

Vaccination : is it worthy of national support? Verbatim report of a public discussion in South Place Chapel, Finsbury, London, on ... 28th May, 1878. George Wylde, ..., and asserting the affirmative, and Alexander Wheeler maintaining the negative, under the presidency of Sir Thomas Chambers.

Contributors

Wyld, George, 1821-1906.

London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine

Publication/Creation

London : E.W. Allen, 1878.

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VACCINATION:

IS IT WORTHY OF NATIONAL SUPPORT?

—♦•♦—
VERBATIM REPORT

OF

A PUBLIC DISCUSSION

IN SOUTH PLACE CHAPEL, FINSBURY, LONDON,
ON THE EVENING OF 28th MAY, 1878.

GEORGE WYLD, M.D., EDIN.,

Asserting the Affirmative,

AND

ALEXANDER WHEELER

Maintaining the Negative.

UNDER THE PRESIDENCY OF

SIR THOMAS CHAMBERS, M.P.,

Recorder of the City of London.

“He who knows only his own side of the case knows little of that.”—*Essay on Liberty*, p. 21. J. STUART MILL.

LONDON:

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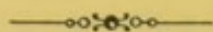
1878.

PRICE TWOPENCE.

GEORGE GREGORY,
Book Merchant and Library Buyer,
5, ARGYLE STREET, BATH.

GLASGOW:
PRINTED BY HAY NISBET,
219 GEORGE STREET.

DISCUSSION ON VACCINATION.



ON Tuesday evening, 28th May, 1878, a Discussion on the question, "Is Vaccination worthy of National Support?" took place in South Place Chapel, Finsbury, London. The Right Hon. Sir Thomas Chambers, M.P., Recorder of the City of London, presided; and Dr. George Wyld, of Great Cumberland Place, Hyde Park, supported the affirmative; whilst Mr. Alexander Wheeler, a member of the Society of Friends, of Darlington, maintained the negative. Amongst the audience, and on the platform, were observed many prominent Anti-Vaccinators from various parts of the kingdom, including Mr. William Tebb, of London, the originator of the discussion; Dr. Collins; Dr. Pearce; Dr. Haughton; Dr. T. L. Nichols; Dr. Pratt, of Durham; Dr. Pearce, of Sunderland; Mr. Thos. Baker, barrister; Col. Clinton, of Royston; Mr. Charles Gillett, of Banbury; Alderman Rees, J.P., of Dover; Mr. Lucas, of Brighton; Mr. Lewis, of Ipswich; Mr. Thurlow, of Sudbury; Mr. Martin, of Lewes; Mr. Henry Pitman; Mr. William Young, Mr. William White, and Miss Chandos Leigh Hunt.

The CHAIRMAN, in his opening remarks, expressed the pleasure which it gave him to preside, although he did so at some inconvenience. The subject for discussion was a very important one, and it had been frequently discussed in Parliament. It touched the public health, for there had been serious epidemics of small-pox. He would not go into the question; it had two sides. The occurrence of small-pox after vaccination required to be accounted for. There were strong temptations to say that those who died were either unvaccinated or imperfectly vaccinated. To say that a person who died of small-pox after vaccination was "imperfectly vaccinated," was to give up the argument, or to suppose that the listener was ignorant of the subject. These discrepancies in the evidence required to be explained. Hence the value of such discussions in enlightening the public mind. Mr. Wheeler he met for the first time; Dr. Wyld he had known for many years.

He had no doubt that both sides would be represented with ability and fairness, and that the auditors would listen with calmness even to statements from which they might dissent.

MR. WHEELER'S OPENING SPEECH.

Mr. WHEELER, on being called upon by the Chairman to open the discussion, was greeted with hearty cheers. He said:—I have to take a single objection, to the negative being put first; the affirmative usually goes first, but Dr. Wyld wishes the last word, and I was perfectly willing to concede him any such advantage.

In opening this debate, we begin in the middle of our subject. We ought to have commenced seventy years before we do; we ought to have commenced in 1721; we ought to have commenced with Lady Mary Montagu; we ought to have commenced with inoculation; we ought to have commenced with the pitted faces which we hear of so frequently as being common in our forefathers' time. Those pitted faces and the prevalence of small-pox were entirely due to this—that the doctors in the previous century considered a person was a fool and a fanatic who would not consent to have the small-pox either in the natural way or by inoculation. The result was that a great portion of the population, especially in the southern counties of England, did have the small-pox, and that population largely afflicted with the small-pox lived in the only portion of England in which there was any attempt at registration; and consequently while the bills of mortality for the city of London contain a large number of deaths from small-pox, in times long previous to registration,* they do not contain any account of those districts in the country, where there was no small-pox, districts which Jenner, and Lettsom, and Blane mention, when they say whole counties were sometimes for years exempt from it.

M'Culloch's "Statistical Account of the British Empire" gives an account of 4095 persons who were insured in the Equitable Society, and who died between 1801 and 1832; and of this large number of insurers there was only one who died from small-pox. Now, that reveals to you a condition of things which perhaps may occasion some surprise. You have been told that all the counties of England were devastated with "natural" small-pox to an enormous extent, but the statement is unsupported by facts. It was

* English registration began in the year 1838.

artificially-produced small-pox in the main. This point must be understood before you can arrive at the condition of things which existed at the time of Edward Jenner.

After these preliminary remarks I should like to open this debate with a motto from John Stuart Mill :—" He who knows only his own side of the case knows but little of that."

Dr. Farr has stated our case in words which we need not to improve upon, that we declare vaccination unworthy of public support "because it is fatal, is ineffectual, and is the means of propagating odious diseases." With that sentiment I entirely agree, and I propose briefly, and as clearly as I can, to lay before you what are the facts in proof of it.

To-night we have to deal with a gentleman who agrees that vaccination spreads disease. We will take that point first. Vaccination spreads disease; it spreads erysipelas; it spreads syphilis—the vilest of diseases; it spreads skin disease. If you want the proof, I refer you to the return printed by order of the House of Commons, which proves that syphilis is spread to a large extent, and that there is a great extension of syphilis since vaccination was made compulsory, especially in children under one year of age. The whole, or nearly the whole, of the increase of deaths from syphilis since 1853 is in children under one year of age. And nearly the whole increase in erysipelas since 1853 has taken place in children under one year of age. These are facts that will have to be explained; and I know of nothing that can satisfactorily account for them but vaccination. Dr. Martin, a great authority for Dr. Wyld, freely admits those two points. He says, "Erysipelas is the bane of human vaccination," and that "no care in the selection of virus, no study of seasons, or of the condition of patients, affords any means of escape whatever—it is the inseparable concomitant of arm to arm vaccination." He confesses, in terms which are not so strong as those of Dr. Warlomont of Brussels, that syphilis is equally communicated; and we have the Government Blue Books containing statements which have been too much over-looked, showing that this horrid contamination has been communicated to the misfortune of a great number of people.*

This, then, as to spreading disease; but where disease is disseminated many will die, and the return I have quoted gives us

* See the Blue Book of 1857.

the deaths. The excess of deaths now constantly augmenting, as vaccination is more and more stringently enforced, of all the diseases I have named children are dying in increasing numbers; and, in the Registrar-General's return, you will find now a regular division for erysipelas. Twenty-nine such deaths after vaccination are reported in 1874; thirty-seven in 1875.

Vaccination is also inefficient, and cannot do away with small-pox. It is inefficient, because, since Jenner pronounced his dictum, we have had numerous epidemics, namely, in 1818, 1825, 1838, 1865, 1871, and the present epidemic in London, which has been going on for three years. This proves that small-pox is not done away with, and that vaccination is inefficient. Then, another important fact is, that the infant death-rate is increasing. The Registrar-General's report for 1875 acknowledges this in the broadest manner. He says that the general death-rate of infants under one year from 1861 to 1870 was 154 per thousand births; and that in 1875 it was 158. This, you see, is an increase now going on at the present date. And I understand Dr. Wyld to concede a large amount of this. It is conceded on all hands. There is not a medical report published in which much of this is not conceded. That being so, what does Dr. Wyld say? I have in my hand a letter of Dr. Wyld's, published in the *Newcastle Chronicle* of 1st March, 1878, in which he says:—"In the days of Jenner the lymph used, being only a few removes from the heifer, was so good that its use almost stamped out small-pox in these islands." Now as to the facts. Did it stamp out small-pox in the time of Jenner? If small-pox was not stamped out at all in the days of Jenner, Dr. Wyld's ground is gone. Jenner, we hear, commenced his enquiries when he was a lad. He was inoculated when a boy; he "was starved till he was thin, and was bled till he was weak," prior to the illness from small-pox, after inoculation; and he felt it was a misery which it would be well to get rid of; and that was the general experience; so that it was a good thing for the people of England that inoculation was got rid of. Jenner did away with inoculation by substituting his practice, and we will give him that credit. When he, in 1798, published his Inquiry, he asserted that he had found a "a true cow-pox." There were several sorts, but he had found the true one, which was capable of being inoculated in the human frame. This was his point, and he asserted that it afforded a perfect protection from small-pox. He went on increasing the positiveness

of his assertions, and published further observations in 1799. These statements of Jenner are most positive; and I shall quote from his works a statement than which nothing in language could be stronger or plainer. He says:—"To have admitted the truth of a doctrine at once so novel and so unlike anything that had ever appeared in the annals of medicine without the test of the most rigid scrutiny would have bordered upon temerity; but now when that scrutiny has taken place, and when it has been found in such abundant instances that the human frame, when once it has felt the influence of the genuine cow-pox, in the way that has been described, is never afterwards, at any period of its existence, assailable by small-pox, may I not, with perfect confidence, congratulate my country and society at large on their beholding, in the mild form of the cow-pox, an antidote that is capable of extirpating from the earth a disease which is every hour devouring its victims—a disease that has ever been considered as the severest scourge of the human race?" Those are the words of Dr. Jenner in 1799. I defy any man to find human language stronger, more positive and exact than that. He went on to publish the "*Origin of Variola Vaccinæ*" in 1800, and in this he asserts, only four years after his first vaccination of the poor lad Phipps, "that it became too evident to admit of controversy; that the annihilation of the small-pox must be the final result of the discovery." Nothing can be stronger or clearer than his assertions on this point at this time. If we find that these assertions are the mistakes of ignorance or credulity, then we must conclude that Dr. Wyld is mistaken, and that both Dr. Jenner and Dr. Wyld are equally deluded. In 1802, after the issue of his *Inquiry, &c.*, Dr. Jenner was induced by his friends in London to go to Parliament and ask them to award him something for this wonderful discovery. Jenner "was a man of a mild and retiring disposition;" but he asserted that the world had never before received such a discovery, and that it was worthy of national support. Parliament appointed a committee to inquire into the matter, and the committee called before them certain doctors, including Dr. Lettsom, a Quaker—I say it to his dishonour—who persuaded the committee that Jenner's statements were true. I shall be glad if, being myself a Quaker, I can do something to undo the mischief which the powerful tongue of Lettsom helped to fasten on the world. Lettsom used his great powers of persuasion before the committee, which reported to

Parliament that something handsome ought to be awarded to Jenner, because "vaccination would absolutely extinguish small-pox in these realms." This was what Parliament reported only six years after the first inoculation with cow-pox. Jenner, aided by such powerful friends, and by unfounded assertions, obtained the reward of £10,000, and he came and took a house in London. And it was after this he wrote a letter to a friend, in which he said—"Vaccination is placed on a rock immovable." I think so too; it was placed on the rock of the £10,000 vote, which committed the Government to the practice. Now if the life of Jenner had never been published, he would have stood before the world as never having modified the positive statements we have quoted, and which were the ground of his reward; and yet he wrote to a friend—"The public thinks it is not a complete protection," and during the sitting of the committee to Mr. Hicks, "Don't listen to every blockhead who says it fails." Baron says that in 1804 failures began to multiply; persons had small-pox who had been vaccinated. In 1806 the failures multiplied still more; but notwithstanding that, Jenner managed to get £20,000 more, and that completed the £30,000 which "a grateful country" awarded to him for his words, and for his words alone.

In 1809 there was a small-pox epidemic, which might have been due to the inoculators; I cannot say; but Baron says that in consequence "Jenner and vaccination were again put upon their trial." "Put upon their trial" seven years after Jenner had got £10,000 for "exterminating the small-pox;" seven years after President Jefferson had written from Virginia, "You have banished from human ills its greatest;" nevertheless, vaccination was "again put upon its trial!" Jenner then propounded a new theory to the world—that vaccination protected from small-pox as much, and no more than small-pox itself protected from a recurring attack. That theory was invented and propounded to the world in 1809, and he clung to it tenaciously to the day of his death, asserting, in the face of the positive statements I have quoted from his book, that he never claimed for it any greater protection. He wrote to Miss Calcraft in 1811—"What if 100 or 500 persons have small-pox after cow-pox, as many can be produced who have had small-pox after small-pox." That, however, was nothing to the point; for his strong case was that none who were vaccinated could possibly take it. Inoculators had likewise claimed that persons who had small-pox by inoculation could not have

it again a second time; and when Jenner was before the committee he told them that vaccination protected completely, while inoculation only partially did so. How do facts agree with Jenner's continued declarations that cow-pox protected a person from small-pox as much as an attack of small-pox itself? Mr. Marson reported that, between 1836 and 1851, 3094 persons were in the small-pox hospital after having been vaccinated, and in the same period only 49 persons were admitted for small-pox who had had the disease previously.* Jenner was, therefore, as thoroughly wrong with his second doctrine as with his first.

Indeed, Baron saw some difficulty respecting this modified averment of Jenner's, and declared, "It is a great pity that the modified statements of Dr. Jenner were not propounded to the world."† I think so too. I think it is the greatest pity of this century. I think if he had propounded this modified statement that Parliament would never have granted him the money; I am perfectly certain of that; because it would have been said, "Inoculation protects as far as that; we want to do away with small-pox altogether." In 1810 Jenner wrote to one of his friends, "I can collect cases of small-pox after small-pox in thousands," as if the proved failure of inoculation did something to strengthen his case. In 1811 there came a clinching argument in what is known as the Grosvenor case. Lord Grosvenor took the small-pox. The doctors said, "It cannot be small-pox, because Dr. Jenner vaccinated you." That was said in sober earnest; and it was sometime before they would believe that this bad case of confluent small-pox occurred after vaccination. The result was a commotion in this city which Jenner could not withstand, and he retired before it and went to Berkeley, and he never appeared here again as a public man. He wrote:—"The town is a fool, an idiot. I shall collect all the cases I can of small-pox after small-pox; it will be the best protection from the past and that which is to come."‡ Did he foresee all this agitation against his theory? did he see the mistake he had made? Then why, if, as he had professed, "his only aim was the truth," did he not confess his mistake and give up the money?

But that is not all. We will go on to 1814, and I wish you to mark these years, for they show a distinct development in Jenner's

* Blue Book, 1857.

† Baron, Vol. II., p. 135.

‡ Baron, Vol. II., p. 161.

mind; they show experience and fact disproving the superstition. In 1814, Lord Ellenborough in the House of Lords spoke of vaccination as not being a perfect preventative. Yet Von Scemmering (Munich) in the same year wrote,—“You have delivered mankind for ever from the small-pox.” A year after small-pox was very fatal in London, and Jenner actually penned these words—“The medical ignorance of the practice will stop the protection.” I cannot explain how; I will leave Dr. Wyld to do that. In 1818, there was another epidemic, more malignant than the last; and it is at this period, sixteen years after Jenner had stated that he would exterminate small-pox, that we are treated by Dr. Hennen of Edinburgh to the doctrine that “vaccination modifies small-pox.” That is the date of the invention of the modification theory. Then we are told by Jenner that it was carelessly performed, and he writes in great distress that vaccination is being discredited publicly. He is extremely bitter with Drs. Moseley and Squirrel, and they deserve his condemnation for seeking to spread and continue inoculation. But that was not the point. Jenner wrote against them for condemning vaccination, and says,—“Don’t mind these hissing serpents.” Those were his words against his fellow-doctors; I am not going to say anything so strong to-night. In this year poor Phipps died, after being inoculated twenty times.

In 1821 Jenner sent out a circular to most of the respectable medical men in the kingdom; in it he asked for the fruit of their observations respecting the course of the vaccine disease, and also as to whether cases of small-pox in vaccinated persons had been observed. “The answers which he received to his circulars were numerous, and in general satisfactory.”* So said Mr. Simon as regarded the answers given to his circulars in the 1857 Blue Book. And yet the answers to Mr. Simon’s inquiries contain a large array of facts condemnatory of his conclusions. I wish we knew what was in those answers sent to Jenner. The only one printed is not from a medical man, but a clergyman who vaccinated, and whose faith was in no wise shaken though he had observed or heard of “modified small-pox” in vaccinated persons, which he mysteriously calls “cutaneous small-pox.” This is the only answer given, and I conclude that the others must have been more unfavourable still.

* Baron, Vol. II., p. 273.

In 1823 Edward Jenner died. "And in 1825 small-pox was as prevalent in London as during any of the three great epidemics of the preceding century."* This was two years after Jenner's death. I wish he had lived to see that epidemic, because I think he must have given vaccination up. Jenner was a timid man; he could not stand a great deal of opposition. He was too nervous to give his evidence to the Parliamentary Committee *viva voce*, and I think he would have had honesty enough to acknowledge the failure had he lived till 1825. This, then, is the case as regards the days of Jenner. Small-pox was no more banished then than now. It was more prevalent than it had often been. And as to vaccination, the whole of the assertions as to its value were made before proof was possible. And the nation stood committed by a Parliamentary vote to the practice before time had proved the assertions of its partisans to be unfounded, to be the delusions they were afterwards demonstrated to be by the stern logic of experience.

We have, then, in these facts and this experience, a complete case against vaccination. Does not this history prove our case? Dr. Wyld says that, "in the days of Jenner, the lymph used was so good that its use almost stamped out small-pox in these islands."

Was small-pox stamped out? It was not. It was extremely prevalent. Within two years of his death as prevalent as during any part of the eighteenth century.

I want to know where it was "stamped out." Not in London; not in Carlisle; not in Reading. I want to know where it was stamped out; and I wait for a reply.

DR. WYLD'S OPENING SPEECH.

Dr. WYLD—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I feel at the present moment somewhat more comfortable than I did an hour ago. It may be satisfactory to my friends to know that, because when I appeared on this platform half-an-hour ago, I thought it was very possible that Mr. Wheeler, being regarded as the great oracle of anti-vaccination, and having come all the way from Darlington to meet a real living doctor in London, I thought, of course, that Mr. Wheeler must have facts militating against vaccination which had not hitherto met my observation; there-

* Baron, Vol. I., p. 272.

fore, I thought that possibly Mr. Wheeler might spring a mine upon me, and blow me into the air. Well, I don't find that I am any further in the air than before. I find that I occupy *terra firma* with as certain a step as I did before I had the honour and pleasure of meeting Mr. Wheeler on this platform.

I have met with several anti-vaccinationists at public meetings, and this I will say, that it appears to me their rhetorical usually exceeds their logical powers. I find in it—(Cries of “Question,” and “Order”)—a great deal of florid talking. I will not detain you with these preliminary remarks any longer, but will begin to criticise the few observations which Mr. Wheeler has brought under your notice. Now, in the first place, I, for one, never believed that Jenner was infallible. I think that Jenner was a mortal man, liable to error the same as I am, and the same, I suppose, as you are ; therefore, when Mr. Wheeler brings before your notice some of the fallacies of Jenner, of course I admit them at once. We are all fallible, and Jenner, in starting this new thing, was particularly likely to fall into error ; and he did fall into error ; but that does not, to my mind, militate in any degree against the greatness of the man ; and I do hold that Jenner was a truly good and great man.

Mr. Wheeler starts with the assertion that England was not decimated with the small-pox before the days of Jenner.

Mr. WHEELER—I did not say so.

Dr. WYLD—What did you say ?

Mr. WHEELER—I said it was very prevalent, but that was because the doctors insisted that everybody should have it.

Dr. WYLD—I understood Mr. Wheeler to say that England was not decimated by small-pox before the discovery of vaccination. I find from the Parliamentary report of the committee that investigated the claims of Jenner to a pecuniary reward that 45,000 people died every year in the British Islands from small-pox. If that is not analogous to decimation, I don't know what is. If we turn to the population of the present time, we find it about double what it was in the days of Jenner. If 45,000 died then, we ought to have 90,000 dying now. Well, what have we ? We have had ten epidemics of small-pox during the last 30 years, and there have died only 150,000. That is a very large number, but that is only 5000 a-year, and I have shown you that 90,000 a-year ought to have died. That vaccination is inefficient, every one now admits ; but when I use the term “inefficient,” of

course I mean imperfect. I never held that vaccination, as now performed, was perfect; and very few doctors do. The vaccine lymph, having passed for eighty years through a succession of children, has thus, I hold, become deteriorated. Mr. Wheeler says there has been an increase of infantile mortality of four in the hundred thousand births. Well, that is not a very large increase, but Mr. Wheeler jumps to the conclusion that they were killed by vaccination. This is a pure assumption; there is no foundation for it; it is a mere guess. Can you not find another reason for the increase? In the days of Jenner England was an agricultural country. It is now a manufacturing country. In the days of Jenner children were born in country places, and lived in the open air: now they are born in Manchester, Leeds, Bradford, and Darlington, and live in crowds, under the most unhealthy conditions. I ask, is it not likely that this increase of infantile mortality results from bad habits rather than from vaccination? Last year the working people (mainly) of this country consumed £150,000,000 worth of alcoholic drinks—their increased wages went chiefly in that direction, and I assert that this increased alcoholism must necessarily beget a degraded people. Mr. Wheeler denies that vaccination has checked the growth of small-pox since the days of Jenner. I have shown that 45,000 died before vaccination, and Mr. Wheeler admits that in 1802—six years after vaccination—only 3500 died. Well, if that is not a demonstration of the effect of vaccination, I don't know what is. I don't say it is a demonstration that vaccination saved all these deaths, because there might have been other causes; but, at all events, 45,000 died before vaccination, and 3500 after.

Mr. WHEELER—The one is London, the other the country.

Dr. WYLD—That is, converted from London into the country; 3500 in London would be about eight times as many.

Mr. WHEELER—No.

Dr. WYLD—About that.

Mr. WHEELER—Ten times.

Dr. WYLD—Well, if ten times, it would be 35,000 instead of 45,000.

I now come to the money Jenner got. The anti-vaccinationists are very fond of ringing the changes upon that money, and they say Jenner was a greedy man to have applied for it, and still worse for keeping it after he had got it. But what are the facts? Jenner when he discovered the process of vaccination had a very

large and lucrative practice in the country. After his discovery he spent his whole time in disseminating it amongst the people. He was always running away from his practice and going to London. The consequence was that his practice almost entirely left him, and Jenner became a poor man. Therefore I for one think that Jenner was entitled to his £30,000. Mr. Wheeler has mentioned the Grosvenor case. The son of Earl Grosvenor was vaccinated, and afterwards took small-pox, and the doctors were much shocked, and being a nobleman's son, the case created an enormous stir in society. If instead of being a son of Earl Grosvenor he had been Peter Piper the green grocer, you would have heard nothing about it. Being the son of Earl Grosvenor the whole of society rang with the dreadful fact—vaccination was not a perfect security against small-pox. Jenner never said it was; he only said it was a safeguard to a large extent; that it was as good a safeguard as an attack of small-pox itself.

Mr. WHEELER—I have quoted what he said.

Dr. WYLD—I will come to that soon. Mr. Wheeler reminds me that he has read Jenner's own statement—that vaccination was a perfect protection against small-pox. Again, I say, Jenner was a fallible man, and after a few years found out that he was wrong in asserting that vaccination was an absolute protection against small-pox, and, like an honest man, he at once admitted the fact. If you look into the life of Jenner by Baron, you will see that he is continually stating that he did not believe vaccination to be a perfect protection. Well, then, Mr. Wheeler says that Dr. Jenner did not publish the letters he got from medical men about the powers of vaccination. Well, I deny the assertion. Baron in his *Life of Jenner* gives many letters from medical men containing the highest encomiums on his discovery. He did not publish them all. Then Mr. Wheeler says that Phipps died of consumption. Well, we know that vaccination won't prevent people dying of consumption; Jenner never said so; and poor Phipps happened to be one who died of consumption—*argal*, says Mr. Wheeler, he died of consumption through vaccination.

Mr. WHEELER—I did not say so.

Dr. WYLD—That is a specimen of anti-vaccination logic. Having now replied to the observations of Mr. Wheeler, I will now try to prove to you what vaccination is. In the first place, we have 20,000 medical men in this country, and I expect that with the exception of half a dozen, they believe in vaccination.

I think that medical men who are educated in the theory and practice of medicine ought to be better judges than Mr. Wheeler. I think that is a very strong argument in favour of vaccination. Medical men feel so certain about it that they say it is ridiculous to argue the matter ; and I stand here to confess that I am not more certain that two and two make four than I am that vaccination is an immense boon to the world. You know how Jenner began vaccination. A milk-maid came to consult him regarding her health, and he, joking her about her rosy face, said, " You may one day have small-pox and lose your beauty." She said, " No, I have had cow-pox." After 20 years' thinking and inquiry into this strange assertion, he published his knowledge of the facts, and then vaccinated the boy Phipps. Mark this. He vaccinated him on the 14th May, 1796—a memorable epoch. On the 1st July following he inoculated this boy Phipps with small-pox, and found it impossible to communicate that disease. That was experiment No. 1. That laid the foundation of the Jennerian theory. He found that if a person took cow-pox, he could not take small-pox. Jenner repeated this experiment, and he never was able to communicate small-pox to children who had been vaccinated. If that is not a demonstration that vaccination protects from small-pox, I don't know what is. Dr. Martin of America writes to me that he has on a hundred occasions after vaccination with calf lymph attempted to inoculate his cases with small-pox, and in not a single instance has he succeeded in communicating small-pox. If that is not a demonstration beyond all refutation, I don't know what logical demonstration is. I come to another proof. In the small-pox hospitals in London, during a certain period, there were 20,000 cases, and an average of 5 per cent. only of the vaccinated died, while 35 per cent. died who did not bear vaccination marks ; 1 per cent. died if the marks were good, 8 per cent. if they were imperfect marks, and 35 per cent. if there were no marks. That is argument No. 2. We find that 96 per cent. of the people are vaccinated. If vaccination were no protection, there ought in these hospitals to be 96 per cent. of the cases found with marks ; but there is only 35 per cent. ; and in these hospitals, as only 4 per cent. of the population are unvaccinated, there should be only 4 per cent. of such cases in the hospitals, but there are about 35 per cent. Then I come to the last statistics of the late severe epidemic in Dublin, when a larger proportion of vaccinated persons died of small-pox than were known

to die in any previous epidemic—namely, 10 per cent.; but the per centage of deaths amongst the unvaccinated was 65 per cent. You will find the figures in the *Medical Press* of 22nd May. Then I come to the City of London, and I find that the insurance companies take those who are vaccinated at a lower premium than the unvaccinated. Of course those companies must believe that vaccination is a protection, or they would not make this distinction. The anti-vaccinators reply that the insurance companies are under the authority and dictation of the doctors. Well, you will be surprised to hear that they are not; they are under the dictation of the actuaries, men whose whole life is devoted to statistics; and is it conceivable that these men would make this distinction in insurance rates except on the soundest facts? I will now refer to re-vaccination. The doctors say you ought to be re-vaccinated about the age of puberty; and I say so too. If I vaccinate 100 children carefully, I will not make a single failure; but if I attempt to re-vaccinate 100 adults I may not succeed with more than 50. There you have a demonstration that the vaccine protection has lasted, say 20 years. I speak from authority and experience. The gentlemen who hiss and make a noise have probably never vaccinated any cases, and I suppose Mr. Wheeler has never vaccinated a case in his life!

Mr. WHEELER—I have been vaccinated and had the small-pox.

Dr. WYLD—I have vaccinated a good many. You cannot with ordinary lymph succeed in re-vaccinating more than about 50 per cent. If that is not a demonstration that vaccination has, so far, protected those adults, I don't know what a demonstration is.

The Americans are a highly educated people, and Republicans, like many of yourselves. They have no compulsory statute law regarding vaccination; yet there is a moral law which is compulsory, inasmuch as no child is admitted into a public school who is not vaccinated. ("Shame.") In the small-pox hospitals the nurses are vaccinated, and some of them have had small-pox before; but small-pox does not, in my opinion, afford a greater protection than vaccination; and these nurses go about the hospital with perfect immunity. Would the anti-vaccinators have the same confidence in sending their unvaccinated wives and daughters into these hospitals? During the last ten years, eight to ten million children in this country have been vaccinated, and out of that number, of course, you may collect a small number of

cases which have gone adversely ; but are those few cases to upset the whole case? I think not. Then, as to the inoculation of syphilis. That was long denied by medical men ; but it is now admitted, and therefore, of course, you require to exercise very great care how you vaccinate. But I, personally, have a perfect answer to that objection against vaccination, because, as you know, I do not vaccinate from the human being, but from the calf, which is an animal that cannot possibly communicate that disease. Now, as to compulsion. That is a difficult part of the subject, and I find myself in much the same position as Mr. Bright and Mr. Gladstone on the question of compulsion—that is, my mind is not clearly made up on that part of the question. I admit that it is a very hard thing to interfere with the liberty of the subject ; but we owe duties to the State as well as to ourselves, and if the going about of thousands of people unvaccinated spreads, as I take it, small-pox, then I think society has a right to protect itself. You must remember that these compulsory laws have been passed by yourselves. (Cries of “No, no.”) These compulsory laws have been passed by yourselves. (Repeated cries of “No,” “One bishop,” “Late at night,” “In a small house,” &c.)

Dr. WYLD repeated the statement that these laws had been passed by that House of Commons which had been chosen by the people.

The interruption was so great that the chairman interposed and said that Dr. Wyld was quite in order, for everybody was supposed to be represented in the House of Commons when a bill was passed.

Dr. WYLD continued—If these laws are a hardship, the people have a perfect escape and protection from all risks if, instead of being vaccinated with effete lymph, worn out, they are vaccinated with the best possible lymph. Then they would be so perfectly protected that they could afford to disregard the few eccentric individuals who declined to be vaccinated. The *Lancet* has this week suggested a Parliamentary Commission to reconsider the entire question. I hope that idea may be carried out. In conclusion—one word as to myself. I wish to defend myself from the accusation that appeared in a London newspaper that I say these things in favour of calf lymph from self-interest. I utterly deny that it is so. Last year I went to Earl Percy, with whom I have the honour to be acquainted, and urged him to

bring the subject before Parliament, in order that it might be made a Government question, and his Lordship did bring the subject before Parliament. The production and distribution of vaccine from the calf is so laborious and anxious and expensive an operation, that I, for one, would be only too glad to escape from it, provided Government would take it up. Finally, I will ask Mr. Wheeler three questions—First, how do you explain this fact. You vaccinate 100 babies, and for a certain time afterwards you find it impossible to inoculate these children with small-pox? Is not that equivalent for the time being to a proof that cow-pox is a protection for that time against small-pox? Then, again, I should like Mr. Wheeler to explain the mortality in the small-pox hospitals of 35 per cent. in the unvaccinated against 5 per cent. in vaccinated. And, in the third place, I would ask Mr. Wheeler to tell us whether he does not admit that if you are vaccinated with calf lymph instead of human lymph you could not possibly thus take syphilis?

Dr. COLLINS interposed with a question. He confessed himself to be one of those fanatics called anti-vaccinators. He had twenty years' experience of vaccination in one of the largest parishes in the metropolis. He asked the name of the American doctor who had tried in vain to give persons the small-pox after vaccination; also, whether Dr. Wyld had put his calf lymph to the test by inoculating his patients with human small-pox, and what was the result?

Dr. WYLD—I have not as yet; but I should have no hesitation in doing so.

MR. WHEELER'S SECOND SPEECH.

Mr. WHEELER—Dr. Wyld cannot do it; it is forbidden. There is a penalty of £50 for every one inoculated, or three months' imprisonment. Dr. Wyld has gone through a variety of statements, and at last has produced the calf lymph. I expected it would have come first. Dealing with Dr. Wyld's objections, I think I have proved that Dr. Jenner was not accurate, and we need not pursue that. Dr. Wyld has told us that 45,000 died in England immediately preceding the days of Jenner. I deny that entirely. My denial is worth nothing, but if you will look at Dr. Lettsom's *Life and Letters* on page 121 of the second volume, you will find how he uses a supposed fact to prove this. 3500 lives were lost by small-pox in London in a particular year. Dr.

Lettsom says you must multiply this into the supposed population of England. But nobody knew it; our Registrar-General was appointed in 1838, and no one in England can tell further than by surmise and "estimate" what the population was prior to that date. I beg you to mark this carefully. Dr. Lettsom and Dr. Blane calculated that mortality simply in this way. I quote word for word from Dr. Lettsom's Letters:—"We may pretty accurately calculate that in 500,000 inhabitants, 200 annually die of the small-pox, or 400 in every million. Now Europe contains nearly 200 millions, and consequently the deaths in Europe would be 400,000. The globe contains probably 1200 millions, and the deaths of small-pox would be in the same ratio." I say that is the most arrant quackery that was ever written, yet those statements have been reproduced in Parliamentary Blue Books over and over again, and by Mr. Simon and Dr. Seaton as a statistical fact. I say there is nothing in it of the nature of a statistic to compare with our Registrar-General's returns. It is the wildest estimate, and made for a purpose. It is just on a par with the random statements of Dr. Jurin and Dr. Kirkpatrick, the advocates of inoculation. They stated that people who were inoculated were saved from small-pox, or died in only very small numbers, while before inoculation, the countries were decimated. Now, has Dr. Wyld produced any statistic to show decimation? None whatever. I have shown you the utter fallacy of this; it is pure conjecture, like so many other similar statements, and we don't want conjecture and supposition. Another strong point is, that the enormous mortality shown as taking place in England 200 years ago is only estimate, and is not correct as a record of fact. It is only a calculation. I wish we had Dr. Greenhow's tables here to show you; they would exhibit the utter fallacy of this argument. Dr. Greenhow puts the mortality of London for some years at 80 per 1000. The birth-rate could not be half that, so that in a few years there would not be a soul left.

But has the death-rate decreased in consequence of vaccination? In the Life of Jenner you will find these words,—“On accurate calculation it was found that one in forty-seven died in England in 1801.” That is nearly 22 per 1000. What is it to-day? 22 per 1000. It has been very near that ever since Major Graham began his work, excepting in cholera years, and when scarlet fever was epidemic. You will find that although 23,000 people died of small-pox in England in 1871, the deaths from all causes were

300 per million less than in the previous year. That is to say, the death-rate was slightly reduced notwithstanding this enormous mortality from small-pox.

When there is a great prevalence of small-pox the general death-rate is not increased. That is true through all the epidemic years. So far as we can gauge, there is no increase of mortality from small-pox. Let us look again at Dr. Greenhow's tables. You will find in the Blue-book this note: "Several of these years were years in which small-pox was very prevalent;" and these years are in the years selected to give the mortality as compared with our day. Further than that, 1665 is included into Dr. Greenhow's estimate of the mortality. That was the year of the plague! Can any one be surprised at the mortality? And why has the plague gone? Because our population has been more rationally treated, and because of improved conditions of living and sanitation. One hundred millions have been spent upon sanitary works. Dr. Farr states that in many towns the death-rate has been reduced by sanitary improvement as much as 5 per thousand. Sir James Simpson said that vaccination saved 80,000 lives a-year in this country. That would reduce the death-rate from 22 per thousand to 18. In 1838, the first year of registration, there were very few people vaccinated. There was no compulsion, and people did not like it, for they saw that small-pox had been reduced without it, and were quite willing to let it alone. In 1838, with very few persons vaccinated, the mortality was 22 per thousand. I want to know how the 80,000 lives saved are to be accounted for. If saved, they must have been shown in the death-rate, and they never yet have been. I think that is enough to prove that vaccination is inefficient, as has been admitted by Dr. Wyld. If once vaccinated is inefficient, will twice be efficient for protection? If Dr. Wyld had taken the trouble I have in going through these Returns,* I think he would not have talked as he did about re-vaccination. 43,000 out of 83,000 small-pox deaths, from 1850 to 1872, were under 5 years of age. Re-vaccination would do nothing for those who die far from puberty; and if vaccination cannot protect under five years, it never can protect at all. I told you that Jenner went through a long development, but we have not heard a word about that from Dr. Wyld, or any expla-

* Mr. Wheeler held in his hand the Parliamentary Return, "Vaccination, Mortality," 14th August, 1878.

nation of it. I told you he began with a tremendous statement, which gradually came down to nothing. We have been told that the vaccine gets weakened through 80 years. But where will you begin to look for the weakening? Suppose we begin in 1812, when Jenner lived. You will find from one of his letters that this weakening was alleged in his time, not long before his death. He says—"They attribute the lessened activity of the matter which may fall into their hands, and the disposition to produce imperfect vesicles, to the great length of time which has elapsed since it was taken from the cow, and the great number of human subjects through which it has passed." These are nearly the words of Dr. Wyld. What does Jenner say to that? "This is a conjecture which I can destroy by facts." So far Edward Jenner. There is no weakening, he says. In truth there is not. The doctrine of Edward Jenner has been weakness itself from the first. Is that an answer to Dr. Wyld? Jenner adds—"If there were a real necessity for renovation, I should not know what to do, for the precautions of the farmers with respect to their horses have driven the cow-pox from their herds." Is there any need to go further than that? We are told that Jenner was not infallible. But no doctor knows anything about this subject if Jenner did not. None of the innovators in this practice have anything new. Neither Dr. Worlomont, nor Dr. Martin, nor Dr. Wyld have anything new. They are but imitators; and if Jenner was mistaken, then so most grievously are they.

I understood Dr. Wyld to say that Jenner published many of the answers to his circular? Is that so?

Dr. WYLD—I said, "letters."

Mr. WHEELER—Ah, yes, letters from medical men; but I was not speaking of letters. I have quoted from the letters of medical men who helped him, and without whom he would not have done anything; but I was speaking of the circular Jenner sent out two years before he died, and I repeat that not a single medical reply to that circular was published. The circular was issued after 18 years' experience of vaccination; 18 years of development and paring down of the original claim until nothing was left. Mr. Simon also sent out a circular in 1856, and 542 answers were published, which contain a great amount of information, some of which was against vaccination; of this, and of the anti-vaccinators' arguments, he said that he did not feel called upon to answer "all this rubbish." That was in the 1857 Blue Book. There is nothing

scientific about vaccination, and nothing certain about it, except its failure. The compass guides the mariner with accuracy over pathless seas; and astronomers predict eclipses with unerring accuracy. The compass and the eclipse are facts; and observed and applied natural laws are the basis of science. But Jenner's case is different; there all is uncertainty and error.

In 1815 he declared that medical men would stop the protection because they performed vaccination carelessly. And yet the same year Von Soemmering writes him that mankind were for ever delivered from the small-pox. Dr. Sacco, Jenner declared, never failed, because he "knew what he was about," and used nothing but the lymph from the horse's heel—"virus," I call it, that is its proper name. Time after time the thing has been modified until now the original source of the virus is ignored, and what with careless vaccination, and the fear of imparting disease, the doctors are in an amazing dilemma. Hence the new departure or "revival" of Dr. Wyld and his calf lymph. As to Phipps, I never said anything about his being protected by his vaccination; I merely said he was 20 times inoculated. As to vaccinated people being incapable of receiving small-pox inoculation, Dr. Kirkpatrick states in his book, which was published soon after Jenner was born, that four per cent. could not be inoculated. Dr. Jenner also stated that there were numbers whom he could not inoculate. And ancient authors estimate a large portion of the population as incapable of receiving the infection.

Mr. Wheeler was here told that his second time was up.

DR. WYLD'S SECOND SPEECH.

Dr. WYLD—Before my last speech I told you I felt very comfortable. I now add that I feel very happy. I put the pith of my speech into three questions, and these three questions Mr. Wheeler has declined to answer.

Mr. WHEELER—Want of time.

Dr. WYLD—Mr. Wheeler says that inoculation is contrary to law; but I told you I should have no objection to inoculate as a test of successful vaccination.

Mr. WHEELER—I wish you would let me know when doing it.

Dr. WYLD—The law is against inoculation as a substitute for vaccination; it is not against the operation as a scientific proof that subsequently to vaccination successful inoculation is impossible.

Mr. WHEELER—It is prohibited.

Dr. WYLD—Then Mr. Wheeler says that my statement about the 45,000 who died every year previous to Jenner is mere conjecture. Well, I stated that it was a Parliamentary return, and I say Mr. Wheeler's denial is conjecture. I substantiate my 45,000 by another statistic. In the days of Jenner, one in 14 of the deaths was said to result from small-pox. If we make the calculation on this data we arrive at about 50,000 instead of 45,000; therefore, this is a corroboration of the Parliamentary return, and Mr. Wheeler's denial is simply denial because it answers his purpose. I will say more. Not only have we this Parliamentary report, but if you had not this enormous mortality, how would you explain the horror of small-pox that existed in those days? There is no such horror now, because we know that we are protected by vaccination. (Laughter and interruption.) There was horror before Jenner; there is not now. If the same small-pox mortality subsisted now as before Jenner, instead of a mortality of 150,000 during the last thirty years, we should have had 2,700,000 deaths from small-pox. Then Mr. Wheeler, who, of course, knows a great deal better than I do, says that the Jennerian cow-pox has not declined in power in the human subject.

Mr. WHEELER—No; Jenner says so.

Dr. WYLD—You profess to believe Jenner in that statement, but disbelieve him in other statements. Jenner spoke after fifteen or twenty years' experience; I speak after we have had eighty years' experience, and I maintain that it has declined, and I can prove it thus. In the days of Jenner the after-scab of vaccination lasted a certain number of days; now it lasts a fewer number of days, thus demonstrating that it has not laid that firm hold of the constitution that it did in its primitive condition. But cow-pox is foreign to the human subject, and it is therefore natural that it should dwindle and decay in a foreign soil, which I assert it does. Mr. Wheeler tells you that Jenner did not publish all the medical replies to his circular; but he has not reminded you that throughout Jenner's life there was an enormous amount of jealousy of Jenner on the part of the doctors, and many of them did all they could to malign him in a shameful manner; and if they wrote letters at all they might have been mainly abusive—just such letters as are now common in anti-vaccination literature. Not only did the doctors abuse Jenner, but in many parts of the country he could not get doctors to vaccinate patients. There

was such ignorance and intolerance that they would not substitute cow-pox for inoculation. What happened? Vaccination fell to a considerable extent into the hands of clergymen and ladies. This may account for the small notice taken of these medical replies. The doctors were jealous not only of Jenner's reputation, but of the £30,000 he got from Government; and that small and contemptible jealousy has descended to the anti-vaccinators of the present day.

MR. WHEELER'S THIRD SPEECH.

Mr. WHEELER—I will answer your three questions now.

1st.—How is it that it is impossible to inoculate a person with small-pox who is vaccinated?

I say it is not impossible. Jenner himself managed it, as you will find by Baron's Life.

Dr. WYLD—I have just read Baron's Life of Jenner, and I deny the statement. (Cries of "Where's the book?")

Mr. WHEELER—On page 445 of the first volume of Baron's Life, and page 29 of the second volume, you will find the proof. Jenner says—"The insertion of variolous virus will produce, upon a person who has previously had the cow-pox, a pustule capable of communicating the small-pox."

2nd.—Why are there seven times as many unvaccinated die as vaccinated in the hospitals?

This also is not the statement of a fact. The classification is made on the entrance of the patient into hospital, when the marks cannot be seen, and Dr. Russell in the Glasgow Hospital Report shows, that in consequence of their not being crowded, they kept the patients until recovery, and that the vaccine marks in some cases reappeared, and the hospital register was altered from unvaccinated to vaccinated. This was the case, sir, with those who recovered, but how about those who died? Why they, of course, remain to improperly swell the unvaccinated death roll. And in London the hospitals have not been so favourably placed, and we hear nothing of such a change of registration. But if unvaccinated die at thirty-three per cent. now, they must also have done so before inoculation and vaccination were invented. And yet Jurin, in 1723, estimates the deaths from the natural, and unvaccinated small-pox when people were not inoculated at one in six. The report I hold in my hand states that out of 14,808 cases of small-pox in the small-pox hospitals of London during the year 1871,

11,174 were vaccinated. That is from the report of the medical officers. I have given you facts which you can verify. I repeat that seventy-five per cent. of the cases in the Metropolitan Small-Pox Hospitals in 1871 were vaccinated. More than that, these persons in 1871 died at just the rate Jurin records in 1723. There cannot, therefore, be any reduction in the number of deaths in any way. And the explanation is, that the classification is incorrect, and the error is made by recording those only as vaccinated who show marks on entrance. The disease obliterates the marks, and, consequently, those severely affected who yield nearly all the deaths are recorded as unvaccinated.

Dr. Wyld's third point is that vaccination from the calf will not produce syphilis. Here I propose, in a few seconds, to run through the calf lymph case. Will you be good enough, Dr. Wyld, to tell me the source of your lymph? I presume it is Worlomont's or Martin's? (No answer.)

Well, calf lymph has been used since 1815. It has been used in Brussels, in Paris, Rotterdam, Berlin, St. Petersburg, and America, and Dr. Seaton in his report is dead against the practice. Dr. Ballard and Dr. Seaton have both been to the Continent to report upon it; and upon their report Dr. Seaton says—First, as to its origin—that it was from no distrust of their lymph that the calf lymph was produced (p. 174; Report, 1870); that it was not from Beaugency stock alone; and that it often failed in the commencement at Brussels, &c., and was renewed from Paris. Secondly, as to its success in producing vesicles. He says the failures at Paris were 21 per cent., and at Rotterdam 12 per cent., and that success at Brussels was too favourably recorded, the number of vesicles being not more than two-thirds of the insertions. I say that in no place has calf lymph been adopted first of all because of syphilis. And in France and Belgium, the countries where it has been most adopted, they have not a compulsory law—to their honour be it said. Dr. Worlomont says that in Belgium the use of calf lymph was resorted to because parents were reluctant to bring their children for vaccinifers. They had to bribe the parents, he says, to bring their children in order to get lymph. Dr. Martin, of America, has sent me, an anti-vaccinator, several letters and much information, for which I honour him. Dr. Martin records that for a long time he vaccinated with human lymph on one arm and with cow-pox from the heifer on the other, and that it was because he saw the constant appearance of erysipelas on the arm done with human lymph

that he abandoned the practice. He says: "During the 16 years in which I supplied humanised virus the presence of this pest—erysipelas—in my own practice, and in that of my correspondents, was the one great and serious drawback—the one formidable source of anxiety and blame." That is the reason for the use of calf lymph; it had nothing to do with syphilis in the first instance. The fear of syphilis is used to bolster up the practice. What better should we be if we adopted calf lymph? Dr. Seaton informs us that "the natural cow-pox by artificial transmission through a succession of animals, undergoes just the same sort of modification that it does by transmission through the human system of children" (p. 182; Report, 1870). This is in direct contradiction to Dr. Wyld. But if we have to trust to this calf-to-calf system, will it protect from small-pox? Dr. Seaton says, emphatically, "I think it must be obvious that, by the adoption of such a practice, we should be greatly weakening our defences against small-pox. The chance of protection to each individual would be largely diminished, and the danger to the community of spreading the small-pox greatly increased." And, further, he says, "Striking exemplifications of the danger to the community of confiding in animal vaccination during an outburst of small-pox has been given during the recent epidemic at Paris." "The failures have been quite remarkable" (p. 188).

And as to Dr. Wyld's third question: Can you deny that syphilis cannot be communicated by calf lymph? I think I can say it is. For Dr. Seaton is pretty emphatic in a foot-note on this point. He says: "Dr. Worlomont informed me that on more than one occasion practitioners who had vaccinated children with some of his animal lymph had told him of symptoms following, which, if they had not known the source of the lymph, they would have considered an imparted syphilis; and there have been lately lively discussions in France over some cases of syphilis appearing in children who had been vaccinated from a heifer, the local syphilitic symptoms manifesting themselves, it is said, at the vaccinated spots, at the termination of the vaccine process—cases which, no doubt, had humanised lymph been used, would have been alleged to be cases of infection introduced by it" (p. 188; Report, 1870). That, Sir, seems to me to completely answer the whole of Dr. Wyld's case. In every instance it fails. In every period of this superstitious usage it changes and alters to meet the notorious want of success. The failure is complete.

The practice of vaccination is based upon this monstrous dogma, that you must disease the infant life of the whole world; that, further, you must disease the human life of all the world at puberty. And I say that that is a proposition so monstrous, that the sanction of no Legislature, the sanction of no Senate, the sanction of no Throne, can long maintain it.

DR. WYLD'S THIRD SPEECH.

Dr. WYLD—Dr. Seaton's report was issued in 1869, and nearly all that was said in that report was true then (12th Report of the Medical Officer of the Privy Council). The explanation is perfectly simple. In 1869 the calf lymph used on the Continent was used in a liquid form. It was found afterwards that, keeping it liquid in tubes, the solid particles descended and fastened themselves to the glass, and you only got the serum. Hence the vaccinations were inefficient. But since that time we have discovered that it is much better to use solid lymph; and now the vaccination from calf lymph is almost entirely from the solid lymph; and instead of being a partial failure, as indicated by Dr. Seaton, it is an absolute success. In the days when liquid lymph was used, the failures were 30 per cent., but now the failures do not exceed two per cent. I will now undertake to vaccinate 150 children in succession without one failure. The original source of my calf lymph was Beaugency, in France.

Mr. WHEELER—They were Beaugency and Saint Mandé mixed in 1866.

Dr. WYLD—I find that the anti-vaccinators are extremely angry with me for introducing calf lymph as a substitute for the human lymph, because they know that the use of this lymph is a summary answer to their syphilitic argument. A medical man of great repute in London, a friend of the anti-vaccinators, has written almost a whole tract against Dr. Wyld's calf lymph. This gentleman writes with great respect for myself, but I am sorry to say he treats my calf with no respect whatever. But, sir, this calf lymph is destined sooner or later entirely to put an end to the anti-vaccination movement. People who were formerly anti-vaccinators continually come to my study and say, "Dr. Wyld, we have always had a great dread of being vaccinated; but we have no fear of being vaccinated from the calf, because we know that it cannot possibly convey syphilis." A gentleman connected with one of the leading morning journals in London called upon me a

week ago with his four children, aged from two to seven. They had never been vaccinated. He said he had a dread of vaccination and contamination from syphilis, and that he had declined to have his children vaccinated, though he felt uncomfortable in disobeying the law; but he said he had no objection to have them vaccinated from the calf. I vaccinated those four little children, and the week following they came to show what we doctors call their beautiful arms. Their mamma and papa are now extremely well pleased, and feel much happier and safer than they have been for a long time. Mr. Wheeler quoted Jenner as admitting that inoculation was possible after vaccination, and so, indeed, it is, after a certain time, the practice of re-vaccination being a universal admission of the fact. Dr. Wyld ridiculed the assertion of an anti-vaccinator that Jenner was an "obscure country apothecary." On the contrary, he was known to have been honoured by every crowned head then in Europe, and to have had honours and distinctions crowded upon him. He was a simple, good, kind-hearted man, and when Napoleon unwarrantably seized certain travellers passing through France, and refused to liberate them, even on the application of the British Government, Jenner wrote a simple letter to Napoleon, craving the release of two of his friends as a return for the boon of vaccination he had conferred on France. The conqueror of Europe replied—"Jenner is a good and a great man; I can deny him nothing. Let the prisoners be liberated!"

SIR THOMAS CHAMBERS.

The CHAIRMAN thanked the disputants for the ability and courtesy they had shown, and proceeded to "sum up," as he saw by the programme he was expected to do. He did not think that he could do better than repeat what he said in the House of Commons. And first he would say that compulsory vaccination is beyond all comparison the strongest form of "parental government" that was ever introduced into this country. It overrides and tramples down parental authority in relation to children. It takes them out of the care of the father and mother, who are ordained by Providence to exercise their parental care, and it insists upon a disease being infused into the blood of every child in order to prevent the contingency of its catching another disease. That might be justifiable; but it could only be justifiable, not upon medical *theories*, not upon the observance of innumerable pre-

cautions and the presence of favourable circumstances, but upon a truth undeniable, universal in its operation, certain in its results, free from peril, and an absolute preventive. (Cheers.) So far he was satisfied that Dr. Wyld would agree with him, because every word that had been uttered in the discussion that night proved that vaccination was a medical theory which had varied in its form, varied in the exposition of it by those who understood it best, varied in the estimate formed of its value, varied in the mode in which it was supposed to act, and varied in the manner of its operation from the peril of introducing other diseases ; thus the theory and practice of vaccination had changed from time to time since Dr. Seaton's report in 1869, as Dr. Wyld had just stated. (Cheers.) The men appointed by Government to report upon the subject laid their report before Parliament, and it was printed by authority of the Queen, and yet that report was now declared by Dr. Wyld to be utterly worthless. (Cheers.) Dr. Wyld asserted that Dr. Seaton was wrong, and it was possible that Dr. Seaton would say that Dr. Wyld was wrong when he undertook to vaccinate 150 children with his calf lymph without a failure. (Cheers and laughter.) He must ask Dr. Wyld to excuse him for not believing it, because every doctor in every period had always been just as confident. (Laughter.) He once said to an eminent medical friend, "How many people did you kill by bleeding?" He said "I cannot tell, but a very great many." On the Continent bleeding was still practised, and at one time in England, and that not very distant, bleeding was done at every barber's shop, and it was believed by medical men that bleeding in the spring and fall was the only way to save a man's life. He believed that Count Cavour and the late King of Italy were bled to death. Well, bleeding was abandoned by medical men in England ; and medicine, like all other arts, was an improving one. What Dr. Wyld, or any other doctor would believe twelve months hence it was impossible to conjecture. Now, it could not be set down as an established and immovable truth in medicine that vaccination was an absolute protection against the disease for which it was enforced. He spoke as one who had had small-pox naturally, and he had a stamped receipt from nature (a laugh) ; and therefore he would be in favour of anything which could prevent that, provided it did not do a greater mischief. He had the highest admiration and regard for medical men, who he thought did more good gratuitously than any other

body of men (hear), but he did not like their system. They denied for a long time, even the most eminent of them, that it was possible under any circumstance for vaccination to convey syphilis. Now they all admit it. (Hear.) These things might not justify us in saying "we won't vaccinate;" but they do justify us in saying that it is cruel and unjust to enforce it. (Cheers.) He stated in the House of Commons that it was generally admitted that vaccination diminishes the number of deaths from small-pox, but it does not diminish the general mortality. (Hear.) Some persons said that this distinction might be worthy of a lawyer, but they could not understand it—as if altering the form of dying was the same thing as diminishing the number of deaths—as if there was not the greatest distinction in the world between altering the death from which people die and diminishing the whole number of deaths in the year. (Cheers.) He did not think that vaccination had diminished mortality or that any epidemic of small-pox was ever arrested by it. (Hear.) Then he wanted to know why in this country, as small-pox went down, consumption and fever rose. (Hear.) It was for medical men to account for this. There was every reason why consumption should diminish, and yet it increased. Our food was more wholesome, the air of our dwellings was better, sanitary conditions had been improved, and there was every condition of better health in the community; and yet consumption went on increasing. This was a reproach upon our medical system, and he wanted the doctors to consent to look into the causes, and not to sneer at a suggestion because it did not come from a medical man. If the statistics quoted that night about the increase of consumption and erysipelas were true, and if the doctors would kindly look into the thing, they might alter their mind, as they did about the possibility of communicating syphilis. But it was not right that Acts of Parliament should continue upon the statute-book imposing cumulative penalties upon a theory which changed its form every year, and upon authorities who changed their language every year. (Cheers.) Discussion of this question would do good; it would elicit the truth; and they were obliged to gentlemen who came forward to enlighten the public upon the question. He did not agree with those who thought we had any reason to be much frightened about small-pox now. One argument used by the advocates of vaccination struck him with amazement. When he argued in the House of Commons that the penalties for non-

vaccination were unduly severe, the answer was, "What right have you to allow your unvaccinated child to be a peril to the community?" thus actually ignoring the protective theory. Why, 95 per cent. of the people were reported to be protected by vaccination. His reply was, "Don't you believe your own theory?" (Loud cheers.) What harm can a healthy, unvaccinated babe possibly do to children believed to be protected? (Hear.) He could not understand how any one who had the smallest faith in vaccination could have any fear about the five per cent. of unvaccinated children. (Cheers.) These were the facts. He felt a great difficulty in relying upon statistics. As regarded the cost, he thought that probably two millions a-year was paid to the medical profession on account of vaccination (shame); and, so far as their labour was concerned, they earned the money; but they earned it throughout the country under circumstances of enormous disadvantage. When a medical man called to vaccinate a child in Belgravia, he said to the anxious mother, "Wait." Why wait? "Wait till I get a good case." But the parish doctor vaccinated by the score with any lymph that might be available. (Hear, hear, and cries of "Shame.") Well, these considerations were overwhelmingly conclusive to his mind, and there was no answer to them. If vaccination were a safe and harmless and certain thing, no doctor would be more afraid of harm from vaccination than from baptising. (Hear and laughter.)

A vote was then taken as for and against vaccination, and the CHAIRMAN decided that a very large majority of those present were against vaccination.

On the motion of Dr. COLLINS, seconded by Dr. WYLD (who expressed his astonishment to find his friend, the Chairman, such a pronounced anti-vaccinator), a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Sir Thomas Chambers for the courtesy, impartiality, and ability with which he had presided.

The CHAIRMAN, in acknowledging the vote of thanks, said that if Dr. Wyld received one-tenth of the painful letters from agonised parents that he received, he would be excused for having put the doubtful points strongly. He had not, however, committed himself further than that cumulative penalties ought not to be maintained upon a medical theory. (Cheers.)

JUST PUBLISHED, PRICE ONE PENNY.

VACCINATION IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY.

BY

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DARLINGTON.

LONDON: F. PITMAN, 20 PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.