that of the other, though both have taken the small-pox at the same time.

" Amongst the faculty who have been to visit the children, we find the names of the following gentlemen, many of whom are of acknowledged eminence in their profession."

To this very confused, exaggeratsd, and contradictory account, of the cases in Fullwood's Rents, the names of seventy-five medical practitioners are subjoined, the last of which is that of Dr. Moseley. Hence it has been suspected by some people, that he inserted the account in the Times; but it is not to be supposed, that either Dr. Moseley, or any other physician, could write such nonsense.

It is true, the practice of vaccination was likely to meet with a check from every real or apparent failure. It is also true, that the author of this account, whoever he may be, is one of the sworn enemies of vaccination, who was determined to

give it as great a check as possible; either by fair means, or foul:

———dolus, an virtus, quis in hoste requirat?

The author of the account is evidently an Hibernian, from the continual blunders into which he so naturally slides. It is true, indeed, that if the circumstances of his narrative can be substantiated, vaccine inoculation stands upon an equivocal foundation; but variolous inoculation also stands upon an equivocal foundation; and is also liable to many other serious objections, from which vaccine inoculation is exempt.

From this narrative it appears, that one of Mr. Hodges's children was inoculated when a year old; and the other *two years before she was born.* This is an odd way of relating a case; but it is one of the methods employed, and, according to Dr. Moseley's opinion, necessary to be employed, in order to recall the unthinking multitude; who, he tells us, "have ascended in their delirious flights, far beyond the lure of reason; and can only be recalled by means as preposterous as their own ideas."—On this occasion we cannot help calling to mind Mad Tom: he thought all the world mad, and all the world thought him so.

We are next told that the cow-pock passed regularly through all its stages. Of this, however, we should have been more convinced, had the author of the account favoured us with a proof, instead of a mere assertion. The small-pox hav-

ing been so prevalent in Fullwood's Rents, the author of the account is probably right in *supposing* that the children "*caught the disease.*"

He tells us, four children died of the disease in Fullwood's Rents; it is therefore probable, that these children, when exposed to the infection of such a fatal epidemic, owed their escape from death to the cow pock; which appears to mitigate, even if it cannot always prevent, that dreadful scourge of mankind, the small-pox. He tells us, that the children had the small-pox in a very dangerous degree; and narrowly escaped with their lives. This is a very great misrepresentation; and shews the disposition of the writer to depreciate a practice, which, it must be allowed, is not very profitable, either to him or others.

He acknowledges, that such cases are *extraordinary*; and we may readily believe him, when he declares that they are *interesting* also. He informs us, that upwards of two hundred of the faculty went to see them, within three days. They occurred in August and September 1804, when vaccination had been practised five years and a half. When, therefore, such numbers of medical practitioners neglected their patients, and their private concerns, and flocked to Fullwood's Rents, where for many days they held a general consultation, it is reasonable to conclude, that they had never seen such a case before; and that they could not depend on the reports of the ene-

mies of vaccination. Had these failures occurred after the inoculation of the small-pox, no one would have been at all surprised; nor have thought it worth while to inquire, whether the report was true or false.

We are told, in the account, that the children had been covered with a prodigious quantity of pustules. This is a very gross exaggeration and misrepresentation. One of them had the disorder in a very favourable way. We are also told, that at the time when the account was published, of the visitation of the Faculty in Fullwood's Rents, the children were still *thickly covered* with decaying pustules. This is a most barefaced and impudent falsehood, as appears from the Report of a Medical Committee, who investigated the cases; several of whom had seen them when this account was published; as the account itself testifies. The Report states, that when Ann Hodges, one of the children alluded to, was first seen by any member of the Committee, the scabs had fallen off, and nothing but reddish marks remained, to denote that she had ever had the small-pox.

Hence it is evident, that when Dr. Moseley complains of the newspapers being inaccessible to him and his friends, in their endeavours to depreciate vaccination, he complains without reason. The Fullwood's Rents cases testify, that the *Times* have been favourable to their opposition;

and the Maldon cases prove, that they have had a *Herald* to proclaim their success.

Many circumstances give room to suppose that the small-pox, in Mary Hodges, was also mitigated by the previous inoculation of the cow-pock. The pustules were numerous, but *mostly distinct*. They were, in some places, *coherent*; but not *confluent*. There was a considerable swelling of the face, hands, and feet, from the *fourth* day till the *eighth*; which proves, that the disorder was uncommonly rapid in its course. This opinion is still farther confirmed by the following circumstances; namely, that the child was blind only on the fifth and sixth days; that on the sixth and seventh, the face and neck were scabbed; and that on the body and lower extremities, the pustules turned, and began to dry, on the eighth. It is also confirmed by the rapid recovery of the patient, under a very copious eruption. She had been fretful and irritable, during the period of maturation; but became much easier on the *eighth* day. On the *ninth* she continued to amend; and on the *tenth* "*was free from complaint*."

The manner in which the investigation of these cases was conducted, reflects great honour on the gentlemen who undertook the task. They were selected from the different orders of the profession; and no one was delegated to the office, who was supposed to be over-zealous in the cause.

Their decision appears to be candid and impartial; and has given as much satisfaction to the public at large, as the nature of the question would admit. I shall, therefore, present it to the reader in their own words.

"After having faithfully reported the particulars of the investigation proposed, the Committee beg leave to observe, that there seems no reason to question the regular progress of the vaccination in Nancy and Mary Hodges, nor the existence of the small-pox more than two years afterwards in the latter, there being no material variation from the usual course of symptoms, either in the disease of Mary Hodges, or in the cases of inoculation with matter taken from her pustules.—The Committee, however, feel it a duty to remark, that the above facts are not to be considered as militating against the general practice of vaccination. Some well-authenticated, though rare cases have been stated, in which the natural small-pox occurred twice in the same person. A few other instances are recorded of persons, who, after having undergone the inoculated small-pox, nevertheless took the disease by infection: yet these cases were not deemed conclusive against the advantages of variolous inoculation, nor do they seem to have impeded its progress.

"In every country where European science is diffused, the general preventive power of vaccine

inoculation with regard to the small-pox, has been fully ascertained, and cannot now be affected by the result of a few detached cases, which, by future observations and experiments, may be accounted for satisfactorily.—The Committee, therefore, with one accord, subscribe to the established opinion, that if vaccination were universally adopted, it would afford the means of finally exterminating the small-pox."

Another circumstance, which renders it probable that the disorder in the last, as well as in the first case, was modified and mitigated is, that some gentlemen mistook it for the chicken-pox. To me it appeared evidently to be the small-pox; but different from its usual form. After telling us, that *some* of the medical men thought the cases the chicken-pox, and *others* maintained that a person might have the small-pox a second time, the author of the account tells us, with his wonted accuracy, that such opinions are contradicted by the experience of all the medical men who saw the children, except these *two*. It will be no great wonder, if he next tells us, that these *two* are *one*. Being one of those who maintained, that the small-pox may occur in the same person a second time, I have conversed on the subject with many of the medical gentlemen who saw those cases, and find the opinion, that the small-pox may occur twice, very general among them.

Two of them in particular, Mr. Hurlock and Mr. Chamberlain, communicated to me two additional cases; the first, a case which occurred in a relation, the latter, a case which occurred in himself.

But my evidence on this point is unnecessary: the Committee themselves, consisting of fourteen of those gentlemen, positively contradict the assertion of the author of the account in their Report; acknowledging that "some well-authenticated, though rare cases, have been stated, of the small-pox occurring twice in the same person;" and give the lie direct to this impostor.

He calls an apothecary a surgeon, and two surgeons physicians, in order to give greater weight to their decisions. This is one of the arts of the enemies of vaccination; another is, to disparage and degrade those who recommend the practice. But it is some consolation to reflect, that there is not one opponent of vaccination in the whole medical profession, who was not originally a surgeon or an apothecary; nor one, who is now a physician, and has not become a physician, like Rabelais's horse, in rather an irregular way.

We are at length told, that this case, which the opponents of vaccination have, it seems, thought it their duty to submit to the public, offered the strongest ground of any which had then occurred, since the first propagation of the Jennerian system, to shake the credit of that important disco-

very.—This is the highest encomium ever paid to any discovery, after a trial of several years in almost all parts of the world; and it is the more valuable when we consider, that it is extorted from an enemy, at the very moment when he is making a most desperate and unprincipled attempt to overturn the practice.

After informing us that the cow-pock in these two children was regular, this intelligent author expresses a doubt whether it was regular or not. He acknowledges that it is uncertain, whether they were inoculated with genuine matter; and, if they were inoculated with genuine matter, that it is uncertain whether it was absorbed into their systems. He tells us, that many hundreds of others have been inoculated with the same sort of matter. We know, however, that many hundreds have been inoculated with matter taken from an ulcer, or from under a dry scab.

He tells us, one of the children was inoculated *four* years ago, and the other *five* years; and that a period of *two* years intervened between the two operations. The world is much indebted to him for this curious discovery. But there is one circumstance, which, in the opinion of this gentleman, is very remarkable; namely, that these two children, who were inoculated separately, should have the small-pox together. This is just as remarkable, as if two dunces, who published their

absurdities at different periods, were to be flogged at the same time.

It has commonly been supposed that the medical men, whose names are subjoined to this farrago of nonsense, added their own signatures, as an attestation of the truth and accuracy of the statement. It is, however, only justice to say, that few of them would be capable of such an act of wickedness and folly.—If they are at all culpable, it is only for not stigmatizing such impostures; and for treating them with mere contempt.

Dr. Moseley casts a reflection on the Committee, for calling these cases, cases of supposed small-pox. He would have been better pleased, had they affirmed what they did not know, as too many other people have done, and called them cases of small-pox. He tells us, it does not require eyes to ascertain the small-pox; if a person has but the use of his finger-ends. This may be true, if a person has wit at his fingers' ends, like Dr. Moseley. He tells us, that such cases should be submitted to accoucheurs. He tells us, that accoucheurs have eyes at the ends of their fingers. This is a very fortunate circumstance: it enables them to detect *monsters*, and to *stifle them in the birth.*

He seems apprehensive, that his essay will be scrutinized by a committee; and proposes for

them to use a particular sort of eye-water, that they may the more readily find out its defects. I beg leave to remark, that his eye-water will be necessary for himself, the only person who cannot discern them.

He relates two cases of the small-pox, in persons who had previously been infected with the cow-pox from the cow. Dr. Jenner himself admits, that this often occurs; either from the disease being originally spurious, or from its being too far advanced, which converts it into an ulcer. Dr. Moseley has not proved that either of these cases was the genuine cow-pox, either in the men or the cows; and consequently, we require none of his celebrated eye-water to discover his defects.

He tells us, it is a disagreeable task for a man not overburdened with vanity to quote himself. He then quotes himself, with regard to his prediction, and apparently with a great deal of complacence. He tells us, that when the small-pox is very malignant, and rages epidemically, it is owing to some peculiar disposition of the air. It is a wonder the small-pox is not always epidemic, when people are permitted, and even encouraged, to carry children labouring under the disease through all the streets of the metropolis to the Small-pox Hospital; scattering pestilence in every direction, and sowing the seeds of death.

It is true, we are not so often shocked by these loathsome objects, as heretofore. Every age grows

wiser; and those who formerly carried such living masses of corruption openly, now carry them under their aprons. Hence the contagion is more likely to spread among the community at large; because they are not aware of their danger. These are the "foxes with firebrands at their tails;" this is "the pestilence that walketh in darkness, and the sickness that destroyeth at noonday."

As to Dr. Moseley's predictions, they remind us of the predictions of Brothers, or those of Poor Help, a pauper, and supposed lunatic, in a certain College at the east end of the town, called Shoreditch Workhouse; who formerly amused the nobility and gentry of this realm with his predictions. Some people, indeed, maintain, that Dr. Moseley is a prophet, from his dissertations on this subject; but others think him only a *Poor Help*.

OBSERVATIONS ON DR. MOSELEY'S CHAPTER CONCERNING THE MILDNESS AND SAFETY OF THE COW-POX.

In this chapter Dr. Moseley confesses, that when he delivered his opinion concerning vaccination in the House of Commons, which was three years after the commencement of the practice, nothing had occurred, or at least, nothing

had come to his knowledge, to justify the apprehensions he had at first entertained, and endeavoured to disseminate, of the ill consequences which might arise from the cow-pox. He tells us, however, that since this period he has seen many ill effects from vaccination; and, if his statement is correct, he has indeed seen, what no person had ever seen before, and what, I trust, no person will ever see again.

He particularly speaks of various sorts of itch, that have lately appeared in *London*, and the neighbourhood of *Chelsea*; such as he had never heard of from the inoculation of the small-pox. He has not enumerated the different species; and as this is an *hiatus valdè deflendus* in his publication, I shall endeavour to supply the deficiency in mine.

The first is *an itch for writing*; and I agree with Dr. Moseley, that this disease cannot justly be laid to the charge of variolous inoculation. It is called the *mala scribendi cacoethes*; and is so far from being a new disorder, that it is supposed to be more ancient than the small-pox itself. It is not that species of evil, which is so often occasioned by the inoculation of the small-pox; yet it is an evil of considerable magnitude; and many people agree with me in thinking, that it is one of the greatest evils under the sun. It is extremely contagious, and there is great reason to

think, that Dr. Moseley has caught it from one of his patients.

The second species is *an itch for money*. This has also lately appeared in London, and the neighbourhood of Chelsea. The seat of the disorder is the palm of the hand; for when it is touched with a guinea, it instantly contracts like the claw of a lobster.

The third species is *an itch for popularity*.—This, likewise, has lately appeared in London, and the neighbourhood of Chelsea. It is a common disease; but one that would do very little harm, did not those who labour under it, sometimes descend to mean and illiberal arts, in order to gratify their inclinations.

It is remarkable, that the opponents of vaccination, who for the first three years could not discover the ill effects of the practice, should suddenly become so sharp-sighted, as to see them all. The fact is, Mr. Goldson attacked the cow-pock; he started the game. Dr. Squirrell then endeavoured to hunt it down; and Dr. Moseley was ambitious to come in at the death.

But we are given to understand by Dr. Moseley, that the complaints occasioned by vaccination have been the cause of so much expense to many of the poor, that their neighbours have taken the alarm; and allege, that they cannot afford to have their children inoculated gratis. This only

proves, what is already too well known, that there are members of the medical profession always ready to take advantage of popular prejudice, and turn it to their own account. Having now so fair an opportunity, they indulge themselves in a short-lived triumph over their adversaries, by attributing every disease to vaccination, and make their unfortunate patients *pay dearly* for being *inoculated gratis.*

Dr. Moseley himself has effectually, but perhaps unwittingly, vindicated the character of vaccination. He tells us, he has inquired of some of the principal practitioners, whether such untoward events frequently happen in the metropolis; and they have generally answered him in the negative. Hence they conclude, that these occurrences are owing to ignorance and neglect.

Dr. Moseley talks of new diseases, which are not noticed in any system of nosology hitherto published. Not having seen any of those diseases, and not believing that they exist, I shall defer making any observations on them, till the Doctor has published a new system of nosology, in order to explain them.

He has one chapter on the Extermination of the Small-pox, in which he takes great pains to tell us what he does not know. He also tells us one thing which he does know; namely, that the exterminators of the small-pox will have many obstacles to remove, before they can accomplish

their object. One of them is the credulity of the public.

Dr. Moseley has inserted an advertisement of some gentlemen of Plymouth Dock, which I consider too valuable to be omitted in this place. It is as follows:

" *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 *nearly swept away whole families.* They lament the effects of this destructive disease so much 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 have again consulted together; and after a most deliberate reconsideration of all the existing circumstances connected with vaccine inoculation, feel themselves professionally and conscientiously called on, to adhere to their former resolutions, and reciprocal engagements. They have accordingly renewed their determination, *not to inoculate for the small-pox,* excepting after the inoculation of the cow-pock; and that *only in peculiar circumstances,* where an experiment may be required,

in order 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-pock exclusively*, the most decisive and satisfactory mode of conveying to the public their perfect reliance on this mild preventive, as a 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 method 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. (Signed) Vaughan May, M. D. Robert Sargent, Daniel Little, Richard Dunning, Diggory 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 may be inoculated gratuitously at the

usual time and place; or at any time, by application to the respective houses of the subscribers.

"*December* 18*th*, 1804."

Having for some time exerted my humble endeavours, to restrain variolous inoculation to the limits here proposed, I could not but be highly gratified on perusing these resolutions. It is true, there are some persons who pretend, that variolous inoculation in their hands, is void of danger; but, to borrow the allusion of Dr. Mead, which is referred to by Dr. Moseley, any man who pretends to change the small-pox into a mild and harmless disease, resembles the alchymists; who pretend to change the baser metals into gold. When continual disappointments have convinced them of the vanity of their hopes, they are still rewarded for their labour; for if they do not extract gold from *iron* or *lead*, they extract it from the *purses* of those who are so ignorant as to listen to them, and so credulous as to believe them.

OBSERVATIONS ON DR. MOSELEY'S CONCLUSION.

Dr. Moseley's conclusion is like the rest of his pamphlet; it consists of declamation instead of argument, and assertions instead of proofs. He tells us, the cow-pox is no security against the small-pox. He may as well say, the performance of quarantine is no security against the plague; nor the army or navy of England against an invasion.

He tells us, he has also proved "that the inoculated cow-pox is not a *milder*, or *safer* disease, than the inoculated small-pox."—After this it would be no wonder, if any man should tell us he had proved, that black is white.

He tells us, he has likewise proved, that all attempts to exterminate the small-pox by means of vaccination are vain. This question it will be time enough to determine, when vaccination has been fairly tried in this country.—In some other parts of the world it has been fairly tried; and never tried in vain.

Dr. Moseley follows the example set by Mr. Birch in his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons; pretending that there are a number of mysteries in variolous inoculation; and modestly hinting, that he is well acquainted with them all. This is an *ad captandum*, intended for

such of his readers as have children to be inoculated for the small-pox. He also follows the example of Mr. Birch in pretending, that it is necessary to exert a great deal of professional skill, and to make a great deal of fuss in conducting a patient through that operation. This reminds us of the opinion of Dr. Gatti of Pisa, quoted by Dr. Black in his Observations on the Small-pox. He says, " Dr. Gatti, who wrote a sensible Treatise on this subject, remarks, *and I believe justly*, that the *more simplicity is used in transferring the disease artificially, the practice and public benefit are likely to be the more universal. Several of our European inoculators, with officious industry, often exercise a superfluous preparatory parade of professional and scientific craft. Young children especially may dispense with many of these redundant ceremonies.*

It also reminds us of the opinion of Kirkpatrick, with regard to the obstacles which the inoculation of the small-pox had to encounter; obstacles, which vaccine inoculation has to encounter in a much greater degree.—He says, it is natural to suppose, that the tendency of inoculation to divert the emoluments of the profession into one channel, might co-operate with the few unfortunate events which occurred in the practice, to retard its progress for many years. A physician, though he might approve the practice, would not be over-zealous in promoting it, when his advice and attendance were deemed unnecessary; and apo-

thecaries could not be expected to recommend a practice, where so little medicine was required. "Thus the general interest of physicians and apothecaries might have concurred with the miscarriages of inoculation, in fortifying and extending vulgar prejudices; and leaving the natural disease to its natural course and havoc."

Dr. Kirkpatrick admits, that some physicians and apothecaries might have been such philanthropists, as to recommend the inoculation of the small-pox, although they sustained a loss from the practice; "*but*," he adds, "*whatever horror the reflection gives me, I am convinced there have been, and are, physicians, who wish it had never reached us.*

"Some of these," he says, "from having vulgar capacities, to the misfortune of their patients, might mean well; though they acted from vulgar prejudices. But others, who were better qualified, grew lukewarm in the promotion of what they had thoroughly considered, and certainly approved; a gentleman of this sort having given me his opinion, that it was not worth the time of a physician, to attend much to the subject; as the practice had all fallen into a different channel."

Dr. Kirkpatrick acknowledges there may be some truth in this; and admits, that a medical man has least occasion to investigate any subject, concerning which he is not likely to be much

consulted. Yet he thinks it may be questioned, whether any one can justify himself for a total indifference to a practice, which is essential to the happiness of mankind, merely because it is not profitable to himself. But we must quit Kirkpatrick, thankful that we have no self-interested medical practitioners at the present day; and return to Dr. Moseley.

He says, Dimsdale's Treatise on Inoculation is replete with *medical science, liberality, and good sense*; which makes me suspect, that he has never read it.

He says, the cow-itch is a new distemper; and thinks an investigation of that subject may lead to some discovery respecting the origin and nature of the common itch. The first of these opinions is erroneous, the last visionary. The cow-itch is probably almost as old as the creation; and if the human species are capable of catching it, they must take care never to milk a cow. The common itch, or, to speak more correctly, the human itch, is already well known. In the courts and alleys which he visits in the course of his investigations, Dr. Moseley may meet with many people who understand the nature of the disorder perfectly well; and have it at their fingers' ends. If he wishes for further information, he may consult the London Medical Journal; where he may read an account of the curious animalcule, which, *like some other vermin*,

is so fond of sporting with the human hide; and see his portrait.

Dr. Moseley observes, that candour and fair dealing are necessary, when we are pursuing a philosophical subject, for the attainment of truth. It is rather unfortunate, that he did not recollect this before; and that such an idea did not occur to him, till he came to the conclusion of his performance. It now bears too much resemblance to a death-bed repentance; or a last dying speech and confession.

Let us see whether he brings forth fruits worthy of repentance; let us hear the candid confession he now voluntarily makes. He says, "I know of no evils attending the cow-pox, except those I have mentioned; but they are bad enough."—They are, indeed, bad enough of any conscience, if they have any existence in truth. He says, as far as his experience goes, there are no ill effects of the cow-pox, which lie dormant in the constitution for any length of time. If there are any, they soon appear; and are, for the most part, of the cutaneous kind. They have no affinity or connexion with the scrofula; which, Dr. Moseley says, "is the inheritance of the moist, pallid, pituitous people of England." This, he says, must be a consolation to those parents, whose children have had the cow-pox.

Such a confession was some atonement to Vac-

cina, for the wrongs she had suffered from Dr. Moseley; and almost sufficient to appease her resentment. But in his second edition he has added a note, in which he calumniates her again; and seems to repent of his repentance.

In truth, there can be no great difficulty in heaping up charges against the cow-pox, if every disease which happens afterwards is to be laid at the door of the practice, when half the children in the metropolis have undergone vaccination. If Dr. Moseley really wished to give one specimen of candour and fair dealing, he would also have brought into view the long and melancholy catalogue of diseases which afflict the other half of the children in the metropolis, who have had the small-pox. But into this subject I shall not enter. It would be too shocking for the public to peruse, and too tedious for me to relate.

It must not be forgotten, however, that after vaccination had passed the fiery ordeal of a rigid scrutiny for six years, Dr. Moseley declared, that it is not a cause of scrofula. That disease is often supposed to be occasioned by the small-pox. But perhaps the *moist*, *pallid*, *pituitous* people of England are too ready to ascribe the scrofula to the small-pox; for Dr. Moseley, who must know, assures us it is our natural inheritance. We ought therefore not to blame any person, or any other disease, for that inveterate scourge of the

English nation; but to bear it with patience, to kiss the rod, and to be content with our lot.

Dr. Moseley tells us, he knows one philosopher, who says the cow-pox deadens and dephlogisticates the system, and diminishes the mental acumen.—Hence it is probable, this philosopher was born and educated in a dairy farm; and has been used to milking.

It must appear surprising to people in general, that after Dr. Moseley has exhausted his whole stock of abuse in condemning vaccination, he should still be unwilling to part with it. Possibly he thinks it may serve to amuse him and his friends again on a future day; and to improve their mental acumen.

> We grant, although he has much wit,
> He 's very shy in shewing it,
> As being loth to wear it out,—
> And therefore bears it not about,
> Unless on holidays, or so,
> As men their best apparel do.

Dr. Moseley proposes, however, that vaccination shall be *confined solely to experiment*; and that no person shall rely on it as a preventive of the small-pox. This is a most idle and ridiculous proposal; but we know the Doctor is fond of a joke.

He thinks it may possibly serve as a temporary security against the small-pox, in fleets and armies, and on board African ships freighted with

cargoes of human flesh; where, he tells us, its ravages are sometimes dreadful. He also thinks it may prove serviceable for the same purpose in the plantations; where he seems to admit, that the disorder is sometimes a little untractable. This is rather surprising, when he has before asserted, that inoculation has disarmed the small-pox of all its terrors; and that he himself, and many others, have inoculated many thousands with the small-pox in the West Indies, as well as in Europe, without losing a single patient.

Some people may possibly believe, that the protecting power of the cow-pock is only temporary; but from the unfair conduct of others, and the unjustifiable means to which they have had recourse, in order to subvert vaccination, have too much reason to suppose, that in them it is only an artful pretext.

In a letter published in the Medical Journal for March 1801, and in my Treatise on the Cow-pox, p. 505, I remarked, that if the cow-pock only proves a security against the small-pox for half the time which the opponents of the practice allow, it ought to be promoted; since it is probable, that before the expiration of half that period, the small-pox will be known in this kingdom only by name.

I also remarked, that it was by no means evident, the person whose case was alluded to had for a while escaped variolous infection, in conse-

quence of the supposed cow-pox; since the same thing often occurs in those who have never milked a cow, nor been suspected to have had the disease any other way. Dr. E. Bancroft informed me, that his brother was inoculated for the small-pox eleven times; the last time by Dr. James Sims, in the Small-pox Hospital, in both arms, with a large quantity of fluid matter, immediately from a patient labouring under the disease, but all to no purpose: yet he afterwards caught the small-pox in France, and had it very severely.

I then added the following observations: "Leaving every one to form his own opinion concerning permanent preventives, I beg leave to conclude with expressing my opinion, that if medical men perform their duty, and sincerely unite in their endeavours to exterminate the disease, *we shall not long have occasion for a permanent preventive*, nor even for any preventive at all; provided care be taken to enforce a proper quarantine, when any vessel arrives from foreign parts, where that worst of plagues, the small-pox, may happen to prevail."

Four years and a half have elapsed since the publication of this letter, yet we still waste our time in disputing, whether vaccination is a permanent preventive, instead of promoting a general adoption of the practice; which, if it is a preventive only for a month, would enable us to exterminate the small-pox.

If inoculation of the cow-pock is no more a security than the inoculation of the small-pox, which is often known to deceive, we ought not on this account to relax, but rather to redouble our exertions. Thus, and thus only, would the practice have a fair trial; and those who could not be secured by inoculation would be secured by cutting off the source of infection. This argument may have some weight with those, whose children have already been vaccinated; and induce them to co-operate in the extinction of the most fatal of all diseases. When the argument of humanity fails, that of *ardet proximus Ucalegon* may prevail.

But although Dr. Moseley only admits vaccination to be a temporary preservative, he thinks it may be turned to some advantage; provided we can ascertain the critical period when it leaves the habit. He also proposes, that we should prepare those who have been vaccinated, for the reception of the small-pox, by diet and medicine; and that we should time the operation so as to surmount the influence of the cow-pox. This is a most ingenious proposal, which Dr. Moseley has reserved to the conclusion of his work. It must revive the drooping spirits of those, who forebode a diminution of their income from the discovery of Dr. Jenner.

If a strict and tedious regimen is still to be enjoined, and a long course of medicine prescribed,

the critical moment to be watched, and a second inoculation to be performed, their frequent attendance will still be required; and a new source of emolument is opened to their ravished eyes. We may therefore augur, from this omen, a most auspicious termination of the contest. Since one branch of the medical profession germinates while another decays, vaccination will henceforth meet with but few obstacles; and no longer awaken the jealousy of the dragon, who guards the golden fruit.

Dr. Moseley allows, that whether the practice should stand or fall, the boldness of the conception was a masterly stretch of the mind; and that, if it produces the important consequences proposed, Dr. Jenner can never be sufficiently rewarded by the human race. He confesses, that the very idea of wresting this dreadful scourge of humanity from the hands of nature was sublime. In pronouncing this encomium, he has only done justice to the genius of Dr. Jenner; of whom we may say, without offering much violence to the text of an inimitable author:

Jamque aderat Phœbo ante alios dilectus Ienner
Hunterides, acri quondam cui captus amore,
Ipse suas artes, sua munera lætus Apollo
Augurium, citharamque dabat, celeresque sagittas:
Scire potestates herbarum, usumque medendi,
Maluit, et mutas agitare inglorius artes.

Dr. Moseley has done justice, and no more than justice, to Dr. Jenner's grand and magnifi-

cent idea of exterminating the small-pox; but laments that he was not left to prosecute his experiments deliberately in his rural retreat; and still to investigate the subject, in a quiet and philosophical way, for a considerable number of years. Had Dr. Jenner remained in the country, his discovery might have died with him; and it must also be recollected, that a physician in the country cannot tread on the heels of a physician in town.

Dr. Moseley is of opinion, that Dr. Jenner hurried his discovery into the world before its time; and that it was little better than a miscarriage; while others think it resembled Minerva, who sprung from the brain of Jupiter, mature, and perfect, and clad with impenetrable armour.

Dr. Moseley, however, knows better; for he maintains, that Dr. Jenner brought the raw materials of his manufacture, to wit, his saturated thread, and his impregnated cotton, to market; and that they were snatched from his hands, when in this crude state, by a set of medical jugglers; who were so besotted and stupified with the gigantic novelty, that they scattered them in every direction, as Sampson scattered firebrands among the Philistines. Here the learned author seems to glance at the blunders committed in this metropolis, by the dissemination of small-pox matter under the name of the cow-pock matter,

to the disgrace of the medical profession, and the annoyance of the public at large.

The learned author, in taking his leave, tells us, that the task which he has performed, was imposed on him by imperious circumstances. I am sorry to find, that either his circumstances, or those of any other man, should ever compel him to undertake such a task.

He hopes the enlightened friends of vaccination will consider him as a poor Indian, travelling through a pathless wood; who breaks the boughs, and knots the weeds, as he goes along, in order to mark out a track for his return. He has before told us, that a short pilgrimage, at the cart's tail, is a very proper discipline for those sinners, who are guilty of disorderly behaviour, in defence of a bad practice. If so, that man has reason to fear a long pilgrimage, of a more unpleasant kind, who has been guilty of a frequent repetition of the same offence; and though he may break the boughs, and knot the weeds, as he goes along, in order to mark a track for his return, he may not find it so easy to return as he expects.

Facilis descensus Averni,
Sed revocare gradum, et superas evadere ad auras,
Hoc opus, hic labor est.

ON THE APPENDIX TO THE SECOND EDITION OF DR. MOSELEY'S TREATISE.

Truth lies in a well; and, as far as we can judge from his pamphlet, there she may always lie, for aught Dr. Moseley cares about her. Patient inquiry, sober investigation, and deep research, are irksome to great wits; and if ever they go near a well, it is only to sip the waters because they sparkle like champain; or to play with the bubbles that float on their surface.

Let me, however, caution these great wits, not to appear in print. The joke, which may please in conversation, and entertain their companions in their convivial hours, will evaporate in the press. Health is too serious a thing to be trifled with; and what is sport to Dr. Moseley may be death to others. It is therefore a subject worthy of the consideration of the greatest wit, whether we ought to be satisfied with superficial knowledge, when we have the care of human life.

> A little learning is a dang'rous thing;
> Drink deep—or taste not the Pæonian spring.

It is, perhaps, scarcely necessary to bring any proofs, that Dr. Moseley's knowledge of vaccination is superficial, except those which he himself has furnished in such abundance, from the beginning of his book to the end. But if there be any person, who requires further evidence, how

far that gentleman is qualified for the task he has undertaken, let him peruse a very able work on this subject, from the pen of Mr. Merriman; entitled, "Observations on some late Attempts to depreciate the Value and Efficacy of vaccine Inoculation."

In this work it is stated, on the authority of Sir George Baker, that even as late as the year 1766, the inoculation of the small-pox still met with *unreasonable opposition* from *the obstinacy of prejudiced men*; who not only employed every *plausible argument*, but betrayed a want of candour, and were guilty of misrepresentation in their attempts to suppress it.

Among the principal and most determined opponents of vaccination,

——by merit rais'd
To that bad eminence,

Mr. Merriman first mentions Dr. Moseley; who very early subjected the practice to the test of ridicule. Nevertheless "it rose in the public estimation; because it was evident, that his prejudices were the result of theory, and not of experience."

Dr. Moseley, and other persons equally ignorant of the subject, having pretended, that those practitioners who exert their endeavours to promote vaccination, are influenced by self-interested motives, Mr. Merriman refutes the calumny; and

maintains, that every medical man who practises or recommends it, is a loser by his philanthropy.

He says, we have the consolation to reflect, that although some practitioners try to discountenance and suppress vaccine inoculation, yet the most respectable part of the profession, men of the most distinguished abilities, who cannot possibly derive any pecuniary advantage from the practice, honour it with their support. He then asks, whether we are to be told, that the judgment of these men is inferior to that of Dr. Moseley?

He vindicates the character of our countrywomen from the foul aspersion of Dr. Moseley; who expresses an apprehension, that if they are inoculated for the cow-pock, they will fall in love with bulls; and then asks, whether any man is so infatuated as to believe, that such downright nonsense as this is to overturn a practice, founded on the experience of the most judicious and able physicians and surgeons in the world? "Is it to be supposed, that a grave physician, wishing merely to instruct and inform his fellow-creatures, would fill his pages with such unmeaning, such impertinent declamation? Or does he expect, that the world will give credit to a publication, contaminated with so disgusting an insinuation? For *the vulgar*, and *the most ignorant of the vulgar only*, can such arguments be intended."

Mr. Merriman thinks it astonishing, that when Dr. Moseley appears desirous, solely, of courting the applauses of this class of people, he should attempt to make them believe, that other diseases may be introduced into the habit with the cow-pock, but not with the small-pox. This he considers as an insult to their understanding; but, indeed, if Dr. Moseley had supposed them to have any understanding, he would never have written such a book.

Mr. Merriman observes, that the same absurd and ridiculous argument was urged by Dr. Wagstaffe against the inoculation of the small-pox. He pretended, that it might produce the chicken-pox; that in some instances, the matter was translated to the bones, making them foul and carious; and that, in others, it occasioned a hectic fever, and a consumption.

Many of the cases, published at that time, Mr. Merriman justly observes, are equal to any which have been brought forward against vaccination; especially that of Miss Rolt, published by Dr. Robinson in 1725. The inoculator had promised a mild sort, like the empirics of the present day. He also boasted, that he had disarmed the small-pox of all its terrors. When the eruption appeared, he wished her joy; and said she was *in for it.*—She was, indeed, *in for it*; *in for violent pains of the joints, in for an irregular sort of small-*

pox, breaking out in clusters, first in one place and then in another; but at length proving as full as possible, and of the confluent sort.

On the 8th day she grew *delirious*; first one physician was called in, and then another; but neither the art of Chiron, nor the art of Melampus, could avail. On the next morning they perceived *several tumours*, particularly about the joints; where she had complained of such excruciating pains before the eruption. *These daily increased, and spread all over her.* Some of them were opened. The surgeon lanced her *seven times in one morning.*

The humour that continually discharged from these abscesses, was of so sharp and virulent a nature, that it eat away the flesh, and gnawed the ligaments asunder; so that the bones rattled against each other. Her limbs were tied up in pasteboard; nevertheless, had she dragged out her miserable existence a little longer, they must have dropped off from her body.

Neither of her sores, whether occasioned by incision or caustic, ever healed; and in this deplorable condition she continued upwards of six weeks; being in the most exquisite torture upon the least motion.

The physicians attended above a month; and another surgeon was called in some days before her death; but they could do little more than

look on, and contemplate the terrible piece of work, which this boasting inoculator had cut out for himself.

After the death of this young lady, the nurse took off thirty-five plaisters; notwithstanding there were several tumours which had never been opened. Mortifications also had taken place in different parts of the body; and the bones started out of the joints.

This, Mr. Merryman observes, and other cases which made much noise at the time, produced such a sensation in the mind of the public, as greatly to discourage the practice. Howgrave, one of its most virulent enemies, and the Moseley of the day, cries out, "I triumph, a complete victory is gained! I have proved, not only that the hazard of inoculation is not considerably less; but that it is considerably greater than that of the natural small-pox. I hope, therefore, there will now be an end of the dispute, at least among physicians; and since this point is so fairly determined, the practice of inoculation must on all hands be given up."

Mr. Merriman further observes, that notwithstanding all the opposition which was so obstinately made to the progress of inoculation, and all the adverse cases published and reported against it, the practice still prevailed; and at length was crowned with general approbation. The Wagstaffs, the Masseys, and the Howgraves,

died and were forgotten; and their works are only remembered as examples of illiberality and prejudice.

"*It is evident*," say she, "*from the success which afterwards attended it, that the practice of inoculation excited alarm and opposition, more because it militated against the prejudices and interest of certain medical men, than because it was injurious in itself. Whatever disease occurred after the inoculation of the small-pox, it was attributed by ignorant and prejudiced persons to that operation; as it is now attributed to the inoculation of the cow-pock.*

"Exaggeration and misrepresentation, malevolence and rancour, had nearly overwhelmed one of the most beneficial discoveries which the art of medicine could ever boast. The same prejudices, the same illiberality, the same arts are employed, to suppress the present great discovery; but it still flourishes, and, I doubt not, will continue to flourish, in spite of the most determined efforts of its opponents:

"———Injurioso pec pede proruat
Stantem columnam."

Mr. Merriman alludes to the frequent failure of variolous inoculation, and justly remarks, that it is unreasonable to expect the inoculation of the cow-pock to be a more certain security against the small-pox, than the inoculation of the small-pox itself.

Mr. Rogers, a pupil of Mr. Birch, having in-

sinuated, that no mention was made, till lately, of the small-pox occurring a second time; Mr. Merriman observes, that if he had inquired, he would have found there were many such instances. Perhaps he did inquire, and inquired in vain; for there are people in the world, and some that set up as *instructors*, who know no more than himself. *Ex quovis ligno non fit Mercurius.*

The most common objection urged against variolous inoculation, even in our own time, was, that it did not afford a security against the future infection of the small-pox. One instance of this kind, in addition to the many others brought forward here and elsewhere, was that of the Duchess of Boufflers, inoculated in the year 1763, by Dr. Gatti, physician to the King of France, an inoculator of great experience. This case may be seen in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1765.

Mr. Merriman brings forward some very striking proofs of the superior advantages of vaccine over variolous inoculation, especially the following. Five children in one family, in South Audley Street, who have been inoculated with the small-pox, have all been subject to eruptions since; and one of them in a remarkable degree. Four other children, in the same family, have since been inoculated with the cow-pock; and not one of them has been troubled with any such complaint.

Mr. Merriman notices Dr. Moseley's description of the itch, which he ascribes to the cow-pock. Though in great practice, he has never seen it; nor will he ever see it till he sees with the jaundiced eye of an enemy of vaccination. Had such a disease existed, the alarm would have been sounded through the metropolis within twenty-four hours. Were the cow subject to such a disease, and the human subject susceptible of it, we should long ago have heard of it in almost every county in England. But as to the common itch, which becomes pustulous and malignant through neglect, we all see too much of that; and Dr. Moseley will see it too, if he will use a little of the famous eye-water which he talks of; and clear his optics.

As to the absurdity of supposing, that the matter of any disease can produce another specific disease, and generate animalcules, Mr. Merriman observes, this doctrine of equivocal generation has been too long exploded, to be revived by the philosophical sect of the antivaccinists. But what will not those wiseacres attempt, who pretend that a child becomes a Bucephalus in consequence of vaccination, and that a woman who has undergone the operation may rival Pasiphaë in depravity, and breed a minotaur?

After giving a decisive opinion in favour of the cow-pock, on account of its mildness, Mr. Merriman observes, that in the cases which he has

published, Dr. Moseley has neither shewn himself a man of calm examination, nor a careful investigator of facts; but, determined to injure vaccination at all events, admitted cases against it, without adducing the least trace of evidence to authenticate them.

Of this kind is the case of Mr. Curling's child, at No. 18, George Street, Portland Chapel, vaccinated by me. Five years after the inoculation of this child I was informed for the first time, in the second edition of Dr. Moseley's book, that he had the small-pox nine months after vaccination. Having inquired into the particulars, I published them in the Medical Journal. They agree exactly with Mr. Merriman's statement; which is to the following effect:

Some months after the child had been inoculated, he had what Mrs. Curling thought the small-pox, but on shewing him to two medical men, they both declared it was the chicken-pox. It was then at or near its height.

A gentleman, whom she supposes to have been Dr. Moseley, came to her about three months before, and inquired whether her child had not had the small-pox after vaccination; to which she replied, she thought he had; and the gentleman, supposed to be Dr. Moseley, *without any inquiry into particulars*, said, *There is no doubt about it.*

She also informed Mr. Merriman, that the

eruption continued out only a few days; *she is positive not a week*; and, she believes, it dried away at the end of five days at the farthest. There are several marks of it still remaining on his breast.

On this occasion Mr. Merriman asks, whether it is consistent with the character of a real searcher after truth, to propagate reports on such very slight foundations? whether the opinion of a medical man, who saw the patient four or five years after, is to be believed in opposition to that of two competent judges, who saw him at the time when he had the disease?

For these and other reasons, which he specifies, he concludes, that this was not an instance of the small-pox after the cow-pock. But, whether from a peculiarity of constitution, or imperfect vaccination, or the possibility of having the small-pox twice, he admits, with the author of this publication, that such an occurrence has, in some instances, really taken place. The same, however, he maintains, may be said of variolous inoculation; and he refers for proofs of this assertion, to Kirkpatrick's Analysis, and his Reply to Pierce Dod; and to Haygarth's Sketch of a Plan for exterminating the Small-pox, p. 278.

Mr. Merriman concludes his very valuable publication with correcting another erroneous report, to which Dr. Moseley has given circulation in his pamphlet. He there says, "The

elder son of Mr. Englefield Town, who had been vaccinated by Mr. Sandys, soon after inoculation broke out in violent ulcerations; and died in a miserable manner."

Mr. Merriman says, he is authorized by Mr. Sandys to contradict this report. He stated expressly, that the child perfectly recovered from inoculation; that a slight eruption, altogether independent of it, afterwards appeared; but there was nothing in this eruption, either alarming or uncommon. About three months after vaccination, he was attacked with a peripneumony, of which he died.—Mr. Merriman justly observes, that had Dr. Moseley taken the pains to consult the Bills of Mortality for March last, and recollected the prevalence of north-easterly winds at that season of the year, he need not have been at a loss to account for an inflammation of the lungs, or the death of a delicate child from that complaint.

I have just received the Bath Journal for August 19, in which Dr. Parry has refuted some false reports concerning vaccination, circulated in that city with great industry; some of which were sanctioned by the mockery of an oath. Speaking of the disingenuousness with which we have to contend, Dr. Parry says, it is lamentable to see its extent. "What shall we think," says he, "of that spirit which could induce one unfortunate woman in this city, whose case has been

quoted with such triumph by other opponents of vaccination, and, as usual, quoted only to be refuted, to rush into the presence of her Creator, with a falsehood of this kind yet warm upon her lips?"

This unhappy woman, only a few days before her death, told many gentlemen and other persons, that she had been vaccinated by Mr. Barnes of Pewsey, who assured her that she would never have the small-pox. Mr. Barnes, however, denies that he inoculated her; and her own father and mother, and others, assert, that she was inoculated by a cobler.

One of Mrs. Codey's children had some time before had an eruption, which Dr. Parry, and other gentlemen, thought the chicken-pox. A Mr. Edwards thought it the small-pox. But, says Dr. Parry, the chicken-pox has, at all periods, been with difficulty distinguished from the small-pox, by wiser men, with reverence be it spoken, than Mr. Edwards. These, however, are not the men spoken of by Dr. Moseley, who have eyes at their fingers' ends.

Mr. Edwards having asserted, that matter taken from Mrs. Codey's child, produced the small-pox by inoculation, Dr. Parry says, "Mr. Edwards must know, that nurses or other persons may, by inoculation, or by contact, frequently have local pustules, though they have previously had the inoculated or natural small-pox; and, according

to his own premises above quoted, I should not admit Master Griffiths to have had the small-pox, though Mrs. Hanham, or Mrs. Battlebury, or Mr. Edwards, should, in their laudable zeal, take matter from the inoculated arm of this patient, and thus continue their malignant practice of spreading this hateful pestilence, to the destruction of half the human race.

"Let these persons go to their pillows with this reflection, and sleep on them with what comfort they may; and let them, by publicly boasting of the success of their own efforts to spread this scourge of mankind, in spite of all the efforts of the friends of humanity to expel it for ever from the face of the earth, afford a farther proof, if any were still wanting, that insolence usually accompanies vice."

DR. MOSELEY'S CASES.

The first case mentioned in Dr. Moseley's Appendix is that of Mr. Bailey's son. Dr. Moseley asserts, that this child had the small-pox after the cow-pock; and that he was vaccinated by Mr. Sandys of Kentish Town. This statement, however, is erroneous; for Mr. Sandys has as-

sured me and others, that he did not inoculate the child for the cow-pock, but for the small-pox.

The next case is one, which is said to have occurred to Mr. Robinson of Rotherham, soon after the introduction of the practice. In this case also, the small-pox is stated to have happened after vaccination. When this story was first propagated, I was in the constant habit of inquiring into every unfavourable report. I therefore wrote to Mr. Robinson on the subject; but received no answer. Soon afterwards I was informed, by a member of the Physical Society, whence this report issued, that Mr. Robinson was convinced of his error; and that his patient, who had the small-pox, had never had the cow-pock. *One ipse dixit* is as good an argument as another; I shall, therefore, oppose the *ipse dixit* of this gentleman to that of Dr. Moseley.

The next case is that of Mr. Curling's child, which is already refuted. Mrs. Curling is now so far convinced of her error, that she lately advised one of her neighbours to have two children vaccinated; and recommended them to me, that they might be vaccinated free of expense.

The next cases are those of the three children of Mr. Alexander, late a grocer in the Strand, near Exeter Change, inoculated for the cow-pock in November 1800, by Mr. Potier. Dr. Moseley tells us, Mr. Potier had the matter from the

Vaccine-Pock Institution, and paid half a guinea for having his lancets charged; that they were enclosed in a paper, sealed with the arms of the Institution; and that the three children had the cow-pock in the usual way.

But if his statement of the cases proves any thing, it proves too much; for, instead of verifying his assertion, that they had the cow-pock in the usual way, he tells us, that the arms of two of them were so much inflamed and ulcerated, where the matter was inserted, that great danger was apprehended, from the virulence and malignity of the infection. He also tells us, that two of the children afterwards had the small-pox.

These cases are noticed in my Treatise on the Cow-pox, p. 608, in the following manner: "It is well known, that innumerable false reports, concerning this subject, are circulated: with great industry; and it cannot escape the most superficial observer, that *no persons are so indefatigable in propagating such reports, as those who are interested in the suppression of the cow-pock.*

"In making this remark, I can scarcely be supposed to cast the least reflection on those professional men, who, instead of perverting, only wish to ascertain the truth; and, instead of disturbing the minds of timorous mothers with vain alarms, either institute inquiries themselves, or recommend that they should be instituted by others,

whom they suppose, from their experience, to be better qualified for the task.

" Among the various rumours which have lately gone forth, and excited doubts in the minds of the most respectable persons, no one has been spread with more confidence, or gained a greater number of converts, than that respecting a family in the neighbourhood of Exeter Change. I was therefore induced to investigate the truth of those assertions.

" I was informed, that three children, in the family alluded to, had been inoculated for the cow-pock, and, after proceeding regularly through the disease, had caught the small-pox. The mother of the children, a very sensible woman, stated the particulars in a very accurate manner, and with great candour. By her statement it appeared, that the gentleman who inoculated the children, confesses he had never inoculated any one with cow-pock matter before: and it is worthy of observation, that these failures commonly occur in the practice of those, who have had little experience in this kind of inoculation.

" The children were all inoculated by means of an incision; which is stated to have been *very long* and *very deep*. These incisions are said to have been *very much inflamed on the third day*; which induced the medical gentleman to pronounce them all infected. In one of the patients no pustule, or elevation of any kind, took place:

in another there was a very small pimple, which did not maturate; and in the third, a very large pustule, depressed in the centre, and filled with matter, which was rather opake.

" About two months after inoculation, the two first, in whom no pustule appeared, sickened with the natural small-pox. The other was sent into the country six weeks before; while the pustule was on his arm. By some accident it broke; and the arm continued discharging a long time before it healed

" This child was brought from the country, and exposed to the infection of a child, who had caught the small-pox from the other two; but he resisted that infection. It is proper to remark, that the lancets were charged with a considerable quantity of *thick yellow matter*; which renders it probable, that it was taken at a late period of the disease, and consequently was the more likely to fail.

" It deserves also to be mentioned, that Dr. Croft, and a considerable number of other respectable medical men, residing in London, had called at the house, in order to scrutinize the cases; almost all of whom were confident, that in two of them inoculation had failed. A few gentlemen from the country, who seemed to be totally unacquainted with the subject, appeared to entertain doubts.

"When all the circumstances of these cases are well weighed, it must be acknowledged by every unprejudiced person, that, instead of furnishing an argument against vaccine inoculation, they afford the strongest, and most incontestable argument in its favour."

The two next cases brought forward by Dr. Moseley, occurred in November 1800, in the practice of Mr. Brookes of Leeds. That these children had the small-pox, there can be no room to question; but before we can admit that they had the cow-pock, we must have some proof that Mr. Brookes was at that time a judge of the characteristics of the disease. As a proof, however, that vaccination has many advocates at Leeds, in the Medical Journal for December 1800, is a testimonial, signed by five physicians, and seventeen surgeons, in favour of the practice.

The two next cases are said to have occurred at Maldon in Essex. Such cases were, indeed, published in the Morning Herald; and an answer to them would have been published by the Rev. Mr. Ferryman, who inquired into the report, and found it totally destitute of foundation, but the editor positively refused to admit it. This shews, that the newspapers have not been so inaccessible to the enemies of vaccination, as Dr. Moseley pretends.

It was with a reference to the article in the Morning Herald, that I published the following remarks in my Treatise on the Cow-pox, p. 610:

"An inveterate foe to this practice, who signs Verax, but has not yet proved his title to that signature, pretends that certain instances occurred at Maldon, in which the small-pox supervened the cow-pock. It may be thought by some people, that such an unauthenticated assertion hardly merits notice. Waving, however, this objection, I shall state the substance of different letters from that place, which I have had an opportunity of perusing. By these it appears, that in one instance where the cow-pock is supposed to have taken place, the patient was inoculated with variolous matter, but resisted infection. In a subsequent inoculation, the matter was inserted deep; which produced an abscess, and some pustules on the arm. This can only be considered as a local affection. In the practice of another gentleman at the same place, the pustules, in three different patients, proved abortive. The arms healed prematurely; and the patients, when inoculated with variolous matter, had the small-pox, as might well be expected."

In a subsequent part of the same work, p. 662, is the following additional remark on the same subject:—"I have now received attestations from several gentlemen of Maldon; all positively con-

tradicting the report, of any person having had the small-pox after the cow-pock at that place."

The next case stated is that of Mr. C——e, in Great George Street, Hanover Square. Dr. Moseley informs us, that this child was inoculated for the cow-pock, and had the distemper; from which he sickened, lingered, and died. The former part of this information is true; the latter is false. The child was vaccinated by an inoculator of the first eminence; who left town a few days after the operation, and consigned his patient to my care. He passed through the disorder safely; and I saw him more than once when he was perfectly recovered. He continued in very good health more than two months; and was then attacked with a complaint, which had not the least connexion with the cow-pock. That complaint proved fatal. The father, the mother, and the medical man who attended the child in his last illness, are ready, if necessary, to attest the truth of this statement, and still further to refute the rash and unwarrantable assertions of Dr. Moseley.

The next case is that of an infant of Mr. D——n, in Weymouth Street. Dr. Moseley has not killed this poor child by the cow-pox; but he says, it was inoculated with the cow-pox by Dr. Underwood; that the arm ulcerated to an alarming degree, that much disease followed, that

several opinions were taken on the case, and that it is well known, it nearly proved fatal.

Having been consulted by Dr. Underwood, at the time when Mr. D——n's children were under vaccination, concerning another person in the same house, he shewed me the children; and Dr. Jenner, who was with me when Dr. Underwood called, and accompanied us, also saw them. A maid-servant had a pustule on the back of her hand; and Dr. Underwood wished to know whether it was of the vaccine kind. I told him it was not; and this opinion was confirmed by Dr. Jenner. Had any thing serious occurred to either of the children after I saw them, I have no doubt that Dr. Underwood would have consulted me again; as he was at that time in the habit of making inquiries of me concerning vaccination, that he might know whether he ought to recommend it to the distinguished families whom he attended.

One case, which he came to inquire into, is mentioned in my Treatise on the Cow-pox, p. 660. That case was a most vile and abominable fabrication, like the present and the preceding case brought forward by Dr. Moseley. But Dr. Underwood acted with more justice towards the public, and more delicacy towards the individuals concerned, than Dr. Moseley has acted with in these and other cases. He did not publish the fiction without inquiring into it. He

he knew his duty too well to circulate a falsehood; which could not fail to wound the peace of private families, and injure society at large.

Happily, however, I have an antidote for this, as well as other cases, brought forward by Dr. Moseley, to poison the mind of the public. I have authority from the family to say, that the account he has published "*is a misrepresentation of the fact; and that he must have received wrong information.*"

The next case brought forward by Dr. Moseley is said to have occurred at Bristol, in the practice of Dr. Fox. When Dr. *Fox* resided in this metropolis, I frequently heard that he was a sceptic on the subject of vaccination. If, therefore, he had ever tried it, and found it fail, I do not think he would have been such a *goose* as to conceal it.

The next case is that of Edward Bozzard, in Armstrong and Wyatt's timber-yard, opposite Chelsea water-works. Dr. Moseley informs us, that he was inoculated at the Vaccine-Pock Institution; and that he was never well afterwards, but always breaking out in ulcerations, with fevers, headache, and wasting, till he had the small-pox.

Mrs. Bozzard informs me, that on the fifth day after he was inoculated, *a redness appeared as large as a shilling*. This was followed by a pustule, much smaller than those of other children in

her neighbourhood inoculated at the same time; which soon turned, and was soon gone. The pustule was not much larger than a hempseed; and the scab was not like that of the cow-pox, or of a small-pox; but rather like that of the chicken-pox. She says, the gentlemen who saw her child at the Institution were satisfied with the appearance of his arm; that they told her he was safe, and she need not come again.

No one, who knows any thing of vaccination, can look at this child's arm, and not instantly conclude, that he has never had the cow-pock. The case has been investigated by a considerable number of medical practitioners, and every person in the family must have been in the continual habit of inspecting his arms; nevertheless, when I was there, three of them looked for the scar several minutes; and, at last, were doubtful whether they had found it. They appeared, however, to be perfectly convinced that he had had the cow-pox; for Dr. Moseley, *although he had never seen it, assured them he had had it very finely.*

Whether the ill health of this child, subsequent to inoculation, was owing to that cause, it is impossible to prove, or disprove. Such a case, however, ought to operate as a caution to all practitioners, never to take matter at a late period, lest the pus, which, at that period, forms a ring round the scab, and also lies underneath

it, should be inserted instead of the vaccine fluid, and disgrace the practice. We ought always to remember the old adage, *pus generat pus.*

The two next cases occurred in two women, who lived in the service of Mr. Gamble of Bungay. Dr. Moseley tells us, Mr. Gamble is a gentleman of great age, respect, and character. He should have said, a gentleman of great age, respect-*ability*, and character; but this is not the only part of Dr. Moseley's "Treatise on the Cow-pox, or Lues Bovilla," in which *ability* is wanting.

These two simple and untutored females milked cows, had sore hands, and of course concluded they should never have the small-pox. But the event proved that they were mistaken; for one of them, who became a nurse in Yarmouth Hospital, caught the disorder there, and died of it; and the other was recovering from it in May 1801; when Mr. Wm. Walker, the astronomer, was at Bungay, and saw the case. No one who reads the works of Dr. Jenner can entertain the least doubt, that the first disorder was the spurious cow-pox. Had this young woman been vaccinated, when the practice was first recommended, she might still have enjoyed an uninterrupted state of health; and our celebrated astronomer would not have seen her beauty under an eclipse.

The next case is that of a child of Mr. Hillam,

Little Castle Street, Oxford Market, vaccinated by Mr. Lewis, of the Vaccine-Pock Institution, in July 1801. Dr. Moseley informs us, that he has since had the small-pox; that his brother caught the disease from him; and that Mr. Roberts of Warwick Street inoculated from these children, and his patients had the small-pox in the *usual manner.*

We were before told, that the small-pox, which appeared in Mr. Bowen's child, died away in the *usual manner*; but when I questioned Mr. Bowen on this head, I found that they died away prematurely, and never came to suppuration. Whether any thing like this took place in Mr. Roberts's experiments, I shall not pretend to determine; but it would have been satisfactory to know, what that *usual manner* is.

Were not my readers prepared for any thing of that sort, they would be surprised to learn, that Mr. Roberts *did not inoculate* from Mr. Lewis's patient, that he *did not see him*, and *that he does not know whether he has ever had the small-pox, or not.*

The other child, who never had the cow-pock, was, indeed, carried to Mr. Roberts; who took matter from him. Had he seen the child who was vaccinated, and taken matter for inoculation, we should have had reason to expect, that an experiment of so much consequence would be made in public; or before impartial witnesses. Instead

of which, even Mr. Lewis himself was not informed of the circumstance, nor of the supposed failure in his practice, till at length he discovered it in Dr. Moseley's publication. To the same fertile source of intelligence I am indebted for the first information I received of the failure, which is pretended to have happened in the child of Mr. Curling; Mr. Merriman having refuted this case, and published a statement of it similar to that which I published in the Medical Journal. Mr. Roberts told me he had seen the child, when the eruption was out, and communicated the case to Dr. Rowley. He says, Mrs. Curling carried the child to him; but this she positively denies; and declares he did not know any thing of the case, till long since the time, when he attended her husband. It is therefore probable, that Mr. Roberts made a memorandum of it; and afterwards forgot the manner, in which he obtained his information.

Dr. Moseley gives public notice, that Mr. Roberts is one of the many friends of humanity, who have offered to inoculate the poor for the small-pox, free of expense. He has written to Dr. Moseley, to inform him of his intention; and he also requests, that children who have any disease occasioned by the cow-pox may be brought to him; and he will supply them with advice and medicines gratis.

Such an advertisement cannot fail of success.

Not only ignorance, but also interest, will now induce those whose children have any disorder after vaccination, to ascribe it to that cause. Let a similar encouragement be held out for all those children who have any disorder after the small-pox; and Chelsea College would not be able to contain them. Such a plan will, however, furnish an inexhaustible fund of intelligence for Dr. Moseley; and all the diseases which proceed from neglect, uncleanliness, contagion, or an hereditary taint, all the diseases which proceed from vice or from vermin, will be attributed to the cow-pox. Surely the prejudices of the lower class were already sufficient, and needed not the countenance of professional men to confirm them.

The next case is that of a child of Mary Hart, late of Adams Street, Portman Square, now residing at No. 6, Great Chapel Street, Soho. This child was vaccinated by Mr. Wachsel; and has since had an eruption, which some persons thought the small-pox. Mrs. Hart says, she had between thirty and forty pustules; two of which were of a moderate size, and the others of the size of the heads of large pins. It is highly probable, that the two largest eruptions were real small-pocks, occasioned by contact; as the child was in the habit of nursing and fondling a younger child under the inoculated disease. As to the smaller eruptions, the experiments of Dr. Rollo and Mr. Merriman prove, that they are

not always of a variolous kind; but merely the consequence of cuticular inflammation.

The next case is that of Henry Semon, in No Name Court, Bedfordbury. Dr. Moseley says, this child had the small-pox after the cow-pock; but Mr. Morris, of Chandos Street, informs me, that when his brother had the natural small-pox, this child was put into the same bed with him. The bed was small, and the season warm; in consequence of which he broke some of the pustules on his brother by friction; which produced a few small eruptions on the legs.

Mr. Morris communicated to me a much more violent case of the small-pox, which occurred in a daughter of Mr. Bailey, in Charles Court, Strand, although she had previously had the disease so severely in the confluent way, that she was given over; and was much pitted and disfigured by it. Having lately attended a younger child of the family, when labouring under the small-pox, she was attacked with a shivering, succeeded by a considerable degree of fever; which lasted as long as it generally does in the distinct sort. About nine pustules appeared on the face, surrounded with great inflammation. One side of the face was much swelled; and the eye nearly closed. The pustules were large; and the scabs fell off about a fortnight after the eruption, leaving pits behind.

Mr. Morris informs me, that from the expe-

rience he has had of vaccination, he has reason to speak of it in the highest terms; and he is of opinion, that those who have had the cow-pock are as secure against variolous infection, as those who have had the small-pox.

The next cases are those of two children of Mr. Goulds, in Bow Street, Covent Garden. Dr. Moseley affirms, that they have had the small-pox after the cow-pock; but Mr. Andrews, who attended them, and Dr. Pearson, think it was the chicken-pox. The father and mother of the children informed me, that when the eruptions first appeared, they seemed to contain a watery fluid; a strong argument that the disease was not the small-pox.

The next cases are those of two young ladies, vaccinated by Mr. Richardson of Sloane Street. According to Dr. Moseley's account, they have also had the small-pox. But from Mr. Richardson's account, and that of the family, I have reason to believe, neither of them has had that disease. They were put to the test of variolous inoculation; which one of them resisted. In the other, a local pustule took place, surrounded with inflammation; and some small eruptions appeared in different parts, but none that bore the true character of the small-pox. There was some degree of constitutional indisposition; probably occasioned by the inflammation of the arm. This is what happens in those who have the small-

pox before; as well as in those who have had the cow-pock.

The next case is that of a son-in-law of Mr. Varley, in Broad Street, Golden Square. This child is also said by Dr. Moseley to have had the small-pox. But it is, in fact, only another false alarm. By an account of the case, published in the Medical and Chirurgical Review for July, it appears, that two years after vaccination this child was inoculated with variolous matter by Mr. Sandal of Windmill Street; in consequence of which a pimple arose. A pimple also broke out in another part of the arm; and two or three in the face. "This," it seems, "is the pretended case, which has made so much noise, as an instance of the small-pox after the cow-pock."

Dr. Moseley relates another case, that of a child of the Rev. Mr. Gray of Oakingham, inoculated for the cow-pock from the preceding subject. He says, this child also has since had the small-pox by inoculation; and that others were inoculated from him. He has, however, brought no proofs, that the child had the cow-pock; nor that he had any thing more than the local small-pox in consequence of inoculation. He tells us, indeed, that he had it in a favourable manner; which renders it probable, that it was only a local pustule.

The next case is that of Thomas Bainbridge, son of Mr. Bainbridge, late of Adams Street,

Portman Square, now of No. 20, Adams Street, Manchester Square. This child was inoculated for the cow-pock at the Small-pox Hospital, in February 1800. In the month of March 1805, he was seized with a violent complaint, which the mother thought an inflammation of the bowels. She therefore gave him some castor oil, and put him into a warm bath. This produced a general erysipelas, followed by the confluent small-pox, which proved fatal.

It is well known, that in those cases where the small-pox occurs after vaccination, the disease is commonly mild; but in the present instance it was the reverse; which is not at all surprising, when the mode of treatment is considered. There is, however, reason to doubt, whether this child ever had the perfect cow-pock. Mr. Wachsel informs me, that the matter with which he was inoculated, was taken on the twelfth day. Mrs. Bainbridge says, the pustule was at that time surrounded with considerable inflammation; and that in her own child, the pustule did not turn into a scab of a dark colour. It was also remarked by some gentlemen who saw this child, that there was not a proper scar.

A younger child of Mr. Bainbridge, vaccinated at the Small-pox Hospital in October 1802, lay in the same bed with her brother; and their mother having the care of them both, and nursing them by turns, must also have applied the matter

from the ruptured pustules of her son to many parts of the skin of this child. She sickened, and had about two dozen eruptions, some of which maturated. It appears from Dr. Moseley's own account, that at the time of this eruption, some medical practitioners who saw it, doubted whether it was the small-pox. Her case appears to me to be exactly the same as that of Mary Hart, which had previously occurred in the same house.

Dr. Moseley hopes it will not be thought, that he has no other unfavourable cases but these to report. He tells us, that, since his former publication, he has received nearly a thousand; and, from the allurements held out, he will probably receive ten thousand, full as credible as those he has already published. At present we are satisfied; and wish for no more. Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof.

Having requested of the Rev. Mr. Warren leave to insert his excellent Address in this publication, I received the following answer, which reflects equal honour on the head and heart of the writer.

" *Kensworth Vicarage, near Market Street, Herts, Aug.* 23, 1805.

" DEAR SIR,

" Since the permission, most willingly given to the Royal Jennerian Society, to print my Address on Vaccination, I have considered that pamphlet as the property of the public; and, having been told, that its circulation has produced beneficial effects, nothing can give me greater pleasure than the increase of such circulation, from the hope, that it may be still further instrumental in the recommendation of what seems to me a most providential discovery. You consequently have my full permission to print the whole of that Address in your intended Reply to Dr. Moseley; and I am happy in thinking, that such parts of my pamphlet as that anti-vaccinist may have attacked, will meet with so strenuous and able an advocate. Of Dr. Moseley's publication I have heard nothing, except from your letter; I shall however now procure it.

" You will be obliging enough to retain the original date of my Address, ' February 1803;' for there is an assertion in it, twice repeated, once in the ninth and once in the sixteenth page, first edition, ' that no one instance has occurred, ' where the small-pox had been caught after the ' constitution had been clearly affected by the cow-

'pock;' which, though it was then, as far as I know, perfectly true, should now perhaps be a little modified. There seem since to have been three or four anomalous cases, in which the variolous infection has seized on the frame, subsequently to the genuine vaccine one; but this is exactly what, from analogy, might have been expected; and, diffused as the cow-pock has been, the only wonder is, that more such cases have not been brought forward. I am firmly persuaded, that in all instances, the system is rendered as secure from any future attack of the variolous disease by genuine vaccination, as it is by undergoing the inoculated, or natural small-pox.

"Most cordially wishing success to every endeavour which has for its object the diffusion of this most blessed preventive, I remain, &c.

"THOMAS ALSTON WARREN."

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THE END.

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