Tracts, on inoculation, written and published at St. Petersburg in the year 1768, by command of Her Imperial Majesty, the Empress of all the Russias : with additional observations on epidemic small-pox, on the nature of that disease, and on the different success of the various modes of inoculation / by the Hon. Baron T. Dimsdale, physician and actual counsellor of state to Her Imperial Majesty, the Empress of all the Russias, and F.R.S.

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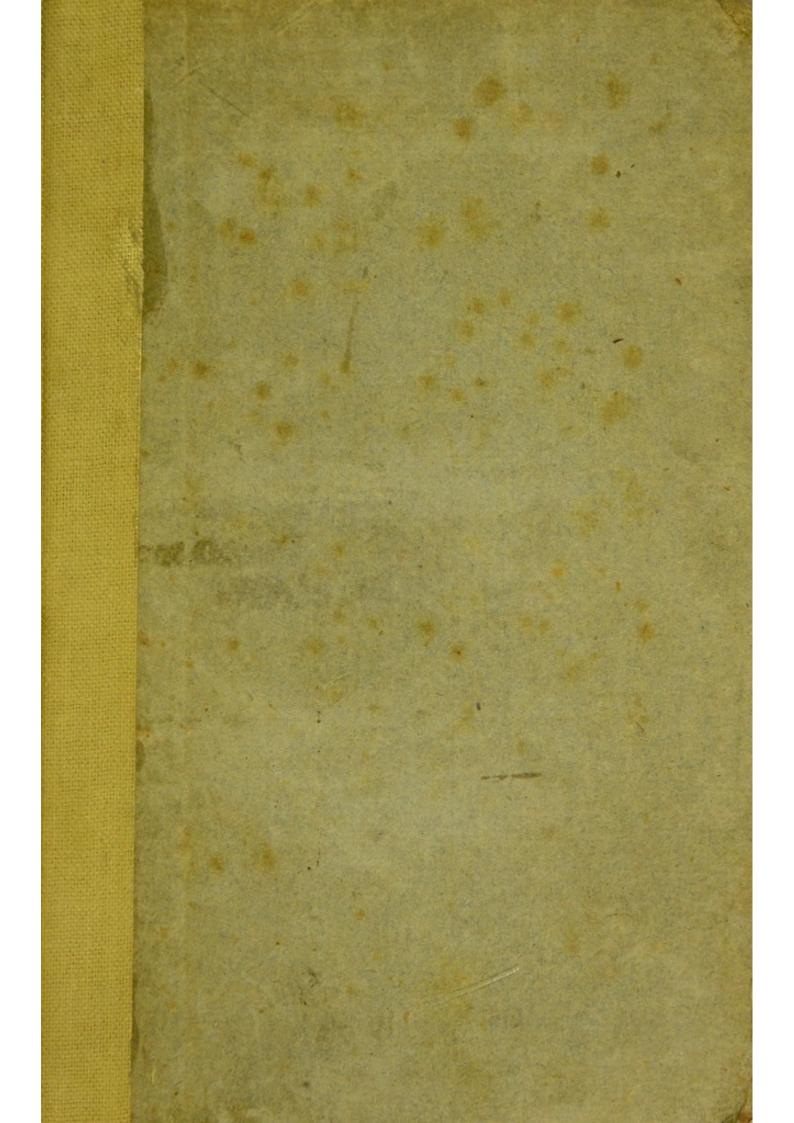
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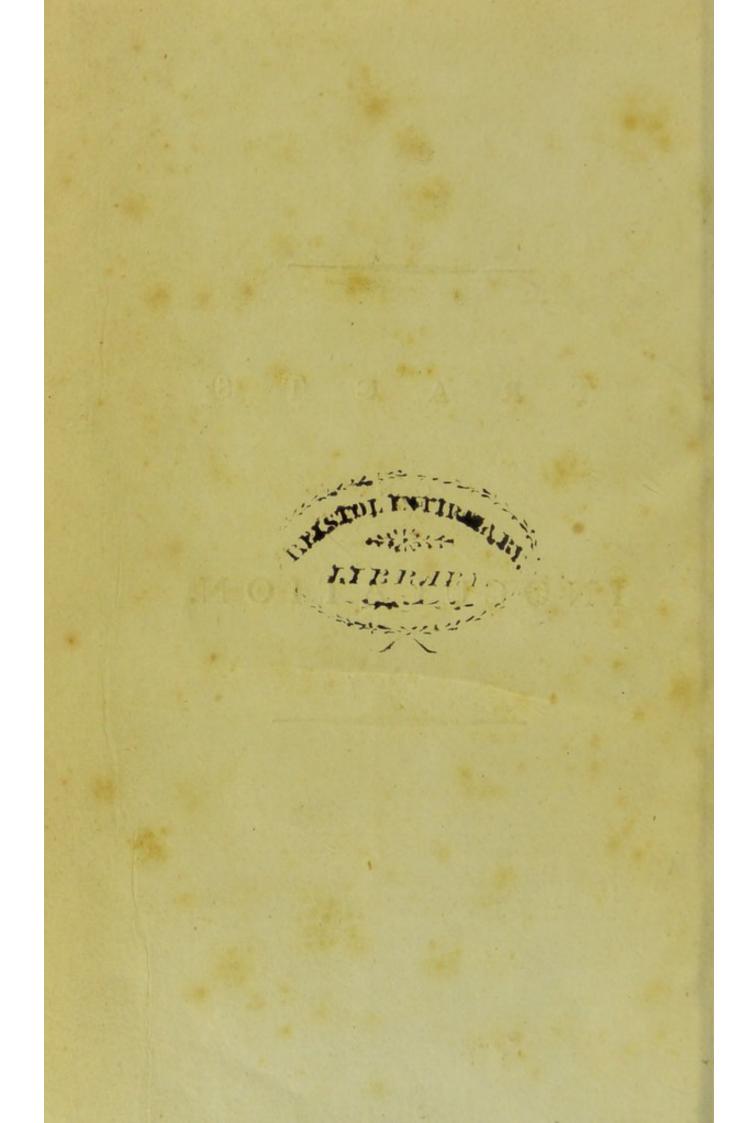




# TRACTS

ON

# INOCULATION.



# TRACTS, ON G.Lowe.

# INOCULATION,

Written and published at St. Petersburg in the Year 1768,

By Command of her IMPERIAL MAJESTY,

THE



# Empress of all the Russias:

## With ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS

On Epidemic Small-Pox, on the Nature of that Difeafe, and on the different Success of the various Modes of INOCULATION.

# By the Hon. Baron T. DIMSDALE,

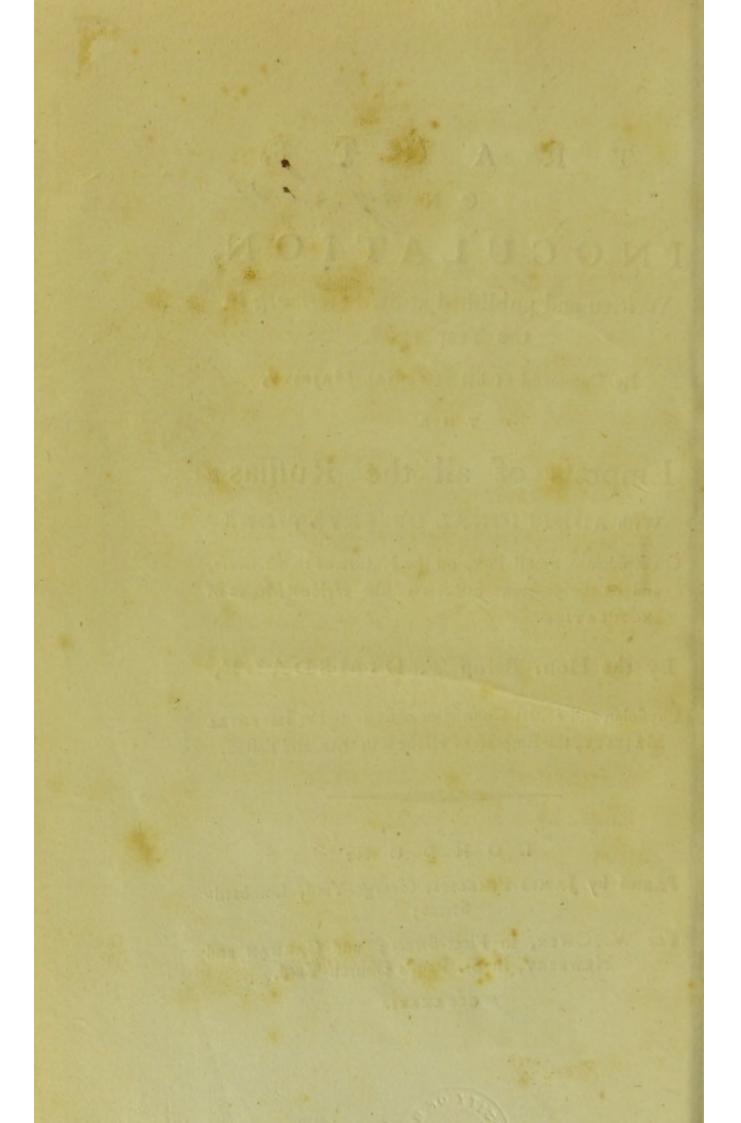
Phyfician and actual Counfellor of State to her IMPERIAL MAJESTY, the Empress of all the RUSSIAS, and F.R.S.

### LONDON:

Printed by JAMES PHILLIPS, George-Yard, Lombard-Street;

For W. Owen, in Fleet-Street; and CARNAN and NEWBERY, in St. Paul's Church-Yard.

M DCC LXXXI.



#### TOHER

#### IMPERIAL MAJESTY,

#### CATHARINE THE SECOND,

EMPRESS of all the RUSSIAS.

#### MADAM,

ENCOURAGED by the gracious permiffion of your Imperial Majefty, I have now the honour to lay at your Majefty's feet, this humble attempt towards the improvement of a fcience to which I am attached by education and profeffion, in a point extremely interefting to the lives of mankind.

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The diffinguished fortitude with which your Imperial Majefty expofed your perfon to the early experiment of a practice, before little known in Ruffia, was only one of the many striking instances of your Majesty's unwearied zeal for the prosperity of your subjects. Under the influence of examples fo illuftrious as those of your Majesty, and his Imperial Highness the Grand Duke, the introduction of inoculation has been facilitated within your Majefty's Dominions, and will, I truft, confiderably promote the strength and happiness of the Empire.

I shall

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#### DEDICATION.

I shall content myself with filent admiration on the important events of your Majesty's glorious reign, and on the happiness which the fubjects of the vast Empire of Russia enjoy, under your mild and equitable government. This is a task well worthy the pen of the most able historian. But it is incumbent on me to acknowledge, with a degree of gratitude, which words cannot fufficiently express, the condescension, the confidence, and the generofity which I have experienced from your Imperial Majefty. The remembrance of these honours is indelibly impreffed on my heart, which it will be equally my duty and my inclination to manifest on

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#### vi DEDICATION.

all occafions, by the most perfect obedience to your Imperial commands.

I am,

Your Majesty's most obedient,

and most dutiful fervant,

DIMSDALE.

PREFACE.

### [ vii ]

# PREFACE.

N compliance with a promife formerly made, I now offer to the public fome account of my journey to Russia, in the year 1768, together with five small tracts written by the command of the Emprefs, while I was at St. Petersburg, and by her Majesty's order published in the Russian language, from which, the English copy being loft, they are now translated.\* The accounts of the inoculation of the Empress and the Grand Duke, may

\* These Tracts are included in Chapters I and 2.

#### viii PREFACE.

may be thought perhaps to be given too much in detail, and to be incorrect in the language; but I muft inform the reader, that having received her Majesty's commands to give an account of the illnefs, I thought it became me to give it fimply from the notes which I had taken at the time, rather than to endeavour at embellishments. The other three tracts were composed from fome papers which I accidently carried with me, and from what I could recollect. In their prefent form they are a translation from a translation, which, it is hoped, may be fome plea for imperfection. The additions now made, which, to diffinguish them from the original publication,

### PREFACE.

lication, are printed in Italics, contain incidental observations, that have fince occurred on the fame fubjects. The reflexions on epidemic small-pox have also, in part, been published before; but it was thought not impertinent to the general defign of this work to infert them here. Some of the opinions advanced may appear fingular and difputable. I fhall only fay, that as enquiries tend to the difcovery of truth, I willingly fubmit them to investigation, without entertaining any fanguine hopes that they will produce conviction, much lefs do I mean to enter into any contest in support of them. But though I may have been miftaken in the theoretical

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theoretical and fpeculative part, I can truly affure the reader, that I have been for puloufly careful to relate nothing as fact, which I was not myfelf an eye-witnefs of, or had good authority for.

			EKKAIA.
Page	13	line 9	For acknowledgments, read acknowledgme.
	14	8	For Chereafoff, read Cherkafoff.
	21	13	For were, read where.
	87	penult	For which read as.
	97	3	For ability, read ability.
	125	15	For inoculation, read maturation.
	132	9	For deluted, read diluted.
	136	18	After this, add is.
	136		Dele part.
	176	12	After remarkable, read cafe.
	237	19	For never, read rarely.

#### CHAP.

[ I ]

#### CHAP I.

Some Account of a Journey to RUSSIA, and of the Introduction of INOCULATION into that Country.

T will eafily be fuppofed that Ruffia, in common with other countries, has experienced the mortality of the fmallpox in a very great degree. The City of St. Peterfburg in particular, + though the greateft

+ The following precautions were observed when I arrived in Russia, with a view to prevent this distemper from spreading. Where the small-pox appeared, the families were enjoined to give immediate notice to the president of the College of Medicine, who is always a nobleman of distinction : if it happened to a person of rank, no restriction was laid on their choice of a phyfician, but all the family, as well as the physician who B attended greatest precautions are taken, is fcarcely ever free from it, the infection being conftantly renewed by the intercourse which subfists with various parts of the world.

The fatality of the difeafe, in an inftance of a most affecting nature, feems more immediately to have given rife to the great event which makes the fubject of this treatife.

A young lady, daughter to a nobleman of diffinguished quality and fortune, extremely beautiful in her person, and not

attended them, were ftrictly ordered not to appear at court, until a proper time was elapfed fufficient to fecure them from the danger of conveying the infection.

If the difeafe broke out in the family of a poor perfon, all that belonged to the houfe were confined at home; a plate was placed on the door to inform paffengers that the fmall-pox was there; a provifion was made by the crown for their fupport; furgeons were alfo retained and paid by government to attend on them, and give every neceffary affiftance; and they were themfelves directed not to intermix with others, in a manner that might endanger the extending of the contagion.

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lefs amiable for the accomplishments of her mind, was contracted to a nobleman of the higheft rank and station in the Ruffian court. A few days before the time appointed for the nuptials, she was unfortunately feized with the small-pox, which proving of a malignant kind, soon terminated in a loss that was universally lamented.

It was neither poffible, nor was it material, to afcertain how the infection penetrated the receffes of the court; but it was obvious from this fatal incident that neither rank nor fortune afforded any fecurity against the ravages of this dreadful difease; and the whole court, fensible of the danger to which the Empress and the Grand Duke were exposed, were filled with extreme folicitude for those lives upon which the fastety and happiness of the empire fo effentially depended.

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The danger to which these illustrious characters were exposed, as well as the Empress's well known zeal for the welfare of all her subjects, gave birth to a propofal for introducing the practice of inoculation.

The first perfonages in the empire determined to fet the example, by fubmitting to the operation; and a refolution was accordingly taken by the Empress, to invite a physician from England, where inoculation had been most practised, and was generally allowed to have received fome modern, and very confiderable, improvements.

I received the first invitation to undertake the employment by a courier who arrived at my house in Hertford in the beginning of July, 1768; he brought me a letter from his excellency Mr. Pouschin, the Russian minister, wherein he represented that the Empress having a defire to engage an able physician to go to St. Petersburg, [ 5 ]

burg, in order to introduce inoculation, he wished to see me as soon as possible.

Though I had not, at that time, the most distant intention of engaging to go abroad, yet I thought it my duty to wait on his excellency, and to acknowledge the honour he had done me by his propofal. Accordingly I paid my refpects to him in London, when he acquainted me, that having advifed with fome eminent phyficians on the occafion, they had united their recommendations in my favour. His excellency condefcended to use every suggestion to engage me in the fervice of the Empress, affuring me that in respect to fituation, appointments, and the most perfect freedom of returning when I pleafed, every thing should be settled to my wishes. At this meeting only diftant hints were dropped of its being extremely probable, that, befides the benefit intended to the whole empire, fome perfons of the highest rank were likely to be the objects of the proposal.

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Thefe encouragements would certainly have been very acceptable to any young man, not already well fettled in his profeffion; but my fituation was different. I was happy in the poffeffion of a fortune equal to my wifnes, engaged in a confiderable and profitable employ, and the ftill more endearing attachment to a large family. All thefe were reafons fufficient for my declining the offer. I therefore excufed myfelf, at the fame time tendering my beft fervices to find a perfon, who by his abilities in this, and every branch of his profeffion, might be fully qualified for the undertaking.

I was endeavouring to execute this commiffion, when I received a fecond invitation from Mr. Poufchin, and he then informed me that another courier had arrived from the court of St. Peterfburg, that he was an officer of diftinction, employed only on extraordinary occasions, and had performed the journey with fuch uncommon mon expedition, as to have been only fixteen days on his journey to London; from whence it was evident, that the Emprefs and Grand Duke were immediately interefted in this application. I therefore embraced the propofal, and affured Mr. Poufchin that I would prepare for my journey with all poffible expedition.

His excellency, after genteely expressing the fatisfaction he felt in my concurrence, defired me to name my own terms, adding, that whatever they might be, his orders were to comply with them. But lucrative motives, which had little weight with me from the beginning, had still lefs when fuch an unlimited propofal was made; I replied, that I would not flipulate any reward for my fervices, but left it entirely to the gracious pleafure of her Imperial Majesty: upon this Mr. Pouschin was pleased to give me an order for £ 1000, affuring me, that it was only intended for the B 4

the expences of my journey by land, recommending that way as the most certain in point of time, for my arrival at St. Petersburg. To omit nothing that might be agreeable to me from my fetting out to my return, and fuppofing I should chuse to have fome of my family or friends to accompany me, he was fo obliging as to affure me, whoever I chofe to accompany me, fhould be received and accommodated to my perfect fatisfaction. It will be eafily imagined that fuch an additional favour was most grateful to me, and my choice naturally fell on one of my fons, who was studying physic in the University of Edinburgh, and was well instructed in my method of inoculation,

We fet out on the 28th of July, 1768, and travelled with great expedition, fo that we arrived before the houfe, intended for us at St. Peterfburg, was quite ready for our reception; a handfome apartment was therefore provided in the Grand Milione, a large large ftreet very near the palace, with every accommodation we could wish for at our command.

At this time the Empress was at the palace of Peterhoff, about twenty versts from Petersburg: but the Grand Duke was at the summer palace, which on account of its pleasant gardens and situation (being just at the extremity of the city) is generally the residence of the court during that feason of the year.

On the day after our arrival, I received notice that his excellency Count Panin defired to fee me in the afternoon of the next day. We waited on him accordingly, at his apartments, which on account of the high truft reposed in him, as governor to the Grand Duke, and also from his constant employment in state affairs, as minister, were always in the palace.

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The remarkable politenefs with which that nobleman received us, has made too deep an imprefiion on my mind to be effaced, and though it is not in my power to do juffice to the force of his expression, I will endeavour to give the purport of what he was pleased to fay to me at this first interview.

After the common civilities of enquiring after my health, &c. he faid :

"You are now called, Sir, to the moft important employment that perhaps any gentleman was ever intrufted with. To your fkill and integrity will probably be fubmitted, no lefs than the precious lives of two of the greateft perfonages in the world; with whofe fafety the tranquillity and happinefs of this great empire are fo intimately connected, that fhould an accident deprive us of either, the bleffings we now enjoy might be turned to the utmoft ftate of mifery and confufion " confusion. May God avert fuch un-" fpeakable calamities ! But the hazard of " the infection of the fmall-pox, in the " natural way, is fo threatening, that we " are in duty compelled to have recourfe " to the expedient of inoculation, which, " though fo little known in this country, " has been adopted and practifed in Eng-" land with the greatest degree of fuccess. "We have phyficians of great learning " and abilities in their profession, but not " being experienced in this new branch of " practice, her Imperial Majefty was " pleafed to lay her commands upon her " ministers, to enquire after and engage " a perfon of the best abilities in it, and " whofe fuccefs had been confirmed by " long practice ; you come to us well re-" commended in these effential points, I " shall therefore repose the utmost confi-" dence in you, and have only to requeft " that you will act without the leaft re-" ferve."

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"As to the refolution of the Emprefs in this particular, with regard to herfelf, I muft leave to her Majefty to explain her own fentiments; but with refpect to the Grand Duke, he is already determined on the operation, provided you encourage it; it has been fubmitted to his own confideration; he approves, and even wifhes it. I have therefore to requeft, that before an affair of fo great confequence is finally fettled, you would make yourfelf well acquainted with his confitution and ftate of health,"

"His Imperial Highnefs knows you are arrived, expects to fee you, and invites you to wait on him to-morrow. I can venture to affure you, that he will be eafy of accefs, and willing to be acquainted with you. Be with him as much as poffible; fee him at his table, and at his amufements; make your obfervations, and, in fhort, ftudy his conftitution. "Let " Let us not be too precipitate, but when "every circumftance has been duly at-"tended to, report your opinion freely, and depend on this, that if you fhould deem the operation hazardous, and advife againft it, we fhall think ourfelves equally obliged to you, nor will the acknowledgments on account of this expedition, be inferior to what it will be upon the utmoft fuccefs."

In anfwer to thefe judicious intimations for my conduct, previous to the undertaking, I affured his Excellency, that I would in every refpect carefully attend to them, and that he might depend on my making a just report.

On the day following we were introduced, and had the honour to dine with the Grand Duke, who received us with the utmost politeness and affability; after dinner, upon taking leave, his Imperial Highness condescended to give us a general

ral invitation to his court and table, as often as it was convenient to us. The Emprefs arrived that evening in the city, and the next day we received orders to attend her Majesty at ten o'clock, on the day following, at her fummer palace. When we were introduced, there were only his Excellency Count Panin and Baron Chereafoff prefent; the latter had the honour to prefide at the college of medicine; and having been educated at the Univerfity of Cambridge, understood the English language perfectly well. I with I could pay all the tribute I owe to the friendship of this nobleman, during our refidence in Ruffia, on every occafion.

Though I was prepared to expect very much from the excellent understanding and politeness of her Majesty, yet her extreme penetration, and the propriety of the questions she asked, relative to the practice and success of inoculation, greatly surprized prized me. On my retiring, I had the honour to be invited to dine with her the fame day, and it may not be unentertaining to relate the manner of ferving the Empress's table at St. Petersburg.

The Empress fat fingly at the upper end of a long table, at which about twelve of the nobility were guests. The entertainment confifted of a variety of excellent dishes, served up after the French manner, and was concluded by a defert of the finest fruits and fweetmeats, fuch as I little expected to find in that northern climate. Most of these luxuries were however the produce of the Empress's own dominions : pine apples indeed are chiefly imported from England, though those of the growth of Ruffia, of which we had one that day, are of good flavour, but generally fmall. Water melons and grapes are brought from Aftracan; great plenty of melons from Mofcow, and apples and pears from the Ukraine.

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But what enlivened the whole entertainment, was the most unaffected ease and affability of the Empress herself. Each of her guests had a share of her attention and politeness; the conversation was kept up with a freedom and chearfulness to be expected rather from persons of the same rank, than from subjects admitted to the honour of their sovereign's company.

On the following day I was again ordered to attend the Empress, when the was pleafed to inform me of her refolution to fubmit to be inoculated as foon as poffible; on which occafion, that I may not appear to have been too precipitate in a matter of fuch confequence, a more ample relation of this conference may be excutable. I took the liberty, during the conversation, to request the affiftance of the court physicians, to whom I defired to communicate every proposed regulation and medicine; but the Empress would by no means confent to any fuch confultation, and condescended to give her reasons as follows.

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"You are come well recommended to " me; the conversation I have had with " you on this fubject has been very fatis-" factory, and my confidence in you is in-" creafed; I have not the least doubt of " your abilities and knowledge in this " practice; it is impossible that my phy-" ficians can have much skill in this ope-" ration; they want experience; their in-" terpofition may tend to embarraís you, " without the least probability of giving " any useful affistance. My life is my " own, and I shall with the utmost chear-" fulnefs and confidence rely on your care " alone. With regard to my conftitution, " you could receive no information from " them. I have had, I thank God, fo good " a share of health, that their advice never " has been required; and you shall, from " myfelf, receive every information that " can be neceffary. I have alfo to ac-" quaint you, that it is my determination " to be inoculated before the Grand Duke, " and as foon as you judge it convenient; " at

" at the fame time I defire that this may "remain a fecret bufinefs, and I enjoin "you to let it be fuppofed that, for the "prefent, all thoughts of my own inocu-"lation are laid afide. The preparation "of this great experiment on the Grand "Duke will countenance your vifits to "the palace, and I defire to fee you as "often as it may feem neceffary, that you "may become ftill better acquainted with "what relates to my conflitution, and al-"fo for adjufting the time, and other cir-"cumftances, of my own inoculation."

I promifed obedience to her Majefty's commands, and had only to propofe that fome experiments might firft be made by inoculating fome of her own fex, and age, and as near as could be of fimilar habit. The Emprefs replied, "that if the practice " had been novel, or the leaft doubt of the " general fuccefs had remained, that pre-" caution might be neceffary; but as fhe " was well fatisfied in both particulars, " there

From this time therefore measures were taken for the defigned introduction of inoculation into the empire; for which purpofe fome preparations had indeed been made, previous to my arrival. A large and convenient houfe was already provided, that had been built by Baron Wolf, which for fome time before had remained uninhabited and unfurnished. This was proposed to be prepared as an hospital, and was purchased by the Empress for that purpose. Dr. Schulenius, a physician of Livonia, who had fuccefsfully inoculated many perfons in that province, in a method fimilar to that which was formerly practifed in England, was engaged to live there, and superintend the patients ; as also Dr. Strenge to act as his colleague in that employment. It was fome time before the neceffary regulations could be made; every circumstance however being at length fa-C 2 vourable.

vourable, it was determined to begin the inoculation on two young gentlemen of the cadet's corps, who were therefore removed to the houfe; and as my attendance at court could not be continued, if I vifited perfons under the difeafe, it was determined that my fon fhould undertake the firft inoculation, and conduct the whole of that bufinefs at Wolf Houfe, while I was to remain at court, in order to become perfectly acquainted with the conftitutions of the Emprefs and Grand Duke.

The two young cadets, whofe names were Bafoff and Swieten, about the age of fourteen years (who were fuppofed not to have had the fmall pox) were accordingly inoculated. I fay fuppofed, becaufe, however ftrange it may appear, at that time the nature and fymptoms of the difeafe were fo little known and attended to, there were few who could be certain whether they ever had had this difeafe or not. The general

ral method was to fearch for marks, and if none were found, it was concluded the party had not had the difeafe. In the cafe of the two cadets, the matter for their inoculation was taken from a child of a poor man, in the fuburbs of Petersburg, who, according to my fon's relation, was pretty full of a diftinct kind of fmall-pox, which was then near the crifis, and the child feemed free from danger, except what might happen from improper treatment, which was indeed very extraordinary, the room were the child was lodged being extremely confined, hot, and offenfive; he therefore endeavoured to perfuade the parents to admit fome air, by opening the window, and to let the room be kept more cool, affuring them, that otherwife the child's life would be endangered. These remonstrances were ineffectual, it being the prevailing opinion, that it was impoffible to keep the patient too hot, 'and accordingly the child, who otherwife would C 3 have

have been in no danger, died, as we were afterwards informed, in a few days.

Every body was anxious for the fuccefs of this first attempt on the two cadets, and accordingly, a journal of every material appearance was transmitted to me from my fon, twice a day, and translated for the Emprefs's perufal. It was with great concern I received an account that Bafoff, on the fecond day after inoculation, was feized with great fickness and vomitings, attended with other fymptoms of fever; and, upon a strict inquiry, it was discovered that he had improperly overcharged his ftomach with a quantity of dried fruits, which it was hoped might be the fole occafion of that diforder; but, whatever might be the caufe, he continued ill of a high fever, accompanied with fome alarming fymptoms, of which we in the city received a particular and frequent account. It happened in this cafe, as I have feen in others where the inoculation has been unluckily

luckily performed about the time that the conftitution was attacked by a fever, that the complaints occafioned by fuch an unexpected difeafe have interrupted the regular progrefs of infection, and the appearance on the arm has been rendered doubtful. This accident in the prefent instance embarraffed me greatly. My fon's accounts were clear, and I could depend on his judgment; but unfortunately the fever continued, attended with dejection, which might probably increase by the patient's apprehenfions; for although both these young gentlemen behaved with proper refolution when the matter was inferted, yet the practice being novel, I was told afterwards they confidered themfelves as victims devoted to a dangerous experiment.

On the 6th day the report was very unfavourable, infomuch that I had determined to go to Wolf Houfe, in order to affift in taking care of these patients; but C 4 I was I was first commanded to attend on the Empress.

She received me in fo engaging a manner, and animated me fo much by the encouragement she gave me, that I cannot forbear to relate what paffed on this occafion. She faid, " I do not like to fee you " fo unhappy; tell me what is the matter." I answered, "that the unfavourable ac-" counts received of the patients at Wolf " House, distressed me greatly." " I am " forry for it too," fhe replied, " but tell " me truly, are you certain that the ca-" det's fever is not occafioned by the ino-" culation." I faid, " Most affuredly not, " it began before the infection could dif-" turb the habit, and continues with fymp-" toms that never accompany inoculation " at this period." " Then difmifs your " fears," replied the Empress, " I make no " doubt, with the bleffing of God, he will " be carried fafe through his complaint, " and all will end well. Neverthelefs, I " muft

" for if any accident fhould happen, though " from a different cause, it will be im-" poffible to convince the vulgar that it " was not owing to inoculation, which " would increase their prejudices at the " beginning of this practice, and render " my project of introducing the practice " into my dominions, very difficult : how-" ever, be in good spirits, we can but do " what is right; events must be left to " providence. I am well fatisfied with " your conduct, and you may depend " on my protection and fupport; and " whatever may be the event with this " boy, it shall not alter my resolution, " provided you remain in the good opinion " of the propriety of my being inoculated. "You shall perform the operation on me, " and my example will tend to re-eftablish " the reputation of the practice. For the " present I approve of your intention to " go to Wolf House, but as there is still " time to receive another report, which perhaps " perhaps may be more favourable, I will have you wait till evening, and then to determine, as the fituation of the patient may make it prudent or not."

It happened very fortunately that the evening's report was more favourable, the fever having abated confiderably, on which account, my intended vifit was poftponed, and from that time there was not the leaft appearance of danger in either of the patients: the fymptoms of the eruptive fever were moderate, and were followed with only two or three puftules in Bafoff; and Swieten's arm, which had never feemed likely to produce any eruption, remained well, with fuch an appearance as indicated his having had the fmall-pox before.

While my fon was engaged in attending the patients in the manner related, I employed my utmost attention to make myfelf acquainted with the constitutions of my illustrious patients; and for that purpose

pofe paid my duty to the Empress once or twice every day, generally dining, as I had been defired, and paffing great part of the day with the Grand Duke; by which means I had opportunities of receiving every neceffary information relative to the states of their health. At length the time for the inoculation of both was finally determined on. That of the Grand Duke was publickly talked of, but, as nothing was faid refpecting the Empress's inoculation, every one believed that the had laid afide all thoughts of it. Matters were in this fituation when I quitted St. Petersburg, to affist Dr. Schulenius, Dr. Strenge, and my fon, in forwarding inoculation at Wolf House. When I arrived there, I found the two young gentlemen perfectly well. Four more young gentlemen of the cadet corps were next felected as proper fubjects for inoculation, and the natural small-pox, in a fuitable state for the purpose, was discovered in the suburbs of the city. We therefore went to the infected

ed houfe with the four young gentlemen, and a young maid fervant of our family, who was doubtful whether fhe had had the difeafe or not. We were conducted thither by a German furgeon, one of thofe appointed by the court, with an annual falary, to attend on families of inferior rank, under this difeafe. The reception we met with on this occasion may be interesting to the reader, as it shews, in a strong light, the improper manner of treating the difease, and the prejudices of the populace.

The child from whom we were to take matter for inoculation, was rather full of finall-pox; the kind was favourable and diftinct, and near the time of maturation, but he was gafping for breath, from the very great heat of the room. We remarked a kind of horror in every countenance on our entering the house; but when I approached the bed to take the matter for inoculation, a woman, whom I was soon in-"formed formed was the mother of the child, threw herfelf on her knees at my feet, with her forehead to the ground, and her arms over her head (the eaftern manner of proftration, which is still retained in Russia) in this posture she made a plaintive cry, in a language I did not understand. I was greatly furprized at this behaviour, and intreated my German companion to inform me what gave occasion to such appearance of distress. "You must know, faid he, that an opinion " prevails in this country, that although the " operation may be falutary to the inocu-" lated, yet it produces certain death to " the perfon from whom the matter is " taken. This poor woman, who is the " child's mother, cries to you for mercy, " and whatever may be the confequence, " infifts that you shall not inoculate from " her child." Shocked at the thought of being confidered as a murderer, I intreated the furgeon to inform the woman, that I would not on any account undertake fo wicked an employment, as to deprive an innocent

innocent child of its life; that what I proposed to do could not be in the least hurtful or dangerous to it; but if she could not be prevailed on to believe what I faid, I would inftantly retire, and relieve her from all apprehenfions. Upon this my interpreter converfed with the family, and I observed a well looking man talked for some time with the mother, after which he turned, and addreffed himfelf to the furgeon, who then affured me the woman confented. and I accordingly inoculated the five patients, still observing that the woman feemed to remain in great diffrefs. The intense heat of the room feemed to endanger the life of the child, which I was the more concerned for, after hearing the prejudice above related. I therefore ufed my utmost perfuasions that a window might be opened, as it would infallibly relieve and refresh the child. But all intreaties and arguments were in vain (fuch was the prepoffeffion in favour of heat) until they were enforced by the prefent of a ruble (about four fhillings

shillings and fixpence of our money) a window was then immediately opened before we quitted the house, and I was promifed that it should remain fo for some time. On our return, I questioned the furgeon concerning the fuccefs of his reprefentation to the mother, which, as her confent was obtained, I hoped had given fatisfaction. But he informed me that she still remained of the fame opinion. "You " could not understand, faid he, the force " of what her hufband, who is a very rea-" fonable man, faid to her; he first en-" quired of me, whether we came by the " express command of the empress, and " being answered in the affirmative, he " turned to his wife."

"My dear, faid he, I would no more than yourfelf confent to lofe our child, for the advantage of any perfon breathing; but you hear that this gentleman comes by her Majefty's orders; and if her Majefty had commanded the hand or "feet

" feet of our child to be cut off, which " would be worfe than death, we must " have fubmitted; let us therefore fnew " our obedience, and not oppose the or-" ders of her Majesty." Upon this reprefentation the woman fubmitted. On reflecting after our return on the diftreffed fituation of this family, the ftrength it would add to the general prejudice, should this child not recover, and the extreme danger to which it was exposed, by mifmanagement, I defired my fon to fee the child in the afternoon, in order, if poffible, to contribute to its fafety. He informed me, that after opening the window, the child had fallen into a found fleep, and continued better; but that he found the apartment fhut up as close as before, though it was not altogether fo hot. The child recovered, though his life was greatly endangered by a feries of ill treatment afterwards; for while he remained in a very weak state, the parents carried him to the Bagnio, in opposition to the advice of the furgeon, a praca practice which is cuftomary with the lower clafs of people, in every illnefs in this country, by which his weaknefs and danger were greatly increafed. However, a decoction of the Cort. Peruv. which I advifed to be given, and more prudent meafures, in refpect to air, carried him fafe through the diftemper.

As we were extremely anxious for the event of this inoculation, our observations were carefully and frequently made on the progrefs of it in the five patients; but notwithstanding every one of them appeared to be infected by the operation, yet the appearance on the arms was different from what I had ever experienced; for on the punctured part, almost immediately, arose a pimple, which foon became one large puftule, filled with yellow matter, very much refembling the fmall-pox completely maturated. This continued to the feventh and eighth day, when the eruptive fymptoms might in the common course be ex-D pected

pected to appear. Not one of them however had any illnefs, nor did I then expect they would; and in fhort, the experiment turned out wholly ineffectual. The wounds on the arms dried up, and the patients continued in perfect health. It is not eafy to defcribe what I felt on this mortifying event. It will be much more readily conceived by every fenfible reader. Happily, however, I had the honour and good fortune to be employed in the fervice of a princefs, whofe fuperior understanding and fortitude had prepared her for every event. Her Majesty had just reason to be discouraged at the ill fuccefs of this fecond experiment. I faw and felt the difappointment in its full force, and my utmost endeavours were excited to inveftigate the caufe; it was the more remarkable, as we never met with one instance of a fimilar event, in all the inoculations that took place afterwards.

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We continued to refide at Wolf Houfe, which was guarded by a detachment of guards, at my requeft, as the beft meafure both to favour the fecrefy which her Majefty had enjoined, refpecting her own inoculation, and to prevent the poffibility of fpreading the infection, by an improper intercourfe with the city.

In this retirement I fat down to reconfider and examine every particular of thefe cafes, having kept a copy of the journal which I had daily transmitted to Baron Cherkafoff, prefident of the college of medicine, with my opinion of the feveral appearances, and which had been by him laid before the Empress. From an accurate review of the different circumstances, I drew up a memorial for the inspection of the Empress, which in substance was as follows. I freely acknowledged that the whole process of this experiment on the five persons had been carried on according to my directions, without the least varia-

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tion; that the autumn had been temperate and favourable; that nothing appeared in their conftitutions against making the trial; nor did any thing in their manner of life account for an effect fo contrary to my expectation, and the whole course of my experience in England. I could infer nothing fatisfactory from their conftant use of Bagnios, or the encreafed flow of perfpiration arifing from it, fo that, on the whole, I was ftrongly difposed to believe that thefe patients had really paffed through the natural fmall-pox in fome early period of their lives. For ftrange as it might feem that this should have been the cafe, without themfelves knowing or being informed of it; yet if it was confidered, that no public registries, or private memorandums of the difeafe were kept; and that the only method of enquiry whether any perfon had ever had it or not, was to fearch for the marks of it remaining in the skin (a proceeding liable to great uncertainty) it was reasonable to conclude, that those patients might

might probably have had the difeafe without remembering it, and that the experiment was thereby rendered ineffectual. I was more clearly perfuaded of this being the truth, becaufe in the method of inoculation, which I now practifed, I was convinced by numberlefs facts, and long experience, that no one inftance ever occurred of its failing to produce the difeafe on perfons who had not had it before.

But for ftill greater fatisfaction on this point, I proposed that the fame perfons should be inoculated a fecond time, in the old and original manner, still practifed by Dr. Schulenius, by a long incision, in which lint moistened with matter was inferted, and the wound covered with a plaister. I recommended likewise, that the patients should frequent the rooms of those who were under the natural small-pox, even of the worst fort; that they should touch the fick, and use every means that might expose them to receive the discase. If from D 3 this this fecond trial no diforder enfued, but they ftill remained perfectly well, it would confirm others in my opinion, that they had had the difeafe already in the natural way, and could be in no danger of it hereafter.

This reprefentation being laid before the Emprefs, the propofal was approved and carried into execution; the refult was, that not the leaft fymptom of infection was produced; but the Emprefs, being already fixed in her refolution, thought it unneceffary to wait the iffue of this fecond experiment, and determined to undergo the operation without any further delay; having accordingly received orders to prepare for it, I felected and inoculated three children of good conflitutions, to be ready, as near as could be computed, at the time agreed on.

The time and place of this important transaction, is mentioned in the account of her Majesty's inoculation; but it may not be uninteresting to recite more in in detail, the particulars of a process, in which all Russian was concerned.

By the correspondence with Baron Cherkafoff, every circumstance was settled agreeable to the Empress's pleasure, and accordingly, about nine in the evening, on October the 12th, an express arrived at Wolf House, with orders that I and my fon should immediately attend, and bring with us some person from whom the infection might be taken. No other person in the family had the least expectation of this order; and we, in common with the rest, appeared ignorant of its object, but proceeded immediately to St. Petersburg.

The child I had fixed upon as the moft proper fubject, and on whom the fmallpox juft began to appear, was then afleep; we wrapped him up in a pellice, and conveyed him to the coach, into which we entered, and were immediately conveyed to a gate of the palace, next the Milione, D 4 that

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that being the place which I had been directed to for this purpose when I left the city. We were conducted up a pair of back stairs, and were met by Baron Cherkafoff, who accompanied us to the Empress. The inoculation was foon performed, after which my fon returned back to Wolf House, with the child, and intimated to the family there (who were anxious to know what had been done,) that I had inoculated the child of a nobleman. I lodged that night at our house in the Milione, and the next morning went to Czarfco Selo, a palace about twenty miles from Peterfburg, to which the Empress now removed. At first no other perfons were at that palace but the neceffary attendants, it being given out that her Majefty's journey was only to give directions about fome alterations, and that her ftay would be fhort. But feveral of the nobility foon followed, and the Empress obferving among them fome whom fhe fuppofed not to have had the fmall-pox, faid

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to me, " I must rely on you to give me " notice when it is poffible for me to " communicate the difease; for though I " could wish to keep my inoculation a fe-" cret, yet far be it from me to conceal it " a moment, when it may become hazard-"ous to others." Accordingly, on the fifth day, (that I might be certain of being in time) her Majesty was pleased to let it be known that she was under inoculation. Indeed, it was fcarce poffible that the nobility should be without suspicions of it, on feeing me there, and fo frequently with the Empress, as they knew I had been fo lately at Wolf Houfe with the infected patients. However, no perfon asked me a question, or seemed in the least inquisitive on that point. The Empress, during this interval, took part in every amusement with her usual affability, without shewing the least token of uneafiness or concern: constantly dined at the fame table with the nobility, and enlivened the whole court with those peculiar graces of conversation.

verfation, for which she is not less diftinguished, than for her rank and high station.

The particulars of her Majesty's illness will be found in another place.

The inoculation of the Grand Duke had been postponed for a short time, on account of his Imperial Highness being feized with the chicken-pox, which terminating happily, and the necessary care being taken after it, the subject was refumed.

By my conftant attendance at court, and particularly in the apartment of his Imperial Highnefs, I had the fatisfaction to find that he was in a good ftate of health; yet, in order to receive every neceffary information, as well as affiftance, during the courfe of the difeafe, I made application to the Emprefs, for permiffion to confult with his phyficians on this fubject, and that I might have an order for their attendance ance and aid during the whole procefs. Her Imperial Majefty granted my requeft, in confequence of which, Dr. Crufe, who had conftantly attended his Imperial Highnefs in all his indifpofitions, and Monf. Faufadier, his furgeon, who had always been near his perfon, from the time of his birth, were directed to give me all poffible affiftance. I was happy in this appointment, having already made fome acquaintance with both thefe gentlemen, by meeting them frequently in the Grand Duke's apartment.

His Excellency Count Panin, who was prefent at the first meeting, informed us that the inoculation of the Grand Duke was determined on, and that we were defired to confer together, and agree on every measure to be taken, as well during the preparation, as the progress of the difease; but I was extremely disappointed by Dr. Cruse's and Monf. Fausadier's declining to be concerned in this business; they alledged, alledged, that on the attack of any natural difeafe, they held themfelves obliged to give their best affistance, and should on fuch an occasion most willingly confult with me; but that they confidered the inoculated small-pox in a different light, and as it was a process they could not be fupposed to be acquainted with, they must decline giving their opinions on that bufinefs. On Dr. Crufe's being afked whether he had any thing to object to the operation, he replied, with great candor, " that he "approved of it, and of the method I " ufed, as he found it defcribed in my " treatife on the fubject; but that all the " use he could be of, would be to give " a circumstantial account of what he had " obferved, with respect to the constitu-" tion of the Grand Duke, during his " attendance upon him." In confequence of this, I requested that Dr. Vigor, phyfician to the maids of honour, might be defired to give his affiftance, who being an English-

Englishman, I flattered myself would not object. A conference was held at the house of Monf. Fausadier, when Dr. Cruse, agreeable to his promife, gave a very clear and diffinct account of the feveral indifpolitions of the Grand Duke, and his prefent state of health; but Dr. Vigor excufed himfelf from taking any part, faying, that it was a matter of too great importance for him to engage in. Monf. Faufadier gave me a detail in writing, of his fentiments on the fubject, and of the management the Grand Duke had been under from his birth, with regard to his health : a management, though well intended, fo injudicious and extraordinary, that Monf. Faufadier affured me, it could only be accounted for by the fondness and partiality of the late Empress Elizabeth, who, though a princefs of diffinguished wifdom on other occafions, had imbibed the prejudices of fome old ladies, to whofe care the infancy and health of the Grand Duke were entrusted : notwithstanding all thefe

these difagreeable circumstances, I had the happiness to find his Imperial Highness perfectly well formed, active, and free from any natural infirmity.

Being thus totally difappointed in my expectations of any affiftance from the faculty, I thought it expedient to give my opinion in writing; and accordingly I prepared the following memorial, on the day after the confultation, and had the honour of prefenting it to the Empress, who was pleased to express her approbation of the method therein proposed, and to direct that I should proceed in the inoculation as foon as it was convenient.

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## THE

## MEMORIAL.

I HAVE, with the utmoft care and attention, taken into confideration the accounts I have been favoured with by his Excellency Dr. Crufe, and Monf. Faufadier. Thefe contain a very perfect and circumftantial detail of what relates to the health of his Imperial Highnefs, from his infancy to this time; and I make my acknowledgements to both thofe gentlemen for fo fatisfactory an information.

The general reflection that I make, is, that his Imperial Highness has suffered much by improper treatment while a child, and that, probably, the greatest part of his complaints complaints in the infant state may be attributed to this cause. The effects, however, are visible in his constitution, which is enseebled by repeated illness, and, upon the whole, his Imperial Highness is of a tender and delicate habit.

The complaints in the glands of the throat and cheek have not efcaped my notice; but as they are now perfectly removed, and have been fo for fome years, I think them of no confequence, nor do I think the habit, that may be fuppofed to have occafioned thefe fwellings, any objection.

About three years fince, it appears, that his Imperial Highnefs voided a round worm by the mouth, and took fome proper medicines afterwards; but fince that time, there have neither been more worms paffed, nor have any fymptoms appeared that give reafon to fufpect that there are any. This circumftance therefore I think, at prefent, immaterial.

## I remark

I remark alfo that his Imperial Highnefs had, in September 1763, a fever at Mofcow, which was occafioned by taking cold, and attended with great danger; and alfo, that laft July he had a feverifh indifpofition, which was cured by the Cortex Peruvianus; but thefe fits of illnefs do not appear to have injured the conftitution.

I alfo obferve that his Imperial Highnefs has fometimes complaints in his ftomach and bowels, but they feem to arife from temporary indigeftion only, and have been always eafily removed by taking Rhubarb, an infufion of the Cortex Peruvianus, and Sal Abfinth.

The prefent state of health of his Imperial Highness remains to be confidered, and the honour I have been indulged with, of being frequently in his prefence, has afforded me opportunities of observing his Imperial Highness at different times, and E I have I have carefully endeavoured to profit thereby.

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I have remarked that his Imperial Highnefs is active and lively, though very thin, and appears to poffefs a confiderable degree of ftrength; for I have been furprized to fee that after a great deal of exercife, and long continued, he has not fhewed any marks of fatigue.

In refpect to food, I have obferved that, for the moft part, what he eats is plain and light, and that his Imperial Highnefs feems to have a keen appetite, and good digeftion; for I have taken notice, that he does not appear heavy or dull after eating, but, on the contrary, returns to his amufements chearfully, which is a certain proof that the ftomach is not improperly oppreffed by the preceding meal.

I have also carefully attended to the pulse of his Imperial Highness, and have had had the pleafure to find, that it is regular, of a proper degree of ftrength, and quicknefs, and, in one word, fuch as denotes good health.

Upon the whole, taking every circumftance into confideration, his Imperial Highnefs feems to be of a delicate and tender conftitution, but at prefent in good health, and fubject to no complaint, but what transfiently arifes from indigestion, and this admits of an eafy remedy.

It will be expected, that after having attended to every particular, I fhould give my opinion, whether upon the whole, his Imperial Highnefs is at prefent in a proper ftate of health to be inoculated for the fmall-pox, or not; and this I fhall very willingly do, in a clear manner, and in few words.

If I were in England, and the fame queftion were afked for a perfon of rank, cir-E 2 cumcumftanced exactly as his Imperial Highnefs, I fhould make no fcruple to declare that I did think him in a proper ftate to be inoculated.

It has been faid that climates differ, that hitherto we are not competent judges of the alteration this may make, and that therefore it would be proper, as the first experiment, to inoculate fome perfons of inferior rank, particularly fuch as are nearly of the fame age and conftitution with his Imperial Highnefs. This propofal feems both reafonable and proper, and I am ready, and even defirous, to make the previous trial, in any number of fuch young perfons that can be procured, the more the better; and also in others of different ages, that experience, the furest guide, may determine whether this climate is as propitious to the practice of inoculation, as England.

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The following are the regulations that I fhould advife before the inoculation, but they are fubmitted to the confideration of the phyficians and furgeons of the court, and may admit of any alteration that may be agreed on in confultation.

I should think it improper to reduce his Imperial Highness to a lower state of health than he is in at present, either by regimen or medicines.

I would recommend that he might continue to eat and drink in the fame manner that he has been accuftomed to, and neither to alter quality nor quantity, till within three days of the inoculation; only obferving to allow more food, if he has an appetite to eat it, at dinner, and to abate of the fupper, which ought to be light; by which I would be underftood to mean, that animal food fhould be eaten but once a day, and that even the quantity of vegetables fhould be fmall in the evening; I  $E_3$  would is fine, his Imperial Highness should walk abroad in the air, having fome additional clothing to prevent taking cold. Three nights before the inoculation, I would propose that he should take three grains of the compound powder below,\* made into a pill, with a little of any kind of conferve. Though the dofe is very fmall, it will probably procure two or three laxative ftools the next day. If this should agree very well, the fame may be repeated on the night next after the inoculation, either with the addition of a little Rhubarb, or not, as may be thought most proper. For fome days between the inoculation and the beginning of the eruptive complaints, which will be about a week, I recommend that his Imperial Highness take of a light decoction of the Cort. Peruv. in the manner that shall be agreed on in confultation; and once more, in that period, I would perhaps again give one of the fame pills, and a laxa-

This refers to the powder I always use at the time of inoculation.

a laxative to procure three or four ftools the following morning; but this will depend on circumftances that cannot be known at prefent; for if coftive, fome proper laxative muft be taken; if the contrary habit prevails, it will not be neceffary.

During this week his food fhould be puddings, pies, potatoes, or any kind of vegetable or milk diet, and boiled chicken or mutton every other day, but in a fmall quantity. The drink to be water, with only one fmall glafs of wine at dinner. The breakfaft to be tea as ufual, and to eat bread either toafted or not, as is moft agreeable, but without any butter, which is forbid during the whole time of preparation.

When the eruptive complaints begin, I advife that his Imperial Highnefs may be kept as cool as is confiftent with fecurity from taking cold; and this I propose to be effected, by keeping one large room, E 4 adjusted adjusted to a proper temperament by a thermometer, in which he may occasionally walk. But if the weather should be fo mild, that he would, if well, walk abroad in the open air, it would be very adviseable that he should do so, though feveriss for it will certainly alleviate the pain in the head, which is a constant attendant of the eruptive fever, and there will be no injury received by it. At this time also, I constantly enjoin my patients not to lie down on the bed, unless much fatigued, which is feldom the case, and I absolutely forbid going into bed.

For the reft of the difeafe it is impoffible to give directions. In general, all complaints ceafe when the eruption flews itfelf; but where the number of puftules is confiderable, the treatment is always the fame as is ufed by experienced practitioners.

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The inoculation should be performed by a very flight puncture of a lancet, wet with recent and fluid variolous matter, and no plaister, bandage, or application, used afterwards.

## T. DIMSDALE.

The

Sept. 24th, 1768.

The Grand Duke continued in high fpirits, and eager for the experiment. The fortunate event will be related in the fequel. But I muft not omit mentioning, that both the Emprefs and the Grand Duke were pleafed to permit feveral perfons to be inoculated from them; and by this condefcenfion, the prejudice which had reigned among the inferior ranks of people, that the party would fuffer from whom the infection was taken, was moft effectually deftroyed.

Immediately after the recovery of the Grand Duke, a nobleman of the firft diftinction acquainted me with the honourable and generous manner in which her Majefty propofed to reward my fervices; and particularly that I fhould be created a Baron of the Ruffian Empire, and appointed actual counfellor of ftate, and phyfician to her Imperial Majefty, with an annuity of five hundred pounds a year, to be paid me in England; befides ten thoufand fand pounds fterling, which I immediately received; and alfo that I fhould be prefented with a miniature picture of the Emprefs, and another of the Grand Duke, as a memorial of my fervices to the Imperial Crown of Ruffia. Her Majefty was alfo gracioufly pleafed to exprefs her approbation of my fon's conduct, by conferring the honour of the fame title on him, and ordering him to be prefented with a fuperb gold fnuff box, richly fet with diamonds.

The examples of these illustrious perfonages had such immediate influence, that most of the nobility were impatient to have their families inoculated; this business being happily accomplished, I defigned to return to England, but was detained by a further engagement. The Empress was pleased to inform me, that feveral of the nobility, residing at Mosco, were about to set out from thence for Petersburg, with their families, to place them under my care; at the same time expresfing fing her concern for the children, who would be obliged to travel at that fevere feafon of the year; ftill however repeating her wifhes, that the defires of the nobility might be complied with before my departure. It would have been inexcufable in me to hefitate a moment on fuch an intimation; I therefore offered to fet out immediately for Mofco with my fon, and to render all the fervices we could, to as many as were willing to accept of them.

The generofity of the Empress had been fuch, that she might expect to lay her commands on me for any fervice in my power to perform, but her politeness on this occasion was extremely remarkable, and never to be forgotten; for after acknowledging my care and fuccess in the fervices for which I was more immediately engaged, she condescended to add, that she could not press me to undertake fo long a journey, which perhaps might be prejudicial to my health. My offer was accepted,

accepted, and I thought, with great pleafure, of the entertainment I should have in feeing that great and ancient city. But a further fervice was proposed. Among the frequent conversations that I had the honour to have with the Empress, she had enquired minutely into the manner in which I had conducted the practice of inoculation in England, with a view to extend it through her own dominions; and her thoughts were now employed on establishing a house, for the reception of fuch patients, in fome convenient fituation near Mosco; and it was under confideration, (provided fuch an eftablishment should take place) whether my fon fhould not remain in Ruffia, and fuperintend the bufinefs. In confequence of this intention, I was commissioned to communicate the defign to a nobleman of diffinction at Mosco, and with him to infpect fuch houfes as might be procured for the purpose; or, if none could be found ready and convenient, to fix on a proper spot for crecting a new building.

building. Nothing now remained but to prepare for the journey, but on enquiry I was informed, that at Mosco, as well as at Petersburg, every possible precaution was used to prevent the fpreading of the fmall-pox, and it was very probable that much time might be loft before the difeafe could be difcovered there, in a proper state for inoculation. I therefore thought it adviseable to make use of an expedient that was thought pretty extraordinary; it was to inoculate one or two children at Petersburg, to take with us, to answer the purpose of infection, when we should arrive at Mofco. It was with fome difficulty that two children were procured; for though the idea of arbitrary power conveys with it a prefumption that nothing more would be wanting, than an Imperial order for us to fix on the perfons we thought most eligible, yet fuch mildnefs and benevolence prevails under the government of the Empress, that no fuch compulsion is ever practifed. After a few days

days two children were obtained, the one a boy about fix years old, the fon of a failor's widow; the other a girl about ten, the daughter of a deceased fubaltern German officer, whofe mother had foon married again, and was gone with her new husband, leaving the child to the care of the grand-mother, who being miferably poor, and unable to fupport her, had placed the girl in the hands of a gentleman, as a pledge for eight rubles; this fum was repaid him, and the children were inoculated at Petersburg, two days before the time fixed for our fetting out; and as it was expected that the journey would be performed in four days, we hoped to arrive at Mosco on the fixth after the inoculation. Our accommodation for this journey, of about five hundred English miles, in confequence of her Majesty's particular orders, were exceedingly good. We had one of the Empress's coaches, that was constructed for travelling night and day, the back being made to let down occafionally, for repose.

repose. Captain Walschoff, who has been my interpreter and companion, was appointed to accompany me in another carriage; and there were alfo a fufficient number of fmaller carriages, to accommodate our fervants, and for the conveyance of our baggage and provisions; but though the time of our departure had been fixed on, we were retarded by unavoidable difappointments till the fourth day after the children were inoculated; and as it was difcovered fince the inoculation, that the boy had a fcald-head, we left him behind us, and fet out on our journey with the girl only. In order to be certain of having a fufficient fupply of matter, I inoculated her in four places, two on each arm. We found the road from Petersburg to Mofco very bad, it being just the critical time between travelling on wheels or fledges; after the frost is fufficiently fet in to make the ice on the rivers fafe to pass over, a confiderable time is neceffary before the roads over the fnow are fufficient-

ly

ly beaten and level for travelling. Our carriages were therefore on wheels when we fet out, and we were obliged to travel with a great number of horses, and slowly. This was at the time when the war broke out between the Ruffians and Turks, and our journey was retarded, on account of our going just after the troops, who took this rout on their march to the confines of the empire, to the general rendezvous at Kiof, in the Ukraine ; their baggage, &c. having employed the post-horses fo much, that in many places we found it difficult to procure fuch as were able to proceed with us. Under these circumstances, though there was every where a difposition in the inhabitants to affift us as much as poffible, we were neverthelefs fo much delayed, that we did not arrive at Mofco till early on the morning of the feventh day, from the time of fetting out, and eleventh from the inoculation. The fame journey is frequently performed in three days. I was exceedingly concerned at the F delay,

delay, on account of our little patient, who began to complain on the eighth (as is ufual) and feemed to fuffer confiderably from the fever preceding the eruption; yet we were under the neceffity of travelling on night and day, inceffantly, without any ftoppages, except what were neceffary for the exchange of horfes at the feveral ftages. The eruption of the fmall-pox appeared therefore while we were on the road, and proved benign and moderate in refpect to number.

At Mofco we were accommodated with a very good houfe, fituated near the center of the city. Many of the nobility inftantly applied to have their families inoculated, and as the patient that we brought with us was at that time in a very proper ftate to take matter from, we began to inoculate on the day after our arrival, fo that in a few days we had inoculated more than fifty patients from that girl only. After the firft were recovered, feveral others,

others, encouraged by their fuccefs, were defirous of being inoculated alfo. This bufiness engaged me for near two months, when all my patients being happily recovered, I propofed fetting out on my return to Petersburg, but was feized with a very dangerous fever, of the pleuretic kind, which reduced me greatly. I should not have mentioned this circumstance, but as it gives me an opportunity of paying my grateful acknowledgments to Baron Ashe, and Dr. Dahl, who were fo obliging as to attend me, and for whofe skill and affiduity my best thanks are due. As foon as I was fomewhat recovered, and had gained fufficient strength, we fet out on our return to St. Petersburg, and as the roads were now much better beaten, we travelled on fledges all the way, with greater expedition than we went, fo that we reached the end of our journey on the fourth day.

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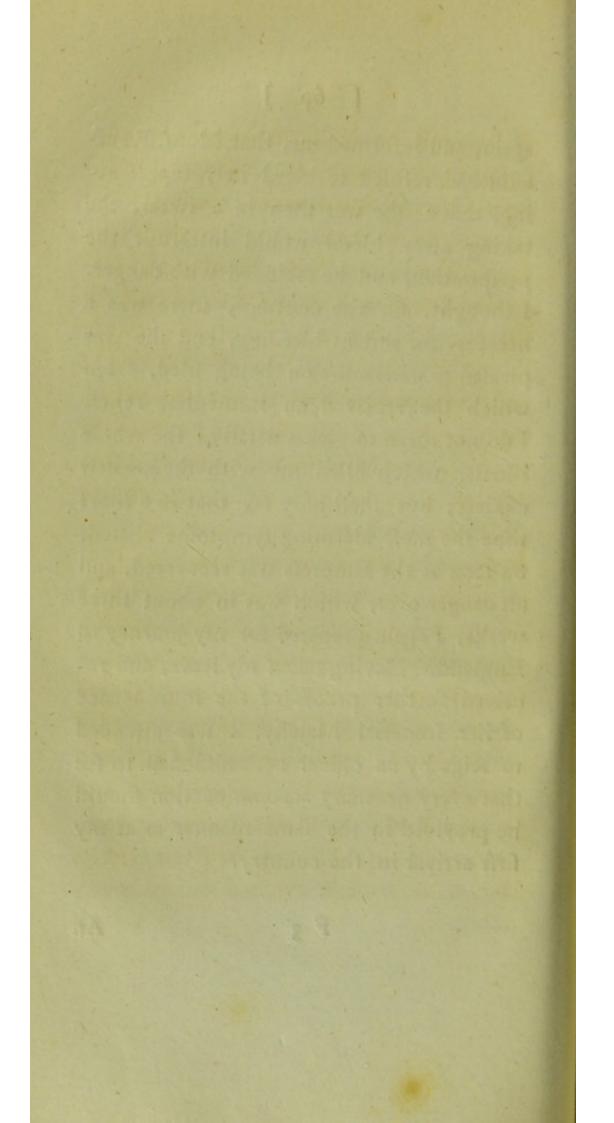
Having

Having now finished my bufiness, I made my request to her Imperial Majesty, for permiffion to return to England; she affured me my time should be my own; having therefore taken leave of the Emprefs and Grand Duke, I prepared every neceffary accommodation for the journey, and was indeed just fetting out, when a nobleman called and informed me, that the Empress was defirous of feeing me. I was much concerned to find her with every fymptom of a pleuretic fever, and fhe did me the honour to fay, that fhe fhould be forry to ftop my journey, but wished to have my affiftance; I therefore again took up my refidence in the palace. Her fymptoms encreafed, and the pulfe became now fuch, as I was convinced made it neceffary that fhe fhould be bled; the Empress confented, and Monf. Rouffelin, a very able, ingenious furgeon, in whom fhe repofes great confidence, was directed to take away eight ounces of blood; but before the operation, the Empress defired to fee me again,

again, and informed me, that Monf. Rouffelin had refused to bleed her, representing, that as she was then in a sweat, the taking away blood would interrupt the perfpiration, and be attended with danger. I thought, on the contrary, there was a neceflity for inftant bleeding, and fhe was pleafed to determine on being bled, from which she received an immediate relief. I do not mean to give a detail of the whole illnefs, which filled me with the greateft anxiety, but shall only fay that in a short time the most alarming fymptoms abated. So foon as the Emprefs was recovered, and all danger over, which was in about three weeks, I again prepared for my journey to England. Having taken my leave, and received further proofs of the munificence of her Imperial Majesty, I was attended to Riga by an officer commissioned to fee that every necessary accommodation should be provided in the fame manner as at my first arrival in the country.

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An Account of the INOCULATION of her IMPERIAL MAJESTY, Catharine the Second, Empress of all the RUSSIAS.

H E R Imperial Majefty, the profperity of whofe fubjects is always near her heart, was not only one of the firft perfons who ventured to be inoculated, but has even most graciously determined to publish, throughout her dominions, an account of the most interesting circumstances of this her experiment, with the intention, that others may be excited to make use of the fame means, and preferve themselves from the danger which attends this terrible distemper in the natural way.

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In obedience therefore to her order, I fhall relate the circumftances moft worthy of attention, which occurred during the time I had the honour to attend her at Czarfcoe Selo; and fhall likewife add an account of the inoculation of his Imperial Highnefs the Grand Duke.

The Empress, during eight days before inoculation, was advised to abstain from animal food at supper, and at dinner to eat of such only as was of easy digestion.

On Saturday the 11th day of October, 1768, the day before inoculation, fhe took five grains of the mercurial powder.

Sunday the 12th, late in the evening, fhe was inoculated with fluid matter, by one puncture in each arm, and on the fucceeding night was very reftlefs, and complained of pains in different parts of her body, fuch as ufually happen after catching cold; the pulfe was quicker than natural. On Monday morning the 13th of October, the Empress went to Czarscoe Selo, one of her country palaces, whither I repaired the same day by her order; her dinner confisted this day of some weak soup, boiled chicken and vegetables. After dinner her Majesty slept near an hour, and found herself greatly refreshed. In the evening she was very easy and chearful.

Tuefday, October the 14th, fhe paffed a tolerable night; certain figns of infection appeared on the places of incifion: a little pain was felt under the arm, oppofite to the inoculated part; dinner confifted of foup made without meat. In the evening fhe complained of a giddinefs, and much heat; however, after drinking a glafs of cold water, the giddinefs and heat went off. Supper was water gruel.

Wednesday, October the 15th, she passed a good night, the giddiness and the pain under her arm ceased, the places of incision became became more red. In the evening the heavinefs returned, but by a walk in a cold room, it was relieved; diet as yefterday.

Thurfday, October the 16th, she had rested well, but complained this day of a heaviness in her head, at intervals, though upon the whole she was tolerably well. Four grains of the mercurial powder were given this evening at going to bed; diet nearly as before.

Friday, October the 17th, fhe had had a very good night. In the morning fhe took half an ounce of Glauber's falt, diffolved in warm water, and the day paffed very well; but in the evening fhe complained of a pain in her head, and that her hands and fhoulders feemed benumbed, and fhe was inclined to fleep; dinner confifted of a fmall piece of chicken, and fome vegetables; the places of incifion advanced properly, and, with the affiftance of a magnimagnifying glafs, I could plainly difcover fmall pimples around the part.

Saturday, October the 18th, the Emprefs had flept well, and felt herfelf in the morning perfectly well. At noon however fhe complained of a fhivering, which was fucceeded by heat, and uneafinefs all over her body. She was likewife affected with heavinefs and giddinefs of her head, pain and numbnefs under her arms, and pain in her back. All thefe complaints were greatly relieved by a walk in a cold room; neverthelefs, fhe had no appetite, and, excepting a little water gruel at dinner and fupper, fhe did not take any food this day; the incifions in the arms became more red and inflamed.

Sunday, October the 19th, she had slept a good deal, but with frequent interruptions; pain of her head and back, with other febrile symptoms, still continued. She She rofe however at her ufual hour, and after walking a little in a cold room, found herfelf much better. The incifions looked more red, and in the evening many of the pimples, mentioned before, appeared to unite in a general inflammation. As fhe complained of great heavinefs and difpofition to fleep, fhe went to bed rather earlier than ufual: had no appetite all day, and did not take any thing but tea, water gruel, and fome water in which apples had been boiled.

Monday, October the 20th, fhe had paffed a better night, with confiderable perfpiration. Heavinefs and giddinefs of the head fomewhat relieved. Fever not fo high, but complained of feeling herfelf weak. This morning half an ounce of Glauber's falts, diffolved in warm water, was exhibited; a numbnefs under one arm, and pain in the back and feet, gave fome uneafinefs the whole day, but the pain in the head was relieved. In the evening all thofe complaints complaints were moderated. More puftules appeared round the incifion, and the circumference of the wound itfelf looked more red than before. One puffule was alfo difcovered in the face, and two upon the wrift. Pulfe flower, and fever almost gone. No inclination to eat this day: a little foup and fome tea were all the nourifhment taken.

Tuefday, October the 21ft, fhe had paffed the night very indifferently, but in the morning was free from pain. Some puftules appeared on the face and arms, and the fever was entirely gone. She eat boiled chicken with a good appetite, and upon the whole paffed the day very well.

Wednefday, October 22d, she slept very well, and waked free from complaint.

This day I went to Petersburg, by the Empress's command, to see the Grand Duke, who was indisposed with the chicken-pox. en-pox. I returned to Czarfcoe Selo in the evening, and was agreeably informed that fhe had paffed the day exceedingly well. More puftules appeared, and advanced according to my wifhes; diet the fame as before.

Thurfday, October the 23d, the night paffed extremely well. In the morning the Empress complained of a foreness in her throat; diet as yesterday.

Friday, Octocter the 24th, fhe had flept very well, but ftill complained of her throat, which was now become more painful; fhe likewife felt herfelf more fleepy after dinner, than ufual. During the whole time from her arrival at Czarfcoe Selo, the Emprefs, in condefcention to the nobility, who daily came thither to pay their duty to their fovereign, had made it a practice every afternoon to quit the inner apartments, and converfe with them till eight o'clock in the evening; but this evening fhe the with-drew at fix, complaining very much of her throat. On examining the fauces, I perceived a large pufule on the upper part of the right tonfil, which probably was the occafion of great part of the pain the felt. But the complaints were not folely owing to this; they proceeded partly from a recent cold, which arofe from the apartments to which the had removed, not being to thoroughly aired as those which the had left. A gargle of black currant jelly diffolved in warm water, was freely ufed with immediate benefit. The pufules continued to maturate in the most favourable manner.

Saturday, October the 25th, she had had a very good night; the pain and swelling of the throat were abated; towards evening some of the puscules, which at first appeared, began to change their colour to a darker hue.

## Sunday,

Sunday, October the 26th, the night was paffed extremely well, the pain of the throat was no longer troublefome, and the hardnefs of the tonfils was greatly abated. In the evening most of the puscules in the face put on a brownish colour.

Monday, October the 27th, fhe had refted extremely well, dined on chicken, and paffed the day without the leaft complaint; all the puftules were now become brown.

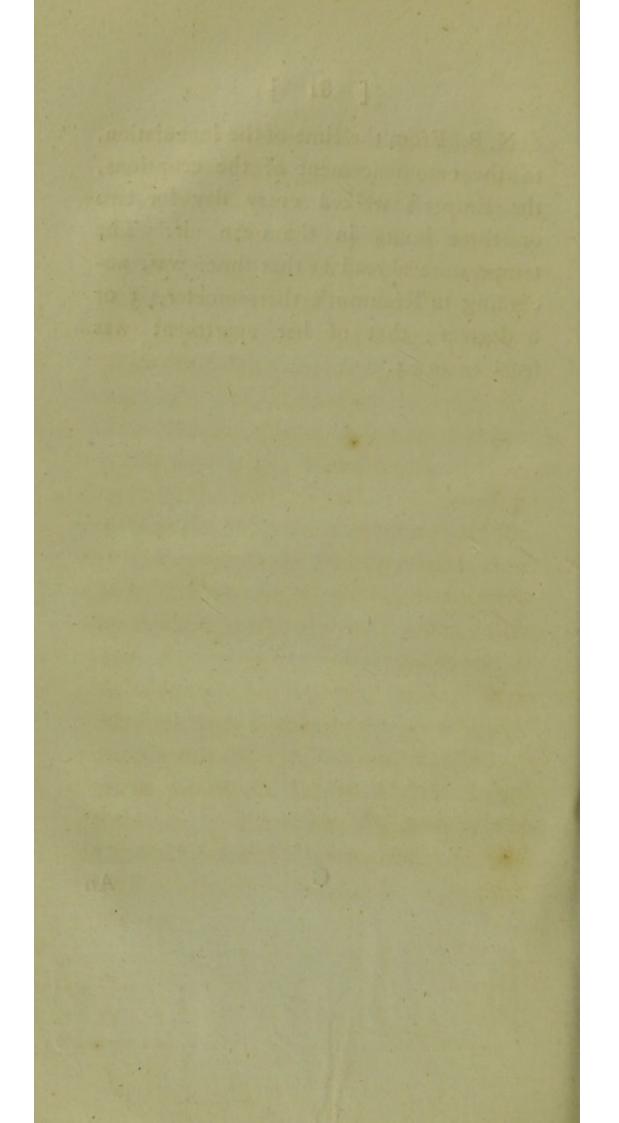
Tuefday, October the 28th, the Emprefs, being entirely free from uneafinefs, took half an ounce of Glauber's falts; this day fhe took an airing in her coach, and continued it every day till November the 1ft, when fhe returned to St. Peterfburg in perfect health, to the great joy of the whole city. In the evening fhe appeared at court, and received the congratulations of the nobility and gentry, who attended on this joyful occafion.

N. B.

N.B. From the time of the inoculation, to the commencement of the eruptions, the Empress walked every day for two or three hours in the open air. The temperature abroad at that time, was, according to Reaumur's thermometer, 5 or 6 degrees; that of her apartment was from 12 to 14.

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[ 83 ]

An Account of the INOCULATION of his IMPERIAL HIGHNESS, the GRAND DUKE of RUSSIA.

W HEN her Imperial Majefty had taken the refolution to be inoculated before the Grand Duke, fhe was pleafed to intimate that it would be agreeable to her that his Imperial Highnefs fhould be inoculated with matter taken from herfelf, at fuch time as I fhould think it most proper for infecting. It was therefore concluded to perform the operation on him as foon as the difease fhould appear kindly on the Empress, and all apprehenfions of danger were over. This step was more particularly refolved on, as it would  $G_2$  afford afford her an opportunity of vifiting the Grand Duke during the whole process of the difease. But his Highness being indisposed with the chicken-pox, at the proper time for putting that intention in practice, it was of necessity laid aside. That distemper was however very inconsiderable, and of short duration.

His Imperial Highness remained in the winter palace at St. Petersburg, and took, at proper intervals, gentle physic twice, and was so perfectly recovered, that on the twenty-ninth of October, he took a dose of the mercurial powder, as preparatory to the inoculation.

The inoculation was performed on him with fresh fluid matter, by one puncture in the right arm only; the matter was taken from the younger fon of Mr. Briscorn, apothecary to the court. November the 2d, nothing remarkable happened; at bedtime time a dofe of the mercurial powder was repeated.

November the 4th, fymptoms of infection appeared on the arm. He continued very well all day, and felt no particular fenfation in the inoculated part This evening he took three fpoonfuls of the decoction of bark, which, in a confultation with Dr. Crufe, previous to the inoculation, had been agreed on as a proper medicine to be taken occafionally.

November the 5th, on examining the incifion, the mark of the infection very evidently appeared, and he complained of the part around the wound being fomewhat painful. Three fpoonfuls of the bark decoction were taken this morning, and the fame dofe repeated again in the evening. Before going to bed he felt a fhivering, and a flight degree of pain under the inoculated arm.

G 3

November the 6th, this morning he had a fhivering, fucceeded by a feverifh heat; the quicknefs of the pulfe increafed to 96 in a minute; but this went off before noon. In other refpects he was as chearful as ufual, and eat his dinner with a good appetite; this confifted, during the whole of his indifpofition, of weak foup, vegetables, and fometimes chicken. The remainder of the day paffed very well.

November the 7th, he had flept well the preceding night; the inflammation was much advanced to day, the pulfe quicker, but without much heat. At noon he eat with a good appetite, but after dinner felt a confiderable fhivering, which was followed by a feverifh heat; the pulfe beat 104 ftrokes in a minute; a heavinefs and drowfinefs, which he complained of, were foon removed by a walk in a cool room.

November the 8th, he had refted very well laft night, but the pulfe ftill continued very quick, and he had alternately cold and hot fits throughout the whole day, which gave him fome uneafinefs. He took a walk in a cool apartment feveral times, which afforded fenfible relief; and notwithftanding thefe complaints, his appetite continued fufficient to take reafonable nourifhment.

November the 9th, his Imperial Highnefs's complaints were much the fame as yefterday; one puftule appeared upon the chin, and three were difcovered upon the back.

November the 10th, more puftules appeared on different parts, and he was quite free from complaints. The illnefs, which commonly happens at the time of eruption, was removed.

G 4

November the 11th, he had flept very well, and paffed the day without complaints.

November the 12th, he had not flept fo well laft night, as on the preceding nights, and complained this morning of having fweated very much in the night, and that his throat was fore and painful; he took his breakfaft and dinner with appetite, and was chearful all day; but in the evening the forenefs of the throat increafed, and the difficulty of fwallowing was very great.

The pain in the throat continued for two hours very troublefome, and a great quantity of frothy phlegm was thrown up; but upon ufing a gargle of black currant jelly diffolved in warm water, he found himfelf much eafier, and at going to bed drank two cups of fack whey.

The

The heat, even at the most fevere period of this illness, was moderate, and the pulse generally from 90 to 100 strokes in a minute.

November the 13th, he flept well; the throat ftill continued fore and painful, yet not fo as to prevent fwallowing. On examining it, I difcovered a large pufule above the Velum Pendulum Palati, which was alfo fomewhat fwelled. The morning paffed very favourably, and dinner was taken with appetite. After dinner he had a fhivering fit, which was fucceeded by a fmart fever, and the pulfe rofe to 118 in a minute.

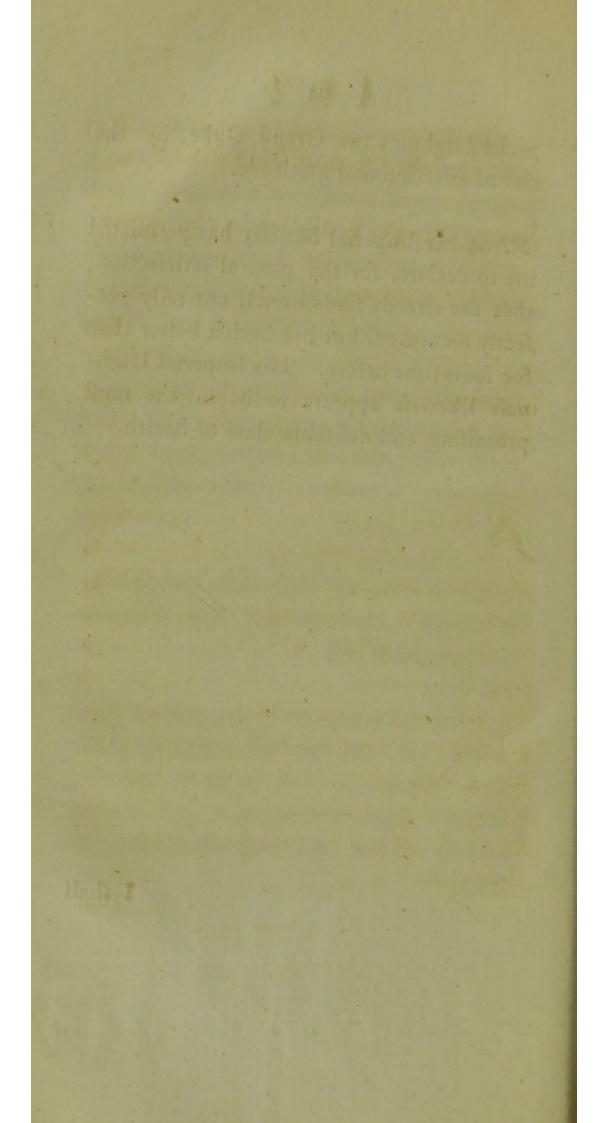
As his Imperial Highness complained much of weakness, he lay down to take reft, and this was the only time during his illness that he reposed himself on the bed in the day. In the evening he found himself much better, and the fever was confiderably abated.

November the 14th, he paffed a very good night. This morning he was free from fever, and his throat much better. The puftule above the Velum Pendulum Palati had a much lefs inflammatory appearance, and the part around it did not look fo much fwelled as before.

From this time he was quite free from pain; the puftules, which together did not exceed forty, maturated kindly, foon dried up, and the illnefs terminated very happily.

November the 22d, he was perfectly recovered, and this day being appointed for a thankfgiving to the Almighty, he was prefent at the divine fervice with her Imperial Majefty, at the court chapel; on which occafion the nobility and gentry expressed their fatisfaction and joy in a manner to be expected from loyal subjects attached to their fovereign, and to his Imperial perial Highness the Grand Duke, by the ties of affection and gratitude.

And her Imperial Majefty has permitted me to declare, for the general fatisfaction, that fhe already finds herfelf not only perfectly recovered, but her health better than for fome time before. His Imperial Highnefs likewife appears to be in the moft promifing and defirable ftate of health.



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#### A SHORT ACCOUNT OF

# REGULATIONS

#### IN THE

# Medical College of St. Petersburg, in 1768.

A MONG the many wife regulations that were made by Peter the Great, on firft founding the city of St. Peterfburg, one was, the eftablifhment of an officina, or fhop, furnifhed with every neceffary drug and medicine that might be wanted for the relief of the difeafed, and the appointment of a number of able perfons to attend those who fhould ftand in need of either medical or chirurgical affistance, and direct the remedies that were proper in their diforders.

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This inftitution, in its infancy, was principally intended for the relief of the numerous workmen, and others, affembled from different parts, for the purpofe of crecting, in a most unfavourable fituation for health, being then a boggy fpot, though extremely well calculated for commerce, the now fplendid Imperial City of St. Peterfburg.

As the buildings advanced, and the court became eftablished there, many of the nobility erected fuperb palaces, and, with their families, became inhabitants. A great number of merchants alfo, invited by the liberal advantages offered to them by the Emperor, affembled from different parts of Europe, and fettled in the infant city. For the relief of fuch of thefe as were able and willing to pay for medicines, it became neceffary to enlarge and extend the medical establishment; and accordingly, the number of those who had been appointed to fuperintend the difpenfary, were increafed, and the whole expenditure

expenditure and receipt was vefted in the crown; the prices of the medicines were fixed, and none allowed to be delivered, but on producing an order from a licenfed phyfician, or furgeon, who had produced fufficient credentials of his ability, and in confequence thereof, received his appointment from an officer appointed by the Emperor.

These are the outlines of the eftablishment first fettled; but a medical college having been fince fixed at St. Petersburg and Mosco, fome improvements have been made, which will appear by what I shall relate of the state of medicine as it stands at present.

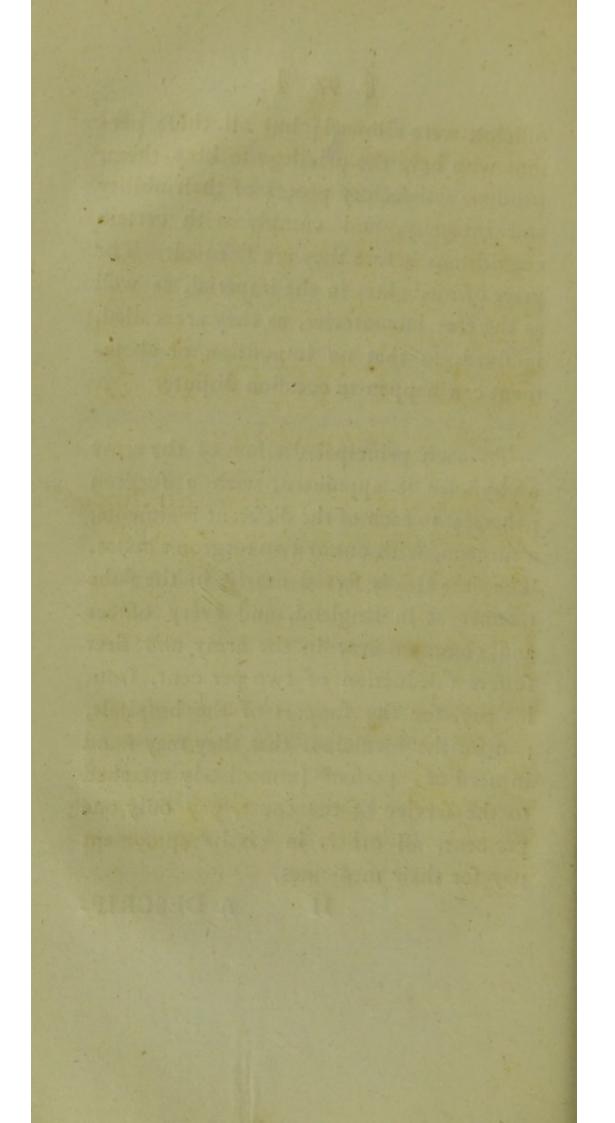
Every phyfician or furgeon, whatever diploma, or other document, or recommendation he may produce, muft undergo an examination very fufficiently frict, by the medical college, before he can have the liberty of practice in the empire. Until

til fuch liberty is announced in the public papers, he can have no medicine from the Imperial shop, nor dare any apothecary receive his prefcription, to fupply him with medicines. To fuch who are acquainted with the facility of procuring a diploma from fome German or French univerfities, this precaution will appear very neceffary; and indeed it has feveral times happened, that these pretenders to science, who have ventured to try at paffing an examination, have failed, and been refused. But I have never heard of a fingle inftance of this power having been abufed; on the contrary, the examinations are allowed to be liberal, but fufficiently exact to detect and exclude ignorant pretenders.

By degrees it has been found convenient to permit the eftablishment of free laboratories, and apothecaries shops, at St. Petersburg, and Mosco; and they begin also to be established in other principal cities of the empire, where formerly only Imperial officinæ officinæ were allowed; but all those perfons who have the privilege to keep them, produce fatisfactory proofs of their abllity and integrity, and comply with certain requisitions before they are licensed. The price of medicines in the imperial, as well as the free laboratories, as they are called, is fixed, so that no imposition or abatement can happen to occasion dispute.

To each principal division of the army a physician is appointed, with a furgeon general; to each of the different regiments, a furgeon, with one or two furgeon's mates. The fleet alfo is ferved nearly in the fame manner as in England, and every officer and common man in the army and fleet fuffers a deduction of two per cent. from his pay, for the fupport of the hospitals, and for the medicines that they may ftand in need of; perfons immediately attached to the fervice of the court, pay only one per cent. all others in civil employment pay for their medicines.

H A DESCRIP-



## [ 99 ]

#### A

# DESCRIPTION OF THE METHODS

#### PROPOSED

For extending the falutary practice of Inoculation through the whole Ruffian Empire.

I N obedience to the orders received from her Imperial Majefty, I shall endeavour to demonstrate, in a clear and concise manner, the destructive effects of the smallpox in the natural way, and the safety and advantage of inoculation, even when performed after the old manner; and exhibit the improvement of the new method, be-H 2 ing ing the fame which is now introduced into this great empire.

It will not be in my power to execute this plan with the accuracy I could wifh, being engaged in an employment that demands much time and attention. But I will ufe my beft endeavours to defcribe, in the firft place, a method of extending the practice of inoculation, fo that it may not be dangerous to those in the neighbourhood, who, either on account of bad health, age, prejudice, or other reasons, are unwilling to submit to the operation, and yet may be falutary to such as are proper objects, and approve it.

It is not to be fuppofed that the method now practifed in England fo fuccefsfully, can be received in Ruffia without fome alterations. The experiments, however, which I have made in England, in order to afcertain the most commodious manner of conducting the bufinefs, have fully convinced me of the propriety of inoculating in

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in a house built, or set apart, for that purpose, in some retired situation.\*

One, and indeed no inconfiderable advantage derived from a plan of this fort is, that by collecting all the patients together in one house, the physician will be enabled to attend a great number at the same time, in a proper manner, and also to pay particular attention to such as may more immediately require his affistance.

And it is of no fmall importance to those who are inoculated, that the neceffary regulations in respect to regimen, as well as every other circumstance that requires the physician's attention, may, in such a fituation, be properly observed.

Another advantage is likewife obtained by this method, that, with proper caution,

\* In the original, published in Ruffia, here followed a circumstantial account of the house I had built for the accommodation of my patients in England, and the manner of conducting the process, &c. which being unnecessary to infert in this translation, I have omitted.

the

the fmall-pox will not be communicated to others, in the natural way of infection.

Notwithstanding all these conveniences, it will doubtless happen here, as it did in my neighbourhood, that many perfons of diffinction will rather prefer the inoculation of their families at their own houses. In this case it is submitted to the wisdom of government, whether it would not be proper to give orders that such perfons should give public notice of their intention to inoculate, mentioning the time when the operation is to be performed, and also of their perfect recovery. By these means, such as have not had the standal-pox, will have it in their power to avoid the infection.

So much with regard to the accommodation of perfons of rank, who may be inoculated under one or the other abovementioned regulations. But the poor cannot enjoy those advantages. Humanity, however, and the interest of the state, equally

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equally demand, that all poffible attention fhould be beftowed for their affiftance and prefervation.

In order to attain this end, I know of no better or more certain method than that which I followed in my own neighbourhood, by inoculating all the inhabitants of a village, who had never had the fmall-pox, on the fame day : and, if this be performed in a proper manner, they might be all duly vifited, and proper medicines administered at a moderate expence, and the whole be over in about three weeks: after which, that village would have nothing to apprehend from the fmall-pox for fome years. For the completion of this plan, it will be neceffary that every child should be inoculated for the fmall-pox foon after its birth, or that inoculation should be performed in every town or village once in five or fix years. This last method I would rather recommend, and therefore, in order to make this propofal perfectly intelligible, I H 4 shall

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shall endeavour to explain it more particularly.

A lift of the names and ages of fuch inhabitants of every town and village as have not had the small-pox, is first necessary to be obtained; and marks should be made against the names of those, who, on account of their ill state of health, or other reasons, are not thought fit subjects for the operation, in the judgment of the inoculator; and fuch perfons should be provided with a feparate place of abode, where they may not be in danger of receiving the infection: the reft should be collected in one place, inoculated at one time, and proper medicines, with directions, fpecifying the time and manner in which they are to be taken, should be distributed to each individual. On the fourth day after the inoculation they should again be affembled together, the punctures examined, and fuch farther medicines given as the inoculator may think proper. After the feventh, the patients.

patients should be examined daily; for from that time to the eleventh, or perhaps fourteenth, is a period that requires more particular attention. During the whole of this time, and indeed throughout the whole procefs, the fick may continue at their own houfes. And it may be reafonably prefumed, that there will be a fufficient number of fuch as are but flightly indifposed, who may be able to affift the others, fo as to make the expence and trouble of nurfes unneceffary. But we must also suppose that, of the great number inoculated, there will be fome who may have the difeafe feverely, or whofe cafes may require more conftant attendance than they can poffibly have at their own habitations. To provide for fuch extraordinary inftances, therefore, a proper houfe, and other conveniences, should be previoully appointed, to which fuch patients should be removed, when thought necesfary.

It will be impoffible to determine precifely, how many patients may want fuch attendance, and confequently difficult to provide exactly the neceffary accommodations; but I imagine there will not be more than four or five out of one hundred.

The diet of all fhould confift of vegetables, milk, bread, and the like; and in fome cafes a little mutton broth may be allowed. The drink fhould be nothing but water, unlefs by the particular direction of the inoculator.

But in order to fecure the obfervance of this regimen more exactly, all falted provifion, and every kind of ftrong liquor, ought to be removed from the place, and every neceffary precaution taken to prevent the patients from procuring any. In refpect to medicines, a fufficient quantity fhould be prepared, and proper dofes for different ages and conftitutions put up feparately, and diffributed by the inoculator tor among the patients, with directions in what manner they should be administered; and their recovery should be completed with some proper purgative.

A licence or exclusive permission ought to be granted to such physicians or furgeons as undertake to inoculate for the small-pox; for the mischief arising from the practice of inoculation by the illiterate and ignorant, is beyond conception.\*

\* To enumerate the inftances that have happened within my own knowledge to confirm this affertion, would be almost endless; I shall only mention a few that are remarkable.

I was defired to vifit a young woman about ten miles diftant; I found her dying from the inoculation of a man, who, upon the credit of having been my coachman, had fet up inoculator : he was gone on the pretence of procuring my affiftance, but in fact had ran away; this was his thirteenth patient.

Another illiterate perfon in my neighbourhood began the practice; but a child he had inoculated happening to have a fit, he was fo frighted as to elope, till he was informed that his patient was out of danger.

I received

Such perfons, inftead of confining the infection within narrow limits, too often, through want of skill or honesty, are the

I received a letter from a poor man who kept a fchool about eight miles from Hertford, to inform me, that not being able to pay a proper perfon, he had himfelf ventured to inoculate his own family; and begging a vifit on account of one of his children who he feared was in danger, I complied with his requeft, and found one child dying of a confluent pock; but my compaffion for him abated, on finding his houfe filled with fome poor neighbours, from whom he received a fmall gratuity for their inoculation; one of whom had loft an eye under his care. This man's refidence was in a fmall town, and from his patients feveral caught the fmall-pox, and fome died.

I faw a poor woman dying of a confluent difeafe; her hufband had raifed money for his own inoculation, and having had the difeafe favourably, was affured by a farmer who inoculated him, that he might fafely go home to his family. The wife died, leaving five children, who all had the difeafe and recovered.

At a village not far from Hertford, the fame farmer inoculated as many of the parifh as could raife five fhillings and three-pence, informing the others that the fmall-pox was not catching from the inoculated; but the whole neighbourhood became infected, and feveral died.

means

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means of propagating it, to the great terror of many people, the unhappy confequences of which remain in many places in England. For, befides the dreadful mortality which the difeafe itfelf has occafioned, it has often proved the fource of difcord and contention among neighbours, and difturbed that harmony and friendship which had before subsisted among the inhabitants.

To conclude, I beg this fmall treatife may be confidered only as an imperfect fketch drawn up in hafte; but if it fhould be approved of, and her Imperial Majefty fhould be pleafed to command me to enter into farther particulars, I will employ my utmost endeavours to render it more perfect, and alfo affift in the execution of any part of what has been therein proposed.

These were my sentiments in 1768, and I see no reason to alter them at present. It has

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bas indeed been my constant advice to recommend inoculation, as a happy expedient to rescue mankind from the fatal ravages of the natural small-pox. Persons of condition have in general adopted the practice, and those of inferior rank have had it in their power to secure their families, by the moderate terms on which the practice has been conducted, where circumstances require it. The poor, whose situation renders them unable to bear expence, and who, if neglected, would be the greatest sufferers, have been much the objects of my attention; and I have endeavoured to afford them every affistance in my power, by fundry general inoculations of different parishes in the county of Hertford. It has also been my constant rule, when called to attend in families of persons of fortune, to enquire if any servants, or others, who would be exposed to the danger of taking the natural disease from them, chose to accept of the opportunity of being inoculated; and these I have willingly taken under my care,

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care, without expecting the least additional gratuity. I claim no merit from this conduct, which appeared to be my duty, nor are these particulars mentioned boastingly, but to There that in practice, as well as by precept, my mite has been contributed to the relief of a most valuable part of the community. I may alfo add, that it has been my invariable custom to recommend every possible precaution to be taken, that the difease may not be spread by the careless behaviour of my patients; and this I efteem a very effential part of the duty of those who inoculate, having seen a great number of fatal instances from inattention to this particular. It is with great fatisfaction that I congratulate the public on the advantages we may reasonably expect, from the united efforts of several gentlemen of eminence in their profession, who, in different parts of the kingdom, have generoully exerted themselves on the truly charitable plan of inoculating the poor. The medical gentlemen of the cities of Chefter, Bath, and the populous

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populous town of Leeds, with several others, are of the number. The general plan thefe gentlemen act on, fo far as has come to my knowledge, is, to take due care of the patients; to supply them with every kind of medicine and necessary food; to enjoin the observance of some excellent orders to prevent the spreading of the infection, and to give rewards to fuch as shall produce a satisfactory testimonial of their having complied with those orders. It is much to be wished, that the public was univerfally acquainted with the particulars of their regulations, and the fuccefs of the practice; from whence, and a communication of sentiments, it may be rea-Sonably hoped some expedient might be found, to inoculate the poor of this metropolis, in a manner confistent with the safety of others.

A Thort

# [ 113 ]

A short estimate of the number of those who die of the natural small-pox, with a view to demonstrate the advantages that may accrue to Russia, from the practice of inoculation.

It is needlefs to expatiate upon the havock which the fmall-pox makes in moft parts of the known world : probably there is not a country, city, or fmaller community, which has not experienced its devaftations in its turn. Its effects, in places unacquainted with the proper treatment and remedies against it, are fcarcely lefs general and fatal than those of the plague itself.

Though this fact is generally allowed, yet many, I think, are ignorant of the im-I menfe menfe lofs mankind fuftains by this diftemper. It may not be amifs therefore to fhew, from well attefted accounts, the proportion of perfons who die of the natural fmall-pox : for which purpofe it will be neceffary to chufe fome country or city where an exact register of the births and deaths, as well as an accurate lift of difeafes, is regularly kept.

Dr. Jurin, fecretary to the Royal Society in London, carried this into execution in 1722, foon after inoculation had been introduced into England, being defirous of fhewing the different effects of the natural and inoculated fmall-pox.

I fhall not here infert all that was publifhed by this ingenious author, as the whole may be found in the Philofophical Tranfactions of the Royal Society, under N° 374. The following extract will be fufficient for my prefent purpofe.

The

The Doctor for forty-two years felected from the Bills of Mortality of London, fuch as died there of the fmall-pox and other diftempers. His observation may appear perhaps fomewhat extraordinary: neverthelefs, it appears to be true, that of 1000 infants, 386 die under two years of age, which is confiderably more than one third. These he deducts, as supposing them to die of the difeafes natural to infancy; and afterwards proceeds to demonstrate, that if the whole bulk of mankind be taken at the age of two years, the eighth part die of the natural fmall-pox ; and that of fuch as have it in the natural way, one in five or fix dies.

With refpect to my own calculations on this fubject, I endeavoured to find out whether the fmall-pox proved equally fatal after the time mentioned by the doctor. With this view, before I left England, I procured the Bills of Mortality of the city

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of

of London for the laft thirty-four years, excepting two, which could not be found.\* Of thefe I made a table, which I have inferted in page 122 of this treatife. I was furprized to find the numbers for thefe thirty-two years paft, tally fo exactly with the obfervations made by Dr. Jurin.

On examining the table it appears, that within thefe laft thirty-two years 760,098 perfons have died, and of those 268,529 have been infants under two years of age, which agrees with Dr. Jurin's calculation, in being rather more than one-third of the whole.

\* Thefe two have fince been examined. The numbers are, for the year 1739, 25432 deaths, of which, 1690 by the fmall-pox, and 9687 under two years old. For the year 1763, 26143 deaths; 3582 by fmall-pox, and 8200 under two years old.

The conclusion, with these additions, remains the fame.

I fuppose

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I suppose, with Dr. Jurin, that the deaths of these were occasioned by various difeafes incidental to infancy, and I deduct them out of the whole number; the remainder is 491,569. It appears likewife, that in the fame courfe of time there died of the fmall-pox 66,515, which confirms Dr. Jurin's account, and indeed exceeds the eighth part. Hence we may fairly conclude, that in general the fmall-pox carried off the eighth part of those who died in London above two years old, in the period above-mentioned. I procured alfo the best accounts I possibly could of the whole number of those who had had the difeafe from places where the fmall-pox had raged most, and found, that near one out of five died who had the difeafe in the natural way. This alfo agrees with Dr. Jurin's observations. We see then that even in London, where the climate is temperate, the difeafe well known, and the treatment of the fick very ably conducted,

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this

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this fingle disease destroyed more than the eighth part of the inhabitants.

But if we turn our eyes towards other dominions, and give credit to the accounts received, we shall find the difease still more fatal, and in some cities it is almost as destructive as the plague.

It is impoffible for me to afcertain with any degree of certainty, the precife number of perfons who die annually of the fmall-pox in Ruffia. I am perfuaded, however, both from good intelligence, as well as from my own obfervations, that it is exceeding fatal here. Though I cannot confirm this affertion by proofs, yet by fome converfation with the learned, I am credibly informed, that of thofe who have the fmall-pox in the natural way, one half die, including the rich and poor.

It feems hardly neceffary to fhew, how much the riches and ftrength of states depend pend upon the number of inhabitants. But perhaps there is not any country in which the certainty of this polition is more indifputable than in Ruflia; for not only the ftrength of the empire, but the riches of every individual alfo, muft be in proportion to the degree of population. If therefore in London, which enjoys the many advantages already recited, more than 2000 perfons die annually of the fmall-pox, we may furely fuppofe, that the lofs which Ruflia, in its whole extent, fuftains by this diftemper in the fame fpace of time, amounts to two millions of fouls.|| And

Some who have effimated the number of inhabitants in Ruffia, and calculated from the proportion of deaths that may be fuppofed to happen by the natural fmall-pox, have thought the number of two millions much two large; perhaps it may be fo, the conjecture was haftily written, at a time when my mind was deeply imprefied with the ravages of the fmall-pox in Ruffia. I went to a village near St. Peterfburg, to enquire for matter for inoculation, where the fmall-pox was fuppofed to be, and, to my great furprize, was told that the patients were all dead; aftonifhed at this anfwer, I I 4 enquired And this havock must greatly retard the increase of the human species.

There are fome difeafes peculiar to old age, which terminate a life almost entirely spent, and totally useless to the community.

Such difeafes, confidered in a political fenfe, are not hurtful to the ftate. But the fmall-pox fpreads deftruction chiefly upon the younger part of the fpecies, from whofe labours in their feveral callings, the public might otherwife have expected advantages beyond all computation. The difappointment and lofs incurred is of courfe neither to be calculated nor conceived.

A difcourfe upon this fubject might be extended to a great length; but it feems

enquired more minutely, and was informed that the number of perfons who had had the diffemper, was 37, out of which only two had furvived.

unnecef-

unneceffary to enlarge, especially when I confider to whose judgment this effay is with all humility submitted.

The public, I am perfuaded, must be fufficiently convinced from fact and demonstration, that inoculation is the only means of preventing the mischiefs arising from the small-pox.

In a former treatife I have laid down a plan for an effectual method of general practice, by which the fpreading of the natural fmall-pox will be prevented, and the cure of the inoculated rendered as eafy and fafe as poffible.

I have therefore nothing more to add, but my wifnes, that the empire of Ruffia may meet with the utmost fuccess from this discovery, under the reign of so illustrious and beneficent a sovereign.

Years.

	Years.	General Lift of Deaths.	Deaths from Small Pox.	Under two Years of Age.
	1734	26062	2688	10752
	35	23538	1594	9672
	36	27581	3014	10580
	37	27823	2084	10054
	38	2582	1590	9600
	39	a thread of a	1000	
	1740	30811	2725	10765
	41	32169	1977	10456
-	42	27483	1429	9030
-	43	25200	2029	8621
	44	20606	1633	7394
	45	21296	1206	7689
-	46	28157	3236	9503
	47	25494	1380	8741
-	48	23869	1789	7637
	49	25516	26.25	8504
	1750	23727	1229	8204
	. 51	21028	998	7483
	52	20485	3538	8239
	53	19276	774	7892
	54	22696	2359	8115
	55	21917	1988	7803
	56	20872	1608	7466
	57	21313	3296	7095
	58	17576	1273	5971
1	59	19604	2596	6905
	1760	19830	2187	6838
	61	21063	1525	7699
	62	26326	2743	8372
	63	29-10- N.		
	64	23202	2382	7637
	65	23230	2498	8073
	66	23911	2334	8035
	67	22612	2188	7668
1	1	760098	66515	268529

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#### CHAP. II.

# ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS

TOA

TREATISE,

ENTITLED,

The prefent Method of Inoculation for the Small-Pox, &c. published by the Author fome Years ago.

SINCE the publication of the abovementioned treatife, I have continued the practice of inoculation, and attended to every part of the process, with the utmost circumspection, in order, as much as possible, to reduce the preparatory regimen, and subsequent management of the patients, to a greater degree of certainty.

In this addition therefore, I shall make fuch observations as appear to be of the most most importance, and to render them as connected as possible, I shall follow the order observed in that essay.

I do not find much reafon to alter my fentiments, delivered in the first chapter, with respect to the age, constitution, and feason of the year, proper for inoculation.

Although I am still of opinion that the inoculation of children under two years of age, is liable to objection, I have neverthelefs had repeated occasion to inoculate many under that age, without a fingle instance of any fatal confequence; if, therefore, from fituation, or other circumstances, there is danger of taking the difease by natural infection, it may be very adviseable to inoculate during this early period.

In addition to this, I would just drop this cautionary remark, that children with heads remarkably large, in proportion to their bodies, appear to me exceptionable subjects; I parti-

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particularly refer to fuch children as may have been suspected of having had water in the ventricles of the brain, in early infancy. I have seen two of these, where the eruptive fever was accompanied with a very alarming stupor, which did not abate, although the eruption was of a distinct kind, and the pustules very few in number; and one of them, who had been suspected to have had the hydrocephalus when very young, and was inoculated when four years old, died during the disease, without recovering from the stupor, having, at the same time, a very mild and moderate eruption of pustules, in which the progress of inoculation did not seem interrupted.

With refpect to the chapter on *Prepara*tion, I have expressed a doubt "whether "much, if not the whole of the prepara-"tion, may not be dispensed with, except "in full habits, or where other particular "circumstances may require it."\* Re-

\* Prefent method of inoculating for the fmall-pox, page 82, 7th edition.

peated

peated experience has fully confirmed this opinion, fo that, for fome years paft, I have not enjoined any reftriction in refpect to diet; nor directed any medicines to be taken before the time of the operation, by fuch as have appeared to be in a proper ftate of health. On the evening of the day in which the operation is performed, I have for fome time given a few grains of the following powder, which is fomewhat different from the composition I had before prefcribed, though not materially.

R Merc. dulc. fublim. 3fs Pulv. è Chel. Canc. c. 3iiifs Sulph. Aurat. Antimon. gr. 24. Tart. Emet. gr. 6. Mifce accuratiffimè.

Three or four grains of this powder is a fufficient dofe for children : I feldom give more than fix grains to adults.

After

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After the inoculation is performed, the rules laid down \* concerning diet are to be observed; and a proper attention being paid to prevent coffiveness, no more medicines are usually given till the fifth or fixth evening after the operation; on one of which, according to the greater or lefs apparent inflammation of the infected arms, I repeat the fame quantity of the powder as before. As this quantity commonly produces in children two or three ftools on the following day, no further medicine is neceffary for them. But to adults I ufually prefcribe a gentle purgative the morning after the exhibition of the powder, and the repetition, or omiffion, of the powder, in all cafes, is to be regulated according to the fymptoms. Sometimes a third dofe is ordered about the time of the eruption.

There are however perfons of robust and plethoric constitutions, to whom, not only

Prefent method of inoculating, &c. page 17.
 a very

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a very moderate diet, but fome evacuations are neceffary, previous to the operation.

I am alfo clearly perfuaded, that feveral tender and delicate perfons have fuffered greatly, from the want of fkill in those who indifcriminately prefcribe the rules laid down for preparation, for all conftitutions alike; enjoining a ftrict abstemious diet, and injudicioufly exhibiting mercurials, and other active medicines; by these means reducing the ftrength of the patient too low, and exposing him to unneceffary fufferings, and fometimes to great danger.

Convinced of this truth by many inftances which have fallen within my own obfervation, I have been cautious in giving mercurials, or repeated purgations, or of refufing the ufe of common diet to fuch conftitutions; but have allowed light animal food at dinner, with a glafs or two of wine, as cuftom may have occafionally made

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made neceffary, during the whole time preceding the eruptive fever.

By thefe means, perfons of very delicate habits have not only been conducted through this difeafe, without any unfavourable fymptom, but, inftead of being fubjected to a variety of diforders, have even enjoyed a better ftate of health after, than before; but here likewife it is impoffible to fix any general rule. The management of every one muft be fubmitted to the judgment of the operator, who fhould neither neglect to give proper medicines when the occafion requires, nor by a multiplicity of directions interrupt nature in her efforts.\*

At the end of this chapter I have mentioned an instance under my own observation, " of a child born nine weeks after inoculation, " at the full time, with distinct marks of the

\* The prefent method of inoculation, page 22. K " difeafe, " difease, though the mother had very few " eruptions." I have fince seen instances in a general inoculation of a village near Hertford, in which two women with child were inoculated, and each had a plentiful eruption of small-pox: three or four years afterwards I inoculated the children, and both had the disease with a tolerable number of pustules. I will just add, that although of many pregnant women that I have inoculated, not one miscarried during the disease; yet I have known miscarriages to happen in a short time after their recovery: I therefore think it unadviseable to inoculate women in that state, unless the necessity of the case requires it.

To the third chapter concerning Infection, it feems not improper to add, that the method I now generally use in performing the inoculation, as believing it to be the best, is simply this. The point of a lancet slightly dipped in the recent variolous matter, which I prefer taking during the eruptive fever, is introduced obliquely between the the cuticula and cutis, fo as to make the fmalleft puncture poffible, rarely producing a drop of blood. The finger is then gently preffed on the lancet while introduced, which being turned, is withdrawn.

The precaution of turning the lancet is, that the matter may be more certainly wiped off and inferted. This operation is free from pain.

This mode of practice I formerly did not entirely approve of,\* but from further experience, I find it the best, and it always succeeds when properly conducted.

I formerly made it a point to inoculate with fluid matter, as has been defcribed; but it being hardly possible at all times to find patients in a proper state; and some persons objecting to this intercourse, from an appre-

\* Prefent method of inoculating for the fmall-pox, page 25.

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benfion

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benfion of danger, I have for a confiderable time found the following method equally fuccefsful. A lancet well infected, or matter placed, when in a fluid flate, on a plate of glafs or gold, and afterwards fuffered to dry, is held over the fleam of boiling water, or a fmall quantity of water, barely fufficient for dilution, is added to it, and the matter, thus moiftened or deluted, is used for the purpose of inoculation; as I know of no difference as to the success, where there is an opportunity of advising with a patient, I consent to the choice of either method.

In the next chapter, on the Progrefs of Infection, extensive experience has abundantly convinced me, that at the commencement of the eruptive state, when a high degree of fever, and other alarming symptoms, threaten a large or unfavourable eruption, the going out in the fresh cool air, and taking evacuants, are absolutely necessary, and productive of the happiest effects.

But

But the fame treatment is not required where the complaints are moderate, and the conftitution of the patient is delicate. I have therefore, in fuch cafes, relaxed confiderably in this particular, and it is now my practice with fuch patients, to difpenfe with thefe injunctions.

The eruption being completed, and the complaints much abated, or entirely removed, a strict adherence to the very cold regimen is by no means requifite, but on fome occafions may be attended with danger. Where the eruption is abundant (which whatever may be afferted by fome practitioners, will fometimes happen, notwithstanding every precaution is used) I recommend confinement to the chamber, that the eafe of the patient, which is now become a neceffary object, may be fully confulted. For though the puffules may be quite diffinct, and without any apparent danger, yet as each of these is like a little boil, all taken together must neces-

farily

## [ **1**34 ]

farily occasion much uneafiness and pain, especially when the patient is in motion.

Under these circumstances, the room should be kept moderately cool, of such a temperature as to be agreeably warm to those who are sitting in it; for the sudden transition from a warm close room, to a cool airy one, may prove very dangerous to the patient, and is therefore not to be used, but with great difference in a will evidently appear from the following inftance.

I was defired to vifit a woman who had a good fort of natural fmall-pox, though very full. Through the exceffive officioufnefs of those about her, who had seen the good effects, in some cases, of exposing the sick to the cold air, she was, near the time of maturation, forced out of bed, dressed, and removed into a cool room. Here she fainted away, the puscular all sunk, and she seemed expiring; but by being immediately diately put into bed, and taking fome cordial medicines, the puftules rofe again, and fhe foon became better. It must however be acknowledged, that her life was exposed to the most imminent danger. Extremes therefore should be cautiously avoided.

I have alfo been called on to vifit other patients, ill of the natural fmall-pox, who from a prevailing idea that the cold regimen was proper in every ftage of the difeafe, have evidently been exposed to danger, by having been injudiciously carried out at the time the puscules were far advanced in maturation; and I have even known this improper treatment practifed in the middle of winter.

If the quantity of puftules be large; if the fever, after the eruption, remains in any confiderable degree, and the fkin feels ftretched, and painful, but more efpecially if the throat be fore, fo as to render fwallowing very difficult (which in a few K 4 inftances inftances has happened) in fuch cafes I apply a blifter plaifter upon the very place of the arm where the incifion was made. For in fuch cafes it frequently happens, that the inoculated part is the principal feat of pain, occafioned by a clufter of confluent puftules formed about the incifion, which feems to point out the propriety of diminifhing the tenfion and inflammation of the part, and difcharging the acrid variolous matter, as it were from the fountain, whence the whole mifchief had its fource. The blifter plaifter I ufe is about the fize of an Englifh crown piece, and confifts of,

Pulv. Cantharid. part.

Unguent. Bafilic. flav. (Pharm. Lond.) ana. q. s.

This fpread pretty thick on a foft linen rag, whofe edges are covered with fome flicking plaister, in order the better to fix the blifter plaister on the part.

Let

Let it be gently prefied till it flicks a little, putting a fmall piece of lint between it and the inoculated puftule, and fuffer it to remain on about twelve hours. It will almost infallibly produce both fpeedy and confiderable relief.

The blifter plaifter being removed, the part is to be dreffed with a little Unguent. Bafilic flav. on a pledget of lint, and the whole covered with a little Cerate Epulotic of the fame difpenfatory, fpread on a foft linen cloth; and this Cerate, I think, is always preferable to any other application that has been, or is now in common ufe for dreffing blifter plaifters.

I do not know that any perfon has ever practifed this method of applying blifter plaifters on the inoculated parts, except myfelf, and those who have received this information from me; but its effects are fo fpeedy and falutary, as to render it worthy of general use on such occasions. It likewife likewife gives much lefs trouble than the application of large blifter plaifters, upon other parts of the body, which are not only more painful, but lefs efficacious. It is indeed attended with fo little uneafinefs, that even children feldom complain of it.

It may perhaps be imagined, that from this application the fore may afterwards become troublefome to the patient; but experience is against this fupposition; for when I have inoculated in both arms, and bliftered only one, the bliftered incision has most commonly healed fooner than the other.

Under this head I have alfo to add, that in fome cafes, particularly of young children, it happens that the inoculated part, even early in the difeafe, inflames confiderably, fo as to occafion great restless and fever, although the puscules on other parts are very few, and of a good kind; in this state I apply a common cataplasm of bread and milk to

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to the part, which, with certainty, gives relief.

Some respectable practitioners baving expressed their satisfaction with that part of the chapter of anomalous symptoms, &c. where the erysipelatous rash that had sometimes been mistaken for a confluent small-pox, was shewn to be inoffensive;\* I am encouraged to mention another complaint that has several times distressed in the greatly, and I make no doubt has also occurred to others in the course of their practice, with what I esteem to be the cause, and best manner of treating it.

Sometimes a patient who has paffed through the eruptive fever, in the ufual manner, with moderate fymptoms, and been relieved from every complaint by the eruption of a few puscules, has, after all apprehensions of future illnefs ceased, been unexpectedly attacked with a smart, and even alarming degree of fever, accompanied with great restless, and very frequently

\* Prefent method of inoculating, &c. page 44.

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frequently in children with uncommon fits of crying. Not being able to account for this complaint from any circumstances belonging to this disease, I, for a time, attributed it to some unknown cause, independent of the smallpox; but observing that seizures of the same kind happened in several instances, my attention was excited to investigate its true caufe, which I am now convinced originates from pustules situated on the \* internal part of the mouth, or on the membranous parts of the nose or resophagus. I have always treated this complaint successfully, by moderate -cordials, sufficient to produce a slight perspiration, by which means, the whole disturbance has generally been over in twenty-four hours, and no further inconvenience has been fuffered from it; this arifes from the abatement of the tension; for it is observed, that the pustules on those parts, which are constantly bot and moist, come to maturity much earlier than those on the skin.

In the last paragraph of the chapter, on the consequences of this method of inoculation,

\* The Grand Duke's cafe was of this kind.

it

it is obferved, that "I firmly believe no "one has ever had, or can have, the dif-"temper a fecond time, either in the na-"tural way, or from inoculation." || Although I am fupported in this opinion by the most eminent English physicians, yet I have found many perfons in Ruffia, who affirm, they have had the fmall-pox twice, fome even thrice. This however does not induce me to change my opinion, as it is probable, nay, more than probable, that those who have been entrusted with the care of perfons under eruptive diforders, have been themselves deceived, as to the nature and quality of fuch eruptions.

It is not my intention to difpute this point at prefent; \* if however we fuppofe fome to have had the natural fmall-pox twice, this circumstance, instead of making against inoculation, is an argument in its favour, as I can with the utmost truth de-

# The prefent method of inoculation, page 60.
\* The fubject is treated of more fully in another part of this publication.

clare,

clare, that of the very great number of those I have inoculated (several of whom have paffed through the difease in a very flight manner) I never heard that a fingle perfon has had, or even been fufpected to have had, the fmall-pox a fecond time. The inoculated therefore feem to be more fecure than those who have had the difease naturally. That inftances have happened, though not in my own practice, where inoculated perfons have afterwards taken the natural fmall-pox, I have heard, and believe : but fo far as I have been able to difcover by my enquiries, it has conftantly happened that the operator has been deceived; indeed, there was much greater ambiguity and hazard of its failing in the former method, by large incifions and the use of plaisters, than in the present practice, where the whole progrefs of infection is fo plain, that an experienced practitioner can hardly be mistaken. This, added to the certainty of infecting, are ftrong recommendations of the prefent practice.

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CHAP. III.

# ON EPIDEMIC S M A L L - P O X.

Notwithstanding that I always make use of the word *difease*, when treating of the small-pox, in order to accommodate myself to the general prevailing idea, yet I do not allow of that term, when speaking of the productive cause; because I am of opinion, that the smallpox is never generated in any one, otherwise than by the medium of air infected with the effluvia of persons sick of the diftemper, by contact with some infected substance, by incision, or by puncture; and on this account it seems to me more proper to consider it as a possion, the operation of

of which, most of the human species are liable to experience once in their lives, but very rarely, if ever, twice. The operation of poifons is various, yet each produces, in a greater or lefs degree, the peculiar effect of the parent species. The bite of fome ferpents occasions almost instant death; of others, the injury is of a nature to admit of a cure, if remedies are timely applied; the bite of a mad dog has, in fome inftances, proved fatal after feveral months, without any appearance of injury remaining during the interval. The venereal difease, too, has frequently been known to remain a confiderable time after the infection had been received, without shewing itself. To enumerate the modes of action of different poifons, would be in itfelf a work of very great extent, and foreign to my prefent purpofe; it will be fufficient to fay, that I confider the fmall-pox as a poifon of the last mentioned species, which, occasioning no immediate indisposition, does not fail shewing its effects after a certain

tain time in the manner that has been minutely defcribed in different parts of my former treatife, as well as by many other authors; and I am not without hopes, that this opinion will be well fupported by the following obfervations, refpecting the epidemic fmall-pox.

I do not believe that the ftate of the air, call it epidemic, or by any other name, ever generates fmall-pox, unlefs aided by contagion; but I allow it to be true, that certain feafons and conftitutions of the air, are more favourable than others to fpread infection, and propagate the diftemper: neither am I of opinion, that the fmall-pox returns epidemically at certain periods, as has been fuppofed by fome eminent writers. The reasons which have influenced me to adopt this opinion, shall be fubmitted to confideration; but I defire to be understood to write on smallpox only, independent of other diforders that have been deemed epidemic.

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That this difease was unknown to the ancients, admits of no doubt; for the Greek and Roman phyficians, gave accurate defcriptions of difeases, and defcended to very minute circumstances; yet we do not find any account of a diftemper that can be supposed to be meant for the finall-pox: in fact, it is allowed that the fmall-pox was imported from Afia, at the time of the crufades, and made its first appearance about the 13th century, foon after which, innumerable writers described it. It was unknown in America, until carried thither by the Europeans, about 200 years ago: and in fome of the northern parts of Europe, it has not made its appearance above 70 or 80 years. No traces of it were to be found in Siberia, until the Ruffians extended their dominions, and carried it thither; fome parts of Tartary are still free from it; the island of St. Helena remains alfo to this day uninfected, and its inhabitants, who juftly dread the introduction of this difease, make Arict

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ftrict enquiry into the health of the crew of every fhip which touches there, and ufe every neceffary precaution where there has been room to fufpect danger of infection.

From these historical relations it will appear, that the small-pox has been imported into Europe; that it is not a native of our climate, and consequently, that the idea of its beginning in any place from an epidemic state of the air, unaided by contagion, is erroneous.

But as a different opinion has been efpoufed by fome eminent writers, and facts have been produced in fupport of it, I fhall endeavour to ftate thefe with candor, and then examine how far the reafoning deduced from them will ftand the teft of enquiry.

It has been infifted on, that the fmallpox, far from continuing perpetually in L 2 one one place, as might be expected, if contagion alone was the caufe, has ufually raged with violence for a time, and having deftroyed a great number of the inhabitants, it has abated gradually; after which there has been a refpite for fome years in that place; an interval having then elapfed, the attack has been renewed in the fame manner, and the like melancholy fcenes of devaftation have been again exhibited.

It has alfo been alledged, that during this interval, if the natural difeafe has appeared from the inoculation of any perfons, or other caufes, the contagion produced has never been fufficient to excite the epidemic, until it returned regularly from a particular ftate of the air.

These returns have been called periodical, and some have gone so far as to fix the periods of its visits to different towns, at a certain specified number of years.

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This I take to be a true representation of the facts, alledged in favour of epidemical finall-pox; and I do not controvert the former part, but the latter appears to me to be a mistake: that the small-pox may have returned, and become general in the fame place, more than once in about the fame number of years, is not improbable; but that it does fo regularly, I deny, and will venture to appeal to the common experience of every country to decide this point, which, as well as the other, shall be farther elucidated in the fequel. In the mean time it may not be improper to obferve, that it would puzzle the most ingenious theorist to account for this intermittent diforder in the air, or indeed for the other malignant qualities which have been supposed to exist in it, independent of contagion. Let us then quit these visionary ideas, and try whether, by having recourse to observation and plain reasoning, this matter will not be accounted for in a more satisfactory manner, for, L 3' Nec

# [ 150 ]

Nec Deus interfit, nisi dignus vindice nodus

inciderit,

is a rule not lefs juft and applicable in medical reafoning, than in the conduct of the drama.

The historical account which has been produced to fhew that the fmall-pox is not a native of our climate, may ferve alfo as a fufficient proof, that it never begins here from any diftemperature of the air alone; and the following circumstances are of great weight towards eftablishing the truth of this opinion. If this difeafe was the offspring of a particular epidemical air alone, it certainly could not be reftrained by any care, or precautionary methods : but that the reverse is the cafe, will appear to every one who attends to the following remarks. In the most confiderable towns in England, the inhabitants having experienced great injury to their trade, and the lofs of many lives, by this difeafe becoming

ing universal, have, at a public expence, provided a house (and in some places more than one) which is called the Pest-House, fituated at a convenient distance from the town, \* and alone, to which all the poor, who fall ill, are removed, as foon as it is difcovered that they have the fmall-pox; fuch houses are provided near most of the confiderable towns in my neighbourhood in the country; medical affiftance and nurfes are afforded : due care is taken to bury the dead privately, and to give fuch patients as recover proper airings, until they may be in a ftate to return home, without danger of infecting others : this method, when duly complied with, has ftopt the fpreading of the difeafe, and prevented the contagion from becoming general; and the great benefit derived from it is fo apparent, that even parochial parfimony approves and allows the expence. To these observations may be added, what

> \* Chap. 2. Sect. 2. L 4

the

the most ignorant and uncivilized people, have done to preferve themfelves. The Calmucks, to whom the fmall-pox has been carried by the Ruffians, after having loft a great number of inhabitants, by its virulence, thought of the expedient of carrying the fick into the woods, and leaving them alone in huts, with a fufficient quantity of provisions; fuch as furvived were not again fuffered to join the others, until they had been fufficiently washed, and had performed a long quarantine. Those who died, were, with the huts they died in, covered with earth by those who had paffed through the difease, and by this means the effects of the contagion were checked. The finall-pox is very fatal among thefe people, and I am informed that they make use of the same custom to this day.

Dr. Mead relates, that the fmall-pox was fpread among the Hottentots, by their being employed to wafh the linen of fome Dutch Sailors, who had been fick of that difeafe, difeafe, and it raged with great and deftructive violence; but these ignorant people being taught by experience, that the difease might be spread by contagion, drew lines round the infected part of the country, and guarded them so strictly, that if any person attempted to fly from the spot, he was immediately shot dead.

To these observations I may add a quotation from Sydenham, which contains a most remarkable and well-attested fact, respecting the plague, which is also a contagious difease.

" In the mean time, I much doubt if " the difpofition of the air, though it be " peftilential, is of itfelf able to produce " the plague; but that being always predo-" minant in fome place or other, it is con-" veyed to others by peftilential matter, or " the coming of an infected perfon from " fome place where the plague prevails; " and that even there it is not epidemic, " unlefs " unlefs the conftitution of the air favours " it; otherwife I cannot conceive how it " fhould fo happen that in the fame cli-" mate, at the time the plague rages vio-" lently in one town, a neighbouring one " fhould totally efcape it, by ftrictly for-" bidding all intercourfe with the infected " place. An inftance of which we had " fome few years ago, when the plague " raged with extreme violence in moft " parts of Italy, and yet the Grand Duke, " by his vigilance and prudence, entirely " prevented its entering the borders of " Tufcany."\*

Now it is alfo evident, that if the fuppofed prevalence of epidemic fmall-pox, occafioned by diftempered air, independent of contagion, was well founded, the precautionary method, above defcribed, muft be ineffectual, the malignant air admitting of no reftraint; would exert its influence, and the removing of fome would be no fecurity to fuch as remained at home. This

\* Sect. 2. Chap. 2.

This opinion will be further confirmed by attending to what frequently happens in villages where no care is taken to prevent the difeafe from fpreading; also from what fometimes occurs in large towns, where fome confiderable perfons, who will not remove, fall fick; or where the difeafe breaks out in too many families to admit of a removal of all; in either inftance, the diftemper becoming general, the fatal effects are feverely felt, and here contagion exerts its force uncontrouled, until most of the inhabitants have paffed through it. In fact, the fmall-pox, which I believe to be very contagious, may not unaptly be compared to fire; if one or more houfes in a town are burning, provided the people are able to extinguish the flames, the calamity is averted; but if by accident the fire should begin in many places at the fame time, fo that the efforts to ftop its progress become ineffectual, a great conflagration must necessarily enfue.

The

The small-pox, at certain periods within my own memory, has raged at Hertford, the town where I refide, and has been attended with the lofs of many lives; yet we have had no fuch calamity for more than ten years paft. Suppose the reason of this to be asked, the answer is obvious, that it could not happen, becaufe the general inoculations that have been practifed there, have left fcarce any who have not had the difeafe; and this confequence will be the fame, whether inoculation or the natural fmall-pox be the caufe; the place will remain fecure from an epidemic, until a fresh race of children, or a change of inhabitants has furnished it with more subjects for the difease. And I conceive this clearly accounts for the returns that have been miftakenly called periodical, and fupposed to arife from an unfavourable alteration of the air alone.

Thefe

These reasons appear to me convincing against the opinion of felf-generated epidemic small-pox, and I therefore maintain that the small-pox is a poison or (if it will please better) a difease of the contagious kind, communicated either from an atmosphere infected with the effluvia of persons sick of that distemper, or by contact with substances that retain the some of infection.

The first of these is probably the more usual mode of communication, which no doubt is greatly aided or retarded in its progress, by the particular state of the atmosphere and disposition of the state of the atmosphere and disposition of the state of the particular time when the infection is received, or the part of the human frame that is first infected; for notwithstanding it is a prevailing opinion that the states and lungs are first attacked, yet this idea does not sphere confirmed by the effects produced upon the constitution. It is to inoculation that we are indebted for the difcovery of the fubtile nature of the variolous poifon, both with refpect to the fmall proportion that is fufficient to infect, and alfo to the great length of time in which, when dried and preferved in a condenfed flate, it flill retains its activity and power of reproducing the difeafe.

It is certainly true, that a mode of infection, fomewhat fimilar to this practifed in inoculation, will happen on other occafions by accident. For 'example, those who have the difease badly, will infect the clothes, furniture, and other fubstances which are near them; and as the poor are not fufficiently attentive to a change of raiment, nor even to the cleanliness of their furniture or perfons, the confequence of their having the difeafe feverely will neceffarily be, that the apartment, and every thing which is in it, as well as the wearing apparel of those who attend on them, will remain in an infected state; and, in some diftant

diftant period, a perfon, who has not paffed through the difeafe, may receive the infection by being *in contact* with the infected place. Still it feems probable, that the natural difeafe is most generally contracted from the disposition of the air, or some other unknown cause having loosened and diffused the seeds of the disease from substances impregnated with them, which thus becomes active, and consequently the small-pox may appear without the immediate cause being known.

It feems alfo extremely probable, that infected particles may be conveyed by the winds, into places remote from the original feat of infection, in the fame manner as we obferve the feeds of plants to be tranfported into diftant parts; or as the aromatic fmell of the fpice iflands is diftinguifhed by perfons in fhips at a confiderable diftance from the fhore.

Another

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Another objection has been made, and great ftrefs laid on it by fome writers, who fay, You maintain that the fmall-pox is never produced without actual contagion; whence then did it first originate ?

The anfwer to this, and to a variety of queftions of the like nature, as of the venereal difeafe, the meafles, the plague, &c. is; that the Supreme Being has, for the wifeft purpofes, limited human knowledge; and that after having diligently employed our beft abilities to inveftigate the caufes, we are frequently obliged to be fatisfied with effects, and to defift from further enquiry, being unable to acquire perfect information on every point.

#### CHAP.

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#### CHAP. III.

#### **O**BSERVATIONS

IN FAVOUR OF THE OPINION,

# That the true Small-Pox attacks the fame Perfon but once.

THIS opinion is fo generally entertained in England, that to fome it may feem unneceffary to enlarge on the fubject; but as in many parts of Europe, the fmall-pox is thought liable to returns, and more particularly, as fome very refpectable authorities in this country (where it is certainly well understood) have been produced in fupport of this opinion; that I M may may not appear too ftrongly prejudiced in favour of the contrary doctrine, I will ftate the reafons which induce me to continue in my former fentiments.

The true natural fmall-pox has been well defcribed by many authors; but although the particular criterion, which is underftood to diftinguish it from all other difeafes, is the eruption which fucceeds the fever, yet the most accurate description will not be fufficiently clear, becaufe there are other eruptions fo fimilar to the mildeft kind of fmall-pox, that, in fome cafes, the most experienced may not be able to decide, by one view, in any ftage of the difeafe, whether they are truly fmall-pox or not; I shall therefore endeavour to point out the difeases most liable to be mistaken for fmall-pox, and the particular circumstances that require the firictest attention in all doubtful cafes.

It

It may be proper to mention that the meafles, and anomalous eruptions under the general name of rafhes, have fometimes been confidered as true fmall-pox; but in thefe the doubts are eafily cleared up by a proper attention, fo that no miftakes of this kind are in danger of being permanent.

But the difeafes that very much refemble, and have been most frequently taken for fmall-pox, are fwine and chicken-pox; which indeed differ from each other in fcarce any circumstance, except the fize of the puscules, and have been by fome fupposed to be the fame. In fact, they are fuch trifling diforders, that it feems of no great importance to determine that queftion; however, those cases, in which either are attended with a great number of pustules, certainly refemble very much a mild kind of fmall-pox, and the diffinguishing points which require the most attentive ob-

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fervation,

# [ 164 ]

fervation, may be comprized under the following heads.

First. The complaints preceding the eruption.

Secondly. The eruption at its first appearance.

Thirdly. Its progress, duration, and manner of declension.

With refpect to the firft; the fwine and chicken-pox are commonly attended with a reftlefsnefs, and fometimes laffitude, at intervals, for about twelve hours; and thefe are all the fymptoms which ufually precede the eruption: they are feldom, if ever, accompanied with fever which deferves attention as fuch; nor do I recollect ever to have been called to vifit a patient under thefe diforders, previous to the eruption; but having occafionally been in families, particularly in fchools, where feveral children

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ren have fallen ill one after another, I have had opportunities of attending to the whole progrefs of these diforders.

The natural fmall-pox, on the contrary, even when the kind is good, and the number of puftules very few, is ufually preceded by a fmart access of fever, of three or four days continuance, before the eruption.

The first appearance of the eruptions may indeed be very fimilar, but those of the natural small-pox are generally more numerous than those of the chicken-pox; and I have remarked, that the eruptions of the chicken and swine-pox are often in small clusters, more irregular in their fize, and more unequally placed, than those of the true natural small-pox.

In the progrefs, duration, and manner of declenfion of the eruption, these discases are further distinguished; the puscules of M 3 the the chicken-pox very foon have a fmall pellicle, filled with lymph, which grows yellow and dries away in about four days, the part becoming brown. Whereas the progrefs of the eruptions of the mildeft kind of natural fmall-pox, from its first appearance to the time of full maturation, is feven days, and the puscules dry away more flowly than those of the other difeases.

It muft ftill be allowed, that in fome inftances it will be extremely difficult to decide, particularly when it is confidered, that where fymptoms are fo very trifling, perfons of judgment rarely attend the whole time, if at all; and in general, as little or no medicine is thought neceffary, a nurfe decides the doubt; or if a gentleman in the medical line is once confulted, it frequently happens that a hafty judgment is given, and the patient is vifited no more.

I am inclined to believe, that the idea of the return of the fmall-pox, frequently originates ginates from miftakes of this kind, not doubting that the decision is right on the second appearance, because on such an unexpected event, the best opinions are taken to decide the point.

But how is the first illness to be cleared up? We have no other mode of enquiry, but of those who saw it at the time; some years may have elapsed; the idea formerly taken will probably remain, and the fatisfaction to be obtained from this only refource will be far from sufficient to clear up a difficulty which might, even at that very time, be no easy matter.

To the arguments now offered, I can truly add, that in a practice of more than forty-fix years, I have not met with a fingle inftance of any perfon's having the finall-pox twice. I will fubjoin fome very remarkable cafes that have occurred.

M 4

I was

I was defired to vifit a child ill of the fmall-pox, where an ingenious furgeon attended, and informed me before I faw the patient, that I should find the difease fo mild as to be quite free from danger; but that it was a ferious confideration what courfe to advise to the family, which confisted of the mistress of the house, with a child at the breaft, two other children, and two maid fervants, who not fuspecting it to be the fmall-pox, had continued with the fick child. I found the puftules more numerous than I had ever feen in the chickenpox, and about the ftate which is ufually called the turn; indeed they fo much refembled true fmall-pox, that on my first feeing them, I had no fufpicion to the contrary; but upon infpecting them more minutely, there feemed an irregularity in their fize, and manner of being placed, that, entertaining fome doubt, I made a ftrict enquiry into the progress of the eruption, and was informed, there had been fcarce any previous illnefs; and that from

from the first appearance it was not completely five days: I therefore gave it as my opinion, that it was not fmall-pox, but chicken-pox. A fresh difficulty then arofe, the family being unanimous in afferting, that the chicken-pox had been very much in the village the preceding year, and that this child, amongst the reft, undoubtedly had it. Under this uncertainty the family, dreading the confequence of a mistake, determined to be inoculated, and were immediately placed under my care. They all paffed through the difease effectually, but favourably; after they recovered, and before they returned to live with the child above-mentioned, I requested that I might be permitted to inoculate it, both for its fecurity, and for the family's and my own fatisfaction; this was complied with, and the child had a confiderable number of true fmall-pox from the inoculation, accompanied with the usual symptoms.

This

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This is produced as a remarkable inflance, where a miftake might have been made as to the difeafe, and feems to fupport the opinion, that the fwine and chicken-pox are diffinct diforders, as by the account of the family, this child muft have paffed through both.

#### Another Cafe is as follows.

In the latter part of November, 1779, I was defired to attend on a lady twenty-five years of age, and her daughter between three and four years old, both ill of the natural fmall-pox.

On my vifit I found them very full and blind; the fmall-pox were confluent as to numbers, but of a mild kind.

The account I received from the gentleman was, that his lady had been informed by her parents, that an apothecary of eminence nence had inoculated her at two years of age, and from thence she had always efteemed herself perfectly safe from the smallpox, but was unable to give any account in what manner she was supposed to have had the difease.

That his daughter had been inoculated when eight months old, by a phyfician in confiderable practice, who had affured him of the difeafe having been properly and effectually paffed through.

That about five weeks ago, two other of his children had been inoculated by an eminent furgeon in the neighbourhood, and had both paffed through the difeafe fatisfactorily, but favourably.

That his lady and the other child being fuppofed perfectly fafe, had conftantly lived with them, but as it now appeared, had certainly taken the fmall-pox from them.

It being impossible for me to gain any fatisfactory explanation from the lady, in regard to the manner in which she had passed through the difease the first time, my enquiries were confined to what had happened to the child on its inoculation; and I was informed that the arms became much enflamed and fore, infomuch, that they were obliged to enlarge the fleeve of one arm, and that during the illnefs the child had a flight fit; that it was not remembered whether any puftules maturated, but a few had appeared, which foon went off; that the phyfician, upon taking the whole into confideration, had given them affurance that the difease was effectually paffed through.

The difficulties being increased by this account, I enquired from whom the infection was taken, and was informed, that it was from the fon of the gentleman's gardener. At my request the gardener and his fon were fent for, and, on my examining mining the man, he informed me, that about two years before, the fmall-pox had been very much in that neighbourhood, and that his fon having had the difeafe in a favourable manner, had been felected for the purpofe of inoculating his mafter's child, by the phyfician who performed the operation.

Thus far my enquiries rather tended to fupport the opinion, that the fmall-pox had been taken from the first inoculation. But to be perfectly fatisfied, I enquired of the gardener, in what manner his fon had had the difeafe, and was told, that he had fcarce any illnefs; that the number of puftules was few; he could not be certain as to the number of days they kept out, but that his neighbours faid, no one ever had the difease so mildly. The possibility occurred to me, that the gardener's boy might have had the chicken-pox, and not the fmall-pox, and that a mistake of this kind might have given rife to the prefent miffortune ;

fortune; I requested to be permitted to inoculate the gardener's child, which would be a decifive proof whether the first illnefs had been the natural fmall-pox, or fome other difeafe. This was confented to, and I inoculated the gardener's fon from the fame child, who had been formerly inoculated from him. The confequence was, that the appearance of his arm went on, previous to his illnefs, in the manner we ufually obferve in inoculation from fmallpox : he had the eruptive fever at the proper time, and a confiderable number of puftules, with every circumstance to prove the true fmall-pox to have been produced by this inoculation.

From this experiment it became clear beyond a doubt, where the miftake had been; and the phyfician, who conducted the former inoculation, is convinced that this was the cafe.

I can-

I cannot help obferving, that if the gardener's fon had been dead before the ficknefs of the gentleman's child, the cafe would have remained on record as one where the natural fmall-pox had appeared, after the patient had paffed through the difeafe in a fatisfactory manner by inoculation.

I fubjoin the gentleman's own account, in confirmation of what I have related, as alfo to give fome light into the time which natural finall-pox takes to produce the difeafe.

" Mrs. R. was inoculated about twentythree years fince, at two years of age, by an apothecary in London; her daughter was inoculated by a phyfician, about the middle of the year 1776, and was then eight months old; this was performed from the fon of my gardener, who has lately been inoculated for the fake of experiment, by Baron Dimfdale, and had the difeafe "very "very effectually, though favourably. Mrs. "R's two younger children were inocu-"lated the 25th of October, 1779, both of whom received the diftemper at the ufual time in a favourable way. On the 22d of November Mrs. R. fickened, and two days afterwards her eldeft daughter, each, after three or four days illnefs, had appearances of the finall-pox, when it was thought neceffary to call in the affiftance of Baron Dimfdale."

The following is another remarkable in fupport of the point in question.

I had received well authenticated information, that a general inoculation having been performed in a parifh in the country, where all the patients were fuppofed to have taken the infection, and to have gone through the difeafe favourably, it happened a few years after, that the natural fmallpox broke out in the fame neighbourhood; and and thefe people, fuppofing themfelves fafe, went without fear into the houfes where the difeafe raged; that most of them fell ill of the natural fmall-pox, and many of them died. To be further confirmed in the veracity of this account, I lately applied to a gentleman of character, refident in the parish; and the following is an extract from his letter.

" The fubject of your letter was a real " fact. Towards the latter end of the year "----, and the beginning of the year fol-" lowing, the burials in the parish were "very much increafed; many had gone " through inoculation, and as they were " told, and they judged themfelves, they " were fafe from any danger from the fmall-" pox; fome made the trial, and went into " houses where the real small-pox raged; " this trial coft them dear, for I believe " most, if not all, fell with the real finall-" pox, and died. On a stricter enquiry it " was reported, that the matter used in " inocu-N

"inoculation was taken from a subject "having the chicken-pox."

The following cafe, which I lately attended, is also in point on the prefent fubject, and the account of the early part of the difease I received from an experienced and fensible apothecary, who attended the family.

"The child had been two days indif-"pofed with a diarrhæa, accompanied with "laffitude. On Saturday in the afternoon "he was feized with a regular fit of fever, "which continued the following day, and "in the night following, his fleep was "difturbed with frequent ftartings; on "the Monday the fever was more mode-"rate; on the Tuefday morning fome "eruptions were perceived, though but "little regarded; but on the Thurfday they "were confiderably elevated, and much "refembled finall-pox; they continued to advance

" advance until Saturday, the greatest num-" ber being on the face, arms, and loins; " fome began to dry, but in general they " were fo advanced, that every cafual vi-" fitor pronounced them to be fmall-pox. "At this time an eminent phyfician was " called in, who, being in doubt whether " it was real fmall-pox, recommended that " inoculation should be performed with "the matter, to determine clearly the " point. This was complied with. On " the Saturday, another child in the fame " family was inoculated with fome white " viscid matter, taken from a pustule. " The effect was, that the inoculated arm " fhewed figns of having received the in-" fection, though rather later than is usual " from small-pox; and after a flight in-" disposition, an eruption appeared fimi-" lar to the former, but not fo numerous. " On the following day, which was the " 11th from the inoculation, Baron Dimf-" dale was defired to vifit the patient."

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Both the patients were shewn me; on the first, the pustules were in many parts, even then, moift; they appeared fmall in fize, perfectly distinct, but more numerous, efpecially in the parts above-mentioned, than I had ever feen in chickenpox. The place of infertion on the inoculated child was inflamed, and had fome matter in it; the eruption was evidently of the fame kind as that from whence it had been taken, and fuch as rendered a determination extremely difficult; however, taking all the circumstances into confideration, I gave it as my opinion that the difeafe was a fpurious kind of pock, and proposed inoculating these children from real fmall-pox, to determine the point; this was confented to, and the event was, that a mild, but fatisfactory eruption of fmall-pox was produced from the inoculation; and, as a further confirmation, a third child was thewn me at the time when I inoculated the first with real small-pox matter, who, in confequence of having cohabited

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cohabited with the other two, caught the fame diftemper, and had also, after a flight fever, eruptions of the same kind.

From these and many other cases it appears very evident, that other diseases, refembling small-pox, may be propagated by inoculation, as well as by an infected air; every practitioner should therefore be very attentive to take his matter from the real disease.

It may be further observed, that in England, where this diforder has been more particularly attended to than in any other country, it is feldom reported to be received twice.

From what has been offered, I hope to ftand excufed in retaining my former opinion on this point, with the following limitation. I do not infift that it is a law of nature, that the fmall-pox never fhall return a fecond time; nor would I abfo-N 3 lutely

lutely reject the authorities of very respectable perfons, who have given cafes where they think it has occurred; but, in deference to them, I am willing to fuppofe, that as we know fome are fo conflitutionally framed, as never to be fubject to receive the difease, it may possibly happen that a very few may be liable to a fecond infection; instances of this kind, if any, are, however, certainly very rare, and Inever met with one in my own practice, but have enquired accurately into feveral that have been efteemed fuch by others, of which fome remarkable inftances have been just mentioned, where the miftakes were difcovered by an attentive enquiry. It is further a well established truth, that the mildeft kind of natural fmall-pox, which is accompanied with very little illnefs, and the eruption of which is fcarce fufficient to indicate its being really the difease; and the malignant confluent fort, which is attended with the most imminent danger, are ftill the fame diftemper, and the one renders the

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the patient as fecure from a fecond attack as the other.

Experience has often shewn this to be equally true, respecting the inoculated difeafe; for although fometimes patients under inoculation pass through the illness in a manner that differs materially from natural finall-pox; yet where the infection appears to have fucceeded fatisfactorily on the punctured part of the arm, although no eruption should be discovered in confequence of it, the party will never receive the difease in future. Not that I ever did recommend any one to reft affured of this, and neglect all future attempts to confirm his fecurity; on the contrary, although my whole experience convinces me of the truth of the affertion, wherever the event of once inoculating has appeared in the least doubtful to others, I have not only prevailed on my patient to a fecond, and often to a third, inoculation from fluid matter; but have requested that he might N 4 fec, fee, and be permitted to touch perfons in an infectious flate of the natural difeafe; and every experiment of this kind has been made, without a fingle inflance of any difeafe being produced; and I earneftly recommend the fame method to every one, not only as a neceffary fatisfaction to the patient, but alfo to render the practice perfectly free from the charge of being infecure, as it refpects a return of the diftemper.

I have briefly infifted on these particulars here; a more circumstantial account, and cases in point, will be found in a former publication.\*

It will probably be expected, that I fhould point out the particular criteria difcoverable in the inoculated part, in the mildeft kind of difeafe, which give affu-

\* The prefent method of inoculating for the fmallpox, in the chapter of anomalous appearances, page 42. and cafes at the end of the book.

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rance that it has fo effectually taken place, as to fecure the patient from any future attack.

Those who have been much employed in the practice, I am fully perfuaded, know, as well as myself, that there is a certain particular appearance produced on the arm by the infection of the variolous poifon, which differs from all others. Although it may be as difficult to convey a clear idea of this difference in writing, as to define, with precision, the eruption of the natural small-pox on its first appearance, which cannot be described to accurately, as to enable a person, unacquainted with the diffemper, to decide with certainty upon it.

This material point I have already difcuffed with fome care, and refer the reader to the chapter on the progress of infection in my former publication.\*

\* The prefent method of inoculating, &c. page 30. I have I have only to add, that inoculators, even at this time, have different methods of communicating the infection. In the use of incision the event may be obfcure. But if inoculation be performed by a flight puncture, and with fluid matter, the progress is usually this; after two, three, or four days, a small redness of a particular colour may be diftinguished, which gradually rifes to a pimple, refembling the small-pox in its first appearance; this fills with a pellucid fluid about the time of the commencement of the eruptive symptoms, and the inflammation increases very fast during the fever.

Now when this gradual progrefs is obferved to take place, I maintain, that although it be unattended with fever, or derangement of health, and not followed by any eruption, the perfon will, during the remainder of his life, be fecure from receiving the difeafe. I am emboldened to fpeak in this politive manner, from having made

made repeated trials to infect fuch patients again, and in every inftance ineffectually; but I would not be underftood to infift on this in contradiction to what other practitioners may have experienced, if any fuch there be. And it may be proper in this place to remark, that, in my treatife On the present Method of Inoculating, &c.\* " I have afferted, That fo foon as any moif-" ture can be taken from the infected part " of an inoculated patient, previous to the " appearance of any puftules, and even pre-" vious to the eruptive fever, this moisture " is capable of communicating the fmall-" pox with the utmost certainty. I have " taken a little clear fluid from the elevated " pellicle on the incifed part, even fo early " as the fourth day after the operation, and " have, at other times, used matter fully " digested at the crifis, with equal fucces; " I chuse however, in general, to take mat-" ter for infection during the fever of erup-

\* See page 27.

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"tion, as I suppose it at that time to have "its utmost activity."

I should not have faid any thing on this fubject at prefent, had I not thought it neceffary to take notice of a late publication which militates strongly against my position. The respectability of the author,\* and the importance of the question merit attention. He fays, that from some remarkable instances, which he has seen himself, he has reason to believe that a fluid taken from the inoculated arm, previous to the eruptive fever, is a very uncertain method of infecting, and therefore, a hazardous refinement of the operation; and gives the following instances as decisive on the question.

Five furgeons at Plymouth inoculated 40 patients, 30 of whom were inoculated with crude matter, taken from the arm of a

\* Mudge on the Inoculated Small-Pox, vide from p. 17 to 23.

woman

woman five days after she herself had been inoculated with concocted matter, which did eventually produce in her a smart fever, and a sufficient number of eruptions.

The other ten were inoculated with concocted matter, taken from a puftule of natural fmall-pox. The arms of all the forty took the infection; the latter ten, after the eruptive fever, had the fmall-pox in the ufual way. The infection took place in the other thirty, fo as to inflame the arms confiderably, and to produce a very large prominent pustule with matter in it on each of them; yet not one had any eruptive fever, or a fimple subsequent eruption on any part of the body; but about the eighth, in some the ninth, and in others the tenth day, the inflammation began to difappear; and on about the twelfth or thirteenth, the pustules on their arms scabbed off. It is added, that the matter which was in those pustules, having been used to inoculate others, produced on them exactly the fame appearappearance, unattended alfo with either fever or fmall-pox; the thirty, not being efteemed fecure, were inoculated again from concocted matter, and the refult was, that every one of them had the eruptive fever and fucceeding eruptions; in fhort, they had the fmall-pox in different degrees, but all in the ufual way of inoculated patients.

Now, confidering these cases to have been as related, it appears fatisfactory, to my judgment, that the failures have arisen from too precipitately forming an opinion, that an inflammation, and a fore with matter on the punctured part, would certainly convey the difeafe, without confidering fo accurately as was neceffary, whether fuch inflammation and fore were truly of a variolous nature, which in the prefent inftance, I think, was not the cafe, and confequently the inoculation of the thirty patients having been performed from a discharge not impregnated with the variolous poifon, the fmall-pox could not be produced; and a fecond

fecond experiment from the difcharge of one of the thirty would undoubtedly have had a fimilar effect.

To elucidate this point, I must beg leave to infift, that, an inflammation and puftule with matter on the inoculated part, in confequence of inoculation, is no proof of variolous infection, unless accompanied with the usual gradual progress and specific appearance that fo accurately diffinguishes the infection of this species of poison from all others. It is true, that chicken or fwinepox, and meafles, have been conveyed by inoculation, and occafioned inflammation and a fore on the arm; and, I doubt not, but that other cutaneous diseases may be propagated in the fame manner, although no man would, for his own information, be justified in making the experiment. Let it also be taken into confideration, that perfons of a particular bad habit of body have fuffered very great, and fometimes very dangerous inflammations from very flight punctures, instances

inftances of which are well known to have frequently happened.

Fortunately the great number of patients inoculated from one subject affists to remove every doubt; for in the course of my own experience, and I appeal to that of others, not a fingle instance has happened, to the best of my recollection, where I could have inoculated four perfons from the arm of any one patient on the fifth day; although once, and only once in my life (a fingular fact, which I thought worth recording) I did fucceed in procuring fufficient infection for one fo early as the fourth day : and, indeed, it is very unufual that a fluid for the purpose of infection of a fingle person can be taken from the arm of one inoculated fo early as the fifth day, although on the eighth, ninth, and tenth it is common.

Had I feen an inflammation and difcharge fufficient to inoculate thirty perfons fo early as the fifth day, I fhould have been induced

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induced to suppose that some constitutional indifposition had occasioned fo remarkable an appearance, and of course that the matter was unfit for the use of conveying the fmall-pox; and I am further confirmed in this opinion by recollecting fome cafes \* that happened to myfelf, among the first that were inoculated at St. Petersburg: they were of young gentlemen from the Cadet corps, who had been directed to be inoculated under the fupposition that they had not before paffed through the difeafe: in these the inflammation immediately followed the inoculation, and a puftule appeared on the inoculated part, which filled with concocted matter much earlier than ought to happen in the usual course; and although at that time I wanted matter to continue the practice of inoculation, I did not approve of making use of this, from the irregularity of the progress. The refult was, that the young gentlemen had no

\* See Chap. I.

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disease,

difeafe, and the fores foon feabbed and dried off. They were inoculated again without effect, and on enquiry I had reafon to believe that they had had the fmall-pox before. Now, in these instances, the part inflamed very much, although it was not accompanied with the characteristic that denotes true variolous infection.

Other cafes of unufual early inflammation I have feen, but cannot recollect circumftances with fufficient precifion to relate them. I never attempted to make use of matter, by way of experiment, from such irregular cases.

The doubt whether inoculation might be effectually performed from matter in a crude ftate, I thought deferved the foregoing particular difcuffion, and have only to add, that provided there has been due care to take infection from true fmall-pox, and the progrefs in confequence of it, in the inoculated lated perfon, has been agreeable to what is ufually obferved in inoculated patients, and fuch as I have defcribed above, no doubt remains with me, but that the crude matter will be equally efficacious with that which has been more concocted.

And further, if the inoculation be performed with fluid matter, the infection will certainly take place without being liable to mifcarriage from any fancied difference either of the air, or conflitutional difpofition of the recipient : for although I have allowed, and do believe, that in certain flates of the atmosphere,\* difeafes may be more eafily propagated than in others; and from the obfcurity of the manner in which infection fixes itfelf in the natural way, it may, and indeed does, fometimes happen, that perfons exposed to great danger, efcape being infected; yet where the real active virus is introduced into the ha-

\* See chapter III.

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bit by inoculation, no conftitution of the air, or the body, can refift its operation; and this I efteem a moft important recommendation of the manner of inoculation I have defcribed; for whether fluid matter taken from the difeafed, be immediately ufed, or matter taken recently and dried, but rendered moift by holding over the fteam of warm water, or even diluted, if neceffary, with a fmall proportion of warm water, the effect will be the fame.

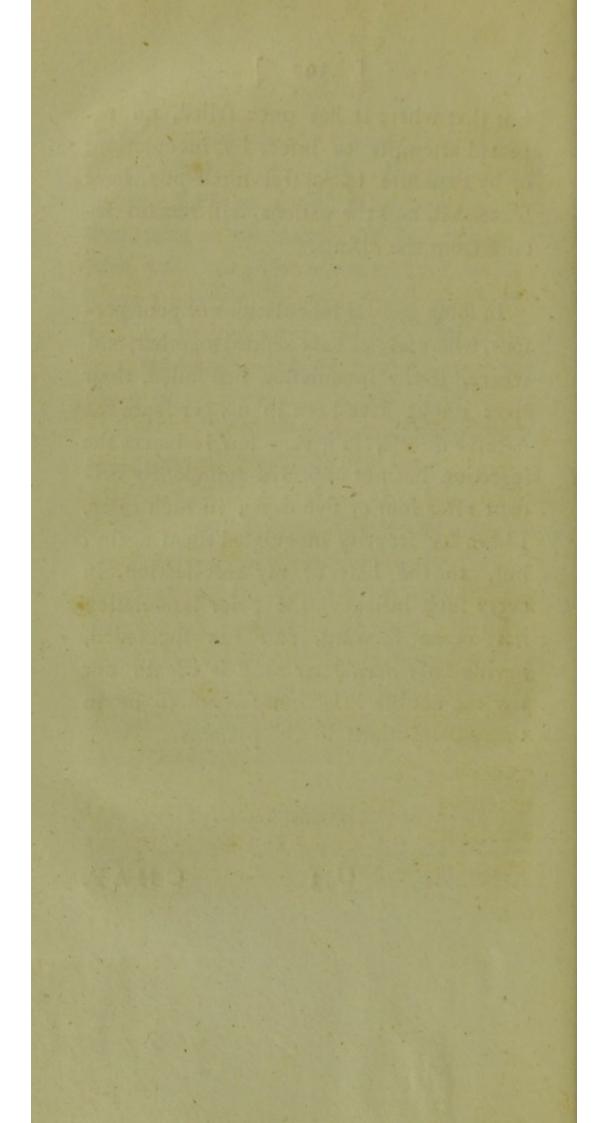
But I have obferved this laft method has been rather flower in producing the difeafe, and doubtlefs the dilution ought to be with a very fmall proportion of water, left there fhould be danger of the infecting matter being rendered inactive, which poffibly might be the confequence, though I never experienced an inftance of it.

I beg leave to obferve, that I do not mean to infift, that the fmall-pox has always been produced by the inoculation, but but that where it has once failed, no repeated attempts to infect by inoculation, or by exposure to natural small-pox, have fucceeded, and the patient will remain secure from the difease.

In fome general inoculations of poor perfons, where feveral have refided together, and where, if the inoculation had failed, their lives might have been in danger from the natural difeafe, in a very few inftances the infection has not appeared fufficiently evident after four or five days; in fuch cafes, I have for fecurity inoculated them again; but, to the beft of my recollection, in every fuch inftance, the prior inoculation has come forward, and has fucceeded, having only been later than is ufual; nor has the double infection feemed to be in the leaft injurious to the patients.

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CHAP.



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### CHAP. V.

# OBSERVATIONS

#### TOPROVE

That fome Perfons pafs through Life, without appearing to be capable of receiving the Small-Pox.

T HAT every perfon is liable to receive the fmall-pox once, has been a generally received opinion; but as fome perfons have paffed through a long life without taking the difeafe, although frequently in the way of infection; and as others have been repeatedly inoculated, and afterwards intentionally exposed to the worft kind of natural fmall-pox, without O 4 any

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any appearance of difeafe being produced; the conclusion will be warranted, that fome are fo conflictutionally framed, as not to be fubject to this diftemper in any degree: although I must acknowledge, the strictest observations have not enabled me to form the least previous judgment, respecting the probability of individuals receiving it favourably, or unfavourably, or of their efcaping it altogether.

In fupport of this polition, I shall not produce inftances of adults, upon whom repeated inoculations have had no effect; for to fuch it may be answered, that they probably have passed through the difease in fome early period of their lives, in a manner too favourable to have been obferved; nor shall I depend on the cases of many who have been inoculated, with no other appearance than one small pussule on the part which was infected, because, if the appearance were truly variolous, they have passed through the difease regularly, though though flightly, and no fimilar appearance can ever be produced again by repeated inoculations.

But the evidence I shall rely on will be cafes of infants, who, being inoculated, have not shewn the least signs of receiving variolous infection on the part of infertion, have had no illness in confequence of it, nor could be made to receive the disease by a fecond or third inoculation, or by cohabiting with others who were ill of the natural small-pox.

At a general inoculation at Little Berkhamftead, which I conducted, with the affiftance of my worthy and learned friend, Dr. Ingenhouz, a child in the earlieft ftate of infancy, inoculated with feveral others in the fame cottage, fhewed no appearance of having received the infection, and was therefore inoculated again, and lived with others under the difeafe in the fame fame apartment, without shewing the least fign of being indisposed.

A fecond inftance was a child of a gentleman of diffinction at Peterfburg, where feveral were inoculated in one family, who lived in the fame apartment. On one infant the inoculated part fhewed not the leaft fign of being infected, and on that account it was inoculated again, yet neither did this fucceed, and the child continued perfectly well, although living with the reft. On my return from Mofco, fome months after, I was permitted to inoculate the child a third time, and the event was the fame as before.

The third cafe is still more remarkable.

I was defired to vifit a child in London, far advanced in a bad confluent finall-pox, and was informed by the mother that, a few days before, fhe had loft an elder child of the fame difeafe. She had, at the fame time,

time, a third at her breaft, a fine healthy child; they inhabited one apartment, which was rendered extremely offenfive from the stench occasioned by the malignity of the diftemper, and the mother was employed the whole day in carrying the fick child in her arms, or taking the infant to nurfe and fuckle. The anxiety of the father and mother was great, and I was requested to give the little one a chance by inoculation, upon my affuring them, that fuch a measure would not be injurious to it, if the natural difease took place. I inoculated it with little hopes of fuccefs from the experiment, as the child might reafonably be expected to fall ill every hour. Not the leaft infection however appeared on its arms, although inoculated from the virulent matter of the other child, who died foon after; nor did it shew the least figns of indifpofition, although ftrictly attended to every day. This happened at Christmas, and, in the May following, I called again to enquire after the child, whom

whom I found in perfect health, and was affured that he had not had any illnefs. I now proposed to the parents to take the child to a patient, who was then full of natural fimall-pox, and near the crifis; this was done, the child was inoculated again from fluid matter, and made to touch the fick person, and this experiment, fimilar to the former, produced no illnefs, nor appearance of infection.

More inftances to confirm this opinion might be produced, but I truft these will be fufficient to give fatisfaction on a point that I know is allowed by many, though difbelieved by fome.

CHAP.

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#### CHAP. VI.

### OBSERVATIONS

TO PROVE

That though a Perfon has been expofed to the natural Small-Pox, if he is inoculated in Time, the Inoculation will fuperfede the natural Difeafe.

I HAVE already obferved that, among the various changes in the practice of inoculation, that which has taken place in the mode of infection, is very material. I remember the time when the inoculator thought it neceffary to use every precaution that could be fuggested, to prevent the fuppofed

supposed danger of communicating the natural difease. The patient's head was turned afide, a handkerchief fprinkled with fpirits of lavender-water, or fome volatile fpirit, was held to the nofe, and the inoculator was as expeditious as poffible in performing the operation, making afterwards a precipitate retreat, as if he were an affaffin. Time and experience have however at length convinced us, that all thefe precautions are needlefs, and we now make no fcruple to bring the perfon, who is to be inoculated, into the prefence of the perfon from whom the matter is to be taken; and even, if it should be more convenient for the former to refide in an infected apartment, it is permitted, from a moral certainty that after the infection has been communicated by inoculation, it will infallibly produce the difeafe, and no accumulation, or other bad confequence, will arife from fuch refidence. I am aware, however, that this practice will still be objected to by many as rafh and dangerous.

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This therefore leads me to mention an important and interesting discovery, which is, that though a perfon, who has never had the finall-pox, has continued to refide in an infected apartment fo long, and with fuch communication with the fick, that there must be the highest probability of the infection being taken, yet, even under these alarming circumstances, if inoculation is performed, he shall have the diftemper from the inoculation only, with every advantage arifing from it; and the natural infection shall be, as it were, fuperfeded. I may truly call this an interefting discovery, because formerly it was a cuftom, whenever it unfortunately happened, that the difease was not diftinguished in time, or that any one had, by accident, refided some days in an infected apartment, to use every means that prudence could fuggeft to prepare the patient by medicines and regimen, and wait the approach of the natural difease; and I am forry to fay, that the best regulations have not fucceeded

ceeded in producing a mild diftemper, equal to the plaufibility of the attempt. I do not affert that inoculation will fucceed in this manner, when the natural infection has been fo long taken, as to be ready to fhew itfelf by the eruptive fymptoms; for, in that cafe, I have no doubt of its being too late; nor can I pretend to fix the precife time at which it will fucceed; for the abfolute moment when the natural difeafe infects the habit cannot certainly be known.

The manner of acquiring the knowledge of this fact has been gradual, as chance has thrown inftances of it in my way, and experience has fince confirmed it.

When the natural fmall-pox has appeared in a family, and it has been probable, from circumftances, that fome perfons of the family who had not paffed through the difeafe, had not yet taken the infection, it has been the general practice, to perfuade them them to fubmit to inoculation, which has, in my experience, as well as in that of others, as far as has come to my knowledge, always been attended with fuccefs. I have even encouraged fome, who feemed to be in great danger of *having received* the natural infection, to try the effect of inoculation, from a perfuafion that inoculation, in cafe it did not anticipate the natural diftemper, could not tend to accumulate the difeafe, or to produce a more malignant fpecies of it. This practice has been juftified by fuccefs in every inftance that I have known.

If it fhould be afked by what criterion it is to be known whether the inoculation has anticipated the natural difeafe; the anfwer will be, that where the inoculated part fhews the proper figns of being infected, and the eruptive fever commences at the time ufually obferved in inoculated patients, then the difeafe may be fairly fuppofed to have proceeded from inoculation; on the contrary, when the natural P difeafe

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difease is too far advanced to be anticipated, the inoculated part shews no appearance of being infected, and the difease appears earlier than it would have done from inoculation.\*

I have already obferved that to fix the precife time at which one who lives in a houfe where the fmall-pox actually exifts, fhall take the infection, is certainly impoffible; but where there has been a refidence in the fame apartment for a confiderable time, and a free intercourfe with the fick, in an advanced ftate of a bad difeafe, the infection, in all probability, muft have been taken.

I have inoculated perfons who have been four or five days, and fometimes longer,

\* I have never had a patient who was inoculated on a fuppofition of having previoufly received the natural infection, in whom the natural difeafe was not fuperfeded by the inoculation; but I have feveral times had patients, who, being inoculated without any fufpicion of this kind, fell ill of the natural difeafe two or three days after.

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thus fituated, with every fatisfactory appearance of their receiving the difease from the inoculation.

The rashness of inconfiderate persons has very much affifted and confirmed this difcovery. For at the time when an eagernefs for inoculation prevailed in the neighbourhood of Hertford, and a great number were under my care in one house, I have frequently found fome who have employed the interval of their waiting to be inoculated, in converfing with the fick in their apartments for two or three hours. At first I remonstrated strongly against this conduct, not without fome fear for my reputation, but more particularly for the lives of the patients, but the practice was fill continued; and once, to my great furprize, on a morning visit, I found a perfon who came the preceding night, who told me, laughing, that he was fure I would not refuse to inoculate him, for he had flept with an acquaintance ill of the fmall-

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pox

pox in the houfe. In this inftance, and in others almost as strong, the parties were inoculated without seeming to have received the least injury from their indiferetion. To these I shall add some remarkable cases out of a very great number, to the same purport.

An old man continued to lie in the fame bed with his wife and child, when his wife was ill of the natural fmall-pox, until, as he faid, she was fo fore that she could not bear him to lie near her. She was at that time fuppofed to have had a fever, and to have been much relieved by the coming out of a rash, not suspected to be smallpox; but an apothecary being fent for, declared it to be that difeafe, and nearly at the height. Upon this difcovery, the old man, the child, and a young woman who had attended on the fick perfon, defired to take the chance of inoculation: it was accordingly performed, and they all had the difease in consequence of it, with the favourable

favourable appearances that usually attend that mode of paffing through the diftemper.

In a village near Hertford, a boy who had been at fervice was fent home to his friends ill of a fever, which terminated in an eruption. The father, being very poor, did not apply for medical affiftance until the boy was blind and delirious; in which state I found him, very full of a malignant kind of fmall-pox, with his fifter, a healthy girl of about feventeen, who had never had the diftemper, in the fame bed to take care of him. The family confifted of the father, mother, and four more children, not one of whom had had the difeafe. In this unfortunate fituation I recommended inoculation, and the propofal was accepted for all the children. The father and mother rather chofe to remove; the man alledging, that going out early to work, returning home late, and not having been near the boy, he thought he was

not

not infected, and the woman chose to accompany her hufband. Those who were inoculated remained in the house, and continued to have conftant intercourse with the boy, the fifter conftantly attending on him as nurfe : the event was, that the boy died of the fecondary fever, after a very long illnefs, and became fo very putrid and offenfive, that the room was fcarcely tolerable during the flort time of a vifit ; but those who were inoculated had the fmall-pox from the inoculation in a favourable manner. Of the two who removed, the old man continued well, and escaped the difease, but his wife fell ill of the natural fmall-pox, feveral days later than those who had been inoculated, paffed through the diftemper feverely, and loft one eye.

A third cafe is ftill, if poffible, ftronger. When I was at St. Peterfburg, engaged in the important employment of inoculating the Empress and Grand Duke, Count Scheel

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Scheel, then refident minister from the court of Denmark, and one of his children became my patients; I at that time declined inoculating another child, which did not appear to me in perfect health. During the time that his Excellency was under inoculation, his Countefs was brought to bed of two fons; and as he had a fufficient number of puftules to render it dangerous for him to vifit her on account of the children, he was apprized of it; however, about a month after, I was called upon to vifit one of the twins, whom I found full of bad fmall-pox, advancing to maturation. The family had fuppofed this eruption to have been only one of the kinds that infants are fubject to. The other child was at that time lying in the fame cradle with its brother, and both having been fuckled by one woman, I enquired of her whether it had been her cuftom to devote one breaft to one, and the other to the other, or to fuckle both from the fame nipple; P 4 and

and was answered, that she made no difference, and that both the children had fucked from the fame nipple that very morning. Under these circumstances no doubt could remain of the other child's having taken the infection; and there was great reafon to fuppofe, that the child who had been objected to on account of ill health, was also infected, as she lived in the fame apartment. Thus circumstanced, notwithstanding it was esteemed a hazardous experiment, I was defired to inoculate both the others. Although I should readily have confented to it in England, I could not avoid expressing fome reluctance, lest a prejudice should be formed against the practice, in a country where the introduction of inoculation was fo newly attempted, in cafe of a failure of fuccefs. But the importunity of the Count, and the tears of the Countefs, who earneftly intreated me not to put the lives of her children in competition with the reputation of the practice, together with the

the hopes I entertained of fuccefs, induced me to comply. And as no time was to be loft, I inftantly inoculated both children from that which had the natural difeafe : a fufficient proof of the infectious ftate it was in.

The refult was, that the infant who had it in the natural way, died the next day, and both those, who were inoculated, had the disease mildly, with the usual symptoms attending inoculation.

The probable caufe of this fingular circumftance is, that the natural and inoculated difeafes take place after different periods of infection; for we know the inoculated patients ufually begin to complain on the 8th, 9th, or fometimes indeed on the 10th day, except in fome few inftances; and although the exact time of receiving the natural infection is unknown, yet from accounts well authenticated, which I have had from others, and from my own experience, I am inclined to think, that from 13 to

All writers on the fubject affert, that in whatever manner inoculation may be performed, it fometimes fails to infect. And I allow it to have happened fo in my own practice feveral times in the old manner; but I deny that it does fo at prefent, and, on the contrary, maintain, that if the method I have directed be accurately followed, the fuccefs will be infallible. By which I would not be understood to mean that the difeafe shall always be produced, becaufe in fome inftances, as has been already observed, perfons are incapable of receiving the infection; but I' infift, that if no infection appears to have been taken on the first trial, no future inoculation will fucceed, nor will the party be ever fubject to receive the natural difease. The uninterrupted experience of many years, in a very great number of patients, emboldens me to to make this politive affertion, for the truth of which, if neceffary, I appeal to them. This fact at once deftroys every idea of their being certain difpolitions of feafons, or conftitutional particularities at certain times, which will refift the power of infection. But let it be obferved, that I am now fpeaking of the inoculated difeafe only; for I would not be underftood to affirm, that all times and feafons are alike difpofed to favour the propagation of the infection in the natural way, being of the contrary opinion.

The fuccefs of the operation muft depend on the mode of performing it; and that the new mode fhould be more fuccefsful than the old one, will appear myfterious, as in the old way, though failures were frequent, it was the cuftom to ufe a much greater quantity of matter, and to make a large wound for the infertion; whereas, at prefent, the fmalleft moifture on the point of a lancet, is fufficient for the the purpofe, and the puncture is fo triffing as feldom to make any blood appear; the inoculation being not unfrequently performed on children in their fleep, without waking them. But it must be remarked, that in the old way, the matter inferted was dry, had often been kept on a thread a long time, and, immediately after the operation, fome lint, with digestive ointment, was applied to the wound, a plaister was put over it, and the dreffing was renewed every day; whereas, in the prefent method, the matter is generally fresh or if a

applied to the wound, a plaister was put over it, and the dreffing was renewed every day; whereas, in the prefent method, the matter is generally fresh, or if a few days old, and dry, it is moiftened by fteam, or with a little warm water just fufficient for the purpose of dilution. Now I apprehend, that the dry matter could not be immediately, or readily, imbibed, fo as to infect, until it was liquified, and that the use of the unctuous applications must have sheathed or obtunded the activity of the variolous poifon; fome of which might perhaps also adhere to the plaister, which was removed the day after the

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the operation: and I am alfo in doubt, whether the variolous matter, which formerly was placed in the cellular membrane when the wound was made quite through the fkin, might not be fometimes rendered inactive by the unctuous part of that membrane. Whether thefe explanations may be fatisfactory or not, the fact is true, and thefe are the beft reafons I am able to adduce for this very effential difference between the two methods.

Dr. Archer, who for many years has been phyfician to the hofpital for inoculation at Pancras, and to that for receiving patients actually feized with the fmall-pox in Cold-Bath-Fields, and has with great affiduity attended the patients under his care, has informed me, that it not unfrequently happens, that perfons are brought to the latter hofpital, and admitted in his abfence as patients on whom the fmallpox is fuppofed to be already appearing. Upon examination, he has found the eruptions tions to be of fome other kind; but compaffion to fuch patients, brought into a house loaded with infection, has induced him to permit them to refide there, until the real difease appears; and the doctor affures me, that patients, thus circumstanced, almost constantly have the smallpox in a very favourable manner. I am of opinion that fuch patients very often receive the difeafe by the cutaneous abforbents from contact, as the beds and bedding, and indeed every part of the furniture of that hofpital, are certainly in a high state of infection, and that this is the most probable reason why the small-pox, in fuch patients, is almost universally of a mild diffinct kind; the infection by contact, as well as by inoculation, being quicker, as I apprehend, in its operation, and therefore fuperfeding the progrefs of infection taken in any other manner.

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#### CHAP. VII.

# CONJECTURES,

#### ON THE

Probable Caufes of the different Kinds and Degrees of natural Small-pox, and on the different Succefs of the Methods adopted in the Practice of Inoculation.

I N the course of treating the above subjects, some recapitulations cannot perhaps well be avoided, in order to render the reasoning more intelligible, which the reader is therefore requested to excuse.

In endeavouring to inveftigate the caufes of the mildness of the small-pox in some cafes, and of its great malignity in others, the first circumstances that offer for confideration, are the habit of body, and mode of living of the parties; as many of the favourable, or unfavourable fymptoms of the difease might be expected to proceed from these sources. But, after strict attention, little fatisfaction will be collected from them. Men in high health, who have been accustomed to take great liberties with their conftitution, by indulgence in eating and drinking, and in general by a luxurious and irregular mode of life, might be expected to have this difeafe almost univerfally in a fevere manner; and on the contrary, children in early infancy, whole only nutriment has been the mother's milk, or very innocent vegetable food, and young persons of apparent good constitutions and temperate lives, particularly females, who, from education, and attention to perfonal beauty, live fo abstemioufly, as

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to be in what may be termed a perfect flate of preparation, might reafonably be expected to have the fmall-pox very favourably; yet, notwithftanding these plausible appearances, it not unfrequently happens, that perfons of the first mentioned class pass through the disease favourably, while those of the latter suffer extremely, and even become victims to its malignity.

It may be further obferved, that no preparation, either by medicine or regimen, has as yet been found effectual in producing a favourable kind of fmall-pox in thofe who, having been unhappily expofed to natural infection, fubmit to fuch regulations as are judged most proper, and determine to wait the event. It is undoubtedly true, that a good constitution, and a regular course of life, are advantages upon the attack of any illnes, but little dependance can be had on them, in respect to their producing a mild kind of the natural fmall-pox.

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I shall therefore purfue the enquiry, by adverting to other circumstances, remarking first, that not any two of the human fpecies are exactly alike, either in the features and shape of the body, or in the faculties of the mind, and that fimilar caufes produce very different effects in different perfons; thus the fting of a bee, wafp, or other infect, occasions great pain, confiderable fwelling, and even ficknefs, in fome, while others fuffer no inconvenience from them. A flight fuperficial injury of the skin, in particular habits, produces pain, ulceration, and even danger of life. So likewife with refpect to the operation of medicines, we find very different effects in different conftitutions from opiates, mercurials, antimonials, and in fhort from every active drug. The fkin of fome is fo particularly irritable, that a flight tickling produces involuntary laughter, while others bear it without emotion. Hence it is not improbable, that the diftinguished fortitude of many, upon the most trying occafions,

fions, and even their patience in fuffering bodily pain, may depend, at least in fome degree, on their fenfations being less exquifite than those of others.

Many circumftances will undoubtedly occur to the reader in fupport of this idea, that the variety of constitutional particularities can only be accounted for from an original difference in the conformation of the corporeal parts, inexplicable by the limited extent of human observation or reasoning. I accordingly suppose that some are, from their first existence, so constitutionally formed, as to be difposed to receive the fmall-pox in a milder, or more violent degree: and this feems confirmed by a well established truth, that some families are remarked to have this difeafe in a very dangerous manner. The fame obfervation is even extended to particular nations. Among the Calmucks, and fome other Tartars, it is faid to be generally fatal : Negroes and Indians are also reported to fuffer ex- $O_2$ tremely tremely by it; and the Hottentots to have been at times almost extirpated. Other instances in proof of the fame position might be added.

The fecond circumftance which feems of importance, is, that when the fmall-pox has been epidemic, at fome feafons a good, and at others a bad kind, has been obferved to prevail; from whatever caufe this difference may arife, it must have great influence on the pre-difposition just mentioned.

A judicious or improper treatment of the fever, in the early part of the difeafe, does alfo confiderably contribute to the quantity and kind of the eruption which fucceeds. To thefe may be added another, and indeed, I believe a principal caufe of a good or bad kind of fmall-pox, and that is, the mode of receiving the infection, and the nature of the parts which are affected by it. When the difeafe is taken by by contact with infectious fubftances, or by any other mode of cutaneous abforption, which may probably be often the cafe; the perfon receiving it may be confidered as virtually inoculated, fo far as relates to receiving the difeafe by the cutaneous abforbents, which I fhall, in the fequel, endeavour to fhew, is one chief reafon for the mildnefs of the diftemper by inoculation; and, in order to be the more perfectly underftood, I must request the reader's attention to a few general remarks on the properties and effects of different poifons, without meaning, however, to enter minutely into a fubject fo extensive.

Some of thefe are known to prove mortal when taken by the mouth, and yet may be applied to the fkin, when wounded, without injury. Some, on the contrary, occafion almost instant death, when inferted by a flight puncture, but may be fafely fwallowed; while others are fatal by whatever means they enter the confti- $Q_3$  tution. tution. Some exert their baneful influence inftantaneoufly; others lurk a confiderable time in the habit unperceived, until they feem to have gathered fufficient ftrength and activity to diffuse their mischief over the whole frame.\* It has also been obferved, that fome have not occafioned any local difease, when applied to the skin or muscles by a wound, while others injure the part first affected violently : yet both shall be productive of fatal effects on the body. Several experiments of the learned and accurate Abbé Fontana, to whom the publick are indebted for much ufeful information, prove fome of these facts, || and particularly, that the American poifon called Ticunas, when applied to the skin, proved uncertain in its effect, but was certainly mortal to every animal when the muscle was pierced, and occasioned instant death on being introduced into the blood.

• Of this kind is the poifon of the mad dog and the fmall-pox.

|| Vide Philosoph. Transact. Vol. LXX. Having

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Having given this fpecimen of the variety of effects produced by different poifons, it will not be required that I fhould prove the fmall-pox to agree exactly with any one of them. It feems indeed a poifon *fui generis*, yet fimilar in fome refpects to fome or other of those just mentioned.

As I concur in opinion with those who fuppose the poison of the small-pox, in inoculated patients, to be absorbed by the cutaneous lymphatics, and by them to be conveyed into the blood, it will be neceffary to fay something concerning those vessels and their use, that the reader may have before him the whole of my reasoning on the present point.

Great and very useful difcoveries have been made by modern anatomists, in tracing the course, and explaining the offices, of this system of vessels; but it will be sufficient for my present purpose, to ob- $Q_4$  ferve ferve, that they are diftributed on the furface of the body, and open into its different cavities, abforbing noxious or falutary fluids, and even fometimes folids; paffing generally through one or more glands, but not univerfally, having been fometimes obferved to approach without entering them, anaftomifing with others, and finally emptying themfelves into the Thoracic Duct, and thence into the blood.

The practice of inoculation has clearly demonstrated fome circumstances unknown before, and a diligent attention to the progress of the inoculated disease, will confiderably illustrate the difficult subject I am now treating.

By the infertion of fome of the poifon, we first observe a local injury, which gradually inflames and produces a pustule, fimilar to the species from which it was taken; this fills with a pellucid fluid, and the

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the fkin is flightly ulcerated; \* at this period abforption begins, as we are well affured by a common, though not conftant complaint of pain and foreness in the lymphatic gland in the axilla. From thence the blood becomes infected, and the eruptive fever, as it is termed, begins; as this advances, the foreness under the arm, if fuch has happened, abates, and at the time of the eruption ceases, as does also the fever itfelf in diffinct kinds. No other confequent complaints happen, unless what may be owing to the irritation on the filling of the puftules, which, where the number is few, is generally fcarce obfervable.

The reader is defired to advert to what has been advanced refpecting the lymphatic fystem and its offices, poisons and their effects, and the progress of variolous

The ingenious Mr. John Hunter has proved, that abforption is beft performed from ulcerated furfaces; badly from inflamed ones.

infection

infection in inoculated patients, and then confider whether the following inference feems juft. That when the finall-pox is received in the manner related, the quantity of poifon generated is finall, the organs first affected are not of the vital kind, and in them, it is probable, part of the virulence may be exhausted; that the poifon, when received into the blood, has already gone through that modification which is neceffary to produce the difease, and that the combination of these circumstances causes a more favourable diftemper.

As a further fupport of this opinion, I refer to what has been before obferved in the experience of Dr. Archer; becaufe in apartments fo perfectly impregnated with infection as an hofpital for the reception of perfons under the natural difeafe must at all times neceffarily be, it appears extremely probable that those who are admitted as patients having the natural-pox, but who in reality have fome other difeafe, take take the infection almost immediately by both modes; and as it agrees with my experience, that receiving the infection by the cutaneous abforbents, occasions an earlier difease than the other mode, it shews a very probable reason why patients, so circumstanced, should escape more favourably.

Thus far I am not without hopes, that what has been advanced may appear reafonable, but the remaining part, in which I propofe to take into confideration, why fome have the diftemper in a very dangerous manner, will be attended with great difficulty, because no one is sensible of the stroke of infection, nor does any derangement of health inform us where the poifon is concealed in the habit. Under these difadvantages, I shall risk the conjectures that feem to me most probable, defiring the reader to bear in mind what has been advanced, as the reafon for the mildness of the distemper, when received ceived by the cutaneous abforbents, and prefuming, that in the inftance before us, as well as in most others that will admit of investigation, there is an uniformity in the operations of nature.

I shall suppose, that in bad cases of the fmall-pox, a greater quantity of the infection has been received internally, either into the blood immediately, or from parts that have a near communication with it, from whence an universal and dangerous difeafe is produced. I do not pretend to be able to determine which these parts are, with any degree of precision; but there feems a great probability that infected air paffing into the lungs, and the blood becoming infected thereby, or fome parts nearly communicating with the blood, may be the means of occasioning this dangerous fituation, although no local injury be known, which I believe has never been difcovered under any mode of receiving the infection, unlefs a wound, puncture,

or

or confiderable irritation has been made to convey the difeafe. In fupport of this opinion, I shall remark, that in all bad kinds of fmall-pox, the blood is certainly infected and contaminated, even in a greater degree than in any other distemper. This may be proved from the violence of the feverish symptoms, during the eruptive state, and the fucceeding universal eruption in bad confluent kinds, but still more apparently in the bleeding fort, where the texture of the whole mass of blood is deftroyed, and rendered unfit even for circulation, as may be proved by the capillary veffels burfting, the fecretions becoming fanguinary, and petechial spots appearing on the fkin; preludes to certain death.

Diffections of bodies dead of bad kinds of fmall-pox, have never been attempted; perhaps they might be dangerous to the operator, but I have reafon to think that, in bad confluent kinds, the internal parts would be found loaded with puftules, becaufe

caufe I remember being prefent at the opening the body of a boy, who had recovered from being cut for the ftone, but died in St. Thomas's Hofpital of a confluent smallpox; the diffection was foon after his death, and only performed in order to examine the flate of the incifion into the bladder; but we were furprized to fee the internal parts of the abdomen, and even the inteffines, very full of variolous puftules. And as the most excruciating pain in the back and loins is a never failing fymptom which precedes bloody difcharges, I should not think it improbable that the Thoracic duct might be found in a very difeafed state. I am fufficiently aware, that objections may be made to the conjectures last thrown out; but I am inclined to believe, that the general idea of the diftemper being rendered more fatal by the poifonous matter growing to a state of activity, either in the blood, or in parts which have a ready communication with it, will be found true.

Before

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Before I difmifs the fubject, I would juft obferve, that the place of infertion in an inoculated patient being always more difeafed than any other, has given rife to a plaufible opinion entertained by many, that the principal reafon for the virulency of fome kinds of natural fmall-pox, arifes from the great difeafe of the parts primarily affected, and that the variolous poifon, having been received by the breath or deglutition, the lungs, fauces, ftomach, or inteftines, confequently fuffer more than any other parts, and, being organs of the firft importance, the fymptoms become proportionably more dangerous.

While I was more anxious to difcover the moft fuccefsful mode of treating this difeafe, than to confider its theory, I adopted the fame idea without minutely enquiring how far it could be fupported; but having fince taken the fubject into more attentive confideration, I do not think the fuppofition, that thefe parts are fo materially

rially affected, can be true, or that it accounts fatisfactorily for the appearances of bad kinds of fmall-pox. For if any of the organs mentioned were difeafed at the part where the infection was first received, in the manner that happens under inoculation, undoubtedly alarming complaints of the parts affected would be coeval with, and accompany, the eruptive fever; which is fo far from being true, that we have no indication to fupport this idea before, at, or during, the eruptive fever; nor if we were to suppose it could possibly happen without any difcovery, would it account for the general confluence that covers the superficies of the body in bad kinds of fmall-pox: I therefore reject this opinion, though at the fame time I admit the probability of fome of thefe parts being the inlets to the infection, and the unfortunate channel, through which the blood becomes infected.

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It feems extraordinary that none of the writers on inoculation have confidered the different modes of practifing it, with a view to difcover the effential difference that arifes from thence, in the fuccefs of the practice. This tafk shall be attempted in the following pages, requefting the reader to excuse a repetition of some particulars which shall be mentioned with as much brevity as poffible.

When inoculation for the fmall-pox was first introduced into England, a rigorous and tedious preparation by medicines and regimen was enjoined, although the mode of performing it was fimple, and confifted of a puncture only. But, notwithstanding the politive affurance which was given of the certainly and fecurity of the practice, the reftless defire of improvement foon fuggested different methods. I shall pass over the attempts made by bliftering the part, and by friction with infected lint, as these were relinquished on account of the uncertainty

tainty of infecting, and relate the reasons advanced in fupport of another mode of practice, which continued for feveral years. It was imagined that the fuccefs of inoculation arose from a copious discharge of the morbific matter at the part where the difeafe was communicated, and in confequence of this opinion, it was thought proper to make a wound through the true skin, as large as for an iffue; and, that the body might be the more relieved by this falutary drain, one incifion was made on the arm, and another on the leg, in which, for greater fecurity of infecting, large pieces of lint, well moiftened with matter, were placed; thefe were confined on the part with a plaister, and dreffed every day by a furgeon with digeftive ointment, fo that by the time the eruptive fever commenced, a confiderable fore and discharge was obtained. The diftemper produced by this mode of practice, was ufually, though not always, of the diftinct kind, but frequently attended with a high

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a high degree of fever before the eruption; and fometimes also this mode failed to infect.

After the crifis, the following untoward confequences not unfrequently happened; inflammations in the eyes, absceffes in the axilla, and other parts, with illconditioned ulcers on the place of infertion; and these appearances of remaining mifchief in the habit, were not only painful, but obliged the patient to go through a course of purging and alterative medicines. Difagreeable circumstances of this kind occasioned an alteration in the manner of infecting, which was changed for a flight incifion, and the application of a thread well infected and dried, continuing the cuftom of dreffing with plaisters and ointments; and, in both methods, the patient, on beginning to complain, was advised to go to bed, and use the proper medicines to procure perfpiration. The last of these was the general cuftom about fifteen years ago, at which time a new and far more successful mode

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was introduced in the counties of Effex and Suffolk, of which I shall now, as indeed I have done at all times, and on every occafion, give the whole merit to the family of the Suttons. The effential difference confifted in returning to the original method of a flight puncture, and the use of recent fluid matter, without applying a dreffing of any kind to the part, and enjoining the patients to go abroad into the open air during the eruptive fever, and allay their thirst by drinking cold water. In this new method, as well as in all the former, a preparatory courfe of medicine and regimen was directed; to fay more than this would be fuperfluous, as it is now well known, that the pretence to wonderful effects from fpecific medicines, which would remove the most malignant kind after the eruption had appeared, was ill-founded ; the fuppofed confluency being only the inoffentive rash which I have minutely defcribed.\* By

\* Prefent method of inoculating, &c. page 44. this

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this laft method, and fome improvement made in it, every fymptom has been rendered more favourable, the fuccefs of producing the difeafe certain, and it is extremely rare that we hear of any complaint in the eyes, or other marks of remaining putridity.

The truth of what has been now reprefented, is fo univerfally known in England, that I fhould not have thought this relation neceffary, if fome further illustration of the opinions I have offered might not be deduced from it.

In the first described practice a much greater quantity of matter was used, which was placed in contact with the wounded skin, and the cellular membrane; the digested discharge occasioned by the dreffings, was confiderable, and not only the lymphatics of the skin, but also those which open into the cellular membrane, might might receive the variolous matter when fit for abforption, and in a great quantity.

Now the lymphatics that open into the cellular membrane, are fo large as to admit of being feen, whereas, those on the skin are so minute, as to be only known to exist from the effects. Hence it may appear probable, that the communication to the blood may be more ready from the larger, than from finaller veffels. It is moreover certain, that the cellular membrane is one universal net work, which has communications throughout the whole fystem, as is proved by emphysemas, or more obvioufly by the common practice of butchers blowing their meat; and poffibly by this means the poifon, when in a state capable of producing the difease, may be extended to the orifices of a greater number of lymphatics. The method by a thread was not liable to the fame objections, but the dry matter acting as

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as a cauftic,\* and confined by dreffings of ointment and plaifters, occafioned a fore and a difcharge of matter, though in a lefs degree than by the former, and not communicating with the cellular membrane, it was lefs fubject to the mifchief I have fuppofed to be derived from that caufe.

The laft || which has been fo fully defcribed, is free from all the caufes which, as I have fuppofed, contribute to render the diftemper lefs favourable.

\* I have feen many inftances of a portion of the fkin being deftroyed, quite to the cellular membrane, digefting off in a flough, as happens from the application of a cauftic, and particularly in children whofe fkin is thin, and of a delicate texture; hence, may it not be a queftion, whether this mode of infection is not a principal reafon why children more frequently have the fmall-pox badly from inoculation than adults?

At prefent it is the practice of fome to use a fresh infected thread, without any covering of plaister; but from what I have known of this practice, I think it not fo eligible as that which I have defcribed and recommended.

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It may be fuggefted that I have not given due credit to the influence of the open air, and of drinking cold water, which in my former publication I fuppofed to be of great advantage. I have in a former part of this treatife allowed, that experience has confirmed the propriety of this treatment in some cases; but I am not at prefent fo fanguine in the opinion refpecting the neceffity of purfuing this regulation in all, or the almost infallibility of its falutary effects. The patients that were under my care at Petersburg and Mosco, in 1768, undeceived me on this head. For, during the feverity of a Ruffian winter, it would have been an unpardonable rafhnefs to have ordered patients into the open air, or indeed to enjoin them to refide in unwarmed apartments. So that I directed the regulation of the rooms to a temperate heat by the thermometer, and this method fucceeded to my fatisfaction.

I have

I have been prevented from a more early performance of my engagements for the publication of this work, by a neceffary attention to many other avocations. It is now completed with fome hafte, on account of a fudden obligation to attend the court of Ruffia a fecond time, and therefore it is hoped the public candour will excufe what incorrectnefs or repetitions may appear.

FINIS.

#### LATELY PUBLISHED,

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PRESENT METHOD OF

## INOCULATING

#### FOR THE

# SMALL-POX.

To which are added,

Some Experiments, inftituted with a View to difcover the Effects of a fimilar Treatment in the NATURAL SMALL-Pox.

By THOMAS DIMSDALE, M.D.

The SEVENTH EDITION, Corrected.

