

On the state of vaccination in 1810; in a letter to the Right Hon. Richard Rider, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department : with remarks on the Report of the National Vaccine Establishment. Printed by order of the House of Commons, on the 1st of June, 1810 : Forming a guide for parents in deciding for the safety of their children / by Charles Maclean.

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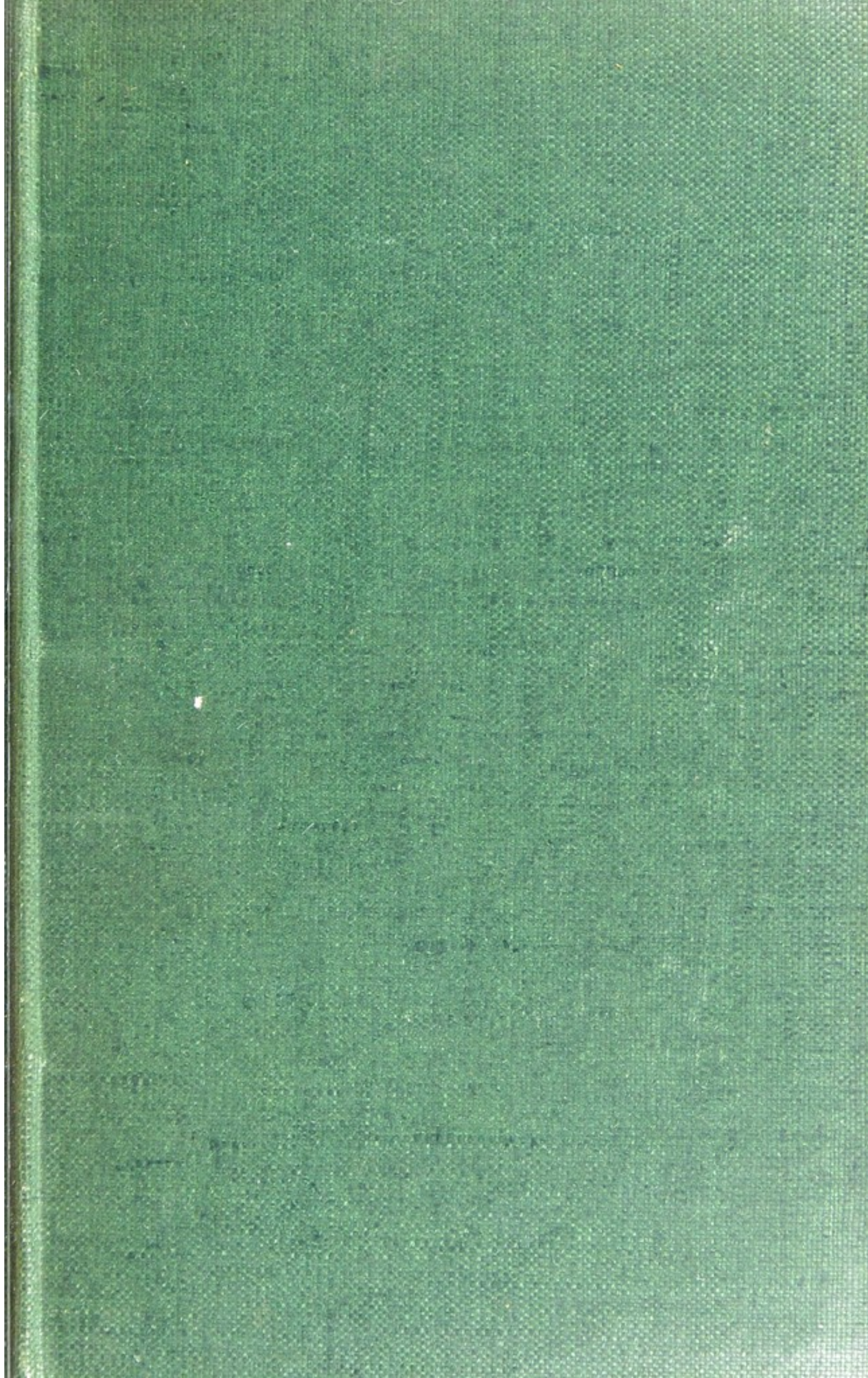
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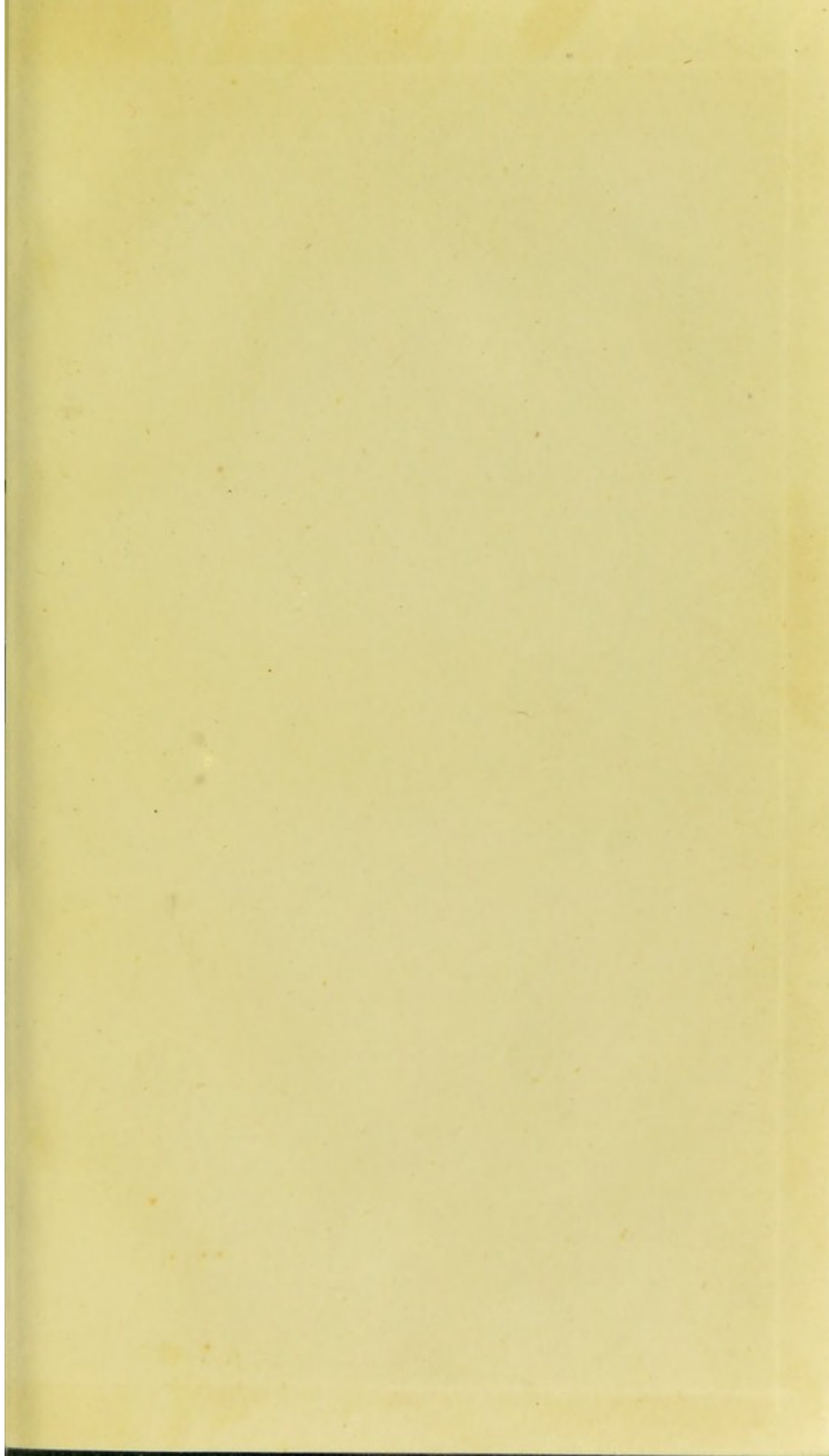


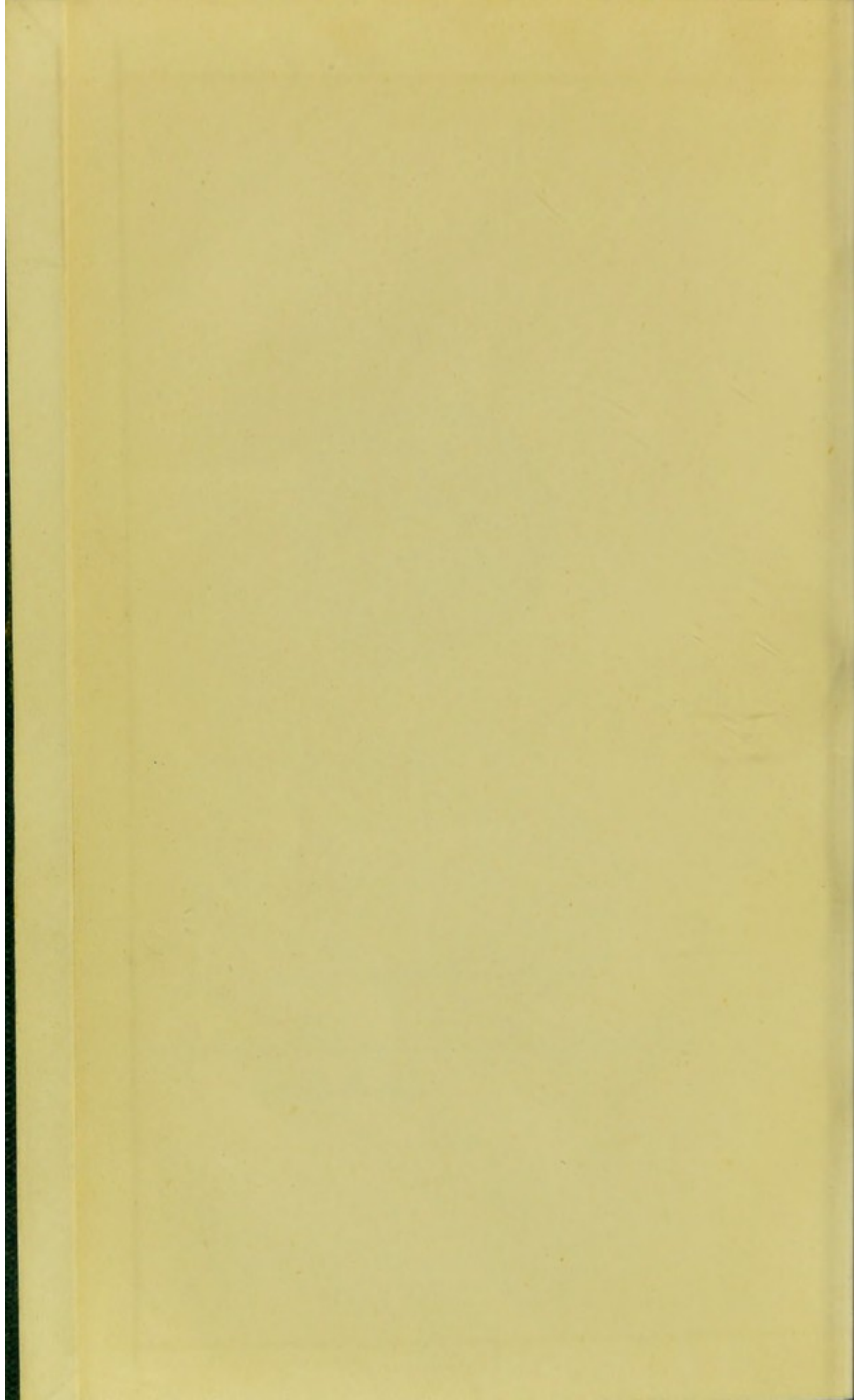



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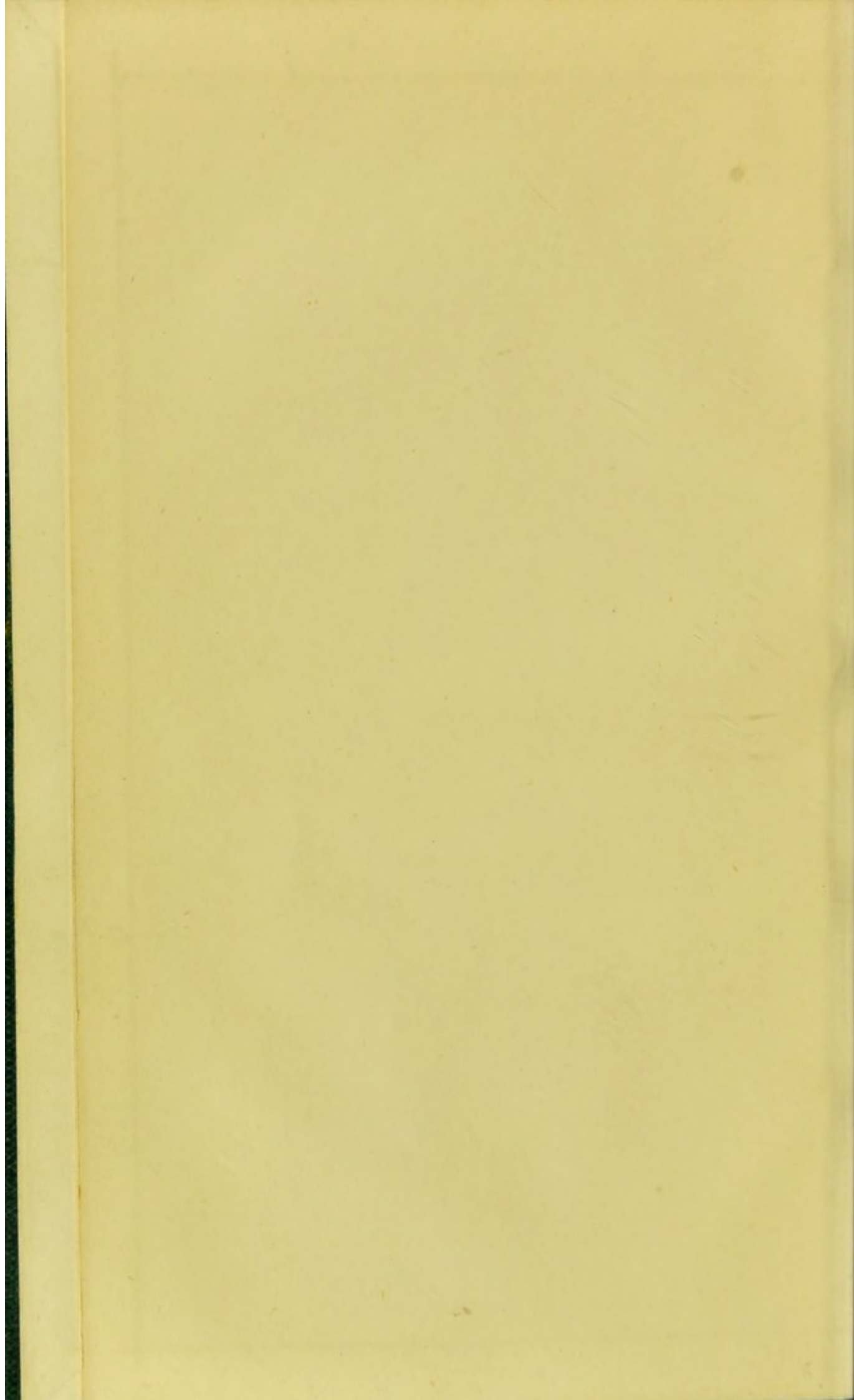






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ON THE
STATE
OF
VACCINATION
IN 1810.



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ON THE

STATE

VACCINATION

IN 1810

REPRESENTED BY A LETTER FROM THE

A LETTER

FROM THE RIGHT HON. RICHARD RIDER

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF THE

THE REPORT

OF THE NATIONAL SOCIETY OF VACCINATION

PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, IN THE YEAR 1810

GUIDE FOR PARENTS

IN DECIDING FOR THE SAFETY OF THEIR CHILDREN

BY CHARLES MACLEAN, M.D.

LECTURER ON THE HISTORY OF THE VACCINATION IN THE GREAT HALL, CHURCH

OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL, LONDON

LONDON: Printed by W. Glendinning, 25, Hatton Garden, London.

1810

PREFACE.

RESIDING* at a distance from the principal Theatre of Action, I had, for the first five years of the practice, no particular inducement to inquire into the *rationale* of Vaccination. Not supposing it possible, that so much fanaticism and dishonesty could exist among the Members of a learned and honourable Profession, I was disposed, in so far as my attention was at all called to the subject, to yield a belief, on their united authority, to the Doctrines, which they so zealously and dogmatically promulgated. Even some time after my return to England, my mind remained under a degree of bias in favour of

* From 1798 to 1803. See my Excursion in France, and other parts of the Continent of Europe, &c. Longman and Co. 1804.

the Practice. And it was not until 1807 that, led by my connection with Medical literature, in this Metropolis, to enter into a stricter investigation of its merits, I found that those were right, who had represented the Cowpox experiment as a splendid delusion. Since that period, I have taken some pains to collect and arrange facts, which, combined with the labours of others, will, I trust, contribute to set at rest this question, which has agitated the Medical world for twelve years.

After what I have declared, it will not be suspected that any reproachful language, which I may have occasion to use towards the Vaccinators, can be meant to apply to any of those respectable and benevolent Members of the Community, who, misled, like myself, by false reports, conceived they were doing good by granting their support to the Experiment. These reproaches are exclusively directed to the Medical Traders, who have made a job of the Philanthropy; and to

those obstinate Practitioners, who, because they have once been in error, according to their notions of consistency, deem it incumbent on them to remain always in error*.

In this Letter I have endeavoured to give a succinct account of the origin and progress of Vaccination, and of the firm, and rational, and successful opposition, which has been made to it in this country.

Here we shall see phenomena that are unprecedented in history :—A national reward

* There is one gentleman among those, who practice Vaccination, knowing it to be wrong, whose situation I sincerely commiserate. Mr. Wachsell, of the Small-pox Hospital, Pancras, has vaccinated more persons than any other individual, has consequently seen numerous cases of failures and mischiefs, and is perfectly convinced of the inefficacy of Cow-pox, as a permanent preventive of the Small-pox. But he must, contrary to his conviction, continue the practice, if ordered by the superior Officers of the Establishment so to do; or forfeit his place. At this Hospital, during the height of the mania, the women, who came to get their children inoculated, were classed by the faculty into "*wise women*" and "*foolish*," according as they gave the preference to the Cow-pox, or the Small-pox. Notwithstanding this flattering distinction, the number of "*wise women*" were daily diminishing, until at last scarcely any was to be found. "*Are there no wise women at all among you!*" exclaimed the enraged Vaccinator, when he could get no one to accept of his *blessing*.

of 30,000*l.* granted to an obscure apothecary, for a pretended discovery, which proves to be a curse, instead of a blessing, to society:—The public, concurring with the faculty, in forming establishments for the gratuitous introduction, among the poor, of a practice that, from reasoning *a priori*, was evidently irrational, and, from the evidence of facts, posterity will regard as the *opprobrium medicorum* of the nineteenth century:—The poet*, the statuary †, and the painter ‡, vying with each other in doing honour to the wonderful *discoverer*:—The privilege of sending letters, postage free, conferred on a society, which took his name §:—Busts of him in every corner:—Implements, from the decorated snuff-box down to the meanest utensil, bearing his effigies:—Almost deified by his followers, and a great proportion of the community:—The honour of knighthood offered

* Bloomfield's Good News from the Farm. Carey's Pleasures of Nature.

† Manning. ‡ Robinson.

§ Vide Medical Observer, vol. iv. p. 24, 162.

to be conferred on him, but slighted probably as inadequate to his pretensions* :—Elected an honorary Member of foreign *learned* Institutions, and of the College of Physicians of London, in violation of their own laws, if not of the law of the land.

In a very few years how reversed the picture! This same man is seen hiding himself from the world,—a voluntary exile from the scene of his now expiring imposture.

How different is the situation, and how different must be the feelings, of the antagonist and destroyer of this hydra, after having fearlessly opposed an universal mania, almost alone. Looking with complacency at the return of his friends, whom in the fury of the storm zeal had for a moment alienated, to thank him for his noble perseverance in the cause of truth and science, not only at the risk of connections and emolument, but

* Vide Medical Observer, vol. iv. p. 25.

of reputation, and even of life*; Dr. Moseley will have the solid satisfaction to reflect that by a successful contest of twelve years, he has acquired the distinguished appellation of a benefactor of mankind. After having combated, and overthrown, the most gigantic and pernicious imposture that ever obscured the Medical horizon, it is he who may with truth exclaim: "*exegi monumentum ære perennius.*" And if the gratitude of an undeceived public should at length contribute to load him with honours and rewards; "they will wear well; for "they have been dearly earned."

C. M.

London, August, 1810.

* It is almost impossible for any one, who has not been a little behind the scenes, to believe the base, dastardly, and abominable artifices used by the vaccinators against the opponents of their nefarious experiment. Moral assassination was a weapon of pagandism, quite familiar to the low tools of the Jennerian tribe.

LETTER

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

RICHARD RIDER,

&c. &c. &c.



SIR,

WITHIN these few days, I have perused a document, designated a "Report from the National Vaccine Establishment," addressed to you, and signed by Sir Lucas Pepys, as president; of which, had it not been printed by order of the House of Commons, I should have disbelieved the authenticity.

The audacious misrepresentations and gross falsehoods, contained in that paper, and the total disregard to individual or collective reputation shewn by the reporters, in this desperate attempt to procure, by fraud, a continuance of the support of Government to the stale imposture of vaccination, might well excite surprise, if indeed any thing could now surprise, in which Sir Lucas Pepys, and the cow-pox establishments, are concerned.

To expose the artifices, and detect the frauds,

by which the government and the public are here officially and wilfully deluded into the farther support of a practice, which facts of daily occurrence, have for years proved to be not only inefficient for its professed object, but absolutely pernicious to the human frame, is equally the affair of every man. But I have also a farther motive for engaging in the task. As one of the opponents of the imposture, whom the framers of these reports have presumed to calumniate, I feel it due to my own character, to hurl back their accusations on the heads of the reporters; and in doing this, I have to regret that the chief of their board should have rendered himself so little worthy of personal consideration.

His demonstrated incapacity, as physician-general to the army *; his own undisguised confession, or rather solemn declaration, of professional ignorance †; his gross prevarications at the bar of the House of Commons ‡; and the uncontradicted charge of wilful and deliberate falsehood, published against him by one of his late colleagues at the army medical board §; (*not to speak at*

* Vide the 5th Report of the Commissioners of Military Inquiry, p. 81, 82. My analytical View of the Medical Department of the British Army, p. 14, 15. The Medical Observer, *passim*, &c. &c.

† Vide his official Letter to the Secretary at War, Med. Obs. vol. vii. p. 382—“ *I hereby solemnly declare myself incapable,*” &c.

‡ Vide his several examinations at the bar of the House of Commons, Med. Obs. vol. vii. pp. 283 and 385, &c.

§ Mr. Keate, in a correspondence with Sir Lucas, accuses him of having amused himself and Mr. Knight with different stories; and, upon his evading to give any explanation of his conduct, thus threatens him with an exposure: “ *After this treatment from you, I think*

present of other degradations); are personal calamities, which, had they rendered him incapable of doing farther mischief to the public, would have disarmed every generous adversary, converting his indignation into pity, and his resentment into compassion.

Divested of the power derived from the adventitious influence of office, of misleading or injuring the community, he would, from personal character alone, have been an object unworthy of public reprehension; and might have retired to Leatherhead*, or sunk into the tomb, without farther animadversion or notice.

But under this overwhelming load of disgrace, we still unaccountably find him, in his quality of President of the Royal College of Physicians of London †, prosecut-

“ it incumbent on me to send a copy of your correspondence to the
“ Commander-in-Chief, and Secretary at War, that they may know
“ how *properly* to estimate your *candour* and *regard to truth*.”—This letter is published in the *Morning Chronical*, of June 5, 1810.

* Sir Lucas's country residence is in the neighbourhood of Leatherhead.

† Wherever there is question of this body, I wish it to be clearly understood, that it is not with the members of it individually, whose character and learning I hold in due respect, that I have any concern; but with the *corporation, as such*, which I venture to assert is, without exception (and by the next meeting of the legislature, I trust I shall have proved it to a demonstration), the most pernicious body corporate that has ever existed in the universe. On the present occasion, I have only to remark, how surprising it appears; and certainly only to be accounted for by themselves, that a body of men reputed learned, and not suspected of being deficient in self-esteem, should continue, for a single moment, to retain as their president (their absolute monarch), or even as a member of their corporation, a person who has shewn himself, in his public acts, so weak, so mean, and so criminal.

ing, or persecuting, able, honorable, and regularly educated professional men* ; and conniving, or perhaps rejoicing, at the dissemination of poison, both physical and moral, by professed quacks, among all ranks of the community †.

Nay, in another capacity,—that of President of the National Vaccine Establishment,—he is himself become the principal disseminator of a poison, which constitutes one of the most extravagant pieces of medical quackery, that has ever disgraced this, or any other, age, or nation. In this capacity of high-priest of vaccina, I am now to consider his conduct.

* DR. DICK. An account of the proceedings of the College against this highly respectable gentleman, and celebrated practitioner, is now in preparation; and will add considerable illustration to the history and character of that body, and the pernicious tendency of their bye-laws.

† A most diabolical publication, calculated equally to poison the minds and the constitutions of our fair countrywomen, was recently put into my hands by a gentleman, who received it from his wife, it having been addressed to his dwelling, under a seal, with this remark written on the cover—“*To be opened by the Lady of the house only.*” The mysterious proceeding of directing the parcel to be opened exclusively by the lady of the house, was not of course intended to repress the curiosity of other branches of the family, who might be disposed to dive into the contents of this Pandora’s box, under the shape of a “*Treatise on Female Complaints, &c. by E. Senate, M. D.*” which, as a decoy, the *Doctor* has the impudence to dedicate to her Majesty. In my humble opinion, there are few publications of any description, so gross as to deserve to be more carefully excluded from the eye of every virtuous female. The pernicious tendency, both physical and moral, of the writings and medicines, which have

To reason with zealots, or to extract an acknowledgment of error from persons interested in perpetuating delusion, has always been reckoned, by men of sense, a vain attempt. I am not so unreasonable, as to expect to operate the miracle of conversion on infuriated vaccinators; or to wring reluctant recantation from men, the continuance of whose salaries depends upon the existence of a mischievous practice. But I do confess I have the presumption to believe that I am able, through the medium of their own reports, to produce a conviction of their wilfull perseverance in error, on the mind of every unbiassed man, who reads and understands my letter; and especially on you, Sir, to whom it is more immediately addressed.

In taking these extraordinary documents for my text, I flatter myself, without meaning any literal attack upon their lives, that I shall be able to bury Sir Lucas, and his chosen band of vaccinators, under their own armour. To speak less abstrusely, their establishment shall be overwhelmed by the heaps of falsehoods with which they have basely endeavoured to support it. Out of their own mouths shall I condemn them.

been circulated under the name of this Charlatan, is so palpable, that it can scarcely be presumed unknown to all the Fellows of the College. But should it have escaped their penetration, they are hereby informed of it; and if they should not be able or willing to remedy the evil, it will shew either the nullity of their power as to all purposes of protecting public health, or that they consider the interests of their monopoly in direct opposition to those of society, and in strict unison with those of the Quacks.

It is impossible, indeed, they could have furnished their adversaries with more effective weapons for their overthrow. I will venture to predict, Sir, that, after perusing their reports, and my comments upon them, not a legislator will be found in Great Britain desperate enough to risk, not simply his reputation for sagacity, but for common integrity and common sense, by standing up in his place in either House of Parliament, to speak in favour of the continuance of their establishment. When the three thousand pounds a year, granted by government for the support of the delusion (for it has long ceased to be an *experiment*), shall be consequently withdrawn, we shall hear no more from Sir Lucas, or his coadjutors, of the *blessing* of vaccination. On the near prospect of this event, which will restore the discipline of infants to its former safe and settled state, I most sincerely congratulate all anxious British parents, and their beauteous offspring.

It is evident that the officers of the National Vaccine Establishment were not altogether insensible to the impending fate of their institution, if we may judge from the reluctance with which the unfortunate reports, which are the subject of my present discussion, were ushered into light, or rather the great care with which they were preserved from public view, by Sir Lucas and Mr. Keate, in the parental bosoms of the two colleges*. The grand object of the officers of

* Sir Lucas Pepys was, at this time, President of the Royal College of Physicians of London, and Mr. Keate, Master of the College of Surgeons. (1809 and 1810.)

this establishment, that of continuing to receive their salaries, these gentlemen were both aware (for, although they have not always cordially agreed in their capacity as colleagues, yet, on the view of a profitable piece of iniquity, the grudge of ancient repulsion has been instantaneously overcome by the irresistible hug of fraternal cohesion) would be best accomplished by withholding their reports as long as possible from the scrutinising eye of criticism, and particularly from the anti-vaccinists of the Medical Observer. But unfortunately for them, the reports were called for in parliament, by Mr. Shaw Lefevre, who has uniformly opposed the delusion; and it became necessary, at the passing of the Budget, in order to procure even the present year's salaries, to expose these miserable abortions, in their naked deformity, on the table of the House of Commons.

This birth was managed with rather more than Sir Lucas's usual address; for had the bestial progeny appeared only a few weeks sooner, his cow-pox confraternity might not have had their miserable existence prolonged for another year.

Before I come to the discussion, paragraph by paragraph, of these hopeful fruits of cow-pox invention*, a

* The Vaccine Board is composed of the President and Censors of the College of Physicians, and the Master and Wardens of the College of Surgeons, for the time being. Over these, Dr. Jenner had been appointed **DIRECTOR**, and Mr. James Moore, **ASSISTANT DIRECTOR**. But Dr. Jenner abdicated, or rather never acted; and as Sir Lucas signs the reports, *as President*, I am at a loss what station to assign to Mr. Moore in the establishment.

cursory view of the origin and progress of vaccination may prepare us for the more satisfactory contemplation of its decline and fall.

In April, 1798, the practice of inoculating for the cow-pox, afterwards styled vaccination, as a substitute for, and permanent preventive of small-pox, was first generally introduced by Dr. Edward Jenner, of Berkley, in Gloucestershire. It was ushered in with a mixture of theatrical pomp, and religious solemnity; and instantaneously attracted immense crowds of adherents.

The medical men, the successors of those who had opposed the humane and ingenious endeavours of Lady Mary Wortley Montague for the general introduction of small-pox inoculation, who should have been the slowest of belief, were the first to rush headlong into the irrational experiment "in open defiance of every principle of pathology, and analogy, in medicine"*. In spite of the over-whelming evidence of facts, they will also be the last to abandon it. While they can get a single patient, who will submit to be experimented, they will continue the practice of vaccination.

The example of the doctors was, of course, followed by every other description of persons in the land; and the rage for vaccination became a complete epidemic.

Dr. Moseley, Physician of Chelsea Hospital, was the first, and for four years, the only writer of eminence who dared openly to stem the torrent of vaccine delusion. In September, 1798, three months after the doctrine was promulgated†, he began his opposition to vaccination,

* Moseley's Treatise on the Cow-pox. 2nd Edit. p. 6.

† By Jenner's first publication, 21st. June, 1798.

in a short tract, replete with wit, satire, and philosophy; wherein he formally opposed it, on the grounds of pathological principles, and medical analogy. It was throwing pearls before swine. His wit and satire were mistaken for serious reasoning; and his philosophy for wit. This Tract was republished in January, 1799*.

The partisans of vaccination, while they could not deny that it was an experiment, of which the degree of security could only be ascertained by time, like true zealots insisted on the propriety of instantaneously subjecting the whole human race to a course of this experiment. It being undoubtedly true, that cow-pox does, like other diseases, and other agencies in the system, prevent, during the existence of its influence in sufficient force, small-pox and other agencies; and that those children, who were exposed to the contagion of small-pox, *immediately*, or *soon after* having been vaccinated, did of course resist the variolous infection; this *temporary* resistance was triumphantly urged as a proof of *durable* security.

“ In this Cow-mania,” says Dr. Moseley, “ it is not
 “ enough for reason to concede, that the cow-pox may
 “ lessen, *for a time*, the disposition in the habit to re-
 “ ceive 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.” (Treat. p. 9.)

But neither this strong and clear medical analogy, nor the demonstrated radical dissimilarity between the small-pox and the cow-pox, shewing *a priori* the impossibility that the one could be a *permanent* security against the other, could avail.

* Vide Dr. Moseley's Medical Tracts.

The public, misled by the logic of numbers, and the term "respectability," were irresistibly carried away by the torrent.

At the commencement of the practice, many men of otherwise sound understandings, and of excellent hearts, misled by the delusions of philanthropy, or the deceptions of those who hoped to turn the general infatuation to their profit, lent themselves, with an enthusiastic ardour, to the support of a measure, which they confidently hoped would prove of the highest benefit to mankind. The nobility; the ladies; the clergy; the philanthropists of every denomination, vied with each other in encouraging and promoting a practice, which they were led to believe by the faculty, was to prove a substitute for, or perfect preventive of small-pox;—a disease of which they took care to exaggerate the danger, in order to enhance the value of the fancied blessing they were in the act of proffering.

In the mean time, the cunning and interested traders in medicine, in all countries, eagerly took advantage of the popular delusion, in order to get themselves comfortable establishments:

In December, 1799, an institution was established in Warwick Street, for gratuitous vaccination, with great patronage and considerable Funds*.

From this centre, the cow-pox doctrine extended its numerous ramifications throughout the kingdom.

In 1800, Dr. Moseley in his Medical Tracts a third time attacked vaccination; and had in the interim made known several cases of small-pox after cow-pox, and of diseases produced by cow-pox.

* The names of the Conductors of this Institution will be found in Dr. Moseley's Treatise on the Lues Bovilla. 2nd Edit. p. 13.

This gave rise to an advertisement*, signed by thirty-five practitioners of the metropolis, informing the world that “*unfounded reports had been circulated, tending to prejudice the public mind against the inoculation of cow-pox,*” and declaring, that “*those persons who have had the cow-pox are perfectly secure from the infection of the small-pox;*” and also, that “*the inoculated cow-pox is a much milder and safer disease than the inoculated small-pox.*”

William Saunders, <i>M. D.</i>	Astley Cooper
Matthew Bailie, <i>M. D.</i>	Edward Ford
Henry Vaughan, <i>M. D.</i>	J. M. Good
Maxwell Garthshore, <i>M. D.</i>	James Horsford
J. C. Lettsom, <i>M. D.</i>	Joseph Hurlock
James Sims, <i>M. D.</i>	Francis Knight
John Sims, <i>M. D.</i>	William Blair
William Lister, <i>M. D.</i>	James Leighton
Robert Willan, <i>M. D.</i>	James Moore
C. Stanger, <i>M. D.</i>	Thomas Paytherus
Alexander Crichton, <i>M. D.</i>	Thomas Pole
Thomas Bradley, <i>M. D.</i>	G. W. Phipps
Thomas Denman, <i>M. D.</i>	John Ring
Richard Croft, <i>M. D.</i>	James Simpson
R. J. Thornton, <i>M. D.</i>	Thomas Whateley
John Abernethy	H. L. Thomas
S. Chilvers	Jonathan Wathen
Henry Cline,	

So large a proportion of the members of both colleges, having thus guaranteed its infallibility, vaccination was extensively adopted by the community. Any longer to doubt its efficacy was, in medical men, to incur, if not the suspicion of insanity, at least the penalty of medical excommunication. Pious frauds were now most devoutly

* See Dr. Moseley's *Treatise on the Lues Bov.* 2nd edit. p. 14.

resorted to. Parents, who, from dislike to novelty, or the introduction of a bestial humour into the blood of their children, were averse to the practice, by force, intimidation, or deception, had their inclinations over-ruled, and their children vaccinated.

The experiment now only required to be formally sanctioned by parliament.

In March, 1802, a petition was presented to the House of Commons by Dr. Jenner, which was referred to a committee; and the report of that committee was printed by order of the House, on the 6th of May following. On this occasion, most of the members of the London Colleges, who had so fully committed themselves in 1800, gave their evidence *una voce*, in favour of the infallibility of vaccination. That of Dr. Moseley was still the only decisive evidence on the opposite side. The testimonies of Dr. Rowley and Mr. Birch, were also unfavourable. But the conduct of the House of Commons was necessarily determined by the concurrent voices of so immense a majority of professional men; and parliament, by acclamation, voted ten thousand pounds to Dr. Jenner, clear of all contingencies and expences, for *what was called his discovery*.

From the force of habit, society is generally averse to the sudden reception even of obvious improvement. It has accordingly been the fate of the most important discoveries in science, to be, in their outset, violently opposed by interested or prejudiced combinations. And it is not the least remarkable feature of the vaccine experiment that it should have been at once embraced, supported, and propagated, by similar combinations.

Thus encouraged by public enthusiasm, and sanctioned by a vote of the Legislature, Dr. Jenner's ambition began rapidly to expand. In January, 1803, was instituted, in

Salisbury Square, Fleet Street, "THE ROYAL JENNERIAN SOCIETY for the EXTERMINATION of the Small-pox !*"

In the face of such mighty authority, the most sceptical could no longer retain any distrust of the stability of the doctrine. The public received the blessing with becoming gratitude and respect. The practice of vaccination became universal in this country; and extended to many other parts of Europe, and to Asia, Africa, and America.

Hitherto unchecked by the evidence of the numerous failures, which have since risen in judgement against the practice, the infatuation now raged in all its fury. The vaccinators, intoxicated with success, felt such confidence in their own strength, that they appeared to meditate no less than *the extermination (along with the small-pox) of their few opponents*. Two of the mildest gentlemen among them, were for *hanging*, the one conditionally, the other unconditionally, those practitioners who should *in future* be found *guilty* of inoculating children with the small-pox. Dr. Lettsom, in 1804, says "the practitioner who *now* inoculates with the small-pox is guilty, if not in a criminal court, yet in *foro conscientia*, should *that* child die, of murder †:" and Dr. Thornton believes, "whether the child should die or not, the same serious charge would apply ‡."

To recapitulate all the extravagances, which were published or spoken on this subject, by men hitherto con-

* For the names of the Gentlemen, who conducted this Institution under the title of MEDICAL COUNCIL, see Dr. Moseley's Treatise on the Lues Bovilla. 2nd Edit. p. 49.

† Dr. Thornton's Facts, decisive in favor of Cow-pox.—1804.

‡ Dr. Thornton's Letters to Dr. Tilloch.—Sept. 1804.

sidered respectable in their profession would be an endless task. It is proper, however, to state a few of them. Cases of vaccine failures and mischiefs had now become numerous: but practitioners of not more than ordinary force, were absolutely deterred, by fear of persecution, from publishing what they observed on that side of the question. Never did such an *ignis fatuus* appear in the regions of science. The zeal with which the fanatics persecuted their opponents was scarcely ever exceeded by the *Odium Theologicum*. If they did not burn every unbeliever with fire and faggot, they dexterously undermined his practice, and handsomely tattered his reputation.

The rage, which, at this period, distinguished the most furious of the vaccinators is well and humorously described by Dr. Moseley * : Men who before this epidemic raged in “ their veins, were not noted for any particular ill manners, “ or extravagant behaviour ; and went about their professional affairs in the ordinary way, now, possessed of the “ Taurine spirit, became very alarming ; and were not to “ be met at the bed side, or even in the streets without “ danger †.”

It may be proper here to state, that the vaccinators had got complete possession of the press ‡. A periodical work (the Medical and Physical Journal) was instituted, at the commencement of the experiment, for the express purpose of propagating and supporting the cow-pox doctrines. This it has done with disgraceful fidelity, to the exclusion

* Treatise on the Lues Bovilla, second Edition, pa. 5.

† Terribiles vultus, præfixaque cornua ferro,
Pulvereamque solum pede pulsavere bisulco ;
Fumificisque locum magitibus implevere.

‡ OVID. *Metam. lib. vii. v. 112.*

† Dr. Moseley's Com. on the Cow-pox. 2nd edit. p. 22, and Mr. Birch's Serious Reasons, &c. 2nd edit. p. 26.

of every fact militating against vaccination, for nearly twelve years; until, by the evidence of accumulating failures, it has at length been reduced to the necessity of observing an edifying silence.

I shall not dwell at much length on the abuse which the vaccinators have made of the press, as it would swell this publication much beyond my design. But I cannot omit expressing both surprise and regret that a periodical work of reputation (the Edinburgh Review) should have disgraced its pages by the admission of so much Cow-pox nonsense. Whether the proprietors of that work hired some of the low vaccinators to write for them, or admitted the writings of the corps for hire, they were equally contributing to injure their own interests, and to prolong the public delusion. Surely it could not have been from any opinion previously formed of their merit that it was thought fit to give insertion to the Cow-pox articles alluded to: for, without supposing the conductors of the Edinburgh Review to be much acquainted with medicine, it is not possible to believe them so deficient in philosophy and logic, as not to have perceived, had they perused them, that those vaccine effusions were a continued violation of both.

The daily and weekly prints, were also for a long time similarly disposed; and the communications of the anti-vaccinists, although equally paid for, were either received with reluctance, or altogether denied insertion. I do not mention this with a view to blame. The gentlemen connected with the press must, on such a subject, have partaken of the general delusion. It is the medical men alone (and among them the conductors of the Medical and Physical Journal) whom I consider culpable; and they are culpable, not only of neglect in having so long blindly supported error, but of obstinacy, now that their eyes are

opened, in not publishing an honest and manly recantation.

In the mean time, cases of failures and mischiefs, were accumulating in the metropolis, and different parts of the country. In 1804, Dr. Moseley published the first edition of his Treatise on the Lues Bovilla, or Cow-pox; and afterwards successively his Commentaries on the Lues Bovilla; a cow-pox epistle, entitled an Oliver for a Rowland; and in 1808, his Review of the Report of the Royal College of Physicians of London, on Vaccination: each of them illustrated with many cases. As these works contain the marrow of every thing which has at any time been published against vaccination; and as, in my opinion, the merit of first arresting the progress of the imposture, and finally overthrowing it, is principally due to the intrepidity, talents, and perseverance, of this author, I should deem it an injustice to consider any of those writers, or collectors of cases, who may have casually joined in the progress of the combat, as entitled to more credit than that of mere auxiliary forces.

These, however, began to multiply. Dr. Rowley, Mr. Birch, Mr. Goldson, Mr. Rogers, and others, published cases of failures in 1804, and 1805.

The strong and repeated evidence, brought forward against vaccination, seemed for a while only to increase the ardour of its votaries. But, Dr. Jenner had, in the mean time, expended a great part of his ten thousand pounds on his adherents; and, to prevent the experiment from starving, it became necessary to go back to parliament for a fresh supply.

On the 2nd of July, 1806, on the motion of Lord Henry Petty (the present Marquis of Lansdowne) then Chancellor of the Exchequer, the College of Physicians of London were directed to report their observations and opinions, upon that practice (vaccination) upon the evidence adduced in its support.

The College, totally ignorant of the subject, sought information from every other College of Physicians or Surgeons in the United Kingdom ; by advertisements in the public newspapers; and even from cow-pox clubs and associations. But the other colleges, only less ignorant of the subject, than themselves, in knowing that they knew nothing, could render them no assistance ; and the information they received from the other sources, to which they thought proper to apply, was either *ex-parte*, or false.

On this evidence, however, such as it was, the College of Physicians of London, on the 10th of April, 1807, drew up that memorable Report, on which the House of Commons, on the 29th of July following, voted the further sum of twenty thousand pounds to Dr. Jenner for his *discovery* *.

ORIGIN OF COW-POX ; AND PRETENSIONS OF DR. JENNER TO THE TITLE OF A DISCOVERER.

It may not be improper, before I proceed farther, to enquire what Cow-pox really is, and what pretensions Dr. Jenner has to the title of a discoverer ?

Cow-pox is reputed by Dr. Jenner to come from the greasy heel of the horse, through the medium of the hands of the milkers, and to be communicated from the cows to the milkers, in their turn. This origin is denied

* See the admirable analysis contained in Dr. Moseley's Review of this Report.

by others, particularly by farmer Jesty. By some, it is conjectured to be an itch, or other foul humour, communicated by human hands to the cow. I call on Dr. Jenner for a solution of this problem.

Whatever it be, it has long had the reputation, in the dairy counties, of being a temporary preventive of Small-pox. Farmer Benjamin Jesty, of Downshy, in the Isle of Purbeck, was, as far as we know, the first inoculator for the Cow-pox. He inoculated his wife and two sons, in 1774, directly from the cow*.

Sir George Baker recollected having had a correspondence with the Rev. Herman Drew, of Abbots, in Devonshire, about the year 1777, the result of which was, there was an opinion prevailing in the neighbourhood, that dairy maids who happened to get the Cow-pox, were no longer subjected to accidental infection of the small-pox. The papers relating to this subject were burnt by accident.

Mr. Thomas Nash recollects having possessed papers left by his father, written between 1781 and 1785, relating to Cow-pox inoculation, on which he was at that time making experiments. He was inoculated by his father, in 1781, he thinks with vaccine matter. The papers he gave to Mr. R. Keate, surgeon, in 1799 or 1800.

Dr. Pearson had letters from Dr. Pulteney and the Rev. Herman Drew, dated in 1790, containing an account from Mr. Dolling, at Blandford, of persons, who have had the Cow-pox from the cow, being inoculated with the Small-pox without having received any infection.

* *Vide* minutes of the Original Vaccine Pock Institution, in Dr. Moseley's Commentaries on the Cow-pox. 2nd Edition, p. 59.

Dr. Jenner did not begin the practice of vaccination, or publish any of his doctrines on the subject till 1798; twenty-four years after farmer Jesty had vaccinated his family; twenty-one years after Sir G. Baker had heard from Mr. Drew, of the prevailing opinion in Devonshire that dairy-maids, who happened to get the Cow-pox, were no longer subjected to accidental infection from the small-pox; seventeen years after Mr. Nash was occupied in making experiments on inoculation with vaccine matter; and eight years after the opinion of Cow-pox being a preventive of small-pox, was communicated to Dr. Pearson by Dr. Pulteney and Mr. Herman Drew*.

When these matters are properly considered, it is impossible to allow Dr. Jenner the merit of having made any discovery. Farmer Jesty, and probably many others, having practised inoculation from the cow to man, it required no stretch of sagacity, not even a single step in ratiocination, to conclude that the same virus might be propagated from any one animal to any other; and more especially from one human being to another: and this is the whole extent of Dr. Jenner's *discovery!*

It will scarcely be credited by posterity that a grave College of Physicians could, on such grounds as have hitherto appeared, seriously propose to the legislature to enforce the practice of vaccination by law, and to consign persons under small-pox contagion to pest-houses!

* *Vide* evidence before the House of Commons, in Dr. Moseley's Treatise on the Lues Bovilla. 2nd Edit. p. 27—33.

At this period, the controversy became a subject of warm and tumultuous discussion, at spouting clubs or forums; and the proof of scientific facts was, perhaps for the first time in history, allowed to rest on the evidence of oaths or affidavits.

Notwithstanding the powerful support of the legislature, the cow-pox enthusiasm among the public began now evidently to diminish. The college, in their report, were obliged to admit, the very reverse of what so many of its members gave in evidence before the committee of the House of Commons, in 1802, that vaccination *is not an absolutely perfect security against the small-pox.*— The people, particularly those of the lower order, who, from their situation, are more exposed to its failures and mischiefs, than others, with reluctance suffered their children to be vaccinated; and it was a knowledge of this growing disposition that induced the college to recommend the extraordinary measure of a compulsory law.

This was, however, deemed too strong a measure by the legislature; and the compulsory and pest-house schemes fell to the ground, without being even seconded.

In the mean time, the partisans of vaccination did not relax in their activity; nor did the practice considerably decline, notwithstanding the numerous cases of well-authenticated failures and mischiefs (between one and two thousand, I believe) which had already been published. Fortified by the College Report, and the new vote of the legislature, the zeal of the vaccinators broke forth with renovated fury. Their prevarications, false-

hoods, sophistry, and abuse, continued to be issued monthly to the public by their official vehicle, the Medical and Physical Journal. If we may judge from their extravagances, and boundless fury, they must now have become more sensible than ever of the weakness of their cause. Throughout the whole controversy, they were never very scrupulous or very delicate in their means. But in their total disregard to even the appearances of decency, they now out-did all their former out-doings;—they out-heroded Herod. It was never their custom to meet an adversary with reasoning, or to examine fairly into facts. It was not *truth* they wanted, but *vaccination*. But they were now reduced to the necessity of explanations, which called for a greater exertion of their ingenuity. Whenever they were *forced to see* a case of small-pox after cow-pox, they *discovered* it to be no small-pox, but chicken-pox, or a hybrid disease, although by inoculation it some how or other communicated *small-pox* to other children. The *failures** were in their vocabulary *anomalies*, and if they were sometimes obliged to confess that a *few cases* of *anomalies* were actual *failures*, they easily explained this by the *discovery* that the small-pox does not always prevent the small-pox: i. e. that the same person may have the small-pox several times! Whenever an epidemic small-pox occurred in any part of the country, and many

* All cases are, strictly speaking, failures, because all persons, who have been vaccinated, are subject sooner or later to the small-pox contagion, if within the sphere of its influence. But in common language, we mean, by failures, those cases, in which, small-pox has already taken place, after vaccination.

of those who had been vaccinated, were attacked, and some died of small-pox, the committee of the Royal Jennerian Society sent off an exterminating deputation, who had the happy talent of never being able to see, or smell, or feel any small-pox eruptions, occurring after cow-pox, however distinctly they might have been discerned by the prejudiced senses of others. These itinerant 'squires, upon their return, made the most satisfactory reports to their constituents; and the committee issued them, as gospel, to the community. These deliberate, and systematic falsehoods were re-echoed monthly by their official journal; and the delusion was confirmed and propagated among those medical men at a distance, who did not know the *mala fides* of the reporters, and consequently spread among the public.

That vaccination is a permanent preventive of small-pox; that it produces no diseases; and that its general adoption would ultimately exterminate the small-pox; was the sum of all the medical *opinions* (*not evidence*) given to the House of Commons in 1802; upon which that House voted £10,000 to Dr. Jenner: and the same in substance was the report of the College of Physicians, in 1807; upon which the legislature granted him a farther sum of £20,000.

The Persons who made this report, it will be remembered, had all committed themselves, on former occasions, in favour of vaccination; and they now seemed to think it "safer to go o'er than to return."

But the opposition to the practice increased with the confidence, derived from experience, of its adversaries; and the public distrust was obviously increasing in the same proportion. It was therefore thought necessary by

its partisans, to exaggerate the evils of small-pox, and to extol the blessings of vaccination, even more hyperbolically than before. On perusing the extravagant encomiums passed on the Cow-pox, by the parliamentary orators who spoke in favour of Dr. Jenner on this occasion, we cannot incandour but attribute them to their having adopted implicitly, and without examination, the opinions of the zealous or interested medical practitioners by whom they were individually surrounded.

One said "it was a discovery of equal importance with that of the longitude, for which 20,000 pounds had been offered by government *."

Another was of opinion that—

"The *discoverer* of vaccination had done more than if he had slain his thousands and tens of thousands *."

Another said that—

"The ingenious *discoverer* had not brought forward his plan *in a rude and undigested state*, but *in one in which it was hardly susceptible of greater improvement* *."

Another that—

"So transcendent was the service rendered by this *discovery* to mankind that to talk of *recompence* to Dr. Jenner was out of the question."

It was considered by some as the greatest discovery ever made in medicine, not even the circulation of the blood excepted.

It was said to have *annihilated the small-pox in Marseilles* ;

* *Vide* Dr. Moseley's Review of the Report of the Royal College of Physicians, 2nd Edit. 1808. p. 7. et. seq.

To have considerably *lessened the poor's rates in Great Britain*;—and, in short—

To be “one of the greatest *mercies*, exclusive of the Christian Religion, ever bestowed on man *.”

&c. &c. &c.

I shall conclude those extravagancies with a masterpiece in that way, by the Rev. Rowland Hill: “*next to telling of the Great Salvation*, this discovery is by far the most beneficial, *because the most easy* †.”

But the Cow-pox failures and mischiefs, which now daily appeared in increasing numbers, were not to be refuted by all the eulogiums of all the partisans of vaccination; and they conceived it expedient to have recourse to every mode of personal hostility, moral or immoral, lawful or unlawful, against their opponents; considering the end, no doubt, a sufficient justification of the means.

When any of their runners, or affidavit-men, which not unfrequently happened, were convicted of falsehood or perjury, the whole body of Vaccinators rose *en masse*, to support their *cause*, not by fact and argument, but by undermining the practice, and vilifying the reputation of those antivaccinists, who had so convicted them.

Some they endeavoured to intimidate by anonymous letters; others they threatened with assassination; one was informed that his house would be set on fire, if he

* An address from a country minister to his parishioners, on the subject of Cow-pox, copied from the printed report of the small-pox and Inoculation Hospital, to June, 1803.

† See his letter to Mr. Thomas Eisdell, in the Gentleman's Magazine, for January, 1806.

persisted in collecting facts against Cow-pox infallibility; and the most incorrigible sinner of all was to be solemnly burnt in effigy, until he should be reduced to a Cow-pox scab, or converted into a Cow-pox mummy. As to myself, the trifling services which I happened to render in this vaccine warfare, were thought entitled to a few harmless Cow-pox conspiracies*. The impotence of these attempts, however, did not diminish the wickedness of the intention.

From these circumstances, it became obvious to those, who were in the habit of rationally contemplating the subject, that although, in respect to argument and fact, the *doctrine* of vaccination was already overthrown, the *practice* of the imposture, from the great adventitious support which it had acquired, might, to the incalculable detriment of society, continue long to flourish, unless some more efficient means than were afforded by occasional pamphlets, and publications of failures, should be adopted for bringing it into general contempt and disgrace. In this controversy, Europe and America looked on, ready to join the victors.

The effects of the poison, disseminated through the medium of the despicable Journal before mentioned, were best to be encountered by a periodical antidote; and the Medical Observer was chosen as the appropriate vehicle. It is now almost three years since the base proceedings of the vaccinators have been exposed to

* For elucidation of these facts, see Dr. Moseley's Treatise on the Lues Bovilla. 2nd Edit. p. 64. His Commentaries on the Cow-pox. 2nd Edit. p. 77. The Medical Observer, vol. v. p. 46, and vol. viii. p. My Analytical View of the Medical Department of the British Army, p. 164.

very extraordinary Reports of this establishment, to your-monthly reprehension in that work. The frequent falsehoods, scandalous prevarications, and uniform disingenuousness of the reports, which have, during that period, been issued by vaccine institutions, or individual vaccinators, to delude the public, have there been detected and exposed. The impudent fabricators of these reports, have been forced to retire into their native obscurity. The Jennerian Institution has been dissolved; and their official Journal reduced to an ignominious silence.

Farther, between five and six hundred cases of cow-pox failures and mischiefs, with names, time, place, and circumstance, duly authenticated, some of them happening in the families of medical men, have been published in the different Numbers of the Medical Observer; and no vaccinator has ever dared to come forward, and call them in question.

These cases have, for the most part, been collected and authenticated by Dr. Moseley, Physician of Chelsea Hospital; Mr. Birch, Surgeon of St. Thomas's Hospital; Mr. Rogers, Surgeon, Spring-Garden; or by myself. Many of them are still within the reach of investigation; and I desire it to be understood, that, upon the authority of these and other facts, I am ready to follow up the vaccinators, to conviction and punishment.

Previous to the dissolution, or rather bankruptcy, of the Royal Jennerian Society, in 1808, the members of it quarrelled among themselves, and the public were let a little into their secrets.

“When rogues fall out,” &c.—

Some very curious details, in doggerel rhymes, are given

on this subject, in the early Numbers of the Medical Observer, supposed to be effusions of the muse of *friend* Walker, their *quondam* Secretary*.

This was a blow, which vaccination scarcely seemed able to survive. But it did not suit the consistency of Parliament, which had voted thirty thousand pounds, twenty of them only the year before, to the *discoverer*, to let their adoption instantaneously drop.

In June, 1808, it was determined to have a *National* Vaccine Establishment; and Sir Lucas Pepys, with the Right Honourable George Rose, and Dr. Jenner, drew up a plan of it. In December, 1808, a board was constituted; consisting of Dr. Jenner as Director, and the President and Censors of the College of Physicians, together with the Master, and Governors, of the College of Surgeons, as Members. But Dr. Jenner, for reasons best known to himself, immediately abdicated; and has, I believe, never since shewn his face in the metropolis, or in Cheltenham.

Well knowing, from experience, the nature of such bodies, the original opponents of vaccination abstained from communicating facts to this establishment, assured, from a great deal of experience, that their communications would be misrepresented, or buried in oblivion. They preferred appealing, in a more direct and independent way, to the public; and their success is best evinced by the conduct of the vaccinators.

[REPORTS.]

I now come to the main subject of my Letter—the very extraordinary Reports of this establishment, to your

* See the Jennerie Opera, Med. Obs. Vol. III. p. 367, and Vol. IV. p. 18, 163, 261, Vol V. 347, Vol. VI. 9.

self and your predecessor, which I consider as the "*last dying speech and confession*" of vaccination in this country. That the reader may see, at one view, how far they are treated with fairness, I here insert the Reports at full length; numbering the paragraphs for the sake of more easy reference:

REPORT FROM THE NATIONAL VACCINE ESTABLISHMENT.

Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be printed, June 1, 1810.

NATIONAL VACCINE ESTABLISHMENT,
Leicester Square, Jan. 22, 1810.

To the Right Honourable Richard Rider, Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department.

Sir,

1. The Board of the National Vaccine Establishment have the honour to submit to you, an Abstract of their further Proceedings, since the annexed Statement, made by them on the 25th May last to the Earl of Liverpool, his Majesty's then Secretary of State for the Home Department; and they trust that they shall not be found unworthy the continued confidence and support of his Majesty's Government.

2. They have to report to you, that from the period

of their last Statement to the present time, the Surgeons appointed under their direction have vaccinated at the eight different stations of the Establishment in the Metropolis, 1493 persons; and they have very lately found it expedient to establish a ninth station in the populous parish of Spital-Fields.

3. The demand for the charges of vaccine fluid has been progressively increasing for several months, and since the last Statement, the number of them delivered amounts to 16,749; which affords a strong presumption, that the practice of Vaccination is becoming more and more extended; an inference abundantly confirmed by the accounts which have been transmitted to the Board from all parts of the empire.

4. The prejudices alluded to, in the former Report, they have reason to hope are gradually on the decline: with a view to eradicate such impressions, they have addressed a circular letter to the governors and managers of the several public charities throughout the kingdom; inviting the establishment of gratuitous Vaccination to be conducted by the medical and chirurgical officers of their institutions.

5. They have also to state, that with a similar view, a copy of the said letter to the governors of the different public charities, was addressed to the Archbishops and Bishops of the several dioceses, with an accompanying statement, that the adoption of Vaccination had been extensively promoted by the assistance of the Clergy of other countries, and that they were encouraged to believe that the object would not be deemed unworthy of their countenance, or inconsistent with the views of their sacred functions.

6. The Board have also thought it their duty to continue the investigation of the few anomalous cases which have fallen under their notice; the result of this investigation does not appear to them to afford any solid objection to the practice of Vaccination, and on a due consideration of the whole body of evidence submitted to them on the subject, the Board have the satisfaction to state, that they are still impressed with a full conviction of the importance of the discovery, and can recommend with confidence a perseverance in such measures as may lead to its universal adoption.

7. On referring to the last paragraph of the annexed Statement, they have the satisfaction to report, that the sum already granted has proved adequate to the annual expenditure of the establishment.

By order of the Board.

Jas. Hervey,
Reg.

(Signed) LUCAS PEPYS,
President.

Copy of the Statement of the Proceedings of the Board of the National Vaccine Establishment; addressed to the Earl of Liverpool on the 25th of May, 1809.

My Lord,

8. The Board of the National Vaccine Establishment esteem it their duty to lay before your Lordship, an Abstract of their Proceedings from their first institution, that your Lordship may judge how far they may hitherto have fulfilled the intentions of his Majesty's Government, and may be deemed worthy of its future support.

9. On the 22nd of June, 1808, Sir Lucas Pepys received from your Lordship, his first instructions to consult the College of Physicians on the most effectual mean of carrying into execution the Resolutions of the House of Commons, respecting the formation of a National Vaccine Establishment. A Plan was accordingly drawn up by the President, in conjunction with the Right Honourable George Rose, and Dr. Jenner, of which your Lordship's approbation was signified, by a letter bearing date the 21st of December, 1808: In consequence of this, the President and Censors of the College of Physicians, and the Master and Governors of the College of Surgeons, being constituted a Board, were summoned on the 28th of December, and entered without delay on the consideration of the business to which they were called, and the means of executing it in a manner that should be satisfactory to the Public, and creditable to the high authority under which they were to act.

10. Dr. Jenner, on account of his experience, his public merits, and his public rewards, which had seemed to engage him in the service of Vaccination; and also for the part he had taken in the constitution of the establishment, was unanimously elected to fill the place of Director; though he afterwards declined to act in that capacity

11. The inferior offices were next filled up by persons selected with every attention to the public interest, and seven different places were fixed upon, at convenient distances in the Metropolis, for the purpose of Vaccination; to which it was afterwards found expedient to add an eighth. A house was engaged, for one year in Leicester Square, for the use of the Board, and for the constant

residence of a Register, who might be at hand to receive and to answer all applications, and to transact the business of an extensive correspondence, which was to be expected.

12. These necessary arrangements having been made, Vaccination was begun to be practised, under the direction of the Board, early in February; and, on the 11th of March, they were enabled to give notice by public advertisement, that the plan of their establishment was completed, and that all persons might be gratuitously vaccinated, or supplied with proper vaccine fluid, upon application, at the places appointed.

13. The numbers vaccinated have already amounted to 733; and 2,580 charges of the vaccine fluid have been sent to various persons, many of them residing in distant parts of the country; and they have each been furnished, not only with several glasses, ivory points or lancets upon which it is conveyed, but likewise with printed instructions for the right use of it, and for ascertaining, as far as possible, the degree of security afforded.

14. The Board have besides paid diligent attention to the investigation of such anomalous cases as have fallen under their notice, and have kept an exact register of every circumstance as it has occurred; by which they hope to render more perfect the knowledge of the subject, and to secure the Public from errors and misrepresentations.

15. In prosecuting the business to which they were called, the Board perceived, with mortification, a declining state of Vaccination in the Metropolis, and an apparent indisposition towards the practice of it. They accordingly felt it incumbent upon them to excite a fresh attention to the subject by hand-bills and cards, which have been dis-

seminated among the lower classes; by circular letters to the Physicians and Surgeons throughout England; and likewise by application to the Clergy, and Vestries of the several parishes in and about London; and, lastly, by an Address to the Archbishops and Bishops, requesting their Lordships' aid and encouragement, among the Clergy of their respective dioceses.

16. The Board of the National Vaccine Establishment cannot close this Statement without expressing their regret, that there should still be evil disposed persons, who are endeavouring to frustrate his Majesty's intentions by alarming the uninformed with stories, which they know to be false; and, by public notice inviting them to be gratuitously inoculated with the Small-pox, to the great and unavoidable danger of spreading a destructive contagion, a danger which is not easily appreciated by persons in the superior classes of society, who are, with very few exceptions, secure from its influence.

17. The Board of the National Vaccine Establishment flatter themselves, it will appear to your Lordship, by a reference to their accounts, whenever it is your Lordship's pleasure to call for them, that they have not made an improper use of the money, which has been entrusted to them. In an infant establishment, it was to be expected, that the expences would in some parts exceed, and in others fall within those of another year. Upon the whole they trust the sum of 3,000*l.* which they received from his Majesty's Treasury, will be sufficient to cover their expenditure; and, if the application they have made of it, in promoting the objects of their institution, meet with your Lordship's approbation, they may apply with confidence for a continuance of the public support, to enable

them to proceed in the work they have begun, and, by the blessing of Divine Providence, to accomplish the general adoption of Vaccination, and perhaps the final extinction of the Small-pox.

Earl of Liverpool,

&c. &c. &c.

(Signed)

LUCAS PEPYS,

President.

By Order of the Board.

Jas. Hervey,

Reg.

This barren but laboured production, contains no doctrines to controvert, no facts for refutation. The painful task which I have to perform, is to shew the studied fallacy of the whole performance, with a view to mislead the government and the public into a continued support of the imposture; the breach of trust committed by the establishment, in becoming, instead of enquirers, propagandists; their criminality in endeavouring to conceal all knowledge of vaccine failures, under the unmeaning term "anomaly;" their impudent and deliberate falsehoods, in imputing to their opponents a baseness of proceeding, which can only belong to themselves; their degrading the profession, by having recourse to the lowest artifices of quackery for propagating a delusion; their ignorant or designing exaggerations of the danger of small-pox contagion; and their consummate charlatanism in pretending, after having been obliged to confess the declining state of vaccination in the metropolis, that they can, for a moment, believe it possible that they shall be able "to accomplish the general adoption of vaccination, and the final extinction of small-pox."

Before I proceed to review their sins of commission, let me say a few words on those of omission, of which they have been guilty. Even the Report of the College, in 1807, confessed that vaccination *is not an absolutely perfect security against the small-pox*. But they have not told us, *in what degree it is a security*. They also confess, that the cow-pox *gives rise to other diseases*, although *less frequently* than the small-pox*. These are, indeed, considerable concessions from the College; particularly those members who, some years previously, asserted, before the Committee of the House of Commons, that the cow-pox is a *perfect and complete security against the small-pox*; that it is not itself a disease; and never produces any other disease.

Since that period, the vaccinators seem to have studied more profoundly the doctrines of the Jesuits: the modern vaccinators, indeed, as far as their intellects will allow, appear to be the legitimate successors of the ancient followers of Ignatius Loyola; with, perhaps, the trifling exceptions of their wisdom and discretion. However little astonishing, Sir, it is a most humiliating consideration, that rational beings, entrusted by the government of the country, with the care of examining into, and reporting upon, the efficacy of vaccination, i. e. whether it be a *perfect security*, or *in what degree it is a security against small-pox*, and whether *it occasions other diseases*, should have thought it consistent with honour or honesty, to be wholly silent on the two points, which it was specifically their duty to ascertain; and

* Vide Dr. Moseley's Review of the College Report, 2d Edit. p. 44.

which alone could be of any consequence to the public to know. This, however, is the fact.

On these two principal points, the Reporters are as silent as the grave. Did they mean to infer, that they were directed by Government to attend only to the evidence in *favour* of vaccination, utterly disregarding whatever militated against it? This no man in his senses will believe. Why, then, are they silent on these points? This, perhaps, they will explain in their next report, if they should ever make another. But, in the mean time, I will state the only construction that I conceive can be put upon it by the public. They will inevitably conclude that, however they may venture to prevaricate, misrepresent, deceive, and conceal, there is no longer a vaccinator so impudent or stupid, even when his salary is at stake, as openly to assert, with thousands of well-authenticated cases staring him in the face, that vaccination *is a perfect security* against small-pox, or that cow-pox does *not* produce other diseases. Sir Lucas, if he knew any thing, knew the contrary of this; he dare not deny that he knew it; and knowing it, he signed a report, leading his Majesty's government to expect that, *with their support, and the blessing of divine providence,* the Vaccine Board might be enabled to accomplish *the general adoption of vaccination, and, PERHAPS, the final Extinction of small-pox.*

I will not dwell on the disrespect shewn by this deception to his Majesty's Government, or the irreverence of invoking the blessing of divine providence on an imposture. Neither should I think it necessary to say a single word more on the subject, persuaded that the public will consider men, who have been convicted of such a

complication of folly and crime, as unworthy in future of attention or belief, on a topic, which seems to have overwhelmed their senses, and overthrown their understanding. But it may be necessary to shew, by a detailed dissection of the Report, that, whether by the force of interest or belief, the subject has taken such complete possession of their minds, that there is not a paragraph, from beginning to end, which is not full of the most disgusting misrepresentations, or the most stupid reveries. It is necessary that this unhappy state of mind should be fully shewn, in order that his Majesty's Government, out of compassion for the vaccinators themselves, as well as the victims of their insanity, might be pleased, without loss of time, to take the necessary means of disenchanting them. I would not be so barbarous, however, as to recommend for the vaccinating 'squires the cruel mode of disenchantment by self-scourging, practised by Don Quixote's 'squire, Sancho Panza. Instead of inflicting three thousand stripes or lashes on any part of their bodies, I am of opinion, the disenchantment might be better and more delicately performed, by withholding three thousand guineas annually from their pockets. This experiment, I trust, his Majesty's Ministers will have the humanity to make without delay.

Not to withhold any longer from the reader the delicacies of this vaccine repast, for which he is no doubt impatient, having had time to prepare his appetite, I proceed, without farther preface, to the Report, although I fear it will prove a rather indigestible meal.

“ The Board of the National Vaccine Establishment,
 “ have the honour to submit to you an abstract of their

“ further proceedings, since the annexed statement, &c.
 “ and they trust that they shall not be found *unworthy*
 “ *the continued confidence and support* of his Majesty’s
 “ Government.” (1.)

If to continue to deceive and mislead Government be to deserve their confidence and support, they certainly are highly worthy of both. How did they begin to fulfil, and continue to execute, the intentions of his Majesty’s Government? By instituting an *inquiry* into the state of vaccination; ascertaining the *degree of security* which it affords against small-pox; what diseases it produces; what are the causes that have impeded its progress; and whether it be, upon the whole, such a practice as ought to be persevered in, or discontinued? Not at all. These were points of no consequence to ascertain, in the estimation of the Board. The real object was to extend the practice, and to consolidate the establishment. The whole human race being *first* vaccinated, there would *then* be an opportunity of ascertaining, *at leisure*, what degree of security cow-pox affords, and what diseases it produces.

But to avoid all suspicion of inaccuracy, let us take their own words :

“ These necessary arrangements (the appointment of
 “ superior and inferior officers, and renting a house) ha-
 “ ving been made, vaccination was *begun to be practised*,
 “ under the direction of the Board, early in February
 “ (1809); and on the 11th of March they were enabled to
 “ give notice, by public advertisement, that the plan of
 “ their Establishment was completed, and that all persons
 “ might be *gratuitously* vaccinated, or supplied with
 “ proper vaccine fluid, upon application at the places
 “ appointed.” (12.)

Here we have no hesitation, no question, no doubt, no room for enquiry—nothing but downright certainty, and rapturous propagandism. Amidst all this fervour of renovated zeal, however, we can perceive a slight symptom of abatement in the tone of the vaccinators.—That fluid which, in their language, used formerly to be called *divine*, is now only the “*proper vaccine fluid*.”—We are thankful for even the smallest indication of lucid interval. But to return: Had it been the intention of government to *propagate* vaccination, *at all events*, whatever degree of security it affords, and whatever diseases it produces; whether it be useful or injurious to the public; in short, whether it be a blessing or a curse to society; then would the members of the Vaccine Establishment have merited the continued confidence and support of government. But if such *could not* have been the intention of His Majesty’s government, who must have conceived they had to do with men of science and veracity, what does that conduct deserve, which amounts to an high breach of trust to them, and a deep injury to the community? The penalty is such as I will not choose to name. Will Sir Lucas, or any of his board, dare to come forward, and say that the questions respecting security and disease, have been decided; or that any of them know the degree of the former, or the nature and extent of the latter?—Will they dare to declare, in the face of the public, what they have omitted in their Reports, that vaccination is a perfect security against small-pox, either *permanently*, or for any *certain* or *known* length of time; and that cow-pox is never known to produce other diseases?—Then will I hurl in their face thousands of cases of failures and of mischiefs, not the offspring of doating

or distempered brains, but witnessed and authenticated by men of honour, sanity, and reputation; by men of veracity and professional skill, whose feelings I should be sorry to wound by a comparison that would degrade them.

Having thus shewn that the board, instead of fulfilling the intentions of government, were only anxious, by concealment and subterfuge, to deceive and betray them; I shall now take a view of the wonderful feats, which, on their own principle of unconditional propagandism, they *say* they have performed:

“ They have to report to you, that from the period of their last statement to the present time, the surgeons appointed under their direction have vaccinated at the eight different stations of the Establishment in the metropolis, 1493 persons.” (2.)

Thus we see that in *eight* months, *eight* Surgeons vaccinate as many patients as an old nurse might vaccinate in less than as many days with the point of a needle. Rowland Hill has himself vaccinated three hundred in two days*; and Baron Dimsdale inoculated seven hundred persons in one day for the small-pox.— Thus Rowland Hill would have performed in *ten* days, and Sutton or Baron Dimsdale in *two*, more than has been done by the National Vaccine Establishment, at all their stations in *eight* months. The motive of the mystery and importance attempted to be *now* conferred on what *friend* Walker calls a contemptible “*wee*” bit of surgery, which at the commencement any old woman

* See his address to the Jennerian Society, in 1805. Dr. Moseley's Commentaries, 2nd Edit. p. 51.

could practice with safety, cannot escape the observation of any one. But this despicable artifice to account, or apologise, for failures, shall not avail the vaccinators, any more than their libel upon nature, in the *discovery* of small-pox succeeding small-pox, cases of which I understand they are now, as a last resource, industriously collecting. If they send a few able bodied vaccinating 'squires into the provinces, free from all superfluous scruples of conscience, I doubt not but we shall see them returning in a few weeks loaded with *well attested* cases, in which not only confluent small-pox has occurred twice or thrice in the same person, but others in which simple small-pox has been demonstrated to have occurred in the same person even a score of times. Oh! Nature! how various! how inscrutable are thy wanderings! After this, could it surprise us to see the learned President of a certain college, as humourously depicted by Dr. Moseley*, "ruminating in a field with horns, hoofs, and a long tail;—attended, at a respectful distance, by his Cow-pox Committee"—"eating grass as oxen, and their bodies wet with the dew of heaven, till their hairs were grown like eagles' feathers, and their nails like birds' claws †."

When future generations shall read the history of the Cox-pox enthusiasm, they will not perhaps regard this supposed metamorphosis as that part of the narrative, which is most remote from reality.

Having considered this subject, as it regards science and the public health, I shall now say a few words on it,

* Rev. of Col. Rep. p. 65.

† DANIEL, Chap. IV.

as it regards economy. The Establishment has, in the last eight months, they say, vaccinated 1493 persons; by their former Report, they had vaccinated 733; making in all 2226 persons. They have received six thousand pounds of the public money. This is at the rate of little less than three pounds for each person vaccinated; six times as much as is charged by individual vaccinators, or for inoculation for the small-pox.

“ And they have found it expedient to establish a *ninth* station in the populous parish of Spital Fields.” (2.)

That is they have found it expedient to make a place for a ninth friend.

“ The *demand* for the charges of vaccine fluid has been progressively increasing for several months, and since the last statement, the number of them *delivered*, amounts to 16,479.” (3.)

I confess I have so little confidence in the reports of vaccinators, that, from having always found them “ false as dicers’ oaths,” I should require something more than mere results, delivered on their *gratis dictum*, to confirm my belief in any assertion, by which they could gain the smallest point. I have no objection, however, to give them credit for once, notwithstanding the doubts inspired by the great guardedness of their language, and to take the number of charges *delivered* at their own computation, 16,479; “ which,” say they, “ affords a *strong presumption* that the practice of vaccination is becoming more and more extended; an *inference abundantly confirmed* by the accounts which have been transmitted to the Board from all parts of the empire.” (3.)

Now, Sir, if I understand any thing of logic, had sixteen *million*, instead of sixteen *thousand*, charges of the *fluid*

been *delivered*, it would be no proof of the extension of the *practice* of vaccination; since the Board might have ordered them to be delivered to persons who had no intention of using them. The distinction between the number of charges *delivered*, and the number *demand*ed, is here truly characteristic. It is a neat piece of *Pepysm*!

The *demand*, they cautiously observe, has been *progressively increasing* for several months; and this might very readily happen, although it should not exceed a *few hundred* instances; for we find, from their former Report, that only “ 2,580 charges have been *sent* to various persons, many of them residing in distant parts of “ the country.” (13.)

Now I should presume that few or none of the charges stated to have been *sent*, were *demand*ed, although they were very probably *delivered*; and if so, the demand might have *progressively increased*, without perhaps amounting to a hundred instances in the whole. I shall afterwards have occasion, in speaking of the report of another Institution, which was sent to me only a few days ago, to shew how these charges of vaccine fluid are *probably* disposed of. On these trifling subterfuges, I should not have dwelt so much, did not a studied, I had almost said a refined ambiguity pervade the whole Report, which renders it impossible that any part of its obscurity should be accidental, and almost convinces me, that it was drawn up by the erudite solicitor of the college, or some equally eminent attorney.

Here we find the number of charges *sent* and *delivered*, but not *demand*ed and *used*, supplying a *strong presumption* that the practice of vaccination is becoming more and more extended; and this *strong presumption* is, in an in-

stant converted into “*an inference abundantly confirmed,*” —confirmed,—how? “by the accounts which have been transmitted to the Board from all parts of the empire.” Indeed! I should be glad to see these accounts. But without seeing them, I can easily divine what they are, or rather, I should say, I can pronounce to a certainty what they are *not*. They are not the communications of men of reputation, science, or professional eminence. What man of any decent respect for himself would correspond with this Board, after their scandalous treatment of Sir Isaac Pennington, the worthy Regius Professor of Physic in the University of Cambridge; Dr. Jameson, of Cheltenham, and other professional men of reputation, when charitably offering them that sort of information, of which they knew they stood so much in need.

If we cannot admire the sagacity or wisdom, we may at least applaud the dexterity and perseverance, with which the vaccinators have, at different periods, shifted their ground, and, when beaten in one quarter, taken up a fresh position in another. They had long been obliged to relinquish Chicken-pox, spurious Cow-pox, imperfect vaccination, supposed or alleged Small-pox, and a whole host of apologetical allegations; and even to confess that vaccination, when performed in the most perfect manner, is not, at all times and in all places, an infallible protection against Small-pox. But, notwithstanding these frequent and mortifying defeats, they were not yet come to an end of their resources. Above two years ago, when it was ascertained that vaccination is no security against Small-pox at Cambridge, Cheltenham, Ringwood, Putney, Fulwoods Rents, &c. &c. &c.; they

had this grand answer to the whole: "How happens it that no cases of failure have ever occurred in Scotland, where medical men are reputed abundantly sceptical?"— This was for a long time a standing argument, and might have continued so to this day, had it not since appeared that failures may very possibly happen for a series of years, even in Scotland, without being either noticed or recorded.

At length there sprung up, on the northern side of the Tweed, a diligent enquirer, a luminous *discoverer*, a second Jenner. Last year, a Mr. Brown made the important *discovery* that vaccination is no security against Small-pox *at Mussleburgh*; and that he himself had been a strenuous propagator of an imposture for nine years! This *discovery* he hastens to communicate to the National Vaccine Establishment, and to the Secretary of State for the home department. The National Vaccine Establishment, having ascertained that the village of Mussleburgh is certainly situated in that part of Great Britain, called Scotland, and feeling the ground which they had so long occupied thereby greatly endangered, resolved to shift their doctrinal position to the sister kingdom. In answer to the fact that vaccination is no security against Small-pox *in Scotland*, they transmit a report from Dublin stating that it has not yet been discovered that vaccination is *not* a certain preventive of Small-pox *in Ireland*.

I would ask the members of this Establishment, as Cicero asked the Roman Augur, "how it is possible they can meet each other in the street without laughter?"

Driven successively from all their holds, they now have recourse to the desperate measure of assuming a false

fact, that the practice of vaccination is extending throughout the kingdom; and of reasoning with their usual absurdity from the fact so assumed.

But we shall suppose it true, that they have actually received accounts of the increase of vaccination from all parts of the empire, and that they were not their own bulletins reflected back to them by some itinerant 'squires; what new lights could have been derived from them? The increase or diminution of the practice, cannot prove the value of it to the public, although it may considerably affect its value to the Board. Their duty, properly understood, I conceive is not more to increase than to restrain the practice, until it shall have been ascertained (if proof be still wanting) what degree of security cow-pox affords, and the number of diseases it produces, and consequently whether it be most advantageous to the community that it should be continued, or abandoned. Now it is very clear that it cannot be advantageous to the influence or the income of Sir Lucas Pepys, that it should be abandoned during his Presidentship; as that, however, is not likely to continue very long, he will perhaps give good advice, as it will cost him nothing, to his successor. Let me ask him, while he is yet in office, whether the charges of the vaccine fluid, sent, delivered, or demanded, are paid for to the Establishment*.

* The Institutions, I am informed, were in the habit, and no doubt are so still, of selling charges of vaccine fluid at 10. 6d. When *Friend Walker*, their Secretary, quarrelled with the Jennerian Society, and set up an opposition shop for vaccination, in Salisbury Court, was it the mere honour of vaccinating the greatest number of children gratuitously, that produced those pugilistic contests, and other *diver-*

“ The *prejudices* alluded to in the former Report, they
 “ have *reason to hope* are *gradually* on the decline ; with
 “ a view to eradicate such *impressions*, they have ad-
 “ dressed a circular letter to the governors and managers
 “ of the several public charities throughtout the king-
 “ dom ; inviting the establishment of *gratuitous* vacci-
 “ nation to be conducted by the Medical and Chirurgical
 “ Officers of their institutions.” (4).

The language of this paragraph is well worthy of re-
 mark. The *prejudices* (i. e. the conviction arising from
 daily failures) they have *reason to hope* are *gradually on*
the decline. How any man can have reason to hope
 what he knows to be impossible, is what I cannot un-
 derstand. Some men, indeed, may hope that they shall
 never die. But no man in his senses would think of rea-
 soning with them.

To *eradicate* these *impressions*, they address the public
 charities to practise vaccination *gratuitously*. The im-
 pressions alluded to, I presume, must have been made
 on the public. Now, how the public should be prevailed
 upon to accept of any thing they dislike, by its being of-
 fered them *gratis*, is what I am unable to divine. It
 must be a curious sort of thing, this same blessing,
 which must be crammed down people's throats! The
 vaccine establishment, if they would have an increase of
 customers, should imitate the conduct of the Bath stage-

tisements, between him and the resident Inoculator at the Jennerian
 Society, Dr. Knowles? No doubt. Their philanthropy was oosing
 out at their fingers' ends. For some curious details on this subject,
 see Medical Observer, vol. iii. p. 366, vol. iv. p. 18, 163, 261,
 268, 270. Also Dr. Walker's Account of the unfair proceedings of
 the Jennerian Society, Medical Observer, vol. v. p. 347, and vol.
 vi. p. 9.

coach owners, when, some years ago, the opposition on that road ran very high. In the course of the competition, their fares were reduced so low, that one man, rather than be outdone in customers by his neighbour, resolved to take passengers *gratis*; on which his rival swore that, in his coach, they should not only travel *gratis*, but have dinner and wine into the bargain. If the vaccinators, following this example, were to offer a reward to each parent, who should bring his child to be vaccinated, they might continue to have some few customers to their institutions, establishments, or shops. But the offer of gratuitous vaccination alone, they may be assured, will not succeed. If they were really persuaded that the practice of vaccination was increasing in popularity, what occasion was there to have employed extraordinary additional means, for extending it? Not only are the assertions of these men at constant variance with each other, but their conduct almost always at variance with their assertions.

It is proper that I should here notice that part of the former report (May, 1809), referred to in this paragraph:—

“ In prosecuting the business to which they were called, the board *perceived, with mortification, a declining state of vaccination* in the metropolis, and an *apparent indisposition* towards the practice of it.” (15.)

Only eight months after this piteous lamentation, we find the board, not indeed daring to assert openly (for that would be to tell a *direct* falsehood), but insinuating, by every species of artifice in language, that the practice of vaccination had again become prosperous and flourishing. And what proof do they give of this? Why,

truly, that they had themselves, with the whole force of the establishment, vaccinated *fourteen hundred* children in *eight* months!

The fact is, that their first report was somewhat less distant from truth and decency than the last, which, it must be evident to every one, who attentively peruses it, was made up for the occasion. The practice of vaccination, as they truly and pathetically lament, was then in a declining state in the metropolis; as it has since been, and will continue to be, until it shall be totally abolished. In the Finsbury Dispensary, for instance, where children are vaccinated, or inoculated for the small-pox, according to the wish of their parents, Mr. Taunton says that, during the last twelvemonth, only *four* patients were vaccinated, while *upwards of a thousand* were inoculated for the small-pox*. The reasons are perfectly obvious.

1st. The lower classes of the people, in this great metropolis, whose eyes have been opened by long and woeful experience of cow-pox failures and mischiefs among their neighbours, will not be prevailed upon, at the instigation of persons, whom they have discovered to be for the most part interested knaves, or foolish enthusiasts, to treat their offspring contrary to the daily evidence of their senses.

2d. Professional men, whose consciences are not lulled by salaries, will, either from conviction, or regard to their reputations, or from that desire of being fashionable, which led them first to run after the *ignis fatuus* of vaccination, no longer persist in the practice; but return of necessity, as it will be their interest to do, to the well-known, and safe, and rational, practice of inoculation for the small-pox.

* See Med. Obs. Vol. VIII. p. 202.

3d. Among the higher circles, who are not so much exposed to the injurious consequences of cow-pox, conviction, although more slowly produced, will be the infallible result of its abjuration by the public at large, and the body of the faculty. Even the vaccinators themselves, who have seldom, in the highest paroxysms of their cow-pox phrensy, been very blind to their interests, will find it their advantage to return to the bosom of orthodoxy.

On this part of the subject, I shall only farther remark that “the *apparent indisposition* towards the practice” of vaccination, so meekly described by the reporters, amounts, among the great mass of the people, in reality to a *dislike, disgust*, or more frequently an *abhorrence*.

The reporters go on:—

“They accordingly felt it incumbent upon them to *excite a fresh attention* to the subject, *by hand-bills and cards, which have been disseminated among the lower classes.*” (15).

Can any thing be more conformable than this to the practices of the lowest quacks, and the basest impostors?

But the vaccine establishment had resources beyond any of their predecessors in this line. They applied, “by circular letters, to the physicians and surgeons throughout England” (15). Why not Scotland and Ireland, seeing the establishment is *national*—

“Help me, Cassius, or I sink.”

“And, *likewise*, by application to the clergy and vestries of the several parishes, in and about London” (15). Was it to excommunicate inoculators for the small-pox, or to pray for their own success, or both?

“ And, *lastly*, by an address to the archbishops and bishops, requesting their lordships’ aid and encouragement among the clergy of their respective dioceses.” (15.)

Aid and encouragement—to do what? To *inquire* into the degree of protection afforded by the cow-pox against the small-pox, and whether it produces other diseases, and what? Not at all. But to propagate it with all their might, whether it afford security against the small-pox or not, and whatever diseases it produces.

As a further inducement to the church, the reporters state to the archbishops and bishops of the several dioceses—

“ That the adoption of vaccination had been extensively promoted by the assistance of the clergy of *other* countries. *” (5)

By other countries, the reporters probably allude more particularly to France. That the clergy of France should have contributed to its extension in that country, I hold to be of no import whatever to the argument. We shall suppose, if they please, and by what means they please, that it has pervaded the universe. If we can prove, that it is inefficient in and around *London*, we shall consider that a sufficient triumph, leaving the vaccinators to hug themselves with the idea, that it has not *yet* been proved to be fallible in and around *Paris*. But, if it were of any consequence, we could shew, that doubts of cow-pox infallibility have arisen even in France.

And “ that they were encouraged to believe that the *object* would not be unworthy of their countenance, nor *inconsistent with the views of their sacred functions.*” (5.)

What object? Promoting the practice of vaccination, whether right or wrong. Would it then be consistent with the sacred functions of the clergy to aid in promoting an experiment, which there was already too much reason to apprehend would turn out a rank imposture,—a curse, instead of a blessing, to mankind?

No. The clergy of this country, I mean those of the established church, had more sense than to lend themselves to a measure that might disgrace them.

The archbishop of Canterbury wisely refused to commit the church †; and the views of the propagandists were frustrated in almost every direction.

It may be worth while to pause a little upon these proceedings. Did this spirit of propagandism arise from pure professional zeal, for the good of humanity? Religion and philanthropy, it is well known, are, in this rich and gullible nation, frequently made stalking-horses to the most selfish objects. We have heard of pious persons going about the country, building places of worship for the good of their souls; and if their pockets should happen to benefit, by the letting of the pews, or in any other manner, it has not been supposed to imply any diminution, or disparagement, of their holy zeal.—So, if the national vaccine establishment had succeeded in their addresses to the church, and a demand for charges of fluid was, in consequence, annually made from all the parishes in England, to the amount of 100,000 charges, at 3s. 6d. each charge, the emoluments of the board would have been increased 17,500*l.* annually. But if the charges be sold at 10s. 6d. each, as I am informed has been, and may now be the case, the

† See Mr. Birch's *Serious Reasons for uniformly opposing Vaccination*, p. 24.

annual increase of income would, on this supposition, amount to fifty thousand guineas! Would it be more unjust to suspect the vaccine board of wishing to extend the practice of vaccination merely for the sake of increasing their income, than of wishing to continue the existence of the establishment, merely for the sake of continuing to receive their salaries? If it be conceded to me, that the establishment is necessary to produce the salaries; that the practice of vaccination is necessary to support the establishment; and that the extension of the practice would increase the emoluments of the board; I shall have no objection to allow Sir Lucas Pepys, *pro forma**, to assume as many philanthropic and religious motives to explain his conduct, as he can find credulity to believe.

The question is not respecting *motives*, but *facts*. And if the board had succeeded in propagating the *practice* of vaccination throughout all parts of the kingdom, as they have notoriously failed, it would not have gone the smallest way towards proving the truth of the *doctrine*, that vaccination is a *perfect security against the small-pox*, or that the cow-pox *doth not produce other diseases*.

It is remarkable how fondly the reporters have dwelt on the extension of the *practice* of vaccination; a fact, which, whether true or false, signifies nothing; and which could not possibly be ascertained by the vaccine board, predetermined as they were not to listen to the evidence of unbiassed scientific persons, but to draw all their inferences from the misinformation of blind enthusiasts, and cow-pox runners; while they carefully avoid touching on the truth or falsehood of the cow-pox doc-

* A memorable expression of Sir Lucas, in his Letter to the Secretary at War, dated 27th of Sept. 1809. Vide Medical Observer, vol. vii. p. 382.

trines. On this disingenuousness I have already had occasion slightly to remark.

Throughout the two reports, there is only one paragraph which could lead the reader to infer, that doubts respecting the infallibility of cow-pox were ever entertained by any one. But this paragraph, which I am inclined to think, either escaped the reporters inadvertently, or was written, like Sir Lucas Pepys's unfortunate letter, when physician-general to the army, under the idea that it would never get beyond the port-folio of the secretary of state, is not unworthy of comment.

“ And they” (persons residing in distant parts of the country), “ have each been furnished, not only with several glasses, ivory points, or lancets, upon which it (the fluid), is conveyed, but likewise with printed instructions for the right use of it; *and for ascertaining, AS FAR AS POSSIBLE, the degree of security afforded.*” (13.)

Here indeed we have, by implication, more than we looked for, and much more than we could have expected to find; not only a virtual acknowledgment that vaccination is not a *perfect* security against the small-pox, but that it is *impossible to ascertain* the *degree* of security which it confers.

“ The board of the national vaccine establishment cannot close this statement without expressing their regret, that there should *still* be *evil disposed* persons, who are endeavouring to *frustrate his Majesty's intentions.*” (16)

It is not, then, enough that the vaccinators should impose upon parliament, delude the public, and attempt to cajole the church; but they must implicate the sacred name of his Majesty in their imposture. In this indecency I shall not imitate them.

I have already shewn that the construction put, by the

vaccinators, upon the intentions of government, was erroneous; and that it could not but have been a wilful error, to suit their own base and grovelling purposes.— After taking the liberty of interpreting the intention of government in their own way, they accuse the anti-vaccinators of endeavouring to frustrate them:—and how?

“ By alarming the uninformed with *stories*, which *they know to be false.*” (16.) — This is much too imbecile a project seriously to impute to the anti-vaccinators. The numerous cases of failures and mischiefs recorded by *them*, are not old women’s tales, or the reveries of doating old men, or the effusions of zealots, or the invention of mercenaries. They consist of well-authenticated facts, succinctly, and soberly, and accurately, related;—facts which the vaccine board *could not but know to be circumstantially true, at the very moment they were accusing their opponents of knowing them to be false.*

They are upon record. Many of the subjects are within the reach of examination. Consequently, any inaccuracy pervading them, may be easily detected. All this the vaccine board are perfectly aware of; and they are also aware, that they have no chance of escaping detection, if, quitting their Cow-pox fortresses of imaginary results, and frequently refuted assertions, they ever entangle themselves in the investigation of plain and simple facts.

The anti-vaccinators are too confident of the ground on which they stand, to wish for any other test of the truth of their doctrines, than an open and fair investigation. They despise the “*spargere voces in vulgum ambiguas.*” But they will not allow this, or any other

board, to assume to themselves an exclusive authority of deciding on a subject, on which they have an equal right, and better opportunities to form a correct judgment.

As one of those accused of "alarming the uninformed by stories which they know to be false," I think it right to inform you, Sir, in as far as I am concerned, that I am ready to meet the vaccinators before any competent authority. In the meantime I will venture to predict, that, should the facts and communications, from which the vaccine board pretend to have derived *their results*, be submitted to public investigation, their inductions will be found unworthy of the smallest credit.

"The board have also thought it their duty to continue the investigation of the *FEW anomalous cases*, which have fallen under their notice." (6.)

Failures they have been in the constant habit of attempting to conceal under the vague term of "*anomalous cases*." No genuine vaccinator ever yet confessed a failure. This investigation of *anomalous cases*, from the importance annexed to it, I should suppose to be very laborious. Why have not the board given us a detail of the facts? We could make results for ourselves. But let us hear *their* result.

"The *result* of this investigation *does not appear* to them to afford any *solid* objection to the practice of vaccination; and on a *due* consideration of the whole body of evidence submitted to them on the subject, the board have the satisfaction to state, that they are *still* impressed with a *full* conviction of the *importance* of the *discovery*, and can recommend with confidence a perseve-

rance in such measures, as may *lead* to its *universal* adoption." (6.)

Nothing can be more difficult than to comment on words devoid of meaning. The only inference we can draw from this nonsense, is that the board, although they dare not assert any thing positively, as to the merits of vaccination, are determined, as far as depends upon them, never to relinquish the experiment. The vague, ambiguous, and obscure mode of expression, which invariably runs through the report cannot be the effect of accident. It is a studied obscurity. The doctrine of general results is extremely convenient. They have neither informed us upon what they have grounded their report, or what they have suppressed. But, notwithstanding these artifices, no part of it will escape refutation.

The national vaccine establishment *flatter* themselves it will appear, by a reference to their accounts, *whenever the secretary of state pleases to call for them*, "that they have not made an *improper use* of the money which has been intrusted to them." (17.) That is, I presume, that they have not robbed, or stolen out of, the treasury of the establishment!—Is it not making an improper use of the public money, to bestow it on the support of an imposture?

"Upon the whole, they trust the sum of 3000*l.* which they received from his Majesty's treasury, will be sufficient to cover their expenditure; and, if the application they have made of it in promoting the objects of their institution, meet with your *lordships'* approbation, they may apply with confidence for a continuance of the *public* support, to enable them to proceed *in the work they have begun*; and, *by the blessing of divine providence,*

to accomplish the *general* adoption of vaccination, and, *PERHAPS, the final extinction of small-pox.*" (17.)

The work they have begun! What work? The extension of the practice of vaccination. Which is to end in its *general*, not as formerly, *universal* adoption; and this is to end, *perhaps*, in the final extinction of small-pox!—It would be useless to prosecute farther this tissue of nonsense, absurdity, and deception. To effect the extinction of a disease that may be carried in the atmosphere, by a disease that is not, but by application to an abraded surface, even simply contagious!

The vaccine board are at considerable pains, in their reports, to give us to understand that the three thousand pounds a year, granted them by government, have been found fully adequate for the purposes of their establishment.

This is cunning at least: for they could not get more without a new investigation; and that would be fatal to their existence. These gentlemen might adopt as their motto, with a slight alteration, two lines from *Hudibras*—

What makes all doctrines right and clear?

About *three thousand* pounds a year.

The money, however, which the reports of the vaccinators have been the means of obtaining from the public, their enlightened opponents would be among the last to regret, did they not know that it had been obtained under false pretences. Were vaccination really what has been pretended by its partisans, and the sum expended on it much greater than it is, they would heartily rejoice in seeing it still farther augmented.

In questions of public importance, relative to applica-

tive science, pecuniary expenditure is a matter of very subordinate consideration. And I am persuaded it would be a great saving to the state, were Sir Lucas Pepys, and his chosen band of vaccinators, immediately pensioned off, with three thousand pounds a year among them, on condition that they should enter into specific engagements not to do farther mischief in the medical or moral world.

Among the many and not least absurdities of the vaccinators has been that of laying great stress upon the *presumed* fact, that, among medical men, numbers and respectability were on their side. The contrary is well known. Taking the statement of the Surgeons' Company, we know that only 426 persons out of 11,00, who were written to, replied to their circular letter. Hence it is probable that the MAJORITY, who did not return answers, were not in favour of the experiment. But, as happens in every piece of enthusiasm, the clamour of the zealots bore down reason before it, and their combinations deterred all ordinary individuals from publicly avowing their objections. In such a case, silence affords a sufficient indication of opinion; and from a dispassionate view of the subject, I feel myself justified in concluding that, excepting in the metropolis, where it was made a most nefarious job, the majority of medical men never were in favour of vaccination. This much, I think proper to say, *en passant*, the fact itself not being of any consequence, as in scientific discussions the logic of numbers cannot be recognised.

In this case the argument of respectability is, if possible, of less weight than that of numbers. Were science matter of belief, and scientific facts, like deci-

sions in a court of justice, to be admitted or rejected by credibility of evidence, then numbers and respectability might be of some avail. If every man in the world, besides Harvey, had denied the circulation of the blood, would not the blood have still circulated? - And, if the anticirculators (which in the case supposed would undoubtedly have happened) had all combined to defame Harvey, would he have been the less respectable, or his discovery the less sublime? But I feel that I am committing profanation in mentioning an immortal discovery in science, even in *contrast* with a piece of infamous quackery.

By this ridiculous mode of defence, the vaccinators have evinced as little skill in logic, as regard to truth. Had their premises been correct, that numbers and respectability among the faculty were on their side, their conclusion, that this would prove any thing in favour of the benefits to be derived from vaccination, would still be erroneous. But even their premises were for the most part, if not wholly false. I have already shewn, from circumstantial evidence, (and I should like to submit the decision to the test of a poll among the faculty,) that, excepting in the metropolis, where it was made a job, a majority of medical men have held opinions adverse to vaccination, although the clamours of the zealots, or a dislike to controversy, or motives of prudence or discretion, would appear to have induced them to remain silent. All men are not inclined to take mad bulls by the horns.

So much for numbers; now for respectability; and here I will come at once to the point. Let the earliest and principal antivaccinator any where to be found, Dr.

Moseley, Physician of Chelsea Hospital, and Member of the College of Physicians, of London, be placed, not in any point of comparison, for that would be to degrade him, but in direct contrast with the Chief of the Vaccinators, Sir Lucas Pepys, Bart. President of the College of Physicians, of London, and of the National Vaccine Establishment, what is the result? On the one side we have a man of character, of learning, of high literary reputation, of great professional experience in various climates, of philosophical acumen, and brilliant wit; on the other, a mental pigmy, elevated in that sort of unaccountable way, which some would call a fortuitous concourse of circumstances, and others chance, to preside over the Royal College of Physicians of London, and the Medical Department of the British Army; but recently dismissed, not however by chance, from his Majesty's service, as Physician-General to the Forces*.

I will now take the principal antivaccinator of the College of Surgeons, Mr. Birch, Surgeon of St. Thomas's Hospital, and Surgeon-Extraordinary to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and ask what vaccinator will presume to compare him, in point of respectability, with their Chief, Mr. Thomas Keate, late Master, by accident, of the College of Surgeons, recently dismissed his Majesty's service, as Surgeon-General to the Forces*, but still a principal Member of the National Vaccine Establishment?

* For an account of the misdeeds of Sir Lucas Pepys, as Physician-General, and of Mr. Keate, as Surgeon-General to the Army, which occasioned their dismissal from office, see my *Analytical View of the Medical Department of the British Army*, *passim*; and *The Medical Observer*, *passim*.

There cannot, I think, be any fairer specimens than those which I have chosen; a member of each college on each side. I will not pollute my pages by descending lower among the vaccinators. Let them hereafter talk of respectability, if they dare.

Now that the victory is decided, we shall see converts in abundance, flocking to the standard of the anti-vaccinators. In this event, they will, for the sake of truth and of the rising generation, no doubt, rejoice. But, if I know them rightly, the original antivaccinators will feel no personal gratification; on the contrary, they cannot but be mortified at finding themselves in danger of being identified with the *valiant*, the *numerous*, and the *respectable* sons of Æsculapius, whom interest or fashion will, now that the battle is over, bring into their ranks, equally ready to plunder them, or the enemy. Satisfied that the tried justness of their reasoning, and the accumulating weight of evidence, derived from the cases, which they have been collecting for years, would irresistibly, though slowly, pervade the public mind, and produce general conviction; they were, and remain, indifferent as to the conduct of the medical vaccinating Practitioners, well persuaded that most of them, without any other consideration, will change sides the moment it becomes their interest so to do; but not one moment sooner.

Dr. PEARSON'S AND Dr. WALKER'S INSTITUTIONS.

Besides the National Vaccine Establishment, there are two Subscription Institutions, which serve no other purpose than to transfer so much money annually from the

pockets of the philanthropic and affluent part of the British Public, into those of a few vaccinating Institution-men.

They also profess gratuitous vaccination.

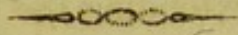
The term "gratuitous vaccination" has been much employed in the course of this experiment, implying not only that the public might be vaccinated without expence, but that the vaccinators were men of such perfect disinterestedness and philanthropy, that they derived no emolument whatever from the practice,—nothing beyond the pure pleasure of extending the blessing in society.

The very reverse of this is the fact; and if the banker's accounts, who received the philanthropic donations for the support of vaccination, were all investigated, and the subsequent appropriation of the monies received by them ascertained; it would be seen that the robberies, which have been committed, in the name of philanthropy, on the public, were to an extent of which they could have no conception.

I am informed that, throughout this experiment, which may be truly called an experiment upon the pockets and patience of a philanthropic community, a number of medical men have been kept in constant pay, for contributing by their influence to the extension of the practice of vaccination. It would, on many accounts, be desirable to ascertain the appropriation of the immense sums which have been collected by subscription for the support of this fanatical experiment. And, should any surplus be found to remain, undevoured by the vaccinators, I propose that it be applied towards erecting a monument to medical credulity, which should be higher than the monument at London Bridge.

As a specimen of the manner in which these establish-

ments have been supported, and of the immense contributions which they must have levied on the public, I here insert the last Report of Dr. Walker's Society, which only came into my hands within these few days. This Society, it will be remembered, branched out from the Royal Jennerian Society, on a disagreement of its members, in 1806; and, although hitherto silent, it does not appear they have been inactive.



LONDON VACCINE INSTITUTION,

FOR INOCULATING, AND SUPPLYING MATTER, FREE
OF EXPENCE, FOUNDED IN 1806, AND SUPPORTED
BY VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS.



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His Grace the Duke of St. Alban's

His Grace the Duke of Leeds

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- James Sims, M. D.
- General Tarleton, M. P.
- Henry Thornton, Esq. M.P.
- Robert Thornton, Esq. M.P.
- Samuel Thornton
- Samuel Whitbread, Esq.
M. P.
- William Wilberforce, Esq.
M. P.

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Jacob Hagen, Jun.	Rev. J. C. Ubele
Barnard Harrison	*John Wilson
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Joseph Harvey	

N. B.—The names marked with an Asterisk are of the Medical Profession, and form the Committee of Medical Assistants.

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 Samuel Favell, Esq. Joseph Blakey Spencer, Esq.

Timothy Brown, Esq. Treasurer.
 Mr. Hugh Beams, Secretary, *Doctors' Commons*.
 Mr. George Welch, Collector, No. 2, *Salisbury Court,*
Fleet Street.

Doctor Walker, Director;
 William Lawrence, Esq. Assistant Director.
 Mr. Purser and Mr. Walker, Resident Inoculators.

Inoculations, daily, Free of Expence,

At No. 2, Salisbury Court, Fleet Street, from 10 to 12
 o'Clock;

At No. 6, Bond Court, Wallbrook, at 9 and 2 o'Clock.

Inoculations on Mondays,

At the Vestry, St. John's Church, Horselydown, at 2
 o'Clock;

At Lancaster's Royal Free School, Borough Road, be-
 tween the Obelisk and King's Bench, at 3 o'Clock.

OTHER APPOINTED INOCULATORS TO THE INSTITU-
 TION IN THE METROPOLIS.

Mr. Z. Newington, Bishopsgate Without, Corner of
 Spital Square

Thomas Smartt, Union-street, Bishopsgate-street

Mr. Hopke, Ratcliffe Highway

R. Taylor, Mile-End-Road, opposite the London
Hospital

Henry Ward, Curtain Road, Shoreditch

John Syers, City Road

Evan Evans, Old-street

Albey, Islington Road

John Winstone, Long-lane, Smithfield

W. H. Elliott, City Dispensary, Grocers'-Hall-court

John Barnett, St. John's-street, Smithfield

S. Evans, Commercial Road

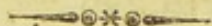
William Hardman, Great Marybone-street, Port-
man-square

Furnival, Dean-street, Soho

Thomas Hosegood, Blackman-street, Southwark.

* * Attendance at Nine o'Clock in the Mornings, daily.

N. B.—The board and managers are desirous that other medical gentlemen in the metropolis and its environs, as well as in the country, may also co-operate with the society, by becoming inoculators to the institution.



AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE GOVERNORS OF
THE LONDON VACCINE INSTITUTION, HOLDEN AT
THE CITY OF LONDON TAVERN, BISHOPSGATE
STREET, ON THURSDAY, THE 6TH OF APRIL, 1810.

John Wilson, Esq. (Devonshire Square,) in the Chair.

The minutes of the Board of Managers were read and confirmed. The following Report was read, approved of,

and ordered to be printed under the direction of the Managers.

REPORT.

The Board of Managers have the happiness to inform the Annual Meeting, that the cause of Vaccination still continues to flourish under their auspices. This is evinced by the numerous applications for Matter, not only in the Metropolis, but from all parts of the United Kingdom, the colonies and countries abroad.

They have great pleasure in observing the increasing progress of Vaccination; their returns being greater than on any former occasion.

It appears that since the last annual Report,

There have been inoculated by Dr. Walker 2,087; from the beginning 6,105.

By the appointed Inoculators in the Metropolis, last year, 1,105; from the beginning 2,163.

By the appointed Inoculators in the Country, last year, 34,665; from the beginning 156,673,

Dr. Walker, since the last Report, has supplied to 3,973 Applicants, 19,865 charges of matter.

From the beginning, to 12,361 Applicants, 61,088 charges.

In having been enabled to effect the foregoing incalculable services to Society at large, the Board of Managers have to acknowledge a liberal support from a generous Public; yet they owe to that Public, and to the cause of Vaccination, the statement of the fact, that the support of this most extensively useful establishment requires still further Contributions, to enable the Managers to completely effect the vast patriotic and philanthropic plan.

The Expenditures during the last Year,
 amount to 336*l.* 7*s.* 0*d.*
 From the beginning, to 1,351*l.* 0*s.* 10*d.*

It is to be lamented, that the fatal malady which has, during the last thousand years, committed ravages the most dreadful in every quarter of the world, is not yet extinct in the Metropolis. The Board of Managers, however, request the attention of every Member of the Institution to this most important and gratifying circumstance; namely, that while 1163 have died of the Smallpox, during the last Year, as appears from the Bills of Mortality, not a single instance of the kind is represented as having occurred from Vaccination.

Signed, by Order, and on behalf of the Board of Managers,

HUGH BEAMS, SECRETARY.

Bond Court, Wallbrook,
April 5th, 1810.

P. S. It affords high gratification to the board of managers, that that mark of respect shown by the Society to the Members of both Houses of Parliament, in forwarding to them the Annual Report of last Year, has been well received.

They acknowledge, with gratitude and great respect, the liberality of those Members of both Houses, who continue their support of this great popular establishment, still necessary for the effectual extension of Vaccination throughout the empire, and for answering the continued demands for the Matter of Inoculation from the army and navy.

They trust that the other Members will be induced also to honour them with their support, and that they will allow their Collector to wait on them to know their pleasure, on their return to town.

To enable the Members of Parliament, individually, to further the cause of Vaccination in the places of their country residence, or in any other part of the empire, where they may choose to oblige an anxious family or a medical practitioner, the Managers have directed a packet of active matter to be enclosed with their Annual Report.

N. B. Subscriptions are received by Messrs. Brown, Cobb, and Co. 66, Lombard Street, Bankers to the Institution; Messrs. Wm. Praed and Co. Fleet Street; Messrs. Thos. Coutts and Co. Strand; Messrs. Biddulph, Cocks, and Co. Charing Cross; Messrs. Devaynes and Co. Pall Mall; Messrs. Ransom, Morland, and Co. Pall Mall; Messrs. Hammersleys and Co. Pall Mall; Messrs. Darton, Harvey, and Darton, 55, Gracechurch Street; Dr. Walker, 6, Bond Court, Wallbrook; Mr. Hugh Beams, Secretary, Doctor's Commons; Mr. George Welch, Collector, 2, Salisbury Court, Fleet Street; and by every Member of the Board of Managers.

* * A Subscription of Five Pounds or upwards, or of One Pound or upwards annually, constitutes a Governor of the Institution.

Here we have a society with *eight* presidents, *ninety nine* vice presidents, *forty eight* managers (including a committee of *medical assistants* to *Friend Walker's* *wee*,

wee, bit of surgery), *four* trustees, one treasurer, one secretary, one *collector*, one director general, one assistant director, two resident inoculators, *fifteen* appointed inoculators in the metropolis, *eight* bankers (the director, secretary, and collector, and each of the *forty eight* members of the board of managers are also permitted to receive subscriptions). And as, in this whole list, there is no mention of any common auditor, we are left to presume that every man is the auditor of his own accounts.

All that has been said of the reports of the National Vaccine Establishment, applies equally to that, which is now before me; but it is also liable to many more objections.

The noblemen and gentlemen whose names are used, many of them probably without their knowledge or consent, to sanction these subscriptions, cannot be supposed to take any interest or superintendance in the concerns of the establishment.

The management therefore seems to rest between those officers who have been stated as permitted to receive subscriptions, who, it would appear, are accountable for their intrusions to no one.

The report is particular in stating the sums expended, but is totally silent respecting the sums received.

It is stated that since the last annual report, Dr. Walker has supplied 19,865 charges of matter. Were these sold at 10s. 6d., or at how much, per charge? Or were they given away for the sake of pure philanthropy, or to give the appearance of increasing extension to the practice of vaccination?—An itinerant 'Squire might, in the course of a rapid journey through the country, give 100,000 orders for charges, from different places, so as to give an appear-

ance of immense increase to the demand. The director had also an opportunity of disposing of a good many charges to his correspondents, seeing "the managers" have directed a packet of active matter to be enclosed "with (each copy of) their annual report." I have accordingly seen some of these reports, directed to members of parliament, with packets of vaccine matter inclosed. It is not very probable, I think, that many of these packets would have been used. In the same manner, the National Vaccine Establishment might have occasioned the appearance of an increased demand for their charges.

But if it were true that there was a real increased demand for vaccine fluid, why exult in it? Have either of the reports said, or dared they to say, that Cow-pox is a perfect preventive of Small-pox, and that it does not produce other diseases? Not a word do they contain respecting the only things material to be known. Perhaps they have the honesty to take them for granted.— Now, if it be true, that the contrary is the fact, of which I have here adduced so many hundred proofs, to exult in the extension of vaccination, under such circumstances, is only to exult in the extension of folly or madness.

The authors of this report inform us that "under their auspices, the *cause* of vaccination" (that is I presume the practice of inoculating with Cow-pox fluid, as a medium of emptying philanthropic pockets) "still continues to flourish." This word "still" used in both reports argues, if not a species of despondence, at least a melancholy foreboding. But let them not so soon despair: Cow-pox folly is not of so perishable a nature. When it is driven from the capital, there may still con-

tinue to be a demand for charges of matter from John O'Groats house and the colonies.

The Board of managers (who it seems are the author's of this report) after informing us that "they have been enabled to effect the foregoing *incalculable services* to society at large," i. e. inoculating children with Cow-pox, without any reference to the merit of the practice—pathetically lament that "the support of this most extensively useful establishment requires still further contributions, to enable the managers to completely effect the *vast patriotic and philanthropic plan.*"—We are left to conjecture whether this "vast plan" be to empty society's pockets,—or the old tale of "EXTERMINATING *the small-pox.*"

This Institution has made a discovery which has been overlooked by the reporters of the National Vaccine Establishment. They have discovered that Small-pox "is not YET extinct in the metropolis."

They return thanks to the members of both Houses of Parliament, who have liberally supported "this *great popular establishment,*"—hoping for a continuance of their favours.—And

"They trust that other members will be induced also to honour them with their support, and that they will allow their COLLECTOR to wait on them *to know their PLEASURE, on their return home.*" This would only admit of one improvement—that the *collector* should be desired to take up his head quarters at Hounslow.

It is impossible to form any probable conjecture respecting the amount of the money of which a benevolent public have during this unscientific experiment, been robbed by Cow-pox associations, committees, clubs,

&c. &c. &c. Parliament, we know, voted 30,000*l.* to Dr. Jenner. The amount appropriated besides to the defraying of his expencés, and the support of the National Vaccine Establishment, cannot be estimated at less than 20,000*l.* Thus 50,000*l.* have been bestowed on the project by government. What might have been contributed by philanthropic individuals towards its support, through the medium of the different institutions, and the different officers, who took upon themselves to receive subscriptions, it is almost impossible to form even a conjecture. When we reflect that, besides bankers, upwards of fifty persons, belonging to this establishment alone, and these without any responsibility, are licensed to receive subscriptions, it must appear obvious that the extent of the contributions thus levied, is not only enormous, but can never be accurately ascertained. The impression made upon my mind, however, is that it may amount to several millions. Thus, through the medium of a most disgraceful piece of medical quackery, have immense sums been levied on the public, to feed a parcel of lean 'squires, hungry runners, and voracious affidavit men*. Curiosity alone, if there were no other motives,

* In explanation of those terms, it will be proper to observe that, at the commencement of vaccination, those members, who were most active in the Cow-pox Committees, always assumed the title of Esquire, instead of plain Mr. so and so, Surgeon, or Apothecary, or Man-Midwife. They were employed to run about the country, to conceal vaccine failures, and to publish volumes that no one could read, of false reports, or lumping affidavits. Hence they were, in derision, called Cow-pox 'Squires, Cow-pox runners, and Cow-pox affidavit men. Dr. Moseley, who attacked them with the appropriate weapon of ridicule, has consigned the names of some of these poor fellows to a ludicrous immortality.

should induce an enquiry into the appropriation of the monies thus levied on public credulity, for the propagation of an imposture, at once the most disgraceful to science, and the most pernicious to humanity, that has ever polluted the page of history.

If this misapplication of voluntary contributions cannot be punished by law, it ought at least to be branded with ignominy.*

In the following tables, I have, in the compass of a few pages, brought into a focus as many cases of Cow-pox failures and mischiefs as should be sufficient to convince all rational beings, not only of the total inefficacy, but of the perniciousness of the practice of vaccination. They form as it were an index, pointing out the authorities wherein the cases may be referred to at greater length. These although numerous, are few in comparison to what might be produced. Such plain and striking facts will probably obtain the suffrages of many, whom mere abstract reasoning might have failed to convince. This *coup d'œil* of their imposture will place the vaccinators in a most awkward dilemma. It will be thought incumbent on them to come forward, and disprove the numerous facts decisive against vaccination, which have been here stated on unimpeachable authority, or to make the *amende honorable* by a solemn and manly recantation. But experience forbids us to expect any such fair or magnanimous proceeding. A silent acquiescence in disgrace, or a clumsy attack on the character, instead of the argu-

* Besides the immense subscriptions collected, and not accounted for, by the vaccinating institution-men in town, they have enjoyed the profitable trade of supplying the country practitioners with vaccine fluid. Oh! most disinterested philanthropists!!!

ments of their opponents, is more congenial to their dispositions; and we may be assured that, under no circumstances, will they abandon so lucrative a practice, until the practice abandons them. This result is only to be expected from the impression that may be made on the government and the public, to whom alone the antivaccinators look for a termination of this irrational experiment.

CASES OF SMALL-POX AFTER COW-POX, ALPHABETICALLY ARRANGED, WITH REFERENCES.

N. B.—*Mos. Treat* *.; *Mos. Com* †.; *Mos. Ol* ‡.; *Mos. Rev* §.; *Col. R.*; mean *Dr. Moseley's Treatise on Cow-pox; his Commentaries on the Lues Bovilla; his Oliver for a Rowland; and his Review of the College Report on Vaccination.*—*M. O.* means *Medical Observer.*—*The figures refer to the Vol. and Pages.*

Acton, 2 children, at, M. O. vi. 394	2
Aldridge, M. Mos. Ol. 93	1
Alexander, 2 children, Mos. Treat. 126	2
Allardice's child, M. O. ii. 379	1
Anderson, Miss, Mos. Ol. 87	1
Atkins, Sarah, Mos. Com. 126	1
Austin, George, M. O. iii. 199	1
Baillie, Col. 2 sons, Mos. Com. 129	2
——, Mr. his son, <i>ibid</i> , 120	1
Baker, Mos. Ol. 90	1
Bambridge, Harriet, Mos. Treat. 138	1

* 2d Edit. † 2d Edit. ‡ 10th Edit. § 2d Edit.

Barlow, M. O. vi. 279	1
Barrell, Mos. Com. 67	1
Barret, M. O. vi. 397	1
Batsford, Fred. Mos. Ol. 34	1
Beattie's child, M. O. vi. 392	1
Bellamy, Miss E. M. O. ii. 367	1
Berry, Miss, Mos. Ol. 95	1
Bartlet, 2 children, M. O. vi. 220	2
Battersea, M. O. vi. 391, cases	6
Bessam's child, Mos. Ol. 88	1
Two Beckfords, <i>ibid</i> , 93	2
Besley, Th. M. O. ii. 368	1
Birch, Benj. M. O. vi. 394	1
Blackmore, Miss, Mos. Ol. 95	1
Blaxland's child, <i>ibid</i>	1
Blackley, John, M. O. ii. 374	1
Bozzard, Ed. Mos. Treat. 130	1
Bowers, M. O. iii. 36	1
Brown, Rob. Mos. Ol. 54	1
Brownjohn's, G. M. O. iv. 234	1
Bray, M. A. Mos. Ol. 93	1
Bridges, Eliz. M. O. viii. 4	1
Three B——'s, <i>ibid</i> , 94	3
Two Brooks's, <i>ibid</i> , 91	2
Bryan, M. O. vi. 394	1
Butler, M. O. iv. 227	1
Cambridge, Cases communicated by Sir Isaac Pennington, M. O. iv. 246	25
Caslett, M. O. v. 288	1
Caudle, M. O. vi. 89	1
Childs, Mary. Mos. Rev. Col. R. 75	1

Chandler, M. O. III. 37	1
Cheltenham, 2 Vac. by Jenner, M. O. VI. 216	5
Two Chittys, Mos. Com. 121	2
Two Colbecks, M. O. VI. 391	2
Two Collins, Mos. Ol. 96, 97	2
Crab, M. O. III. 198	1
Three Coopers, Mos. Ol. 87	3
Cowdry, M. O. V. 316	1
Cummins, M. O. VI. 93	1
Collier's Servant, M. O. VI. 393	1
Cottis, M. O. VII. 392	1
College of Surgeons, Birch's Ans. 23	56
Two Deacon's,	} M. O. VI. 395, 396, 397, 398 } 4
Deggan,	
Dorman,	
Day, Mos. Ol. 89	1
Two Darkings, <i>ibid</i> , 90	2
Three Dallas's, Birch's Answer to College Queries, p. 24	80
Donovan, Mos. Ol. 90	1
Deacon, Mos. Rev. C. Rep. 75	1
Drudge, <i>ibid</i>	1
Dobson, <i>ibid</i>	1
Denton, <i>ibid</i> , 74	1
Three Dodwells, M. O. VI. 88, 281	3
Desters, M. O. III. 37	1
Davies, Miss, <i>ibid</i> , 199	1
Davis, <i>ibid</i> , VII. 3	1
Dinton, <i>ibid</i> , VII. 5	1
Two Dungates, <i>ibid</i>	2
Ellet, M. O. III. 199	1

Two Evans's, <i>ibid</i> , IV. 371	2
Edwards, VII. 3	1
———, A. Mos. Com. 125	1
Endser, } Ellis, } Elston, } Mos. Ol. 88 } Ewing, } ———, 94 } Eubank, }	5
Founders, M. O. III. 199	1
Falls, <i>ibid</i> , V. 43	1
Fitzgerald, <i>ibid</i> , 317	1
Flindall, <i>ibid</i> , VII. 7	1
Fairbrother, <i>ibid</i> , VI. 395	1
* Frost, Mos. Ol. 88	1
———, G. <i>ibid</i> , 89	1
Francis Rosetta, <i>ibid</i>	1
Finney, M. O. VI. 393	1
Fowler, <i>ibid</i>	1
Gunter, M. O. V. 288	1
Gerrard, Miss, <i>ibid</i> , IV. 55	1
Gill, ———, <i>ibid</i> , IV. 373	1
Granger, ———, <i>ibid</i> , VII. 4	1
Two Gambiers, M. O. II. 318	2
Gibbons, M. O. II. 369	1
Guinigo, <i>ibid</i> , VI. 395	1
Green, Mos. Treat. 129	1
Two Goulds, <i>ibid</i> , 134	2
Gamble's Servant, Mos. Rev. 74	1

* This child had both small-pox, and cow-pox diseases.

Two Gordons, M. O. vi. 390	2
Gray, Mos. Treat. 135	1
Giles, Mos. Ol. 91	1
Two Gosses, Birch's Answer to College Queries, p. 24	2
* Goody, Mos. Ol. 92	1
Garton, W. Mos. Treat. 130	1
Two Goslings, Mos. Ol. 94	2
Green, M. O. vi. 398	1
Hussey, Ch. Mos. Ol. 16	1
——, John, Mos. Ol. 17	1
Hagley, M. M. O. III. 36	1
Hawkins, M. O. III. 125	1
Harrison, S. M. O. III. 199	1
Hatley, Rev. M. O. v. 43	2
Holbrooke, M. O. v. 151	1
Herring, M. A. M. O. VII. 16	1
Hume, A. Mos. Ol. 96	1
Hodges, 2, Mos. R. C. R. 23	2
Harrisson, S. Mos. Ol. 88	1
Hickman, M. O. vi. 92	2
Hemmersly, Mos. Ol. 90	2
Hall's Child, M. O. vi. 396	1
Howlet	1
Harness, Dr. Mos. Ol. 94	1
Harns, Eliz. M. O. vi. 395	1
Hart, Mary, Mos. Treat. 132	1
Hill, Th.	1
Hillam, Ch. Mos. Treat. 132	1

* Afterwards died of Scab. Bov.

Harrington, Jos. Mos. Ol. 88	1
Howard, M. O. II. 367	3
Jones, M. O. v. 77	1
Jackson, M. O. v. 77	1
———, Mrs. M. O. v. 152	2
Josse, M. O. VII. 3	1
Jenkins, M. O. VII. 4	1
Jackson, M. O. VII. 4	1
Isden, M. O. VII. 5	1
Jennings, M. O. VII. 7	1
Jeffries, M. O. VIII. 81	1
———, M. O. VIII. 81	1
Junner's Son, M. O. VI. 391	1
Kippist, M. M. O. III. 198	1
Kelly, M. O. VII; 514	1
Keen, M. O. VI. 390	2
——'s, Mr. Servant, MOS. R. C. P.	1
King, Sarah, MOS. OL. 92	1
Kennedy, Mary, MOS. OL. 93	1
King, David, MOS. COM. 133	1
——, Mary, MOS. COM. 134	1
——, Th. and his brother, M. O. II. 368	2
Loveman, Mrs. M. O. III. 37	1
Lewis, Johanna, M. O. IV. 226	1
Lightfoot, M. O. VII. 3	1
Latham, M. O. VII. 4	1
Long, Stephen, M. O. VII. 16	1
Latchfield, M. O. VI. 94	1
Lea, Mr. John, five Lea's, M. O. VI. 91	5

Lemon	
Little Child, M. O. VI. 392	1
Linnard, ditto, M. O. VI. 393	1
Mildenhall, at, five Cases, M. O. V. 319	5
M ^c Arthur, Mrs. three Children, M. O. VII. 4	3
Mansell, James, M. O. VII. 6	1
Maizy, Edwin, M. O. VI. 46	1
Meade, Hon. MOS. REV. C. R. 79	4
M ^c Evoy, Juliana, MOS. OL. 90	1
Marlin, Dr. I. G. MOS. OL. 92	1
Mitchel, M. Child, MOS. TREA. 129	1
Morse, Ann, M. O. VI. 219	1
Miles, Maria, M. O. VI. 392	1
——, Mr. and Child, M. O. VI. 392	2
Mornington, Master, M. O. VI. 394	1
Masons, two Children, M. O. VI. 394	2
Mussleburgh, Cases published by Mr. Brown, prin- cipally from his own practice, M. O. VI. 369	48
Macpherson's Child, M. O. VI. 396	1
Marshall's Child, M. O. VI. 397	1
Mallin, Wm. M. O. VI. 397	1
Morgan, 398	1
Mule's Child, 398	1
Narraway, Harriet, M. O. III. 38	1
Norraway, E. C. and J. M. O. III. 300	3
Nutley, M. O. VII. 5	1
Naith, Ann, Susannah, and Reb. MOS. OL. 89	3
Newton, Thomas, MOS. COM. 126	1
Norman, Mr. M. O. VI. 91	1
Nicholson, M. O. VI. 390	1

Orton's, Mr. two Children, M. O. VII. 5	2
Owen, Child, M. O. VI. 391	1
Ostells, Mrs. Child, M. O. VI. 398	1
Purdy, Sarah, M. O. III. 199	1
——, Robert, M. O. V. 42	1
Portugal (by Dr. Carneiro*), M. O. V. 71	Several
Packhurst, M. O. V. 153	1
Perry, Mary, M. O. IV. 223	1
Pantling, Wm. M. O. IV. 234	1
Putney (by Mr. Shillito), M. O. IV. 231	8
Pink, M. O. VII. 2	1
Presly, Sarah, M. O. VIII. 83	1
Paul's, Mr. Child, M. O. VI. 91	1
Partridge, Farmer, two Children, MOS. OL. 89 ..	2
Potter, William, M. O. II. 372	1
Podger, Master	
Puddefatt's Child, M. O. VI. 391	1
Pearce's Child, M. O. VI. 392	1
Pearson's Child, M. O. VI. 395	1
Price, M. A. M. O. VI. 396	1
Reed, G, M. O. III. 199	1
Ringwood, at, nine Cases, M. O. V. 77	9

* The Chevalier Carneiro, M. D. travelling Physician to the Prince Regent of Portugal, and held in high estimation by men of literary eminence in England, where he has for some years resided. This learned and worthy gentleman has the merit of standing foremost among the foreigners, who have opposed the vaccine delusion. For the review of an ingenious tract, which he has published on this subject, see the Medical Observer, vol. V. p. 71—83.

Raimondi, M. O. V. 316	1
Randall, M. O. VII. 3	2
Round, M. O. VII. 8	2
Rotheram, M. O. VII. 323	1
Redway, M. O. VI. 398	1
Rogers, M. O. VI. 397	1
Read, M. O. VI. 396	1
Rea, MOS. COM. 66	1
Reid, MOS. OL. 88	1
Russell, E. MOS. OL. 88 (for Pussell)	1
——, Jas. MOS. OL. 88	1
Richardson, Jas. M. O. VI. 395	1
Rumball, Eliz. MOS. OL. 89	1
Simpson, M. O. III. 317	1
Stiles, M. O. V. 42	1
Smith, M. O. V. 317	1
Sedgwick, E. M. O. IV. 373	1
Smart, M. O. VII. 5	1
Smith, M. O. VII. 6	1
Shepherd, Mrs. M. O. VII. 6	1
Sadler, Mary, M. O. VII. 7	1
Sarnwell, C. MOS. COM. 'C. R. 75	1
Sheldrake, MOS. OL. 87	1
Sangar, M. MOS. OL. 90	1
Somerton, E. ditto, 92	1
Shaws, two, MOS. COM. 125	2
Sands, ditto, 125	1
Scudden, ditto, 139	1
Semon, H. MOS. TREAT. 133	1
Stratford on Avon, at, two Cases, M. O. VI. 216	2
Smith, three, M. O. VI. 390	3

Stokes, El. M. O. VI. 391	1
Sayer, M. O. VI. 395	1
Thornton, C. M. O. III. 36	1
Thomson, Ann, M. O. III. 38	1
Toms, Wm. M. O. III. 197	1
Thorn, S. M. O. III. 200	1
Taunton, M. O. V. 272	4
Temple, E. M. O. IV. 251	1
Toulmin, two Children, M. O. VII. 3	2
Temple, two, M. O. VII. 3	2
Taylor, A. M. O. VII. 6	1
Turner, M. O. VII. 13	1
Terrell, M. O. VII. 514	1
Target, J. MOS. REV. 75	1
Taylor, MOS. OL. 87	1
Turner, ibid, 90	1
Taylor, MOS. OL. 96	1
Tylcoat, J. W. and M. M. O. III. 7, 99, 100	3
Varley, MOS. TREAT. 135	1
Vincent, M. O. VI. 395	1
Vaughan, M. O. III. 317	1
Weaver, M. O. III. 36	1
Wood, S. and E. M. O. III. 37	2
Wilson, Ed. M. O. III. 38	1
Ware, S. M. O. III. 198	1
White, G. M. O. III. 199	1
Wetherell, M. O. IV. 227	1
Warner, M. O. IV. 375	1
White, M. O. VII. 3	1
——, M. O. VII. 4	1

Warre, H. M. O. VII. 7	2
Whaley, M. O. VII. 7	1
Widford, at, twenty Cases, M. O. VIII. 82	20
Walter, E. MOS. TREAT.	1
Windsor, E. MOS. COM. 124	1
Wadley, MOS. COM. 66	1
White, MOS. REV. 75	1
Walker, F. <i>ibid</i> , 75	1
Whaley, MOS. OL. 87	1
Walker, Ch. MOS. OL. 88	1
Weir, <i>ibid</i> , 90	1
Walker, E. M. O. VI. 390	1
Williams, J. M. O. II. 369	1
Wells, two daughters, M. O. VI. 277	2
Wall, J. M. O. VI. 391	1
Walker, F. M. O. VI. 392	1
Weston, M. O. VI. 392	1
Wood, M. O. VI. 393	1
Wagstaffe, M. O. VII. 107	1
Wadley, M. O. VI. 394	1
Waddington, M. O. VI. 396	1
Westbrooke, M. O. VI. 396	1
Wild, M. O. VI. 393	1
Young, Mos. Ol. 88	1
Total	535

N. B.—The single fact of Dr. Jenner having caused his own son to be inoculated with small-pox, is worth a thousand cases of failures towards proving the opinion which *he* entertained of *his own discovery*.

*Names of Medical Men, who have suffered, in their own
Families, from Vaccination.*

Dr. Harness, Transport Board.
Mr. Taunton, Professor of Anatomy, London.
Mr. Thomas, Ditto Ditto.
Mr. Haslem, of Bethlem Hospital.
Mr. Bowen, of Harrow.
Mr. Blaxland, Wandsworth.
Mr. Eubank, Grosvenor Street.
Mr. Goss, Dawlish.
Mr. Fisher, Salisbury.
Mr. Bartlet, Finsbury Dispensary.

DEATHS FROM SMALL-POX AFTER COW-POX, AND
FROM COW-POX DISEASES.

Acknowledged by the Original Vaccine Inst. Birch's Answer, p. 12.	5
Adams, John, Mos. Rev. 75	1
Bambridge, Th. Mos. Treat. 136	1
Barrel, Isaac, Mos. Ol. 89	1
Battersea, M. O. VI. 391	cases
Blake's Coachman, M. O. VI. 393	2
Braily, M. O. VI. 395	1
Busel, M. O. VII. 7	1
Butts, Birch's Ans. &c. p. 26	1
C——e, Mos. Tr. 129	1
Carrier, M. O. VI. 392	1
Chalk, ibid. VII. 99	1

Colson's Grandson, M. O. XII. 393	1
Dearlove, Mos. Ol. 93	1
2 Fords, M. O. V. 76	2
Fenner, Mos. Rev. Col. R. 73	1
Gooding, M. O. III. 38	1
Good, Mos. Ol. 35	1
Gamble's Servant, Mos. Rev. 74	1
Howard, Mrs. M. O. II. 367	1
Hoddington, M. O. VI. 396	1
Hindley, M. O. VI. 398	1
Haslem, Birch's Ans. &c. p. 26	2
Hertford, Birch's Ans. p. 12	4
Indis, Eliza and Geo. M. O. III. 313	2
Iroing, James, M. O. VII. 13	1
Keene, Mr. Serj. Rev. C. R. 75	1
Lane, M. O. III. 37	1
Lewis, M. O. V. 76	1
Mally, M. O. III. 123	1
Mussleburg at, M. O. VI. 376	3
Meredith, M. O. VI. 393	1
New, Mos. Treat. 110	1
Purvis, Mr. Child, M. O. V. 77	1
Perch, Geo. M. O. VII. 3	1
Poole, Sarah, M. O. VI. 90	1
R——, M. O. VI. 397	1
Richardson, Mos. Ol. 89	1
Rings, 2 Sons, M. O. V. 76	2
Ringwood, M. O. V. 77	20
Returns of the College of Surgeons to the College of Physicians	3
Rodwell, M. O. VII. 3	1
Symonds, Mos. Com. 69	1

Stuart, Mos. Treat. 110	1
Shields, Jam. M. O. II. 370	1
Thomson, M. O. VII. 6	1
Wrede, M. O. III. 147	1
Wise, E. M. O. VII. 16	1
Wild, M. O. III. 123	1
Widford, at, 9 cases, M. O. VIII. 82	9
Waters, Mos. Ol. 88	1
Walker, Mos. Ol. 89	1
Two Watts, Birch's Ans. &c. p. 26	2
Total	97

COW-POX DISEASES.

Barnet, Mos. Ol. 88	1
Bayes, Scab B. M. O. III. 124	1
Burley, Fac. Bov. Mos. Ol. 17	1
2 Birds Tin. Bov. and Scab. Mos. Ol. 96	2
Brandon, Mos. Ol. 95	1
Brown, Tin. B. M. O. III. 124	1
Buddle, Abscesses, ibid. 125	1
Bush, Mos. Ol. 87	1
Caves, Mos. Com. 127	1
Chatterton, Tin. B: Mos. Com. 126	1
Cooke, M. O. III. 317	1
Crawford, M. O. V. 77	1
Curling, Mos. Treat. 126	1
2 Croxfords, Mos. Ol. 89	2
Dunn, Mos. Ol. 93; M. O. VII. 101	1
Davis, Scab. Mos. Ol. 92	1

Deverell, Scab. Mos. Com. 123	1
D——n, Mos. Tr.	1
Frost, Erupt. Mos. Ol. 88	1
Faulkener, Th. Fac. Bov. Com. 109	1
———, Fred. Deaf, 110	1
Gee, Mos. Ol. 17	1
H——y, Master	1
Howlet, John	1
Hanchet, Mrs.	1
Jones, Eliz. M. O, III. 126	1
Jones, Henry, M. O. III. 127	1
Inglis, Wm. M. O. III. 317	1
Inglis, P. M. O. III. 318	1
Jay, Mos. Ol. 91	1
Ince, Mos. Ol. 18	1
Jowles, Frederick, Mos. Ol. 25	1
M'Michin, Thos. M. O. III. 124	1
Middleton's Son, M. O. III. 199	1
M'Dougal, Chas. M. O. VI. 280	1
Purvis, Mr. 3 Children, M. O. v. 77	3
Potter, Mr. Daughter. Mos. Ol. 90	1
Linzee, Birch's Ans. &c. p. 26	1
Potter, Ann, Mos. Ol. 90	1
Parson, Mr. Daughter, Mos. Ol. 84	1
Latchfield, M. O. VI. 94	1
Maclin, Wm. M. O. VI. 393	1
Rankin, Mos. Com. 126	1
Rossiter, M. O. III. 123	1
Ross, M. O. v. 125	1
Report of the London College of Surgeons to the Col- lege of Physicians, Eruptions	66
Ditto Bad Arms	24

Shaw, M. O. III. 124	1
Stilwell, M. O. III. 200	1
Sandby, Mos. Ol. 89	2
Siddons, 2 Children, Mos. Ol. 90	2
Seyfert, M. and F. Mos. Ol. 93	2
Spurrel, 2 Children, Mos. Ol. 94	2
Sir ——, Mos. Ol. 95	1
Total	150

VACCINE DOCTRINES REFUTED BY REASONING.

Specimen of Cow-pox Logic and Demonstration.

Small-pox is a dreadful malady,—a fatal pestilence *.
It produces other diseases †.

* According to the Vaccinators. This assumption was necessary to give eclat to vaccination. However severe the natural Small-pox may sometimes prove, as an atmospheric disease, it is certain that if half the pains had been taken to encourage inoculation, that have been bestowed on the extension of vaccination, there would now be little food for Small-pox in the natural way. This would have been a less irrational plan of extermination. As to the danger of inoculated Small-pox, it has been most perversely exaggerated. Experienced inoculators, like Sutton and Dimsdale, scarcely ever lost a patient decidedly of Small-pox.

† The diseases which succeed Small-pox are not near so inveterate and loathsome as those which succeed Cow-pox.

It occurs only once in the same person †.

It can be conveyed by the atmosphere.

It does not prevent Cow-pox.

Cow-pox is no disease ‡;

It produces no other disease ‡;

It may occur several times in the same person;

It can only be communicated by insertion;

It will prevent and may exterminate the Small-pox ‡!

The Jennerian Problem, then, is this: “ To prevent,
 “ and exterminate the *Small-pox*, a dreadful malady, a
 “ fatal pestilence, which produces other diseases, which
 “ occurs only once in the same person, which can be
 “ conveyed by the atmosphere, and which does *not pre-*
 “ *vent Cow-pox; by means of the Cow-pox*, a something
 “ scarcely discernible in its agency, which is no disease,
 “ which produces no disease, which may occur several
 “ times in the same person, and which is only communi-
 “ cated by contact with an abraded surface.”

† The most infatuated and stupid of the vaccinators are now in search of cases, in which Small-pox has occurred in the same person more than once. Jenner had preserved this doctrine *in petto*, as an apology for the failure of vaccination. Lettsom and some others also nibbled at it. For every instance they can prove of such an occurrence, I engage to find them a man who shall never die, or to give them up an anti-vaccinator for immolation.

‡ These are the doctrines of the vaccinators themselves, which are of course false.

This is the promising problem—"how to make something out of nothing"—which the vaccinators have been labouring to prove for the last twelve years. And although they are now more distant from the solution than at the commencement, in the precise ratio of their progress, yet the vaccinators have not been unprofitably employed. They have, in the course of their journey, stumbled on a very useful discovery, the method of speedily and copiously extracting solid gold from the Taurine mine of credulity. With this they were enabled to throw dust in people's eyes; and it was believed for a time that they were going on successfully towards the solution of their problem.

But to the self-evident absurdity *a priori* of this monstrous proposition, we are now enabled to add a

REFUTATION OF VACCINE DOCTRINES FROM PRACTICAL RESULTS.

DOCTRINE. Natural Cow-pox, or Cow-pox from milking, is a perfect preventive of the Small-pox during life*.

REFUTATION. The following persons, as may be seen by consulting the references, had Small-pox after Cow-pox from milking, of which some of them died; viz. Adams, Deacon, Denton, Dobson, Drudge, Fenner, Mr. Gamble's two servants, Mr. Caldwell's servants, Childs and Target, Lucy Round; Sarnwell, Walker, (Francis);

* See the Report of the College of Physicians, in Dr. Moseley's Rev. p. 73. and Dr. Bradley's evidence in Dr. Mos. Treat. 2d. Edit. p. 41.

White (Wm.) Denton had first the Cow-pox violently, then the Small-pox, and then the Cow-pox again. Mrs. Fenner died of the Small-pox after having had the Cow-pox from milking *twice*. Lucy Round had twice the Cow-pox, then the Small-pox, and then the Cow-pox again!—

DOCTRINE. Vaccination, or Cow-pox by inoculation, is a perfect preventive of the Small-pox during life.—Jenner, &c. &c. &c.

REFUTATION. Five hundred and thirty-five Cases, referred to in the preceding table, of Small-pox after Cow-pox. (p. 82 to 92).

It may be observed that, respecting this doctrine the vaccinators differ radically among themselves. The JENNERIANS * say that there are *two* kinds of Cow-pox, one genuine the other spurious; and that a patient being *once* vaccinated with the former is secure for ever. The PEARSONIANS † assert that there is but *one* sort; and that in order to be secure a patient must be vaccinated *twice*. Both these doctrines are palpably absurd. The WALKERIANs ‡ have, no doubt, a doctrine of their own.

DOCTRINE. Cow-pox is no disease.

REFUTATION. What is it?

* The National Vaccine Establishment may be considered the successor to the "Royal Jennerian Society." † Dr. Pearson is the chief of the "Original Vaccine Institution," in Broad Street, Golden Square; and ‡ Dr. Walker the Director of the "London Vaccine Institution." (See the Report, p. 72.)

DOCTRINE. Cow-pox does not produce other diseases.

REFUTATION. See reference to 150 cases of diseases from cow-pox, page 95 to 97.

Vaccination having been shewn to be wholly inefficient as a preventive of the small-pox, it will scarcely be necessary to convince parents that it produces other diseases, in order to deter them from the practice. Should there, however, be any parents of this description, let them read on.

DOCTRINE. Cow-pox renders small-pox milder. It is never fatal.

REFUTATION. See table of deaths (97 cases) from *small-pox after cow-pox*; and from *cow-pox diseases**, page 93 to 95.

Dr. MOSELEY'S NOSOLOGY OF NEW DISEASES,
CAUSED BY THE SUBTILE POISON OF THE
COW-POX †.

I. FACIES BOVILLA. The face swollen, with the eyes distorted by Strabismus; tumefaction, or abscesses, sometimes sanguineous, about the zygoma, orbits of the eyes and cheeks; the nose flattened, the front tauriform,

* Very few deaths from cow-pox have appeared in the Bills of Mortality, owing to the means which have been used for suppressing a knowledge of them. Neither were deaths, diseases, and failures transmitted in great abundance from the country, not because they did not happen, but because some practitioners were interested in not seeing them, and others, who did see them, were afraid of announcing what they knew. Of late, however, the timid have become more bold. Converts are daily increasing. Men no longer scruple to detect failures even in their own practice. And we shall shortly have more details of this kind, than it is possible, or could be necessary, to record.

† Vide Review of the College Report, 2nd Edit. p. 65.

and the countenance so changed, that people have, with much reason, given this sort of face the appellation of OX FACE.

II. SCABIES BOVILLA. Pustules, or ulcerations, in various parts of the body, with painful unremitting, and intolerable itching; that instead of being alleviated, is increased by scratching; in which the afflicted tear their flesh into bleeding sores; and have no rest, particularly by night. Tetter, and *Urticaria Bovilla*, or Cow-pox Nettle Rash, are frequently attendants in a violent degree.

III. TINEA BOVILLA. The head covered with scabs, and incrustations. Nothing like the common Scaldhead. Some dry and hard; some issuing a corroding rotting matter; destroying the parts about the ears in its course, and sometimes the ears themselves; and ulcerating the neck, face, and temples. When the head is dry, the incrustation is hard, and yellow; and appears as if it were covered with brimstone.

IV. ELEPHANTIASIS BOVILLA*. Green, offensive discharges from sores; sometimes of a blue colour; sometimes of a peculiar bright yellow, terminating in squamous, or furfuraceous desiccations, and breaking out in fresh places;—black, brown, or livid knobs difficult to maturate; some almost as hard as wood; some burst and running; the ulcers sometimes discharge blood others resemble the Cow-pox Pustule, with a wide extended florid area. The ulcers frequently produce caries of the bones of the face, arms, fingers, &c.

* With its *Leprous* varieties, and FARCY. See Dr. Moseley's Commentaries on the Cow-pox, 2d Edit. page 105, 6; and his Oliver for a Rowland, 9th Edit. page 84.

CONCLUSION.

Small-pox has been proved, in a great variety of cases, to have occurred at all periods after vaccination, from a few days or weeks, to the extent of the duration of the experiment. The protection which it affords against the small-pox, is consequently of uncertain duration; and safety cannot be ensured but by variolous inoculation, repeated until it takes effect. And even under these repeated operations, safety is not ensured, excepting when small-pox inoculation happens to be performed after the countervailing influence of the cow-pox has ceased, and before exposure to variolous infection can have taken place. According to all the rules of philosophic induction, no one, excepting under these circumstances, is permanently safe. In all these views, then, the practice of vaccination is absurd, superfluous, and worse than useless.

But as, in numerous instances, death has happened from small-pox after cow-pox; and as cow-pox produces other diseases, of which many cases have terminated in death; the practice is directly, positively, and extremely pernicious to society.

And, as having been the medium of defrauding the public probably of millions of money, which never has been accounted for, and for which vaccinating adventurers have been scrambling and fighting in the name of philanthropy, I hold it to be an imposture, not simply disgraceful to science, pernicious to health, and dangerous to life; but destructive to the morals of the faculty, and injurious to the purses of the community.

The following "Comparative View," &c. will afford a specimen of the determined falsehoods with which the Jennerian society commenced their career; from whence the reader will be able to infer the mountains of additional falsehoods, which were subsequently necessary to support this baseless fabric.

A COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE NATURAL SMALL-POX, INOCULATED SMALL-POX, AND INOCULATED COW-POX.

By JOHN ADDINGTON.

Published by Order of the Medical Council of the Royal Jennerian Society for the Extermination of the Small-pox. JOHN WALKER, Secretary.

NATURAL SMALL-POX

History, General Character, Mortality.

For TWELVE CENTURIES this Disease has been known to continue its ravages, destroying in every year an immense Proportion of the whole Population of the WORLD!!

A Contagious Disease: in some instances mild; but for the most part Violent, Painful, Loathsome, and Dangerous to LIFE.

ONE in SIX, who have the Disease, DIES. At least half of mankind has it; consequently One in Twelve of the human race perish by one Disease!! In London 3000 annually. In the United Kingdom 40,000.

Circumstances independent of CONTAGION and MORTALITY, viz. *Danger, Eruptions, Confinement, Loss of Time, Expense, Requisite Precautions, Medical Treatment, Deformity, and Subsequent Diseases.*

1. One in Three has the Natural Small-pox in a *Dangerous* form.
2. It produces *Eruptions*, numerous, painful, and disgusting:
3. Occasions *Confinement*,
4. *Loss of Time*, and
5. *Expense*, more or less considerable, affecting Individuals, Families, Parishes, &c.:
6. Renders *Precautions* for the most part unavailing:
7. *Medical Treatment* necessary both during the Disease and afterwards:
8. Leaves *Pits, Scars, Seams*, &c. disfiguring the Skin, especially the Face: and
9. Is followed by *Scrophula* in every form, Diseases of the Skin, Glands, Joints, &c. Blindness, Deafness, &c. &c.

INOCULATED SMALL-POX.

A Contagious Disease: for the most part mild; but in some instances Violent, Painful, Loathsome, and Dangerous to Life.

ONE in THREE HUNDRED Inoculated DIES. In London probably, One in One Hundred.

The Inoculation of the SMALL-POX having been partially adopted, has become the means of spreading the infection, and has thus increased its general mortality — In London this increase has been in the proportion of Seventeen in every Thousand.

1. One in Thirty or Forty has the Inoculated Small-pox in a *Dangerous* form.
2. It produces *Eruptions* in greater or less numbers:
3. Occasions *Confinement*,
4. *Loss of Time*, and
5. *Expense*, sometimes considerable:
6. Requires *Preparation* by Diet and Medicine: Care to avoid certain Seasons, as extremes of Heat and Cold: certain periods of Life, as early Infancy and Old Age; and certain States of Constitution, as General Ill-Health, Teething, Pregnancy, &c. &c.:
7. Renders *Medical Treatment* usually necessary:
8. Is liable to produce *Deformities* whenever the Disease proves severe; and to be
9. Followed by the same Diseases as above enumerated, though less frequently.

Not Contagious ;
and, when properly
conducted,
uniformly Mild,
Inoffensive,
free from Pain or
Danger,
and an Infallible
Preventive of the
Small-pox.

NEVER FATAL.

During a long series of years, the Cow-pox, accidentally received, has been considered as a Preservative against any future attack of the Small-pox. Many persons in the dairy countries, who have had the former in their youth, have remained to old age unsusceptible of the latter.

1. The Inoculated Cow-pox is attended by no *Danger* :
2. Produces a *Pustule* on the *Inoculated Part only* :
3. Occasions neither *Confinement*,
4. *Loss of Time*, nor
5. *Expense* :
6. Demands no other *Precautions* than such as respect the *Conduct of the Inoculation* :
7. Requires no *Medicine* :
8. Leaves no *Deformity* nor *Disfiguration* :
and
9. Excites no *subsequent Diseases*.

With a knowledge of the facts contained in the above statement, it is presumed that no person can conscientiously refuse or hesitate to embrace the opportunity now providentially offered of preserving his own family from so dreadful and destructive a pestilence as the Small-pox ; and of contributing his part towards its total extirpation. The new Inoculation recommends itself to all classes : the rich are adopting it universally : their example may now be followed, without expense, by the poor, for whose immediate benefit the Royal Jennerian Society was established.

You are requested to affix this useful publication in a conspicuous part of your dwelling.

N. B.—This singular document is without a date. But it must have been published between 1803 and 1806.

If the statements I have made be correct, not only is this comparative view, published by order of the Jennerian

Society*, in all its material parts, erroneous, but, in many, the very reverse of truth. Three of the principal assertions in this table,—*That one in twelve of the human race dies of Small-pox; that Cow-pox is never fatal; and that vaccination is an infallible preventive of Small-pox,*—I would particularly recommend to your attentive consideration, as an edifying specimen of the effrontery, with which the medical practising vaccinators were wont to carry on their imposture.

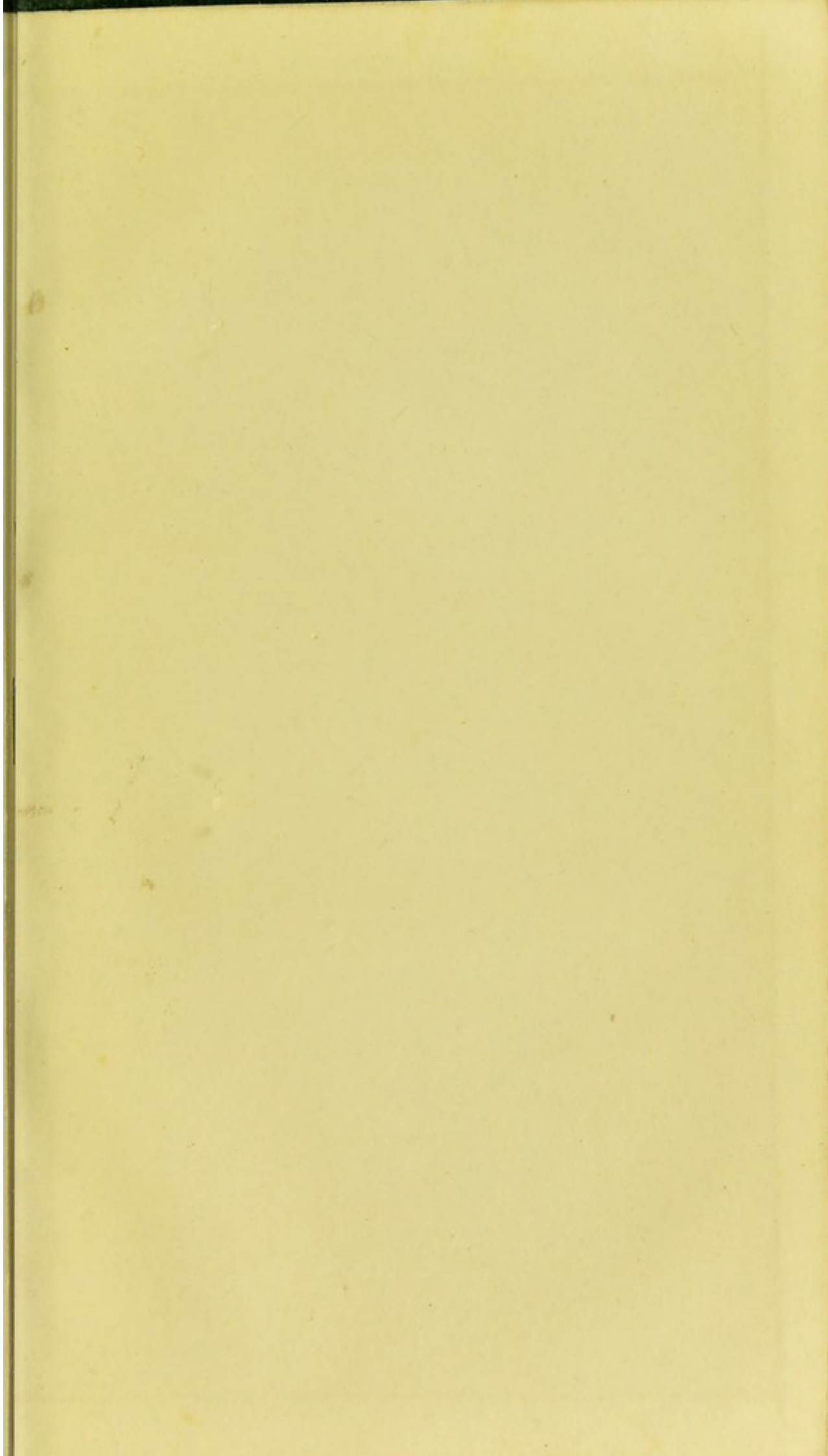
I have the honour to be, &c.

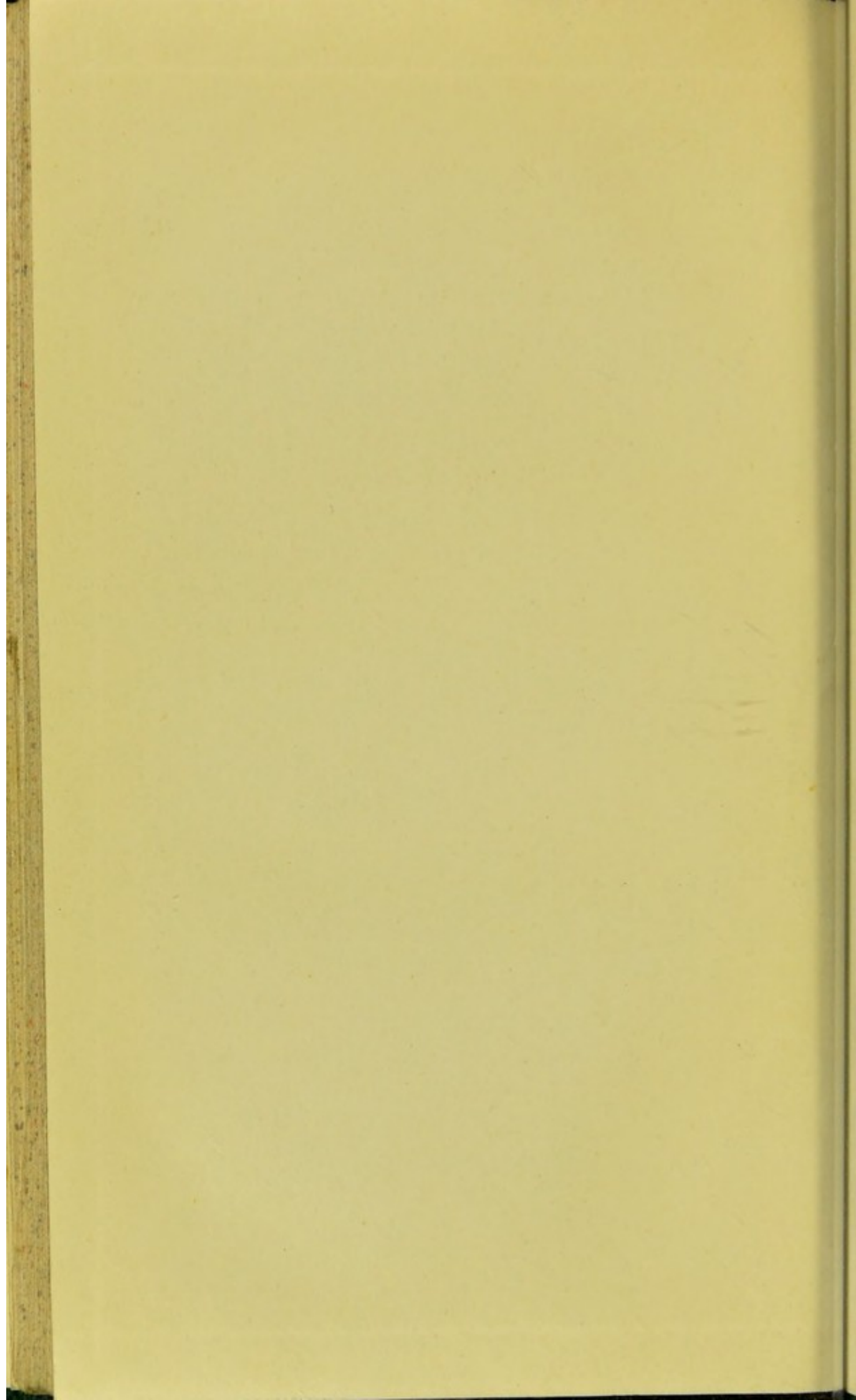
CHARLES MACLEAN.

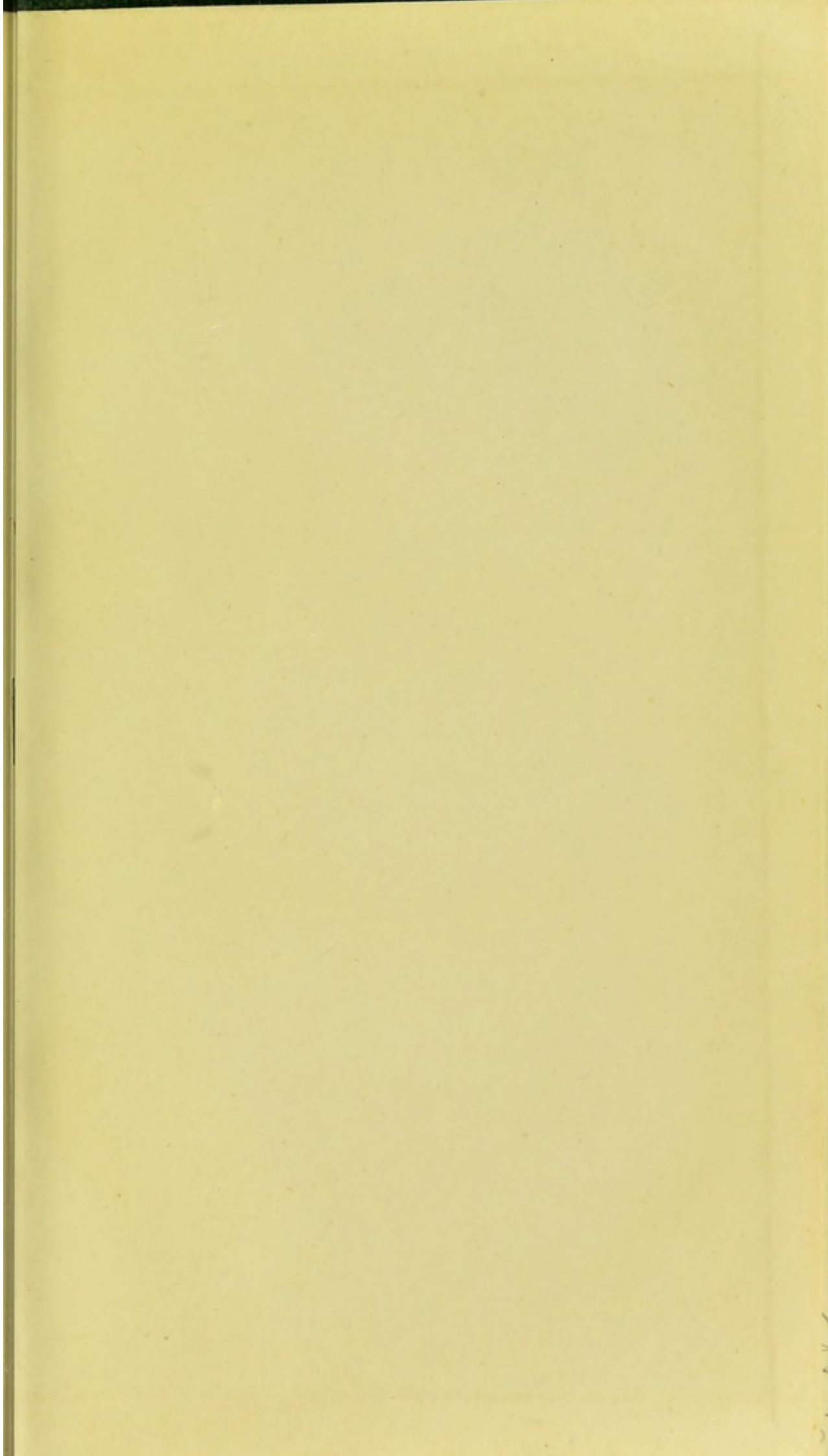
* Dr. Walker, a quaker, not Dr. Jenner, was the founder of the Royal Jennerian Society. He was, for a considerable time, their secretary. But they quarrelled, and, in 1806, he instituted a separate establishment, which still exists under the title of the London Vaccine Institution. He accuses his Jennerian colleagues of having *pilfered his keys, furtively retained his property, and lost or destroyed the Society's Registers.* Med. Obs. Vol. IV, p. 264. He also gives some account of the proceedings of this society, not very creditable to them as men of science, or men of honour. See Med. Obs. Vol. V. p. 337, and Vol. VI. p. 9. Verily, *friend* Walker, I am not thy enemy. All the harm I wish thee, sturdy as thou art in the cause, is that thou hadst, *in an honest way*, an income sufficiently ample to render thee independent of vaccination.

FINIS.

W. Glendinning, Printer, 25, Hatton Garden, London.







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