

**Have you been vaccinated, and what protection is it against the small pox?
: an essay / by William J. Collins.**

Contributors

Collins, William J. 1818-1884.

Publication/Creation

London : H.K. Lewis, 1868.

Persistent URL

<https://wellcomecollection.org/works/v8rym57g>

License and attribution

This work has been identified as being free of known restrictions under copyright law, including all related and neighbouring rights and is being made available under the Creative Commons, Public Domain Mark.

You can copy, modify, distribute and perform the work, even for commercial purposes, without asking permission.



Wellcome Collection
183 Euston Road
London NW1 2BE UK
T +44 (0)20 7611 8722
E library@wellcomecollection.org
<https://wellcomecollection.org>

HAVE YOU BEEN VACCINATED,
AND
WHAT PROTECTION IS IT AGAINST
THE SMALL POX
—•—
DR COLLINS.

M

413



22300000990





HAVE YOU BEEN VACCINATED,

AND

WHAT PROTECTION IS IT AGAINST
THE SMALL POX ?

THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF THE

EMPEROR

HAVE YOU BEEN VACCINATED,

AND

WHAT PROTECTION IS IT AGAINST
THE SMALL POX?

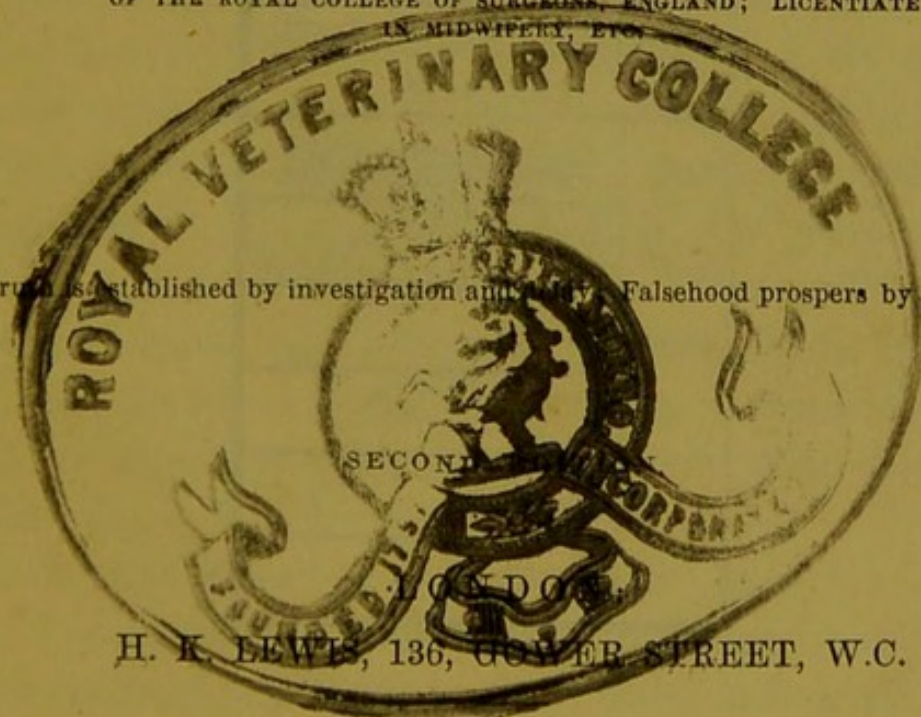
AN ESSAY,

BY

WILLIAM J. COLLINS, M.D.,

LICENTIATE OF THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS, EDINBURGH; MEMBER
OF THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF SURGEONS, ENGLAND; LICENTIATE
IN MIDWIFERY, ETC.

"Truth is established by investigation and delay. Falsehood prospers by precipitancy."
—*Tacitus.*



H. K. LEWIS, 136, GOWER STREET, W.C.

1868.

95400
5195

10 x 6 2

Wellcome Library
for the History
and Understanding
of Medicine

WELLCOME INSTITUTE LIBRARY	
Coll.	WELLCOME
Cat	GENERAL COLLECTIONS
No.	
	M
	413

INTRODUCTION.

IF I were to offer a hundred pounds for the best essay upon the use of the beard and the practice of shaving, and to appoint Messrs. Mechi, Bazin and Mappin (purveyors of razors, strops, and other paraphernalia essential to a clean shave), as adjudicators, their verdict would doubtless be given in favour of the *barberous* practice of taking a man by the nose. The essayists writing in favour of nature's respirator, would I think, say that they had not been fairly and honestly dealt with.

When an advertisement appeared in the "Times," March 11th, 1867, from a member of the Ladies' Sanitary Association, offering a Hundred pounds for the best essay upon Vaccination, and the essayist requested to write "without any reserve," I thought, in common with others who are opposed to vaccination, that there was a chance of the whole subject being fully and fairly discussed, and that the public would be put in possession of all the facts. But when I heard that three *rabid vaccinators* were to adjudicate, I at once came to the conclusion that any heterodox views would by these gentlemen be treated with contempt and ridicule.

Since this Essay was written in June last (being one of the 53 sent to the Ladies' Sanitary Association, in compliance with the terms of their advertisement); the Legislature, on August 12th, 1867, passed an Act

“ To Consolidate and Amend the Laws relating to Vaccination.”

One of the arguments advanced by Lord Robert Montagu, who took charge of the Bill in the House of Commons, and which, doubtless, had some influence upon *the unthinking part of that august Assembly*, was, “ that the reason why so many persons suffered from Small-pox after vaccination was, that they had hitherto been vaccinated with dry lymph, that this dry lymph became deteriorated, *often conveyed other diseases, and was no protection against the Small-pox.* The object of the present Bill was to insist upon children being vaccinated from arm to arm, a practice adopted in Scotland, which had almost exterminated the Small-pox (?).”

Jenner himself used dry lymph, and was constantly in the habit of sending “ the benign matter ” all over the world by saturating pieces of old linen. According to Lord Robert Montagu, those persons who have thus been operated upon with dry lymph, are just as likely to take the Small-pox as if they had never been vaccinated, and it is just possible, nay, more than probable, that they have been inoculated with other filthy and loathsome diseases.

The Public Vaccinators, too, by this Amended Act are to be remunerated by what is called “ payment by results.” The medical advisers of the Privy Council would lead us to infer by this new scheme of theirs, that you can give a disease by Act of Parliament. *Lame and impotent conclusion!*

I say, again, there is no certainty of the way in which this vaccine disease will act upon different constitutions. Upon strong healthy children, whose vital powers are not depressed by surrounding circum-

stances, the disease runs its course apparently with little or no constitutional disturbance, and exhibits those peculiar thimble-like impressions that are said to be the only guarantee of its success! Where poor, bloodless, ill-fed, badly-housed children of the very poor, are operated upon with the same lymph as their more fortunate brethren I have just alluded to; the disease runs a very different course, and has been instrumental in swelling the bills of mortality to a most alarming extent. There is no denying the fact that, in large towns, one-half the children die before they complete their fifth year.

It must also be remembered, that when Jenner first made known his discovery, Small-pox, which had been raging with increased severity for some years, was not then what is termed epidemic; its ravages had abated, and the practice of inoculating with Small-pox virus (*which kept the disease rife amongst us*) had been condemned and abandoned, so that he set sail with this new mode of giving disease under the most favourable circumstances. When, however, the Small-pox again assumed an epidemic character, it paid no respect to those who had been vaccinated, and caused such devastation amongst them, that, if it had not been for the Legislative interference, the whole scheme would have been abandoned.

The aspect of affairs at this time is full of hope for the future. Sir James Y. Simpson, Bart., M.D. (no mean authority by the way) denies that Small-pox can ever be exterminated by vaccination (See "Times," March 6, 1868). At one time I thought I stood alone as an anti-vaccinator, but now I find that through the instrumentality of my friend Mr. R. B. Gibbs, Honorary Secretary to the Anti-Compulsory Vaccination League (whose

untiring zeal in the cause of suffering humanity is beyond all praise), the public have from time to time been made acquainted with all the facts bearing upon this vital question. He, too, by his own arguments, has unravelled with admirable ingenuity the tangled web which sophistry has weaved around this so-called protection against the Small-pox. To him and his cousin John Gibbs, Esq., (author of "Compulsory Vaccination briefly examined,") I am indebted for many valuable extracts, which I have embodied in this Essay. The day, I hope, is not far distant when their efforts will be crowned with success, and their labours in exposing this dangerous and delusive fallacy of vaccination being any protection against the Small-pox be duly recognized by a grateful nation.

W. J. COLLINS, M.D.

1, *Albert Terrace, Regent's Park.*

March 12, 1868.

P.S.—While these sheets were passing through the press, Lord Robert Montagu, in answer to a hungry expectant Whig, stated in the House of Commons that it was not the intention of the Government to bring in more compulsory measures respecting Small-pox, &c., and stated that the Vaccination Act of last session was resisted because it was compulsory; his Lordship might have added, that it was also because many educated persons had a conviction that the whole system of vaccination is an imposture.

W. J. C.

SMALL-POX AND VACCINATION.

“To be called into a huge sphere, and not to be seen to move in’t,
are the holes where eyes should be, which pitifully disaster the cheeks.”

SHAKSPEARE.

A MEMBER of The Ladies' Sanitary Association, in offering a premium of 100*l.* for the best Essay upon Vaccination, submits, I perceive by the advertisement, two propositions to be solved, and entreats the essayist “to write without any reserve.” I have therefore, as one of the competitors, given the result of my experience from actual observation and experiment, extending over a period of a quarter of a century, in the capacity of Public Vaccinator in one of the largest parishes in the metropolis.

The first question is “as to the actual value of vaccination as a preventive of Small-pox, embracing in this part of the question, whether vaccination as a preventive of Small-pox retains its power.”

If I understand this question rightly, the Ladies of the Sanitary Association seem to infer, that vaccination is a preventive of Small-pox, and the question they wish to be solved is, whether it retains its prophylactic power; now before I attempt to solve this difficulty, I feel disposed, instead of answering the question, to put another; like the Quaker, when he was asked by a stranger, what time the post came in, mildly replied, Friend, dost thou expect a letter? The question I would ask is, Did vaccination ever possess the power of preventing Small-pox? If so, how comes it that the disease is so rife amongst us, with all the vast expenditure of public money, and the legal machinery to enforce it?

If I answer the first part of the question in the negative, there will I presume be no necessity for me to say anything in reference to vaccination retaining its power. Time, which is said to bring all things to light, has done little or nothing with respect to vaccination, for the facts are so distorted, and the inferences drawn so illogical, that I begin to despair of ever seeing the truth in this matter arrived at: according to the present theory, however, no one can be said to be under this prophylactic influence unless they can exhibit eight well marked scars, four upon each arm. It therefore behoves every one, high and low, rich and poor, to make the necessary examination, and if found deficient of the full complement, to at once brand himself as one of Jenner's disciples, strictly in accordance with the theory *as now promulgated*.

It may not be out of place at this point to say something on the history of Small-pox itself, when it first made its appearance in this country, and the treatment adopted prior to the introduction of the process of inoculation and vaccination.

Small-pox seems to have permanently located itself as an endemic, in every country it has visited, ever ready to assume the character of an epidemic when atmospheric, meteorologic, or other influences favour its development.

The cow-pox, and that peculiar equine disease (so called), the original source of the true vaccine of Jenner, commonly known as *the grease*, are coeval with the brute creation, while the Small-pox, according to the Jennerian hypothesis, is only a variety of the same disease.

Epizootics, like epidemics, prevail more or less at the same time over considerable tracts of country, depending upon some peculiar and not well ascertained atmospheric causes, which frequently become contagious and assume the character of a low typhoid, silent, but deadly disease, propagated by contagion and infection.

Of the eruptive diseases attended with fever, amongst cattle, we have unfortunately had too many examples of late years, to need any comment from me; but the equine matter,

which, according to Dr. Jenner produced the genuine Cow-pox, and which he was constantly in the habit of using and supplying his friends with for the purpose of vaccination, is not now easily obtained, at least from the greasy heels of the horse; for that animal is better housed and better cared for, and the grease comparatively unknown at the present time.

I shall have occasion again more fully to speak on this subject; but I may as well, perhaps say, that this peculiar vesicular complaint of the horse, "the grease" is not in itself a specific disease, but dependent upon debility from long standing diseased state of the lungs.

The Small-pox, at one time, seems to have been so little understood that it was looked upon as synonymous with the plague in its most malignant form, even Rhazes, an Arabian physician, who was one of the first who clearly defined the nature and true character of these diseases, considered Small-pox and Measles one and the same.

Some authors contend that Small-pox prevailed in Europe in the sixth century, others are of opinion that it never reached Europe until the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century by the returning Crusaders.

The disease, doubtless, existed in China from a very remote period, the missionaries who were sent into that country by the Church of Rome, tell us that the Chinese worship a goddess who has superintending power over the Small-pox, a strong confirmation of its antiquity; inoculation, too, is said to have been performed by them for the purpose of communicating the disease, and was called "Sowing the Small-pox."

Dr. Moore, the Small-pox historian, says, it was known in China and India long before the time of Hippocrates; there is every probability that it prevailed in those countries before it appeared in Syria and Arabia.

It was at one time imagined that the plague, leprosy, and Small-pox were occasioned by the putrid waters of the Nile, which had inundated and fertilized Egypt for thousands of years before Small-pox was known.

In 1707 it broke out in Iceland, in the neighbourhood of the North Pole, and destroyed some 16,000 persons, a fourth of the population of that island.

In 1733, we are told that it made its appearance in Greenland, and spread with such fatal rapidity as almost to depopulate the whole country, proving that the disease is superior to the influence of climate.

It would appear, therefore, from this brief historical sketch that Small-pox and measles prevailed in China and Hindostan from the remotest antiquity, and did not visit the western nations until the middle of the sixth century. In the eighth century Europe was contaminated by the Saracens invading Spain, Sicily, Italy, and France, when the disease gradually extended to the north, and reached Saxony, Switzerland, and England in the tenth or probably in the ninth century.

At one period, by a blind and inveterate opposition to the laws of nature, at least half a million of lives were cut off annually by Small-pox in Europe alone; it is a melancholy fact, but unfortunately too true, that for many hundred years the efforts of physicians were exerted rather to thwart nature, and to add to the malignity of this complaint, than to aid her in her efforts to eliminate it from the system.

"Bleeding till the blood was thin, purging till the body was wasted to a skeleton, and starving on vegetable diet to keep it so," was the practice at one time generally adopted; those only who were left to nature recovered.

The ignorance of the power of nature to cure disease, and the abominable practice of bleeding, blistering, vomiting, purging, and other unnatural tinkering swelled the bills of mortality to such an extent, that it was suggested, and seriously too, that another churchyard should be constructed when any new disciple of the healing art commenced practice.

The famous Dr. Radcliff, who realized an immense fortune as a physician, after being in practice some fifty years, could not make up his mind whether he had cured or killed the most, for he said that when he first commenced practice he

had at least fifty remedies for every disease, but at the end of his professional career he had the honesty to confess, that he knew of fifty diseases for which he had not a single remedy.

The combined mortality of Small-pox, measles, and scarlatina, is now only half as great as the mortality formerly caused by Small-pox alone; this is due altogether to the exanthematous diseases being better understood, and the treatment adopted more rational, a more rigid observance of the necessary sanitary laws; the practice, too, of *isolating* all who fall sick, and *not*, as we are led generally to infer, from the employment of vaccination.

The atmospheric and other external influences operating, under peculiar circumstances, upon the constitution at one time, render it susceptible to the Variolous contagion; at another time, and under apparently the same circumstances, the same class of patients are insusceptible. This insusceptibility may, and often does, continue until a very remote period of our lives, and is no excuse for the practice of vaccination.

Prior to the introduction of the practice of vaccination by the "immortal Jenner," the treatment of Small-pox was of so speculative and visionary a character, that a perfect chaos of medical theories were from time to time promulgated; in fact, it was not until the middle of the seventeenth century that anything like rational treatment was adopted.

Sydenham, who frankly confessed his ignorance of the disease, was one of the first who perceived that the mortality was greater amongst those who were saturated with expensive sudorifics, kept in hot chambers, and nearly smothered with thick blankets, than amongst the very poor, who from necessity were neglected, or rather left to nature, and who almost always recovered. He therefore denounced the over-assiduity of the nurses and friends of the sick, and the practice of keeping the patients in hot chambers, free from air, and recommended them to drink freely of cold acidulated fluids, and the enjoyment of breathing fresh air, which gave his professional

brethren great offence, for they denounced him as an impostor and a homicide.

The inherent powers of the animal economy were so painfully ignored and interfered with by those who professed the healing art, prior to the days of Sydenham, that I may, perhaps, enumerate some of the remedies, both external and internal, that were generally had recourse to.

Cold drinks were forbidden, an open state of the bowels, too, was considered dangerous; astringent mixtures, composed of opium, chalk, alum, and galls, were daily administered and strongly recommended.

“Those of a frigid temperament, who were cold to the influence of beauty, were gravely recommended to swallow a mixture of the brains of cock-sparrows, stewed in the rank fat of a he-goat.”

Pigeon's dung and the blood of weasels, an infusion of sheep and goat's dung, were also favourite remedies. Coral, crabs' eyes, pearls, sapphires, and gold, were administered internally to all who could afford such *dainty remedies*. The ointments, liniments, and washes for external application, were composed of the most heterogeneous and disgusting ingredients, which more or less aggravated the disease and added to the deformity. Ox-dung and burnt bones, moistened with water, was a favourite cosmetic, the fat of an ass, calcined oyster-shells, salt, camphor, the juice of vegetables, were also employed to prevent disfigurement.

Kercher, a jesuit, who flourished in the seventeenth century, found out what he conceived to be the cause of Small-pox and the plague; upon the examination of the pus in patients covered with Small-pox, he detected multitudes of animalcules; he was so convinced of the accuracy of his reasoning that he imagined he had discovered why those animalcules should swarm and produce epidemics at one period and not at another. From a careful examination of almanacs and astrological tables, he came to the conclusion that putrid diseases had always prevailed at times “when the planets

Mars and Saturn were in conjunction." He took great pains to disseminate this theory. His work was dedicated to Alexander VII., the reigning Pope. This learned ecclesiastic had many proselytes, one of whom assured the world, from the evidence of his microscope, that the variolous insects were white and pellucid, with one head and six hairy legs!!

The practice of fumigating those who were suffering with Small-pox had many advocates; in winter it was generally adopted by burning tamarisk wood and vine-stalks: doubtless many were suffocated.

At one period many learned physicians were of opinion that "the sight of red bodies moved the blood;" with a view therefore of assisting nature, and of bringing the pustules to the skin, that absurd practice of draping the bedchamber with red hangings, and covering the patient with red blankets, &c., was generally adopted; all who approached the sick were clad in scarlet gowns. Sydenham's straight-forward honesty of purpose and practical good sense, which characterised almost all his movements, especially in the treatment of Small-pox; produced a complete revolution from what was called the alexipharmic, or hot treatment, which nearly depopulated many large and influential cities, to the antiphlogistic, or cold treatment, which was attended with the best possible results. He was, however, unfortunately a stanch advocate, in the latter or confluent stage of the disease, of frequent and copious bleeding, which some of his immediate successors carried to such an extent as to be almost beyond belief.

Blood-letting, so long a popular remedy with physicians, has, like tobacco-smoking for medical purposes, fallen into disuse and contempt.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the practice of inoculating with Small-pox, with a view of mitigating the disease, was the next remedy suggested. It was believed at one time that every one must have the disease, and that it was better to have it in a modified form, by being inoculated, than to run the risk of taking it naturally. This practice was

not devised, like the other remedies I have already touched upon, by physicians, but was communicated to the faculty through the Royal Society of London. It had been followed for ages, but was first brought to England from Constantinople, through the instrumentality of Lady Mary Wortley Montague; it met with great opposition, and was not generally adopted until 1754, when the College of Physicians expressed themselves strongly in its favour, as the following extract will show, "that experience had refuted the arguments that had been urged against this practice, which was now held in greater esteem, and was more extensively employed by the English than ever; and the College considered it highly beneficial to mankind."

This operation was not, as the public were led to believe, unattended with danger—many died after it—and it was instrumental in keeping the disease rife amongst us; other people were just as likely to take the disease in its worst form by being brought in contact with those who had been inoculated, as if they had been exposed to those who were suffering with Small-pox in a natural way.

In 1763 Small-pox assumed an epidemic character, not only in Paris, but throughout the principal cities of France, and occasioned such dreadful devastation that the vigilance of the police was immediately aroused, and the legislature investigated the cause of the augmented mortality; from evidence collected it was proved to be owing to the increased infection from inoculation, and a decree was issued prohibiting the practice. The improved way in which the operation was performed by the Suttons, Baron Dimsdale, and others, together with the high encomiums in favour of it by Dr. Mead, who declared, in spite of all the facts that were brought before him to the contrary, that no one could have Small-pox a second time, and he being a great authority, and a very fashionable leading man in his day, inoculation became general throughout Great Britain, and most parts of the Continent. In Germany, Russia, and other continental states, the practice

of inoculation was favourably received and generally adopted; but in Spain it was soon relinquished, they benefited on this occasion by their sluggishness, for no other country in Europe has suffered so little from Small-pox.

Inoculation with Small-pox is now a penal offence, thanks to the late Thomas Wakley, whose untiring zeal and energy to make it so, in the House of Commons, is deserving of all praise.

In 1747, the famous Dr. Mead published a translation from the Arabic works of Rhazes on the Small-pox, with an essay of his own, where he denies that Small-pox ever recurs to the inoculated, and ascribes the invention to the Circassians, imputing to this practice the extraordinary beauty of their women, which so highly enhanced their price when exposed for sale by their parents for the Turkish seraglio.

This assertion had little or no foundation, but it was instrumental in gaining many proselytes, who desired to be even more beautiful than the fairest Circassians. The mortality, however, and the disfigurement occasionally attendant upon the fashionable way of taking the disease, checked its progress, it was only for a while though; for about the same time, an hospital was built at King's Cross for the express purpose of inoculating the poor. One in every 45 died after the operation; this was admitted. It is just possible that the mortality might have been much greater, for there is no disguising the fact, that it was to the interest of those who performed the operation to conceal their failures; *we have too many instances of such conduct at the present time, in reference to vaccination being a preventive of Small-pox.*

It has been erroneously stated by the advocates of inoculation that Small-pox had decreased one-fifth, whereas the mortality increased, and exceeded that of any former year, in 1752; 3,538 deaths were recorded from that disease alone; when inoculation was generally performed, it was proved by calculation that 1 in 14 of all who were born died of Small-pox.

When our "immortal" countryman, Edward Jenner, first made known his discovery, he maintained, and doubtless believed, "that after vaccination we were for ever secure against the Small-pox."

The theory of this extraordinary man was so logical, apparently so truthful, and so easily understood, that he commanded the respect and esteem of all who came in contact with him. "Cow-pox," said the great philosopher (?), "admits of being inoculated on the human frame with the most perfect ease and security, and is attended with the singularly beneficial effect of rendering through life the person inoculated perfectly secure against the Small-pox."

It is more than 67 years since Jenner's attention was first called, by a singular circumstance, to the subject of Cow-pox.

At Sodbury, while he was pursuing his professional education in the house of his master, a country lass came to seek advice, when the subject of Small-pox, which was raging at that time, was mentioned in her presence; she immediately observed, "I cannot take that disease, for I have had the cow-pox." This incident, we are told by Dr. Jenner's biographer, made a great impression upon him at the time.

This peculiar complaint, the cow-pox, was not confined to Gloucestershire, for in the neighbouring county of Oxfordshire, where I was residing, it was very prevalent amongst farm labourers and farriers, and produced so much constitutional disturbance and debility as to totally incapacitate some of them from their ordinary duties. In fact, after two or three attacks, upon those who were of a delicate constitution, it almost invariably settled on the lungs or in the joints, and terminated fatally in what was then called a "decline."

I was in the habit of visiting and making myself practically acquainted with the diseases of domestic animals, in company with a relative of mine who was practising the veterinary art.

Bleeding, or blooding, as it was vulgarly called, was very

generally had recourse to at that barbarous epoch, both amongst the quadrupeds and bipeds in fact, every farrier, farrier's apprentice, or stud-groom, carried with him a case of fleams and a blood-stick, ever ready to pounce without rhyme or reason upon any unfortunate animal that he happened to come in contact with, in order that he might display his dexterity to the astonishment of the bystanders.

This leads me to the original source of the true or genuine vaccine lymph, exhibiting itself on the heels of the horse. This peculiar eruption was generally considered hereditary, contagious, and almost always incurable.

The premonitory symptoms deserve some notice at this time, long before the animals exhibited any trace of the grease in the heels, there was invariably a dry hacking cough (pleuropneumonia) heaving at the flank, and abdominal respiration upon the least exertion, such as we see in the human subject when suffering from acute pneumonia.

Bleeding was then had recourse to, one or two buckets full extracted according to the strength of the animal, followed with cough balls twice or three times a day, and the animal shut up in a stable, without light or air, deficient in drainage and highly poisonous from the ammoniacal exhalation which was positively suffocating.

The cough, generally speaking, under this treatment and confinement gradually increased, the bleeding was repeated, and physic ball to follow; in a few weeks the legs began to swell and then diuretics were freely given.

After a time the cough became less irritating; the animal then was either turned out into the farmyard or paddock. The œdematous state of the legs continued, the sebaceous glands around the fetlock joint became vesicular, and contained specific fluid from which exuded a peculiar greasy looking matter. It was not confined to the heels; I have seen it on other parts of the body.

In the chronic state of the lung disease, the animals were generally kept at work, and this peculiar state of the heels

increased in size, looking, for all the world like a large cauliflower excrescence, and emitting a very offensive effluvium. This, according to Jenner, is the "benign matter!" the *true*, and not the spurious vaccine lymph, which he was instrumental in bringing so prominently before the world as a preventive of Small-pox. For this inestimable blessing, profound sagacity, peculiar mental characteristics, untiring zeal and singleness of purpose, our immortal countryman's fame has spread to all quarters of the globe! But to revert to the greasy heels, the original source of this prophylactic, which, by the way, is now comparatively unknown in consequence of the improved stable management.

This papular eruption was not confined to the horse. I have seen it also on the teats of cows, and on pigs, besides the hands and arms of farm labourers.

The treatment adopted when the disease made its appearance on the heels was of little or no avail. I have seen the fatty excrescence cut off and burnt with nitric acid, and other local treatment had recourse to, but the grapey-looking mass gradually increased, the whole of the limb of the animal being implicated, and the fetor from the breath very offensive, especially in the latter stage of the disease, when the animals were obliged to be slaughtered.

The post-mortem appearances, by the way, must not be lost sight of, and are, in a pathological sense, very instructive.

1st. There was a general ænemic look of the body, wasting of the tissues, and an unusual thickening or fulness of the lymphatic glands.

2nd. Lips, tongue, and gums covered with peculiar cankerous looking ulcers, and much swollen, the whole mucous membrane much softened and covered with dark livid spots, ulceration of the larynx and trachea. The lungs highly congested, and large cavities ramifying through the substance of the organ filled with purulent matter, corresponding in every particular, both in fetor and character, to that exuding from

the greasy heels, and which is seen in the last stage of consumption in the human subject.

These morbid appearances are well understood and recognised in the veterinary profession ; for instance, in course of conversation with Mr. W. Field, of Oxford Street,* the other day, I was describing the post-mortem appearances in the animals I had examined ; he anticipated what I was going to say in reference to the state of the lungs. Before I had even hinted at what I had seen, he exclaimed, "and you found an abscess on the lungs ;" "exactly so," was my reply.

One of the arguments, perhaps the strongest, that Jenner made use of in favour of Cow-pox inoculation, as opposed to Small-pox inoculation was, that the former was "performed with the most perfect ease and security, and that the person so inoculated, was for ever secure against the Small-pox," whereas by the latter process, it not only imparted an infectious disease but many of the patients afterwards died of consumption !

These arguments were doubtless instrumental in getting the Legislature to grant Jenner his 30,000*l.* for making known his discovery.

Five hundred thousand deaths occur annually in England alone, about one half are occasioned by consumption, pneumonia, convulsions, atrophy, and other strumous diseases which are more or less in my opinion occasioned, or super-added by vaccination and other exanthematous diseases. Consumption, Scrofula, and other blood diseases were comparatively unknown before Small-pox and Cow-pox inoculation were introduced.

On May 14th, 1796, Jenner inoculated with Cow-pox, James Phipps, a strong healthy lad, eight years old, and he is said to have gone through the disease in a satisfactory manner. In the following July, variolous matter taken from a pustule was carefully inserted by several incisions into this boy, but no disease followed ; he afterwards died of consumption.

Dr. Jenner's eldest son Edward, when a year and a half old,

* President of the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons.

was inoculated with swine-pox matter; he too passed through the disease with little or no constitutional disturbance: variolous matter was inserted into his arms at different periods, without exciting the slightest effect apparently upon his constitution. Other members of his family were afterwards operated upon in the same way, and *these all died of consumption*.

Jenner believed that swine-pox, cow-pox, small-pox, and the grease were all one and the same disease; at one time he thought that the grease (the original source of the true vaccine) should be modified by passing through the cow, before being used as a prophylactic, but upon further enquiry he arrived at a different conclusion, and used the grease in its natural state and supplied the public with it from its original source, the horse's heels.

The grease, as I have before stated, is not in itself a specific disease like syphilis, capable of being communicated by inoculation, but it is a local affection occasioned by long standing disease of the lungs.

I met with two cases, however, somewhat resembling "the grease" in the human subject after vaccination, which I will now describe.

An intelligent lad was once brought to me with a scrofulous disease of the ankle joint. He was 12 years of age, and an only child.

Upon examining the joint I found a wound about the size of a shilling below the external malleolus, exuding from which there was a peculiar creamy looking discharge. Surrounding this wound there was to be seen an elevated conical mass of proud flesh, somewhat resembling a bunch of currants. The fetor given off from this wound, when the bandages were removed, the œdematous state of the limb, numerous pustules that were extending up the leg, and the dry, hacking cough which the lad was suffering from, reminded me a good deal of what I had seen in Oxfordshire amongst the horses who were suffering from greasy heels.

The first question I put to the mother was, "Has this child

been vaccinated?" She replied, "Yes, sir, and he has never been well since." "In what way?" I inquired. "In every way," was her reply. "Did the vaccine take?" "Yes, beautifully." "How many children have you?" "This is my only one, and my only comfort." "Is your husband living?" "No, he died from the effects of an accident. He had a great objection to vaccination, and my child was not vaccinated till he was eight years old; before that time he was one of the strongest and healthiest of children." "Did any of your relations die of consumption?" "Not that I am aware of; my father and mother lived to a great age." "Have you any brothers and sisters?" "Yes, they are all living and well." "Do you know anything of your husband's family?" "Yes, they too are all living, and are hale, healthy people." "Describe to me what took place after your son was vaccinated, and how it seemed to affect him." "He passed through the disease very well, the doctor said; but I noticed that he seemed to lose his spirits. He was vaccinated in the summer; in the following September, he began to cough, which he never did before; the cough increased, and I called in a doctor, who told me that he had inflammation of the lungs, and that if it was not stopped he would go into a consumption. He leeches, blistered, and physicked my poor boy, and he gradually got worse; then his legs began to swell; the wound you now see has been in existence for nine months, gradually getting worse, and he is now unable to walk."

The other case was that of a young lady, a ward in Chancery. The Small-pox broke out in the school where she was boarding; she had been previously vaccinated in infancy. In order to be doubly protected, she was re-vaccinated when this disease made its appearance. I may as well state here that before this second operation she was in the best possible health, and the life and soul of the school. At the time she was re-vaccinated, she unfortunately was suffering from natural causes (being then seventeen years of age); on the following day these matters stopped, and never afterwards came on

in a natural way. She was subject to frequent fits of hysteria, and instead of the natural secretion coming on in the usual manner, it exhibited itself in a most extraordinary way. A few days before the time she had pain in the axilla, and a peculiar determination of blood to both arms where the vaccine virus had been inserted, and other local irritation of a most unnatural kind, which produced great prostration; these symptoms continued for some time, and she was ultimately relieved by hæmatemesis (vomiting of blood). About a twelvemonth afterwards she was attacked with hæmoptysis, and vomited two quarts of blood; one attack succeeded another till at last both lungs became implicated, and she was so much reduced as to be totally incapacitated for the least exertion. The spinal column gave way; an unnatural curvature was the result, an abscess formed, the matter gravitated, and made its appearance in the inguinal region, from which there was a profuse discharge, resembling in every particular what I have already described in the boy with diseased ankle. With this purulent matter extracted from the boy's leg and the young lady's groin, I performed a series of experiments upon both patients (with their permission). I inserted with a lancet upon the thigh of one and on the arm of the other, matter taken from their respective wounds, in the same way as I had been in the habit of vaccinating, and watched carefully from day to day what took place. On the third day after the inoculation, there was a good deal of itching, and slight redness; on the fifth, a distinct papula, with inflamed base; on the seventh day, the base of the vesicle somewhat indurated oval, containing a pale straw-coloured fluid, when the process of desiccating ensued, the same as I have often seen swine or glass-pock, and in numerous cases after vaccination in strumous patients, leaving, however, a peculiar cicatrix, somewhat resembling that we see in *successful* vaccination. The inguinal glands in one patient, and those of the axilla in the other, became enlarged and very much swollen in both. Both these patients died in the last stage of consumption.

I afterwards performed a series of experiments upon the lower animals with this same animal matter from the above patients, and also with the true vaccine lymph; they were all more or less generally and locally affected in the same way; in fact, I could see no difference in the pustules from the Cow-pox matter and that I used from my patients; the local symptoms were precisely the same, and what seemed to me most extraordinary was, that the constant debility and general waste of the body, and post-mortem appearances in the lungs of those I examined, were precisely what I had seen in the horses that had been slaughtered with the grease.

I have been twenty-five years in active practice, and I have had perhaps as many opportunities as most men, of making myself thoroughly acquainted with diseases generally, and I am of opinion that there is no certainty of the way in which this so-called prophylatic will act upon various constitutions; in some it produces little or no disturbance, others it destroys, or brings into activity diseases that would otherwise remain dormant; and last, though not least, it is often the medium of conveying diseases of a specific character from one patient to another. I will give a few illustrations of the fact. In 1840, the year the Queen was married, London was full to the bung; it was a very gay season; I was then residing in Berkeley Square. Small-pox broke out in that immediate locality, and produced a good deal of excitement and alarm; those who had not been vaccinated, sought this so-called protection; one morning I vaccinated eight persons at the same time, with the same matter, and under precisely the same circumstances; they were all, with one exception, adults, two footmen, a lady's-maid, a child eight months old, three lads from the stables called "strappers," a hall-porter, and a scullery-maid.

The hall-porter, a man over forty years of age, who looked I should say, as if he had lived all the days of his life, was the first I operated upon. I made three incisions upon each arm, which formed a triangle, the apex looking downwards;

on the fourth day after the operation he swooned, on the fifth he became delirious, on the eighth erysipelatous inflammation ensued, and his life was despaired of for some weeks; ultimately he recovered, but he was never himself again, or to use his own words, "it nearly doubled him up."

The lady's-maid, eighteen years of age, and possessing some considerable personal attractions, was the next I branded in the same way; she had been inoculated with Small-pox when a child and had a few scars on her body; I saw her again on the eighth day after the operation, and found that she had passed through the incubating stage with little or no constitutional disturbance and was successfully vaccinated, having six well-defined vaccine vesicles, three upon each arm. In the autumn of the same year she caught the Small-pox, had it very severely, and ultimately died of consumption.

The scullery-maid too was successfully vaccinated, and kept at her work all the time, suffering no inconvenience.

The two footmen were not so fortunate, at least one of them suffered very little, he was a married man who "let himself out for the season," his wife kept a laundry at Kensington Gravel Pits, he walked to and fro mornings and evenings, and was upon board wages; in the evening when at home, he assisted his wife in turning the mangle, for a few days he was unable to perform this operation, but he suffered no other inconvenience.

His companion was not let off so easily, he stood six feet without his shoes, and was a man of exquisite proportions, twenty-four years of age, a great feeder, couldn't eat cold meat, and had a great *penchant* for savoury dishes; he was also a friend of the butler's, and from what I could understand he imbibed freely and took no exercise beyond the ordinary carriage drive peculiar to gentlemen of his class. The disease instead of running its usual course, terminated in what is called "Vaccinella," blighted or spurious vaccine which is said to be *non-prophylatic*; there was so much constitutional disturbance, glandular swellings, &c., that for six weeks he

was taken off his legs and had both arms in a sling, and was three months before he was able to resume his duties.

The three lads from the stable, sixteen, seventeen, and nineteen years of age, I was unable to make any impression upon. When examining all their arms I found little or no trace of the punctures I had made, they were all three from the country, lean and lathy, not an ounce of superfluous flesh upon one of them, and they had not been long enough in London to be in any way contaminated with the vices that lower the vital standard. They were generally up at four or five in the morning exercising the horses, and were kept hard at work all day. I, however, gave them a second dose of the vaccine with no better result, and left them unvaccinated.

The child, eight months old, was brought to me on the eighth day and had four well marked uninterrupted vaccine vesicles, two upon each arm, they were circular in form, well defined, and surrounded by that peculiar erythism essential to the development of the true vaccine vesicle. The mother of this child brought two other children to be vaccinated from her child, which operation I performed at her request. I saw nothing of these two cases for three weeks after, when to my horror and disgust I found them suffering with a disease that shall be nameless. I made it my business to inquire into the antecedents of the first child, and learnt the following history: It was a seven months child and was covered with a scaly eruption when born, the mother had frequently miscarried, and had suffered with sore throat, &c., this was her only child; her husband, too, I found led a very irregular life, and had suffered since his marriage with rheumatism, and certain enlargements or bony excrescences on the tibia or shin bone, which fully corroborated all my suspicions as to the cause of the other two children suffering in the way they did after being vaccinated.

When I was in full swing as a general practitioner, and held the appointment of Public Vaccinator, I vaccinated during the summer months between forty and fifty patients weekly,

and I found that those who sought this so-called protection against the Small-pox at the parish expense were very irregular in their movements, for not more than a third of them ever made their appearance a second time, which not only deprived me of my eighteen-penny fee for each case, but gave me no opportunity of knowing whether they had been successfully vaccinated or not. I therefore held the appointment and did the business gratuitously.

I have seen children of all ages inoculated with Small-pox,—

Six weeks after vaccination ;

Two months after vaccination ;

Six months after vaccination ;

Eight months after vaccination ; and

Eighteen months after vaccination.

I have also seen children inoculated with Small-pox who had not been vaccinated, and found that in some it failed to produce any effect, like the stable lads I have just mentioned ; while others, of a cachectic or strumous habit, and who were exposed to the more concentrated source of the infection (especially those who had been previously debilitated by vaccination) had confluent Small-pox in its most malignant form.

I have also seen children at different ages inoculated in one arm with Small-pox and in the other with Cow-pox at the same time. The two diseases went on uninterruptedly in all the patients, proving, if proof were necessary, that they are not, as is generally supposed, antagonistic.

Two of the worst cases of confluent Small-pox, which proved fatal in both patients, came under my notice lately. They had both been *vaccinated* and *re-vaccinated*. Dr. C. J. B. Williams saw one of these cases with me, and can bear testimony to the fact.

The servants and friends who were constantly in attendance upon this patient, had not been vaccinated, and instead of this practice being put in force, as is the custom now-a-days, they were, at my suggestion, all left unprotected, and, contrary to everybody's expectation, not one of them caught

the Small-pox. If they had been vaccinated, their having escaped the disease would have been attributed to the wonderful discovery of the "great Small-pox exterminator."

I must not, by the way, forget to mention, that in the early part of my professional career, I lived for eighteen months as midwifery and dispensing assistant with a medical gentleman at Upper Holloway, in close proximity to the spot where the new Cattle Market now stands. During my residence in this locality, I paid repeated visits to that great purveyor to the feline species, Jack Atcheler, Knackerman to Her Majesty by appointment.

At this wholesale slaughter-house for diseased and used-up horses, I had many opportunities of further investigating what I had witnessed in Oxfordshire in reference to the original source of the "true vaccine" of Jenner from the greasy heels, and also of more carefully examining the tuberculous state of the lungs which I found in all animals with greasy heels.

I also produced the true vaccine vesicle from this particular source, which confirmed me in the belief of the accuracy of Jenner's experiments.

At the time I am now speaking of, the grease was by no means uncommon; not a week elapsed without fresh cases being sent in to be slaughtered. In every one I examined, the body of the animal had the peculiar emaciated ænemic look, and the lungs were one tuberculous mass of disease, large cavities ramifying in all directions, communicating with the bronchial tubes and filled with blood and matter.

By Cow-pox inoculation we excite an abnormal state of the blood by this poison infiltrating itself into the subcutaneous and deep cellular tissue, which, becoming absorbed into the system, either imparts the tuberculous germs or cells, or occasions their progressive development in constitutions where no evidence of their existence had been previously detected.

How many painful disorders, glandular swellings, scrofulous-looking ulcers, and other complaints latent in the system,

become developed after vaccination ! Life is at all times precious ; there are but a few feet of earth between us and the grave ! Why then should our passage be facilitated into the *mole* country by poisoning our blood immediately we come into the world ?

But it is ordered by the Legislature and is the law of the land, say some of my friends, who are reaping a good harvest by this beastly practice.

No less a sum than 250,000*l.* is expended annually by the Government officials and Poor Law Guardians for vaccination alone, and yet my professional brethren crave for more. Mr. R. Griffin, surgeon, of Weymouth, writes thus to the "*Lancet*," July 28th, 1866, when in lamenting the withdrawal of the Vaccination Bill of last session, says, "the Bill was not perfect ; had it become law would have given the profession some twenty or thirty thousand pounds per annum more than they now have."

About the middle of the last century, Parliament in its senatorial wisdom voted Joanna Stephens 3,644*l.* for a secret that was said to possess some "dissolving power" for the cure of disease, this female adventurer demanded 5,000*l.* for divulging the secret, and upon the recommendation of the Bishops of Oxford, Gloucester and Salisbury, the Dukes of Rutland, Richmond, and Leeds, the Duchesses of Portland, and Gordon, the Countesses of Huntingdon and Deloraine, the Earls of Pembroke, Clarendon, and Godolphin, Viscount Lonsdale, Lords Cornwallis, Lympington and Galloway, Sir James Lowther, Bart., and other fashionable and distinguished literati ; who contributed 1,356*l.* towards the sum demanded, the Government paid the balance. A committee was appointed to investigate and report upon this wonderful discovery ; Chiselden, C. Hawkins, and Samuel Sharpe were amongst those who were convinced "by experiment, of the utility, efficacy, and dissolving power" of these remedies which were composed of calcined egg-shells, snail-shells, hips-and-haws, soap, and honey !

The principles of *hygiene* were little understood by our ancestors, who ruled the roost in that august body, and I am fearful that our present Government are a good deal influenced by those who are seeking emolument at the public expense.

It is much to be deplored that we have not half-a-dozen medical men in the House of Commons, who are superior to the influence of office, and who would devote their best energies to the enlightenment of the Senate upon sanitary and hygienic principles.

Mr. Marson tells us that he has "vaccinated 70,000 persons and has never seen a seriously bad result." I presume it forms no part of this gentleman's avocations, to visit or professionally attend any of those poor children who are brought to him to be vaccinated (otherwise he would have arrived at a very different conclusion) and that he merely certifies in the usual way on the eighth day, so that if the vaccine vesicles exhibit their usual character on that day, they are said to have passed through the disease satisfactorily, and a certificate is given accordingly. This sweeping assertion of Mr. Marson's reminds me of a little work that was published by a friend of mine (in 1853 prior to the compulsory Act coming into operation) who makes out a good case in favour of vaccination, and explains away by force of his own eloquence, any objection to the practice being made compulsory; but who afterwards told me that he was induced to write this pamphlet upon the distinct understanding that he was to have had an appointment of at least 1,000*l.* a-year at one of the vaccine stations.

If I had seen nothing of the numerous persons I have vaccinated after the eighth day, I should have been induced to have endorsed Mr. Marson's dangerous fallacy as to vaccination tending to no bad results. I am prepared, however, to admit that in some constitutions favourable to the incubating process of this so-called protection against the Small-pox, there seems apparently no constitutional disturbance, but

in others of a peculiar temperament, I have seen the vesicle attain its acme on the sixth day with an indurated base, and that peculiar erythematous blush that in some does not make its appearance until after the eighth, ninth, or tenth day. It is also by no means uncommon for children on the eighth day to have fully developed vesicles, and having passed through the disease satisfactorily, on the ninth or tenth to be seized suddenly with cerebral symptoms, attended with more or less fever, and then for these well developed genuine vaccine vesicles to assume, or run into, the confluent form; erysipelatous and other constitutional disturbance following, and, if life is preserved, to be permanently disfigured with some chronic skin disease of a most disgusting character.

We have been told over and over again, that it is only the very poor, who are "brutally ignorant" of the advantages of this great boon, who are opposed to vaccination.

Who, I would ask, are better able to judge of the effects of this beastly poison upon their children than those who have to do every thing for them? The conventional laws of society of the present day, are such as almost to exclude intercourse with the nursery amongst those in the middle and upper classes, and their children are left to servants. A mother's affection for her infant is involuntary, implanted by nature for the preservation of her species, how then can she look on and see her children mutilated in body with a filthy, disgusting animal poison? She has had too many opportunities of proving its failure in her own family to believe in its protection against the Small-pox. What did the poor cabman say the other day, when summoned before the presiding magistrate for not having his only child vaccinated? He told that learned functionary that he had no faith in vaccination, that his two first children had been vaccinated, they afterwards caught the Small-pox and died of it. The magistrate, however, told him the law must be enforced, and he was fined accordingly.

One of the arguments in favour of vaccination (for the want of a better, I presume,) is, that the nurses at the Small-pox Hospital have never caught the disease, because, when appointed, they were thoroughly vaccinated; this has often been quoted as unanswerable in my presence, and it is from appearances such as these that the world jumps at conclusions, and not from a real knowledge of things. I have had a good deal to do with nurses, and know their physical capabilities as well as any man. At one time I had a staff that I was in the habit of employing, who were so constituted in mind and body as to resist any infection; they were all built upon the square, hard as nails, and as broad as they were long, with plenty of room for the vital organs to play, who had no idea of danger, and seemed, as it were, to have been born before nerves were invented, always in capital spirits, and troubled with a good appetite, ate four or five meals daily, commencing with a "*hearly* cup of tea" at four in the morning, with something short to keep the "wind off the stomach." These nurses were in constant attendance upon patients who were suffering with Small-pox, fever, &c., had never been vaccinated or had the Small-pox; a class of hale, hearty women, proof against any contagion, and no example in favour of giving a disease to those poor half-starved, ænemic looking creatures, whose vital energies are already sufficiently depressed by living in over-crowded, ill-ventilated, and badly drained houses, the fever dens and plague spots that abound in this great metropolis, and where Small-pox can always be found as an endemic.

Re-vaccination is again strongly advocated, and is said to be absolutely necessary to prevent the spread of the disease; for we are told now, upon the best authority, that this so-called protection (vaccination) only lasts for a time, and as we hear daily of children dying of Small-pox who have been vaccinated, I wonder who will be found bold enough (considering that all the schemes hitherto have failed) to say how often this disgusting and unnatural practice is to be performed;

whether it is to be every six or twelve months or every three years, or whether the whole scheme shall not be denounced as a farce and a sham, which would have died a natural death, had it not been for the legislative interference and the vested interests at stake.

We have a right, I think, to demand from those gentlemen who are now seeking to obtain appointments, by making the vaccination laws more compulsory, some explanation of their movements, instead of cavilling about the number of scars that are necessary to successful vaccination—a theory so illusive, contrary to fact, sober reason, and experience; I would have every one of these gentlemen re-vaccinated, in accordance with their own suggestions, and the full complement of eight well-marked cicatrices, well branded, four upon each arm; and then (say at the expiration of six months) they should all be inoculated with the Small-pox virus, and compelled to live all the time in the same wretched, miserable huts called houses, fed upon the same food as the very poor, clad in the same way, and then, if they come out of these miserable dens free from Small-pox, after being inoculated and put fairly to the test, I, for one, will be the first to hold up my hand in favour of the Jennerian theory, which has up to this time proved a failure.

In the last report of the Small-pox Hospital, furnished by the Medical Officers, bearing date February 1st, 1867, we are told that, during the last sixteen years we had no less than four severe epidemic outbreaks of the Small-pox in this great metropolis.

In fact, for eleven years out of the sixteen, it has been constantly among us as an epidemic, *paying no respect to the vaccinated or unvaccinated.*

During the years 1851-2, 1,482 patients were admitted into the Small-pox Hospital, it was then epidemic.

In the year 1853, when the compulsory Act came into operation, by a strange coincidence, it was not what is termed epidemic, for only 143 were admitted, the legislative enact-

ment seemed to strike terror into this filthy and loathsome disease; it was only for a time, however, but it gave the vaccinators an opportunity of enlarging upon the so-called prophylactic properties of vaccination.

In 1854, 55 and 56, it again assumed an epidemic character, when no less than 2,321 sought refuge in the Small-pox Hospital, and so soon, too, after the legislative enactment which was to have *exterminated* the disease! Alas! I was going to say,—poor Yorick! But poor weak human nature, how little you seem to understand the mysterious working of what you profess to legislate for.

In 1857 only 212 patients were admitted, but in the following year 368 took advantage of this valuable Institution. It was not, however, epidemic, but in the two following years 2060 patients were received; that is only six years after the compulsory Act came into operation, which, by the way, was at first readily complied with, for the vaccinations in all England exceeded the total number of births by 75,000 in the year following the enactment!

The two following years it again ceased to be epidemic, for in the year 1861, 289 patients only were admitted, in 1862 they increased to 417, it then assumed an epidemic character as the following figures from the same report will show :

1863	..	..	..	..	..	1536
1864	..	..	..	..	..	830
1865	..	..	..	..	..	1249
1866	..	..	..	..	..	2069

being the largest number admitted since the foundation of the hospital in 1746.

It must also be remembered that in addition to these returns from the Small-pox Hospital, there is not a parish, I believe, in the Metropolis, but what has been obliged to construct, set aside, or hire some appropriate building for the reception of its own cases, the disease having become so general in every parish.

Of the above 2,069 patients, 32 were, however, suffering from various forms of disease, not Small-pox; of the 2,037 cases of Small-pox, 425 occurred in unvaccinated persons, and 1605 in persons who had been vaccinated. Two cases occurred in patients who had been vaccinated and also had Small-pox, in three others who had had what is called natural Small-pox, and in two after inoculation.

At one time it was believed and generally understood that after we had once had the disease we were for ever secure against it, but it is now proved that a second and even a third attack is by no means uncommon among persons of a *peculiar habit of body*, and whose lives are spent in opposition to all sanitary laws.

This error led to that blind infatuation of being inoculated for the Small-pox which became so fashionable in the last century, and which, after much controversy, was adopted by the London College of Physicians who considered it "highly beneficial to mankind."

The present epidemic, which unfortunately we are all too cognizant of, and which pervades all classes of society, commenced in November, 1862, and is still raging with increased severity; for no less than forty or fifty deaths are recorded weekly for London alone, and as the Registrar-General makes no comment, we have a right to infer that these unfortunate victims have all been vaccinated as the law directs; otherwise, that pseudo-philanthropist, the Coroner for Central Middlesex, would, I presume have carried out his threat, through the instrumentality of a packed jury, of prosecuting the friends of all children that die of Small-pox (see "Times," of January 1st, 1867), and who have not been vaccinated.

This Report goes on to state that,—“The epidemic acquired greatly increased activity in 1866, and the admissions in that year exceeded by 532 those in 1863, the year of the largest admissions in the whole history of the hospital prior to 1866.”

In spite of these startling and unmistakable facts some of

my professional brethren are anxious (and that too without further enquiry) to make the present law more stringent, and are using their best endeavours by a series of stereotyped statistics, without giving us any information as to what opportunities (if any) they have had of testing the efficacy of the vaccine virus, as a preventive of Small-pox.

The Report then goes on further to state that,—“ In the course of the year there were 272 deaths, or a general mortality on the whole admissions 18 per cent. Of the 425 unvaccinated cases 152 died, being a mortality for this class of 35·7 per cent., whilst of the 1,605 vaccinated cases, but 118 died, or 7·3 per cent.”

At first sight this would appear somewhat in favour of vaccination, but when we take into consideration the social relationship, previous habits, age, &c., of the patients admitted into this institution, we shall arrive at a very different conclusion. For instance, the vaccinated are, generally speaking, domestic or household servants, a class better nourished, better cared for, and who are thus physically and mentally stronger, whose reparatory power is greater, and whose previous habits are favourable to recovery; but the unvaccinated are a very different class, and consist of the outcasts of society whose lives are spent in the very hot-bed of infection, living in densely crowded houses, ill-ventilated, no drainage, scanty supply of water, and whose habits of intemperance render them less capable of combating so deadly an enemy.

In this Report there are, however, two or three other facts that must not be lost sight of, for instance in the year 1866, eleven deaths are recorded from what is called “antecedent, coincident, or superadded diseases,” these occur *with one exception among the vaccinated*, thus proving that vaccination is attended with some degree of danger, and is often instrumental in bringing into existence many troublesome diseases that would otherwise remain dormant.

Whenever an outbreak of Small-pox occurs it is always

attributed to neglected or imperfect vaccination, but such cannot be the case amongst the patients admitted into the Small-pox Hospital, as the following extract will show:—"The ratio of vaccinated cases to the whole admissions of Small-pox patients, as calculated from a series of sixteen years ending with 1851, was 53 per cent., a proportion which has gone on progressively increasing. In the epidemic of 1851, 1852 it was 66·7 per cent.; in that of 1854, 1855, and 1856, 71·2 per cent.; in 1859 and 1860, 78 per cent.; and for the four years of the present epidemic, it has been 81·1 per cent."

It would appear from the above that more than four-fifths of the patients had been vaccinated, and yet the disease is gradually increasing. What are we to understand by such startling facts? There is one thing very certain, that vaccination is now looked upon by those who take the trouble to think for themselves, with very great suspicion, for we are told by the "Lancet," (July 28th, 1866,) that,—“The sooner it is understood, that vaccination is not an absolute protection against Small-pox, the better.”

No one, I believe, is allowed to enter the Navy without being vaccinated. I presume these orders are fully and fairly carried out, and that all who are engaged in that service, are under this so-called protection; last year, however, 175 cases of Small-pox occurred on board Her Majesty's ship "Octavia." The Duke of Somerset in reply to the Earl of Ellenborough in the House of Lords last Session, referring to these cases, said,—“He was happy to find most of them were of a very *mild* character.”

The first lieutenant of this unfortunate ship and many of the crew died of this disease; it may, therefore, well be asked if a “modified form of the disease, carries them off, what will a severe one do?”

Vaccination is not, as those gentlemen who are now seeking emolument at the public expense would lead us to infer, unattended with danger, as the following extract will show:—

(From the Report of the Washington War Department, Circular No. 6, 1865, under the head Small-pox.)

“ I will only mention here the occurrence, in many instances, especially in the central region, of foul or gangrenous ulcers as an accident attendant upon vaccination. The earliest cases of the sort referred to in the official reports occurred in the latter part of 1863, in the district of the frontier. They are supposed to be caused by the accidental admixture of syphilitic matter with the virus employed. Other cases subsequently occurred in Missouri, the northern department, Kentucky, Tennessee, &c., and were made the subject of careful inquiry by Colonel C. S. Tripler, the Medical Director of the Northern Department, and other surgeons. The opinion generally arrived at was, that they were the expression of scorbutic or other cachectic conditions of the patients, and not due to any poisonous admixture in the vaccine virus, and it was frequently observed that the same scab which had produced a number of successful vaccinations would, in other men, vaccinated at the same time, produce the ulcers referred to. The subject is one which deserves a full discussion hereafter.”

Dr. Rennie, in his work entitled, “Peking and the Pekingese,” published in 1865, says that, “Since 1820 vaccination (introduced from Canton) has been practised to a limited extent amongst the population, probably about one-fifth may be vaccinated. At one time it was believed to afford protection, Small-pox not having been so common after its introduction. Of recent years, however, confidence in it has considerably diminished, owing to the frequency with which those are attacked who have been vaccinated.”

“At Hong-Kong in 1854, while Small-pox was prevailing a lady, well known there, had herself vaccinated, but, in place of its taking in the ordinary manner, it produced an attack of the worst form of Small-pox, which proved fatal. Almost coincident with this, the same consequence took place in an infant; and these two fatal occurrences made a strong impres-

sion on the minds of the Hong-Kong public against the practice of vaccination during the prevalence of Small-pox. From cases such as these, which I may state are much more numerous than is supposed, it would seem as if vaccine matter, in periods when the atmosphere has assumed an epidemic constitution, favouring suppurative disease, acts as a true germinating influence when introduced into systems at the time affected with what may be called the Small-pox habit of body."

Dr. Rennie's views respecting the probability of vaccination being capable of propagating the Small-pox (when epidemic), are also confirmed by Dr. Charteris, assistant-surgeon of St. Giles' Infirmary, who writes thus to the "Lancet," July 28th, 1866:—

"During the last three weeks there has been in the parish of St. Giles, an outbreak of Small-pox, which evidently threatens to assume an epidemic form. It appears to attack indiscriminately those vaccinated and those unvaccinated, the disease in those protected being generally very mild, while in those who are not, this is by no means the case. The history of the eight fatal cases I have had, present, I think, peculiar points of interest. In all these vaccination was performed. The children seemed healthy on the day of vaccination, but on the subsequent day the Small-pox eruption appeared, the disease proceeding *pari passu* with the maturation of the Small-pox vesicle. On the ninth day of the disease, with one exception, all died. Such a termination in these cases has led me to believe that a fatal antagonism is exercised on the system when the child is under the influence of vaccination and Small-pox. I now hesitate to perform vaccination when there is the slightest chance of the child having been exposed to the contagion of Small-pox; and in seven cases, where I have thus refrained, and allowed the disease to proceed in its usual course, the termination has not been fatal.

"The history of one of these fatal cases is very singular. Small-pox had attacked two members of a family living in the

upper floor of a house in Lincoln Court. A woman living on the second floor came to me two days after the disease had broken out, and had her child vaccinated. Four well-filled vesicles was the result, I observed, when she came to me on the eighth day with the child. The child and mother both seeming remarkably healthy, I was on the point of filling some tubes with the vaccine matter, when a most providential reluctance seized me, and after puncturing the vesicles I allowed the woman to go away. The same day I vaccinated, with matter taken from another child's arm, twenty children. On the following morning the mother came again with the child, wondering what the *rash* was on the child's forehead. Scarcely believing my own eyesight, I saw that it was the eruption of variola. For five days the child appeared to progress favourably, though the eruption was of the confluent form, but on the sixth day it refused to take the breast, and on the morning of the seventh day of the disease it died. This case shows that Small-pox was lurking in the system at the time I vaccinated the child, and that the successful vaccination in no way exercised, as it usually does, any modifying influence over the disease. At the same time it appears to me very strange that this influence was not exercised when one complete day had elapsed after the vaccine vesicle had come to its maturity, before the Small-pox eruption appeared. The case, besides being interesting *per se*, shows how very cautious medical men and public vaccinators should be in taking vaccine matter from any child when the Small-pox is rife. I have no doubt that had I vaccinated the twenty children I previously mentioned, from this child's arm every one of them would have taken Small-pox, and most probably all would have died."

I have met with many similar cases during certain epidemic outbreaks of the Small-pox, especially when I inoculated with fresh lymph from the cow, which, by the way, is obtained by first passing the Small-pox virus through the body of the animal, and is then said to possess the power of rendering the human body insusceptible to Small-pox contagion, but which,

in reality, is often the means of giving the disease it is supposed to prevent, particularly amongst those of a strumous habit who have been exposed to the more concentrated source of the infection, and who are living in bye-lanes or back slums where the sun's rays are unable to penetrate.

How or in what way this peculiar metamorphosis takes place, is to me an enigma. That giving the Small-pox to the cow, and that the pustules of the disease at their acme should possess the singular property of producing "a fresh supply of perfect lymph," and that self-same animal poison should be again inserted into healthy human beings as a preventive of Small-pox is, I think, a meddlesome anomalous practice, philosophically viewed, one not only unnatural and disgusting, but an insult to our common sense.

When the Small-pox broke out in the camp at Shorncliff in 1860, amongst the soldiers, re-vaccination was at once had recourse to, but it played sad havoc with them, 13 died after the operation, others had their arms amputated to save their lives.

In the South of France, too, among the cavalry regiments, vaccination was ordered by the Academy of Medicine; its poisonous influence, however, disabling the men, induced the Emperor to countermand it.

The recurrence of Small-pox after vaccination is now familiar to us all, and the deaths common, which, by the way, ought to be published in the Registrar-General's weekly report, and thus give the public an opportunity of judging of the efficacy of vaccination.

When the Small-pox occurs in a natural way, its grades of severity and probable chances of recovery are due altogether to the habit of body, age, &c., of the patient attacked; for instance, those of a plethoric or scrofulous habit suffer most severely.

In the extremes of life the disease generally proves most fatal; children under seven years of age, and persons above forty or fifty seldom recover. From what I have seen of the disease, I am of opinion that Small-pox has never been

diminished by vaccination; on the contrary, in those of a Small-pox habit of body, it is often the means of calling that disease into operation.

With respect to the second question proposed by the donor of the prize, viz., "The dangers of vaccination from the introduction of other diseases into the organism, and the extent to which the value of vaccination is reduced by such dangers."

I have, I think, already answered this question. I may, perhaps, as well state again, that I deny vaccination ever did possess any prophylactic power in preventing Small-pox.

When Dr. Jenner first promulgated his scheme in that obscure part of the world where he was living, he was repeatedly told by his friends, especially those belonging to the medical profession, that his views were altogether illusory and contrary to fact; they pointed out numerous cases of persons who had been suffering with Small-pox that had been repeatedly inoculated with Cow-pox in the usual way.

If Dr. Jenner had tried his experiments upon the class of patients that I have seen operated upon, especially when Small-pox is epidemic among us, and who were living in the wretched filthy way I have described in the answer to the first question, he would have very soon abandoned his favourite project.

Without wishing to appear hypercritical, I think I may say as a rule, that public vaccinators who do the business upon a *large scale*, like "Mr. Tomkins, who is said to have vaccinated in 1857 no less than 40,000 persons, without seeing syphilitic, scrofulous, or other constitutional infection communicated by the operation," see nothing of their patients after the eighth day, and that if any syphilitic symptoms were to make their appearance upon any of these 40,000 persons six weeks or two months after vaccination, they would attribute the disease to some other cause. I have often seen children on the eighth or ninth day after vaccination with five or six well defined uninterrupted vaccine vesicles, circular in form, ex-

hibiting all the characteristics so much insisted on by Jenner himself, who would, if he had seen these children, unhesitatingly have given, as I did, a certificate of successful vaccination. At the expiration of six weeks or two months some of these children I have seen suffering with an eruptive disease and other constitutional symptoms which excited in my mind a very grave suspicion as to the exciting cause, and I have no hesitation in saying, that after making myself practically acquainted with all the facts respecting the parents of the children, I could not account for the appearance of this disease, save and except that it had been conveyed through the medium of the vaccine virus.

Syphilis we all know is gradually increasing, and the deaths too are very numerous from that disease, no less than 1,550 are recorded for the year 1864. My views as to the capability of syphilis being communicated from one child to another by Cow-pox inoculation are now so generally recognized that I may perhaps as well quote a few of the authorities by way of illustration.

Vaccination it must be remembered is very often followed by a rash upon the skin in some of the healthiest of children. I am also aware that in some children who have an hereditary syphilitic taint lying dormant in the system, vaccination often calls it into activity, hence the danger of inoculating from one child to another.

Mr. Ackerley, of Liverpool, writes, "I have no doubt that syphilis has been communicated from a diseased to a healthy child by means of vaccination."

Dr. Bamberger, of Warzburg says, "I am indeed, convinced that contagious disease, syphilis, for instance, is communicable with the lymph in vaccination, nay such a case has even happened a short time ago in a town but a few miles from this place. After due enquiry into all the circumstances of the case the practitioner was found guilty by the court of justice, and condemned to prison for several months."

Mr. Complin says, "Syphilis, I consider might be communicated."

Mr. Douglas, of Bradford, says, "twenty-five years' observation and experience lead me to conclude that the greatest care ought to be taken."

Mr. Startin is of opinion that the true Jennerian vesicle, in a subject suffering under constitutional or acquired syphilis may be the means of transmitting this disease, "which," he says, "he has many times seen transferred from such a vesicle."

If time would permit, I could furnish other valuable information upon this part of the subject. I may perhaps as well quote from the "Lancet" of December 15th, 1866, where the following paragraph appears:—

"*Syphilis extensively propagated by vaccination in France.*—In a Western department of France (Morbihan) some villages have been the theatre of severe syphilitic symptoms upon more than thirty children, who had all been vaccinated from a little girl with six punctures in each arm, the child, herself, having been operated upon from another who had been vaccinated from lymph preserved between two plates of glass, obtained from the authorities. This misfortune created so much sensation that the Academy of Medicine, of Paris, sent down two Commissioners, Messrs. Henry Roger and Depaul. These gentlemen have just presented their report to the Academy, and this important document ends with the following considerations. 1. Several of the children whom we have examined were undoubtedly suffering from secondary syphilis. 2. We see no way of explaining this contamination but by vaccination; and we are confident that the cases we have seen were really syphilis engendered by vaccination. 3. As to the origin of the virus, it is very probable that the poison is traceable to the lymph, preserved between two pieces of glass, supplied by the authorities. As primary symptoms were also observed among the children, M. Ricord begged the Commissioners to insert that fact in their report, which these gentlemen agreed to do. Here we unfortunately have again repeated, the sad occurrences which took place at Rivalta (Italy) a short time ago."

It is obvious that the experience of a single practitioner, however large and corroborative of former observations, would not be conclusive on a subject having so wide a range. I, therefore, propose to take a brief survey of the controversy respecting the practice of vaccination from the period of its introduction to the present time.

Dr. Moseley was among the earliest of the opponents of the theory, and lost no time in raising a warning voice. Dr. Jenner published his observations, &c., in July, 1798, and in September, 1798, Dr. Moseley controverted his views. Writing in 1805, he says, "I thought then, as I do now, that experience is not necessary to know that Cow-pox cannot be a preventive of Small-pox." We may admit that at the time of this early objection there was only assumption on either side, except that Moseley reasoned from analogy, the principles of pathology and the laws of the animal economy. But we must admire his penetration and foresight, which are remarkable, inasmuch as long before the dreadful mischiefs which ensued were experienced, he stemmed the torrent of Cow-pox infatuation; and these faculties will be more evident when we contrast his caution with the hasty adoption of the practice by many members of the faculty. I may give as an illustration, a copy of the advertisement which appeared in the "Morning Herald," on the 19th July, 1800.

"Many unfounded reports having been circulated which may have a tendency to prejudice the mind of the public against the inoculation of the Cow-pox, we the undersigned physicians and surgeons think it our duty to declare our opinion, that those persons who have had the Cow-pox are perfectly secure from the infection of Small-pox. We also declare that the inoculated Cow-pox is a much milder and safer disease than the inoculated Small-pox."

This was signed by

WILLIAM SAUNDERS, M.D.,

MATTHEW BAILLIE, M.D.,

and other physicians and surgeons.

Moseley remarks on this,—“From the date of the advertisement it will be seen that there had not been time for any experience in the two years which had elapsed since June, 1798, when Dr. Jenner first published his crude notions on vaccination.”

The limits of an Essay forbid more than a cursory glance at the early disputes, respecting the mode of performing the operation, between Drs. Jenner, Pearson, and Woodville, but the curious may find them recorded in Baron's “Life of Jenner,” and that the gravest doubts existed as to the value of the practice; notwithstanding which, with no small amount of policy, Jenner's friends persuaded him to petition Parliament for a reward.

Lord Rous was very prominent in promoting the grant, writing to his sister respecting the inquiry by Committee of the House of Commons, he says:—“In my own opinion there will be no occasion for very minute inquiries, the Minister will grant a reward or he will not do it, and it will be decided whether he will do it long before it is brought before Parliament, at least it will not be worth trying for unless Mr. Pitt sanctions the application. *Some of the Medical men in England will certify that the Cow-pox is completely established, and their testimony would outweigh a thousand certificates from those not of the profession.*”

The statements in Jenner's petition are now admitted on all hands to have been unwarrantable, such as,—“That the said inoculation hath already checked the progress of the Small-pox, and from its nature must finally annihilate that dreadful disorder.”

Dr. Jenner having presented his petition to Parliament praying for a reward, a Committee of the House of Commons met on the 22nd March, 1802, to inquire the value of the new discovery.

Much was said at that time respecting the increased mortality under the old system of inoculation, and I may here say to prevent misapprehension, that I do not advocate a

return to that system, many of the arguments against vaccination applying with equal force to the older practice.

The evidence adduced to the Committee was necessarily crude, but I am tempted to make some quotations, illustrative of the public feeling at that juncture.

Though Dr. Lettsom spoke of "the difficulty of ascertaining and distinguishing the Cow-pox," Mr. Cline being asked "to pronounce decisively that a person inoculated in this mode will remain incapable of receiving the Small-pox during life," said, "I believe they are perfectly incapable of ever receiving the Small-pox;" and Dr. Bradley being asked, "Will the Jennerian system of inoculation prove a preservative against the Small-pox for any period of time?" replied, "I have no doubt that it will to the extent of human life, for the natural Cow-pox has already been proved to do so."

Lord Rous deposed that he had used his utmost endeavours to promote the vaccine inoculation, "I had one of my own children then about four months old inoculated, and finding considerable prejudice among the lower orders against the Cow-pox, I performed the operation myself on about thirty persons, after reasoning with them on the mildness and efficacy of the disease, many thousands have since been inoculated in Suffolk with uniform success. I inoculated my youngest child myself last year at four months old."

Baron* in his summary of the evidence says, that, "his Lordship added that he was perfectly satisfied that it was protected from Small-pox;" but I do not find that expressed in the original Report.

The Duke of Clarence related a circumstance which proved nothing, and said, "my own servants both domestic and of my farm, have, since the case of Johnson, always requested that their children might be inoculated with vaccine matter."

In marked contrast to these and many more flippant answers, is that of Dr. Moseley, he said,—“I attempted at the

* See Life of Jenner, page 495.

time when this practice first spread itself to arrest the hurry which I perceived was bearing away the public opinion like a torrent; but I then found inculcating caution had no effect, and there was no reasoning with minds in a state of inflammation. I accordingly suppressed all further observations, which I intended to publish, as I should then have done no good, and probably have made many people unhappy, for the subject then stood on theory and analogy. How far the Cow-pox may be preferable to the Small-pox must depend on time and experience."

"If the Cow-pox, as it is said, be a certain preventive against the Small-pox, so that people who have had the Cow-pox can never have the Small-pox, if, as it is said, also, it does not leave any foul humours in the blood or vitiate the constitution of people inoculated therewith; if, as it is moreover said, it be a disease mild in its progress and safe in its termination; for introducing the Cow-pox and suppressing the ravages of the Small-pox, Dr. Jenner has conferred a most essential benefit on mankind; but on these points I am not yet satisfied."

Mr. Birch (p. 56) and Dr. Rowley (p. 115) testified to having seen cases of Small-pox after vaccination, but as I have already hinted, there was a determination to support a foregone conclusion, and the Committee reported in favour of Dr. Jenner.

The debate which followed, June 2nd, equally proved the truth of the remark of Dr. Moseley: "The philanthropist, the calculator, and statesman, were all captivated with the notion that millions of lives would be saved annually."

Admiral Berkeley moved that a sum of 10,000*l.* be granted to Dr. Jenner; and an amendment, that it be 20,000*l.*, was only lost by a majority of three.

The Rev. E. C. Jenner informs us that, "During the sitting of the Committee, letters were received from professional and other gentlemen, some mentioning their being foiled in their endeavours to give security to the constitution from the Small-pox by vaccine inoculation; and speaks with

contempt of the 'little efforts' which are made to 'impede its progress:' efforts that can only be made by the ignorant, the misinformed, the prejudiced, the interested, or the malevolent. The philanthropist, however, will rejoice that these mischievous clamours must ere long be completely drowned in the loud and general voice of an approving world."

These dreams of triumph were, however, destined to be speedily dispelled, for, in 1804, Mr. Goldson, Surgeon, of Portsea, published a pamphlet containing minute facts and observations concerning cases of Small-pox, 13 months, 14 months, 3 years, 3 years and 3 months, &c., &c., after vaccination, which he addressed to the Directors of the Vaccine Institution in a friendly spirit. He says (page 63):

"I only ask for further investigation; vaccine inoculation must stand by its own merits, or fall from its own immediate defects."

"To suffer zeal for the discovery to shut their eyes to conviction, and by deeming every failure spurious to conceal it, is beneath the dignity of the profession."

"If it does not ultimately prove a permanent prophylactic, the consequence must be, that the Small-pox at some period will become a greater scourge to the world than ever;" and hoped that the investigation might be conducted "with that calmness and moderation which should ever accompany a philosophical research."

Though Mr. Goldson expressed himself in such a frank and gentle manner, he tells us in the preface to another pamphlet, in January, 1805:

"The thunders of the Vatican against the first reformers in religion scarcely exceeded in vehemence the calumny levelled against this attempt at reform in the practice of vaccination. The author was deemed a madman, his veracity was called in question, and his intentions were illiberally attributed to the most base and sordid motives."

He proceeds in this second pamphlet to verify his former assertions by further statements of the results of his experience.

It appears that he was met by the declaration to which modern ears have become familiar, "Well, if vaccination does not prevent Small-pox, it at least modifies the attack;" such was the candour of his mind, that he says that, if it were so, he should be ready to "extend its benefits, and gladly cherish the pleasing idea of banishing Small-pox from the world;" but having had proofs of the thorough breakdown of the practice, he felt constrained to express the opinion, "that it (vaccination) will at no distant period cease to be hailed as a blessing." (Pages 53 and 54.)

In a P.S. to this pamphlet, Mr. Goldson says: "These last pages were in the press, when an advertisement in one of the morning papers was pointed out to me, announcing the publication of 'Observations addressed to the public on Cow-pox, showing that it originates in Scrofula, commonly called the evil,' &c., &c., by Dr. Squirrel." This Dr. Squirrel, I may observe, moved in a widely different sphere to that of Mr. Goldson, having been Resident Apothecary to the Small-pox Hospital at St. Pancras, and, in the work alluded to, fortifies his observations by citing twenty-nine cases to prove that the Cow-pox was no security against the Small-pox.

Sensible of the condition of mind of the partizans of the practice, he commences his introduction by saying, "I am well aware that he who shall offer at this time any observations, however true and just, which are inimical to the practice of vaccine inoculation, a subject so frequently discussed and so generally approved, will incur the imputation of prejudice, presumption, and conceit, and, in all probability, will be treated by some with the highest ridicule and contempt." Nevertheless, he goes on bravely to say, "I am apprehensive that the public will soon have reason to regret that such a disease as the Cow-pox was ever known, and to acknowledge that so far from the discovery being a BLESSING it will be a CURSE, not only to the present but to future generations." (Page 8.)

Dr. Squirrel thought it "shocking to a humane mind,

that a poison should be introduced into the human constitution, without the plea of necessity, or the support of reason or experience." (Page 17.)

Alluding to Dr. Jenner, he says, "Had he but seriously reflected upon the specific nature of the Cow-pox virus, and endeavoured to trace the grease of the horse *whence it sprang* up to its origin; previously to engaging in so momentous a concern, it would have required but a small share of abilities to have predicted the dreadful consequences that have since ensued, and I am sorry to have the opportunity of showing that the result of the industry which he has shown in ingrafting an unknown disease into the human constitution, neither merits private regard, nor public approbation." (Pages 49 and 50.)

In an address to the King, prefixed to a second edition of his pamphlet, dated January 29th, 1806, Dr. Squirrel says that—

"The daily occurrence of Small-pox subsequent to vaccination, has so much alarmed and intimidated the public, that they have refused both of the inoculations; for as they very justly remarked, if the one be attended with such dreadful consequences as the vaccinators have pointed out, and the other experience tells us affords no security against the Small-pox, we will make use of neither, but trust to the will of Divine Providence."

Mr. Lipscomb, writing of Dr. Squirrel's work, says it is "A publication the result of great practical experience, guided by great professional acumen."

In July of the same year, Mr. Rogers, the author of an examination of the evidence before the House of Commons, received a letter from Mr. Birch, in which the latter says:—

"The number of persons adduced as supporting it (vaccination) when before the Committee of the House of Commons was forty; but the public has not been told, that out of this forty, thirty-seven spoke from hearsay only, not from any knowledge they had acquired by practice, while the three per-

sons who spoke against it corroborated the evidence by proofs. Strong as this fact is no one has taken notice of it," and goes on to notice the way in which the vaccinators endeavoured to account for the failures which they could not ignore. "Sometimes the cow was to blame, and sometimes the doctor. If the patient should die from the inflammation of the puncture, we might then conclude the matter was not genuine; if the apothecary plunged his lancet too deep, or the infant was not of a proper constitution, the experiment might be fatal. To reason thus was to insult humanity. Alas! how can the constitution of a child be ascertained when only one month or six months old?"

Now in this year of grace, 1867, our legislators assume that children's constitutions may be ascertained before they are three months old, and actually propose to perpetuate the compulsory statutes which disgrace our code.

But I digress; the year 1805 also saw "A Dissertation on the failures and mischiefs of the disease called the Cow-pox, by George Lipscomb, Surgeon," in which the principal arguments adduced in favour of vaccination by Drs. Jenner, Pearson, Woodville, Lettsom, Thornton, and Adams, are ably examined and confuted.

Of the 105 pages, I can only make a short quotation or two. He makes a graceful allusion to Dr. Moseley, "the brave veteran of Chelsea," to whose works I shall return presently, and remarking, that while he was writing, the failures were increasing in number every day, and that, notwithstanding the discomfiture, the partizans of the practice were clamouring for more state support; he anticipates the arguments of the friends of freedom of this day, and says—

"That cause must be bad indeed which depends on force for its support, and poor would be the triumph of authority over reason, if in order to convince men of the justness of a proposition, it should be enforced by fire and sword. Under such circumstances vaccination would lose the advantage of its highly seasoned compliments; for eloquent applauders could

no longer compare its introduction, to the discreet and unobtrusive method by which the blessings of Christianity were primarily announced to the world; and I should be sorry to suppose that there are any even among the encouragers of the Jennerian practice, who look to the end proposed, without a becoming regard to the means employed."

I have already mentioned Dr. Rowley's evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons in 1802, and I must now make a short allusion to an able work of his, a third edition of which, in 144 pages, was published in 1806, in which he gives particulars of 504 cases of Cow-pox failure, the last mentioned being that of a child named Wooley, which after enduring much misery, for six years, from the running sores induced by the Cow-pox, caught the Small-pox and was carried off. He remarks (page xi of his preface,) "As to temporary security by Cow-pox inoculation, against Small-pox infection, there exist so many opposing facts to this chimerical idea, from children having had Small-pox from *two months* to *six years* after passing through regular vaccination, with the scars on both arms, that this, like the other vaccination extravagancies, is perfectly refuted by *facts!!!* Even temporary expectation from Cow-pox in preventing Small-pox is vain, idle, irrational, and inconclusive except in the credulous minds of vaccinating disappointed zealots, shifting their ground from one absurdity to another, until they have no ground to stand upon whatever."

In common with most of his contemporaries, Dr. Rowley enlarges upon the origin of the Cow-pox, he says (page 7) "The milkers of cows, after dressing the *greasy heels* of horses, carried the filthy infection to the teats and udders of cows, and thus communicated the infection, then the cows, labouring under this infectious disease, communicated it to man," &c.

And further (page 9)—

"So important a discovery first excited surprise, and in many thinking minds horrid disgust, from reflecting on the *nasty* or *filthy* origin of Cow-pox infection!!"

Then alluding to his own experience, he says (page 12)—

“There is scarcely a week passes that I do not prescribe for some miserable case or other. The parents and friends in general are so exasperated against Cow-pox that they seldom apply to the vaccinators, who they naturally consider the cause of their children’s misery. This may account for the vaccinators’ saying, few such cases come under their knowledge or inspection, though frequently seen and prescribed for by others.”

On page 13 he goes on to say that, from the facts which had then come to light—

“It is just to infer that millions who have been supposed secure through the *imaginary infallibility* of Cow-pox inoculation may, and probably will, hereafter become victims to Small-pox and perish by its epidemic malignity, which has actually happened in various parts of the metropolis, notwithstanding they have been concealed by the vaccinators, by arts that do little honour to some of the actors; but murder will come out.”

The Dr. then goes on to describe the disputes of the different schools, disputes which have continued to the present day. He says that the vaccinators “reproach one another as not having the *genuine matter*, or skilful management of vaccination, each says his brother labourers in the same vineyard are wrong. If the Small-pox happened after Peter’s operation, James, Paul, and John, are not at all surprised: if from James, Paul, or John, disaster happen, Peter says it is what he expected. Each pretends to some superior mystery over his brother vaccinator. If the most learned disagree on the vaccinating project, what can the disciples and ignorant say on this abstruse doubtful subject? Each leader seems to say ‘Come to my shop, this is the only true booth in the fair, &c.’ So that an observing bystander would exclaim with Shakespeare, ‘All is not right, there is something rotten in the State of Denmark!’”

He then goes on to say that at the time he was writing the Small-pox was epidemic in various parts of London, and that,

"I have lately had under my care some of the worst species of malignant Small-pox ever seen, even after vaccination, in our Small-pox ward at the Marylebone Infirmary, which many of the faculty have seen."

The *indentation* on the arm was then regarded as the proof of security, as eight marks are now, this the Dr. shows was mere imagination; but he says that the vaccinators were so hard to convince, that when a case of Small-pox after vaccination was shown them, they have said,—"*This is bad Chicken or Swine-pox saturated with variolous or Small-pox matter.*" (P. 20.)

On page 28, he has a passage applicable to our own times,—"It is known and must be acknowledged by every penetrating and candid observer, that they have constantly and uniformly opposed, crushed, and never honourably promoted any regular system of fair inquiry. If they met it was to stifle, pervert, virulently, or indecently to abuse every man who wrote or spoke against their attracting interested object. Whoever had not taken the oaths of supremacy and allegiance to vaccination, or who dared to doubt the infallibility of Cow-pox inoculation even in its *infancy*, even before any judgment could be formed; were ignominiously treated as traitors to the royal vaccinating State, as rebellious subjects to the Jennerian despotic power;" but he says (page 30):—"What has happened so frequently lately, may daily happen again and again, and in time fully surfeit the world of vaccination; but perhaps not before much more mischief is produced by obduracy and prejudice."

"*Mankind have been seized by surprise, and they are left to repent at leisure.*"

He further remarks (page 35):—

"The irresolute, superficial, and credulous public, who cannot be judges of medicine, frequently receive the violence of an enthusiast, or the semblance of reason, for reason itself, and rest perfectly satisfied with jejune arguments issuing from fanaticism or profound artifice; but penetrating and

reasoning minds perceive their fallacy, and resist their seductive power."

"The artful erect the structure of their extraordinary success in life on a supposition, that the majority of mankind are absolute fools, credulous idiots and easily seduced, particularly in everything concerning a science they cannot understand."

Dr. Rowley complains as we do now, that, "The impartial disinterested investigators of Cow-pox failure have many obvious difficulties to surmount in obtaining true intelligence." The vaccinators, he says (page 92):—"Besides deluding parents threaten them unmercifully if they dare to disclose vaccination errors, and they remain silent under their sorrows. Others, through respect to their medical practitioners, will neither admit their own nor doctor's names to be published, for fear of giving offence. Others are cajoled and forced to say or do anything vaccination fallacy chooses to dictate. Thus, the most sacred truths are for a time perverted by artifice and low stratagem. Those who assert one thing to-day, which they contradict to-morrow are never however believed. Vaccination cunning would be the most superlative, refined, and imposing that ever existed if vaccinators had sufficient mental powers to hide their cunning; but mankind have been so repeatedly deceived, that if vaccinators even spoke truth, it would not be believed by any one who has the least pretension to discernment, reflection, and judgment."

He also suggests (page 96) that if the authorities "were to intimate that whoever disclosed any of the *facts* relative to Cow-pox failures, or other effects worthy of notice, should not be *injured*, but *countenanced* and *protected* by the learned bodies, an immense mass of evidence, now scrupulously concealed, would issue forth and bring all vaccinating controversy to an end."

He goes on (page 97):—

"Truth is the principal object of inquiry, but truth has been suppressed, and facts coming from the poor and wretched, are as likely to be authentic, as from the higher classes.

Besides the poor, on the present occasion, have suffered most, and humanity and charity would appear with more exalted dignity, by convincing the indigent, that their afflictions and misfortunes have not escaped the sympathizing tear, and commiserating feelings of universal benevolence. If vaccination be not tremblingly afraid of truth it would voluntarily promote, instead of stifling all public inquiry, if it stood on the firm basis of truth, it would not cavil, controvert, nor wax warm with anger, on hearing of *vaccine failure* and *disasters*."

"What has truth or demonstration to fear? Nothing. What has artifice, conjecture, false pretexts, sophistry, and hypothesis to fear? Everything."

I have quoted rather freely from Dr. Rowley, as his remarks are pertinent to the present position of the question; still I give but a poor specimen of the whole work, which will well repay perusal.

Among other pamphlets which appeared about this time, was that of F. Smyth Stuart, Esq., who had lost a child by disease consequent on vaccination, in which further corroboration of the charges against vaccination appears. The title is, "30,000*l.* for the Cow-pox."

These early condemnations justify the assertion of Mr. John Birch, under date 28th January, 1807, that the reason why the practice of vaccination declined in the Metropolis was, "BECAUSE THE EXPERIENCE OF SEVEN YEARS HAS PROVED IT TO BE A FALLACIOUS EXPERIMENT, INCAPABLE OF REALIZING THOSE SEVERAL ADVANTAGES WHICH IT PROMISED TO PARLIAMENT, AND WAS EXPECTED TO HAVE ACCOMPLISHED."

Mr. Birch is rich in evidence of failure, but I cannot now do more than refer the reader to his work.*

Notwithstanding the increasing scepticism as to the value of the discovery, Dr. Jenner's powerful friends were active.

Lord Henry Petty was induced to move, July 2nd, 1806, an address to His Majesty, praying "that the Royal College

* An Appeal to the Public, on the Hazard and Peril of Vaccination, otherwise Cow-pox.

of Physicians shall be requested to enquire into the progress of the vaccine inoculation, &c.," and that report was printed by order of the House of Commons, 8th July, 1807.

On the 29th of the same month, Mr. Spencer Percival moved that a further sum of 10,000*l.* be granted to Dr. Jenner, which was opposed by Mr. Shaw Lefevre, under a sense of duty. He thought that further time was necessary to assure the House of the value of the practice. Mr. Edward Morris, however, moved an amendment that the grant should be 20,000*l.*, which was carried on a division, by 60 votes against 47.

I abstain from quotations from this remarkable debate; the curious will enjoy its perusal, and they may observe how powerfully Jenner's friends had worked on a certain class of minds.

These politic movements and elaborate puffs, at the public expense, did not, however, extinguish the doubts of the lovers of truth, while the dissensions of the vaccinators among themselves, respecting the failures that could not be denied, waxed hot, and in the latter part of this year their confusion became so great that Jenner and Walker each condemned the other's mode of practice, and the Jennerian Society was virtually broken up.

Referring to this difficulty, Mr. Moore told a Committee of the House of Commons in 1833, that "Dr. Jenner found his discovery was making no progress in the world; he was in dismay," and went on to describe the operations whereby some influential persons were induced to adopt the expiring system and attempt its resuscitation. "The College of Physicians," says Moore, "soon received His Majesty's commands to inquire into the state of vaccination, and report their opinion."

It would appear that the learned College was desirous of preserving His Majesty's gracious favour, by reporting in accordance with his wishes, "with great alacrity."

Not so the College of Surgeons, they honestly reported that "in 56 cases Small-pox had occurred after vaccination, in 66 eruptions of the skin had followed, and in 24 inflammation

of the arms had taken place, which proved fatal in three cases."

They were exceedingly careful in their report, for they state that in the 56 cases mentioned the patients were each vaccinated and afterwards attended by the same surgeon.

This honesty on the part of the Royal College of Surgeons, is denounced in unsparing terms by Moore, who assumes that the College "had no ambition to shine, no zeal to be useful."

Moore then goes on to describe the steps taken to place the practice under Government control, and the success of the movement.

A National Vaccine Establishment was formed, and Moore appointed director. Of some of the operations of the board I shall have to speak presently. I should, however, state that the proposition to take the practice under the protection of the Government, was opposed by Sir Francis Burdett, whose speech, read by the light of sixty years' subsequent experience, is remarkable. It may be found in the report of the debate, on the 9th June, 1808.

I must now return, for a short time, to Dr. Moseley, whose pen had been frequently engaged in withstanding the vulgar error. His "Treatise on the Lues Bovilla," and "Commentaries on the Lues Bovilla," contain withering exposures of the imposture, and his "Oliver for a Rowland," in answer to the Rev. Rowland Hill's "Cow-pock inoculation vindicated," passed through ten editions in the years 1806 and 1807.

On the 20th October, 1808, he published a second edition of his "Review of the Report of the Royal College of Physicians," to which I have already alluded. In his characteristic style he meets (page 81) a common argument thus:—

"To urge, in favour of vaccination, that many converts have been made to it, is the very dregs of argumentative ways and means. It is a total unacquaintance with the character of the people of England, who are daily made converts to the most extravagant nonsense. Our history is full of degrading monuments of our credulity."

“ People of no stability of mind, either from the effect of atmosphere, or disease, or ‘*morbid imagination*,’ believe anything that has the turn of marvellous in it; and take up or lay down their creeds, as they receive impressions. And what means have not been used by Cow-pox idolators in the senate, and I am sorry to say in the pulpit, in the public papers, by parochial officers, by prostituted scribblers, and by hireling emissaries in almost every town and village in England.”

Alluding to the confession which was reluctantly made, that Small-pox did follow Cow-pox, he naturally expresses satisfaction, and I cannot resist the temptation to quote the concluding paragraph of his “*Review*,” &c. :—

“ It is ten years since I began this Trojan war against vaccination, and if it be not yet ended, I have at least the satisfaction to see that her original and native troops are no longer able to defend her throne, and that at length the ‘*mobled Queen*, with a clout upon that head, where late that diadem stood,’ has fallen into the hands of a new dynasty of mercenaries.”

I must now notice the elaborate work of Mr. Thomas Brown, in 327 pages, which appeared in 1809.

The title is “*An Enquiry into the Anti-Variolous Power of Vaccination*.” I will let him speak for himself:—

“ I have no hesitation in confessing that I became an early convert and advocate for the new practice, and it is now eight years and a half since I have uniformly advised and practised vaccination; in which period, I may safely say, I have vaccinated upwards of twelve hundred, and have had only three cases of inoculation, which were at the positive request of their parents. This I persevered in until the present moment, notwithstanding I met with several instances where it appeared to fail in giving security, about three years after the introduction of the practice, a few more about two years ago; and those that make a part of the present volume, within the last six months.”—(Page 12.)

After rehearsing the particulars of forty-eight cases, which

came under his own observation, and commenting freely on the whole subject, he confesses (page 279)—

“I am now perfectly satisfied, from my mind being under the influence of prejudice, and blind to the impression of the fairest evidence, that the last time the Small-pox was prevalent, I rejected and explained away many cases which were entitled to the most serious attention, and showed myself as violent and unreasonable a partisan as any of my brethren, in propagating a practice which I have now but little doubt we must ere long surrender at discretion.”

But it appears that this modern Saul proclaimed his conversion in vain, his brethren were not so willing to acknowledge the error of their ways; on the contrary, they advocated double vaccination, as a complete security, and flatly contradicted Brown.

He then complained to the Secretary of State, who referred his letter to the Vaccine Board, and Moore tells us (page 227 of his History),—

“That when they (the Board) met, the Registrar read it, and then tied it up with red tape among that mass of papers which are consigned to rest.”

This, no doubt, is the way in which multitudes of other complaints have been consigned to a supposed oblivion, but it is to be hoped that the modern spirit of investigation will demand a disinterment of many papers of like character.

I am now brought to notice a masterly pamphlet, “On the State of Vaccination in 1810; in a Letter to the Right Hon. Richard Rider, by Charles Maclean, M.D., Lecturer on the Diseases of Hot Climates to the Hon. East India Company.”

He tells us, that having been at a distance from the principal theatre of action during the first five years of the practice, he could not forbear to yield assent to the doctrines so zealously promulgated.

“Not supposing it possible that so much fanaticism and dishonesty could exist among the members of a learned and honourable profession;” but, he says, “I found those were

right, who had represented the Cow-pox experiment as a splendid delusion."

He then goes on, to the extent of 105 pages, to expose, with unsparing but just severity, the falsehood by which the system was propagated and upheld.

With respect to the first report of the National Vaccine Establishment, he characterizes it as a desperate attempt to procure, by fraud, a continuance of the support of Government to the stale imposture of vaccination, "which might well excite surprise, if, indeed, anything could now surprise, in which Sir Lucas Pepys and the Cow-pox establishments are concerned."

As I recommend this pamphlet, in common with the rest, to the perusal of all interested in the subject, I abstain from quoting much that is striking and pertinent; he says, and there are some now living who can testify that his words are applicable at the present day:—

"It was never their (the vaccinators') custom to meet an adversary with reasoning, to examine fairly into facts. It was not truth they wanted, but vaccination."

Maclean claims to have shown (page 64,) that "Excepting in the metropolis, where it was made a job, a majority of medical men have held opinions adverse to vaccination, although the clamours of the zealots, or a dislike to controversy, or motives of prudence or discretion, would appear to have induced them to remain silent. *All men are not inclined to take mad bulls by the horns.*"

In the following year a circumstance occurred in the metropolis which made a profound impression. The Hon. Robert Grosvenor, who had been vaccinated by Dr. Jenner ten years previously, fell ill with Small-pox of a confluent kind, and barely escaped with his life. I have already alluded to the recriminations of the different schools of vaccinators, and no one was more ready than Jenner himself to ascribe the failures (which were mildly named *anomalies*) to the improper performance of the operation. But here was a case which

admitted of no subterfuge, and as it did not occur in a peasant's cottage the parents could not be brow-beaten, and the affair hushed up, so the Doctor was compelled to make the best of a bad case, and say, that if the patient had not been vaccinated he would have died;—a flippant and convenient explanation, which has been offered for many hundreds of *anomalous* cases since. The excitement caused by the Grosvenor case is described in a letter from Dr. Jenner, dated June 11, 1811, to a friend:—

“The noise and confusion this case created is not to be described. The vaccine lancet is sheathed, and the long-concealed variolous blade ordered to come forth. Charming! This will soon cure the mania. The town is a fool, an idiot, and will continue in this red hot, hissing hot state about this affair till something else starts up to draw aside its attention. I am determined to lock up my brains, and think no more *pro bono publico*, and I advise you, my friend, to do the same, for we are sure to get nothing but abuse for it.” Possibly the Doctor saw a poor chance of another grant of £30,000!

The reader of the debates in Parliament may have observed that one of the grounds on which the public liberality was justified was that the invention of Jenner would save 40,000 lives annually to the nation; and it appears that some observers of the course of events had been engaged in looking for the evidence of this saving; among the rest the learned Dr. Robert Watt, of Glasgow, who in 1813 published his “Treatise on Chin-Cough,” and in the appendix to which, accompanied by elaborate tables, gives the result of his observations, by which he proves that the total mortality is not diminished;—that the practice of vaccination merely causes a displacement of the cause of death.

“The infant rescued from Small-pox, may be rescued only to perish in childhood by measles or scarlatina, or be preserved to swell the list of youthful victims to the insatiate maw of consumption.”—(Page 382). “We may, it seems, by the permission of Divine Providence, deprive death of some of his

apparently most efficient means, but, deprived of these, new means are discovered, or the old improved."

It seems to me important to insist on this view of the subject, inasmuch as writers in favour of vaccination have always expatiated on the diminution of deaths by Small-pox, without reference to its propagation of other diseases.

As an illustration I may quote from the Registrar-General's Return for the Metropolis, for the week ending April 29th, 1867:—

Deaths:—Phthisis	..	..	..	185
Bronchitis..	..	..	..	123
Pneumonia	..	..	..	55
Typhus	..	..	..	42
Small-pox..	..	..	..	34

But to this view of the subject I propose to return presently.

In the year 1814, the veteran Birch, who had been a close observer of the movements of the Jennerites, from the commencement, saw the bent of their inclination to seek for more authority, and thus wrote to the "Monthly Magazine," in August of that year: Vaccination "has not wanted money, confidence, puff, or any other aid, which associations could give it. It has wanted power to 'oppress the poor and needy,' and such power the Legislature, I trust, will never grant. The poor, Mr. Editor, want a friend, but where is that friend to be found? Not among the Faculty, alas!"

I may observe in passing, that the "power to oppress," which Birch so earnestly deprecated, was granted by the Legislature of Great Britain in 1853!

This was Birch's last letter; he died a few months afterwards, and his sister, under a sense of public duty, caused the following to be inscribed on the tablet to his memory, which may be seen at the Church of St. Margaret Pattens, Rood Lane.

"The practice of Cow-poxing, which first became general in his day, undaunted by the overwhelming influence of power and prejudice, and the voice of nations, he uniformly and until

death, perseveringly opposed, conscientiously believing it to be a *Public Infatuation*, fraught with peril of the most mischievous consequences to Mankind. Whether right or wrong, time will most surely determine. *Man's mere opinions must ever be liable to error, but by the motives that sway his heart shall he alone be judged.*"

I have had occasion to mention frequently, that strong partisan James Moore. In his "History of Vaccination," published in 1817, he is jubilant at the extinction of the old objectors, though he is compelled to admit (page 83), that children had been destroyed by vaccination; but attempts to excuse the mistakes by saying that the practitioners "were not sufficiently aware of the deteriorations to which vaccine lymph is subject, or of the mischiefs which arise, even when the lymph is pure, from the vaccine process being imperfect, interrupted or disturbed by violence or disease;" and adds, "The number of failures, from all these sources of error in early practice, have been considerable."

And again (page 107), he admits that fatal cases of Small-pox, after vaccination, have occurred. Nor does it appear that they ceased to occur, for in 1833, he told the Committee of the House of Commons, that he had occupied much time in visiting "anomalous cases of suspected failures."

But though Moore might rejoice that the first race of valiant lovers of truth had been gathered to their fathers, there were others preparing to wear their mantle; and in 1823, we find the present Dr. James Copland coming out with the result of his operations in the "London Medical Repository," to the effect that the "protection afforded by vaccination ceased in a longer or shorter time according to diathesis, &c." Writing some years afterwards, he says:—"What was then predicted has since been so generally fulfilled that re-vaccination has been adopted in many places, and has often failed, natural Small-pox having notwithstanding appeared in the re-vaccinated, both in those in whom the measure appeared to have succeeded, and in those in whom it failed."

As Dr. Copland has written largely on the subject, and his work is easily accessible, I do not propose to quote largely from him, but there is a passage in his article "Small-pox," in his Dictionary, which is so pertinent, that I cannot pass it by. "At the time of my writing this," he says, "just half a century has elapsed since the discovery and introduction of vaccination, and after a quarter of a century of most transcendental laudation of the measure, with merely occasional whisperings of doubt, and after another quarter of a century of *reverberated encomiums from well-paid Vaccination Boards, raised with a view of overbearing the increasing murmurings of disbelief among those who observe and think for themselves*, the middle of the nineteenth century finds the majority of the profession, in all latitudes and hemispheres, doubtful as to the preponderance of advantages present and prospective to be obtained either from inoculation or from vaccination."

Though feeling very much the necessity of condensation, I cannot pass by the important evidence adduced by several witnesses to the Committee of the House of Commons of 1833. Some Members of the Committee evidently wished the great benefits (as they were led to believe), which resulted from vaccination should be made public; they thought, for instance, that a publication of the particulars of the *anomalous cases* might be instructive to the people.

Dr. George Gregory said (Ans. 947), "I think I can foresee many difficulties in drawing up such a digest, and some circumstances which might make it desirable not to have recourse to such a measure."

"(Qu. 948.) What are those circumstances?—Perhaps the effect contemplated might not always be found that which would follow, the public might perhaps become alarmed without cause from such statements."

Being further pressed, he said, "I think it would be extremely difficult to draw up a digest of that kind which might not be misconstrued." Some years after, this same

gentleman threw off much of his reticence (see "Medical Times," 29th June, 1852).

Dr. Gregory, during his fifty years' connection with the Small-pox Hospital as physician, drew out some valuable tables, which show conclusively that vaccination is valueless.

Thus we find that there has been a chain of witnesses from the birth of vaccination to testify to the unwarrantable nature of the pretensions of its partisans, and having made known the result of my own experience and observations, I very reluctantly come to a conclusion. I feel, however, that the subject is by no means exhausted, and that there are yet many startling facts that will ultimately be made known.

In reviewing all that I have hitherto advanced, I am led to the conviction that "*pure lymph*" being the product of tubercular consumption (or phthisis) carries the seeds of that disease with it; if it is *impure*, i.e., if it is contaminated with any other human disease, it carries the seeds of such contamination with it, whether it be syphilis, scrofula, mania, or any other blood disease.

I have written (without any reserve) as requested, being actuated by the purest and best of motives, from a feeling that it is the duty of an honest mind, on attaining conviction of an error, to abandon and expose it.

Cow-pox inoculation, whether performed from the original source, the greasy heels of the *consumptive horse* or that still more questionable practice of first giving the cow the Small-pox, and then impregnating healthy children with this filthy disease, is a practice dangerous to the community at large, often the means, as I have said before of conveying other diseases from one person to another, and no protection against the Small-pox.

Motto. MEDENDO NATURAM SEQUOR.

P.S.—I must not omit to notice an audacious attempt to prop up a falling structure made by the medical advisers of the Government in 1857.

Circulars were issued to a number of medical men in October, 1856, and from the 531 replies to certain jesuitical questions, a Blue-book was compiled, which has been trumpeted forth to the world as containing unanswerable arguments.

No doubt the author presumed on the fact that the vast majority of his countrymen would accept his assurance without reading a line of his book.

My limits forbid an analysis of the work, I leave it to other hands, but I cannot forbear the observation, that among his choice respondents there are twenty who express distinctly their belief that other diseases are conveyed with the vaccine lymph.



H. K. LEWIS, 136, GOWER STREET.











