

## **A reply to the anti-vaccinists / [James Carrick Moore].**

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Moore, James Carrick, 1763-1834.

### **Publication/Creation**

London : John Murray, 1806.

### **Persistent URL**

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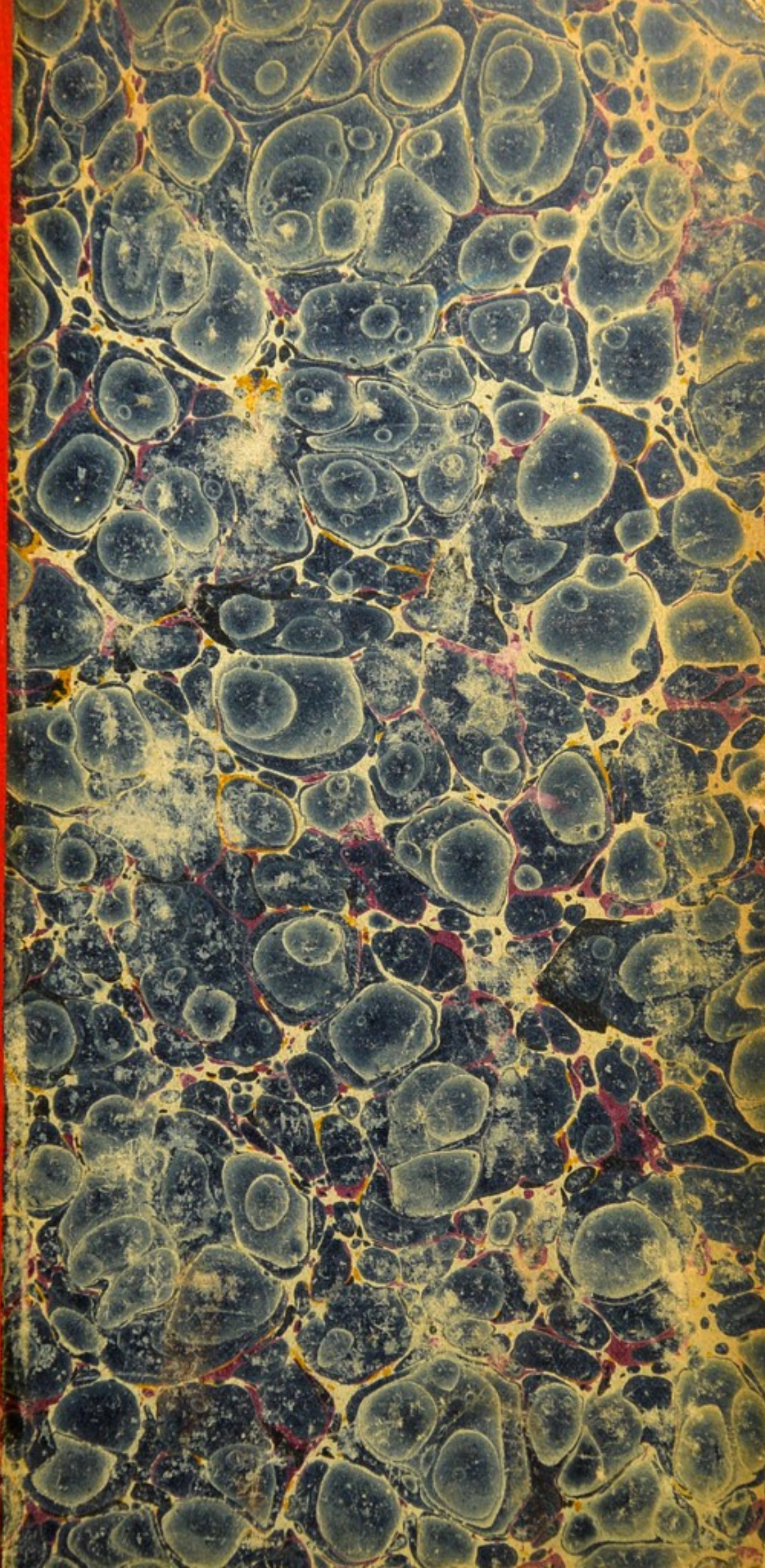
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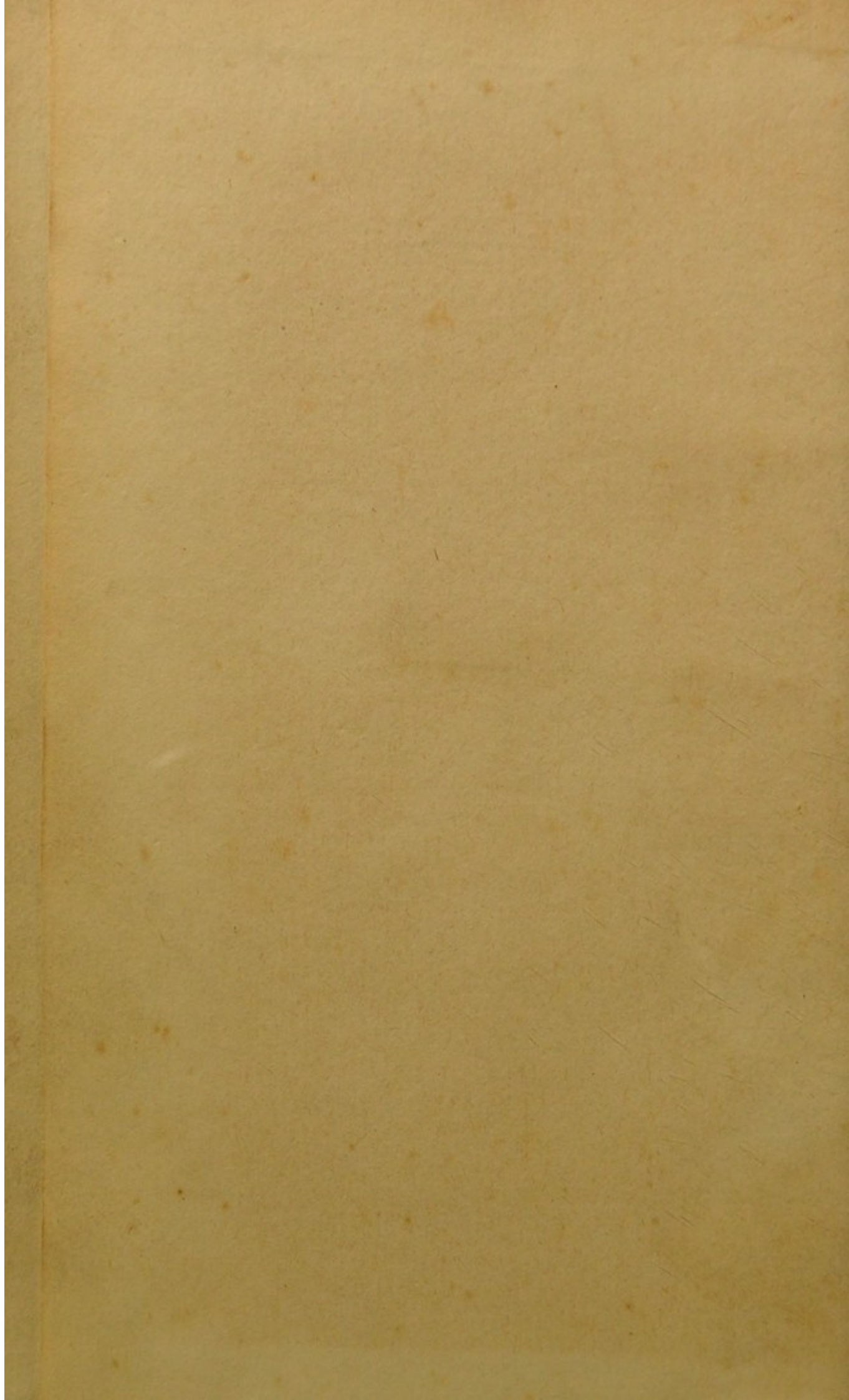


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A

REPLY

TO THE

*ANTI-VACCINISTS.*

---

BY JAMES MOORE,

MEMBER OF THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF SURGEONS, IN LONDON.

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Immemor herbarum quos est mirata juvenca,  
Certantis.

VIRGIL.

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LONDON:

PRINTED FOR JOHN MURRAY, FLEET STREET.

1806.

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G. Woodfall, Printer, Paternoster-row.

A

R E P L Y,

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COULD any class of human beings live in peace, it might be expected of those brought up to the Church and to Medicine. But ecclesiastics can seldom instil into mankind the doctrine of love to each other, without mutual rancour; and physicians as rarely inculcate acts of humanity, without snarling at their brethren. It is strange, yet true, that seamen and soldiers whose duty it is to wound and destroy, are hardly more given to quarrel, than churchmen and physicians whose avocation it is to relieve and to save. That Vaccination should occasion contention, was a thing of course; but this has been carried to unexpected lengths; for both those who approve, and those who disapprove of vaccination, have accused each other of murdering their patients.



It is to be regretted that they are not more prudent, for the public may give implicit credit to both.

It must be owned indeed, that on this occasion, there was superadded to the general tendency of doctors to differ, a particular motive which rarely fails of having that effect upon all mankind. Small-pox, was the source of no inconsiderable portion of the income of every medical practitioner; in so much that neither physicians nor surgeons would abandon this disease to the management of the other. The physician claimed it as a contagious fever, and therefore a medical case; but as the surgeon was the inoculator, he did not choose to relinquish the profits of the subsequent treatment. While each was eager for the whole, it was hardly to be expected, that a plan to take it from both, would be kindly received by either.

Jenner's discovery was a touchstone, to detect what proportion of selfishness alloyed the human heart. It was calculated to make known, whether the scenes of misery, which medical men are compelled to witness, blunt their feelings. The result has certainly reflected distinguished honour on the faculty; for the plan to exter-

minate the Small-pox, has been zealously adopted by the medical men of every part of the world which it has reached. There are, however, and I acknowledge it with reluctance; a few practitioners, who must be excluded from participating in the praise thus acquired; but it would be unjust to censure them, merely for opposing Vaccination. It is more liberal to believe that their opposition is founded upon a conviction of its inefficacy.

A difference of opinion is so natural, that the discovery had hardly been promulgated, when a controversy arose between those who admired it. Some of Dr. Jenner's followers attempted to pilfer the laurel crown which he had gained. They insinuated that though he had accidentally fallen upon the discovery, they were alone capable of bringing it to perfection. They pretended to have studied the subject more profoundly, and to understand it better. Some curious experiments were then made public, shewing the effects of inoculating children, both with Small-pox matter and the Vaccine fluid, under a variety of circumstances: The two were even mixed together, and this mixture was made use of for inoculation. All this is thought extremely innocent by some philosophers; but had any mis-

chief ensued, it may be presumed that the parents of the children upon whom these experiments were made would have thought otherwise; and might have been tempted to take disagreeable and even illegal steps to revenge themselves. Luckily nothing serious ensued, except that it was then asserted, that Vaccine pustules were a common occurrence, and long lists of cases were published where this eruption had taken place.

The sagacious discoverer had been too attentive to the phenomena of the disease to deserve being suspected of overlooking so obvious a circumstance. He maintained with modesty, that pustular eruptions had never occurred to his patients; and he was persuaded that some mistake had been committed; and that perhaps the Vaccine fluid employed was not of a proper kind.

This suggestion gave great offence to those who had published pustular cases; they were alarmed lest their skill should be questioned and their practice diminished. From interested friends they became insidious foes; and even endeavoured to frustrate the generous disposition of Parliament in his favour.

No sooner had abuse commenced than Dr. Jenner with propriety withdrew from the contest. But others warmly espoused his cause. The newspapers became infected with virulent paragraphs; an eruption of confluent pamphlets broke out; inflammatory duodecimos succeeded, and swelling octavos full of matter burst from the press. Many ingenious hypotheses were formed to account for the eruptions. Some supposed they were Small-pox, others Cow-pox, and a third party a hybrid disease. A few minute philosophers, in order to sift this business to the bottom, determined to examine the matter of the pustules by the solar microscope, and by the nicest chemical tests. But in the mean time, Dr. Jenner's rules for inoculation were silently put in practice; upon which the eruptions suddenly vanished, and no pus could be found to make experiments with.

Jenner never took advantage of this conclusion to triumph over his adversaries. The source of their error is now pretty well understood, and he allowed this ridiculous dispute to die away. Such was the issue of the teasing controversy betwixt the friends of Vaccination; but we must now attend to a more vehement one with its opponents.

The first objection which was urged against Vaccination still continues a favourite one, namely that it is shocking even to the imagination to contaminate human beings with a bestial distemper. It requires, however, but little reflection to perceive that this is merely an imaginary objection. For few people are ignorant of this melancholy fact, that the most diseased animal in nature is man.

Who would not think it a happy exchange, to barter the dreadful diseases we are infested with, for the milder indispositions incident to cows?

Consider, for an instant, a few species, of the numerous classes of human maladies. What surgeon, without horror, can recal to his memory the destructive progress, and miserable termination of scrophula and cancer? or who, without disgust, can recollect the loathsome ulcers, which break out in that infectious disease, which poisons the breath, deforms the countenance, and corrodes the bones? Compare the single Vaccine pustule, accompanied with the slightest febricle, to the confluent Small-pox with all its terrors. This disease is usually ushered in with violent epileptic fits, which sometimes at once

blast the tender infant. Should it escape this first danger; the whole body becomes covered with fiery spots, the eyelids are swollen and closed, the face grows turgid, and covered with a hard crust, rough like the bark of the elm, with cracks and fissures discharging acrid ichor. A cadaverous smell issues from the person which exhales contagion. The sufferings are inexpressible, unless delirium happily produces insensibility; and the crisis of this deplorable state is commonly death. A few indeed struggle through, having their features disfigured with scars, or perhaps losing one or both their eyes.

This is an unexaggerated, feeble sketch, of part of the miseries which take place from Smallpox. Whoever has witnessed such scenes, or visited the accumulated horrors of the infirmary of a workhouse, will be far from preferring the diseases of man, to those of the cow. It is surely not in point of health, that we can boast of a superiority over other animals.

Besides, if the cow could plead her own cause, she might assert, that what we call the Vaccine, did not originate with her. She might retort upon us, that it was the contact of man which polluted her pure teats; for no cow that is al-

lowed to suckle her own calf untouched by a milker, ever had this complaint. The cow defends herself truly; but if there are any who entertain an unconquerable aversion to this sweet-breathing creature, they may be assured that the Vaccine fluid consists entirely of human juices. At first, indeed, a minute particle of fluid was taken from a milker, with which a child was inoculated; and many thousand children have since been successively inoculated with the lymph of each other. The most delicate mother, let her prejudices be ever so strong, cannot credit that there is any particle of the cow's juices in the Vaccine vesicle now. It has become a human malady, and so mild, that it hardly merits the name.

Though nothing can be more certain than the truth of this, yet it was first insinuated, and it is now boldly published, that Vaccination produces scrophula, itch, blotches, and almost every filthy disease which we have been subject to for ages. When a child is affected with a scald head, if one of the opposers of Vaccination is sent for, he immediately demands, has the child been Vaccinated? if he is answered in the affirmative, though two or three years of good health followed, he rejoins, I thought so: this is the hu-

mour of the cow. If he is consulted for another pale-faced, chapt-lipped, chicken-breasted, meagre girl, with swellings in her neck; the instant the doctor casts his eyes upon her, he pronounces with emphasis, this child has been Vaccinated. 'Tis very true, doctor, but it was done long since. That don't signify, this is the cow.

As there is nothing so puzzling in the practice of physic, as to answer plausibly all the questions that are popped upon us by every curious person, a short reply like this, is wonderfully convenient. Cicero advises lawyers to study a few fine common-place passages, and to retain them in their memory, to be ready to pour them out upon proper occasions; in order to fill up a chasm in their discourses, when invention flags. The *bile* and *nerves* are the physician's common-place answer for unknown internal diseases. For external complaints, nothing at present succeeds better than the cow. It is particularly relished by mothers; who cannot endure it should be suspected, that any ailment descended from them, or sprung up in their children. Their mode of arguing is always this, that their child was born a fine baby without blotch or swelling; and was Vaccinated a few months after it was born, and it had no complaint of the kind before that



time ; the present illness must therefore be entirely owing to the humour of the cow.

The same convincing argument was formerly employed after Small-pox inoculation. Many a disease was thrown in the teeth of the surgeon, which mothers were resolved to believe, proceeded from variolous matter taken from a distempered child ; and when the surgeon had been particularly prudent, the poor wet-nurse commonly bore the blame. Though she was apparently healthy, with a blooming colour, white teeth, plenty of milk, and a chopping boy, yet who could tell what secret complaint was in her blood, which had not yet broke out. So if the lady's child proved sickly and puny, it was entirely owing to bad milk. This was wont to be the babble of the nursery ; but it is now adopted by some regular, and irregular physicians, as good medical reasoning.

Men of calm minds are amused with observing the violence, with which the zealots, both for and against Vaccination, spur their unreigned hobbies. The first not content with exterminating the Small-pox, believed that it would cure or prevent many other fevers and eruptions ; and persuaded themselves by an ingenious analogical

argument, that it would extinguish the plague itself. They likewise framed a benevolent hypothesis for the purpose of extending Vaccination to animals; hoping that it would extirpate the rot in sheep, the mange, and madness in dogs; in short, they seemed to imagine that few diseases could withstand its salutary efficacy. This delusion was of short duration; that of the opponents of Vaccination may last a little longer, who not only deny the mildness of this disease, and that it prevents the Small-pox; but assert that it is dangerous and sometimes fatal. They impute to the introduction of this distemper, scrophula, blotches, the itch; and likewise many new and shocking distempers which the world was never plagued with before. They accuse Jenner, who stole the Vaccine from a milch cow, of bringing the same evils upon mankind, that Prometheus was said to have been guilty of, by stealing fire from heaven;

“ Audax Japeti genus  
 Ignem fraude mala gentibus intulit  
 Post ignem ætheria domo  
 Subductum, macies et nova februm  
 Terris incubuit cohors:  
 Semotique prius tarda necessitas  
 Lethi corripuit gradum.”

Had there been the same curious felicity of diction in the arraignment of Dr. Jenner; every classical reader would have forgiven his enemies; and to afford them this chance of a pardon, a few of their choicest passages shall soon be quoted. Whatever may be decided with respect to elegance, there is no doubt that they surpass the poet in anger; which renders them incapable of restraining their temper when this subject is touched upon.

I lately had occasion to see a case where Small-pox was supposed to have taken place after Vaccination. I hinted to the medical attendant, that the eruption had a strong resemblance to the chicken-pox. Instead of taking notice of my observation, he asked me with a raised voice if I was one of those who believed that the Vaccine could prevent Small-pox. I answered timidly, that I hoped so. He then bellowed out, that the Vaccine was the damnedest thing ever proposed, he wished the inventors were all hanged, and that he would give his vote for its being done. How many he included as inventors, and how many he proposed executing, I did not enquire; but as he was evidently not very nice in his discriminations, I thought it advisable to make my escape.

It is possible that this gentleman is sincere, and that he really thinks Vaccination is injurious ; but why should he not be equally charitable to Dr. Jenner ? For if he has only committed an error in judgment, hanging must be considered as too severe a punishment. It is difficult to account for these sallies of indignation, and still more for the exultation, with which the enemies of Vaccination report every supposed failure in the practice : for I am persuaded, that in their hearts they lament these failures as deeply as Dr. Jenner could, and must feel unhappiness, in proportion to their conviction of the mischievous consequences of Vaccination, although they conceal their distress with the same art that they disguise their grief to their dying patients, lest it should embitter their last days.

If Vaccination frequently fails, and occasions miserable consequences ; these disappointments and disasters ought naturally to occur most frequently to those who have Vaccinated the greatest numbers ; and repeated mortifications and reproaches would naturally excite so much vexation, as to induce them to abandon the practice. But so far from this being the case, those who have Vaccinated the most extensively, persist in recommending it with the same zeal as ever ;

their infatuation continues, though in other respects they are men of distinguished good sense, and good nature.

Who then are those, who meet with the unlucky failures, and wretched effects of Vaccination? The very persons who opposed the practice before any failures could have existed; and when every known fact was favorable. They decried Vaccination, from its commencement among all their acquaintances; they never adopted it, and consequently have seen little of the practice; yet it unaccountably happens, that the unsuccessful cases fall under their observation.

It was certainly very singular that Vaccination was opposed before any facts could be alledged against it; but the most favorable construction should be put upon this conduct; and it ought to be admitted that the opponents disbelieved, or at least doubted, the facts reported in favor of Vaccination.

To doubt, has been often considered as a presumption of wisdom; and if the opposition had suspended their judgment, and been consistent, some people might have suspected, that they possessed more wisdom than the eminent medical

men in every part of the civilized world, who so readily believed in the virtues of Vaccination.

But it is remarkable that these gentlemen who doubted the immense multitude of well authenticated facts favoring the practice, are credulous to excess of every obscure case of a contrary tendency. It is quite impossible to reconcile their conduct to that advice given by Lord Bacon ; first to establish facts, and afterwards to deduce our principles from these facts. They reversed this rule : they deduced the impossibility of Vaccination being a preventive of Small-pox, from a multitude of facts favoring this principle : and now they adduce, and accommodate a few subsequent facts, to the principle which they at first took for granted.

There is no subject in which the establishment of facts is so difficult as in medicine. But those published by Dr. Jenner, were so clear and well authenticated, that they quickly excited very general attention. They bore no resemblance to the extraordinary cures by secret remedies which are published by quacks, and blindly sworn to by good natured gentlemen their easy dupes. Dr. Jenner's work chiefly consisted of a number of experiments, well imagined, and candidly related.

Others repeated the same experiments, and varied the circumstances, yet always found the same result.

This extraordinary discovery was quickly conveyed to every part of the globe, where letters have penetrated. It was not a mere rumour swallowed and diffused by the credulous populace; but it was propagated by competent judges; by learned professors, sagacious physicians, and skilful surgeons; men who were fully aware of the danger of trusting to a plausible theory, and even to the fallacies resulting from the representation of facts. Age, experience, and reason, make such men slow in adopting innovations. They trusted little to the trials of others; they repeated the experiments themselves; the same effects invariably occurred, conviction followed.

The prudent, the profound, the ingenious, in France, Spain, Italy, Germany, the Northern Nations, and the Indies eagerly adopted this splendid English discovery. Even the prejudiced Turk has been tempted in some degree to abandon his confidence in predestination, and to inoculate with the Vaccine.

Who then are those confident men, who ven-

ture to come in competition with such a conjunction of learning and intelligence? Who have the boldness to arraign all that are eminent in medicine in every part of the civilized world, accusing them, not only of having committed a gross error, but of madness; who exalt themselves as of higher authority, more exact observers of nature, and more profound reasoners, than all?

I do not pretend to measure the capacities of such extraordinary men; their own works are the proper criteria by which their claims to this stupendous merit should be decided. But as few medical men have sufficient curiosity to purchase these books, I shall give a few quotations in order to display the genius of the writers.

Dr. Mosely claims the honor of being the first opposer of Vaccination. He is fully entitled to it, for his objections were raised at first in spite of facts; and were solely inspired by the prophetic powers of his own mind. He puts the following alarming questions, which predict greater evils than have yet occurred.

\* “ Can any person say what may be the conse-

\* Vide Dr. Moseley's *Lues Bovilla*, second edition, p. 11.



“quences of introducing a bestial humour into  
 “the human frame, after a long lapse of years?”

“Who knows besides what ideas may arise in  
 “the course of time from a brutal fever having ex-  
 “cited its incongruous impressions in the brain?”

These fears and another of a most indelicate nature, which I do not chuse to quote, display the dreadful antipathy the Doctor entertained of the Vaccine. This, however, soon unaccountably subsides; for in the progress of the work it seems that hopes had succeeded to his apprehensions, \* “that if the Cow-pox produced no good, it  
 “would do no harm to the human constitu-  
 “tion;” these vain expectations soon vanished; for in the same page he writes, “within the last  
 “two years, these hopes of mine have been en-  
 “tirely defeated by a multitude of deplorable  
 “cases and misfortunes, subsequent to the Cow-  
 “pox inoculation never heard of from the ino-  
 “culated Small-pox. I have lately had many  
 “under my care, for diseased eyes, inveterate  
 “eruptions, and various sorts of itch in London  
 “and the neighbourhood of Chelsea. My ac-  
 “counts from the country are full of dismal his-

\* Vide Dr. Moseley's *Lues Bovilla*, second edition, p. 91.

“ tories of ulcerated arms and mortifications, of  
 “ which one person lately died.”

After reading this tremendous passage and several illustrations and cases equally shocking, I unexpectedly discovered that towards the end of the work the Doctor had again altered his opinion. His gloomy ideas are now fled, and with cheerfulness he declares, \* “ there may be some good in the  
 “ Cow-pox if we can bring it under proper management ; if it be only a temporary security  
 “ against the Small-pox, it may still be turned to  
 “ some good account, employed to prevent the  
 “ destructive rage of the Small-pox in fleets,  
 “ camps, and armies : and on board African ships  
 “ to guard against its ravages which are sometimes dreadful during their voyage to the West  
 “ Indies, and on plantations there for occasional  
 “ purposes, when surprised by the Small-pox  
 “ breaking out in an epidemic season.”

This favorable opinion and advice respecting Vaccination was to me very satisfactory, though it is afterwards stated to be given hypothetically. But some persons have been so astonished to find, after enumerating the shocking, mortal, and even

\* Dr. Moseley's *Lues Bovilla*, p. 120.

maniacal effects of Vaccination, that the Doctor should ever have entertained thoughts of Vaccinating the whole navy and army; that they have questioned his loyalty. I however who have the honor of being acquainted with Dr. Mosely, vindicate him entirely. It is quite clear that as he likewise mentions the African slaves, his motive was to lessen the unhappiness of their state, and not to add to it by tormenting them with a bestial humour,

Upon the whole it appears that Dr. Moseley sometimes entertains one notion, and at other times another. But whatever were his speculations, he could never advise any thing to be actually performed, which he suspected to be mischievous. We must therefore conclude from the last quotation that he completely distrusts his own objections. For otherwise he never could advise Vaccination, to persons whose health is so important to the state.

I sincerely hope, without attending to the procrastinating if, that Dr. Moseley's recommendation to the navy and army will be immediately attended to: and that he will permit others without reprehension to extend his judicious advice to those who belong to neither.

Dr. Squirrel is the next Doctor who disapproves of Vaccination; but had not Dr. Rowley quoted him as good authority; I should certainly have taken no notice of his work, lest by classing them together, I should be suspected of meaning to insult the regular physicians. For Squirrel has most unluckily discovered a certain secret tonic powder, which cures the gout, jaundice, dropsy, and many other diseases: yet not trusting to the uncertain gratitude of his patients, he has thought it advisable to sound his own fame through the medium of the newspapers. I understand he justifies this degrading conduct by asserting that he is influenced by no interested motive, but is prompted solely by his wishes to relieve the afflicted, and to augment the revenue.

His notion of the Vaccine is peculiar to himself, he guesses that it is nothing more or less than scrophula. The conjectures upon which this absurd opinion is founded are too tedious for quotation. They receive not the slightest support however from the cases he has related: for though he has published not only all the supposed failures of Vaccination, which he had seen or heard of, but many that were published previously by others, yet not one of these patients had symptoms of scrophula. This conduct is certainly candid, but it strangely

surprises the reader to find that he did not comprehend his own cases.

He seems however impressed with the positive conviction that every creature who has been Vaccinated is at present infected with scrophula ; and must in a short time contract the Small-pox. To remedy these two calamities, he advises in the first place, that they should all be inoculated with Small-pox matter ; and if this fails to communicate the Small-pox, he counsels that they should next be put under a mild course of mercury from three to five weeks. They are then to be inoculated a second time. But though this should likewise fail, the Doctor assures us, without having made the trial, that the above plan “ will eventually improve the constitution and general health.” This proposal of giving a course of mercury to a few hundred thousand children in good health, to cure a complaint, of which they have no signs, and with the expectation of improving their constitution, gives a very perfect idea of the genius of Dr. Squirrel.

We now come to the work which assumes to be written by Dr. Rowley : though, I own, I suspect this likewise is the composition of Squirrel. For besides that a bill-sticker was employed to aug-

ment its celebrity, an expedient never resorted to by a Licenciate of the College of Physicians; it likewise appears that the author skips from subject to subject, and from facts to fancies, with an agility more natural to the other.

Even the frontispiece has an air of levity inconsistent with the character of an experienced physician. It exhibits an ill engraved portrait, ludicrously entitled "the Cow-poxed, Ox-faced Boy." Most assuredly the poor lad has no resemblance to an ox, though he has a distempered cheek, which renders him an object of pity and not of mirth.

His case is thus laconically described among a list entitled, Cow-pox no security against the Small-pox, &c.

PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

Name and Abode.	Age.	Vaccinated. When.	Event.
Mr. Jowles's son, No. 2, North-street, no lymphatic glandular tumors whatever.	5	Small-pox Hospital; parents perfectly healthy. I intend producing this case in my lectures.	Terrible tumor in the face, of which a drawing is given resembling an ox. On the left side a very large suppuration, and a similar swelling is now encreasing on the right cheek dreadful to behold! Besides this a diseased elbow-joint.

If any man can perceive how this narration proves or illustrates the position intended, he must possess singular penetration.

To an ordinary capacity it only shews, that a boy who was Vaccinated is not exempt from contracting a disease in his face and elbow.

But if Dr. Rowley in his lectures is able to prove from the above scheme, that Vaccination was the cause of the disease, he is gifted with a species of logic peculiar to himself.

What the nature of that logic is, will be best understood by an example. I shall quote the argument by which he proves that the extermination of the Small-pox is impossible\*.

“ XI.

“ *Small-pox not exterminated, but at this moment epidemic, and never can be exterminated.*

“ The Small-pox in June 1805 is at the moment I am writing this work, epidemic in various parts of London, and it must be always epidemic at certain seasons, unless Vaccinators have

\* Vide Cow-pox inoculation, &c. by Dr. Rowley, p. 15.

“ more power than the Almighty God himself ;  
 “ unless they be blasphemous enough to suppose  
 “ human weakness can oppose the divine ordi-  
 “ nance of God, the creator of man and all beings.  
 “ I have lately had under my care some of the  
 “ worst cases of malignant Small-pox ever seen.  
 “ The mode of treatment by mixtures of bark and  
 “ vitriolic acid ; with the comparative view of  
 “ Cow-pox and Small-pox inoculation was read  
 “ by me before the Honorable Committee of the  
 “ House of Commons, deputed to examine Cow-  
 “ pox inoculation : the paper was delivered to the  
 “ Honorable Committee, and as I understood was  
 “ to form part of the report, but for what reason  
 “ I cannot pretend to say never appeared. This  
 “ requires some future explanation, for what I did  
 “ read and say, is for the most part suppressed ;  
 “ and what it was impossible for me to say has  
 “ been through some error, published, as the ori-  
 “ ginal paper in my possession fully proves. It ap-  
 “ pears then *that extermination is impossible.*”

This is certainly a most curious piece of ratioci-  
 nation ; for instead of employing any argument,  
 the first part of the paragraph is impious to God ;  
 and the last is a libel upon the House of Commons.  
 The impiety is too apparent, as the words imply  
 that even God Almighty cannot prevent the Small-



pox being epidemic; and the libel is equally conspicuous by its being insinuated that the Committee of the House of Commons garbled his evidence. From these curious premises he draws this inference; that the extermination of the Small-pox is impossible.

In spite of this, there is no reason to doubt that Dr. Rowley is a religious man and a friend to the Constitution; for the truth is, his arguments are always assertions, and his assertions are usually different from his meaning. He is therefore not so much to blame.

All my readers must be now satisfied with the force of the Doctor's reasons: with regard to his facts he has himself refuted them so ably, that I have only to quote one of his own paragraphs.

\* “ Indeed no other questions are admissible in  
 “ Vaccination than have the parties been inocu-  
 “ lated for the Cow-pox? Have they been Vacci-  
 “ nated? Yes. Have they had the Small-pox  
 “ afterwards? Yes. As to how, when, where,  
 “ whether the Cow-pox took, was genuine or spu-  
 “ rious, or any arguments, however specious as  
 “ pretexts for doubt, or failure, they are evasive

\* Cow-pox Inoculation, by Dr. Rowley, p. 32.

“ and irrelative to the question. They may con-  
 “ found fools, but not illustrate the credit of Vac-  
 “ cination.”

The lively disposition of the author was already hinted at. This passage shews how little qualified he is for the dull plodding work of ascertaining facts.

He has published 218 cases to prove that the Cow-pox was no security against the small-pox; and that it occasioned many shocking distempers, and even death itself. But he thought it quite irrelevant to enquire, whether in any of these cases, the Cow-pox took or was genuine.

The consideration of the cases of the failures of Vaccination, which have been published, makes it advisable to explain a subject, which is very important to be understood; both for the settling this controversy, and explaining other medical disputes.

The evidence that is requisite to prove or disprove any proposition in the science of medicine, is of a peculiar kind. It differs entirely from that species of proof which satisfies a Court of Law. Both direct and circumstantial evidence, which

would leave no doubt in the breasts of judges and juries, have often not the slightest tendency to render a medical fact even probable. The declarations, and even the oaths of the most conscientious, disinterested, and able men are all insufficient.

The reason of this is, that few men, even those of considerable capacity, distinguish accurately, between opinion and fact.

When a man asserts he has been cured of a particular disease by a certain drug, he is apt to think he is declaring a fact, which he knows to be true; whereas this assertion includes two opinions, in both of which he may be completely mistaken. The first is an opinion of his having had the disease specified; the second, that the medicine employed removed the disease.

Most people are convinced that they are acquainted with the malady they are afflicted with, they consider it as a mere matter of fact; and when they are cured, they have as little doubt of the remedy that accomplished it. This belief is often strengthened by the confident declarations, and specious behaviour of the person who exhibits the remedy. And if the patient possesses grati-

tude, this also heightens the delusion. He is thus easily prevailed upon to swear positively, both to the disease and the remedy, as if they were plain facts obvious to the senses; whereas, both the one and the other are frequently beyond the reach of human knowledge.

The cases adduced of diseases caused by Vaccination, to the truth of which the parents will often take their oath, form no stronger presumption of these facts, than the affidavits that are daily sworn to of consumption, gout, or cancer being cured, prove, that a specific for these distempers has been discovered. This species of unintentional perjury has been very common during the last century in every part of Europe; and the more improbable the fact is, the more numerous are the affidavits, and the more respectable the signatures.

Clergymen, judges, and peers are daily swearing, that they have been cured of incurable diseases: but the meanest apothecary smiles with contempt, when he reads their splendid testimonials.

If the difficulty of ascertaining the proper dose of the best medicines was fully known, it would prevent any man of sense signing a paper to induce others to buy a nostrum. One man, for

example, can take eight or ten grains of calomel, whereas another with the same complaint cannot endure more than half a grain. Hence it appears that one man requires twenty times the dose of another; how then can this medicine be graduated for public sale. The most credulous bishop, or even the most foolish gentleman, who exposes his name on a quack bill, would laugh at a shoe-maker who pretended that he could make shoes to fit all feet.

The character of the person for whose advantage these affidavits are taken, is little understood by the public. Reflect for a moment what kind of man that must be who is base enough to conceal a medicine endowed with the power of curing cancer, gout, consumption, or any of the deplorable distempers that afflict mankind. If such a discovery were actually made, and kept secret; the discoverer must be both a villain, for concealing what would save thousands from misery and death; and a fool, because, by this conduct, he lives despised and probably poor; whereas the disclosure of such a secret would infallibly procure him honours and riches.

Though the quack always wishes to make the world believe him guilty of concealing a valuable

discovery; he is in fact quite innocent of the infamy he charges himself with; his crime is of a very different nature. His pursuit is gain, and his art is a species of deception, that deludes the best, and sometimes the wisest men.

Lord Bacon was as credulous as an old nurse, with regard to the effects of medicine; and Mr. Boyle signed an affidavit of the miraculous cures performed by the touch of a holy man.

It is not with medicine alone, that the cunning empiric performs his cures. He sometimes operates more successfully by an unusual incomprehensible legerdemain trick.

Mesmer convinced thousands of the nobility, and even some men of science in Paris, that he could cure diseases without either medicine or change of diet. He placed his patients round a box full of broken glass, and made them pinch each others thumbs, while he waved a rod of steel in the air. By employing a mysterious jargon he even made many believe that they were capable of doing the same; and they paid him large sums for being taught this valuable art.

De Mainaduc and Miss Prescott have improved

upon this plan. By moving their hands, they could extract any disease out of a sick man's body; swallow it themselves, and then puff it into the air. Distance did not hinder them from operating with success. They could cure a man in India. And, though the knave de Mainaduc, with this wonderful power, died young, the art continues to be practised and paid for magnificently, and the cures are attested by coronets and mitres.

After these instances it is superfluous to speak of Perkins, though he had a better trick than either. The other quacks commonly took the trouble of seeing their patients, hearing their cases, and talking to them.

Perkins saved himself all this embarrassment. He soldered bits of brass and iron together; which he said could cure gout, rheumatism, sprains, inflammations, and twenty other diseases, and sold them for six guineas a pair.

He quickly printed with most respectable attestations, many more cures, than are now published of the failure of Vaccination. He established a Perkinian society of gentlemen of consideration, who zealously to this day extol the fame of the tractors.

It appears to be in imitation of this, that Dr. Rowley advertises an Antivaccinarian society. But he is not so vain of the members as to publish their names; as long as they are unknown they cannot be laughed at.

Several worthy clergymen purchased tractors, and most patiently and charitably applied them to their poor parishioners. For a time they performed surprising cures, and thought they rescued the afflicted from the extortion of the apothecary.

These miracles are now at an end; the gout and rheumatism rage as formerly; but Perkins has made his fortune.

It thus appears that lists of cases, however certified, rather deceive, than enlighten. The regular physician who adopts this method of proving a medical fact, takes the very path he ought most sedulously to shun. Yet if any one should attempt by investigating each particular case to refute it; he would soon discover the impossibility of succeeding.

I have been requested on various occasions to make such researches, and generally found that



the patients were completely convinced of the truth of the attestation ; whether the remedy was physic, magnetism, or a tractor. In short, they were ready to take the most solemn oath to what was quite impossible to be true.

Not aware of this, some of Dr. Jenner's friends first investigated the cases of pretended failure of Vaccination. In some instances they discovered, that what had been called the Small-pox, was, in fact, the Chicken-pox, in others a rash, and in some bug-bites. Where the Small-pox had occurred, the patient had either never been vaccinated at all, or the spurious inflammation alone had taken place.

But as soon as one case was refuted, another was rumoured. The investigation sometimes occasioned a dispute with the medical attendant. For if any mistake was committed by him, either in Vaccinating, or in the opinion he had given of the eruption, he found his reputation at stake. This occasioned warm altercations ; both parties obstinately persisted in being in the right, and neither could be confuted nor silenced ; for the question does not admit of demonstration.

The contest whether Vaccination invariably

prevents Small-pox, is exactly similar to that which was agitated a century ago; whether the inoculation of the Small-pox invariably prevented the contracting of that disease afterwards by contagion, which continues an undecided point; for there are many cases fully authenticated of persons having Small-pox twice, and many more have been narrated by the best authorities, which no one took the trouble to record. Dr. Woodville, late physician to the Small-pox Hospital, often said, that patients were frequently brought into that Hospital covered with Small-pox, who declared that they had been inoculated in their infancy, and had learnt from their mothers they had had the disease.

In fact, there are no positive marks by which these difficulties can be always cleared up.

The Small-pox pustule puts on a great variety of appearances; sometimes it is very small, sometimes large and full; it generally fills with pus, but in confluent cases with lymph, and in very mild cases little or no fluid forms in the pimples. The pustules grow dry, or scab, at all periods, from two days to fourteen, or more; and it is no uncommon case for the fever of

Small-pox to take place without a single spot of eruption on the whole body.

When to this is added, that there are a number of eruptive complaints where the pustules are extremely similar to those of Small-pox, the discrimination becomes sometimes absolutely impossible.

Since these difficulties could not be cleared up in every instance by visiting the patients; it can still less be expected to be accomplished in written cases. But Dr. Rowley, in those he has published, has put investigation entirely out of the question. For he never takes notice of the appearance and progress of the part vaccinated; to enable us to judge whether the Vaccine had passed through a regular progress. Nor does he afterwards relate the symptoms of the subsequent complaints: consequently there are no grounds given to form any judgment upon. All Dr. Rowley does, is to give a list of persons who he asserts were vaccinated, though he never saw the lancet applied, or witnessed the appearances of their arms during the inflammation. And, in another column, he declares the event, without pointing out any connection be-

tween the supposed cause and the assumed event. This is the more remarkable, as Dr. Rowley entertains a just dislike of all hypothesis.

He says\*, “an hypothesis is a mere conjecture, an opinion, an unproved proposition, which latter I have rejected in my public lectures on the whole art of physic.” It was to be expected, after such a declaration, that he would have taken care to publish nothing but facts and proofs. Instead of which he has given upwards of four hundred hypotheses, and all of the most improbable kind; for in every case there are at least two. In the first place he supposes, that the persons were properly vaccinated, a circumstance which he neither saw nor proves: and the event of the case is another hypotheses, for it is always an unproved proposition. Though this is sufficient, according to Dr. Rowley, to reject these two hundred and eighteen cases; yet I think I can dispose of them in another way; and likewise of the additional cases he threatens us with from St. Luke’s and St. Giles’s.

There are two questions to be decided upon. The first is, does Vaccination excite any other

\* Cow-pox Inoculation, &c. by Dr. Rowley, Intro. p. 28 & 7.

complaint than the mild Vaccine, or Cow-pox? The second is, does the Vaccine prove a permanent preventive of the Small-pox?

Upon the first of these questions, Drs. Moseley, Squirrel, and Rowley, have decided in the most energetic terms, that Vaccination does occasion other diseases of the most deplorable kinds. Although all assert this, it is Dr. Rowley who gives the proofs, which I shall quote in his own words\*.

“ The proofs that Cow-pox mange, Cow-pox  
 “ evil, blotches, scabs, abscess, &c. arise from  
 “ Vaccination, are, that neither parents nor chil-  
 “ dren laboured under eruptions, nor any other  
 “ impurities, before inoculation for Cow-pox:  
 “ therefore it is just to infer that they are the  
 “ diseases of brute beasts incorporated into the  
 “ human constitution.”

The justice of this inference will not I imagine strike others so forcibly as it has done Dr. Rowley. For as children are usually vaccinated before they are three months old, few will think it impossible that some of them in the course of their lives, might contract eruptions and impurities

\* Cow-pox inoculation, &c. by Dr. Rowley, Int. page 25, and 7.

from other sources. Instead of a logical conclusion, this is an hypothesis with a vengeance.

Dr. Squirrel indeed is of opinion, that the distemper excited by Vaccination is simply scrophula; but as that complaint existed from very early times, and is at least as common among the unvaccinated as the vaccinated children, the two regular physicians, from superior knowledge reject that notion, as too absurd to be attended to.

Dr. Moseley says \*, “ That symptoms and demonstrations, whether internal, or external, of diseases consequential of the Small-pox, are totally new; and differ in every particular, from established nosological definition.”

Dr. Rowley firmly maintains the same doctrine: he describes four new diseases, which, according to him, were unknown in the world, till the invention of Vaccination. These he names Cow-pox mange, Cow-pox evil or abscess, Cow-pox gangrene or mortification, and Cow-pox ulcer. These diseases are described, and even the treatment is given. The most extraordinary new malady of the whole is mentioned likewise by Dr.

\* Lues Bovilla, by Dr. Moseley, second edition, page 94.

Rowley, in the following words, in a note\*.  
 “ Dr. Moseley, who sensibly first exposed the  
 “ errors of Vaccination, saw the case of the ox-  
 “ faced boy, at my desire. He observed to me,  
 “ that the boy’s face seemed to be in a state of  
 “ transforming, and assuming the visage of a  
 “ cow. He also observed to me, that he has  
 “ frequently seen distortions from that terrible  
 “ distemper, the yaws, in the African race,  
 “ where there has been the resemblance of va-  
 “ rious animals.” If Dr. Moseley’s observations  
 are well-founded, the metamorphosis of Ovid,  
 instead of being allegorical fictions, may be proved  
 to be a poetical narration of real facts. Can two  
 physicians be in earnest in maintaining such a  
 tale? or do they mean to frighten mothers by a  
 bug-bear.

It must certainly be admitted, that neither  
 this, nor any other of these new diseases, is  
 mentioned by Sauvage, Cullen, or any other no-  
 sological writer; yet their existence cannot be  
 disputed, since the doctors assert they have seen  
 cases of that kind. But instead of drawing the  
 inference which they do, that the origin of  
 these newly discovered diseases is the Cow-pox;

\* Cow-pox inoculation, by Dr. Rowley, Introd. p. 8.

I shall, on the contrary, demonstrate to them, that they must proceed from some other cause.

These learned gentlemen have totally forgotten that the Cow-pox is no new disease; but has been common in our dairies in Gloucestershire, in London, and elsewhere, as far back as the memory of man reaches. In many parts of the Continent this complaint is as common as in Gloucestershire. It is particularly well known in Holstein; where the sagacity of the peasantry had likewise discovered its power of preventing the Small-pox. If the Cow-pox had the tremendous effects attributed to it, it would not therefore be left to physicians of the present day to make the discovery. Ox-faced milk-maids would have been common cases; and the disgusting distempers described by Dr. Rowley, would have been the terror of every dairy, and the delightful theme of many an inaugural thesis.

The assigning an old cause to these pretended new diseases was a blunder fruitful of others. What is now become of his disgusting prints, and their uncouth descriptions? What are we to think of all the remedies he recommends corresponding to his wild conception of the cause of the maladies! All are already mounting to that



ideal limbo, the fantastical museum of physical, as well as polemical trumpery. Where their authors

- “ ————— find  
 “ Fit retribution, empty as their deeds ;  
 “ All th’ unaccomplished works of nature’s hand,  
 “ Abortive, monstrous, or unkindly mix’d,  
 “ Dissolved on earth, fleet hither, and in vain,  
 “ ’Till final dissolution, wander here,  
 “ Not in the neighbouring moon, as some have dream’d.”

If the doctor should ever chuse to descend from this flight to correct his errors, he need only alight in Gloucestershire, where he will see that the milkers, instead of being covered with foul blotches, and ulcers, or having their faces transformed into the figures of beasts, are, with few exceptions, the most healthy and fresh-looking labourers we have. It is true, they have sometimes two or three pustules of the Vaccine on their hands, which they consider as so trifling a complaint, that they rarely give themselves the trouble to consult medical men upon the subject.

The singular mildness of the Vaccine is the true reason it has continued so long unknown to the faculty ; and had it not been discovered that it possessed the extraordinary property of

preventing the Small-pox, it might have continued still unknown to us, and little regarded by the milkers.

I trust I have proved to the satisfaction of Dr. Moseley and Dr. Rowley, that they have erred in the cause, nature, and names, which they have given to the diseases they have lately discovered.

It is very lucky, that though Vaccination is practised all over the civilised world, the new diseases are chiefly confined to the neighbourhood of Mary-le-bone and Chelsea; but if these physicians will take the trouble to examine the work of the accurate Dr. Willan, on diseases of the skin, they will gain much information on the eruptive complaints, which they consider as quite new: and if they will call into consultation an old experienced surgeon, they will learn from him, that swelled faces and diseased elbows are not novelties, though they have puzzled them. These are diseases not in the physician's province.

Many surgeons, as well as myself, have seen Mr. Jowles's son, whom Dr. Rowley has so cruelly nick-named The Cow-poxed, Ox-faced Boy; and

of whom he has published so hideous a caricature. I made enquiry of the family, and the chief circumstances of the case are briefly the following:

Mr. Jowles, the father, when young, was afflicted for about three years with swellings in his neck. One of which suppurated, and after a long period, healed; leaving a scar, the usual mark of a scrophulous taint. This distemper has unfortunately descended to his two sons; and from the confined air of close rooms which these poor people inhabit, and from bad diet, the complaint in the children has acquired encreased malignity.

The eldest son was vaccinated; and the youngest was inoculated with Small-pox.

In the eldest, there are two scrophulous suppurations in the face, and one in the arm.

In the youngest, though only sixteen months old, one abscess has already formed in the groin, which is now healed, leaving a disagreeable scar; and the glands of the part feel knotted. His wrists likewise indicate a disposition to rickets.

The most superficial surgeon, on seeing these cases, would know at once, that the father and both the sons were all afflicted with the true hereditary scrophula ; which is undoubtedly neither a new disease, nor connected with Vaccination, which was employed only on one of them.

It was a strange negligence in Dr. Rowley to assert, that the parents of the boy were perfectly healthy, when the father had a visible scar on his face, and does not deny the swellings he was so long afflicted with in his youth. This has induced Dr. Rowley's enemies to accuse him of wilful misrepresentation ; but those persons are not aware of the force of prejudice, I acquit him entirely of all such designs. Had he intended to deceive, he never would have fairly published the boy's address, and produced him openly in his lecture room. This, however, had better be discontinued, for if the young pupils hear the doctor striving to make them believe, in spite of their eyes, the transformation of the boy : when their imaginations are once roused, they may fancy they likewise see, solemnly discoursing, that ideal head, which the mischievous fairy Puck so humourously clapt upon the shoulders of Bottom the weaver.

Was it possible for Dr. Rowley and Dr. Moseley to divest themselves of their prejudices, and examine this matter coolly and seriously, they would certainly consult those who have vaccinated thousands, and who, consequently, have the most extensive opportunity of knowing the truth. They need not confine their enquiries to London, but send to York, Bristol, Edinburgh, Dublin, and all the great towns of the British Islands; they will be informed by every eminent medical man in the kingdom, that the Vaccine is the very mildest complaint to which we are liable. And if they extend their enquiries to foreign countries, they will also have the pleasure of receiving the same agreeable intelligence. But, on the contrary, if they seek information from the prejudiced vulgar, or from those few medical men whose preconceived antipathy prevented their employing Vaccination, and who, of course, know nothing about the matter, they will continue to commit errors similar to those they have already done, and give the admirers of Dr. Jenner the satisfaction of pointing them out.

In the mean time, we hope Dr. Rowley will candidly strike from his list above sixty cases; that is to say, all those who were distempered,

or died from diseases, which he must now see were erroneously attributed to Vaccination.

We have now come to the consideration of the second question:—Is the Vaccine a permanent security against the Small-pox?

To determine this matter I must enter a little into the nature, not of Small-pox alone, but of specific, infectious diseases in general.

These distempers are all caused by certain specific poisons, either in a state of vapour or in a liquid form, which chemistry is unable to analyse. The poisons are only known by exciting a train of morbid actions in the human body. These actions vary in some degree in different constitutions. Sometimes they operate more violently, sometimes more mildly; sometimes quickly and sometimes slowly; yet these variations are not infinite, they are confined to narrow limitations; and never affect or contradict the characteristic marks of the disease. If they did, it would be impossible to distinguish one of these diseases from another. For no man ever saw the contagion of Small-pox producing the symptoms of the Hooping-cough, or the Hooping-cough with the peculiar

eruption of the measles. The most striking peculiarity of several of these distempers is their occurring only once during life. This has been attributed to a species of fermentation in the blood; and compared to the juice of the grape, which having been once fully fermented, the vinous fermentation can never be again produced. But as blood is daily formed, we see no reason why the new made blood should not be susceptible of variolous fermentation, if that process was the cause of the disease.

As far as I can judge, no probable theory has yet been discovered to explain the insusceptibility of human bodies to be acted upon twice by certain diseases; but the fact has been observed ever since they were known. This property is so general, depending upon neither age, sex, temperament, constitution, climate, or diet, that it must be owing to a permanent change occasioned by these diseases upon the human body. It is an alteration not of an incidental kind; but seems to be a necessary consequence of these diseases, a positive law of nature. Notwithstanding this, a few exceptions have been taken notice of from time to time. We occasionally hear of an individual who has had hooping-cough, measles, or Small-pox, twice; and some of these

cases have been well authenticated by able medical men ; but this question requires very minute examination, for the persons who are supposed to have formed these exceptions, resemble in other respects the rest of the human race.

After a chemist, by a number of accurate experiments, discovers any quality in a salt or metal ; should it by any accident happen, that on repeating the experiment, a different result is produced ; he never concludes, that the particular salt or metal sometimes possesses that quality and sometimes not.

For example, gold has been ascertained to be soluble by a certain process ; and butter is formed of milk by another. But should the chemist or the dairy-maid fail in their work ; the first would never imagine that gold sometimes was insusceptible of solution : and the dairy-maid would hardly venture to excuse her carelessness, by saying, that milk sometimes would not churn.

Thus as often as an experiment upon inanimate matter fails, the true philosopher owns he has committed a mistake ; he knows that there are no real exceptions to the laws of nature. Apparent deviations are common, and he endeavours to



detect their cause; but he never doubts the immutability of the laws.

If medical men were as ready to own their errors, as chemists, they would not accuse nature of being so capricious as they do.

That there are peculiarities in different constitutions is certain: and as men are born of different degrees of strength, and are fed, brought up, and circumstanced differently, it is impossible that their constitutions should be alike. But the variations are proportioned to the cause; human beings are modified by the accidents of life; but are not totally altered. To admit that a few individuals, organised like others, are susceptible of having certain diseases twice; while the flood of mankind can only have them once, is almost a contradiction in the uniformity of the laws of cause and effect.

If it is then asked, how I am to account for physicians of reputation having absolutely seen patients who have had these diseases twice, I confess it appears to me as probable, that the ablest physician should commit a mistake; as that so great an incongruity should occur. This declaration will give least offence to those who have

most knowledge. For those who are least liable to commit errors, are perhaps the persons most ready to acknowledge them; And error may sometimes be committed, without the slightest blame attaching to the medical attendant. For it unluckily happens, that we have not as certain means of discriminating diseases, as we have of ascertaining the operations of inanimate matter. There are no prophylactic symptoms, no unerring marks, by which we can always distinguish a disease from others.

Besides when a physician is consulted, he is generally expected to pronounce upon the nature of the disease. He who demurs is suspected to possess less skill, than he who decides. He is therefore under a temptation to risk an opinion upon uncertain grounds: and should he afterwards see reason to retract this opinion, he may be deterred from doing it, knowing that an unfavorable construction may be put upon his candor. Suppose that a physician has rashly pronounced that his patient has Small-pox or Measles, yet in the progress of the treatment he sees reason to alter his opinion. It is most certain that he ought to confess his mistake. But those who are best acquainted with the human heart will not be surprised at his sometimes persisting in giving

the disease the original name. All such patients would in all probability have the distemper twice.

But independant of errors of that stamp, there are eruptions so like Small-pox, and coughs so like hooping-cough, that it is hardly possible to distinguish them, and when such occurrences take place during a particular epidemic, the most prudent man may be deceived.

The possibility of a few individuals having Small-pox twice; receives its strongest support from some curious facts which are not generally known.

The Small-pox poison can never be introduced into the habit, even of those who have had the disease, with an absolute certainty of safety. It ought never to be considered as an wholesome, or even an innocent substance. For though it usually has no effect upon such persons, yet in some instances it does excite a distempered action, which varies according to the nature of the constitution of the person to whom it is applied.

The local variolous pustule from inoculation is the slightest action, and known to all surgeons.

A country practitioner made a singular use of this circumstance; he kept a pustule in his arm for years, in order to have always in readiness good matter for the inoculation of his patients. Others of a more irritable habit of body, than this surgeon, have been seriously affected. Fever and a pustular eruption has been produced. The case related by Mr. Dunning an eminent surgeon at Plymouth is a satisfactory proof of this. I select it from many others to the same purpose, because the patient was daughter to Dr. Stewart a respectable physician, and where of course there was little likelihood of any mistake.

\* His daughter was inoculated when very young and had about two hundred pustules of distinct Small-pox. Six years afterwards the Doctor inoculated this young lady a second time, expecting no bad consequences. But she suffered more from the second, than from the first inoculation: she was many days severely indisposed; and had a considerable number of variolous eruptions distributed over her body.

This case evinces, that some of those who have had the Small-pox may be in a certain degree

\* Vide a short detail, &c. by R. Dunning, surgeon.

affected by inoculation. The contagion strongly applied will sometimes operate independant of inoculation. Nurses who suckle children during the Small-pox are frequently affected not only with fever, but likewise with a variolous eruption.

Dr. Buchan, whose veracity is unquestioned, narrates the following case. \* “ I have known a  
 “ nurse, who had the Small-pox before, so infect-  
 “ ed by lying constantly abed with a child in a  
 “ bad kind of Small-pox, that she had not only a  
 “ great number of pustules which broke out all  
 “ over her body; but afterwards a malignant  
 “ fever which terminated in a number of impost-  
 “ humes, or boils, and from which she narrowly  
 “ escaped with her life. We mention this to put  
 “ others on their guard against the danger of this  
 “ virulent contagion.” Many have observed ef-  
 fects of a similar kind though less violent.

I have the honor of being acquainted with a lady who had the Small-pox from inoculation in her infancy; and who has since had a variolous affection six times, from suckling her children successively under inoculation. The pustules filled, and were not distinguishable from ordinary Small-pox.

\* Domestic Medicine, p. 218, seventh edition.

In one sense, therefore, some persons appear susceptible of Small-pox as often as the contagion is powerfully applied. But this secondary species is commonly a slight indisposition: the fever is usually inconsiderable, the pustules few, small, and soon disappear.

But in the multitude of constitutions, as some have acquired a singular degree of morbid irritability, these are, of course, violently influenced by a trifling stimulus. But, except in very extraordinary instances, the secondary variolous affection is much milder than the primary; consequently it appears that an essential change had taken place in the habits even of those who catch it, which occasioned a feebler action of the poison. It should be recollected in confirmation of this, that these secondary attacks almost always proceed from contagion, which is apt to excite a far more malignant disease than inoculation.

Many gentlemen of high distinction in medicine, and particularly many strenuous friends of Vaccination infer from such cases as have been taken notice of, that some individuals have had Small-pox twice. I know not whether they will be satisfied with the distinction I make, between the primary and secondary species; for which

there appears to me a real foundation. I feel inclined not entirely to abandon the principle, that the human body is insusceptible *of the true virulent Small-pox* twice, which has been established by millions of examples; especially as the occasional exceptions admit of an explanation conformable to the rule. Upon this subject, however, I am not very tenacious: there is but a shade of difference between my opinion and theirs; and both of us totally reject the notion of the anti-vaccinists, who deny, positively, the recurrence of Small-pox in any shape. These gentlemen appear enamoured with this loathsome and destructive malady; they will suffer no reproach, however just, to be thrown out against it, but flatter it as they would a deformed heiress.

The Vaccine has so strong a similarity to the Small-pox, as to resemble it even in these minuter points, that have now been taken notice of. For, although in some hundred thousand instances, it has proved a complete preventive of Small-pox, there are a very few cases where a slight variolous affection appears to have been excited by a strong application of contagion. I shall mention one I saw in autumn, in North Row, Oxford Street, where the confluent Small-pox raged at that time, and destroyed several

children, owing to one or two having been inoculated in the neighbourhood.

The vaccinated child had two brothers severely affected with the Small-pox. They lived with their parents in a small, close room, and the children slept together. This vaccinated child was, therefore, enveloped with variolous effluvia, and the matter from the numerous pustules of his brothers must have been applied to his skin. The effect of this powerful application of variolous poison was a febrile attack, followed by a slight eruption of small pustules, which dried up on the fourth and fifth day.

Inoculation, in some very rare instances, has had an effect of a similar kind. This was illustrated lately in the family of an eminent surgeon. Three of his children had been vaccinated, and in compliance with the wishes of his lady, he inoculated them all with Small-pox matter. In one, a slight redness was excited in the part, which soon disappeared. The arm in the second shewed a greater disposition to inflame, which likewise subsided; and about the tenth or eleventh day the inflammation recommenced threatening to form a pustule, but quickly vanished. The child was never affected in the slightest de-



gree. The third child, which was pale and delicate, had two punctures made in the arm near each other; each inflamed and formed a pustule. The child was feverish at the usual period, and six or eight very small pustules broke out on the body, and died away in three or four days. The punctures made by the infected lancet dried up likewise at the same time with the pustules, having festered slightly, and without being surrounded with the inflamed areola which occurs in ordinary inoculation.

In this case, there was unquestionably a slight variolous affection of the same mild kind which I have described as sometimes occurring after true Small-pox; and I think it highly probable, that this child gained nothing by the second inoculation, and might be affected in a similar manner, if she was again exposed to a powerful variolous contagion.

Little attention was formerly paid to many insignificant eruptions, which this controversy now magnifies into importance. When a physician was consulted for a patient who felt indisposed and had a pustular eruption, the first enquiry was, has the patient had the Small-pox or the Chicken-pox? If he had passed through both,

the actual complaint was sometimes named the Swine-pox, or an anomalous rash. No one ever presumed to say, that these cases were Small-pox.

But at present, if any such eruption occurs in a person who has been vaccinated, an outcry is instantly raised, here is Small-pox after Vaccination! see what dependance is to be put in this fine discovery! and the case is, without more ado, added to the list of pretended failures.

It is not improbable, that a few of these trifling eruptions, whether following Small-pox or the Vaccine, are, in reality, of the secondary variolous species. This can only be ascertained by inoculating from them, which I own, I do not think an experiment fit to be made. Such researches as these are the amusement of speculative pathologists: But it is not these dubious rashes which are the terror of every affectionate parent. Our being still liable to them forms no objection to Vaccination, which does enough, since it always prevents the confluent and malignant Small-pox, that begins with epilepsy, and ends with destroying beauty, or causing blindness or death.

The misrepresentations and mistakes of the anti-vaccinists must be answered in the mass; it would be endless to refute them individually. Yet I have examined many of the pretended failures, and some of my friends have detected many more.

The misrepresentations are most numerous. It is to be hoped that they are not formed with a bad design, but proceed from the same beneficent principle, that in the early ages so often occasioned the invention of pious frauds.

With regard to mistakes, the impossibility of always avoiding them in Small-pox, was already taken notice of. The same difficulty in some rare instances, occurs in the Vaccine.

All the peculiarities of this curious complaint were not detected at once. In the first two or three years it was not to be expected that the art of Vaccination should be brought to perfection. It is therefore not to be wondered at, if among the multitude of surgeons, apothecaries, clergymen and ladies, who have practised Vaccination, a few mistakes should have happened. In such hands, they were unavoidable; and it is not impossible that Dr. Rowley may have some

real cases of failures from practical errors, among his numerous blunders. But it must not be forgotten that not the slightest dependance can be put upon any one of his cases; for he fairly owns that where Small-pox followed Vaccination, he thought it quite irrelative to the question to enquire whether the Cow-pox took, was genuine, or spurious. Dr. Rowley must forgive me, but he is evidently too much prepossessed to be a fit person to investigate this subject; it seems even probable that when an eruption occurred, he would think it equally irrelative to enquire, whether it was really Small-pox, or some other eruption.

It is found difficult to induce poor people to attend their surgeon regularly at the hospitals and institutions, and therefore, when their children are vaccinated, it is not always fully ascertained that the genuine pustule was formed. This explains why mistakes may have taken place among them, while there has hardly been a suspicion of any failures in opulent families.

We think it superfluous to dwell upon the subject longer. Enough has been said to repel all the objections hitherto brought against Vaccination. Errors possibly have occurred in practice,

in this inoculation, as in that of Small-pox, which are inseparable from the practice of every human art; but these form no objection to the principle which is established on truth.

One benefit has resulted from the opposition to Vaccination. It has excited such attention to the circumstances which are the causes of failures; as to have contributed greatly to the improvement of the practice. A little more time will settle every disputed point, will diffuse generally the knowledge which has been acquired; and dispel the prejudices of the inferior practitioners in medicine, and of the vulgar. The object is most important, for the Small-pox has been for centuries one of the most fatal distempers we are afflicted with. It is a disease for which no specific remedy is known. When a human being is once affected with it, the poison cannot be destroyed; but the disease, in spite of all medical aid, must go through its stated course. An improved treatment renders it less destructive now than at first, and inoculation makes it commonly safe to the person inoculated.

A part, however, of those inoculated, die; this is admitted by all eminent and candid physicians. The proportion of deaths it is difficult to ascertain;

no practitioner, from obvious reasons, being very willing to acknowledge the whole truth on this delicate point. All writers, however, agree in this, that the confluent Small-pox sometimes is produced by inoculation ; and they likewise mention epileptic fits as a frequent occurrence ; and there is no man whose testimony is worth listening to, who can dare to assert, that the confluent Small-pox and epileptic fits are not very alarming circumstances : As these are not uncommon, some, especially the weakly, must sink under them. This is so well known, that no physician or surgeon who had a regard for truth, or for his own character, in advising inoculation, ever pretended that the operation was without danger. The number of deaths has been estimated at one in a hundred ; or, one in two hundred ; and there is no reason to suspect that physicians have exaggerated their bad success.

Besides this loss, as the Small-pox is a highly infectious disease, and as the cool fresh air is useful to every person affected by this complaint, all variolous patients go abroad, contaminating the air, and infecting others. Thence Small-pox was frequently epidemic in every large town in the island, and few villages for any time are exempt from it. The numbers who annually perish

of Small-pox, within the extent of the bills of mortality, are ascertained to be upwards of two thousand; and the number in the island is more than forty thousand; this is exclusive of the British subjects who die of this disease out of Great Britain, which are known to be considerable. And, besides the number who perish by Small-pox, it annually strikes with total blindness a certain number of persons; we have no means of ascertaining the exact number, though it is known to be considerable. Any one may be convinced of this by visiting the institution in the Borough for instructing the indigent blind, where it appears that generally a large proportion of those unhappy objects, amounting to about three-fourths of the whole, have lost their sight by the Small-pox. Added to this, our ablest writers and practitioners have observed, that Small-pox has a powerful tendency to excite the scrophulous disposition. It is not from any similarity between the two diseases; but this is merely owing to the disturbance of the whole actions of the body, and the debility enduced upon the frame by this noxious poison.

Small-pox then, notwithstanding the mitigation of the disease by inoculation, and the present improved state of medicine, continues a

dreadful evil. It diminishes very considerably the population of the world, it afflicts a portion of the remainder with blindness, and rouses into action scrophula.

It is to be hoped, that the opposers of Vaccination will reflect seriously on what they are doing, and abate a little of their cruel zeal. Dr. Rowley's certainly carried him too far when he brought religion to his aid, which ought never to have been touched upon; as it has no more to do with Vaccination than with inoculation, or any other operation of surgery.

It is true, that the rigid Mussulmen, from a misconception of the doctrine of predestination, neither inoculate themselves nor their families; and some fanatical Christians, adopting this perverted Mahometan dogma, are equally obdurate on this subject. They consider it, as not being sufficiently resigned to the dispensations of Providence, to give themselves a disease; and this religious scruple has been the chief obstacle to inoculation.

All enlightened Christians saw the folly of this objection. There is no precept in the gospel to prohibit us from preserving ourselves from dis-



ease and death. As soon, therefore, as it was proved, that inoculation contributed to save our lives, men of sense, from duty as well as from inclination, adopted it; and for the same reasons now, that they are convinced that Vaccination is safer than inoculation, they give the former the preference.

But Dr. Rowley's religious tenets are peculiar to himself. He neither agrees with the fanatical Mahometans and Christians in rejecting both inoculation and Vaccination, as improperly interfering with the decrees of Providence; nor does he accord with all orthodox Christians in thinking it right to employ every reasonable means for our preservation. He differs from both, and from neither; and thus has bewildered himself in a chaos of medical theology. I shall there take my leave of him, having by these specimens given a sufficient notion of the intellectual powers of Dr. Rowley and his coadjutors. It may fairly be inferred, that they are not of that transcendant kind as to entitle them to treat the united medical professors, and distinguished practitioners, as far inferior to them, and even as madmen\*.

\* Cow-pox Inoculation, &c. by Dr. Rowley, page 6, and in various other parts.

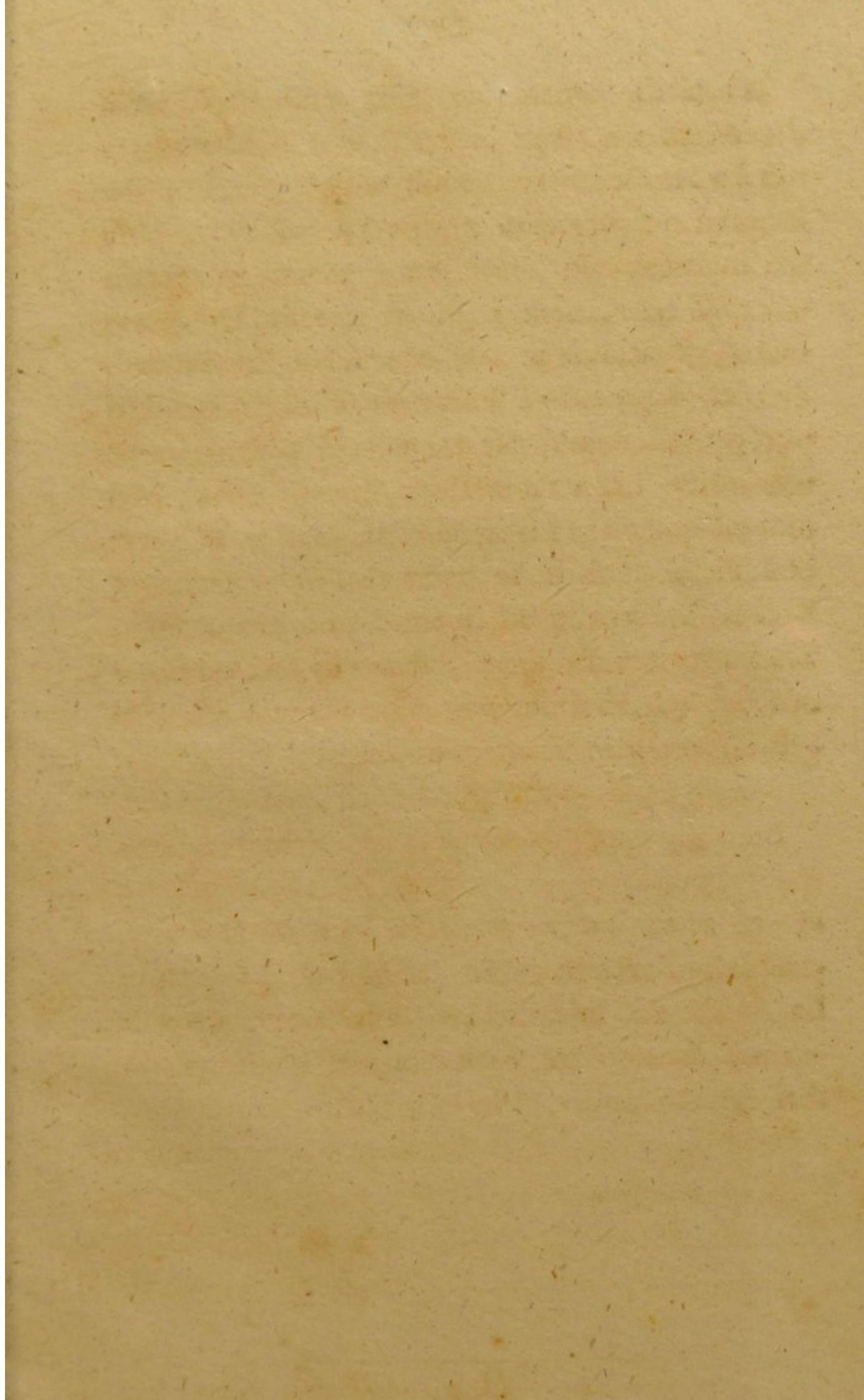
Notwithstanding this vehemence, their arguments and observations, if not their authority, will probably decide the enlightened part of the public. They are almost universally convinced from the immense multitude of successful experiments that have been made, that Vaccination affords a fair prospect of diminishing, and ultimately annihilating all the evils occasioned by Small-pox. Our enemies, the French, have adopted it, with the ardour natural to that enthusiastic people; anxious to augment their population; to encrease the number of their soldiers and sailors; and to extend their power. And shall we, who find so much difficulty in recruiting our military force, obstinately continue, by inoculating the Small-pox, to perpetuate a mortal disease; and refuse to adopt, universally, a discovery made at home.

It is the fate of all great inventions to be opposed by little minds. When the immortal Harvey discovered the circulation of the blood, all distinguished medical men understood his demonstration, and received it with rapture. But his discovery was opposed and ridiculed, by that part of the faculty, who were incapable of comprehending it.

When the benefits resulting from inoculating the Small-pox were brought into this country, this useful discovery was likewise opposed by the dregs of the profession; the very same objections, accompanied with the same species of proof, were adduced against it, as are now brought against Vaccination. It was falsely pretended, that by inoculation, humours were introduced into the body, and that inoculated patients were not secure from having the disease again; and lists of cases were published in support of these objections. It is to be hoped that the opposers of Vaccination will cease in time, and escape by a candid recantation from the mortifying reproach of being classed with those who opposed the two great discoveries above mentioned.

But this which so strongly interests, not only the happiness of individuals, but the prosperity of the state, ought not to be left to the slow progress of reason, against prejudice. The legislature should interfere to protect the subjects against those who scatter a mortal contagion through the land.

FINIS.



Q.  
P. M. J. Mmmmm X

