

**Vaccinae vindicia; or, defence of vaccination: containing a refutation of the cases, and reasonings on the same, in Dr. Rowley's and Dr. Moseley's late extraordinary pamphlets against vaccination. In two letters to Dr. Moseley. With the Report of the Medical Council of the Royal Jennerian Society. And the debate in the House of Commons (July 2, 1806) on a motion by Lord Henry Petty, for enlightening the people of England on the subject of vaccination ... / [Robert John Thornton].**

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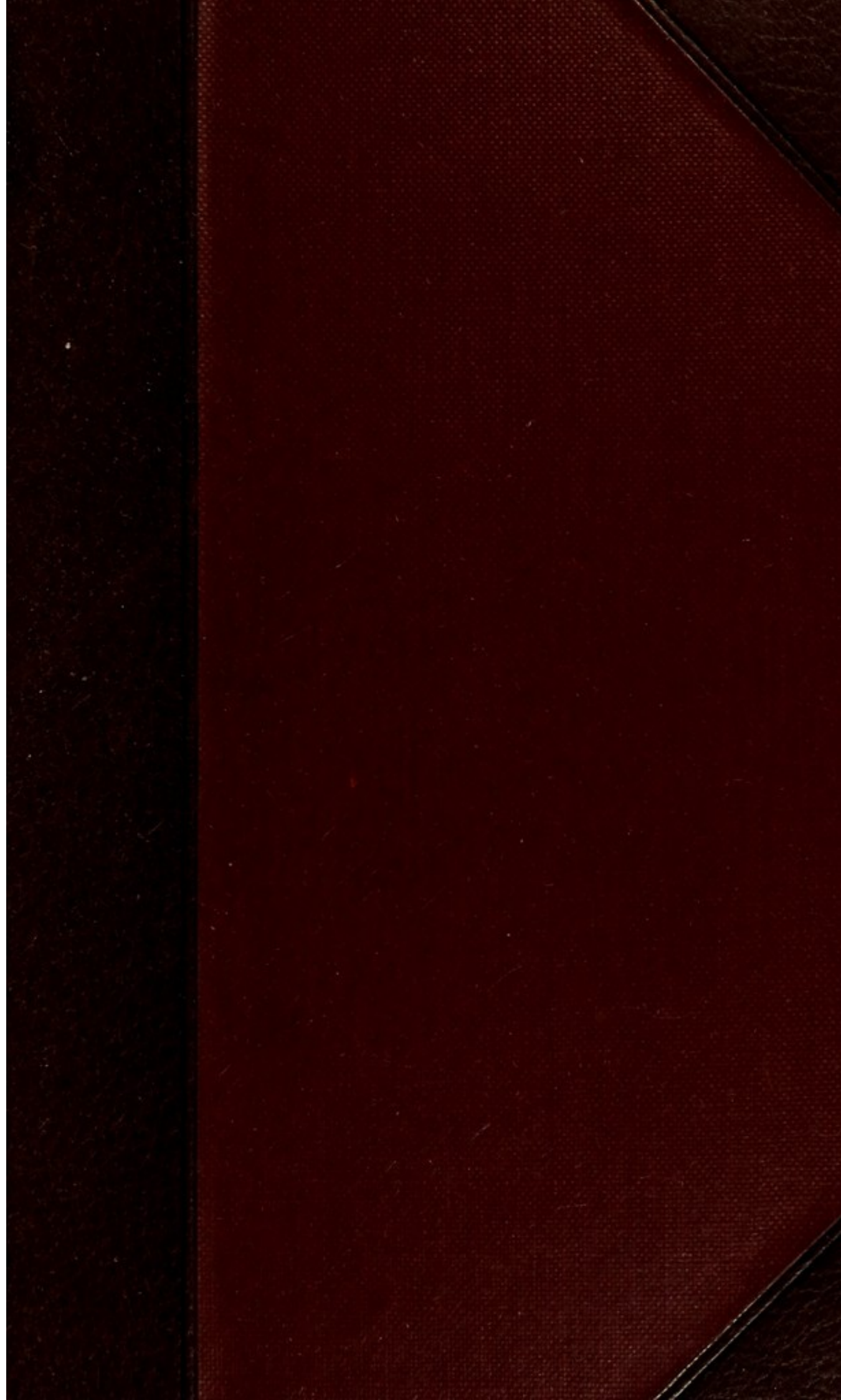
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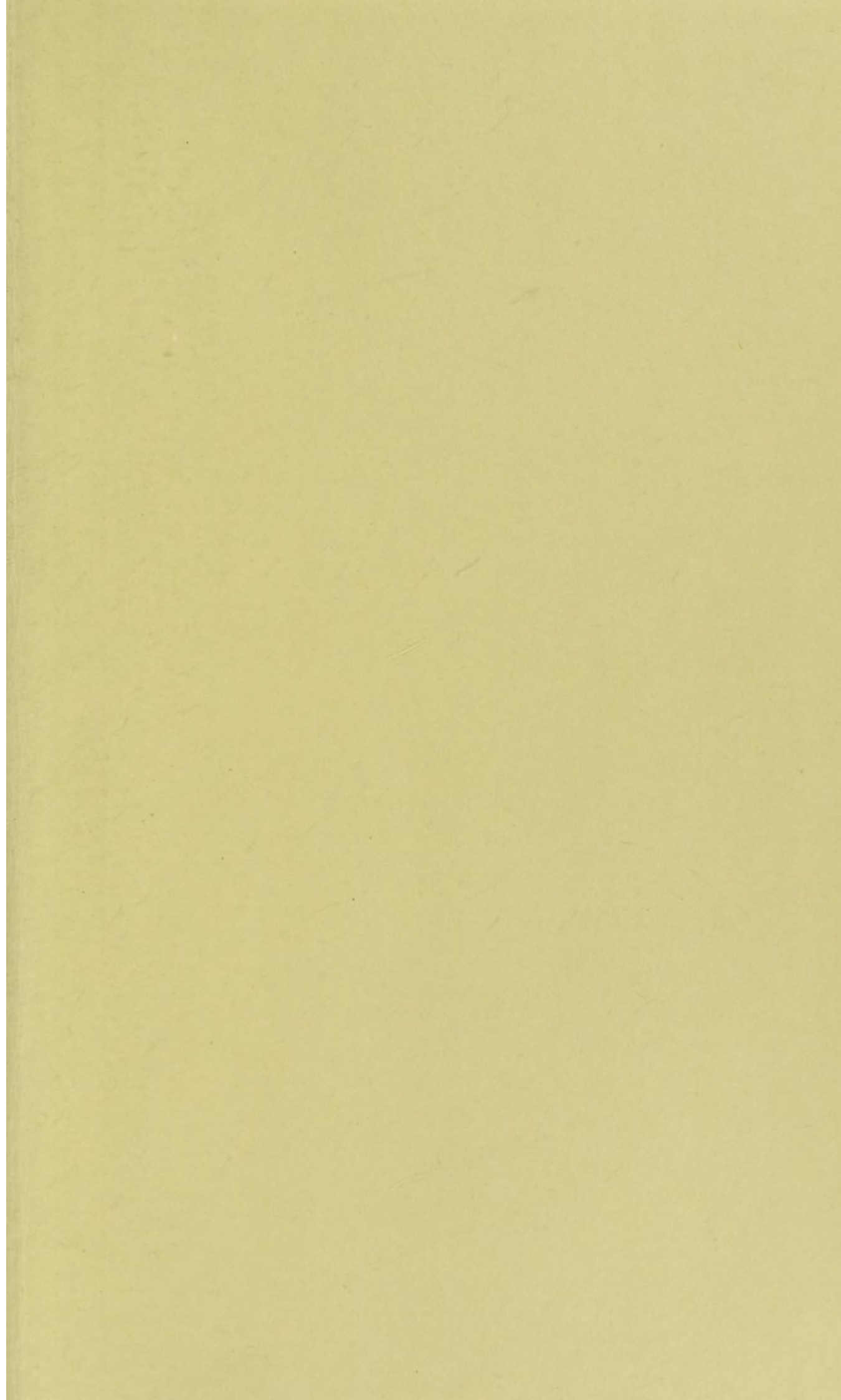


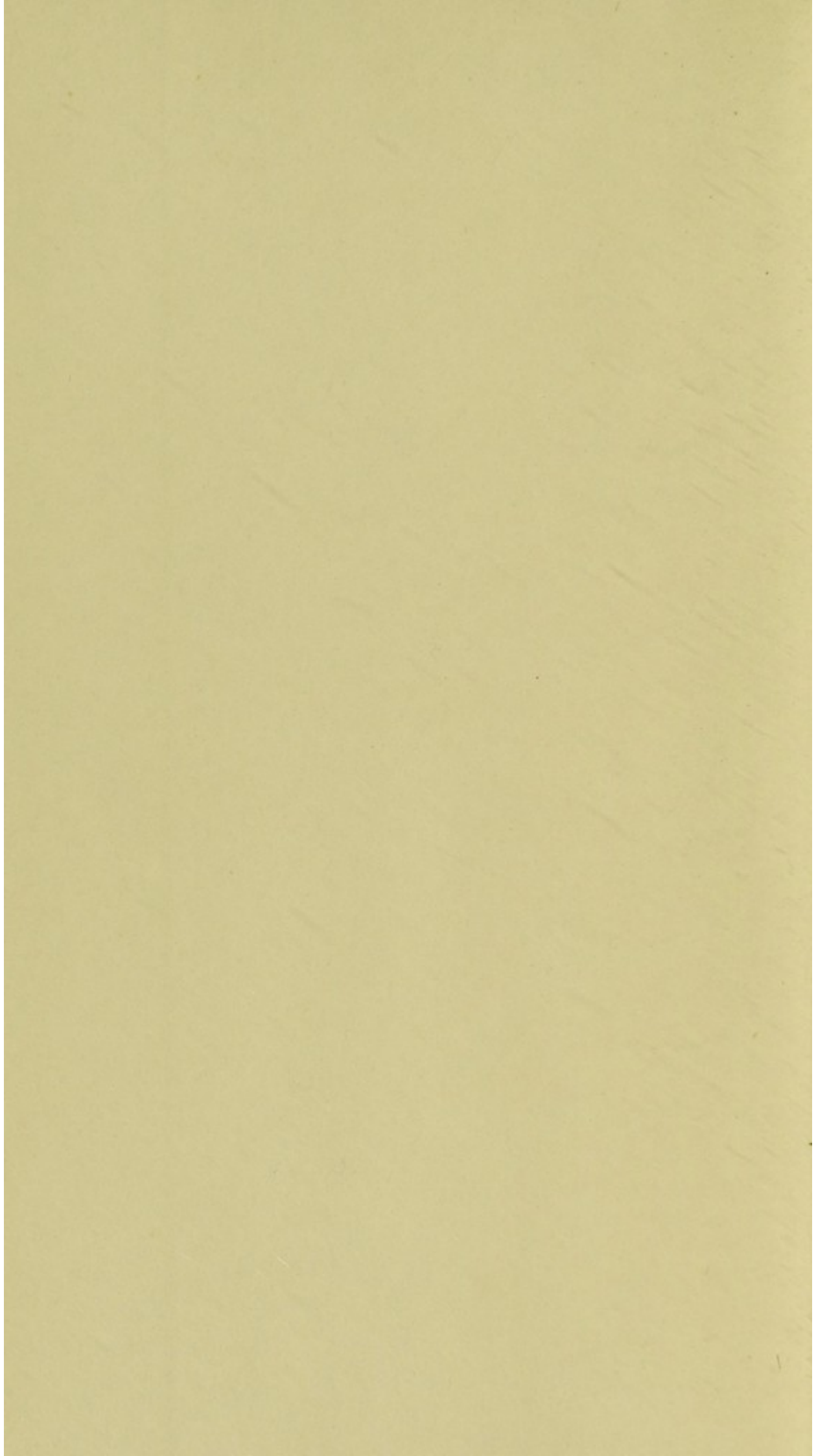
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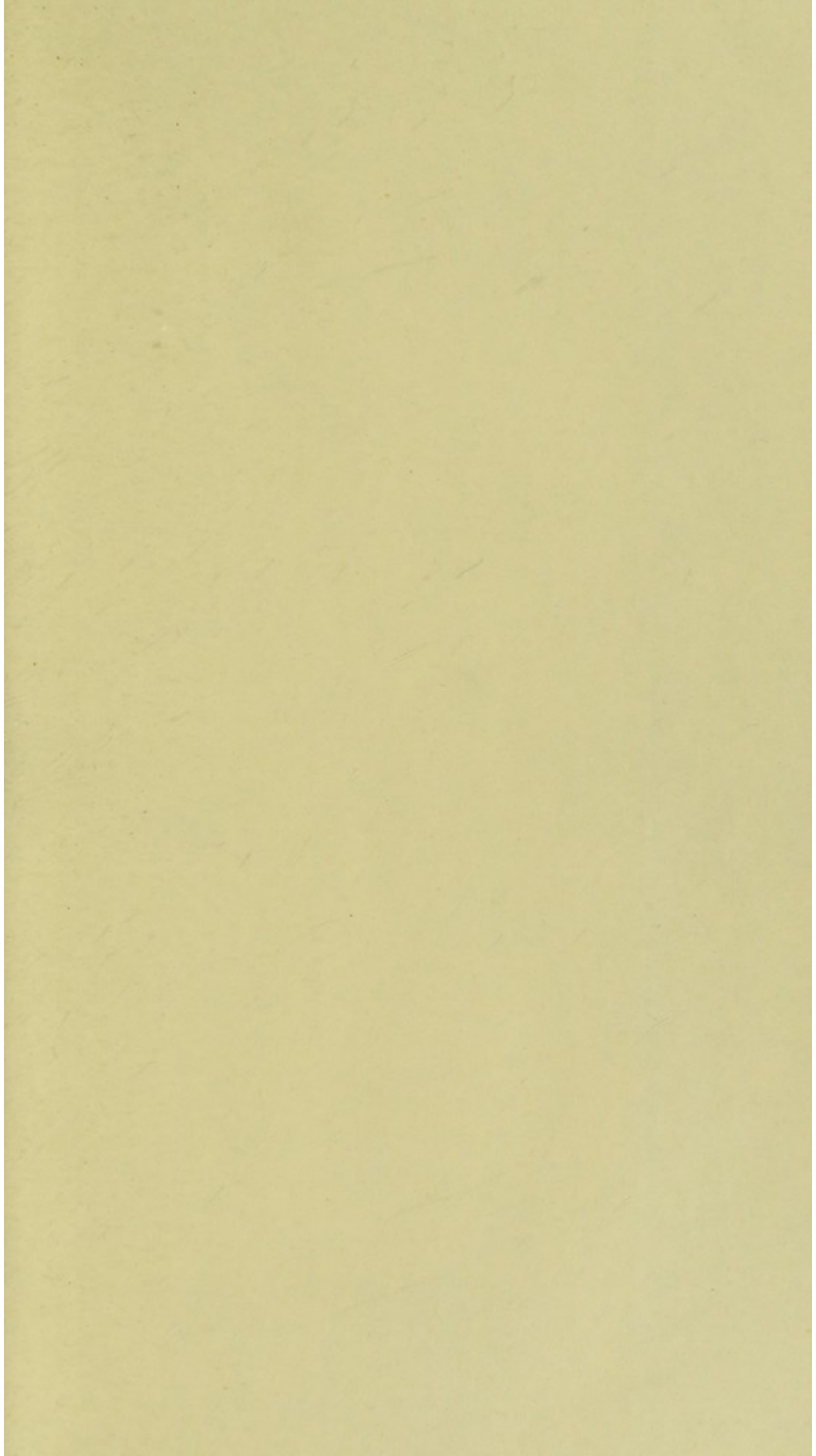




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*EFFECTS ARISING FROM VACCINATION.*



*Woolnoth del. et*

*D<sup>r</sup> Moseley's Prophecies.*

*Published by H. D. Symonds, Paternoster Row, May 1806.*



VACCINÆ VINDICIA;  
OR,  
DEFENCE OF VACCINATION:  
CONTAINING A  
REFUTATION OF THE CASES,  
AND  
REASONINGS ON THE SAME,  
IN DR. ROWLEY'S AND DR. MOSELEY'S LATE EXTRAOR-  
DINARY PAMPHLETS AGAINST VACCINATION.  
IN TWO LETTERS TO DR. MOSELEY.

WITH  
The REPORT of the MEDICAL COUNCIL of the ROYAL JENNERIAN  
SOCIETY.

AND  
The DEBATE in the HOUSE of COMMONS (July 2, 1806) on a Motion  
by LORD HENRY PETTY, for enlightening the People of England  
on the Subject of VACCINATION. With Remarks and Notes expla-  
natory of the same.

THE WHOLE EMBELLISHED WITH SEVERAL PLATES.

---

*Semper auditor tantum? nunquamne reponam,  
Vexatus toties? . . . . .*

*Impunè, ergo, mihi recitaverit ILLE . . . . .  
. . . . .? Impunè diem consumpserit INGENS  
TELEPHUS? JUV. SAT. PRIMA.*

---

BY  
ROBERT JOHN THORNTON, M. D.

Member of the University of Cambridge; Lecturer on Botany at Guy's Hospital; four Years  
Physician to the Mary-le-Bone Dispensary; Author of the Temple of Flora, or Garden of  
Nature; the Philosophy of Botany; the Philosophy of Medicine; the Philosophy of Politics,  
and of Facts Decisive in Favour of Vaccination, or the History of its Discovery, Progress and  
Establishment in England, with Cautions and Directions so as to ensure always a perfect  
Success.

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LAW, CROWN-COURT, SOHO;

BY C. WHITTINGHAM, DEAN STREET.

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1806.



## VACCINATION

STATE OF NEW YORK

LEGISLATURE

MEMORANDUM

ON THE REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE LAND OFFICE

IN THE MATTER OF THE LAND OFFICE

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# DEDICATION

TO THE

*Royal London College of Physicians.*

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GENTLEMEN,

NEVER was there a time when the medical character appeared with higher lustre than at the present moment. The Small-pox is a disease too long known as productive of much emolument to all the branches of our profession. Yet the instant the promulgation of *vaccination* was made, the sordid idea of self-interest ceased, and nearly with one voice, every heart panted to see this horrible disease banished from the earth, and it was thought it would be soon known in Britain only by its name. But, alas! instead of inquiry being steadily pursued, and fair inductions made, an unexpected *opposition* arose; and the whole science of vaccination was thrown into chaos, and the *reverse of the truth* was made the *title pages* of books, and the public were *deluded* by men, who, to speak the least in their disfavour, should have known better.

Ὁλέγοντο δὲ λαοί.

“On their account the people die.”

ROM. II.



This subject was thought of so great importance, that PARLIAMENT, in its high wisdom, has judged it proper to interfere, and to YOU is delegated, by an order from the KING, the *much-looked for decision*, as to the *Truths* of VACCINATION.

My labours, in carefully examining a number of the reported *adverse cases*, will not, I trust, be found *unacceptable* to YOU.

Under YOUR *auspices*, they will derive additional weight ; and being a *Physician* who has long gratuitously and extensively practised *the art of Vaccination*, I am emboldened with the greater confidence to address my work to YOU ; and have the honour to remain,

GENTLEMEN,

With the highest respect and gratitude,

Your obliged and

devoted humble servant,

ROBERT JOHN THORNTON.

August 20, 1806.

No. 1, Hinde-street, Manchester-square.

# VACCINÆ VINDICIA;

OR,

## VINDICATION

OF THE

# COW-POCK:

CONTAINING A

## REFUTATION OF THE CASES,

AND

## REASONINGS ON THE SAME,

IN DR. ROWLEY'S LATE EXTRAORDINARY PAMPHLET  
AGAINST VACCINATION.

IN LETTERS TO DR. MOSELEY.

---

*Semper auditor tantum, nunquamne reponam?*

JUV.

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BY

ROBERT JOHN THORNTON, M. D.

Member of Trinity College Cambridge; Lecturer on Botany at Guy's Hospital; four Years Physician to the Mary-le-Bone Dispensary; Author of the Temple of Flora, or Garden of Nature; the Philosophy of Botany; the Philosophy of Medicine; the Philosophy of Politics, and of Facts Decisive in Favour of the Cow-pock.

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LONDON:

PRINTED BY C. WHITTINGHAM, DEAN STREET;

FOR H. D. SYMONDS, PATERNOSTER-ROW,

AND SOLD BY ALL BOOKSELLERS IN TOWN AND COUNTRY.

1806.



*Just published, by the same AUTHOR,*

FACTS DECISIVE in FAVOUR of the COW-POCK: including the History of its Rise, Progress, and Advantages; and the Evidence given before the Honourable the Committee of the House of Commons, with their Report, and Remarks on the same, to the Establishment of the Royal Jennerian Society. Fourth Edition. One Volume, Octavo, with Plates. Price Seven Shillings.

“ Dr. THORNTON introduces his account of Vaccine inoculation, with the history of the Variola, or Small-pox, and the establishment in this country of variolous inoculation; and, after having represented the wide ravages of the *natural* Small-pox, he proves, that *inoculation* has not diminished this terrible evil, but, on the contrary, augmented it, from principles inherent in the nature of the Small-pox virus, which leads to the examination of the rise, progress, and advantages of the Cow-pox, which is detailed by Dr. Thornton with great *perspicuity* and *propriety*, and his *facts* are *decisive* in shewing the *superiority* of the *vaccine* over the *variolous inoculation*.”

*From the Critical Review.*

“ The public are much indebted to physicians, who, having an opportunity of seeing the Cow-pox on a large scale, give the world their opinions on a subject so interesting to the public; and in this respect the world is under *much obligation* to Dr. THORNTON, who *ably* details the rise, progress, and advantages of Vaccine inoculation, with the *results* from his own *ample experience*.”

*From the British Review.*

*Just published, also by the same Author,*

PROOFS OF THE EFFICACY OF THE COW-POX, being an Abridgment of the above, for the Use of Families. Price One Shilling and Sixpence.



TO THE  
*MEDICAL COUNCIL*  
OF THE  
ROYAL JENNERIAN SOCIETY.

---

GENTLEMEN,

NEVER was there a time when the medical character appeared with higher lustre than at the present moment. The Small-pox is a disease too long known as productive of much emolument to all the branches of our profession. Yet the instant the promulgation of *vaccination* was made, the sordid idea of self-interest ceased, and nearly with one voice, every heart panted to see this horrible disease banished from the earth, and it was thought it would be soon known in Britain only by its name. But, alas! instead of inquiry being steadily pursued, and fair inductions made, an unexpected *opposition* arose; and the whole science of vaccination was thrown into chaos, and the reverse of the truth was made the *title pages* of books, and the public were *deluded* by men, who, to speak the least in their disfavour, should have known better.

Ὁλέγοντο δὲ λαοί.

“On their account the people die.”

HOM. IL.



But I acquit these men of *bad intentions*, and for myself place their writings to the account of *error*. From the labours of your *Committee of Inquiry* I chiefly expect to establish *truth*, and fearlessly, defended by such a buckler, I have ventured to stem the torrent of their expected *displeasure*, and shall investigate coolly their several statements.

“ Amicus Plato, amicus Socrates, sed magis amica *veritas*.”

I even trust and hope finally to see these *same men* at last adding to the glory of your noble example, so honourable to the Profession, who have bestowed your time, your money, and your talents, for the sole benefit of the British Nation, and the world at large; and I have the honour to sign myself,

GENTLEMEN,

With equal respect, admiration, and esteem,

Your obliged devoted Servant,

ROBERT JOHN THORNTON.

Feb. 1, 1806.

No. 1, Hinde-street, Manchester-square.



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# FIRST LETTER

ADDRESSED TO

DR. MOSELEY.

---

No. 1, Hinde Street, Manchester Square,

Dec. 1, 1805.

SIR,

I HAD hoped my labours were ended, having proved, as I thought, the *superior advantages* of the COW-POX, over the SMALL-POX, INOCULATION; when I found, to my great astonishment, that two Physicians of no small eminence in the profession, who had before often enlightened mankind, and evinced great erudition, and deep practical skill with regard to the science of medicine, entertained sentiments diametrically opposite to these, and tried to support them by a number of *Facts*.—I had indeed looked upon your first sentiments as the product of a *playful* hour, “serious trifling,” as you were pleased to call them; but when you again appear in print in 1805\*, together with Dr. Row-

\* The title of Dr. Moseley's work is, “A Treatise on the *Lues Bovilla*, or Cow-pox. By Benjamin Moseley, M. D. Author of a Treatise on Tropical Diseases; of a Treatise on Coffee; and of Medical Tracts,—Containing Dissertations on Sugar; on the Yaws; on Obi, or,



ley \* in the same year, both whose works soon run through two editions, I see with considerable pain and anxiety, that certain men, however wise in other respects, may, upon *one subject*, display a total want of that clearness of mind and judgment so conspicuous on other occasions †; I was about to

African Witchcraft; on the Plague, and Yellow Fever of America; on Hospitals; on Bronchocele; on Prisons, &c. Physician to the Royal Military Hospital at Chelsea, Member of the College of Physicians of London, of the University of Leyden, of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, &c. Second Edition, with considerable Additions.—*Πατερ, ἀφες αυτοις—ου γαρ οιδασι, τι ποιουσιν.*—Luke xxiii. 34.”

\* That of Dr. Rowley is, “Cow-pox Inoculation *no Security* against Small-pox Infection. By William Rowley, M. D. Member of the University of Oxford, the Royal College of Physicians in London, Physician to the St. Mary-le-bone Infirmary, Author of *Schola Medicina Universalis Nova*, the rational and improved Practice of Physic; and Public Lecturer on the Theory and Practice of Medicine, excluding false Systems, &c. &c. To which are added, *the Modes of treating the Beastly New Diseases* produced from Cow-pox, *explained by Two Coloured Copper-plate Engravings*, and *440 dreadful Cases of Small-pox after Vaccination*, as Cow-pox Mange, Cow-pox Ulcers, Cow-pox Evil or Abscess, Cow-pox Mortification, &c. with the Author’s *certain*, experienced, and *successful* Mode of Inoculating for the Small-pox, which now becomes necessary from Cow-Pox Failure, &c. Second Edition.—*Audi candide alteram partem.*”

† In their several former Works these two Authors have appeared with honour and with fame, and received the plaudits of the learned. But in their books against vaccination there is nothing to be found but weak and diseased “intellectuals;” and this



*ANN DAVIS, the Cow-poxed, cornuted Old woman,*

*Whose Portrait is in the British Museum.*



*DIALOGUE.*

*Q. Had she ever the Cow-pox?*

*A. Visible, demonstrable, better than an ox-check*

*& equal in authority to most of D.<sup>r</sup> Rowley's 440 Cases.*

*London, Published by H.D. Symonds, Jan<sup>y</sup> 1806.*

*Woolnoth del. et sculp.*







say, that *prejudice* may have so warped the understanding, that we do not indeed recognize the same individuals.

Dr. Rowley has declared his work to be "a solemn appeal, not to the passions of mankind, but to the reason and judgment of all who are capable of deep reflection; and, it is hoped, the *well-authenticated irrefutable facts* produced, will receive a cool dispassionate consideration."

"In a work, where fair discussion should be admitted, and in which strict truth should be the object of free inquiry, it is absolutely necessary to establish *facts* to prevent controversy."

is not surprising, when we consider, that Dr. Moseley and Dr. Rowley have never vaccinated a single patient in their lives, and yet they are continually declaiming against those pretending to know any thing about the Small-pox who have not inoculated their 100,000. These are the men who presume to direct the public judgment on vaccination.—What would they have said if the case were to be reversed, and two men, who had never inoculated a single person for the Small-pox, were to dare to become the umpires on the modes and advantages of variolous inoculation? I should as much expect to have found Dr. Moseley trying at performing Harlequin, and Dr. Rowley standing upon his head on a horse on full gallop, to *amuse* an audience, as these two men to presume to *instruct* mankind on a subject, that *prejudice* hindered them at the very onset from *studying*, and of which they know really less than nothing.—No wonder, then, that such writers have displayed the enthusiastic strain of something bordering upon *folly* or *madness*, and their *facts* eagerly caught at, and any where procured, should be of a piece with their *deductions*.



“ It is sincerely wished, that the most severe investigations on Cow and Small-pox inoculation, may be liberally instituted by all those who are *disinterested*, not by the *ex parte* accounts of vaccinators, and all idle disputation or altercation be suspended; for no *arguments* nor *controversy*, however artfully contrived, however ingeniously constructed, can overturn *visible* and *indubitable facts*.”

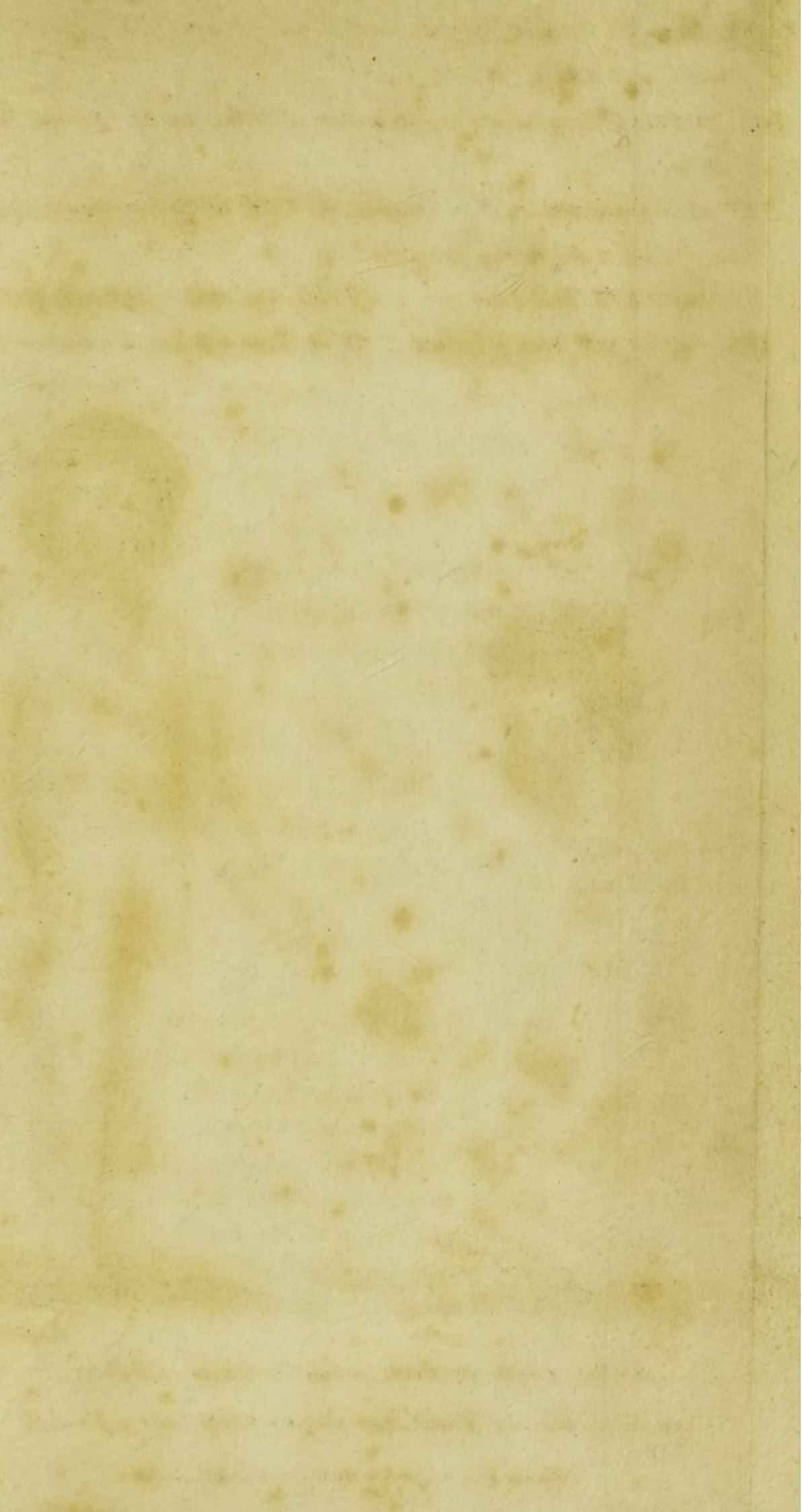
“ Finally, *truth* is the object of this inquiry; to sacred *truth* alone should contending parties make their appeal, and submissively abide by her decision.”

Having invited an examination into “ *facts*,” which I agree with Dr. Rowley can alone ultimately establish the propositions on either side, I hope in this arduous investigation I shall not lose the liberality and candour of a *gentleman*. To abuse in *retaliation* \* would be a sign of weakness on our

\* What language, indeed, would be found strong enough to stigmatize this vile unnatural *comparison*, thrown out by a man, who boasts of being a scholar, and is a member of the College of Physicians?—“ It is God’s command, ‘ that man shall not *lie* with any manner of beast’—not contaminate the form of the Creator with the brute creation. Whether *vaccination* be agreeable to the *will* and *ordinances* of *God*, is a question worthy of the consideration of the contemplative and learned ministers of the gospel of *Jesus Christ*? and whether it be impious and profane to wrest out of the hands of the *Almighty* the divine dispensations of *Providence* ?” ! ! ! !

Dr. Moseley had before not less offended the sober







DIALOGUE.

ROWLEY. *Admirable Prophet, See that terrible tumour in the Face, resembling an OX!!! dreadful to behold!* / Rowley p. 43 /

PROPHET MOSELEY. *Visage of the boy in a state of transforming assuming that of a COW!!!* / p. 10 /

ROWLEY. *Another new disease from Cow-pox, the COW MANGÉ, a virgin covered all over with sores!!! a most disgusting Spectacle!* / p. 49 /

PROPHET MOSELEY. *Did I not foresee all this, nay more! But only part of my prophecy has as yet been fulfilled!!* / Vide Note \* p. 5 of Vindication /



Woolnoth del. et sculp.

*Master Joules, the Cow-poxed, ox-cheek, young Gentleman.—Rowley.*

*Miss Marianne Lewis, the Cow-poxed, Cow-manged young Lady —Rowley.*



part, and every voice during such altercation would be crying out to come to *proofs*.

To be brief, I here solemnly protest I have no other motive but the *public good*, and very reluctantly undertook to expose the errors Dr. Rowley, yourself, and a few others have been under, with regard to vaccination.

We by no means wish to stifle *inquiry*; on the contrary, we court it, and only grieve when it has been so conducted as to impede the regular progress going on by the *Medical Council* of the *Royal Jennerian Society*, whose indefatigable labours I have now, by my side on the table; for when false or mis-stated "*facts*" are forced upon the public as undoubted "*truths*," and in such quantity, as to make their due inquiry the Herculean labour of cleansing the Augean stable, it is then only that we feel indignant at the task imposed upon us, and can scarce refrain from branding the *publisher* with those many illiberal epithets cast by him upon the vaccinators.

sense of mankind, by starting, "that owing to vaccination the British ladies *might* wander in the fields to receive the embraces of the bull"—but he clothed this shameful suggestion under the expression—"Who knows but from vaccination a *brutal* fever will arise, and hence some modern *Pasiphae* may rival the fables of old?"!!!!

I cannot help here declaring such sentiments thrown out respecting *vaccination*, are a disgrace to the age, the country, and the profession.



The *Medical Council* of the Royal Jennerian Society consists of the following gentlemen :

*President,*

Edward Jenner, M. D.

*Vice-Presidents,*

J. C. Lettsom, M. D.

John Ring, Esq.

Sir Walter Farquhar, Bart. M. D.

William Babington, M. D.

Robert Batty, M. D.

Gilbert Blane, M. D.

Thomas Bradley, M. D.

Isaac Buxton, M. D.

John Clark, M. D.

Alexander Crichton, M. D.

Richard Croft, M. D.

Thomas Denman, M. D.

William Pitts Dimsdale, M. D.

Philip Elliott, M. D.

W. M. Fraser, M. D.

James Hamilton, M. D.

William Hamilton, M. D.

William Hawes, M. D.

Robert Hooper, M. D.

Alexander J. C. Marcet, M. D.

Samuel Pett, M. D.

Richard Powell, M. D.

James Sims, M. D.



William Lister, M. D.

Joseph Skey, M. D.

Thomas Turner, M. D.

Robert Willan, M. D.

John Abernethy, Esq.

John Addington, Esq.

C. R. Aikin, Esq.

William Chamberlaine, Esq.

Henry Cline, Esq.

Astley Cooper, Esq.

John Curtis, Esq.

John Dimsdale, Esq.

Edward Ford, Esq.

Joseph Fox, Esq.

William Gaitskell, Esq.

John Griffith, Esq.

Everard Home, Esq.

Joseph Hurlock, Esq.

Charles Johnson, Esq.

George Johnson, Esq.

Thomas Key, Esq.

L. Leese, Esq.

John Pearson, Esq.

James Upton, Esq.

Allen Williams, Esq.

*Secretary,*

John Walker, M. D.

Total 50 of the First Medical Characters.



The Medical Council of the Royal Jennerian Society had indeed long since formed a *Committee of Inquiry*, consisting of twenty-five medical persons. For its regulation were established the following Queries :

“COW-POCK.

Queries.

1. The Name and Residence of the Inoculator ?
2. The Name and Age of the Patient ?
3. When and from whom inoculated ?
4. What was the Age of the Pustule ?
5. Whether from a perfect vaccine Pustule ?
6. Was the Patient inoculated in one or both Arms ? If in one only, whether by one or more Punctures ?
7. How often was the Pustule inspected by the Inoculator during its Progress ?
8. Was the Pustule repeatedly disturbed by Punctures, or deranged by Accident ?
9. During the progressive Stages of the Pustule, did the Inoculator observe any spontaneous Deviation from the common Appearances ?
10. What was the Form of the Cicatrix ?
11. Was the Patient, when vaccinated, affected with any Cuticular Malady, particularly with any Herpetic Vesicles, or Scabs ?
12. Whether, if several Persons were inoculated from the same Pustule, the Person on whom the Small-pox has appeared since the Operation, was among the first, or last, inoculated ?



## SMALL-POX.

Queries.

1. What was the Character of the Eruption which has appeared subsequent to Vaccination?
2. How many Days passed, from the Commencement of the Eruption until it was completely formed?
3. On what Day, reckoning from the first Appearance of the Eruption, did the Pustule begin to desiccate?
4. Was the Desiccation gradual or sudden?
5. Had the Pustules the true Character of Small-pox; or, did they assume, at any Period of the Disease, the Character of Chicken-pox?"

It was resolved, "That application should be made to all medical men, and others who practised vaccination; and that they be requested to send a return to the Royal Jennerian Society of the numbers they have vaccinated, and likewise the number of instances of Small-pox, if any, after vaccination, as well as an account of any disorders supposed to be in consequence of the Cow-pock\*."

Resolved, "That the same be inserted in all the medical journals, and newspapers."

Resolved, "That all printed cases be considered

\* By the liberal permission of Government, all letters to, and from, the Medical Council of the Royal Jennerian Society, pass free of expence.



proper objects of investigation, and such as are reported to the Committee."

But these were not Resolutions alone, but the Committee pursued a very active *inquiry*, and the fatigue was lessened by the division of labour, and the great object of their endeavours. After a careful examination of different adverse cases, they drew up the following Report :

*Report of the Committee appointed by the Medical Council of the Royal Jennerian Society to inquire into the Evidence of Cases of the Small-pox occurring after Vaccination, and of evil consequences arising therefrom.*

This Committee having made due inquiry, and maturely weighed the evidence in a great number of cases, in which it was *supposed* that Vaccination had failed to prevent the Small-pox, and having also examined into those opinions and assertions advanced and circulated, which charged the Cow-pox with rendering patients liable to particular diseases, frightful in their appearance, and hitherto unknown, and judging such opinions to be connected with the question as to the efficacy of the practice, they thought it incumbent upon them to examine also into the validity of those injurious statements respecting Vaccination.

After a very minute investigation of these subjects, the result of their inquiries has been sub-



mitted to the *Medical Council*; and from the Report of the *Committee* (published Jan. 1, 1806) it appears:

## I.

“ That *most of the cases* which have been urged in proof of the *inefficacy* of *Vaccination*, and which have been the *subjects* of *public attention* and *conversation*, are either *wholly unfounded* or *grossly misrepresented*.

## II.

“ That *other cases*, brought forward as instances of the failure of *Vaccination* to prevent the Small-pox, are now allowed, by the very persons who first related them, to have been *erroneously* stated.

## III.

“ That the statements of the greater part of *those cases* have been already carefully investigated, ably discussed, and fully refuted, by different writers on the subject.

## IV.

“ That notwithstanding the *most incontestable proofs* of *such misrepresentations*, a FEW MEDICAL MEN have *persisted* in *repeatedly* bringing the same *unfounded* and *refuted reports*, and *misrepresentations*\*, before the public, thus *perversely* and

\* “Those characters who oppose vaccination,” says the admirable satyrist Aculeus, in his ‘Letters to Dr. Rowley’, “are well aware of the influence *popular opinion* has on the success of any plan—they know that the voice of the *multitude*, like a vast current, effects by its force what a smaller, but more en-



*disingenuously labouring to excite prejudices against Vaccination.*

## V.

“ That in *some printed accounts* adverse to *Vaccination*, in which the writers had no *authenticated*

lightened body, would be inadequate to perform. They are not ignorant of the effects of *prejudice* in securing the popular voice, and hence they assiduously endeavour, by addressing themselves to this *prejudice*, to gain their point, and frustrate the benevolent designs of the friends to humanity and vaccination. It is well known that the *Cow-pock* is not infectious, never mortal, and scarcely ever attended with the smallest inconvenience; whereas the *Small-pox* is a loathsome, highly infectious, and mortal disease, and has swept off more of the human species than all the *WARS*, all the *PLAGUE*, and all the *YELLOW FEVERS*, that have ever devastated society. What *reasonable* opposition, then, could any person calculate on seeing made to a plan so simple, and at the same time all-important, as the *Cow-pock*—would not any one suppose that such a plan should meet with instant and joyous support, not only from *every parent* of a family, but from the *government*, as the parent of the state, whose duty and interest it is to protect the lives of its subjects, and defend one individual against the wanton outrage of another? at least is it not reasonable to imagine, that no one would be found so stupid as to object to giving this benevolent scheme a fair *trial*? Above all, could it be expected that *medical men*, to whom is entrusted the sacred deposit of life and health, and whose learning and information give them opportunity of forming a just estimate of its value and importance—that these characters should oppose themselves to its progress could hardly be conceived; scarcely from the most ignorant, could such a thing be looked for; yet we find the fact is otherwise:—We see in this instance, perhaps more



*facts* to support the opinions they advanced, nor any *reasonable arguments* to maintain them, the subject has been treated with *indecent and disgusting levity*; as if the good or evil of society were *proper subjects* for *sarcasm and ridicule*.

## VI.

“ That when the practice of Vaccination was first introduced and recommended by Dr. JENNER, many persons, who had never seen the effects of the vaccine fluid on the human system, who were almost wholly unacquainted with the history of Vaccination, the characteristic marks of the genu-

forcibly than any other, the effect of *self-interest*, in opposition to truth, candour, and the most sacred duty.”

Dr. Jenner generously attributes another cause :—

*Extract from a Letter by Dr. Jenner to Dr. Thornton,*

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ Cheltenham, Dec. 15, 1805.

“ It affords me great pleasure to find you again employed on the subject of vaccination, in opposition to those who, I am sorry to see, by their illiberal conduct, have checked its progress in the metropolis and the circumjacent villages. Had they, instead of thus exercising their talents, employed them in obtaining *correct information* on the *nature* of the *vaccine inoculation*, (a subject on which they are *miserably deficient*) I have charity enough to believe they never could have thus deluded the people. How happy then would have been the *result*—The variolous knell, in the metropolis, if I may be allowed the expression, by this time would have been heard no more—No more would be heard the piercing shriek of the fond mother over the infant torn from her bosom, by the faugs of that horrible monster, the Small-pox.”



ine vesicle, and the cautions necessary to be observed in the management of it, and were therefore incompetent to decide *whether patients were properly vaccinated or not*, nevertheless undertook to inoculate for the Cow-pox.

## VII.

“ That many persons have been declared *duly vaccinated*, when the operation was performed in a very *negligent and unskilful manner*, and when the inoculator did not afterwards see the patients, and therefore could not ascertain whether infection had taken place or not; and that to *this cause* are certainly to be attributed *many of the cases* adduced in proof of the *inefficacy* of Cow-pox.

## VIII.

“ That *some cases* have been brought before the Committee, on which they could form *no decisive opinion*, from the want of necessary information as to the regularity of the preceding Vaccination, or the reality of the subsequent appearance of the Small-pox.

## IX.

“ That it is admitted by the Committee, that a *few cases* have been brought before them, of persons having the *Small-pox*, who had *apparently* passed through the Cow-pox in a *regular way*.

## X.

“ That cases, supported by evidence *equally strong*, have been also brought before them, of per-



sons who, after having once regularly passed through the *Small-pox*, either by *inoculation* or *natural infection*, have had that disease a *second time*.

### XI.

“ That in many cases, in which the *Small-pox* has occurred a second time, after inoculation or the natural disease, such recurrence has been *particularly severe*, and even fatal; whereas, when it has appeared after *Vaccination*, the disease has *generally been so mild*, as to lose some of its *characteristic marks*, and in many instances, to render its *existence doubtful*.

### XII.

“ That it is a fact well ascertained, that, in *some particular states of certain constitutions*, whether *vaccine* or *variolous matter* be employed, a *local disease* only will be excited by *Inoculation*, the *constitution* remaining unaffected; yet that matter taken from such local *Vaccine* or *Variolous Pustule* is capable of producing a general and perfect disease.

### XIII.

“ That if a person, bearing the strongest and most indubitable marks of having had the *Small-pox*, be repeatedly inoculated for that disease, a *pustule may be produced*, the matter of which will communicate the disease to those who have not been previously infected.



## XIV.

“ That, although it is difficult to determine precisely the *number of exceptions* to the practice, the Medical Council are *fully convinced*, that the failure of Vaccination, as a preventive of the Small-pox, is a *very rare occurrence*.

## XV.

“ That of the *immense number* who have been vaccinated in the Army and Navy, in different parts of the United Kingdom, and in every quarter of the globe, scarcely any instances of such failure have been reported to the Committee, but those which are said to have occurred in the Metropolis, or its vicinity.

## XVI.

“ That the MEDICAL COUNCIL are fully assured, that in very many places, in which the Small-pox raged with great violence, the disease has been speedily and effectually arrested in its progress, and in some populous cities wholly exterminated, by the practice of Vaccination.

## XVII.

“ That the practice of *inoculation* for the *Small-pox*, on its first introduction into this country, was *opposed* and very much *retarded*, in consequence of *misrepresentations* and *arguments* drawn from *assumed facts*, and of *miscarriages* arising from the want of *correct information*, similar to those now brought forward against *Vaccination*,



so that nearly fifty years elapsed before Small-pox inoculation was fully established.

### XVIII.

“ That, by a reference to the bills of Mortality, it will appear that, to the unfortunate neglect of Vaccination, and to the prejudices raised against it, we may, in a great measure, attribute the loss of nearly *two thousand lives* by the Small-pox, in this Metropolis *alone*, within the present year.

### XIX.

“ That the *few instances* of failure, either in the inoculation of the Cow-pox, or of the Small-pox, ought not to be considered as *objections* to either practice, but merely as *deviations from the ordinary course of nature*.

### XX.

“ That, from all the facts which they have been able to collect, it appears to the Medical Council, that the Cow-pox is generally *mild and harmless in its effects*; and *no instance* has come to their knowledge, in which there was reason to admit, that Vaccine inoculation had, of itself, produced any *new or dangerous disease*, but that the few cases, which have been alledged against this opinion, may be fairly attributed to *other causes*.

### XXI.

“ That if a *comparison* be made between the effects of Vaccination, and those of Inoculation for



the Small-pox, it would be necessary to take into account the greater number of persons who have been vaccinated within a given time, it being probable, that within the last *seven years*, nearly as many persons have been inoculated for the *Cow-pox*, as were ever inoculated for the *Small-pox*, since the practice was introduced in this kingdom.

## XXII.

“ That many *well-known cutaneous diseases*, and *some scrophulous complaints*, have been represented as the effects of Vaccine inoculation, when in fact they originated from *other causes*, and in many instances occurred long after Vaccination, but that such diseases even when they do occur, are infinitely *less frequent* after Vaccination, than after either the natural or inoculated Small-pox.

“ Having stated these facts, and made these observations, the MEDICAL COUNCIL cannot conclude their Report upon a subject so highly important and interesting to all classes of the community, without making this *solemn Declaration* :

“ THAT, IN THEIR OPINION, FOUNDED ON THEIR OWN INDIVIDUAL EXPERIENCE, AND THE INFORMATION WHICH THEY HAVE BEEN ABLE TO COLLECT FROM THAT OF OTHERS, MANKIND HAVE ALREADY DERIVED GREAT AND INCALCULABLE BENEFIT FROM THE DISCOVERY OF VACCINATION: AND THAT IT IS THEIR FULL BELIEF, THAT THE SANGUINE EXPECTATIONS OF ADVANTAGE AND SECURITY, WHICH HAVE BEEN FORMED



FROM THE INOCULATION OF THE COW-POX, WILL BE  
ULTIMATELY AND COMPLETELY FULFILLED."

(Signed)

By all the Gentlemen of the *Medical Council* of the *Royal Jennerian Society*, as mentioned before, (pp. 6, 7).

Unless Dr. Rowley had been consummately ignorant of the multiplied labours of these great and meritorious characters, forming the *Medical Council* of the *Royal Jennerian Society*, he would not have published the following as the true statement of the case with regard to vaccination :

" It is very remarkable, and sufficient to excite universal suspicion of the vaccinators in the minds of every impartial man, that though numerous facts, and the most glaring circumstances, have been long known to many of the warmest adherents to Cow-pox inoculation, yet these learned vaccination partizans, like the transfusers, who should have attentively listened to the repeated facts promulgated, either turned a *deaf ear* to the voice of truth and demonstration, or violently *resisted* whatever opposed their interests or infatuation. They grow desperate in proportion to defeat.

" Is it not notorious, that some of the most furious vaccinators cavilled, brow-beated, evaded, or contradicted, threatened the mal-contents to vaccination with ruin, and rashly denied even ocular



evidence? Some few stopped at no violence nor virulent invective against the cool investigators of their favourite project, their unproved hypothesis and experiment. Instead of which, had they wished and courted fair inquiry, instead of shewing violent anger on the detection of the failure of their scheme. Had they all united as they proceeded, to have candidly collected facts from all quarters, and had they prepared and arranged whatever appeared *for* and *against* their novel practice. Had they from those materials formed a comparative view of the advantages and disadvantages of Small-pox inoculation and *vaccination*, as opposed to each other. Had they coolly surveyed and candidly acknowledged the fatal and other repeated bad consequences of Cow-pox; had they established a sagacious and impartial committee of strict inquiry, instead of a parasitical combination of gross flattery, and puffing advertisements, perhaps, to divert the public attention; had they proclaimed to all the world, that their *institutions* and *committees* were as open to all circumstances that might militate against their well-intentioned endeavours to establish, what they professedly conceived a blessing to society, as whatever might have appeared favourable, they would have merited the warmest approbation of all mankind! What has been the continual conduct of the enthusiastic vaccinists, and their violent adherents? The repeated introduction of those superficial,



though specious arguments, that are conclusive, only, in the opinion of *unlettered ignorance*. Truth demands this language.

“ Have the vaccinators instituted *inquiries*? No.—Have they sought for opposing *truths*? No.—Have they not endeavoured violently to suppress *truth*? Yes. 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 enquiry. 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. Threats and *tyranny* chased away all placid investigation. Their empire was to be universal, and they endeavoured to crush to atoms every wretched cool observer, or reasoner, who dared to examine their novel and supposed infallible doctrines.

“ The enthusiastic promoters of vaccination had every thing to hope—power, honour, riches; the opposers every thing to fear and dread, even from *princely* power, and nothing to gain but unmerited



scurrilous abuse and flat contradiction, *poverty*, despair !”

“ *Earth* trembled ! and *Heaven* profusely shed tears at the wretched, servile, unhappy state of man ! *Reason* was trampled on, and *Chimera* rode in a triumphal car surrounded by parasites. *Justice* seemed paralysed with astonishment.”

“ *Truth*, mild *Truth* ! stood astonished and silent during the violence of the furious storm, and hid her virtuous head from the ungrateful sight of man.”

I appeal to the candid, whether it be probable, that so many, and such respectable characters, as form the *Royal Jennerian Society*, would conspire against the happiness and lives of their fellow-creatures, and demean themselves in the manner here recorded.

But let us proceed to the scrutiny of the *facts* related by Dr. Rowley, who has combined into one mass of evidence, the labours against vaccination of Dr. Moseley, Mr. Goldson, Dr. Squirrel, Mr. Birch, &c. and Dr. R. leads the way by

### 1, 2, 3, THE OXFORD CASES.

These merit particular attention, as they happened at an English university, famed throughout the world for science, and for sense ; and likewise “ as these gave origin to all Dr. Rowley’s future suspicions,” as he himself declares.

“ Since,” says Dr. Rowley, “ being eye-witness to the failure of vaccination in *two* cases at Ox-



ford, I have never in any one instance recommended vaccination, though at the risk of offending many noble families."

It will be soon seen, that the fair conclusion from these *two* adverse facts were never properly calculated, nor were these sufficiently examined into, to become persuaded, that they really deserved any very serious consideration.

These *two* cases are thus recorded :—

NAME AND ABODE.	AGE. ys. ms.	When and by whom vaccinated.	EVENTS.
1, 2. Two children at Oxford, men- tioned by me to the Honour- able Commit- tee of the Ho. of Com- mons.		In April, 1799, by the <i>genuine</i> matter of Dr. JENNER.	Small-pox eighteen months after. One DIED, as I predict- ed, the other survived. They were the offspring of <i>Slatter</i> , in ST. EBB'S parish, Oxford.

The following erroneous statement of this event was given in evidence by Dr. Rowley to the Honourable the Committee of the House of Commons.

" April 12, 1802.—Admiral Berkeley in the chair. Dr. Rowley called in and examined: (a Clerk is appointed to take down *verbatim* the solemn deposition of each witness, the same also is read aloud to the party examined before he retires).

" 2. Can you give the Committee any information relative to the vaccine inoculation and its effects?

" A. I was down at Oxford last July, and was informed by Professor Wall, and *other professors*,



that there were *several* children in Oxford who had received the Small-pox after having been inoculated with the Cow-pox. Two of *these* patients I immediately visited with my colleague at the Mary-le-bone Dispensary, Dr. Hooper. We saw two children (I do not know their names), one in the *confluent*, the other in the *distinct* Small-pox, in a state of suppuration. The *father of the children* informed us, that ‘Dr. Williams and a Mr. Jenner had inoculated these children in the preceding autumn :’ the father supposed his children free from the Small-pox infection ; but on permitting them to go where the Small-pox existed in its natural state, they both received the infection. My opinion was asked what I thought of them ? I predicted immediately that one would die in the *confluent* Small-pox ; that the other would recover who had the *distinct* sort. A few days after one of the children died, and the other recovered. I have likewise seen a *great many* inoculated with Cow-pox, in which the disorder appeared extremely mild, and terminated without any symptoms of danger whatever.

“ 2. Had you ever an opportunity of mentioning this circumstance to *Dr. Wall* afterwards ?

“ *A.* No ; I staid there but a few hours.

“ 2. Did you examine the children’s arms, where the Cow-pox inoculation was said to *have taken place* ?

“ *A.* I did not.

“ 2. Can you then take upon yourself to affirm



that they had undergone the *proper* inoculation for that disorder?

“ A. By no other means than by the man’s relation, and a supposition that the *gentlemen*, who were *men of character*, had attended the children through the Cow-pox.

“ 2. From whom did you receive the information of their being inoculated by *those gentlemen*?

“ A. From the *father of these children* \*.”

\* To avoid the stigma of telling an *untruth*, by relating the conversation of the *father of these children*, such as never could have happened, and the father persists *never did* take place, (similar *mistakes* by Dr. Rowley will be mentioned in this work) we cannot now so much wonder at Dr. Rowley’s afterwards attempting to blast the fair reputation of the second Highest Tribunal of this country—our English House of Commons, by his publishing the following LIBEL against THE COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS :—

“ The *written* parallel evidence I delivered to the Honourable Committee was entirely suppressed ; though I heard it was to pass as part of the *Report*. Some Honourable Member next sessions may, perhaps, make a motion to have it produced, and then it will decidedly appear, that it does *not correspond* with what has been published, as *my evidence*, which, as it *now appears*, is little better than absolute *nonsense*.

“ 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*. This requires some *future explanation*.”

As Dr. Rowley’s book is likely to be translated into all languages to impede truth and science, for the sake of the traffic from a most loathsome pestilence, it is almost to be wished,



But these two children were never *vaccinated*, or even so much as seen by Dr. *Williams*, or Mr. *Jenner*, (names improperly introduced to heighten the tale) but were inoculated for the *Cow-pock* in an open surgery, by Mr. *Swift*, a young apprentice to Mr. Grosvenor, and not even with vaccine matter obtained from Dr. *Jenner*.

To shew how little Dr. Rowley actually even now understands these very cases, the foundation of *his* opposition, he refers to them thus in his Chapter on Cow-pock *excuses*:—

“ When some died of Small-pox after being vaccinated, as happened at Oxford, one instance of which I saw myself, where two children at St. EBB’S received the Small-pox after supposed security from vaccination, even from the *genuine matter of Mr. Jenner*, the parties had a prompt refuge, a prompt excuse, which they supposed screened themselves and vaccination from any imputation. What was it? Why, as I have been informed, with a *sang froid*, ‘ they did not know—they could not tell—but *they believed the Cow-pox in these instances did not take.*’

“ It is a very clear proposition that the children were *vaccinated*, and supposed secure, and that the partizans of vaccination had no occasion

that this *future explanation* will take place, and our House of Commons be vindicated from this, I trust and believe, *unfounded* calumny.



to fabricate these excuses for failure, if such instances, as well as others here mentioned, had not happened. Here then is acknowledgment of defect in the very defence they make, proving the uncertainty of vaccination, which alone is sufficient condemnation of the practice.

“ But could it be supposed, that men in the possession of their senses, who had the right use of reason, could be satisfied with such a miserable defence? A tender parent thinks his children *safe* from Small-pox, from their having been vaccinated; he suffers them to play about the neighbourhood, and they go into a house where was the natural Small-pox—they receive, like many others, the infection—one recovers, and the other *dies*; and then it is told the unhappy father, ‘ the *Cow-pox did not take.*’ *Did not take* in two human beings, and one *dies*! This is the only reparation, the only comfort a tender parent receives for the loss of an affectionate innocent child by an uncertain experiment, an uncertain project. What was called *spurious Cow-pox* has shared the same fate. The two preceding proofs, then, shew the uncertainty of Cow-pox inoculation; a multiplicity of others have been produced. *Uncertainty* then, without any *other* proof, *seals* the *condemnation* of *Cow-pox inoculation*. No such *uncertainty* ever disgraced *Small-pox inoculation* for above a century. Cow-pox promises the whole world security, and leaves it in despondency!

“ Had the same circumstances happened in a



*noble family*, which, from the little intercourse of the nobility with inferior mechanics, can scarcely happen, it would have stifled *Cow-pox* in its *birth*, and infallibly ruined its reputation. The nobility and gentry, in time, will be open to the same misfortunes, however secure they may suppose their offspring, and they will have then to regret their own credulity.

“ In a moral, in a religious, in a medical view, fatal misfortunes happening to the *poor* after supposed security, from having undergone vaccination, are no less heinous in the sight of God, than if the same had happened to the *rich*, and in a religious point of view is exactly the same; therefore it is just to conclude, that whoever *dies* of Small-pox after being assured of security against its infection, that the Cow-pox insurers are, in a great measure amenable, not only to society, but to heaven itself, for having forced what was *doubtful*, in instances where the *certainty* of *Small-pox inoculation* was *mild, safe, certain*, and permanently secure, as proved by millions now living.”

Instead of writing to, or calling upon Mr. Swift, who vaccinated these two children, he fancies an excuse, that was never put up in the instance alluded to.

He conjures up, that the Cow-pock ‘never took,’ when no such plea was ever attempted.

Dr. Rowley’s work is dated 1805, when we pre-



sume it was written, and in page 40 of the printed Report of the Honourable Committee of the House of Commons is this Letter, No. 48.

LETTER FROM MR. GROSVENOR TO THE CHAIRMAN,  
dated Oxford, March 27, 1802.

“ SIR,

“ In answer to your letter received this morning, I beg leave to inform you, that in the latter end of March last year, two children were inoculated for the Cow-pox by a *young* gentleman, a pupil of mine, and that I saw the children in the progress of the disorder, and they appeared to have received the infection properly, and were judged by us to be secure from the variolous infection. A few months afterwards they were seized with the natural Small-pox, of which one of them died. They were the children of a servant of Sir Digby Mackworth of this place.

I am, SIR,

Your most obedient servant,

JOHN GROSVENOR.”

To doubt of pustules having arose, and the vaccination having *taken place*, after such a solemn declaration, is an abuse to Mr. Grosvenor, and his pupil Mr. Swift, too *ungenerous* to suspect from Dr. Rowley.

I would willingly allow Dr. Rowley the plea of *ignorance* of public transactions known to me,



and to all the faculty—but such should not hold themselves forth as writers on subjects, they have not mastered, where the public are one universal feeling.

The question to be resolved, is not whether the vaccination was performed, and took; but whether it was performed properly, and thereby the failure be justly ascribable to Dr. Jenner, or his system.

It is indeed immaterial, whether the matter was from Dr. Jenner, or his relative Mr. Jenner, from both of whom Dr. Rowley ascribes the acquisition.

Any person reading Dr. Rowley's account would believe, that Dr. Jenner had furnished matter to Dr. Williams and Mr. Jenner, and this matter thus obtained had been used in the above cases, where the Small-pox afterwards arose.

The fact was, that Mr. Jenner had at first inoculated several persons in Oxford, and hence the matter had gradually passed from one subject to another.

It is possible, Mr. Swift, a very young man, before used to take the Small-pox matter at all periods, might have thought, that the vaccine matter might be used in the same way.

This changes the argument; and then, whether derived from Dr. Jenner, or not, is wholly immaterial.

In writing to Mr. Swift, with great candour, he says, “he employed, when inoculating in an open



surgery, such matter as arose, endeavouring to obtain his matter as young as possible, and that he cannot positively call to mind, the period, when he took the matter, but well recollects, that the pustules in these two children were *broken*, as if rubbed by the *clothes*, and that, *except* in these *two instances*, *no failures*, out of many hundred patients, have occurred to him, and that *all his endeavours have proved abortive, in attempting to communicate the Small-pox to those other persons who have been vaccinated by him.*"

What inference are we to draw from these *two failures*. Mr. Swift has hundreds to put by the side of them, *of security by vaccination from the Small-pox*; and it is not quite certain, that these *two cases* were not inoculated with *old matter*\*,

\* If stale matter were used, then these two cases would stand for nothing, as the following narrative will evince:

"From the year 1799 to the present period I have vaccinated nearly 5000 persons, without having witnessed any ill consequence arising from it.

"It will be needless for me to go into general detail; but feeling particularly interested in the welfare of my native village, Burbage, in the county of Wilts, I there first began my operations.

"Upon enquiry, I found that not more than 300 of the inhabitants, consisting of upwards of 4000 in number, had had the Small-pox; consequently, a wide field was open before me to exemplify the utility of vaccine inoculation: but the hope I entertained of executing the plan I had formed, according to my wishes, was at first a little damped by the difficulty



“for matter was procured as it arose,” it was in the infancy of vaccination, and surely with any fair

of convincing people of the efficacy of the practice, and of persuading them to adopt it. The *fears* of some, and the *prejudices* of others, held out for a considerable time against every argument. At length, however, previous to my leaving the village for a short time, I prevailed on *twenty* individuals to be vaccinated. Upon my return, some months after, I found that the Small-pox had been casually introduced by a boy who caught the infection at Bristol, and communicated it to a numerous family of his relatives. Part of this family I had before vaccinated, and these, to the amount of five, performed the several offices of nurses and attendants, and slept in the same room with the others labouring under the natural Small-pox; they were not however in any degree affected by the contagious effluvia; while every one of those so exposed, who had not been vaccinated caught the Small-pox; and one of them *died*. This circumstance, while it *alarmed* the rest of the villagers, gave them *perfect confidence* in the *protective powers* of the Cow-pox, and they were now eager to be *vaccinated*. Accordingly, I procured some vaccine virus, and inoculated *twenty* more persons; and as soon as I was satisfied of a sufficient supply of newly-formed matter, I appointed a day for a *general inoculation*. The language of persuasion was no longer necessary—the confident rustics quickly flocked around me, begging with the most earnest solicitation the protection of the Cow-pox. I had now a fair opportunity not only of following, but of shewing the necessity of a strict observance of the rule laid down by Dr. Jenner, in his ‘Instructions for the Practice of Vaccine Inoculation,’ namely, ‘NEVER TO TAKE MATTER AFTER THE EIGHTH OR NINTH DAY OF THE DISEASE, OR AFTER THE AREOLA ROUND THE PUSTULE WAS FULLY FORMED.’ With virus of the *eighth* day, I vaccinated *two hundred and thirty-eight* persons, and had the satisfaction to observe the



reasoner, two such exceptions should not have given such a wrong bias, as it has done to Dr. Rowley's mind, as to accuse this inoffensive and most deserving young man, 'of having adopted what was *doubtful* for a *certainty*, and thereby as committing an offence against *humanity*, and a sin heinous in the sight of *God*.'

Mr. Swift, with a mind open to conviction, eager to make his profession subservient to the cause of humanity, adopts a practice, which he is told by the *most respectable* authorities is equal in security to the Small-pox, and he does not disseminate

complete effect produced in every individual. With that of the *tenth* day I vaccinated seventy others, but in one fifth of the number its insertion had no effect. The rest however had the disease perfectly. With matter of the *fourteenth* day I inoculated thirty more, on one half of whom no effect was produced, except that occasioned by the mere puncture of the lancet. Some of the rest had the genuine pustule, while the remainder had an *inefficacious* or *spurious* pustule only. These last, after a lapse of a few days, were reinoculated with perfect success.

"The vaccination of the whole parish was at length completed; and not long after I had finished my work, my patients had a fresh proof of the security afforded them. Some itinerant gypsies contracted the *Small-pox* in their travels, and sickened in the village. An unrestrained intercourse was kept up between these unfortunate wanderers and the numerous inhabitants, but *no ill consequence ensued*. From that period to the present, I have persevered in the vaccine practice; and by a scrupulous attention to the *maxims* of Dr. Jenner, have had the happiness to find my labours crowned with *undeviating success*."



an horrid disease, which communication I look upon really as **MURDER**\*—he exercises the best of his judgment,—and these *two* failures of securing his patients by vaccination cannot therefore be im-

\* The word *murder* may sound grating to the medical ear, but under certain circumstances it surely applies.—Dr. Rowley casts this reflection on the vaccinators, whenever they fail in producing the security they designed. Sometimes, however, he calls this “their *well-intentioned* endeavours; and, as the *mind* constitutes the *crime*, they become hence acquitted of the charge of *murder*. But it is different with regard to the inoculators of the Small-pox; they, against their better reason, perform an act at which honour and humanity shudder. For the sake of securing a few individuals from the natural Small-pox, these men spread abroad a baneful pestilence. It has been seen by common sense, and proved by the bills of mortality, that *partial* inoculation, in London and its environs, has spread wide a fatal pestilence, and many a wretched infant on that account has died before it had hardly tasted of life, and many have been the lamentations of disconsolate parents, moaning, “they are no more.”

Often may be traced from this source fourteen to twenty deaths for *one* rescued from that direful loathsome disease—the natural Small-pox.

There are, however, some so callous to every suggestion of humanity, that I have seen them inoculate one in a house crowded with children, the unhappy offspring of prejudiced parents, and this in the midst of an unprepared lane, or mews, and afterwards behold with indifference the fire they have kindled up in so many uninsured persons, (may I be allowed the expression) because the one was insured—the child of people, who, so that themselves swim, care not who sink.

This conduct, sir, I have called *murder*, and Dr. Moseley, who possesses both sense and feeling, must agree with me,



puted as a crime to him—or even do injury to a cause confirmed by millions of facts of an opposite kind.

If there is any blame, it is in Dr. Rowley's confessing, "that these *two* Oxford failures had so *influenced* his mind, as to prevent him from allowing vaccination in noble families—when applied to."

At any rate, as the vaccinator was *young*, that 'if' the Cow-pox is as it has been represented, such procedure can admit of no *justification* either before God or man.

You will not, cannot, after the perusal of this letter, any longer stand forward to *encourage* this shameful, most cruel practice, which shocks every principle of humanity and honour.

However I may be an advocate (as I have before shewn myself) for the salutary practice of *general* inoculation, I surely never can admit a palliation of spreading a most direful disease by *partial* inoculation.

Baron Dimsdale was so struck with the above truth, "that he conjured the Empress of Russia not to admit of *partial* inoculation;" he saw, and lamented the evil, and actually believed, that more had died from the Small-pox *since* the introduction of variolous inoculation, from this *great abuse* in the profession. To spread abroad a pestilence is DEATH by our laws, and surely he is deserving of that punishment, who, after the discovery of *vaccination*, persists in so nefarious a practice. Even though he escapes in this life, there still must be stored up for him some peculiar punishment. I am conscious I have roused up the first feelings of many against me, who will now judge me an *enthusiast*; but the calmest reflection, the most mature weighing of the case, has brought me to this conclusion, and I could not have laid my head upon my pillow, and gone to sleep, without having thus expressed my eternal abhorrence of such deliberate, unjustifiable *homicide* and *infanticide*.



and it was *in the infancy of vaccination*, the import of these *two* cases are somewhat doubtful, and they cannot be admitted as clear unequivocal certain instances of failure after *proper* vaccination.

### 3. A THIRD OXFORD CASE.

NAME AND ABODE.	AGE. ys. ms.	VACCINATED WHEN.	EVENTS.
<p>* CXXIV. A <i>third</i> case is acknowledged by a physician at Oxford, in his <i>learned</i> letter. The excuse for failure is, certainly, inadmissible; because all failures may be attributed to any cause the vaccinator pleases.</p> <p>* GREEN'S child.</p>		<p>The excuse alleged is, <i>that the matter was not genuine</i>. Many writers have <i>confused</i> and <i>puzzled</i> a plain question: <i>whether vaccination be an infallible and permanent security against Small-pox?</i>—<i>Proofs answer, NO!</i></p>	<p>The parties were vaccinated by <i>eminent</i> vaccinators; Small-pox appeared after, which is all candour and judgment want; for, if <i>such excuses</i> be permitted, there is an end of all <i>certainly</i> in vaccination, and it stands condemned by the acknowledgment of its warmest and most enthusiastic adherents.</p>

Who would believe, that this case, so wildly expressed by Dr. Rowley, was actually as follows?

*Letter from Professor WILLIAMS, dated Oxford,  
Dec. 4, 1805, to Dr. THORNTON.*

" DEAR SIR,

" The story of the *Greens* is a very simple tale—yet so long an interval has elapsed, that I can give you nothing beyond a mere outline of what originally took place. Of Dr. Rowley's assertions I am wholly ignorant—and from what



you observe, as well as from his own *suspensions*, I have no curiosity to be made better acquainted with them. All I believe who have taken the trouble to ascertain the nature of *the case* in question, have been fully satisfied that no conclusion could be drawn from it, which could in the smallest degree affect the credit of Dr. Jenner's system.

" Mary and Catharine Green were vaccinated by Mr. George Jenner on the 20th Jan. 1800,—the vaccination failed on the 12th Feb. 1800,—they were both vaccinated again, together with Richard Green, about fourteen weeks old, by the same gentleman—the vaccination failed in Richard Green—he was again vaccinated by Mr. Jenner on the 21st Feb.—I made a memorandum on the 27th that the vaccination had *again* failed \*. Many reasons prevented the vaccination immediately after this failure, which it is unnecessary to detail. *When* the Small-pox occurred in this infant I cannot now exactly recollect—it is evident, however, and this is the only point of any importance, that to call this a case of Small-pox *after vaccination* would be a *gross misrepresentation*.

I am, Sir, with great respect,

Your faithful Servant,

GEORGE WILLIAMS."

\* My mode of inserting the vaccine matter with almost a certainty of its taking effect, is explained in FACTS DECISIVE IN FAVOR OF THE COW-POCK, p. 146.



Both these cases have been explained by another eminent Professor.

*Letter from Dr. MARTIN WALL to Admiral BERKELEY, dated Oxford, April 14, 1802.*

“ Dr. Rowley certainly did not recollect correctly the conversation I had with him, when he was here in the summer of 1801. The account of *different cases*, which he has *confounded* in one statement, I think it will not be difficult to separate and distinguish.

“ Early in the spring of 1801, or some little time before (I will not pretend to be very correct in my dates) Dr. Williams and Mr. George Jenner inoculated, with vaccine matter, three children of Mr. Green, in George-lane; they were all *supposed* to have gone through the vaccine disorder favourably. In the summer of the same year, one of these three children caught the Small-pox, which prevailed epidemically in the neighbourhood, and had the disorder very mild. While the eruption was out upon the child, or just dying away, Dr. Jenner happened to call upon me, and I took him to see the child; as soon as he came into the room he immediately recollected that he had been there before, and, upon seeing the child, he said to the mother. ‘ Don’t you remember my being in this room soon after these children had been *supposed* to have had the Cow-pox; and that, upon looking on this child’s arm, I told you, *it had not had the Cow-pox*, and would not be secure from



the Small-pox, unless it were subjected to another inoculation with vaccine matter; at the same time I told you, upon inspecting the arms of the other children, *that they were safe?* This was the purport of his words. Whether I have given his exact expressions, I am not certain."

The excuse as stated by Dr. Rowley to have been set up, is thus ably refuted:

*Letter from the Clinical Professor at Oxford, Dr.  
WALL, to Dr. THORNTON.*

" SIR,

Oxford, Nov. 25, 1805.

" I have received your Letter, referring to the Case mentioned in Dr. Rowley's work, in which the Doctor seems to have fallen nearly into the same *confusion of ideas* concerning his Oxford cases, which I took so much pains to *unravel* in a Letter I had the honour of laying before the Committee of the House of Commons, since printed in their Report.—The case of *Slatter's* children I have in that, and in my other letters to different correspondents, stated fairly, as far as I was acquainted with it. I did not *vaccinate* the children, nor did I attend the family as physician: but the liberality of the gentlemen, more nearly connected with them, permitted me to make my observations. *Mr. Swift*, you say, has written to you candidly and honourably on this subject. You may rely upon him. I write now without any communication with him, but I know him to be a gentleman of great attention, skill, and, what



is better than both in the present instance, *veracity*. He was the *vaccinator*, (with the concurrent assistance of Mr. Grosvenor) and attended the children. They certainly had the Small-pox afterwards. But please to observe, that though *both* the children were inoculated for the Cow-pock, *both* were affected afterwards by the variolous contagion, therefore in *both* the vaccine matter, from some *peculiar cause* failed of its expected effect. Draw the inference yourself.

“ Let this history, plain and simple, *valet quantum valere potest*. As the Doctor has published a work in one of the learned languages \*, he cannot charge me with *affectation of superior learning*, for quoting this trifling *Latin* sentence. I own, for the reasons repeatedly alleged in my letters to the Committee of the House of Commons, to Dr. Jenner, and to Mr. Ring, that my faith in the preservative power of the vaccine inoculation is not to be shaken by two, three, or a hundred *exceptions* to a *general* rule, established and confirmed by *millions* of instances in almost every part of the known world. *What matter* Mr. Swift used, or *whence* he procured it, I know not. These points he may have touched upon himself. I determined, when I sat down to write this letter, to have no

\* This most learned Doctor states in his public advertisements, “ Schola Medicinæ, or the New Universal History and School of Medicine, translated from the original *Greek* and *Latin* Edition, by WILLIAM ROWLEY, M. D. of the University of Oxford.”



communication with any one, that you might have my plain unbiassed sentiments and reflections.

“ The cases of *Green's* children in George-lane, (where *two* out of *three* were so *securely* affected by the vaccine inoculation, that variolous contagion had afterwards no influence upon them, though *one* inoculated with the *same matter* was not so secured, but caught the Small-pox afterwards from his play-fellows); *these cases*, so far from presenting any objection, in my opinion, to Dr. Jenner's doctrine of the preservative power of *vaccination*, tend strongly to confirm it. They shew, at the same time, that genuine matter may be inserted in the arm, or elsewhere; and yet, unless the inoculator is extremely watchful, the patient may not be secure from the variolous. These things were not so well known *then* as they are *now*, for even mistakes and failures have tended to establish the *Jennerian law*.

“ Be assured, Sir, that in no instance, much less in this, did I ever charge Mr. Jenner, or the Doctor, with using ‘*matter not genuine*.’ How this *fancy* ever obtained entrance into *Dr. Rowley's* head, I should be at a loss to determine, if I had not before *ample experience*, how apt he is to *intermingle* and *confuse cases*, blending *truth* with *fiction* in such an inextricable maze, that it is sometimes nearly impossible to discriminate the *true* and the *false* in his narrations.

“ But to refute his assertion, that I said ‘ Mr.



Jenner used *matter not genuine*,' fortunately requires no *superior* talents, though the Doctor does me so much honour by his *epithets*. The very supposition, from the simple view of the cases, that the matter employed was '*not genuine*,' would be *absurd*.—I might desire the Doctor to state *when* and to *whom* I ever said, that in these cases the *matter was not genuine*—but I decline these questions. I *deny* the assertion altogether, and no one can possibly believe I should have been *guilty* of such an *absurdity*!

“ To come now more particularly to some queries you have stated concerning *Green's* children. It is admitted, that *one* of them had the Small-pox after the operation for vaccination. This child Dr. Jenner saw, after this presumed vaccination. He told the mother, '*it ought to be inoculated again, for it was not secure*.' The two others he pronounced *safe*. The event proved his judgment to be accurate and correct. I never saw these children till after one of them fell ill with the Small-pox. They were not my patients.

“ These *three* children lived together, played together at home in a small house, and with the same playfellows in the street. They slept all *three* in the same room, and often got into each other's beds before the Small-pox appeared amongst them, and after. The mother repeated that account to me this very morning.

“ These cases alone, therefore, are sufficient to



prove all that we desire, and what Dr. R.'s *reasonings* on cases can never *disprove* or *confute*; that persons, who have really had the *vaccina* are certainly *secured* from *variola*; they shew also, that cases will occur, where the vaccine matter *does not take*, as the common expression has been, ever since the days of Lady M. W. Montagu, concerning the inoculation of the Small-pox. How often *that* failed under the conduct of the best inoculators is well known to those who remember the history of inoculated Small-pox. So it was *here certainly* with one of Green's children, and so it has been with many others elsewhere; and so it might be with hundreds of others in future: but we have less reason to dread such an event, when operators have learned to inspect, and to attend to the progress of the pustule with that *Jennerian acumen oculi et judicii* which determined, that *two* of Green's children *were secure*, the *other not*.

“ Farther than this I do not presume to speak. I am not a practical *vaccinator*. I will not pretend to more than I *know*; but what I have written above, *I do know*; and when called upon, I deem it a proper respect to you, and a duty to my country to write my sentiments with candour, impartiality, and freedom, equally uninfluenced by *insidious compliments*, or *more direct censure*.

I remain, SIR,

Your very obedient Servant,

MARTIN WALL.”



Let us now contrast the sentiments which these *three* instances only of supposed failure in Oxford excited in the Professor there, whom Dr. Rowley very *justly* dignifies as "*learned*".

*Extract of a Letter from Dr. MARTIN WALL to the Chairman, dated Oxford, April 2, 1802.*

"I do not presume to think, that it is in my power to add any thing to the force of the evidence (which must have been laid before you and the Committee of the House of Commons) tending to evince, that the inoculated Cow-pox is an indisputable security against the Small-pox in any form; yet I feel it my duty to express my opinion, and to add one more to the many testimonies which have been presented to your Committee on this subject. I have not been myself a practitioner in the vaccine inoculation (my engagements preventing me) but the extensive excursions I often make into the country, have given me opportunities of conversing with *numerous* practitioners, and hearing their relations of the progress and result of their experiments; and I never have yet met with any instance which has shaken my opinion, that the Cow-pox is a safe and efficacious preservative against the Small-pox. I will not allege, that I have not heard of unfavourable cases, unfavourable I mean to the position I have just laid down; many such occurred at first, when the inoculation was conducted by ignorant and ill-judging persons; and it is wonderful, that more instances of



failure did not take place. But when the process came to be conducted with more careful observation, such ill consequences and deceptions were very rare, and where they did take place, the source of the deception was often easily traced, and it was as easily proved, that the persons in question on whom the Small-pox appeared, (after the vaccine inoculation) had really never been infected with the Cow-pox. Some cases have apparently been attended with greater difficulties, as they have been said to have been under the care of practitioners of eminent ability and judgment, yet even in these, if their progress could be properly investigated, some fallacy would be probably detected, as it has been in so many others. For, as it has been demonstrated by thousands and tens of thousands of instances, where the process of vaccine inoculation has been carefully conducted and observed, the patient has ever after been incapable of receiving the variolous infection, it is most reasonable to suppose, that, if two or three instances of a contrary event have occurred, some mistake must have taken place in those cases, however eminent the abilities of the inoculator may have been. Let us reason upon this point in another mode. No one doubts the power of the inoculated Small-pox to preserve a person from that disorder in future, whether by casual or artificial means. What then would any one say, if a man, having had the Small-pox by inoculation, should



take the disorder (apparently) a second time, either by contagion or any other way? Would he say, that that man had the Small-pox twice? Would he draw any inference unfavourable to the generally received opinion of the efficacy and security of inoculation? NO, certainly; if he had one spark of candour he would say, that the first inoculation had not communicated the real Small-pox, and had not influenced the constitution in that manner which is necessary to secure it against future infection. Let candour then apply this argument to the Cow-pox, and it will be with equal justness inferred, that if any person has been susceptible of the influence of variolous infection, after having been inoculated with vaccine matter, there has been some mistake in the case, and that person has really never had the true Cow-pox at all.

“ I request the Committee therefore only to admit the same analogical argument here as in the case of Small-pox, or even only to allow *Exceptionem non tollere regulam*; and then I trust the discovery of Dr. Jenner can never be too highly estimated.”

*Extract of a Letter from Dr. WALL to Mr. RING,  
dated April 13, 1800.*

“ With respect to the *three* exceptions, which have occurred here, they have never shaken my faith in the truth of the *general law*; which, I think, has been as demonstrably proved as any



proposition in natural philosophy or geometry: and I have no doubt but the time will come, when the medical world will express its *wonder*, that so many difficulties should have been raised upon such slight foundations, to prevent the progress of a discovery so highly advantageous to mankind, and so honourable to the discoverer.

“ I am much concerned, that the account of any of these *apparent* exceptions to the general law, of which I have been speaking, has been transmitted in so improper a form to America. I have no doubt, you will do every thing in your power to rectify the opinion of Dr. Waterhouse on this important subject. I have not the happiness of knowing him either personally or by correspondence; but every body knows him from his zeal to promote medical science, and useful discoveries in every department of it. His opinion of course will be looked up to, as a guiding star for the direction of others throughout the United States; and therefore the most exact account of every fact, relating to the subject, should be transmitted to him. My remarks, such as they are, are very much at your service; to be employed in any way you please, if they can be made subservient to the cause of *truth*.

I remain, &c.

MARTIN WALL.”



The reader will readily judge from the *contemptible* attack against vaccination at the *onset*, what he has to expect *in future* from Dr. Rowley on this subject; but he next, fearful of himself, brings forward to the charge the *veteran* Dr. Moseley, whom he loads with the following profusion of compliments\*:

\* Dr. Rowley had before not forgotten Dr. M—— in his pamphlet—"My *new* treatment of Small-pox was mentioned. Perhaps, had my evidence, I mean the written evidence, conjointly with those veteran practioners, Dr. *Moseley*, and Mr. *Birch*, been attended to, and if long, very long experience could have any weight against less experience, the Honourable House may see, with extreme concern, that *time* had not sufficiently elapsed, as I had observed, to have judiciously decided on the real merits of Cow-pox Inoculation. A longer time for further trial would have saved the nation *ten thousand pounds!!!!*"—ANOTHER LIBEL ON THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, and a LIBEL ON Dr. JENNER, and the more extraordinary after the *pretty figure* Dr. R. and the *two others* had made as the *adverse Evidence!*

But this is nothing in comparison of Mr. Daniel Sutton, whose fortune was once procured, and whose bread may now depend upon *Small-pox* being kept up\*.

*Extract from Mr. Sutton's Letter to Dr. Moseley, published by him in the Gentleman's Magazine for October, 1805.*

"I am induced by motives of *humanity* for the *public welfare* to submit the foregoing thoughts to *your* consideration; and

\* It is much to be lamented that Mr. Sutton, passed the age of 70, should be obliged still to follow practice; some patriot member should propose for him a pension from Government, and his latter days be made easy; and at his death, a statue of brass should be erected, as one of the very illustrious *preservers of the human race.*"



should they be of any use to *you*, in your most honourable endeavours to bring back the deluded MULTITUDE to a due sense of their interests, *you are perfectly welcome to make use of them in any manner most conducive thereto.* For, as *you* were the first, and, for *several years*, the only opposer of Cow-pox inoculation, and have so often and so ably exhibited its failures and mischiefs, the public look up to *you* with that respect which is due to your boldness, of *alone* undertaking the arduous task, against an host of *enthusiasts* and *illiberal scribblers*; whose *prejudices* and *ignorance* are at length exposed by the direful consequences, which *you* predicted; and which have, to their confusion, lately so fatally taken place.

“ I request to repeat that the very early, open, and manly attitude in which you successfully used the Variolous weapons, highly deserves the plaudits of all mankind; and if the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain were to vote twice the sum (20,000 Pounds!) to *you*, they did for introducing this bestial disease into the world, it would be doing *you* and the *public* but very *moderate justice*!! I heartily congratulate *you* on the prospect of your Herculean labours being at *an end*. The bulk of mankind now see and experience the effects of this delusive Cow-pox Inoculation; and will no longer be *gulled* by its treacherous advocates.”

In the same Gentleman's Magazine as Sutton addressed a letter to Dr. Moseley, the Doctor likewise very politely addresses one to Mr. Sutton, in which he says—

“ My *uniform perseverance* against introducing the Cow-pox bestial humour into the human race, has met with the *approbation* and *support* of the *experienced* and *learned*. I undertook to *counteract the plans*, and storm the trenches of the *Cow-poxers* in my three first CAMPAIGNS against them in 1798, 1799, and 1800.”—After more said in compliment of his own great generalship against Vaccination, he comes to this exchange of compliment with Mr. Sutton:

“ *You*, who have so long practised in the Variolous field, and witnessed the advantages of the true inoculation,



have seen the *fallacy* of Cow-pox inoculation. You, I understand, gave it a *fair* trial, *detected* it, and *renounced* it!!!”

Nor is the conduct of Dr. Woodville devoid of suspicion. The Small-pox had alone *long* afforded him £1000 per annum, and when the Cow-pox was proposed by Dr. Jenner, his income sunk, like that of the Suttons, at first, even to less than an hundred per annum. Was it from this cause Cow-pox, under his first management, bore a *terrific* appearance? It indeed secured, but the *remedy* was scarcely better than the *disease*. He published this *Report*.

“ The Cow-pox, from the number of *pustules*, was a disease, in several instances, of *extraordinary severity*; two or three were in *considerable danger*, one actually *died*, and the calculation of the chance of *death* is at present *against* Vaccination; only *one death* in 600 patients usually occurring in Variolous inoculation, whereas here one *died* in 500.—One half, however, of this number had *no pustules*, and a *mild disease*.”

Dr. WOODVILLE, however, who had a generous heart, and is much distinguished for learning, soon repented of *this Report*, and only *one* month after published the following letter in the Medical and Physical Journal.

*To the Editors of the Medical and Physical Journal.*

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ It was my intention to have given you a detail of several particulars respecting the Cow-pox; but various occurrences have prevented me, at present, from saying more on the subject, than what follows:

“ In my ‘ Report of Inoculation for the Cow-pox,’ published last month, it appears that more *than one half* of the patients had *pustules*; I have however observed, that the result would probably have been more favourable, if the matter used for communicating the infection had been taken from those only in whom the disease proved to be very mild.

“ My subsequent experience has now enabled me to say,



that this opinion has been confirmed ; or that the disease, in its *progress* from patient to patient, has actually become much milder. For out of 310 cases of Cow-pox, which have been since under my care, only 39 had pustules that suppurated ; viz. out of the first 100, 19 had pustules, out of the second 13, and out of the last 110, only 7 had pustules. This information I deem of considerable importance, as it leads to a conclusion *widely different* from *that* published in the *first* ' Reports'.

“ W. WOODVILLE.”

*Ely Place,*  
*Jan. 13, 1799.*

Could *one* month have made *such a change* in the practice, otherwise than in the *mind* !

Dr. GEORGE PEARSON, than whom no man stands higher, and justly so in the estimation of mankind, was led into a belief of Dr. Woodville's *first* statements. He expresses a doubt, “ whether, by any kind of *decomposition*, and *new combination*, the vaccine poison might in some cases be *changed into variolous matter*,” and gives it as his opinion “ that the value of the new practice is hereby depreciated, but not in such a degree as to create any reasonable apprehension of the failure of the vaccine inoculation, in superseding and finally extinguishing the Small-pox.”

He concludes with observing, that “ unless some new adverse facts shall be discovered, he confides that the public will adopt a method which is manifestly to their interest, and the change effected in medical practice *will be so eminently memorable, that the introduction of the vaccine inoculation must become an epoch in the history of physic.*”

I admit the truth of this observation, and most cordially join in the just encomium paid to the new practice. How must our estimation of the value of that practice be enhanced, if it can be proved by substantial evidence, that what was supposed to be the *Cow-pox* in a *malignant state*, was in reality no other than our inveterate enemy the *Small-*



*pox*, whose hydra-heads are no sooner cut off in one part, than they threaten to shoot up in another! "*Dabit Deus his quoque finem.*"

In reply to Drs. Woodville and Pearson, some animadversions appeared in the Medical Journal from Dr. Jenner. —He affirms, "that from the commencement of his inoculation with the vaccine virus to that day, no pustules, similar to the variolous, had in any one instance appeared; and that he very much suspected, where *variolous pustules* appeared, *variolous matter* occasioned them."

In the London Medical Review appeared another reply to Dr. Pearson, from the Rev. Mr. Fosbrook; who also maintains, "that pustules resembling those of the Small-pox, had never been seen in his neighbourhood, in the vaccine practice, although above a thousand persons had been inoculated in that manner. He therefore thinks it more reasonable to suppose, that variolous contamination had taken place, than an exception *peculiar* to the practice of Drs. Pearson and Woodville, and those whom *they* had furnished with matter.'

To put this question out of all doubt, I shall here insert a letter from the Rev. Mr. Ferryman; which represents the Cow-pock in a favourable point of view, and exhibits a striking contrast between that *innocent* disease and the *Small-pox*.

#### LETTER TO DR. JENNER.

"DEAR SIR,

"Petworth, June 14, 1800.

"Nothing could be more unfortunate than the introduction of the Cow-pox at Petworth; nothing more happy than the conclusion of the business.

"The first matter, which, at my request, you were so obliging as to send to Lord Egremont, did not succeed in communicating the disease. A few weeks after, some other



matter was sent from Brighton; the stock of which came from Dr. Pearson, of Leicester-square, London \*.

“ ‘ Fourteen patients were inoculated with this matter. It excited such a fever, and such a number of eruptions, that I did not hesitate to say decidedly, the disease was not the Cow-pox, but the *Small-pox*.

“ ‘ In consequence of this, Lord Egremont most humanely had all the patients immediately removed to his own house; to prevent, if possible, this dreadful disorder from spreading.

“ ‘ During this, one Mary Shepherd, an elderly woman of the parish of Byworth, was in the habit of coming daily to his Lordship's house for medicines; and in the course of these visits, she sometimes saw, and passed near to, the persons who had the Small-pox, and was in the room where they had occasionally been; and at length was seized with the disorder, and *died*. Her husband caught the infection of her; but, after much suffering, recovered.

“ ‘ Mr. André conducted the whole inoculation with great care and judgment. It is necessary to have it known, that the Small-pox had not been in Byworth, or in the neighbourhood of Byworth, for many months before this period; that this woman was old and infirm; that she had not, for years, travelled further than his lordship's house; and, that she believed she caught the disorder there.

“ ‘ Mr. Whicher, a gentleman the first in medical knowledge in Petworth, her still surviving husband, her relations, and all her neighbours, openly and unequivocally declare the same opinion; which, altogether, makes such a body of evidence, as almost amounts to a positive proof, where and how she caught the infection; and since, as fully appears from a number of subsequent cases at Petworth, the

\* Dr. Pearson informed me, “ he was in the habit, when scant in Cow-pock matter himself, to apply to Dr. Woodville, who at first supplied him with this eruptive matter as Cow-pock.” Most applicants were, I believe, served in this way.



Cow-pox is in no shape *infectious*, there rests not the shadow of a doubt upon my mind, but that the disorder, which with such headlong incautious zeal had been first disseminated around Brighton and Petworth, was no other than the very same *Small-pox*, which for so many ages has made such a dreadful ravage among the human species.

“ ‘ So soon as this unlucky business was got rid of, some Cow-pox matter arrived from you ; but among the affrighted inhabitants, it was with difficulty that Lord Egremont could find any one willing to be inoculated. At last, however, his lordship succeeded ; the matter took effect ; and in a short time, *between four and five hundred were inoculated, without a single case of pustules, of danger, of difficulty, or of alarm.*

“ ‘ These plain facts, I doubt not but the whole of the inhabitants of Petworth and its vicinity, would, if it were needful, join in attesting, with,

“ ‘ Yours most respectfully,

“ ‘ R. FERRYMAN.’ ”

But we afterwards find Dr. WOODVILLE soaring above the littlenesses of humanity, and he published the following Report (as may be found at full at p. 170 of *FACTS DECISIVE IN FAVOUR OF THE COW-POX*) :

“ In regard to the comparative mildness of the vaccine and variolous diseases, as produced from inoculation, I have been enabled to give a very different report from that which I published last year. The reason why several of the Cow-pox cases then at the hospital proved severe, like those of the inoculated Small-pox, has already been sufficiently explained, and will, I trust, have the effect of placing the Cow-pock inoculation in a more advantageous point of view than my former *reports* presented.

“ ‘ I have before observed, that of the last 2000 cases of Cow-pox under my care, not a single alarming symptom was excited ; and I may now add, that during the last



eight months I have not met with one instance of the vaccine disease, which has not been as favourable as the mildest cases of variolous inoculation. I have no doubt, therefore, that the inoculated Cow-pox is *as much milder* than the inoculated Small-pox, as the latter disease is milder than the casual Small-pox: nay, it seems to me, from the very benign form in which the vaccine pock has of late invariably appeared, that it may be considered as a disease perfectly *harmless* in its effects.—Indeed, upon this consideration, several persons have been persuaded to have their children inoculated for the disease, although they were very doubtful of the reality of its antivariolous power: for, if it proved a security to the children against the infection of the Small-pox, the object would be attained by the safest means: if it did not, no harm would arise from the experiment, since it was tried merely as a preliminary expedient to the inoculation for the Small-pox. The result, however, has constantly furnished additional evidence in favour of the new inoculation, and of course has tended greatly to promote the adoption of it in London.

“ ‘ Another very material consideration, highly important to the community is, that as the Cow-pox, unless from the adventitious circumstances before mentioned, very rarely, *if ever*, appears with variolous-like pustules, it would seem incapable of propagating itself by effluvia. Hence, by the substitution of the vaccine for the variolous inoculation, the casual spreading of the Small-pox from the inoculated, a circumstance which has greatly contributed to swell the bills of mortality for the metropolis, and of which the public has *long justly complained*, is completely avoided. Nor is it unreasonable to conclude, that if the new inoculation were to be *universally* adopted, the variolous disease, in process of time, may be *wholly extinguished*. ”

What a noble *example* does this head inoculator for the Small-pox here exhibit! He had actually *saved* nothing, yet he preferred *poverty* to *ill-gotten riches*; and when persons



“ This *eminent* and *sensible* physician to the Royal Hospital of Invalids at Chelsea, *physician* to the *Prince of Wales*, &c. &c. was the first writer who *scientifically* opposed the false theory of Cow-pox in its *infancy*. This gentleman stemmed the torrent of Cow-pox *infatuation* afterwards, on the *philosophic* grounds of analogy and pathology, *long before* the dreadful mischiefs that have since ensued were experienced. This *penetration* and *foresight* does the *highest honour* to the reasoning *intellectuals* of this *experienced* physician. Many cases discovered by the Doctor, and communicated primarily in his *LUES BOVILLA*, &c. and afterwards in the first edition of this work, which concentrates the scattered sweets of Cow-pox *enthusiasm*, are before the public, not without an impression, that does *honour* to the *discernment of mankind in general*, and particularly amongst those who have suffered disappointment and misfortune from Cow-pox *delusion*. In the present instance, the *indefatigable* Dr. Moseley *pursues* the subject, and has *favoured* the author with a succession of disastrous events, from vaccination,

came to the Small-pox Hospital for inoculation, even for the *Small-pox*, he desired Mr. Wachsell to deceive them. “ If a child asks thee for *bread*, wouldst thou give him a *stone*? or if he asks for a *fish*, would you give him a *serpent*? ” and only a few days before his decease, he paid the highest compliment to the character of Dr. Jenner which it is possible for one man to bestow upon another, and died pouring out *blessings* on Dr. JENNER and HIS DISCOVERY.



enough to fill the soul with horror, and all *credulous* parents with the most pungent grief.

“ *These cases* are like the *others*, established on the rock of solid *truth*, which, with a multitude of similar facts, justify the Aphorisms, on which the *ingenious* Doctor founded his opposition to this *baneful* practice in 1798, 1799, and 1800, being the first years of vaccination.”

But let us first see truly how very little the “*eminent, sensible, scientific, courageous, penetrating, experienced, indefatigable, ingenious*” Dr. Moseley knew concerning vaccination even in the month of March, in the year 1802.

“ *Admiral Berkeley in the Chair. Dr. Moseley called in and examined.*

“ 2. Have you found since the rapid progress of this new method, *which has embraced nearly two millions of people*, that your first caution has been confirmed by any failures of it, in preventing the Small-pox, within your own knowledge?

“ *A. I have heard of some instances.*

“ 2. Can you name them?

“ *A. I cannot at present.*

“ 2. Do you think that you could procure them for the Committee?

“ *A. I have not the means at present, having none of the vouchers in my possession.*

“ 2. Can you inform the Committee of any persons whom they might summon to give information upon this subject?



" *A. No.*

" 2. Do you know whether the Cow-pox is contagious?

" *A. I do not believe it is.*

" 2. Do you know of any instance where it has proved fatal?

" *A. I know of none.*

" 2. Do you know of any instance where it has conveyed any constitutional disease?

" *A. Not of my own knowledge, but I have heard that it has.*

" 2. Can you specify the instance?

" *A. I cannot.*

" 2. Did you receive the information relative to any failures of the vaccine inoculation from medical persons immediately attending the patients, or only from general conversation?

" *A. I have had information from both.*

" 2. Can you recollect any of the *medical persons* from whom you had this information?

" *A. I mentioned before, when I ceased to make further inquiry into the subject, I destroyed all information I had received respecting the Cow-pox, and since that time I have thought no more respecting it. At present I cannot recollect any name."*

What a happy *forgetfulness* \* does Dr. Moseley here exhibit !

\* He mentions having *campaigned* three whole years !!!  
Vide Note \*, p. 49.



But Dr. Rowley does not mind dates, and consistency of character, and Dr. Moseley, who declares to the Committee of the House of Commons, "that he had *destroyed*," (burnt, or *otherwise used*,) "all information respecting the Cow-pox, and since *thought no more* about the subject," is praised, even from the commencement, as "*unceasingly vigilant*," and Dr. Moseley, even after this evidence, boasts "*the same*," and at last he comes forward in 1805, with about *twenty-nine* cases, having selected *these* out of "nearly *one thousand*," which he promises to his correspondents shall not undergo the *same fate* as their former reports. "If I have not leisure," says the Doctor, "to publish *all* these myself, I will take care to put them into *proper hands*,\* and they shall be given to the world."

He flatters himself with the vain thought, that these *cases* have extirpated the Cow-pox, if not from the face of the whole earth, from LONDON and its ENVIRONS, except among the *nobility*.

"*The people at large*," says this προφητης κληων, "are not to be reproached for putting their faith in this splendid *imposition* on humanity.—But to the credit of their discernment and parental feelings, the *middle* and *inferior classes* have taken

\* Nevertheless Dr. Rowley has published *only* at first 118 adverse cases, (and in three days by accepting every kind of *hearsay*, 440,) some scores of which he claims as of his own *discovery*.



*precedence, in renouncing the delusion.*—At this moment, (1805) unless attacked by surprise, or with threats, or cajoled by artifice,—all of which have been practised on them—there are *none* now among them, to be found in *London* and the *adjacent villages* \*, who will expose their children to *Cow-pox* Inoculation.

\* Even in *London*, in spite of misrepresentations, *vaccination* greatly flourishes. Not to mention the operations of many private practitioners, the London Stations of the Royal Jennerian Society, vaccinated 7,701 ; the Small-pox Hospital, during the year 1805, 2,096 persons ; and the Vaccine Institution, in Broad-street, London, not less than 1,800, all registered cases. The third year of Small-pox inoculation could only number *forty* persons !

The myriads who have been, and are now vaccinating abroad, like the leaves of the trees, defy counting. To use the words of an eloquent writer :

“ 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 aban



“ In the *country*\*, the people have not the advan-

don his confidence in predestination, and to inoculate with the Vaccine.

“ Who then are those *confident* men, who venture 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 the world beside?”

MOORE IN REPLY TO THE ANTI-VACCINISTS.

“ Three years have now elapsed since the inquiry took place in the House of Commons. During this interval, the practice of vaccine inoculation has spread so widely, that it may be said to embrace nearly the whole of the civilized part of the globe—a convincing proof of its efficacy; and a decisive argument against those feeble efforts that spring up AT HOME to impede its progress; efforts that can only be made by the ignorant, the misinformed, the prejudiced, the *interested*, or the *malevolent*.

“ No one possessing an accurate knowledge of the laws and agencies of the vaccine and variolous matter on the human constitution, can possibly read the papers of the few individuals who still continue to oppose the progress of vaccination, without lamenting their publication, as they tend so much to *delude* the vulgar rabble:—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!

“ G. C. JENNER.”

\* During the year 1805, as *many* as 18,284 charges of vaccine matter were sent into the *country* from the stations of the Royal Jennerian Society.



tage of those in the metropolis; and it becomes the Clergy, without loss of time, to *undeceive* their parishioners; and to inform them, that the Cow-pox is *no security* against the *Small-pox*; that the Small-pox attacks people who have had the Cow-pox, at times and seasons, when they cannot guard against it; and that the *Cow-pox*, contrary to what they have been instructed to believe, is *attended with innumerable evils*; and is *often fatal*."

Let us now see what *Facts* he can adduce to support positions so contrary to the observance of the many practitioners of vaccination.

Dr. Moseley opens, indeed, with a Case at Chelsea; nevertheless, as explaining further one of the chief causes of a *spurious* (or insecure) *Cow-pox pustule*, we shall enquire *first* into

#### 4, 5. THE MALDEN CASES.

NAME AND ABODE.	When and by whom vaccinated.	EVENTS.
IX. and XII.* Mr. Green's child of Malden, in Essex. Mr. Mitchell's child of the same place.	Vaccinated in the Year 1801 by inoculation.	And <i>both</i> of them had the <i>Small-pox</i> afterwards by in- oculation.
* Cases IX. and XII. of Dr. Rowley's Work		

Although these cases had been openly in the



*Courier* \* refuted by the Rev. Mr. Ferryman, and also by Mr. Ring, in his elaborate work on the Cow-pox, yet they are made to figure, in 1805, both in Dr. Moseley's and Dr. Rowley's work against the Cow-pox.

These men seem to know nothing that is passing in the vaccinating world, and therefore are imposing continually their *crudities* on the public; for I cannot *suspect* them of so base a nature as wilfully to utter *falsehoods*, knowing them to be such, *purposely* designing to *delude* a public trusting to them as men of honour and veracity. Notwithstanding this favourable opinion, a regular enquiry was, *properly*, I hope, made by me, "whether any person of the name of *Green*, residing at Malden, had ever been inoculated for the Cow-pox, and afterwards had the Small-pox?" and from every respectable information received, *no such event had ever taken place.*

\* These reports, I believe, originated in the *Herald*, by one who calls himself *Verax*, (Truth) and the Rev. Mr. Ferryman, Rector of Iping, being in town, wrote to his friend, the Rev. Mr. Williams, Vicar of Malden, respecting these *adverse facts*; and this clergyman, receiving a satisfactory reply from Mr. Williams, went to the office, with a *refutation* of these very cases, but it was refused, as the contradiction would injure the reputation of the paper, and he was obliged, in another newspaper, the *Courier*, to contradict these injurious assertions, I appeal to the candid reader, whether mere *Newspaper Reports* deserve to be, or should have been, admitted as adequate evidence against the Cow-pock? !!!



Mr. Tomlinson, Surgeon, of Malden, indeed, "remembered inoculating with the Cow-pox a child of that name at Purleigh, but the Small-pox afterwards tried on this child had *no effect*."

Before I were to publish a statement, I should deem it my duty to enquire at the place, or the party, as to the truth of a mere *report*.

If the object, indeed, were to publish a book *to reap the profits*, these doctors do well by following another practice; but towards the public such conduct would be most cruel.

Mr. Baker, Surgeon, of Malden, informs me

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. BAKER TO  
DR. THORNTON.

"Respecting the child of a Mr. *Green*, at Malden, having had the *Small-pox* after the *Cow-pock*, as reported, the whole is a *fiction*!"

SECOND EXTRACT FROM MR. BAKER'S LETTER.

"As to Mr. *Mitchell*'s child, it was inoculated from a patient of mine, who had the Cow-pock from *early matter* \*, but at the end of 14 days, the

\* This patient was the child of Mr. Bridges, merchant, at Malden, who writes to me, "that in order to be certain that his child had received the *true* Cow-pock, he had him inoculated afterwards for the Small-pox; but in a few days the punctured part died away.—But such was the prejudice raised against the Cow-pock at Malden, from the first ino-



customary dry scab was rubbed off, which occasioned a *suppurating sore*. Two days after this, (the 17th day) a medical gentleman took the *purulent matter*, and *vaccinated*, as he supposed, his own child, Mr. May's child, and Mr. Mitchell's, and you will not therefore be surprised at their afterwards having received the Small-pox !!!"

Almost doubting the truth of such a practice, I wrote to Mr. Tomlinson, who honourably has made the following confession :

LETTER FROM MR. TOMLINSON, SURGEON, TO  
DR. THORNTON.

" SIR,

" In answer to your letter respecting Mr. Mitchell's child, I must observe, that he was the *first patient* I ever vaccinated, or rather attempted to vaccinate, and that I took the matter on the 17th day, and that it produced a *shivering fit*, succeeded by a very *high fever*, and a great *erisipelatous irruption* came out, which continued more or less, at intervals, for a twelve-month.

" With the same pus or matter, I also vaccination of masters May, Mitchel, and Tomlinson, that at a general inoculation there could not be found a single pauper who would consent to have the Cow-pock,—not having any faith in its *securative power*—and in 1806, they were all inoculated for the Small-pox."



nated my own child, and Mr. May's, of the Blue Boar Inn. It produced also inflammation, and ulcerated arms, which proved troublesome for some weeks, but no acrid humours ensued,

“ Having *afterwards* learned the true nature of the vaccine pustule, and the necessity of taking the matter at a much earlier period, I was certain they had not received the *proper* Cow-pox pustule, but only the *spurious*, and I accordingly inoculated all three with variolous matter, which succeeded perfectly, producing maturing pustules, and Mitchell is pitted from this inoculation. With vaccine matter, taken *early*, I have never failed of producing the *proper* Cow-pock, which *secured* from the Small-pox.

“ I have the honour to be,

“ Sir, &c.

“ JAMES TOMLINSON.”

Malden, Jan. 17, 1806.

I now repeat after Dr. Jenner, that had these gentlemen *properly inquired* into their cases before publication, they would have been *ashamed* to have adduced most of those that now appear from them, as *adverse* to the cause of vaccination.

They lay it down that Small-pox is *an art*, and should be learnt, in order to be successfully employed.

In Dr. Rowley's Instructions for Inoculation, (page 105), he says, “ If the matter for Small-pox inoculation be taken from a young subject, clear



of scrophula or any other disease, and the matter be taken from a *pustule* in the *crystalline state*, before suppuration be completed, the success of Small-pox is infallible, the patients have very few pustules, and all the symptoms are so mild, as to scarcely be considered a disease. The security from future Small-pox infection is absolute, and fully determined, beyond the possibility of doubt, or excuse for failure, or hypothetical arguments to palliate real disappointment."

Dr. Squirrel also speaks of the choice of matter. "It should always be taken from a healthy child, on the fourth or fifth day of the eruption, while it is in a *fluid* or *crystalline state*, because it will produce its desired effect without inducing any ill consequence whatever.—I have good reason to believe, that the age of the matter when taken for inoculation, has not been properly attended to, for it has, I have no doubt, frequently been taken too late, when it has been too far advanced in maturation, or after it has undergone a putrefactive fermentation, which is very easily discovered, by allowing the matter to remain on the lancet for the course of a few hours, and if it have undergone this change, it will decompose the metal, and turn it of a dark colour, the same as though it had been used in scarifying a mortified or a gangrened part. The matter in that state would fail in taking due effect, produce a fever of a putrid tendency, a subsequent debility, or a vitiated state of the blood."



Baron Dimsdale says, "Should it be asked, to what circumstance the success of Sutton is owing, I can answer, that although the whole process may have some share in it, in *my* opinion, it consists chiefly in the method of inoculating with *recent fluid matter*."

But Rowley and Moseley ridicule all idea of vaccination being an art to be learnt.

Observe how Dr. Rowley derides the idea of *investigating* Cow-pock failure, and with what vulgar wit he endeavours to stifle *inquiries*!

To establish vaccination as *an art*, and demanding some *small knowledge*, he represents as putting out a flag, on which is written, "COME TO MY SHOP."—These are his own words:

"The Cow-pox inoculators, who have been principals, 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 happen 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 the abstruse doubtful subject? Each leader seems to say, 'COME TO MY SHOP,—this is the only true booth in the fair: that, the new one—this the only true one,' &c. This disagreement



disgraces and materially injures the reputation of the invention in the opinion of *sagacity*. The principal vaccinators likewise, and they have at all times *failed*, do not agree amongst themselves, so that an observing by-stander would exclaim with Shakspeare,

‘ ——— All is not right—  
There’s something rotten in the state of Denmark.’ &c.

In my FACTS DECISIVE IN FAVOUR OF THE COW-POX, page 279, I have brought forward several *similar instances* from taking *late Cow-pock matter*, authenticated by Dr. Dixon, an eminent physician, where *Small-pox* also supervened, yet in the face of *these and other known facts* do these men maintain, that there is no SPURIOUS PUSTULE, and the JENNERIAN RULE of not taking LATE MATTER is *ridiculous*.” But as they have *styles* peculiar to themselves, I shall quote their own words. First, Moseley.

“ I have in this second edition, from the solicitation of some friends, made an addition of a *few more* important facts. Not that I think the *unity of truth* acquires strength by *numbers*, no more than beauty is increased by flattery.

“ Nor is the solitary critic of retrospective life here in contemplation. This is not a subject of letters or general science. On this topic, like other spectators, he must be influenced by those in the field of action; and in his determination, judgment may give way to passion.



" He cannot clear away the darkness which surrounds himself, much less assist me, where I stand in need of help—in combining words to describe a power that can reach the *punctum saliens* of the sensorium of men, who talk of *two sorts of Cow-pox which never existed*; and of *momentary periods for taking the matter for inoculation, on which nothing ever depended* !!!

" This is *the cast*, on whom I am destined to attempt to work without materials, the *miracle of conception*. This is *the race* which I am doomed to follow into those creeping-holes of Cow-pox *subterfuge*,—after the lost battle of the pustule and scar, where they have at length retreated from the face of day, and where I now behold them in their *last moments*, comforting each other for *the good they have done*, and reading their own *melancholy works*, by the expiring lamp of *their JENNERIAN TOMB*.

" The *virulent and unmannerly* essays and pamphlets, which this subject has given birth to, have *surfeited every person of reflection*.

" In defence of a cause, when *impertinence* is substituted for *argument*, and *jargon* for *discussion*, it is time to suspect that there is *more to be defended* than there ought to be."

The sentiments of Dr. Rowley, in his pamphlet against the Cow-pox, on the *spurious pustule*, are not less remarkable. "When," says Dr. Rowley, "a number of instances happened



of Small-pox after vaccination, then it was boldly asserted, by way of palliation, that there was a *spurious Cow-pox*—Another proof of excuse for uncertainty; of course, another condemnation. These excuses are but wretched shelters, where the infallibility of Cow-pox inoculation had been trumpeted forth with such vehement vociferation, with such brow-beating confidence, **by** the promulgators of the practice. They are certainly inadmissible to all *reflecting* and *reasoning* minds, and sufficiently powerful to condemn the practice *in toto*, without *any further hearing*.

“ Indeed, no other questions are admissible in vaccination, than, ‘ Have the parties been *inoculated* for the *Cow-pox*? Have they been vaccinated?’—‘ *Yes.*’ ‘ Have they had the Small-pox afterward?’—‘ *Yes.*’ As to *HOW, when, where, whether* the Cow-pox took, was *genuine* or *spurious*; or any arguments, however specious, as pretexts for *doubt* or *failure*, they are *evasive* and *irrelative to the question*. They may confound *fools*, but not heighten the credit of vaccination. Small-pox succeeding vaccination, is the *only thing* to be considered, and, if true, in the most determined manner convicts *vaccination* of IMPOSITION, in not duly performing what its *adherents* so solemnly pretended.

“ Cow-pox inoculation stands convicted and condemned by its *vehement promoters*. They frequently attempt to talk loud and long, to



baffle men out of their senses and understanding. An over-zealous friend, or fiery bigot, frequently does irreparable injury to the *best* cause. Fierceness and tumult may alarm and frighten, but never *convince*. Men in a *violent rage* are always suspected by the cool reflection of *philosophic* inquiry. A becoming spirit, in defiance of truth, may be requisite: but fury, rage, and despair are commonly united to the worst causes men have to defend! 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 the 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 every thing concerning a science they cannot understand.

“ I have *been* in some vaccination storms, and have had the buttons torn off my coat, cloth and all, to convince me of the great and infallible excellence of Cow-pox. I have *seen* some few of the vehement vaccinators redden like a flame with fury, the lips quivering, the eyes starting out of the head, with *flashing streams of fire*; the mouth foaming, and tongue pouring forth a tor-



rent of *hard words*, like a *thunder-storm*; the *fist* clenched like a *pugilist*, ready to accompany the violent wrath with other *knock-down arguments*. Mild investigating philosophy quits the scene, and leaves the field of battle to the *Bedlamites*.

“ Since the first edition appeared, I have been threatened to be *ruined* in my *practice* and *reputation*, unless I *burnt* or *suppressed* my publication. *Many anonymous letters* have been received, threatening *vengeance*.

“ If the flock had pursued their vaccinating project with diffidence, with modesty, with that *decorum* which distinguishes sagacity from obstinate folly, they might have formed a *superficial vaccinating sect*, like the transfusers of beastly blood into human constitutions, without much observation; they might have preached salvation to the faithful in their elaborate sermons, however they had deluded the *unwary*, and all those who are prompt, who are ready to be deceived by a novelty, however *irrational* in *theory* and *practice*.

“ When infatuation, intemperate zeal, or wild enthusiasm seize the human mind, clear perceptions, true reasoning, and solid judgment, vanish or are suspended, and the wild effusions of an unbridled fancy, when men least think it, often reign with imperial sway. Man is little short of *insanity*, whilst the raging fury may continue. *Cow-pox infatuation* is a lively instance.

“ The Cow-pox *enthusiastic*, but, probably,



*well-intentioned leaders*, with the rapidity of lightning, flattered, fastened, and seized on others; and, like a reverberating furnace, equally heated all that major race of mankind, who are ever ready to run wild after any specious probability. Thus they raised a numerous host of proselytes to the new faith, and they exceeded in zeal even the chimerical *illuminati*, with all their fanciful and extravagant celestial visions.

“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 vaccination even spoke *truth*, it would not be believed by any one who has the least pretension to *discernment*, *reflection*, and *judgment*.

“The honourable, moderate, and humane part of the faculty, too, are filled with grief and vexation at the numerous deaths, failures, and other disasters of Cow-pox inoculation. They were forced into the practice through *necessity* and hopes of *prosperity*, and they now leave it in *sorrow* and *hopeless adversity*. Its vehement advocates, at present, defend their post inch by inch, and some endeavour to obscure or confound every circumstance, blaming one another for the misfortunes that have happened by their vaccinating activity to all. They are seriously admonished to *repent* in time, and to appeal to Heaven



for *mercy*. Though it may not restore to mankind what they have been deprived of, yet it may shew that they are not lost to the feelings of humanity. Conviction of error, and contrition, are the first roads to repentance.

“ Let the vaccinators honourably come forth and acknowledge that their *well-intentioned* endeavours have failed, publicly read their *recantation*, and suppress their Cow-pox project with as much ardour and vehemence as they have promoted it. This would prove they are not, *through self-interest*, the *determined enemies of all human society*. Delusion can no longer avail, nor strut forth with vaccination state; the wiles of artifice and sophistry are nearly exhausted; and *truth*, illustrious *truth*, long invisible to human eyes, returns with all her dignified splendour. Mild humanity, reason, religion, and *truth*, meet now in combat against *fierce, unfeeling ferocity, overbearing insolence, mortified pride, false faith, and desperation ! ! ! !*

“ Here, then, it may become necessary to take *breath*—to awfully pause—to reflect—and to seriously admonish the most furious vaccinators not to suffer the first angry emotions of their foaming wrath to furnish fresh instances of their determined resolution to persist in cruel and fatal error; for the world did not require Cow-pox; it was *forced*, contrary to inclination, *into it*. The Cow-poxers listen to nothing that does not flat-



ter their chimerical notions, their pertinacious obstinacy in dangerous innovation, which so many fatal facts illustrate. Let not their fruitless irascibility vent itself in *gross scurrility* and *abuse*; for vulgar *abuse* and *low sneers* prove nothing, nor will they invalidate self-evident *facts*.

“ Any errors in the statement of facts will be readily corrected, *unless* sophistical cavilling, subterfuge, prevarication, or fallacy be advanced, to obscure, as usual, the most obvious facts, the most sacred truths. The author himself has examined two-thirds of the cases, and what he has not seen, comes from *as respectable authority*, and from gentlemen whose *veracity* may merit *more credit* than those who incessantly labour to mislead the public mind, by raising *doubts*, &c. merely for *interested purposes*.”

As I neither belong to the Royal Jennerian Society, or practise, or ever did practise vaccination for money, (though I have inoculated several thousands) and as this work in vindication of the Cow-pock is *given* to the bookseller, I hope I shall stand acquitted with the public of any *private* or *interested motive*; and nothing but the serious reflection, that the refutation of *fallacious doctrines* and generally *mis-stated facts*, was a *sacred duty* I owed to the *profession* and *my country*, could have induced me to enter the lists with *men*, in whose writings are seen such



violent, nay ferocious attacks, on the Royal Jennerian Society, as a body, and those other respectable gentlemen, who professionally practise the salutary art of vaccination.

I began the practice of *vaccination* early in London, when Physician to the Mary-le-bone Dispensary, and seeing the mildness of the disease, I advertised, at *my own expence*, free inoculation for the Cow-pock, and a gratuitous supply of vaccine matter for the faculty, as the following letter will testify.

LETTER TO DR. THORNTON FROM DR. JENNER.

Cheltenham, August 9, 1800.

“ SIR,

“ In the STAR of Monday, I saw your *Observations* on the Inoculation of the Cow-pox, in which you have paid so handsome a mark of respect to my name, that I cannot suffer it to go unnoticed; you will therefore do me the favour to accept my best thanks.

“ It affords me great pleasure to find that the nature of the disease is now beginning to be clearly understood by medical men. This knowledge would certainly have been diffused more readily, had not the *system* I laid down been thrown *into confusion* by the hasty manner in which its investigation was taken up by one physician, (Dr. George Pearson,) and from the im-



proper situation in which experience on the subject was conducted by another (Dr. Woodville \*.) But the clouds in which it became enveloped from *these errors* are now vanishing, and I trust the *true light* will break in with additional lustre.

“ It will afford me great gratification to see the Small-pox driven *speedily* from our metropolis. Surely there can be no *great impediment* before us—nothing but due exertion is required to achieve this desirable event. It would be setting an example that I conceive would be followed by every city and town, and finally by every village and hamlet in the British dominions.

“ I remain, SIR,

“ Your obedient and obliged

“ humble servant,

“ EDWARD JENNER.”

I afterwards went down to the north of England, to attend the Earl of Lonsdale; and, as I have stated in my *FACTS DECISIVE IN FAVOUR OF THE COW-POCK*, that I inoculated in 1800 the entire village of *Lowther*, where the Small-pox had entered one house; and by inoculating them with the Small-pox afterwards, repeatedly exposing them in all ways to the contagion of the Small-pox, without a single one taking the infection after the Cow-pock, I convinced the whole of the north of Eng-

\* Vide my *Critique* on Doctors Woodville and Pearson, Note \*, page 48 of this work.



land of the *securative power* of the *Cow-pox*—and one year being elapsed, I had all the vaccinated villagers inoculated for the Small-pox, but none received this loathsome disease,—and five years elapsing, I sent down matter for the same trial,—and Lord Viscount Lowther, in 1806, wrote to me as follows :

LETTER FROM LORD LOWTHER TO DR. THORNTON.

“ SIR,

Lowther, Jan. 2, 1806.

“ Having made particular inquiries respecting the children vaccinated by you at the village of Lowther in the year 1800, I can with great satisfaction inform you, that *not one* has since taken the *Small-pox*, although since *inoculated* for the *Small-pox* both by you, and Dr. Storey, and although the *natural* Small-pox has since been in the village, and a free intercourse kept up among the *infected* and those who were *vaccinated*. The same applies to the several villages about Lowther.

“ I remain, SIR,

“ Your most obedient humble servant,

“ LOWTHER.”

The populous town of Penrith is about seven miles from the village of Lowther, and I *vaccinated* at that time nearly the whole of its inhabitants, who had not previously had the small-pox. That these were *all* secured thereby, from



the small-pox, I shall beg leave to adduce the following letter.

Penrith, January 2, 1806.

“ DEAR DOCTOR,

“ I am sorry, that you find it necessary to have my second testimony, as the *security* arising from the inoculation of the Cow-pock. I thought the question was *long ago* decided. Neither at the village of Lowther, or in this town have any that you inoculated nearly six years ago with the Cow-pock taken the Small-pox. I have inoculated a number afterwards, at different periods, with the Small-pox, who have had the Cow-pock, and not one could receive the infection, and the Small-pox, has lately prevailed epidemic in this town, owing to a person from the south having the Small-pox at the Crown Inn, from whom a great number caught the infection, and several were ill of the Small-pox, in houses where your vaccinated patients were; but they all were found *proof* against the Small-pox. The same exactly has occurred in my practice; and I think the legislature ought to interfere and enforce the inoculation of the Cow-pox, by which thousands of useful lives would be saved the community.

“ I have the honour to remain,

“ DEAR SIR,

“ Your faithful obedient servant,

“ RICHARD STOREY.”



The same accounts were received from Temple Sowtherby, Kendal, Netherby, &c. &c.

The following letters likewise prove, that the same has been the constant success of all those who have properly followed this practice in the north of England.

LETTER FROM DR. HEYSHAM TO DR. THORNTON.

*Carlisle, Jan. 3, 1806.*

" MY DEAR SIR,

" In answer to your letter, wherein you request an account of the state of vaccination in this place, I have the pleasure to inform you, that ever since you introduced the Cow-pock into Carlisle, which was in the autumn of 1800, vaccination has been regularly practised by all the medical gentlemen here, and with the best effects.

" I think I may venture to say, that all the children of the opulent, the greatest part of the middling ranks, and a very considerable number of the inferior classes of society, have been vaccinated. Since that time, the Small-pox has occasionally occurred, but has never raged as an epidemic, and the mortality from that disease has been comparatively small indeed.

" My little girl, who was vaccinated soon after she was born, from the patient you were so kind as to send from Lowther, was inoculated on the 20th of Nov. 1804, in both arms with Small-pox



matter. Both arms inflamed to a very considerable degree, and the inflammation did not completely subside till the 7th of December; but neither disease or eruptions succeeded. She went to school, eat and slept well all the time.

“ Several other children, by way of experiment, have also been inoculated with Small-pox matter, but I have not heard of one who received the infection.

“ I have the honour to remain,

“ DEAR SIR,

“ Your much obliged

“ humble servant,

“ JOHN HEYSHAM.”

Dr. Dixon likewise obliged me with the following account :

#### LETTER FROM DR. DIXON TO DR. THORNTON.

*Whitehaven, Jan. 1, 1806.*

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I was duly favoured with your acceptable letter of the 16th instant, in which you solicit my sentiments, relative to the highly important as most useful subject of vaccination. When introduced into this country, an inattention to the circumstance, which could alone render it successful, viz. the age of the matter employed, excited a general prejudice against it. The first fortunate cases were those of the two Mr. Bry-



hams: the one inoculated by you at Lowther, and the other by me at Whitehaven, with the matter which you had the goodness to supply. Since that period, this life-preserving practice has obtained the estimation it merited from the public in general, with a few prejudicial exceptions, to which I shall refer in the next annual Report of our Dispensary. It is much to the credit of the surgeons of this town and its vicinity, that they have every where adopted this measure, and substituted it for the Small-pox inoculation. Uninfluenced by any partial consideration, a comparative view of the operation and effects of the two diseases, has induced them to give it the preference.

“ I am sorry to observe, that in this neighbourhood the indiscriminate employment of the vaccine matter, in every stage of its progress, has proved highly injurious to the practice of this best mean of preservation from a painful, offensive, and fatal disease. It was from a perfect conviction of this being the chief obstacle to the efficacy of the Cow-pox inoculation, and also from a positive assurance that many country practitioners did not take the matter for this purpose till the 14th day, when, acquiring a considerable degree of viscosity and purulency, it must have lost its anti-variolaous property, that I found it necessary to repeatedly and strenuously recommend the choice of matter quite liquid, and to prohibit its use after the 9th day, as it would then become more



or less inconsistent and improper. Our present apothecary at the Dispensary is so accurate in taking the matter, and so assiduous in its application, that he never fails producing the disease, and *always* distinguished by its genuine characters. The inattention of one who preceded him in that office gave occasion to very serious consequences.

“ With an equal degree of surprise and concern I have perused the public advertisements which announce the opposing sentiments of a few practitioners. I can only suppose that their judgment had been influenced by the considerations to which I have alluded, and that the *spurious* was mistaken for the *genuine* Cow-pox. Previous to this invaluable discovery, I was attached to the Small-pox inoculation, from the success which has distinguished the dispensary practice. Within a period of 17 years, 1312 children were inoculated, and of this number only one experienced a fatal event, which might be imputed to improper treatment. Upon the attack of the irruptive fever, the child had been allowed to support itself against the edge of a table, till it fell upon the floor, the mother then compassionating its weakness, gave the child strong cordials, and placing it before the fire, covered it with flannels. The Reports of the Dispensary, which I have sent you for the three last years, will fully display my sentiments respecting the Cow-pox, and great are the



obligations which the celebrated Dr. Jenner has conferred upon mankind by this inestimable discovery. With regard to the mortality of the natural Small-pox, the disease has not generally prevailed in Whitehaven, or its vicinity, for several years past. Repeatedly introduced from Ireland and other places, our assiduous endeavours have been successful in preventing its progress. Cleanliness, clear air, interrupting the usual communication, and particularly insisting upon the vaccine inoculation, were the principal means employed to accomplish this salutary purpose. The total number of Cow-pox patients admitted since the year 1801 amounts to 620.

“ With sincere wishes for the frequent and happy return of this season,

“ I remain, DEAR SIR,

“ Your obliged humble servant,

“ JOSHUA DIXON.”

After such uninterrupted success in so many thousand instances, was it possible for me to credit the report of the “Cow-pock being *no security* against the Small-pox,” and that “*such practice* was no better than *legal murder?*” Although no one hates controversy more than myself, and would more willingly shun it, yet to suffer such *false* opinions to obtain root, and the *public* any longer to be *deluded*, I esteemed a crime of serious magnitude.

“ Salus populi, suprema lex,”



Unheeding *abuse*, and discarding *private feelings*, I shall therefore *proceed on* with examining the *adverse cases*, and hope to explain to the satisfaction of all, that these are not *deserving* to be received as *real objections* to the *vaccinating ART.*

### 5. CASE AT ROTHERHAM IN YORKSHIRE.

NAME AND ABODE.	When and by whom vaccinated.	EVENTS.
IV. Ten children at Rotherham.	Inoculated with Cow-pox matter procured from Dr. Pearson, in Leicester Squ. towards the end of the year 1799, by Mr. Robinson, Surgeon.	All these children had the Cow-pox, as others were inoculated from them, and had it. A month afterwards they were all inoculated with Small-pox matter, and resisted it.—A few months after this, the Small-pox broke out in the parish, and one of the children caught it, which proved confluent, and died.

The above case is stated nearly the same in Dr. Rowley's work, with the addition of this observation, "that ten children being inoculated for the Small-pox after vaccination, without effect, was no proof of security, as it was performed so soon after vaccination."

The inference drawn by Dr. Moseley from this case, and Dr. Rowley, is, "that as *one* of these ten children received the *natural Small-pox* after vaccination, that the other *nine* will drop off one by one, until all will receive the infection—and



the *insecurity* of the *Cow-pock* may cost all of them their *lives*."

Before so alarming a suggestion, by example, he brought forward to the world, which must harrow up the souls of thousands of British parents, one would have thought, that the publishers of so melancholy an account would have first enquired into the *reality* of the fact.

"*Would to God,*" says Dr. Moseley, "the fears which I first suggested were not *realized* by the touchstone of truth, *Time*."

For my own part, having tested some hundreds with the *Small-pox* after *vaccination*, and for six years finding none of these catching the natural *Small-pox* afterwards, I doubted also much the *truth* of this *narrative*, and accordingly wrote to Mr. Robinson to enquire into the circumstances.

AN EXTRACT FROM MR. ROBINSON'S LETTER TO  
DR. THORNTON, DATED JAN. 5, 1806.

"I trust you will feel, in some degree, compensated for my delaying answering your polite letter, by receiving a true report of the cases to which my name is affixed. I highly approve of the laudable anxiety which you manifest for the success of vaccination; *far, very far*, is it from my disposition, to *wish to withhold any information in my power to communicate* upon a subject of the highest importance in every point of view; and if it be in my power to give you any additional



information, you may at any time command me.

“ In the year 1799, I was so fortunate as to obtain a sufficient supply of *vaccine matter* from Dr. Pearson, of Leicester-square, and I commenced my practice immediately upon *several* children. My success equalled my most sanguine expectations; they all passed through the disease in a most favourable manner—and they *all* resisted the inoculation of the Small-pox with fluid *variolous matter*, the punctures, in each instance, dying away after a few days. You will much oblige me by making this fact as public as it is possible.”

But as reports seldom gain wind without something at the bottom, I requested to know of Mr. Robinson, whether at some other period some patient or patients, vaccinated by him, had not afterwards received, and *died* of the *natural Small-pox*?

The origin of the rumour now appears:—

“ In answer to your query. Since my first inoculation, having received a fresh supply of *vaccine matter* from *London*, among others, I attempted to vaccinate *Joseph Brown* and *William Coates*, and I found that the *Small-pox* had been received into the constitutions of these children; for a week only after the attempt, *Joseph Brown* and *William Coates* shewed the signs of the confluent *Small-pox*, and both of them *died*



of *that disease*. But I must here observe, that the Cow-pock *did not*, in either of these two instances, *take effect*, no pustule of any kind was formed. But these cases cannot explain, in any way, Dr. Moseley's narrative."

The fact, then is, that the story of *ten* persons vaccinated at Rotherham, and afterwards tested with the Small-pox, and resisting it at first, and *one* of these since receiving the natural Small-pox, and dying of it, is, all of it, the fabrication of some distempered brain.

Writing to Dr. Moseley, whom I well know, and believe to be a gentleman of great medical skill, and sound judgment, in every thing else but what regards the *Cow-pox*, how it was possible for him to be so badly informed respecting his cases, and for him to throw the blame, as it ought to be, upon his *authorities*, he wrote me several letters, with the permission to publish them.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER BY DR. MOSELEY TO  
DR. THORNTON.

"It grieves me that you are attempting to make the public believe I have *imposed* on them. I shall be under the necessity of making that attempt of yours recoil on *you*, with all the force such attempt to impeach my *literary integrity* deserves. On every other occasion and subject, you will always find me your sincere *friend*."



AN EXTRACT FROM A SECOND LETTER BY DR.  
MOSELEY TO DR. THORNTON.

“ ‘Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?’—‘You have my full permission to publish all I have written to you on the subject of the Cow-pox. *All that the Cow-poxers know, I have taught them; and had they been apter scholars, they would have known more!!!* I must request you will not write to me again on the same *confounded* subject. On every other occasion, and in every thing else, you may command me.”

THIRD EXTRACT FROM A LETTER BY DR. MOSELEY  
TO DR. THORNTON.

“ The physician who gave me the first information of that case was once *Cow-pox mad*, (the *only blemish* discreditable to his *understanding*.) He was so *furious*, that when on *that subject*, you, or Dr. Bailie, or Mr. Sandys, would have been *frightened at his presence!!!*”

I guess the same *madman* has been at the *elbow* of the learned Dr. MOSELEY *ever since*, or he certainly would not have published such *trash* as are his cases adverse to vaccination. To proceed;



## 6, 7. TWO OTHER YORKSHIRE CASES.

NAME AND ABODE.	When and by whom vaccinated.	EVENT.
Two children at Leeds, in York- shire.	In Nov. 1800, by Mr. Brooks, Sur- geon, of Leeds.	They had the distemper, and others were inoculated from them with success. In February following they were both seized with <i>Small-pox</i> , and had it dan- gerously. They were vi- sited by that learned prac- titioner, RICH. WALKER, Esq. late of St. James's Street, and Mr. HAY, of Leeds, with Mr. Brooks, who had inoculated them for the Cow-pox.

DR. ROWLEY'S ACCOUNT OF THESE  
YORKSHIRE CASES.

NAME AND ABODE.	When and by whom vaccinated.	EVENT.
VII. and VIII. Two children at Leeds, in York- shire.	In Nov. 1800.	From whom others were successfully vaccinated. February, 1801, both were seized with the <i>Small-pox</i> , and had it dan- gerously : attended by that excellent Surgeon, Mr. HAY, at Leeds, and RICH- ARD WALKER, Esq. my old and esteemed friend, late of St. James's Street.



Dr. Rowley here omits the name of Mr. Brooke, whose name Dr. Moseley mis-spells \*, who vaccinated, and attended afterwards the case in Small-pox, copying the rest of the account nearly verbatim, except using "*vaccinated*" instead of "*had the distemper*;" complimenting Mr. Hey as an "*excellent surgeon*," (being a writer of great merit, author of "*Observations on Surgery, illustrated with Cases*,") whose name he, however, like the other, mis-spells, and instead of "*learned*" applied to Mr. Walker, puts, "*my old and esteemed friend*."

Fearful that the word "*visited*," as applied to Mr. Walker and Mr. Hey, should not be taken in the professional sense of the word, Dr. Rowley alters this to "*attended*."

What grounds there were for this story, will be discovered by the following letter from Leeds:

LETTER FROM MR. HEY TO DR. THORNTON, DATED  
JANUARY 8, 1806.

" SIR,

" I fear you will think me dilatory in answering your enquiries respecting the supposed failure of vaccination in a patient of Mr. Brooke, a Surgeon in this town. My delay in writing has arisen from my waiting for Mr. Brooke's certificate of the case, which I have since received, and

\* I remark names so frequently *badly* spelt, to shew the *badness* of their authorities.



what I send, I doubt not, *you* and the *public* will esteem a *satisfactory account*.

“ A person of the name of Bell, had *one* child, not *two children*, inoculated with the Cow-pox, which child was, a few months afterwards, seized with the Small-pox. Neither Mr. Walker, who was lately *Apothecary to the Prince of Wales*, nor I, ever *visited* the child during the progress of the Small-pox; but, as a *matter of curiosity*, we *called* one day at the house where the child was, and begged leave to see it. The pustules were then dry, and some cast off. We could see, however, that it had had a *distinct*, and, as we understood, a *mild disease*. The following is a copy of Mr. Walker's certificate, which he wrote on the occasion at my particular desire:

‘ I went out of *curiosity* to see the child of Mrs. Bell, with Mr. Hey, as it was said to be in the Small-pox, after having been vaccinated sometime before. But I know nothing of any other circumstance, than that the child appeared to be recovering from a very *mild* Small-pox.

‘ RICHARD WALKER.’

“ My son, who has been eleven years a partner with me in the profession, visited this child once before Mr. Walker and I saw it, and has given me the following declaration:

‘ Being informed that Mrs. Bell, of this place, had a child, who had taken the Small-pox two



months after being vaccinated, I called upon her to make some enquiries respecting the circumstances attending the inoculation. I do not now remember all the questions that I then asked her ; but I perfectly remember her affirming, that a *sudden and extensive inflammation* came early upon the arm, and from her account I was at that time satisfied the disease had been of the *spurious* kind.

‘ I have lately inspected the arms of the child. In one arm there is not the *least mark* ; in the other a *small and irregular cicatrix*.

‘ WILLIAM HEY, Jun.’

‘ Dec. 30, 1805.’

“ The next certificate which I shall send you, was given to me by Mr. Logan, one of my colleagues in the care of the General Infirmary at Leeds :

‘ I was desired by a lady to visit the child of Mrs. Bell, then in the Small-pox, and which she understood had been inoculated sometime before for the Cow-pox. I found the child with an eruption of *distinct* Small-pox. The mother told me, that the child had been inoculated two months before by Mr. Brooke ; that the arm *inflamed suddenly a few days after it was inoculated* ; that it was very ill at the time ; that an ulcer remained in the arm two or three months after inoculation ; and other circumstances which I do not now recollect, but which certainly at the time satisfied my mind completely, that the child



had had what is called the *spurious* Cow-pock; and I accordingly gave *that opinion* to the lady who desired me to *see the child*. I believe I was one of the first medical men that saw Mrs. Bell's child, and well remember being *greatly surprised* afterwards on hearing the statement of the case by Dr. Moseley, which had been *given* to Mr. Hey and Mr. Walker.

‘ MAURICE LOGAN.’

“ Mr. Brooke's certificate is as follows :

‘ The case of Mrs. Bell's son happened at the *commencement* of my inoculating for the Cow-pock, when I knew nothing *practically* of the several stages of the disease, and progress of the pustule. The case then passed without paying it very particular attention. The Small-pox which occurred in him two months after vaccination was a *distinct* and *very mild Small-pox*, without any *apparent danger*, of which the child recovered extremely well.

‘ GEORGE BROOKE.’

“ That the child had a *spurious pustule* is certain, and that it was not inoculated with *old matter* is a subject of much doubt.”

“ I am, SIR,

“ Your obedient humble servant,

“ WILLIAM HEY.”

“ P. S. No child inoculated at our VACCINE INSTITUTION at Leeds has since received the



*Small-pox*, though these have amounted to more than 500 persons.

“ My son and I have inoculated a very considerable number with the fluid *Small-pox* matter, who had at former periods gone through the vaccine process, but in no one instance have we seen such inoculation followed by the *Small-pox*.

“ Before we offered our present plan of vaccinating the poor in this town, out of 1119 funerals in one year at the parish church, 328 of them were from the *Small-pox*—an amazing fatality !

“ The funerals from the same cause have sunk down, since the introduction of vaccination, to as low a number as 62.

“ One thing, however, has contributed much to lessen the fatality of the *Small-pox*, that is, the cessation of the practice of inoculating for the *Small-pox*, and thereby disseminating the fatal natural disease. This has altogether, or nearly, ceased, for the last eighteen months.”

Thus in London the deaths from the *Small-pox* within the bills of mortality amounted, from the year 1750 to 1799, to 100,922 persons; that is, upon an average, to upwards of 2,000 annually ; and in 1800 the deaths in that year were 2409.

In 1801, the *Cow-pox* being then gene-

	rally used, died only . . . .	1461
1802 . . . . .		1519
1803 it sunk to . . . . .		1173



In 1804, the diminution now very sensible, 586 only \* ; and nothing but the *abominable* publi-

\* That the Small-pox is capable of being extirpated in a *metropolis*, we find from a letter sent by Dr. DE CARRO, a physician of high eminence, at Vienna.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER TO DR. JENNER.

“ I can give you, in a very few words, the pleasing result of *vaccination* at VIENNA.—According to the bills of mortality, published in the Vienna Gazette, *two children* only have died of the *Small-pox* in the town and its environs, during 1804. I have enquired to whom they belonged, and found that one was the child of a boatman, who caught the disease upon the *Danube*, coming from Suabia ; the other, a child, which was brought with the disease *from the country* to the Foundling Hospital.”

At Berlin, the Small-pox has been extirpated.

It is also more than probable it will soon be so likewise at Paris.

To prove that extermination of the Small-pox out of England, as *wolves* were formerly, and the *plague* to this day, although Sydenham said it was *in the air*, and would visit London every twenty-four years, is a thing impracticable, Dr. Rowley says, “ such an attempt is impossible, profane, impious ; for Small-pox is and will, at certain seasons, ever be *epidemic*, unless the *vaccinators* have more power than *Almighty God himself*, unless *they* be *blasphemous* enough to suppose that *human weakness* can oppose the *divine ordinance of God*, the Creator of man and all beings.”—I could pardon this kind of logic in a superstitious *old woman*, but the *anile* doctrine of its being *impious* to attempt the removal from our land of any disease, productive of death and misery, in a Physician of the present day, and this in a professed *friend* to Small-pox inoculation, excites the risible muscles



cations of Dr. Rowley and of Dr. Moseley, *could* have hindered vaccination from making the di-

and would not, indeed, be credited, unless I referred to the very chapter and page in Dr. Rowley's book: it is Chap. XI, the title of which is, SMALL-POX NOT EXTERMINATED, BUT AT THIS MOMENT EPIDEMIC, AND NEVER CAN BE EXTERMINATED BY VAIN MAN, p. 16.

How admirably does the satyrist ACULEUS ridicule such sentiments in his inimitable letters.

"The brightest trait in your character, that which adorns and crowns all your other splendid and superlative attainments, is your RELIGION. With what devotion and respect do you name the Supreme Being, and with what fervour defend his decrees! Not even your high respect for the '*well-intentioned* vaccinists,' can restrain your generous indignation, when put in competition with the duty you owe to your *religion* and your practice; in the same sentence, where you applaud the benevolence of intention, which dictated vaccination to mitigate, or rather *exterminate*, the Small-pox, you break out in strong invective against them as '*bidding bold defiance to Heaven itself; even to the will of God,*' and accuse them of '*wanton, sportful experiments;*' as persons '*who have lost their senses and reason;*' as '*barbarous irrational projectors, disgraceful to the profession.*' My friend the vaccinator laughs at your *liberality*, where you say, '*it might appear illiberal to press the subject further:*' but he must be prejudiced; the only thing I ever heard him admire in your pamphlet, (and even in this I cannot answer for his sincerity) was what he termed a beautiful anti-climax: the expression, I think, was, '*let experienced Physicians, Moralists, DIVINES, and persons possessing common sense and reason,*' &c. For my own part, I find constant cause of admiration in the solidity of your arguments, the harmony and consistency of your phraseology,



minution of deaths, the following, and each succeeding year, from the Small-pox, still greater.

It has been supposed, I trust erroneously, that Dr. Rowley's work will bring things back as they were for some years: and then, instead of 586 within the bills of mortality, dying annually of the Small-pox, or, as might have reasonably been expected, fewer or none, the deaths from the Small-pox will return to upwards of 2,000, as before—an horrid reflection!

The last year, 1805, from the prejudice raised against vaccination, and disseminating the disease by Small-pox inoculation, the deaths from Small-pox amounted to 1,680 persons, a circumstance sufficient to appal every heart, and cause to be recorded to the end of time, the names of

and the Christian mildness and urbanity diffused over every part of your writings!—What tender humanity is seen in your concern for brute beasts, and how piously and aptly do you quote the Sacred Writings! In short, let me ask, where shall we find, among the physicians of the present day, or indeed of past ages, one who so eminently unites the *Scholar* and the *Gentleman*, the acuteness of a *Metaphysician*, the learning of a *Barrister*, and all the anti-erroneous superiority of a *Medical Practitioner* and *HISTORIAN*? to say nothing of your deep knowledge of *Theological Mysteries*! I am obliged to confess, that the more attentively I peruse, and the more carefully I examine the pages of your pamphlet, the more I am wrapt in admiration of its sublime author."

*Vide ACULEUS's Letters to Dr. Rowley.*



a *Moseley* and a *Rowley*, as are now the decided enemies to inoculation of the Small-pox, when it first arose, a *Wagstaffe* \* and a *Massey* †.

Not, however, to quit the main purport of this work, an examination of the reported *adverse cases* to vaccination, the reader has as yet found no trace of “the second child attended by that *excellent* surgeon, Mr. Hay,” and “my esteemed old friend, Richard Walker, Esq.”—The fact is, no such case occurred at Leeds; but, as there is generally *some ground-work*, upon which these doctors raise their superstructure, I obtained from Mr. Brooke (for so *he* spells his name) the following account:

\* Dr. *Wagstaffe* was a man of extensive professional practice, even Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and Physician to St. Bartholomew's Hospital. He published “*A Letter to Dr. Friend, shewing the Danger and Uncertainty of inoculating for the Small-pox.*”

† The Rev. Mr. *Massey* actually preached a sermon from the pulpit in one of the large churches in London against *Small-pox inoculation*, which he also published. Like Dr. Rowley, he uses against the inoculators the most *unqualified abuse*, calling them *downright madmen, insane projectors, enemies of mankind*, and hoped they would be distinguished from those of the *faculty* who deserve *honour*: their project was contrary to *our holy religion*, and which *impiously attempted to banish Providence from the world*.

Such was the influence of these two men on the minds of others, that, although sanctioned by the Royal Family, in three years, only 47 persons could be got to be *inoculated* with the *Small-pox*!!



“ I vaccinated, about the same time, a child of the name of Hayes, I believe, with fluid Cow-pock matter, but of this I am not certain : and the family removed to *Manchester* ; and it was *reported*, that the child had taken the Small-pox two or three months after, but had it *very slightly*.

“ I remain, &c.

“ GEORGE BROOKE.

“ P. S. I am sorry that I cannot give you a *more particular account* of these two cases ; but having been since in the habit of *vaccinating* a great number weekly, if *any other failures* should occur, I will communicate them to you with pleasure, and be then better enabled to answer all your queries.”

Like Dr. Rowley's *Oxford Cases*, those of *Leeds* seem to have been almost as imperfectly known to the *reporters* ; and being in the *infancy of the practice*, can form *no basis*, on which to build the *unfair* deduction, “ that the Cow-pock is *no security* against the Small-pox \*.”

\* How would this logic surprise us ! Suppose *two* men at Leeds were to be *bruised* by tiles blown from houses in the street, how much should we stare at *that man*, who, knowing this circumstance, should say, “ Never walk out in the streets of Leeds, for all the people get *maimed* there by chimney-pots blown from the houses ? ” — The numbers not so served would at once contradict the *foolish* deduction.



The only evil impression these appear to have made, was on the minds of Doctors Moseley and Rowley, and their gaping believers.

### 8. A BRISTOL CASE.

NAME AND ABODE.	AGE. ys. ms.	When and by whom vaccinated.	EVENTS.
XIII. Child of Mr. W. Garton, in Old King Street, Bristol.	1	Inoculated for the <i>Cow-pox</i> by Dr. Fox of that city.	Two years after the <i>Cow-pox</i> inoculation, this child caught the <i>Small-pox</i> , and had it <i>severely</i> . The child was afterwards tormented with <i>acrid eruptions</i> .

The only difference in Dr. Rowley's statement, is "terrible *Cow-pox mange* succeeded *vaccination*;" and having a "*severe Small-pox*," as I expected, is carefully inserted.

The following letter is a perfect refutation of this case.

#### LETTER TO DR. THORNTON FROM DR. FOX.

Queen Square, Bristol, Jan. 16, 1806.

"DEAR DOCTOR,

"I am obliged by your second letter, for which I should not have troubled you, had business allowed me time to devote attention to the first



not that it was a question on which I had much to say, but more energy is sometimes required to begin than to complete an undertaking. The case of Gorton's child I remember perfectly. While attending the mother, I think, the subject of Small-pox was started. Just at this time, Dr. Pearson had disseminated vaccine virus on thread about the country. I, among others, received a filament. I told Mrs. Gorton 'that I could infect the child with the vaccine virus, which would, without any inconvenience, secure him against subsequent variolous infection.' She consented; the thread was moistened with the stream of water, the lancet and the puncture were imbued with the matter. The attempt was *unsuccessful*; neither *local inflammation*, nor any *particular appearance* whatever on the scarified part ensued; in short, *nothing resulted*. I cautioned the mother against exposing the child to variolous contagion, because the process I intended *had failed*. I believe that this was the first attempt at vaccination in Bristol; afterwards, when the practice became general, I was applied to on the subject of this failure, and was informed 'that the child had acquired the Small-pox, and that this was considered as an instance of the inefficacy of vaccination in preventing the Small-pox infection.' My reply was, 'that no inference whatever, either *pro* or *con*, was deducible from the case, because the attempt to introduce vaccine infection had *so completely failed*.' I never knew,



till about the period of receiving your first letter, that my name had appeared *in print* upon this subject ; and I am surprised that any *gentleman* should be so *incorrect* as to publish *circumstances* as *facts*, with *the name* of the *physician* to attest them, without having, in the first place, obtained *his consent*, or at least without having inquired from such a source, into the *authenticity* of the *narration*. Dr. Moseley omitted every thing that was proper on this occasion. I have had no intercourse with him. I am sorry for it ; because I believe he would not have introduced a detail of circumstances, that must tend greatly to invalidate the credibility of his collection of facts ; many of which may, perhaps, *be more to the point*.

“ I know nothing of any eruption of the herpetic kind, that succeeded the vaccination ; but as I have not been in the habit of visiting the family, except professionally, I will not take upon me to say, that no such thing may not have occurred. *At any rate, it is not imputable to the attempt at vaccination* \*. If this account be not sufficiently explicit, or if, in your search after truth, I can in any respect aid you, my services are at your disposal.

“ I remain, dear DOCTOR,

“ Your most obedient humble servant,

“ EDWARD LING FOX.”

\* The public has a *foretaste* of Dr. Rowley's *Cow-pox mange*, by which he has so much alarmed those minds weak enough to give him credence.



“ P. S. When called upon to offer an opinion, as to the *eligibility* of the Cow-pox, I beg leave to declare, I should deem myself unjustifiable, if, with the weight of men of the first eminence as inoculators, in favour of *vaccination*, I incurred the loss of a child or friend by variolous infection, from not advising previous *vaccination*.”

### 8. A PIMLICO CASE.

NAME AND ABODE.	AGE. Ys. Ms.	When and by whom vaccinated.	EVENTS.
XIV. Edward Bozzard, son of Mr. Bozzard, in Armstrong and Wyat's Timber Yard, opposite Chelsea Water-works.	5	Had the Cow-pox in April, 1801, inoculated at Dr. Pearson's Institution, in Golden-square.	He was seized with <i>Small-pox</i> in January, 1803, and had it in a <i>great degree</i> , as may be now seen in the face. He was never well after the Cow-pox; but <i>always</i> breaking out in ulcerations, with fevers, headache, and wasting, until he had the <i>Small-pox</i> , since which he has been in <i>perfect health</i> . He was attended in the <i>Small-pox</i> by Mr. Cullerne, Apothecary, in Eaton-street, Pimlico.

The nature of the *Small-pox* is not omitted, as I expected, by Dr. Rowley, who describes it as “ *a bad sort*,”—and the breakings-out must be “ *Cow-pox mange, Cow-pox ulcers, and fever*.”



LETTER FROM MR. HOWARD, SUCCESSOR TO  
MR. CULLURNE.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ In conformity to your request, I have made the requisite enquiries into the case of Edward Bozzard, and I trust these will have the *same effect* on the *public mind* as they have produced on *mine*.

“ Mrs. Bozzard avers, that she took the child to Golden Square on a Wednesday morning, when the vaccination was performed; but this first attempt failing, she took him again the following week, on Good Friday, 1801, and the operation was repeated. On the following Monday an appearance similar to a *gnat-bite* appeared on the spot where the puncture had been made, (this on the right arm only, though both had undergone the operation,) and on the sixth day, Wednesday, she again called, but this for the last time.

“ An acquaintance of Mrs. Bozzard, Mrs. Blake, St. George's Row, Little Wooden-bridge, Chelsea, accompanied her, and had a female child vaccinated at the same time. Mrs. Bozzard is very clear that *her son's arm* did not at *all resemble* that of the daughter of Mrs. Blake, but pleads inability to describe in what the difference consisted: ‘ in her child a redness appeared, the only symptom in which she is positive; in respect



to a *pustule* and *scab*, she professes herself unable to recollect that any thing of *the kind* ever existed or not.'

Dr. Moseley's "ulcerations, fevers, head-ache, and wasting, till he had the Small-pox;" and Dr. Rowley's "*Cow-pox mange, ulcers, and fever,*" in the present case, are reduced, by the mother's testimony, to '*a swelling only in one of the glands for a few days.*'

"The most scrutinizing inspection, assisted by a magnifying glass, could not discover a *cicatrix*, or *any alteration in the texture of the skin*, on the right arm, where the operation was said to have succeeded, and the mother appears now *nearly convinced* that the vaccination never took effect.

"Since the publication of the Kensington case, I have received reports with *caution*. I was there represented as present at the vaccination of the child (Meredith,) though at that moment on the middle of the Atlantic!

"It will afford me a very sensible satisfaction to understand, that any exertions in my power can at all further the philanthropic scheme of diminishing the ravages of the Small-pox; and any further inquiries, or other assistance I can afford, will always give the most lively pleasure to

"Your most obedient servant,

"JARRARD JOHN HOWARD."



Had either Doctors Moseley or Rowley mentioned there was *no cicatrix* on the arm, they would have dealt fairly by the public, and no credit then would have attached to the case; for, as among children, who say they have cut their finger, it is asked, where is *the blood?* so where there is *no cicatrix* visible, it is just to conclude there has been no proper vaccination.

With respect to the "*Cow-pox mange*," and "*Cow-pox ulcers*," having applied to Dr. Pearson on this particular case, he writes to me:

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM DR. PEARSON TO  
DR. THORNTON.

"If the public is such an idiot as to believe there is such a new disease as *COW-POX MANGE*, or *COW-POX ULCERS*, one is almost tempted to declare, *such a public undeserving of consideration.*"

The consequences said to arise from the *Cow-pox*, will be the subject of a second letter, and therefore can only be casually mentioned in this, which is occupied in investigating the cases brought forward to prove "*that Cow-pox inoculation (properly done) is no security against Small-pox infection,*" a position, than which there is nothing more untrue.



## 9. THE WOKINGHAM CASE.

NAME AND ABODE.	AGE. Ys. Ms.	When and by whom vaccinated.	EVENTS.
XXIV. The Rev. Mr. Gray's son, of Oakingham.	2	Inoculated for the Cow-pox, from Mr. Varley's son- in-law, and had the Cow-pox.	<i>Six months ago he was in- oculated for the Small- pox, which he had in a favourable manner. Several were inoculated from him, who all had the Small-pox in a regu- lar way.</i>

Rowley's edition of this story.

NAME AND ABODE.	AGE. Ys. Ms.	When and by whom vaccinated.	EVENTS.
The Rev. Mr. Gray's son, of Oakingham.	2	Was inoculated from Varley's child-in-law for Cow-pox, and went through it.	<i>He was thought secure from Small-pox. Vacci- nating promises! He afterwards was inocu- lated for Small-pox, and had it : And many were inocu- lated for the Small-pox from this subject, who passed through the regu- lar four stages.</i>

As I expected, or rather suspected, Dr. Rowley omits " had the Small-pox in a *favourable* manner ;" this is left to the imagination of the reader ; and *how* the matter was taken is purposely omitted by both, for fear of discovery.



The "going through Small-pox," and "the regular four stages" of the several inoculated from him, is ably introduced, to remove all suspicions.

Enough, however, was stated, to enable me to address the Rev. Mr. Gray.

EXTRACT FROM MR. GRAY'S LETTER TO  
DR. THORNTON.

" Nov. 1802. My, child, an healthy boy, of *one* year old, (not two,) was vaccinated by Mr. Newbolt, a gentleman of considerable practice and eminence, for the Cow-pock, *not from matter from Mr. Varley's son-in-law*; and the following is a memorandum of particulars respecting this case :

" March 6, 1804. Inoculated with the Small-pox virus.

" 11. Appeared feverish, restless, unwilling to have the bed-clothes on, and was dull for *four* days: arm continued rising.

" 13. Tendency to an *eruption* over the whole surface of the body, which appeared only *in the skin*, but came to *no head*; yet small bumps might be felt by the fingers in the skin.

" 15. Mr. Newbolt inoculated *three* children from the *arm* of my child, all of whom had the Small-pox in an *unequivocal* way.

" 16. The inflammation in the arm died away, and the pustules gradually declined.



“ The medical men, who visited this case at the time, left the following certificate :

‘ We are agreed in stating, that the Rev. Mr. Gray’s child has not *received* the *Small-pox* ; it is a *local pustule*, similar to what we find in nurses, who are attending upon the *Small-pox*.’

Signed by

Dr. DOUGLAS, ———, Reading.

Mr. BULLY, Surgeon, ditto.

Mr. NEWBOLT, Wokingham.

“ I remain, SIR,

“ Your obedient servant,

“ WILLIAM GRAY.

“ P. S. On another child of mine before *vaccinated*, the *variolous* inoculation took *no effect*.”

Mr. Newbolt informs me, “ that what Mr. Gray writes ‘ as a tendency to eruption,’ continued only twenty-four *hours*—and as to the inoculation from the local pustule on the arm, the same occurs from taking matter from the local pustules of nurses, who have had before the *Small-pox* ; and to adduce this as a case of *Small-pox* after *vaccination*, is a *misrepresentation*.”

With inoculations like these have some sensible people been “ gulled” into a belief that the *Cow-pock* is *no security* against *Small-pox* infection.



## 10. OF THE BROAD-STREET CASE.

NAME AND ABODE.	AGE. Ys. Ms.	When and by whom vaccinated.	EVENTS.
Mr. Varley's son-in-law, of Broad-street, Golden-square.	3 nearly.	Inoculated for the Cow-pox two years ago, by Mr. Wheeler, of Oak- ingham, and had the distemper in the usual way.	In the beginning of the present month, April, 1805, was inoculated for the Small-pox, by Mr. <i>Sandal</i> , of <i>Windmill-str.</i> ; and has now, at the time of writing, the dis- ease upon him.

## Dr. Rowley's statement of this story.

NAME AND ABODE.	AGE. Ys. Ms.	When and by whom vaccinated.	EVENT.
Mr. Varley's son-in-law, of Broad-street, Golden-square.	3	In the spring of 1802, had the Cow-pox of Mr. Wheeler, of Oak- ingham.	Inoculated for the Small- pox, by Mr. <i>Sandall</i> , of <i>Windmill-street</i> ; received it, and went through all the stages of Small-pox.

I wrote to Mr. *Sandal*, who gave me the following answer to particular questions which I put to him :

“ Mr. Sandell's compliments to Dr. Thornton, begs leave to inform him, Dr. Rowley's statement respecting Mr. Varley's son-in-law is perfectly



correct, and Mr. Sandell wishes not to *interfere* in either respect."

16, *Windmill Street, Golden Square.*

In consequence, I wrote to Mr. Varley, from whom I received the following information :

LETTER FROM MR. VARLEY TO DR. THORNTON.

" SIR,

" My little son-in-law was vaccinated two years previous to his being inoculated for the Small-pox, from his cousin George Gray, son of the Rev. William Gray, of Wokingham, who was vaccinated with matter sent from the *Vaccine Institution* ; and in this year was inoculated with the Small-pox by Mr. Sandell, Apothecary, of Windmill Street ; the *inoculated pustule* came out on his arm, *one* small pimple on the same arm, at some distance from the inoculated pustule, and *one* on his face, (' observe' ) *without fever*.

" I am, SIR,

" Your humble servant,

" JOHN VARLEY."

This is represented as the "*four regular stages of Small-pox*" by Dr. Rowley, and Mr. Sandell declares such a statement *correct !!*

The same idle objection, as in the case of Mr. Gray's child, was at first also started in France.



" Upon forty children taken out of a public charity, *without first enquiring whether they had the Small-pox or not*, vaccination was performed. .

Ten of these, who were ascertained to have received the Cow-pock, were submitted, in my presence, to the *ordinary* Small-pox inoculation, performed by Citizen SALMADE.

" *One of the three first, named BLONDEAU, had the SMALL-POX well characterized.* The virus of which being inserted into an infant named LAVALETTE, produced a full crop of pustules.

" In short, to confirm this experience, the brother of the last was inoculated from matter taken from Lavalette, and had also a full crop.

" After such an experience, what confidence can we place in the security of the Cow-pox.

" Signed, GOETZ, M. D."

A reply to this appeared in the *Moniteur* (in the year 1800,) by Dr. Odier.

" The forty children out of the public charity were not taken at hazard, but it was first ascertained *that none of these had had the Small-pox.*

" As to the inoculation being performed on BLONDEAU in the *ordinary way*, it was done by a *deep incision*, into which was deposited a *great quantity of Small-pox matter.*

" This produced a *Small-pox pustule* in the arm.

" The same often happens with those who have had the *Small-pox* antecedently.

" From this focus of infection, *efficacious matter* may be taken equally from the *one* subject as the *other.*

" This is known by all medical men *properly in-*



structed, and to prove it, the Medical Committee, who were investigating the Cow-pox, invited Messrs. Goetz and Salmade, and in their presence they inoculated in the same manner, by a deep incision and copious deposit of variolous matter, *many children*, who had the *Small-pox*, and exactly the same effects were produced as in BLONDEAU, and Salmade had the honesty to confess, 'that he was *perfectly converted*, and that BLONDEAU'S case formed *no exception* to the *secu-rative power* of the *Cow-pox*.' This account may be seen in an Historical and Practical Treatise on the Cow-pox by Professor Moreau, published at Paris, an ix. (1801) p. 226;—but my *learned* friend's reading or knowledge never appears, when upon the Cow-pock; I suspect he never read a line on the subject in any printed book, and he entreats me, "never to write or speak to him on that *confounded* subject."

I cannot, however, dismiss this subject without publicly delivering the following extracts for his *serious* perusal \*:

\* The *replies* to the anti-vaccinists produced no *change of opinion* in several instances. Hence they came to this resolution:—"The JURY OF HEALTH in France are now of opinion, that they ought no longer to reply to their *interested* opponents, who, although they are *physicians*, tremble at every discovery favourable to humanity; *they* do not *deserve* to be *refuted*; they will never *acknowledge* their *defeat*, for *they* are neither *influenced* by *truth*, nor the *glory* of the *art of medicine*, but *are instigated* solely by the *dæmon, avarice*."



*Copie du deuxième Procès-verbal fait le 3 Nivose, an 9, à mon domicile, rue du faubourg Poissonnière, No. 2.*

“ Cejourd’hui, 3 Nivose, an 9, se sont rendus chez moi, ainsi que nous en étions convenus, les C. C. Evrat, Bréchet, Coutouly, Cattet et Ané, qui tous avoient été présens à l’inoculation de la petite vérole, pratiquée le 27 Frimaire chez le citoyen Frochet, préfet du département, sur sept enfans, précédemment vaccinés par moi.

“ Les enfans étant tous réunis chez moi, nous avons procédé à leur visite ; il en est résulté que les *piquures* de Jean-Baptiste Signoret, de Fanny Béliard, de Virginie Dupeu, de Marie-Julie Fétil, sont tout-à-fait effacées et cicatrisées ; que la *piquure* supérieure d’Isabelle Fétil conserve encore une teinte légèrement rouge, mais moindre qu’hier, ainsi que l’ont observé les citoyens Ané et Cattet, et enfin que les deux *piquures* supérieures de Marie-Antoinette Signoret et de Thérèse Hesnaut offrent une très-petite proéminence, effet de la cicatrice qui s’opère. Du tout il a été dressé le présent procès-verbal, et nous nous sommes ajournés au 9 Nivose, à dix heures précises, chez le citoyen Frochet, où j’aurai soin de faire trouver les enfans.

“ Signé à l’original ;

“ CATTET, EVRAT, BRECHOT, ANE,  
COUTOULY, F. COLON.



“ Cejourd’hui, 9 Nivose, an 9 de la république Française, douzième jour de l’inoculation vario-  
lique constatée et détaillée par le procès-verbal  
du 27 Frimaire, le soussigné François Colon, mé-  
decin, demeurant rue de faubourg Poissonnière,  
No. 2, s’est rendu à la maison de préfecture,  
place Vendôme, à l’effet de faire constater défi-  
nitivement le résultat de l’inoculation dont il vient  
d’être parlé.

“ A la maison de préfecture, sur l’invitation qui  
leur en avoit été faite par le citoyen Colon, se  
sont trouvés, le citoyen Ané, chirurgien inocu-  
lateur, ayant opéré dans l’inoculation du 27,  
dont il s’agit de constater les effets, les citoyens  
Evrat, chirurgien ; Bréchet, médecin ; Cattet,  
médecin ; Joubert, chirurgien ; Coutouly et La-  
fond, aussi chirurgiens, ayant assisté à l’opéra-  
tion du 27, et ayant de plus visité, depuis ce  
jour, les enfans soumis à l’expérience.

“ Les enfans désignées au procès-verbal du 27  
ont été amenés par leurs parens ou conducteurs,  
ont été reconnus les mêmes que ceux désignés au  
susdit procès-verbal du 27, et ensuite été visités  
par tous les officiers de santé dénommés, en pré-  
sence du citoyen Frochet, préfet du département  
de la Seine.

De la visite, il est résulté qu’aucun des enfans  
n’est atteint de la maladie variolique ; que l’inocu-  
lation du virus de cette maladie n’a produit sur  
eux *aucun effet*, et n’y a laissé aucunes traces que



celles de la *piquure* ; et que l'opération de la Vaccine à laquelle ils avoient été précédemment soumis, leur à ôté la susceptibilité de recevoir l'infection variolique.

“ Le citoyen Colon a soumis aux médecins et chirurgiens présens, la citoyenne Gentil; sur qui il a recueilli, à la maison de préfecture, sous les yeux du citoyen Frochot, une observation intéressante.

“ Pour l'authenticité des présentes, les officiers de santé dénommés audit procès-verbal et le préfet ont signé.

“ Signé,

“ FROCHOT, EVRAT, BRECHOT, ANE, CATTET,  
COUTOULY, LAFOND, ELIE, JOUBERT,  
F. COLON.

“ On pourroit aujourd'hui porter, sans exagération, à plus de cinquante mille le nombre des contre-épreuves qui attestent et prouvent la faculté préservative de la Vaccine : et maintenant ces mêmes expériences se multiplient chaque jour, sans ajouter à la conviction.

“ Si quelques personnes étoient tentées de nous opposer que toutes ces expériences ne prouvent pas pour la vie, et que la Vaccine ne garantit peut-être de la petite vérole que pour une ou pour deux années, je répondrois avec le citoyen Colladon : ‘Ce bon docteur Jenner, notre dieu tutélaire, a inoculé la petite vérole à des gens qui ne



l'avoient jamais eue, mais qui avoient eu la Vaccine il y a plus de 30 ans. Personne ne l'a prise, et j'espère que vous m'accorderez que si le préservatif que je vous propose est bon pour trente ans, il y a bien quelque probabilité qu'il l'est pour toute la vie.

“ Quant aux faits négatifs et aux observations que quelques inoculateurs, dont le nouveau préservatif blessoit cruellement les plus chers intérêts, ont cru devoir opposer comme objections, aucun n'a été confirmé, et tous les *renseignemens* pris à ce sujet n'ont jamais fait découvrir que *mensonge, intrigue, déloyauté et calomnie* : récemment encore cette conduite a été dévoilée à *Londres* ainsi qu'à *Paris*, et le *mépris* a été la seule punition de ces *IMPOSTURES* qui méritoient peut-être un *autre châtiment*.

“ Un des hommes qui ont contesté l'effet préservatif de la Vaccine avec le plus d'opiniâtreté, M. Vaumes, *inoculateur*, n'a pas craint d'affirmer qu'il avoit reçu de Genève des lettres particulières par lesquelles on lui assuroit que des personnes vaccinées avoient contracté la petite vérole depuis leur vaccination. Voici de quelle manière le respectable et philanthrope Odier s'exprime à ce sujet :

“ “ Voyez dans le *Moniteur* les reflexions des citoyens Goëtz, Vaumes, &c. Un de nos concitoyens, âgé de trent ans, qui n'avoit pas eu la petite vérole, et qui, frappé de la bénignité de la



Vaccine, étoit sur le point de se la faire inoculer, en fut *détourné*, dit-on, par la lecture d'un des feuilles où *ils* les ont fait insérer. Il vient de prendre la petite vérole, et il en est mort tellement regretté que plus de deux mille personnes ont honoré son convoi funèbre de leur présence. On n'a pas encore eu de pareils faits à reprocher aux apologistes de la Vaccine. Le bien qu'ils ont fait jusqu'à présent est de toute évidence. Le mal qui est résulté de leurs recherches est nul. Il semble que cette considération devrait fermer la bouche à ceux qui n'ont rien de mieux à objecter, si ce n'est qu'ils ne sont pas encore convaincus de l'utilité de la Vaccine. Mais ils n'ont pas encore articulé un seul de ses désavantages. Que ne se contentent-ils donc d'exhorter les vaccinés à ne pas s'exposer à la petite vérole, avant de s'être soumis à l'épreuve de l'inoculation variolique ? Nous nous réunirions tous à eux de grand cœur.

“ ‘ M. VAUMES, si l'estimable genevois que vous avez privé du bienfait de la Vaccine étoit mon parent ou mon ami, je vous forcerois de montrer vos lettres anonymes, secrètes et particulières ; je vous citerois devant les tribunaux, et au défaut d'un *châtiment* que la loi ne pourroit peut-être vous infliger, je vous couvrirois du *mépris* et de l'*indignation* de tous les hommes auxquels le *sentiment de la vertu* et l'*amour de l'humanité* ne sont pas *étrangers*’.”



The following cases are equally inconclusive.

## 11. THE SLOANE-STREET CASES

NAME AND ABODE,	AGE. ys. ms.	When and by whom vaccinated.	EVENTS.
XXII. Two young ladies in Sloane Street.	10 14	Sept. 1804, inoculated for the Cow-pox by Mr. Richardson, Surgeon and Apothecary, of Sloane Street. They both had the distemper.	February, 1805, inoculated with <i>variolous matter</i> , and they both had the <i>Small-pox</i> .

The only difference in Dr. Rowley's statement is, "vaccinated by Mr. *Richards*," and being afterwards inoculated for the *Small-pox*, "they both passed through the *Small-pox* regular stages."

These reported cases excited the attention of the Medical Council of the Royal Jennerian Society, and the eminent Dr. Baillie was commissioned to enquire *accurately* into the nature of the *Cow-pock* and subsequent *Small-pox*.

He received, for the Royal Jennerian Society, the following answer :



## LETTER FROM MR. RICHARDSON TO DR. BAILLIE\*.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I had no idea, when I inoculated the two young ladies mentioned in Dr. Moseley's publication, that the cases would be investigated with *such minuteness by any of the faculty*. As I imagined the inoculation for the Small-pox was not known to any one but the family, I was rather remiss in not *marking the appearances*, either in the *Cow-pox*, or *subsequent inoculation*. Any information I can give you is by no means so *correct* as it *ought to be* ; I have not, therefore, filled up the paper of the Medical Council you inclosed. If I form a judgment from the *few* cases of Cow-pox that have come under my care, I certainly think the young ladies had that disease in the most complete form ; the matter was taken at the Vaccine Institution. I inspected the arm every day, but never disturbed it in any way. When I afterwards inoculated them with the Small-pox, the arm of *one* of the young ladies inflamed, and had precisely the same appearance it

\* Extracted from the Minute Book of the Royal Jennerian Society. Under the head, Dr. Baillie's Report.



puts on in Small-pox, and has *left a mark*, similar to what is usually met with after inoculation; she was *feverish for two days*.—The other young lady's arm was *slightly inflamed*, but there is *no mark* remaining on it. There was an *eruption*, but, excepting a *few pustules*, it *died away*, on the *fourth or fifth day*.

“ I am, DEAR SIR,

“ Yours very truly,

“ J. RICHARDSON.”

Sloane Street, 6th Sept. 1805.

From the mouth of Dr. Moseley on *another occasion* \*, (and *why* not on this?) we find him declare the *nature of the Small-pox* produced in *one* of these ladies. “ The *Cow-poxers* imagine for a person to have the Small-pox properly, he must be covered all over with pustules filled with matter; that his life must be in danger, and that he must be carved and seamed by the disease, to shew what has happened. *People* who understood Small-pox inoculation, know the absurdity of all this. They know that a patient may have the Small-pox without the eruptions ever possessing matter, or remaining the ordinary time; and even *without any eruptions at all*, other variolous circumstances having taken place in the constitu-

\* In the Gentleman's Magazine for October, 1805,



*tion.* This was the case in *one* of the young ladies inoculated by Mr. Richardson, mentioned by me."

Mr. Ring denies that the *escar* left on the arm of one of these ladies is the proper deep *escar* of the Small-pox inoculation.

Why not likewise tell us, that in the *other*, the Small-pox arose *by inoculation*, without exciting a pustule on the arm, or leaving any *escar*.

Having consulted *pro forma* Mr. Wachsel, apothecary to the Small-pox Hospital, Dr. Fraser, educated by the late Dr. Woodville, &c. whether they ever met with so *extraordinary* an occurrence, as with the *second* of these two ladies, "no pustule from inoculation leaving an *escar*—no fever—but a *variolous eruption*, chiefly dying away on the *fourth* or *fifth* day?"!!! and they all answered "Never."

Can Dr. Moseley persuade us, that the real Small-pox by inoculation may take place, without any pustule being formed on the arm leaving an *escar*?—No fever, yet an eruption!

And Dr. Rowley, that such extraordinary instances are—"the four *regular* stages of the Small-pox?"

But against the Cow-pox there is no absurdity that prophet Moseley and Dr. Rowley are not capable both of *conceiving* and *uttering*.



Dr. Moseley next brings forward

## 12. A CHELSEA CASE.

NAME AND ABODE.	AGE. ys. mo.	When and by whom vaccinated.	EVENTS.
Mr. Baillie's Son, Chelsea.	1	Had the cow- pox in April 1799, inocu- lated by Mr. Sandys, of Kentish Town.	He was seized with the small-pox in February 1801, and had it very full, but of the <i>distinct</i> kind. Mr. Jenkins, Apothecary, in Sloane- square, attended him in the small- pox.

Dr. Rowley thus states this case—

Mr. Baillie's Child.	1	In April, 1799.	<i>Small-pox</i> , February, 1801, Mr. Jenkins, Sloane-square, attended.
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The second edition of a tale generally has something *added* to it; and is not *abstraction* of the same cast? Here the *mildness* of the Small-pox, being of the *distinct* kind, is purposely *omit-  
ted*, with the *name* of the *vaccinator*, who resides in the neighbourhood of Dr. Rowley. Both these busy Doctors seem, however, to have given themselves no great trouble about this case, and in 1805 it is brought forward to prove, “that every person who has been *vaccinated* will *afterwards* catch the *Small-pox*.”



The Medical Council of the Royal Jennerian Society were not equally inattentive, and Dr. Baillie was commissioned to make *inquiries* relative to this reported case of failure.

Having addressed Letters to Mr. Sandys, the inoculator, he received the following supposed satisfactory answers\*:

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I can fully recollect inoculating Mr. Baillie's son at Chelsea in April, 1799, with *Small-pox matter*, taken from a Mr. Joyce's child at Kentish Town. Mrs. Joyce can recollect the circumstance *perfectly*, of my taking the matter from her child, and saying at the time ‘ *I was going to Chelsea to inoculate.*’

I remain,

DEAR SIR,

Yours most truly,

E. SANDYS.”

Kentish Town,  
August 24, 1805.

Dr. BAILLIE.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ Mr. Baillie's son was inoculated with *Small-pox* matter, and not *Cow-pox matter*, as stated in Dr. Moseley's publication. The child could not have had the *Cow-pox*, as it was inoculated from a

\* Letters extracted from the Minute Book of the Royal Jennerian Society. Under the head Dr. Baillie's Report.



child at Kentish Town that had the *Small-pox*, as can be proved. Likewise Mr. Baillie's son had a good many *eruptions* on the skin, which appeared on the *tenth day* from the inoculation, which *eruptions* certainly were *Small-pox*.

I remain,

DEAR SIR,

Kentish Town,  
August 27, 1805.

Yours most truly,  
E. SANDYS."

" P. S. Mr. Baillie's son *certainly* had the *Small-pox* again two years after the inoculation, which I saw, in the natural way."

The difficulty seemed to be solved here: and at so early a period as 1799, there was much probability of the truth of such an assertion, and Mr. Sandys, surely, must *know best* the matter he employed \*.

As the child had not, even *if* vaccinated, the *true Cow-pock*, for the *pustule* did not go its stages; but only exhibited a *spurious one*, it was proper then to enquire, whether this child was subject to *tinea capitis*?—for such child will not *always*

\* The parents, however, believe, that it was *Cow-pox*, nor do they recollect *any eruption on the skin*; and they affirm, " that Mr. Sandys said, upon seeing the child in the *Small-pox* with Mr. Jenkins,—' that he was not surprised at it, as he understood that the *Cow-pox* secured just two years' !!!"



receive the *true* (securing) *Cow-pock*\*, and these instances are not fit for establishing an universal rule, (as all children are not subject to this disease) but then only can be brought forward *by way of exception* to the *general rule*.

The answer given me by the parents of the child was—"that Alfred was at times subject to a *scald head*, and Mr. *Armstrong*, a surgeon in Charlotte-street, had attended him for *that complaint* also.

"That the pustule on the arm was unlike the *Small-pox*, or *Cow-pox Pustule*, being only a festering scabby sore, whose duration on the arm was not longer than a *week*, or *ten days* at most."

The *cicatrix* left, also, is not that of the *proper Cow-pock*. Mr. Wilson, successor to Mr. Jenkins, attended this examination, from whom I received the following Letter:

LETTER FROM MR. WILSON TO DR. THORNTON.

"DEAR SIR, Sloane-square, Jan. 12, 1806.

"I received your favour, and very readily answer inquiries respecting Mrs. Baillie's child.

"That the *cicatrix*, or *escar* on the arm, in the above child's case is different to what I have generally seen, (appearing in two oblong marks near each other on the inoculated part) as forming a secure and satisfactory *Cow-pox pustule*.

\* Nor the *Small-pox*, as will be shewn in the case of *Woolly*.



“ Besides the above variation from the usual *proper sized orbicular single pustule*, which constitutes one of the true criterions of security by vaccination, there appears other doubtful circumstances, one of which is, whether the patient had not been afflicted with the *tinea capitis*, (a scabby head) at the time of its being inoculated : so that I think there is no hesitation in declaring it is evidently one of those *peculiar* cases, not depreciating in the smallest manner the fundamental truth of benefits to be derived from vaccination.

I am respectfully,

SIR,

Your very obedient Servant,

JOSEPH WILSON.”

This is not one of the *excuses* for failure of securing from Cow-pox inoculation, noticed by Dr. Rowley in his Chapter on Cow-pox *excuses*, arising indeed from his general *ignorance* of the subject ; and the Doctor has declared, “ that all he ever seeks after is only—Has an attempt at vaccination been made ?” As to *how, when, where, whether* the Cow-pock took, was *genuine*, or *SPURIOUS*, these are all **IRRELATIVE TO THE QUESTION !!!**

After this very scandalous assertion, the public should be apprized what credit they should attach to any of Dr. Rowley’s numerous cases : but Dr.



Moseley, I trust, does not designedly act in this *dangerous* and *disgraceful* manner; and it is rather surprising, that *his* inquiries had not led him to discover the source of failure in this very instance.

In Dr. Moseley's early observations on the Cow-pox he remarks—

“ In this *Cow mania*, it is not enough for reason to concede, that the Cow-pox may lessen, *for a time*, the disposition in the habit to receive the infection of the Small-pox.

“ All *cutaneous* determinations; catarrhal, and eruptive fevers,—such as the *Chicken-pox*; and every disease of the lymphatics; and *medicine*, tending, to what Sydenham would call *depurating* the system, do the same !!!”

If any plan of medicine could secure from the Small-pox, as here related, when the Small-pox invaded an hospital, the whole ward had only occasion to be defended to take some medicine *depurating* \* the system.

\* I cannot believe the Doctor *seriously* meant, that any kind of medicine would defend from the Small-pox of the class called Sydenham's *depurating* medicine, or Dr. Moseley would not have advised, “ that if the Cow-pox is only a *temporary* security, it may even then be turned to some good,—it may as such be EMPLOYED to prevent the *destructive* rage of the *Small-pox* in *fleets* and *camps*, and on board *African ships*, to guard against the ravages of that disease, often dreadful during the



I cannot say, but I smiled when I perused this *flight* among the others, which Dr. Moseley has called "serious trifling;" and yet, as with *jesters*, I expected there was some *latent* sense beneath, which it is not for the *punctum saliens* of all minds at once to dive into.

When Dr. Moseley quits the subject of the Cow-pock, which appears always to give in him a *vertigo* of the brains, he thus admirably displays the extent of his natural judgment, and the full powers of an observant mind. But he is then on the subject of the *Small-pox*.

#### OBSTACLES TO THE RECEPTION OF THE SMALL-POX.

"During my residence in the West Indies, I never knew any negro with the yaws, or elephantiasis, to have the Small-pox spontaneously, though living in the midst of it.

"My inquiries in Rome, at the Hospital *di S. Gallicano*, the receptacle for all the *scald-headed* patients of Rome, and the Campania, which are very numerous, were satisfied that people affected

voyage to the West Indies, and even on *plantations* for occasional purposes, when surprised by the Small-pox breaking out in an epidemic season. Had the Doctor known of any medicine, serving the like purpose, he would not have thus recommended the Cow-pock for our *fleets* and *armies*.



considerably with that disorder, (*Tinea capitis*) are not subject to Small-pox contagion.

“ I have recommended the prosecuting this subject in the West Indies, by variolous *inoculation* in the yaws, elephantiasis, lepra, *cocobey*, and *ca-kras*; and I make no doubt but the result will be interesting.”

If the Small-pox has obstacles to prevent its reception into the habit, is it not allowable to admit the same excuses for the *Cow-pox*?—and these have been long since taught us by the immortal discoverer of the Cow-pox inoculation.

In order to make these generally known among the faculty, and in the world, they were published first in May, 1803, and then in August, 1804, (some time before Dr. Rowley's, or Dr. Moseley's work appeared) in a publication of extensive sale—the Medical and Physical Journal.

Dr. Jenner there remarks, “ that although the vaccinator does not inflict by the insertion of the vaccine virus, a severe, or dangerous disease, but on the contrary, an extremely mild affection, scarcely deserving the appellation of a disease, yet as *security* from the Small-pox is the grand object of our endeavours, he should be well acquainted with the laws of the vaccine virus, as applied in all circumstances, and to all constitutions. He should more particularly understand the characters of the *true* and of the *spurious* pustule, and the causes productive of the *latter*.



“ In my Paper of Instructions for Vaccine Inoculation, published some years back, I have endeavoured to guard the inoculator from being deceived by false appearances, by the following observations.

“ The vaccine fluid is liable, from causes apparently *trifling*\*, to undergo a decomposition. In this state it sometimes produces what has been denominated the *spurious* pustule; that is, a pustule, or an appearance on the arm not possessing the characteristic marks of the genuine pustule. Anomalies assuming different forms may be excited, according to the *qualities* of the virus applied, or the *state* of the person inoculated; but by far the most frequent variety or deviation from the *perfect* pustule, is that which arrives at maturity, and *finishes its progress much within the time limited by the true*. Its commencement is marked by a troublesome itching; and it throws out a premature efflorescence, sometimes extensive but seldom circumscribed, or of so vivid a tint as that which surrounds the pustule completely organized; and (which is more characteristic of its degeneracy than the other symptoms) it appears more like a common festering produced by a thorn or any other small extraneous body sticking in the skin, than a pustule excited by the vaccine virus. It is generally of a straw colour, and when punc-

\* “The *rust of iron* from a corroded lancet, or the *heat of culinary, not solar, fire*, effects a change in the vaccine matter.”



tured, instead of the colourless, transparent fluid of the perfect pustule, its contents are found to be opaque. A little practice in vaccine inoculation attentively conducted, impresses on the mind the perfect character of the vaccine pustule; therefore, when a deviation arises, of whatever kind it may be, common prudence points out the necessity of re-inoculation.

“ Medical practitioners should be particularly circumspect when they inoculate those who have *cuticular* diseases. The danger of insecurity would be at once obviated, if on the appearance of an irregular pustule, the disease were to be subdued by proper applications, and the patient re-inoculated.

“ *Herpetic* affections usually prevent the vaccine virus from producing its correct action. The skin, although it be apparently sound at the point of insertion, is nevertheless so influenced by the disease, as frequently to baffle all our efforts to produce a correct pustule, and consequently to secure the constitution from the contagion of the Small-pox. The eruptions I allude to, for the most part, correspond with those of the Second Order of Cutaneous Diseases, so well described by Dr. Willan, under the term *Psoriasis Diffusa*. The face, the eye-lids, the tender skin behind the ears, and particularly the scalp, are the parts most commonly affected; but the limbs and body not unfrequently exhibit the same appearances.



“ I do not mean to say, that the pustule is always *imperfect*, and not effective, when the inoculated patient has this malady ; on the contrary, it is sometimes perfectly correct, and much more frequently so when it has been of long standing, than when in its recent state ; and what is remarkable, the disease is then (when of long duration) sometimes swept entirely away. I have noticed this impediment to the perfect formation and progress of the vaccine pustule in my general correspondence for more than two years past, and conceive it to be a more frequent source of the *spurious* pustule than any other, or indeed, than all the rest united. Dr. Marcet inserted some hints I communicated to him on this head, in your Journal, for May, 1803, but I believe they have not been much attended to.

“ I select the following out of many cases, to illustrate this position.

“ A family, consisting of five fine healthy-looking children, were inoculated by me at Cheltenham in the autumn of 1803 with fluid virus taken immediately from a proper vaccine pustule. On examining the punctures on the fifth day, I found, that on the left arm of one of the children, the pustule was *advancing too rapidly*. It was of an irregular form, contained already an opaque fluid, and was surrounded by an efflorescence of a dusky red colour, to the extent of one-third part



of an inch. Such an intolerable itching was excited, that the boy (who was only three years old) could not be prevented from rubbing it. This appearance led me to an examination, and on the *child's head* I observed an *herpetic blotch* not much larger in circumference than a shilling. The hair around the part was stiffened by the concreted ichor oozing from the sore, which had made its appearance about ten days. No eruption shewed itself in any other part of the body. The pustule was repeatedly broken by the child's scratching and rubbing it; and the inflammation on the arm, which began to spread so early, on the eighth and ninth day, became very extensive. The child, at the same time, was hot and restless. A soft, amber-coloured scab \* now began to form; but this being rubbed off, the part ulcerated and healed slowly, leaving a cicatrix deeper and larger than in ordinary cases. The disease on the scalp was now quickly subdued by the use of tar ointment; and at the expiration of six weeks from its commencement, the inoculation was repeated, when the pustule went through all its proper stages with perfect regularity. The rest of the children inoculated at the same time,

\* "It may be remarked, that purulent matter cannot form a scab so hard and compact as limpid matter. Hence arises the difference between the variolous and the vaccine scab. It accounts too for the varicellous scab being commonly harder than the variolous."



went through the Cow-pox in the ordinary way, without any irregular appearance.

“ I have selected this case, to shew how slight a local appearance may produce a change in the state of the skin, at a distance from it. It happens that I more frequently detect the disease by the appearance of the arm \*, than previously to inoculation. Parental fondness is often mismanaged, which induces mothers to conceal eruptive complaints on their children.

“ These are the constitutions which sometimes shew a few wandering pustulous eruptions after vaccine inoculation ; and so peculiarly irritable is the skin when influenced by herpes, that the smallest wound, a slight scratch, or the pricking of a pin, for example, commonly produces inflammation, and slight superficial suppuration.

“ The preceding year, I inoculated another

\* When vaccinating at the Mary-le-bone Dispensary, I have often surprised parents by observing the *vaccine pustule*, and thence declaring, that if the cap were removed, there would be found scabs about the head. Dr. Jenner has also observed with me, that patches of diseased surface often exist in these *herpetic* subjects, and that a *true* securing pustule will be found on one arm, and a *spurious* on the other ; and on the same arm, from the same matter, only an inch asunder, will be seen both the *true* and the *spurious* pustules ; so much *nicety* does vaccination require. These are the constitutions most deranged by the Small-pox inoculation, which it *sometimes* resists, and who not unfrequently sink under that terrific disease. See Observations on the Cases of Woolley's child, and New's child.



child at Cheltenham, whose face was involved in one general thick incrustation. She had been in this state, without any material variation, upwards of two years, during which time many applications had been used to no purpose. The scalp partook, in some degree, of the same kind of disease; but the body and limbs were free from it, except when any of the acrid fluid, oozing from fissures in the crust, chanced to fall upon the neck or breast; it then invariably produced, for a time, a similar appearance. On vaccinating this child by a single puncture in each arm, the pustules went through their course correctly. On their decline, the incrustation began to be less coherent, and to drop off; and at the expiration of a fortnight, the face was smooth, no vestige of the disease remaining, except a slight inflammation of the eye-lids\*.

\* The observant Dr. Moseley might have found in "the Medical Assistant," p. 224, published in 1801, by Dr. Dancer, "that during the universal prevalence of the Small-pox in Jamaica, in 1786, it was *remarked*, that several negroes afflicted with the *Yaws*" (a disease classed by Sauvage as a species of *Herpes*,) "who had the *Yaw's pustules* upon the surface of the body, and had been a considerable time under all the afflicting circumstances of that disease, were *inoculated* promiscuously among many other negroes. The result was, that upon the decline of the Small-pox, and drying away of the pustules, the *yaws* also gradually disappeared, as if both might be considered in the light of one and the same disease. The negroes were radically cured of both diseases, not one of them having been, from that time to this (1801), liable to an attack of either, so far as I can learn, or to the least relics of the *Yaws*."



“ I have, in like manner, sometimes seen papulous eruptions, which have long proved troublesome, speedily swept away.

“ This, I think, may be accounted for. The vaccine virus, a few days after its insertion, begins to act upon the constitution. It is then manifest, from a new appearance which these eruptions put on, commonly that of increased inflammation, that a new action has been excited in them. The original morbid action, therefore becomes deranged and is destroyed, and consequently the disease is conquered. I have seen many instances where pre-existing pimples have been converted into vaccine pocks, which have kept pace with those on the arms in their progressive changes.

“ Seeing that the skin, when disposed to reject the ordinary action of the variolous virus, rejects the vaccine also, I shall just observe, it occurs to me as probable, that its *herpetic* state, at the time of inoculation, has been the chief source of those failures, which many practitioners have witnessed in inoculating for the Small-pox : for, in many instances where, on subsequent exposure to infection, the disease has been taken, it has been found that the process of inflammation and suppuration on the arms had gone to a greater extent than in ordinary cases, that the symptomatic affections were clearly marked, and that even eruptions, though small and seldom maturing, have appeared. But as the state of the arm be-



came a secondary object in inoculating for the Small-pox, our solicitude being directed to what appeared of far more consequence, the number of pustules, I almost despair of obtaining much information on this point.

“ I shall conclude this paper by observing, that although the vaccine inoculator does not inflict a severe disease, but, on the contrary, produces a mild affection scarcely meriting that term, yet, nevertheless, he should be extremely careful to obtain a just and clear conception of this important branch of medical science. He should not only be acquainted with the laws and agencies of the vaccine virus on the constitution, but with those of the variolous also, as they often interfere with each other.

“ A SUPERFICIAL KNOWLEDGE of the subject is not sufficient to *enable* or to *warrant* a person to *undertake vaccine inoculation*; he should possess a PARTICULAR KNOWLEDGE; and that which I would wish strongly to inculcate, as the great foundation of the whole, is an intimate acquaintance with the character of the *true* and *genuine* vaccine pustule. The *spurious* pustule would then be readily detected, whatever form it might assume, and *errors in vaccination known no more* \*.

“ I am, &c.

“ EDWARD JENNER.”

Berkeley, July 15, 1804.

Dr. Ross mentions, with great exultation, “ that a



Dr. Moseley's concluding *country* case is, Small-pox after *natural* Cow-pox.

### 13. A SUFFOLK CASE.

Mr. Gamble, of Bungay, in Suffolk, a gentleman of great age, respect, and character, in May 1801, informed Mr. William Walker, the astronomer,

"That in the *early part* of his life he assisted SUTTON in his practice of inoculation : and that *there had always been a tradition in that grazing part of the country, and also in Oxfordshire where he practised with Mr. SUTTON, that the Cow-pox preserved people against the Small-pox ;*"

But that he had *two instances*, in two women servants in his own family, to prove the contrary. Both of them had, in his service, the Cow-pox from milking the cows. One of them left Mr. Gamble ; and being satisfied "*that she could not have the Small-pox,*" undertook, *seven years* after she had the Cow-pox, to be a nurse in the Yarmouth Hospital. There she caught the Small-pox, and died. The other was then living with Mr. Gamble, and recovering from the Small-pox, when Mr. Walker saw her."

These form Cases XVI. and XVII. of Rowley's work, who reports the story nearly the same, except that Mr. Gamble, "being a gentleman of great age, respect, and character," is melted down

FARRIER, in Hampshire, inoculated great numbers for the Small-pox, and all did well, *as a lady of the first rank* informed him!!!" (Vide p. 114 of Rowley) The Cow-pox requires a *little more knowledge* ; and if this same farrier had become vaccinator, many would have to lament his ignorance, and it would have furnished another book of Cow-pock disasters for the *learned* Doctors Moseley and Rowley.



into "a gentleman of fortune" and having put one died in capitals, ("DIED,") forgets to mention the other was "*recovering*," only saying "she also caught the Small-pox."

Nothing can give a stronger proof, if any of my readers still doubt the assertion, of the *vast ignorance* of these two men respecting *vaccination*, than their bringing forward *such cases* in the year 1805.

It confirms what I have all along endeavoured to shew, that these two doctors have opposed *vaccination* through *ignorance* of the subject, being *grossly* unacquainted with its history, as well as of all the leading *principles* of the *vaccinating art*.

An *astronomer* must, forsooth! be brought in to record this *instructive* tale !!!

Mr. Gamble mentions, indeed, "that there was a *tradition*, which had always existed, of the *natural Cow-pox* securing from the *Small-pox* in *grazing counties*.—This had come to his knowledge in the early part of life."

In my Facts decisive in favour of the Cow-pox, a *full* account of this curious *tradition* will be found, from page 65 to page 92.—This book was published as long ago as in 1802.

Observe how the pupil of the illustrious John Hunter, who previously developed the arcana of the cuckoo, from hearing of *this tradition*, was led to explore the subject.



Before the Honourable the Committee of the House of Commons, as long back as in March, 1802, Dr. Jenner gave the following clear and very satisfactory account :

“ My inquiry into the nature of the Cow-pox commenced upwards of *twenty-five years ago*. My attention to this singular disease was first excited by observing, that among those whom in the country I was frequently called upon to inoculate, *many* resisted every effort to give them the Small-pox. *These* patients I found had undergone a disease they called the *Cow-pox*, contracted by milking cows affected with a peculiar eruption on their teats. On inquiry, it appeared that *it* had been known among the dairies time *immemorial*, and that a *vague opinion* prevailed ‘ *that it was a preventive of the Small-pox.*’ This opinion, I found, was, comparatively, new among them ; for all the old farmers in my neighbourhood declared they had no such idea in their early days : a circumstance that seemed easily to be accounted for, from my knowing that the common people were very rarely inoculated for the Small-pox, till that practice was rendered general by the improved method introduced by the Suttons : so that the working people in the dairies were seldom put to the test of the preventive powers of the Cow-pox.

“ In the course of the investigation of this sub-



ject, which, like all others of a complex and intricate nature, presented many difficulties, I found that some of those *who seemed to have undergone the Cow-pox*, nevertheless, on inoculation with the Small-pox, felt its influence just the same as if no disease had been communicated to them by the cow. This occurrence led me to make inquiry among the practitioners in the country around me, few of whom were unacquainted with the disease, but all agreed in this sentiment, that the Cow-pox was not to be relied upon as a certain preventive of the Small-pox. This for a while *damped*, but did not extinguish, my ardour ; for as I proceeded, I had the satisfaction to learn that the cow was subject to some varieties of spontaneous eruptions upon her teats ; that they were all capable of communicating sores to the hands of the milkers ; and that whatever sore was derived from the animal, was called in the dairy the Cow-pox. Thus I surmounted a great obstacle, and in consequence was led to form a distinction between these diseases, one of which only I have denominated the *true*, the other the *spurious*, Cow-pox ; the latter not possessing any specific power over the constitution. This impediment to my progress was not long removed, before another, of far greater magnitude in its appearance, started up. There were not wanting instances to prove, that when the true Cow-pox broke out among the cattle at a



dairy, a person who had milked an infected animal, and had thereby apparently gone through the disease in common with others, *was liable to receive the Small-pox afterwards*. This, like the former obstacle, gave a painful check to my fond and aspiring hopes: but, reflecting that the operations of Nature are generally uniform, and that it was not probable the human constitution, having undergone the Cow-pox, should, in some instances, be perfectly shielded from the Small-pox, and in many others remain unprotected, I resumed my labours with redoubled ardour. The result was fortunate; for I now discovered that the virus of Cow-pox was liable to undergo progressive changes from the same causes precisely as that of Small-pox; and that when it was applied to the human skin in its degenerated state, it would produce the ulcerative effects in as great a degree as when it was not decomposed, and sometimes far greater; but having lost *its specific properties*, it was incapable of producing that change upon the human frame which is requisite to render it unsusceptible of the variolous contagion; so that it became evident a person might milk a cow one day, and, having caught the disease, be for ever secure; while another person, milking the same cow the next day, might feel the influence of the virus in such a way as to produce a sore or sores, and in consequence of this might experience an indispo-



sition to a considerable extent ; yet, as has been observed, the specific quality being lost, the constitution would receive no peculiar impression.

“ Here the close analogy between the virus of Small-pox and of Cow-pox becomes remarkably conspicuous ; since the former, when taken from a recent pustule and immediately used, gives the perfect Small-pox to the person on whom it is inoculated ; but when taken in a far advanced stage of the disease, or when (although taken early) previously to its insertion, it be exposed to such agents as, according to the established laws of Nature, cause its decomposition, it can no longer be relied on as effectual. This observation will fully explain the source of those errors which have been committed by many inoculators of the Cow-pox. Conceiving the whole process to be so extremely simple as not to admit of a mistake, they have been heedless about the state of the vaccine virus ; and finding it limpid, as part of it will be, even in an advanced stage of the pustule, when the greater portion has been converted into a scab, they have felt an improper confidence, and sometimes mistaken a spurious pustule, which the vaccine fluid in this state is capable of exciting, for that which possesses the perfect character.

“ During the investigation of the casual Cow-pox, I was struck with the idea that it might be practicable to propagate the disease by INOCULATION,



*after the manner of the Small-pox ; first from the cow, and finally, from one human being to another.* I anxiously waited some time for an opportunity of putting this theory to the test. At length the period arrived. The first experiment was made upon a lad of the name of Phipps, in the spring of the year 1796, in whose arm a little vaccine virus was inserted, taken from the hand of a young woman who had been accidentally infected by a cow. Notwithstanding the resemblance which the pustule, thus excited on the boy's arm, bore to variolous inoculation, yet as the indisposition attending it was barely susceptible, I could scarcely persuade myself the patient was secure from the Small-pox. However, on his being inoculated some months afterwards, it proved that he was secure \*. This case inspired me with confidence ; and as soon as I could again furnish myself with virus from the cow, I made an arrangement for a series of inoculations. A number of children were inoculated in succession, one from the other ; and after several months had elapsed, they were exposed to the infection of the Small-pox ; some by inoculation, others by variolous effluvia, and some in both ways ; but they all resisted it. The result of these trials gradually led

\* This boy was again inoculated nearly five years afterwards with variolous matter, but no other effect was produced beyond a local inflammation around the punctured part upon the arm.



me into a wider field of experiment, which I went over, not only with great attention, but with painful solicitude. This became universally known through a Treatise published in June, 1798. The result of my further experience was also brought forward in subsequent publications in the two succeeding years, 1799 and 1800. The distrust and scepticism which naturally arose in the minds of medical men, on my first announcing so unexpected a discovery, has now nearly disappeared. Many hundreds of them, from actual experience, have given their attestations, that the inoculated Cow-pock proves a perfect security against the Small-pox ; and I shall probably be within compass if I say, thousands are ready to follow their example ; for the scope that this inoculation has now taken is immense. An hundred thousand persons, upon the smallest computation, have been inoculated in these realms. The numbers who have partaken of its benefits throughout Europe and other parts of the globe are incalculable : and it now becomes too manifest to admit of controversy, that the annihilation of the Small-pox, the most dreadful scourge of the human species, must be the final result of this practice."

After this statement, it hardly appears necessary to add more on this subject ; I shall, however, confirm Dr. Jenner's statement by the few following cases.



## I.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER TO MR. ABERNETHY,  
LECTURER AND SURGEON IN LONDON, FROM THE  
REV. MR. HOLT.

“ SIR,

“ After my parishioners had gone through the Cow-pock, at the expiration of three weeks, I inoculated six of them with variolous matter. On the third day I was not a little alarmed by a considerable degree of inflammation which appeared in all their arms, and which seemed to indicate the certainty of their having the Small-pox; but in two or three days the whole disappeared, without any pustule being formed. It is my intention to inoculate others, as often as I can conveniently procure variolous matter; and by the kindness of Mr. Grey, an eminent surgeon and apothecary in Buckingham, I am promised some in a short time, the result of which you shall be informed of. Mr. Grey, whose zeal for his profession is only equalled by his ability, has also allowed me to state his following case, which he had at Boreton, in Buckinghamshire:—A farmer and his sons, who had *had the Small-pox*, did not receive any injury from milking the cows, though their teats were extremely ulcerated at the time; but a servant, who *had not had the Small-pox*, caught from them the Cow-pox, and was so dan-



gerously ill, that medical help was necessary for more than three weeks; and the effluvia from him was so very offensive, that every room in the house was strongly tainted with it\*. Notwithstanding this, none of his friends and acquaintance caught the infection, though they had had neither complaint. It would seem, then, that the security of the Small and Cow-pox are reciprocal; and that the effluvia of pure Cow-pox matter is probably not infectious, even in its worst state.

“ I will now add the cases which I mentioned above, in which the Cow-pox seem to have prevented variolous infection.

## II.

“ In the year 1785, BENJAMIN COWLEY, aged 26, when servant to Mrs. Hodgekinson, of the New-inn, near Stow, had the Cow-pox. About three years after, he entered into the Oxfordshire militia, in which he remained five years; during this time he was three times inoculated by the surgeon of the regiment without effect.

## III.

“ RICHARD SMITH, aged 24, had the Cow-pox at the same time and place; he has not since been

\* This proves, among many other facts, that the natural Cow-pox, like the natural Small-pox, is sometimes a very severe disease, although never fatal.



inoculated ; but his large family have at different times since had the Small-pox, and he has not caught the infection.

## IV.

“ EDWARD STOCKLEY, aged 20, had the Cow-pox when *young* : he was inoculated several times, about two years ago, for the Small-pox, in this parish ; but without effect.

## V.

“ A SERVANT of Mr. Morris, of Water-Stratford, had the Cow-pox *several years ago* : he has been inoculated seventeen times since for the Small-pox, but without effect.

## VI.

“ MRS. MALINS had the Cow-pox when *young* : she afterwards married ; and her daughter had the Small-pox so dreadfully in the natural way, that the mother tried to prevent her going blind, by moistening the corner of her eyes with saliva. In consequence of which, Mrs. Malins had one large pustule upon her lip, occasioned by wetting her finger and applying it to the child, and two small ones upon her arm, upon which the child lay ; but she had no indisposition, and seems only to have experienced what nurses do in hospitals.



" You may depend upon the *authenticity* of the above cases; and I could send you *more*, had I opportunity and leisure to go to the parties themselves.

" I am, SIR,

" Your very obedient servant,

" ROBERT HOLT."

*Finnmere, Nov. 6, 1799.*

Mr. DUNNING, surgeon, at Plymouth, relates the following case:

#### VII.

" ANN STUTTAFORD, wife of the clerk of the Rev. Mr. Smith's parish, Sampford Spiney, lived *thirty* years ago as servant in a dairy farm at Of-ford, three miles from Plymouth, and she was the only person of the three who had never had the Small-pox; and was the only one who caught the Cow-pox.

" Since that time, she has lived in houses where the Small-pox has been, and sometimes has terminated fatally; yet she has always escaped infection. These instances have occurred so frequently, that her apprehensions of having the Small-pox are now wholly done away.

" To show in the stronger light the efficacy of this prophylactic, Mr. Smith remarks, that 'as she is remarkable for a gentle, humane, and benevolent disposition, she often visits persons in the



Small-pox ; and voluntarily gives them all the assistance she can '."

The following are chiefly extracted from Mr. RING's elaborate work on the Cow-pox.

#### VIII. AND IX.

"A CHILD of Mr. Berry, at Firle, in Sussex, was attacked with the Small-pox in the natural way. Five days after the eruptions appeared, two MAID SERVANTS in the house, who had not had the disorder, were secured from it, by having had the natural Cow-pox. Their escape is the more remarkable, since they continued in the house, and nursed the child during the whole progress of the Small-pox.

#### X.

"A MAID-SERVANT, now living with Mrs. Robins, of Bexwell, near Market Downham, in Norfolk, had the Cow-pox *ten* years ago. Some time after, the children in the family where she was, were inoculated for the Small-pox, which they had in a severe manner. This girl was inoculated with them, and nursed them during the whole continuance of the disease ; yet escaped infection."

#### XI.

"Mr. CROCKER, of Beak-street, Golden-square, had the Cow-pox about *forty* years ago. He then



lived with Mr. Jefferies, of Charlton, in Gloucestershire. He has often been exposed to the Small-pox in a variety of shapes. He is a plumber; and has soldered up coffins containing those who had died of it. He also nursed his own children, when labouring under that disease, yet has never been infected.

## XII.

“ MRS. THURKLE, at No. 111, Swallow-street, had the Cow-pox *thirteen* or *fourteen* years ago. She then lived in Gloucestershire, and was under the care of Dr. Jenner. She has frequently been in houses where the Small-pox was, and once nursed a child who had the disorder, without suffering the least inconvenience.

## XIII. AND XIV.

“ RICHARD HAYDON, a watchman at Mr. Meux's brewhouse, had the Cow-pox *twenty-five* years ago, when he lived in Berkshire. He has many times been exposed to the contagion of the Small-pox, and nursed his own children when they had it, ten years ago; yet never had the least symptom of that complaint. A cow-doctor told him, ‘ he would never be in danger of the Small-pox.’ He knew an *old man*, whose wife was a nurse, and who used to call on her, when attending persons in the Small-pox. This man had undergone the Cow-pox in his *youth*, which proved his safeguard.”



## XV.

“ JOHN DEACON, No. 4, Brooke's court, Brooke's street, Tottenham-court-road, caught the Cow-pox about *sixteen* years ago. Ten years after, he was inoculated for the Small-pox, together with his wife and three children, by Mr. Porter. His wife and children had the disorder severely. One of the children died. In the man himself, infection did not take place. He was therefore inoculated again, with fresh matter from one of the children; and Mr. Porter said, he would take care to insert plenty of matter, in order to ensure infection, if possible. He was, however, again disappointed. The man lived and slept with his family, the whole time; but resisted infection. Another family in the same house, were inoculated at the same time; and the inoculation succeeded in them all.

## XVI.

“ MRS. HUTCHINS, now residing at No. 13, Tottenham-place, Tottenham-court-road, had the casual Cow-pox *twenty* years ago, when she lived at farmer Longford's, at Stratford, in Warwickshire. She afterwards went to two places where the Small-pox was, in order to try whether she was susceptible of infection.

“ About five years after this, she was inoculated for the Small-pox, together with about a



hundred others, at a farm-house, to which they retired, for fear of communicating the disease to their parents. All those who were inoculated had the disease, except herself. She assisted in attending the rest, during the whole time of their illness.

“ Since that time, she has nursed no less than eight or nine persons in the Small-pox ; three of whom *died* from the severity of the disease ; and were laid out by her ; one, only a year ago. She has very often been where the disease was ; but has always escaped. What stronger proof of permanent security can any man require ? ”

## XVII.

“ MR. WILLIAMS, of Nass Farm, Lidney, Gloucestershire, had the Cow-pox about *fifty* years ago. He has thirteen children ; all of whom have had the Small-pox. Mr. Williams resided with them during their whole illness ; and has been four times inoculated for that disorder ; but without the least effect. This account I received from one of his relations.”

## XVIII.

“ MRS. BOLTER, of St. George’s-market, Grosvenor-square, caught the Cow-pox by milking *twenty-five* years ago. Four years after, she was twice inoculated in each arm with the variolous matter, but to no purpose. Ten years ago, her son had



the Small-pox by inoculation; and she was in the house with him the whole time. Four years ago, her sister and one of her children died of that disorder; and four other persons came and resided at her house, during the whole time they were under inoculation of the Small-pox, but though constantly with them, she still resisted infection. Fifteen months ago, she went into an apartment where the Small-pox was. A year ago, her child at the breast was inoculated for the Small-pox; and had the disorder so severely, as to be blind nine days. She continued suckling it the whole time, though the stench was almost intolerable. Some months ago, a relation lost a child by the Small-pox. During the whole course of the disease, Mrs. Bolter was five or six times a day in the apartment, and a witness to the distressing scene, without suffering from the baneful contagion."

## XIX.

"JANE BRENT, No. 24, Tottenham-place, Tottenham-court-road, had the Cow-pox *thirty-eight* years ago, when she lived at Dulverton, in Somersetshire. She was twice inoculated for the Small-pox, but in vain, by Mr. Lee, surgeon, of that place.

"About ten years ago, two of her children had the Small-pox, and she attended them the whole time. Since that period, she has suckled



two nurse-children labouring under that disorder, yet she suffered not the least inconvenience. She has also been in the habit of attending the sick as a regular nurse, and frequently been exposed to the full force of variolous infection, but always escaped unhurt."

## XX.

" Mr. NASH, of Richmond-buildings, Dean-street, Soho, remembers a circumstance which occurred *forty-five* years ago, proving that the opinion of the antivariolous property of the vaccine disease then prevailed. A farmer who lived in Wiltshire, when he was going to London, being asked, 'whether he was not afraid of the Small-pox?' replied, 'No, he had had the Cow-pox'."

## XXI.

" A YOUNG MAN, related to Mr. Nash, who had received the Cow-pox *some years* before in the casual way, was twice inoculated for the Small-pox at the Small-pox Hospital, about a year ago; and not proving susceptible of contagion in that way, was exposed to the effluvia of the natural disease, in the midst of that concentrated infection, but exposed in vain."

## XXII.

" Mr. LAIN, farrier, Westmoreland-street, informs me, that he knew one in the same line,



Mr. Chandler, who used to boast, ‘ that having had the Cow-pox above *fifty* years back, he defied the Small-pox’.”

Such instances afford next to a mathematical proof, that the inoculated Cow-pox is not a *temporary* but a *permanent* security against the Small-pox ; for the *natural Cow-pox* is, in fact, no other than an inoculation of the Cow-pox, or several inoculations in the palm and fingers of the hand.

Respecting this *tradition*, there can be no manner of doubt ; and all Dr. Moseley’s *learning* will never be able to do away the *belief* that such was not more than a *popular superstition*, a *gar error*.

That persons have been *secured* by the *natural Cow-pox* from the *Small-pox* can be proved by *thousands* of present witnesses.

To establish a quite *contrary position*, two cases (without any proof of their having had the *proper Cow-pox*) are adduced from the testimony of Mr. Gamble, a very *old* inoculator, who “ recollects this *tradition*”—but that he did not attend properly to the subject is shewn, by his not having *now* possessed those immortal laurels, that will for ever decorate the brow of JENNER.



We next come to some *London* cases, where attainment of truth seems to be more easily managed and the first case recorded is,

#### 14. THE GEORGE-STREET CASE.

NAME AND ABODE.	AGE. Ys. Ms.	When and by whom vaccinated.	EVENTS.
V. Richard Cur- ling, No. 18, George-street, Portland Cha- pel.	6	Had the Cow-pox in May 1800, in- oculated by Mr. Ring.	Nine months after he had the <i>Small-pox</i> in the <i>natural way</i> . He had ulcerations about the body, and was other- wise much disordered af- ter the Cow-pox.

The only difference in Dr. Rowley's statement is, "*Mr. Roberts saw this case.*"

Dr. Moseley had before given notice, "that Mr. Roberts is *one of the many friends of humanity*, who have "*lately*" offered to inoculate the poor for the *Small-pox* free of expense." He has written to Dr. Moseley, "to inform him of this *good intention*," and also adds, "that all children who have any disease from the *Cow-pox*, may be brought to his house, and he will supply them with *advice and medicine, gratis.*"



Mr. Roberts is thus also mentioned in Dr. Rowley's work :

“ Mr. Roberts, of Warwick Street, Golden Square, merits the highest encomiums for his *disinterested* conduct in exposing Cow-pox *imposition*, and in producing numerous facts, which the vaccinators shamefully concealed. That gentleman has been threatened, and treated very illiberally, by the monopolizers of vaccination ; but he has, much to his honour, braved their menaces, and exposed their deceptions, subterfuges, and evasions. Mr. Roberts, likewise, has *humanely* engaged to inoculate the poor for Small-pox *gratuitously*, and has opened his house for authentic information of Cow-pox *failure*, Cow-pox *evil* or *mange*, Cow-pox *death*, &c. and in all cases where SMALL-POX has succeeded VACCINATION.

The name of this apothecary also occurs in Dr. Rowley's *placards* \* stuck up at every *urinal* place in the metropolis and its neighbourhood.

\* I believe the large *advertising bills*, which *quacks* are daily in the habit of engaging, as an address to the *gaping vulgar*, gave real offence to the *faculty at large*, who thought the character of the *regular physician*, educated at the *University of Oxford*, and of the *Royal College of Physicians*, thereby degraded. The *object* was, I suspect, misconstrued, and the *Critical Review* for November 1805, pities the *aged Doctor* thus, “ We sincerely condole with Dr. ROWLEY, that he is under the NECESSITY of so repeatedly assuring



the public of his '*long, very long, long experience*' in quarto and pamphlet, in Latin and English, in newspaper advertisements, and lastly, on dead walls and deserted houses. The '*Nervous Cordial*' and the '*Anti-impetigines*' do not salute our eyes more frequently in every corner of the metropolis, than does the title-page of Dr. Rowley's pamphlet. The great boast of '*experience*,' however, which is here reiterated in every page, is, in its present application, *peculiarly* unfortunate. For what additional elucidation can half a century of experience in medical routine, contribute to a disease, which *eight* years ago was unknown to the profession? *Elucidation*, indeed, is not the object of this publication. It is intended, as the title-page informs us, rather to *supersede enquiry*; to promote the *reintroduction* of the *various pestilence*; and to *inform the world*, that, when that pestilence shall most *desirably* rage, Dr. Rowley is at hand, with a '*certain, experienced, and successful method of combating its virulence*.' Philosophy and science shrink from this *unmanly, illiberal, and disgraceful contest*, in which the calm investigation of truth is impeded by every means which *prejudice can suggest*. The most numerous, the most respectable, and the most respected members of the profession, in their zeal for the interests of humanity, relinquished with one accord a source of unceasing emolument, and adopted a practice which demanded little of their interference, and which spread no disease abroad to require their aid. Yet they have been stigmatized as acting from interested motives, by those men who are averse from relinquishing those advantages retained at the expence of *the misery of mankind*."

The *Letters to Dr. Rowley by Aculeus* seem to have originated from the same, I would hope mistaken idea. In these letters, *Aculeus* says, "Since writing my last, I have had an opportunity of conversing with one of the strenuous supporters and defenders of vaccination; he had perused your pamphlet, which he insultingly termed, '*a mere puff of the*'



doctor's,' and proceeded to prove from various passages, that, with all those repeated professions of disinterestedness with which it abounds, you was, in fact, only labouring in your own vineyard, and endeavouring to attract a share of public attention. Judge, Sir, what must have been my emotions, and what warmth of indignation such an aspersion on your august character, must have created in my bosom! Is it possible, Sir, to conceive any thing more despicable than the wretch, who could deliberately sit down to vilify the most respectable characters of the country, and prejudice the public against one of the greatest blessings ever bestowed by the Father of goodness upon his children, for no other purpose, than merely to promote his own private interest, and gratify a superannuated thirst of popularity, or doting vanity? I will not, I cannot, harbour an idea so degrading to your character and to humanity;—yet it may, perhaps, be agreeable to you to be informed what was the opinion of this vacci-  
 nist, merely as a matter of curiosity. In the first place he objected to your assertion, 'that the French king, Louis XV. would not have died of the Small-pox, had your 'antiseptic plan been adopted; but that the whole and sole cause and reason of his death, was an ignorance of your 'antiseptic plan,' which, without QUACKERY, is the only safe, sovereign, and infallible remedy against the natural, providential, or inoculated Small-pox! He also objected to your use of the pronoun I. 'In my lectures on the art of physic both theoretical and practical, I have fully proved that there is no necessity for that bane of the profession, conjecture, or hypothesis, and if I were asked whether, if I MYSELF were dangerously ill, I would suffer any hypothetical, however plausible, physician to prescribe for my malady, MY ANSWER would be, NO, assuredly NO; unless I wished to risk the loss of life. I could give a REMARKABLE INSTANCE of this!' He objected to your informing the reader that 'science, sagacity, and LONG PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE' have formed your mind; that you 'reflect seriously, determine with caution, are modest, candid, and unassuming;' in short that you are one of the 'most excellent physicians of the times,' your note on page 70,



is a further confirmation of your claims on the public adoration. How few, Sir, like yourself, have 'considered the *actual* nature and *state* of man, and who have read, studied, and reflected judiciously on the ancient and modern history of *philosophy* and *medicine*!' Your '*History of Physic, in Schola Medicinæ Universalis Nova,*' must afford a striking proof of the superiority of its author, over all the medical characters on record; and though, unfortunately, it amounts, as you observe, to 'a complete satire on the *divine art and the divine artists*;' yet, no doubt, it must reflect the greatest splendour on your towering name, unblemished with '*that credulity, assenting folly, artful design, and imposition*' which disgrace your predecessors and contemporaries. After these just, though severe, animadversions on others, many of whom have *heretofore* passed for men of great talents, candour, learning, and worth, the reader may form some faint estimate of your transcendent character, or at least of your own sentiments respecting *yourself*. He objected to your exclaiming, '*Virtue, inestimable virtue, is its own reward*!' for who, after reading your treatise, will ever employ *any other physician*, when they can obtain *your assistance*? Do you not tell the world of your '*long experience, constant study, and extensive practice*?' that your '*intellects have been actuated by daily conflicts*?' that you '*have had to conquer disease in all its various appearances, and in different constitutions, through a long life constantly engaged in the mental attentions to all the variety nature presents*?' that you, Sir, are *eminently qualified*' as an *adequate judge on all important professional questions*?' that your '*INTELLECTUALS, unbiassed and vigorous,*' render you '*adequate to ALL the most important concerns of life or professions*?' Let any one who doubts your pretensions, look to the *note* on page 7 or 70—in short, let them look in *any part of your pamphlet*, or even the *advertisement* on the back of it, and they can no longer remain in ignorance of *your claims* on the public admiration. Who, I ask, will any one after this employ *any other physician*? much less the supporters of vaccination, whose characters you have so blackened,



that their very friends are now ashamed to know them, and whom you recommend to be discarded from the bedsides of the sick. He objected to your expression against the vaccinists, '*The Lord laugheth them to scorn*'—yet shall future generations chaunt your praise? Shall not grateful pæans swell the air, and '*MILLIONS*' chorus join?—Yes, *History* shall cull her fairest plume to grace her brightest page, and speak YOUR PRAISE, great and immortal ROWLEY! unequalled for *originality of thought*, unrivalled in *logical skill*, unprecedented in *oratorical powers* and *scholastic crudition*, the ornament and boast of your profession, the paragon of science and literature, the *ne plus ultra* of every human perfection!!! Wishing you, great and magnanimous Sir, all the fame you merit, and that your *Anti-vaccinarian Society* may produce you the emolument you promise yourself from its institution, I remain yours to the end,

"ACULEUS."

This brought out the following uncommonly severe, but too just animadversions on Dr. Rowley, by Mr. Ring, in the Medical Journal, for Feb. 1806.

"Dr. Rowley expresses a great dislike to innovations, and a great contempt for those who are less advanced in years than himself. In short, he thinks no man fit to practise physic till he is arrived at his *dotage*. It was not always so. Formerly the doctor was young; then he endeavoured to disparage those who were older than himself. Now he is old; and endeavours to disparage those who are younger than himself.

In his "LETTERS TO DR. HUNTER, he says, 'It is an arduous task to remove prejudices, in men so self-sufficient and self-important as some physicians are. Men advanced in years, whose prejudices are habitual, who possess a plenitude of pride and practice, have little time for reflection. Endeavours of this nature are treated with supercilious contempt. Any



*desires to improve the art, frequently excite envy in proportion to their merit; and are illiberally termed innovations. They meet with every opposition which artifice can invent, or medical grimace furnish.*

“ ‘I could produce several instances of the most exalted characters, who have been persecuted and detested by the faculty, for what has rendered their names immortal. I scarcely know any improvement in medicine, which has not met with strong opposition. It is a melancholy reflection, that a man should incur the displeasure of the members of his profession, for those very inventions, which merit the approbation and esteem of all mankind. Let us reflect for a moment on the fate of Vesalius and Harvey, and the introducers of chemical remedies, bark, antimony, and mercury, not to mention the unmerited opposition to your own discoveries in the lymphatic system.’ ”

“ ‘The common modes of practice are frequently so inadequate to the obstinacy of some diseases, that I am disposed to think, every rational attempt to improve our art is laudable.—We should always recollect *how much we pretend to, and how little we comprehend, in the immense fields of medical science*’.”

In the Introduction to his “TREATISE ON SORE LEGS,” which he pretended to cure without rest, he tells us, ‘prevailing prejudices are there censured, not perhaps with that degree of complacency, which readers of a certain class expect. Men habituated to a faithful and implicit observance of old doctrines, however false, bear with impatience any attempt to convince them of error. Accustomed in infancy to receive resemblances for realities, and opinions without demonstrations, and having passed, perhaps, a long life in error, *they are exasperated by an overthrow of their favourite systems.* The mysterious oracles of indolent tranquillity, and *specious deception*, must not be profaned with impunity by the sacrilegious hand of innovation:

Namque hoc tempore  
Obsequium amicos, *veritas* odium parit.



“ ‘The more successful any improvement is,’ continues Dr. Rowley, “with so much the more fury it is opposed; as the history of medicine fully testifies, in the examples of mercury, bark, antimony, *inoculation*, &c. Every instance of an extraordinary cure reflects dishonour on the unsuccessful; and rarely fails to excite in *envious minds*, *private opposition*, at the expence of honour, integrity, and truth’.”

In his “ESSAY ON THE SORE THROAT,” he says, “Experience alone, for ages, scarcely improved physic; nor does *the longest experience ever form a great physician*. Old age often rivets the fallacies driven into the juvenile mind.”

“He continues. ‘The most important discoveries, which have elated the medical art to its present respectability, have frequently been introduced *amidst the fury of party*, and *the hissings of envy*. A professional man, therefore, who has penetration to detect, and courage to expose error, or intrude new doctrine, however meritorious, has no more right to expect confidence or candour, than his predecessors.’”

In the introduction to his Memoir on “the Causes of the great Number of sudden Deaths amongst Adults and Children in PUTRID SCARLET FEVERS, &c. he says, ‘*It is a notorious fact, that many of the faculty grow white-haired, and bald-headed, in errors and prejudices; and when these die, there are others who are become grey-headed under the former professors*. These step into the cathedra, or professor’s chair, and pursue the old beaten tracks; without ever reflecting that they are erroneous, or capable of improvement; and even if they perceive errors, they are too indolent to expose or attack them, but leave that task for those who follow in succession.’”

“ ‘If, however, a man should not have sufficient penetration to discover, early in life, the defects of the medical art, and if he possess not a warm desire and spirit to remove them, he never will, in old age, attack, much less defeat, the hydra-headed monster of hereditary prejudice.’ Hence, Dr. Rowley observes, ‘it is easy to see, whence, and by whom, improvements, however important, have been and are opposed’.”



It would indeed be endless to quote all Dr. Rowley's inflammatory declamations, when *young*, against *old* practitioners; and, as might be expected, his boasts of *old age*, when advanced in years, then throwing every thing he opposed, always to the side of *youth*. Finally, in his pamphlet entitled, "COW-POX INOCULATION *no security* AGAINST SMALL-POX INFECTION," he says, "Violent enthusiasts have engaged in the project; men sufficiently vehement and active, if listened to, to have overturned the best-governed state in the world. A faithful herd of proselytes servilely followed, many men of strong passions, little experience, and inordinate vanity. Men in general, who had never seen much of Small-pox Inoculation, or who were too young and inexperienced to know from practical observation, that touchstone of science, the refined perfection of Small-pox Inoculation, the sovereign and indubitable preventive of *natural* Small-pox."

"In short, many, many lent their names, who were little known in the great world, or to the elders of the profession, and who seemed to usher themselves into public notice under the novel and flattering auspices of Cow-pox Inoculation; their *juvenility* is the only excuse for their rashness. These are the men to whom the world is indebted for all the evils that have happened, or will probably happen, from Cow-pox Inoculation."

Let me ask Dr. Rowley, whether Dr. Jenner, the favourite pupil of the immortal Hunter, whom as promising most, he wished to associate with himself, as lecturer, in London, is a *boy*? whether the aged and venerable Dr. Saunders, Dr. Denman, Sir Walter Farquhar, Mr. Cline, &c, are *striplings*? and if he strikes at me, I am passed the age of *forty*; and, lastly, whether the Royal College of Physicians, with the aged Dr. Gisborne at their head, are *juniors* in the profession, who gave the following clear, and unequivocal testimony in favour of vaccination, although Dr. Rowley says, "being called upon, much to its honour, the Royal London College refused its assent."



College of Physicians, April 13, 1802.

" SIR,

" I have laid before the College the letter which I have had the honour to receive from you a few days ago, and am directed by them to answer, that the *extreme mildness* of the *symptoms* generally attendant on vaccine inoculation is such, that as well from their individual experience, as from the evidence of others, in favour of the practice, they believe it *perfectly safe*, when *properly conducted*, and highly deserving the encouragement of the public, on account of the ultimate great advantage expected from it, which can only be fully established by the extended and successful experience of many years.

" I have the honour to be,

" SIR,

" Your most obedient servant,

" T. GISBORNE."

Nothing can be more decided than the import of this letter; and to deny its being *in favour* of *vaccination*, is a LIBEL against *this august public body*, and shews a disposition not willing to *understand* what militates against any favourite opinion. The "ultimate great advantage" was the extirpation of the Small-pox, and this, the College justly observes, could not arise until *prejudice* was subdued "by the extended and successful experience of many years." They appear to have foreseen the *opposition* that would arise to this salutary art from the *want of knowledge* among some who practised it; that *opposition* which would arise from the *prejudices* of the *vulgar*;—and lastly, the *opposition* that might occur even from *some members* of *their own body* for the sake of *interest*, or for *popularity*, or from *misinformation* and *ignorance* of the subject.



## Placard.

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“ MORE PROOFS AGAINST COW-POX.

“ 440 CASES.

“ *ANTI-VACCINARIAN SOCIETY,*

“ FOR RECEIVING, CORRECTING, AND PUBLISHING THE  
DANGEROUS AND DESTRUCTIVE EFFECTS OF

“ COW-POX,

“ WITHOUT ANY REWARD WHATEVER TO THE MEMBERS.”

---

After advertising Dr. Rowley's work,

“ *Necessary to be read by all tender parents,*”

then comes

“ *ADDRESS.*

“ \* \* \* *The Anti-Vaccinarian Society gratuitously purpose to examine all accounts and facts of Cow-pox failure ; whether of Small-pox, or beastly breakings-out after Cow-pox inoculation ; they therefore respectfully entreat the Faculty of Physic, and the Public in general, to send whatever they know of ILL CONSEQUENCES arising from Cow-pox, to Mr. ROBERTS, No. 10, WARWICK STREET, near GOLDEN SQUARE.—The Society likewise humanely intend to inoculate the Poor with Small-pox mild matter, according to Dr. Row-*



ley's directions, GRATIS, and they hope for assistance from the Nobility, Gentry, and Public in general, to second their efforts in supporting the cause of humanity against Cow-pox injuries. The *tyranny*, the cruel *despotic tyranny*, of forcing *Cow-pox misery* on the *innocent babes of the poor*, whether they will or not, is considered a gross violation of religion, morality, law, and humanity, and the sooner suppressed the better for mankind.

*"Some of the public Prints, and even Booksellers, have denied publishing or vending the Mass of Evidence against Cow-pox."*

Mr. Roberts, once a little apothecary in *Wapping*, having quitted London, another name, Mr. Tinckler's, was attempted; but this gentleman applying to become an humble apothecary to a charity, the reference is now at last to Dr. Rowley, No. 21, Saville Row.

Although this *Anti-vaccinarian Society* has long been made to figure on dead walls and over pumps, we hear, as yet, of no Patron, President, Vice-President, Medical Council, &c. but only of Dr. ROWLEY.

It served, however, to alarm the weak minds of the credulous populace, and it produced, in a few days, 504 cases against vaccination, and replenished the Doctor's pocket by a third edition of a book which outdoes Lewis's *Tales of Wonder and of Terror*.



A full refutation of Curling's case appears in Mr. Merriman's "OBSERVATIONS ON SOME LATE ATTEMPTS TO DEPRECIATE THE VALUE AND EFFICACY OF VACCINE INOCULATION."

"If it be ascertained (as I trust it has,) that the *Vaccine Inoculation* is *as much to be depended on* as the *Variolous*, in preventing the infection of the Small-pox, it is unnecessary to attempt saying much of its superior value in other respects. Those who have once seen how much greater are the sufferings of patients under the mildest form of Small-pox, than are those in the worse Cow-pox, cannot hesitate in giving a preference to the latter. But when it is considered, that many of those who are variolated have the disease very severely; that some are marked, seamed, and even rendered blind; and that others lose their lives in consequence; none but the most *perversely obstinate* can continue to encourage the propagation of so fatal a disease. It is, indeed, contended, that the ill effects and fatal tendency of variolous inoculation, are by no means so great as they are generally stated to be. Experience, however, proves the contrary, and though some may have been more successful in the practice than the generality of inoculators, I fear the average number of deaths, and other dreadful accidents, under variolous inoculation, have been too clearly ascertained to admit of dispute. Those



who have honoured this little tract with a perusal will have observed, that Dr. MOSELEY is censured for the use of language, which can do his cause *no service*, and which is unfit to be introduced into *any publication*. The whole work is full of invective and abuse, levelled at those who practise the Cow-pox ; who are accused of ‘ *Quixotic buffoonery and fanatic impiety*.’ Nor has he shewn himself in the *cases* he has published the man of *calm examination*, or *the careful investigator of facts*. Desirous of injuring the Cow-pox at *all events*, he has admitted *cases* against it, *void of every trace of authenticity*. The following is sufficient to shew with how much facility *any report* which can be collected against the Cow-pox is admitted by Dr. Moseley. It is given in the third case of the Appendix, and Dr. Moseley says, ‘ that he possesses nearly a thousand of a similar nature,’—‘ *ab uno disce omnes*.’

“ Having some previous knowledge of Mrs. Curling, I determined to call on her, and learn the particulars from herself. I was accompanied by my friend, Mr. Henning, surgeon, of Newman Street, who can vouch for the truth of the following statement.

“ On being informed that we were desirous of making inquiries respecting a child of hers, who was said, in a publication of Dr. Moseley’s, to have had the Small-pox after being vaccinated, she



expressed a readiness to give all the information in her power ; and the replies which she made to the questions put to her were given in a candid and proper manner.

“ They were, in substance, as follow :

“ That the boy was inoculated for the Cow-pox by Mr. Ring ; that some months after, the exact time she cannot recollect, he had, what *she* thought\* the Small-pox ; that she shewed the child, whilst under the eruption, to Mr. Leighton, Surgeon, of Welbeck-street, and Mr. Draper, Apothecary, of Bulstrode-street, Mary-le-bone, who both declared that the eruption was the *chicken-pox* ; that they both saw it when it was at or near the height ; that Doctor Moseley did not see the child during the time of the eruption, nor did any other medical man, except those above-mentioned ; that a gentleman, whom she supposes was Dr. Moseley, came to her about two or three months ago, and inquired, ‘ if her child had not had the Small-pox after vaccination ? ’ to which she replied, ‘ *she* thought *he* had ’ ; and Dr. Moseley, *without making any inquiry into particulars*, said, ‘ There is no doubt about it.’ She further said, ‘ that the

\* Mr. Ring publicly states, “ that Mrs. Curling is now so far convinced of *her* error, that *she* lately advised one of her neighbours to have her *two* children vaccinated, and recommended them to me,” (Mr. Ring) “ in order that their children might be vaccinated free of expence.”



eruption continued out only a few days, *she is positive not a week*, and she believes the eruption was dried away at the end of *five* days at the farthest.'

" These are very visible on the *breast*, several marks being left by this eruption.

" The following questions immediately occur :

" Is it consistent with the character of a real searcher after *truth*, to propagate reports on such very slender foundations?

" Is the opinion of any medical practitioner formed, not at the time of the eruption, but after an interval of four or five years, to be believed, in opposition to that of two competent judges, who saw the patient during the continuance of the disease?

" Does the *genuine variola* ever die away completely, in the short space of *five days*?

" If this be possible, would so slight an attack of Small-pox leave indelible marks on the skin?

" Is it characteristic of the Small-pox to leave marks on the *breast*, and not on the *face* and *limbs*?"

Mr. Merriman very *properly* observes, " If Dr. Moseley, or any other person, can bring to light *real facts*, and *decisive cases*, either for or against the Cow-pox, he will do very great service to society ; but the *very reverse* will be the result of publishing as facts, cases which will not bear



*the test of inquiry.* Thousands of such cases as Curling's will not induce the public to give up so valuable a discovery as that of Dr. Jenner has hitherto appeared. *The number of cases is nothing, the reality of the fact is the whole.* The strictest attention to the whole truth is therefore necessary, that we may neither deceive others, nor be ourselves deceived; and though there may be some over-zealous partisans on both sides, the majority of medical practitioners, and the public in general, are only interested in, and ought to be solely desirous of, ascertaining, and abiding by the truth."

"MR. ROBERTS," (according to Dr. Rowley,) "*saw the case.*"

One would have imagined, from such a statement, he saw it *at the time of the eruption.*

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER BY MR. MERRIMAN.

"October 3, 1805. I have this morning called again on Mrs. Curling, in company with Mr. Bradley, of John-street, Berkley-square. In his and my presence, Mrs. Curling affirmed, 'that Mr. Roberts *did not see her child during the eruption, nor till many months after it was over.*'"

Mr. Ring, in his answer to Dr. Moseley, also states, p. 278, "To Dr. Moseley's publication I am indebted for the first information received of the failure, which is pretended to



have happened in the child of Mr. Curling ; Mr. Merriman having refuted this case, and published a statement of it similar to that which I published in the Medical Journal. Mr. Roberts told me, ‘ he had seen the child, *when the eruption was out*, and communicated the case to Dr. Rowley.’ He also says, ‘ Mrs. Curling carried the child to him ;’ but this she *positively denies* : and declares ‘ he did not know any thing of the case till long since the time, when he attended her husband’ \*.”

Is not this Mr. Roberts here proved guilty of *false testimony* by two creditable witnesses ?

\* I cannot but *admire* the *public* letter from Dr. Moseley to this same Mr. Roberts, in the Gentleman’s Magazine for October, 1805, whom he laments “ as having left London, and gone into Wales *for the benefit of his health.*”

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM DR. MOSELEY TO MR. ROBERTS.

“ A defender of TRUTH is an *honourable character*. These modern *Barbaric Cow-worshippers* seem to have inherited, with their enthusiasm, the *principles of the Tartarian race*. The *Romans*, and *all* civilized nations, have always held a LIAR in great abhorrence. The *Scythian Cow Idolators* of old were renowned for LYING. PARTHIS MENDACIOR was as much a *Roman* adage, as VACCINATORIBUS MENDACIOR is among us. May *they* long enjoy this *privilege exclusively* ! !”

This Mr. Roberts, the essence of TRUTH, is generally styled the *Jackal*, or *Provider* to Dr. ROWLEY, and is the *chief authority* for most of his 440 cases, as expressed in the frontispiece—and Dr. MOSELEY’s *Jackal* he has declared to be “ a *furious madman* !”——O TEMPORA ! O MORES !



## 14. THE GEORGE-STREET CASE.

NAME AND ABODE.	AGE. Ys. Ms.	When and by whom vaccinated.	EVENTS.
XVII. Charles Hil- lam's son, No. 44, Little Cas- tle Street.	6	Had the Cow-pox from inoculation at the Vaccine Institution, in July, 1801.	Two years after had the Small-pox, and his bro- ther Richard, who had not had Cow-pox, caught it of him. Mr. Roberts, inocu- lated from these children, and produced the Small- pox in the usual manner.

The only difference in Dr. Rowley's statement is "*had the Small-pox ;*" leaving out "*had it in the usual manner.*"

Mr. Ring observes, as to the expression by Dr. Moseley "*in the usual manner :*"

" We were before told, that the Small-pox, which appeared in Mr. Bowen's child, died away in the *usual manner* ; but when I questioned Mr. Bowen on this head, I found that they died away *prematurely*, and never came to *suppuration* \*."

\* As it is not my present intention to enter into all Dr. Rowley's *mis-statements* against vaccination, whom I *seriously* consider as a LUNATIC, that is, influenced *monthly* by the moon, (a subject Dr. Moseley has much attended to of late, and should have led him not to have coupled *his name* with that of Dr. Rowley,) the best excuse I can make for *his* conduct ; but as Dr. Moseley stands, I hope, acquitted of *lunar* influence, I have *purposely* not let slip past a *single case* he has published in his work, and the case of Mr. Bowen will, therefore, pro-



This case, like the last, is, I suspect, of Mr. *Roberts's* providing.

perly come into a note, as it is related by both Moseley and Rowley.

### 15. THE HARROW CASES.

“ Mr. Bowen’s evidence against vaccination originated from error ; and has given rise to great misrepresentation. Having vaccinated one of his children above four years previous to the date of his communication, he put her to the test of variolous inoculation three years successively, and each time she resisted infection ; but on the fourth inoculation, a pustule rose in the arm, which was followed by febrile symptoms, and some eruptions, all of which, except one, died away without maturation. From this pustule, which was on the fore-arm, Mr. Bowen inoculated another patient, and produced the Small-pox.

“ It is well known, and has been proved by examples, that a local pustule may be produced by inoculation in those who have had the Small-pox, as well as in those who have had the Cow-pox ; and that constitutional symptoms, together with a rash, or miliary eruption, are also sometimes produced in such a case. As to a single pustule, capable of yielding matter, it may also easily be excited in consequence of the application of virus by the nails of the patients, either immediately after the operation, or at any subsequent time during the continuance of the pustule ; and this is no uncommon occurrence, either in variolous or vaccine inoculation.

“ When any person is inoculated for the Small-pox, who has neither had the Small-pox nor the Cow-pock, a pustulous eruption takes place in the neighbourhood of the primary pustule ; and the whole constitute a cluster of Small-pocks, which become more or less confluent. But in the present



All Dr. Moseley's cases, therefore, cannot be laid to the *madman's* charge.

instance there was only a solitary pustule in the place of inoculation; as in those who are put to the test after they have had the Small-pox.

“ Another circumstance worthy of notice, in those who are put to the test after the Small-pox or the Cow-pock, is, that in general there is a considerable itching of the part, which disposes the patient to rub or scratch the pustule; and of course to aggravate the inflammation, as well as the constitutional symptoms; and to produce a secondary inoculation.

“ Mr. Bowen also put the children of the Rev. Mr. Evans to the test, and produced pustules in the arm, from which he inoculated others, and propagated the Small-pox far and wide. This was owing to his not considering that local pustules may be produced in persons who have had the Small-pox, as well as in those who have had the Cow-pock. He is now *convinced* of his *error*; and thinks it probable, that the pustule on the fore-arm of his own child was occasioned by the application of matter to the part. This is the more likely to have been the case, when it is stated, that in the children of Mr. Evans the arms itched much; the pustules were early in their appearance, and rapid in their course; and the children broke the pustules by scratching them.

“ It must give great pleasure to many of my readers to know, that Mr. Bowen is now so far convinced of the fallacy of his experiments, as again to prefer vaccine inoculation. He has not only applied to me for Cow-pock matter for his general practice; but in particular for Mrs. Evans, who has lately submitted another child to vaccination. Thus the liberal part of the community are open to conviction; and the mist of prejudice gradually vanishes before the light of truth.”

FROM RING'S ANSWER TO DR. MOSELEY.



But it proves how *spiteful* Dr. MOSELEY must be *against the Cow-pox*; how *perversely blinded*, to have accepted such intelligence without the smallest inquiry as to the TRUTH of the narrative!

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. HILLAM TO  
DR. THORNTON.

“ Mr. *Roberts* never did *take matter* (as is asserted by Dr. Moseley) from the child *vaccinated*, and thought afterwards to have received the Small-pox.”

As to Mr. Roberts having produced the Small-pox from the eruption, that is said to have been the Small-pox in Charles Hillam's vaccinated child, this is, you see, denied, and even if he had, are our inquiries to end here?

Interrogating Mr. Lewis, he confesses, “ that he then took matter for vaccination in all its stages.”

Hence, even allowing Mr. Roberts worthy of being credited against the written declaration of the father of the child, still the case would not merit to be received as a fair objection against vaccination, as practised and recommended by Dr. Jenner.



## 16. AN ADAM-STREET CASE.

It is thus related in a letter to Dr. Moseley :

## XVII.

*“ Upper Berkeley Street, 23d March, 1805.*

*“ SIR,*

*“ On Tuesday the 5th of this month, I was sent for to visit Thomas Bambridge, aged five years, son of Mr. Thomas Bambridge, living at No. 17, in Adam Street, Portman Square.*

*“ I found the child had an erysipelatous appearance about the abdomen and upper part of the thighs. The pulse was quick, hard, and full. The tongue coated and dry ; the skin hot ; with slight shiverings, delirium, sickness, and very restless. I gave him saline and antimonial medicines. On Wednesday the delirium was somewhat abated. On Thursday much the same. On Friday some Small-pox eruptions appeared in different parts of the body. On Saturday very full of eruptions, running one into the other, threatening a dreadful confluent kind ; which, I am sorry to say, it proved to be. On Sunday still fuller. On Monday and Tuesday, much the same, and the face very little swollen : the extremities much more so. On Wednesday the child lost the sight of his right eye entirely. On Thursday, which made the eleventh day, he appeared sensible. On Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, much the same, and kept up his strength tolerably well. On Monday he refused nourishment ; laboured under great anxiety and restlessness. He grew rapidly worse ; and on Tuesday morning, at one o'clock, the 19th of the month, and the 16th day of the disease, he died. I omit the particulars of the treatment, which, through his dreadful case, was such as is usual on these occasions ; but where there was not the smallest prospect of being useful to the patient.*

*“ This child, Sir, was inoculated by Mr. Wachsel at the Small-pox Hospital in February, 1800, for the Cow-pox ; and had the disorder to his satisfaction ; and he gave the mother of the child full assurance, that it would never have the Small-pox, as the Cow-pox marks on the arm were perfectly as they should be.*

*“ The child, you know, Sir, expired a little before you arrived at the house ; but several others of the faculty saw him through the whole progress of the disease ; and some violent supporters of the Cow-pox : among the visitors was Mr. Wachsel himself ; but in this case they had nothing to say. Indeed it was impossible they should.*

*“ I remain, Sir, your obedient humble servant,*

*“ GILBERT BURNETT.”*



The only difference in Dr. Rowley is the *proper* omission of the treatment by *saline* medicines, for then he brings in, with some shadow of propriety, his concluding reflection—"This is *one instance*, amongst *other facts*, that *previous Cow-pox* is *no soother of Small-pox*!"

The picture of the Small-pox, as here represented, is, I assure the reader, a faithful representation of the daily sufferings of this wretched child for the space of sixteen days.

It is this horrid disease that the *vaccinists* wish to see banished the world: it is this cruel calamity they ardently endeavour to avert.

Tragical as it is in this country, it is nothing in comparison to what it is abroad.

In some parts of India, when the Small-pox invades a town or village, the inhabitants all fly the place, and leave the wretched victims of this destructive disease to perish of hunger, or be devoured by the wild beasts.

Here the inoculators for the Small-pox spread far and wide the pestilence, and promote the natural Small-pox by the partial mode as it is now performed.

When I was last at Bishop Stortford, general vaccination was going on, and all was flourishing and smiling.

I was informed, that when the parish inoculation for the Small-pox was last performed, about thirty years since, that for weeks and months the



*markets* were *deserted*, trade nearly ruined, and the bell was perpetually tolling for those who had died of the casual Small-pox—terror and dismay was seated upon every countenance.

Yet there are here *monsters* in human flesh who aim at the perpetuity \* of this disease.

The two *Suttons* † I willingly excuse. They

\* Ye band of senators, whose suffrage sways  
 Britannia's realms, whom either Ind' obeys,  
 Who right the injur'd and reward the brave,  
 Stretch your *strong arm*, for ye have power to *save* !  
 Hear this, ye SENATORS, this *truth divine* :  
 Ye who permit THEIR MURDERS share the crime.

† They may stand pardoned for their opposition to vaccination, for the good they have formerly done mankind—and are to be pitied for their improvidence, in thinking *Small-pox* was a disease seated on the earth, like *the Kings of France* :—and I again repeat, I hope Government will reward them as *BENEFACTORS OF MANKIND*, by whom thousands of *useful* lives have been preserved.

But it is impossible to use a stronger memorial than that given by his active, and not unfrequently eloquent, friend, Dr. Moseley, who says, “ Heroes and statesmen, who serve their country, are loaded with riches and honours ; and bounty is often given for comparatively useless discoveries. Alas ! here is a man (Daniel Sutton) who has not only served his country in the most essential manner, but has rendered himself a transcendent benefactor to the whole human race—gliding unheeded to that region of eternal rewards, which the ALMIGHTY hath prepared for neglected merit, in this state of mortal travel. The only legacy he has to bequeath to his family—for the greatest medical improvement



can plead, as the Apothecary in *Romeo and Juliet*, the same applies to all the little other opponents of vaccination,

“ My poverty, and not my will consents.”

But when *men* like Dr. Rowley and Dr. Moseley stand up against vaccination, and impose upon the public *futile objections*, my soul looks at them with the eye of indignation and amazement; and if I were in their situation, until I had publicly recanted my *errors*, destructive to the lives of thousands, nay, myriads, I could not sleep: it is impossible that *they* can enjoy tranquil sleep.

“ ——— Not poppy, nor mandragora,  
Nor all the drowsy syrups of the world,  
Shall ever medicine thee to that *sweet sleep*  
Which thou hadst yesterday.”

SHAKSPEARE.

These physicians ought to retract, and “ although they cannot,” to use Dr. Rowley’s language, “ restore to mankind what they have been deprived of, yet it may shew they are not lost to all the feelings of humanity.”

Dr. Moseley has, indeed, given us some room to expect he will not persist in *murderous error*.

or discovery ever given to the world,—is the pensive reflection on the monument he has raised to an endless fame, with the sad document of the want of gratitude among mankind.”



He concludes his work *against* vaccination by saying,

“ He hopes the *enlightened* friends of vaccination will consider him as a *poor Indian*, travelling through a *pathless wood* ; who breaks the boughs and knots the weeds, as he goes along, to mark out a track FOR HIS RETURN.”

Having no compass to direct him, the comparison is truly applicable.

But, as Mr. Ring observes,

“ Facilis descensus Averni,  
Sed revocare gradum, et superas evadere ad auras,  
Hic opus, hic labor est.”

The Adam-street case, like the rest, falls to the ground, if we only consider the MODE OF VACCINATION.

But it may be proper first to premise some account of the medical treatment.

In the first place, I remark that Dr. Rowley's reflection is *inconsistent*, who accuses “ the Cow-pox of not having *mitigated* the supervening Small-pox.” He should have recollected that he says, “ What cannot be *proved*, should never be *asserted*. LOUIS XV. the *French king*, caught the Small-pox naturally, between the age of 60 and 70, and *died* of that putrid malignant disorder. Who, perhaps, might have been saved, had the French physicians adopted the antiseptic plan I have successfully practised and published, in-



stead of the antiphlogistic *saline* plan, which *commonly* leads to *destruction*, and by which *millions* have been *massacred*."

Again, at page 114, "Wherever there may be apprehension of Small-pox natural infection, after any future period from the time the parties were vaccinated, let the following Rules be observed :

" If there be reason to suppose the infection received from the common symptoms of Small-pox, as pains in the head, back, loins, and fever, cold shiverings, &c. then it is important first to open the pores by James's powder, and a strong solution of camphire, with tincture of snake-root ; and carefully avoid, as recommended in my Treatise on Putrid Fevers, all bleedings and *saline* remedies whatever ; for they have destroyed more victims in the Small-pox than stern armies have by the sword."

It must here be observed, that, apprehending an inflammation of the bowels, the mother gave him a strong purge, of her own head, before she sent for Mr. Burnett. Mr. Ring says, page 283 of his answer to Dr. Moseley, " she also put him into a warm bath : " the mother told me she meant by the bath, " putting his feet into warm water."

Mr. Ring adds : " It is well known, that in those cases where the Small-pox occurs after vaccination, the disease is commonly mild ; but in the present instance it was the reverse ; which is



not at all surprising, when the *mode of treatment* is considered."

It may be doubtful how far this remark may apply to the mother's treatment, or to Mr. Burnett's; but it is rather unlucky that this fatal case should have been treated by *saline* medicines, if the death is to be attributed as the whole fault of vaccination.

But the question in debate is not the propriety or impropriety of the *medical practice* in this case, but whether this child was vaccinated according to the rules laid down by Dr. Jenner.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. WACHSEL  
TO DR. THORNTON.

"THOMAS BAMBRIDGE was vaccinated by me with matter taken on the *twelfth day*."

This case also excited the attention of the Medical Council of the Royal Jennerian Society, and two of the members of the Committee of Enquiry drew up the following correct Report:

"THOMAS BAMBRIDGE\*, son of Mr. BAMBRIDGE, late of Adam-street West, Portman-square, now living at No. 20, Adam-street, Man-

\* Extracted from the Minute Book of the Royal Jennerian Society.



chester-square, was vaccinated at the Inoculation Hospital by Mr. Wachsel, on the 24th of Feb. 1800, when three months old, by two punctures in one arm, from a pustule of *the twelfth day*.

“ On the fourth day signs of infection appeared ; on the tenth there was inflammation round the vesicles. The child had fever two nights. On the eighteenth day the vesicles were scabbed, and on the thirty-fifth the scabs still remained. This statement is received from Mr. Wachsel.

“ The mother of the child states, ‘ that he was inoculated from a child four or five years old, who had, as she thought, a very fine arm ; there being a clear vesicle in the middle, *and a large red mark around it*. The arm of her child resembled that of the child from whom he was inoculated. He was carried to the hospital eight times. He had no herpetic eruption, or tinea.’

“ Mr. Wachsel has no memorandum of matter having been taken from him ; but Mrs. Cambridge states, ‘ that when the pustules were large and full, matter was taken from him to inoculate others.’ She also states, ‘ that the scabs were *not of a dark colour, but lighter than those of the Small-pox.*’

“ She says ‘ the scars were indented, till his arm swelled in consequence of the Small-pox.’ When they were first seen by Dr. Croft, Mr. Ring, and other members of this Society, they were superficial.



“ In the month of February, a younger child in the same family was inoculated with the Small-pox, in consequence of which, this child caught that disease, and died on the seventeenth day.

“ It may be proper to remark, that this child was inoculated from a pustule of the *twelfth* day, with a large areola, and that he, probably, did not go through the *regular process* of vaccination, the *scabs* which succeeded the *pustules* not being of a *dark colour*.”

Here comes afresh the inquiry respecting *security* from *aged*\* matter. Mr. Bambridge describes the person from whom the matter was taken, “ as having the areola completely formed around the vaccine pustule, and the arm swelled and red, with inflammation.”

Of this circumstance both these doctors took care either not to enquire into, or not to inform the public of it, as most persons may be inclined to side with Dr. Jenner, who bids us “ not to *rely* on matter taken after the *ninth day*,”—or as the progress of the pustule varies in different habits “ after the *appearance of the areola*.”

Dr. Moseley talks, indeed, of the “ scar” and “ pustule,” and “ defeat of vaccinators,” and of “ *late matter* ;” but I apprehend he never took any pains to understand the subject, although he

\* The inefficacy of *aged* matter, as proved in this country, has been before discoursed on at p. 31 of this work.



has had the assurance to appear in print as an *antivaccinist*.

In the Medical and Chirurgical Review, No. 52, for January, 1803, at p. 381, the Doctor might have otherwise seen a section worthy of his attention.

### § 33. ON THE COW-POCK.

The following extracts from a "Narrative of Facts concerning the Inoculation of the Kinepox, *Anglicé*, Cow-pock," communicated to the Editors of the Medical Repository by Dr. Waterhouse, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, will be found interesting, as they tend to explain and do away objections which have been started to the new practice, but which appear to be founded in *misconception* and *misrepresentation*. The necessity of attending to the *quality* and *time* of taking of the matter, as well as to the *real character* of the disease, is very clearly evinced; since local, and even constitutional, symptoms following the insertion of the virus, is not sufficient, if the *distinctive characters* of the disease be wanting.

"The very numerous applications for the vaccine virus," Dr. *Waterhouse* observes, "embarrassed me not a little. Practitioners were not then apprized of the very small quantity obtainable from a *single pustule*. I threw out a cautionary hint on this subject, and begged even my quondam pupils to protract their applications for *matter* until the practice was more firmly esta-



blished by experiment, and observed, that some unsuccessful cases in the beginning deprived *Scotland* of the benefits of the Small-pox inoculation for more than twenty years. But the hint was misconstrued, and the *mischief* I dreaded ensued.

“ I had been particularly careful to warn my readers, that there were some circumstances, which, if not critically attended to, would bring the inoculation of this recently-imported distemper into a temporary disrepute. I pointed out, from the writings of Dr. Jenner, the fallacious sources whence a disease merely imitative of the *genuine* kine-pock might arise. I mentioned that *matter*, though originally possessing the specific virus, but which had suffered a decomposition either from putrefaction or some less obvious cause, would produce a *SPURIOUS* disease. I related, that when the pustule or inoculated part, had degenerated into an ulcer, that the matter taken from it, though it possessed the power of inflaming the arm, and of raising fever in the person to whom it was applied, was, nevertheless, *incapable of securing the system against the contagion of the Small-pox.*

“ I felt it my duty, in November, 1800, to acquaint the public, through the medium of the newspaper, that the Kine-pox had, in many places, degenerated from its original character, and that this deviation appeared to have *arisen*



from the inoculator taking his matter from the pustule at *too late a period*. To give all weight to my cautions respecting *spurious* cases, I added this extract from the celebrated Jenner to Dr. Pearson: ‘Much caution is therefore necessary in the progress of this inquiry; and this is my grand fear, that the discovery may fall into discredit from a want of that attention in conducting the experiments which the subject requires: for example, a person may conceive he has the Cow-pox matter on his lancet, when, in fact, there may be only a little *putrid pus*: with this he inoculates, and excites a disease of some kind, *but not such a one as will prevent the Small-pox*. Thus a delusive inference would be drawn, at once hurtful to the cause, and particularly injurious to *me*. However, truth must appear at last.’ And, lest the reader’s attention should not, after all, be sufficiently roused, I added, ‘Instances of this kind are recorded to have happened in England, where the patients were afterwards inoculated for the Small-pox, and *took the disorder*.’

“But these repeated cautions were disregarded by the young and sanguine practitioner, who saw nothing but regular cases, little trouble, and great profits. If those whom it most concerns will not attend to what is written expressly for their information, they must alone be answerable for the consequences. There are cases where ignorance is converted into a crime.



“ Perceiving that my reiterated warnings were misconceived and misrepresented, and finding some professional gentlemen in the country so wrapt up in ideas of extreme simplicity, that they encouraged women and children to inoculate each other, I ceased from further expressions of that kind, and endeavoured to content myself with predicting the consequences of aiming to walk in a narrow and unfrequented path blindfold.

“ During this period, viz. the autumn of 1800, a singular traffic was carried on in the article of *Kine-pock matter*, by persons not in the least connected with the medical profession, such as stage-drivers, pedlars, and, in one instance, the sexton of a Church ! I have known the shirt sleeve of a patient stiff with the purulent discharge from a foul ulcer, made so by unskilful management, and full three weeks after vaccination, and in which there could have been none of the specific virus ; I have known this cut up into small strips, and sold about the country as genuine Kine-pox, coming directly from me. Several hundred people were inoculated with this caustic animal poison, which produced great inflammation, sickness, fever, and in several cases *eruptions*, with a greater disturbance of the system in general than what occurs in the true disease. It is worthy of remark, that I could not influence these people to believe that they had not passed through the true disease, and that they were not secure from the



Small-pox. So true it is, that a man need not despair of making the common people believe any thing *but* TRUTH! That vagrant quacks should stroll about the country, inoculating for half a dollar a head, and some for less, is not quite so surprising, as that they should, in such a country as our's, find people weak enough to receive it from such hands! This imprudence ought not, however, to be attributed to the common people alone. Many young practitioners come in for a share of it. Not a few of them first inoculated themselves, and then others, without having ever read more than the newspaper publications, and some not even those, and who were looking out for eruptions, and foretelling appearances and symptoms that are never attached to the disease; and if any very disagreeable occurrence arose in the course of this imprudent practice, the odium reverted to me.

“ At length a very serious occurrence took place, which arrested, in some degree, this blind rage for promiscuous inoculation; and [as this incident is much oftener quoted than understood, I shall take some pains to explain it, especially as it has ultimately turned out to the honour of the Jennerian discovery and practice.

“ I had inoculated two inhabitants of *Marblehead*, a considerable sea port about 16 miles from *Boston*. The one was a young gentleman, Mr. F. a particular connection of Dr. S. The other



was a boy of about ten years old, the son of Dr. D. Dr. S. had obtained some matter from the arm of a common sailor, who came from London to Marblehead in a ship of which Dr. S.'s son was an officer. But this matter, which was *supposed* to have been the *Cow or Kine-pox virus*, was in fact the *variolous* matter; and Dr. S. began the use of it on his own children, which sufficiently proves the parent was imposed on. The consequence was, the Small-pox spread through the neighbourhood, and the municipal authority gave leave for a general inoculation. Previously to this sad accident, Dr. D. had inoculated about forty persons from the arm of his son whom I had inoculated, but did not adhere to any directions respecting the *time* of taking the matter; and *ALL that he inoculated took the Small-pox either casually, or by inoculation.* The consequence was, as might have been foretold, a sudden downfall to the credit of the new inoculation, and not a few execrations on the original promoter of it. Although I saw clearly the cause of this disaster (for I repaired immediately to Marblehead, and saw the chain of their calamity, and examined every link of it in conjunction with Dr. S. and Dr. D.,) I found it vain to attempt to explain or palliate, but left its developement to time, that infallible test of truth. There was one thing, however, that attracted the attention of a few, namely, that the two persons whom I had vaccinated



escaped the Small-pox, although one was an assistant inoculator, and in some instances nurse, during the whole time that the disorder was passing through the town; and the other slept with his brother during the whole of the disease, which was pretty severe. When the popular voice condemned the Kine-pox, these two facts pleaded strongly in the minds of a *few* for an *arrest of judgment* \*.

\* *From the Boston Chronicle.*

“ MESSRS. ADAMS and RHOADES,

“ Having noticed some cases of the *supposed* Kine-pox, published by Dr. Aspinwall, I think it may conduce to public utility to give you my own case, which was very similar to that given by the above inoculator.

“ I was inoculated by Dr. Babbit, of Sturbridge, last December, with matter obtained from a practitioner in Connecticut. The matter had a purulent cast, and was part of a shirt sleeve worn during the plentiful discharge from the ulcerous state of the pustule. The inoculated arm appeared inflamed by the fourth day, and went on inflaming till about the eighth, when it became a running sore. At this time I had *shiverings, pain in my head, back, and limbs*, with a *loss of appetite*, and at times was very dull and sleepy. The inoculated part became ulcerous, and discharged considerably, and at length terminated in an *irregular hard scab*.

“ I had *eleven pustules* on different parts of my arms, body, and face. From my symptoms I concluded I had passed through the true disease; but, as neither Dr. Babbit nor myself had ever seen the disease, we were at a loss to determine respecting the appearance of the arm.

“ While at Cambridge, attending the medical lectures, I consulted Dr. Waterhouse, who told me he very much



“ At this gloomy period of the business I wrote to my correspondents in England for a fresh sup-

doubted whether I had gone fairly through the *true* disease ; and, to put it out of all doubt, would, if I wished, inoculate me. He did so, and I soon saw an appearance very different from what took place in my former inoculation. The inflammation was not so severe, nor did it resemble a boil so much as the former ; nor did it terminate, like the former, in a hard, irregular, *yellow scab*, but resembled about the sixth day, the seed of the common *running mallows*, or what the children call *cheeses*, depressed in the middle. By the seventh day it preserved the same appearance, but grew larger ; the eighth day it appeared full of watery fluid. On the tenth day the efflorescence came on, and gradually increased till it extended half round the arm. The whole appearance was now *strikingly different from my former case*. About this time, or rather previous, my symptoms commenced : besides a slight swelling, and pain under my arm, I had the ordinary symptoms of fever, such as a pain in my head, and tenderness in my eyes, which was increased by light. I had a tightness or stricture across my breast, an universal affection, *peculiar, and very different from what I ever before experienced*. It appeared to be a specific affection pervading the whole system, and which I felt in every fibre. My feelings were, perhaps, more acute from having rid on horse-back at night, and caught a severe cold. In my former inoculation my system was oppressed with a train of irregular and rather stupifying symptoms, with a dull head-ache. In this, my last inoculation, my symptoms arose gradually with the efflorescence, then as gradually subsided, and by the thirteenth day left me as well as ever.

“ After my first inoculation I had thoughts of trying the experiment of the Small-pox. Had I unluckily done it, I should have added another spurious case, to perplex, con-



ply of vaccine virus, and gave out that the present season was not so favourable for the inoculation as the spring.

“ I gave Dr. Jenner a minute history of the whole business, and begged him to explain this *deterioration* of the virus ; for I wish not to conceal my own perplexity at this period. That worthy man answered, that he had heard of our disasters, and would have given any thing could he have *halloosed* to me through a *speaking-trumpet* across the Atlantic only these words—‘ TAKE THE VIRUS BEFORE THE EFFLORESCENCE APPEARS.’ He soon sent me a fresh supply of matter, and a very lengthy and most lucid letter, which I cannot resist giving to the public in a pamphlet I am now preparing for the press, because it is a map of the road which the inoculator is to pursue, and which will for ever preserve him from losing his way.

“ The *Massachusetts Medical Society*, impressed, and discourage the inexperienced Practitioner. During my inoculation, Dr. Waterhouse pointed out, from time to time, the difference in the appearances, as well as the symptoms, between the *genuine* and *spurious* cases, or those which will secure the human body ever after from the Small-pox, and such as are no security at all. At present, I feel so confident that I have gone through the *genuine Kine-pox*, that I have not the least dread of exposing myself to the natural Small-pox.

“ CYRUS FAY.”

“ Nov. 9th, 1801.”



sed with concern for the evil tendency of the many idle and false reports respecting the *spurious cases* at Marblehead, appointed a committee, consisting of their President, Vice President, and myself, to inquire into facts on the spot, and make report. The commendations made to that learned body from Marblehead were entirely to their satisfaction. Dr. Drury, of that town, wrote to me a very particular account of his inoculations from the matter taken from the arm of his son, and appeared to be thoroughly convinced that all his cases were *spurious*. He concludes his candid narrative in these words :

“ ‘ On the whole, from what I have seen, it is my decided opinion that the inoculation for the kine-pox, if *properly* performed, is a certain preventive of the *Small-pox*. The principal thing to be attended to in this operation is, to take the matter at a proper time, which, in my opinion, as I have now learnt, is commonly on the eighth or ninth day, and in a limpid state. The matter I used was in a *puriform* state, and mostly on thread.’ ”

“ In a letter from the Rev. Mr. Story, brother to Dr. S. dated the 7th of May, 1801, he says, ‘ It ever has been, and now is, my firm belief, that the Kine-pox is a sovereign antidote against the *Small-pox*. The only point to be determined is, whether the person has really passed through the *genuine* disease ; for much *spurious*



matter has been in use, which, though it may produce some eruptions, will be no security against the Small-pox, as was the case of the bulk of those in this place. It appears that Dr. D. took matter for his inoculations on the thirteenth day. I view the Kine-pox inoculation as a most important discovery, and, when better understood, will be carried on with safety and advantage to the public’.”

*The following Letter from Dr. SPENCE, of Dumfries, Virginia, to Dr. WATERHOUSE, is to the same purpose.*

“ Soon after I commenced the new inoculation here, two *spurious* cases occurred. A young gentleman of intelligence and discernment, but not bred to physic, who had read with great attention your letter to Mr. Jefferson, and the few books I had on the Kine-pox, inoculated three children of a poor family from the arm of a mulatto girl, *late on the ninth day of the disease*. One of these children, a boy about ten years of age, had the *true* disease, and on the eleventh day a small pustule appeared near the inoculated part. The other two children, his sisters, who were inoculated from the *same subject*, and at the *same instant*, had the disease evidently in a *spurious form*\*. The vesicular elevation appeared

\* The reader may find some difficulty how to reconcile



sooner than what I had observed in any of my patients: it was *convex*; and on the ninth day there was on both their arms a rough, prominent, yellow crust, surrounded with a small inflamed margin: no fever; no uneasiness in the axilla."—These children were afterwards re-inoculated, and did well.

"These cases likewise gave rise to a circumstance too important to be omitted. The Circuit, or District Court of Virginia, a court of the greatest dignity in this State, except the High Court of Appeals, meets at this place twice a year, in the months of May and October. Last month, when the new inoculation was making some noise here, the Hon. Judge Prentis, whose

to himself this fact. *Late* on the ninth day, the same matter appeared to produce both the *true* and *spurious* Cow-pock. The same, Dr. Thornton says, in his Evidence before the House of Commons, occurred to him. The reason of which Dr. Thornton explains thus. "The *Small-pox* pustule is *one bag*, and when opened, all the matter comes out together, and the *young matter* is generally mixed with the *old*:—but the *Cow-pock* pustule has this difference, the formation of the matter is in *rings*, one being formed each day, and the fluid matter is in *cells*; hence, the *outer-ring* is *young matter*, even in an *old pustule*, whilst the *central rings*, possess only *stale inert* matter. Thus the *Small-pox* inoculation commonly succeeds even from *stale* matter, and two persons, according as the lancet be put to receive the matter from the *vaccine* pustule, may be rendered *secure* from the *Small-pox*, or the contrary. But the most *prudent* way certainly is always to take matter as early as possible.



place of residence is at Williamsburg, and who had all his children inoculated last spring with the *spurious* matter introduced into this state, and which did not resist the Small-pox, spoke of the Jennerian discovery with a good deal of indignation. Hearing this, I took the earliest opportunity of letting him know how the President had obtained the vaccine matter from you, and that its effects were widely different from any thing he had hitherto seen. Candid, and open to conviction, he visited with me a number of patients of all colours in the various stages of the disease; and, on seeing their arms, at once declared the appearances were completely different from the inoculation on James River. I then shewed him what I believed to be two *spurious* cases; at which he was forcibly struck, observing, that his children's arms had precisely *such a crust, and such an inflammation*. He told me, at the same time, that the matter with which his children were inoculated was *yellow*, and the scab of the *same colour*; and that he never discovered them to have any fever, soreness under the arm, or swelling in the axilla. These cases made such an impression upon him, that he desired me to furnish him with some fresh infected thread, with the necessary instructions for carrying on the new inoculation with certainty. For these instructions I was indebted to your letter to the President. But, in order to illustrate the subject



more fully to those gentlemen who had been formerly inoculating in that part of Virginia, I quoted these few but impressive lines, in a letter I had the honour of receiving from you last summer: ‘ Please to present my compliments to Dr. H——, and tell him, if he inoculated with *yellow* matter, or by his inoculation produced *yellow* matter, I hesitate not to say, that it was not the true disease. Nay, further, if the virus did not lay dormant until the fifth, sixth, or seventh day, it was spurious. If it occasioned inflammation, and a *purulent* collection of matter by the third day, I want no further evidence of its being the *spurious* and not the *true* disease.

“ This gentleman mentions several cases which appear to confirm the opinion of Dr. Pearson, that those who have undergone the specific Cow-pock pustule and fever are afterwards unsusceptible both of the Small-pox and Cow-pox; and that those who have undergone the Small-pox are also unsusceptible of the Cow-pock.”

In our own country, I can also find further respectable and ample support of Dr. Jenner’s opinion. Mr. Bryce, whose late Treatise on Cow-pox exhibits the most accurate attention and very considerable ingenuity, says, “ that during the seventh, eighth, and ninth days, the virus is in the state of greatest activity.” He adds, “ I have inoculated with virus which was taken at the end



of the *eleventh* day from inoculation, and with it have produced the affection regular in all its stages. But I have observed, that the virus, when taken at this stage of the affection, was less certain of taking effect, and that it frequently happened, that although the appearances were favourable for the first three or four days, yet that they then gradually would die away, and no vesicle be produced. At other times, virus of this description has produced a *pustule of considerable size*, and one *having a considerable degree of redness* around the base, which was nevertheless easily distinguished from Cow-pox."—"Mr. Bryce's observations here coincide most exactly with my own," says Mr. Creaser. "A rapid progress of inflammation ceasing before the due period, or an excess of inflammation and undue extent of pustule terminating in protracted ulceration, have been the events in many cases, where I have witnessed the application of vaccine virus taken at a late period of its duration."

The same thing also has occurred in the Small-pox. "In the fourth volume of the *Memoirs of the Medical Society of London*, Mr. Kite relates the history of three children inoculated with variolous matter from a single and late pustule. A short time after they caught the disease in the natural way.

Dr. Jenner, in his "*Further Observations*," relates some accurately-detailed instances, on the



authority of Mr. Earle, Surgeon, of Frampton-upon-Severn. This gentleman inoculated five persons with variolous matter taken from a late stage of the Pustule; and of these five, four afterwards had the Small-pox in the natural way. The inflammation and suppuration of the arms were as considerable, or more so than common; and in one there was an ulcer which cast off large sloughs. Eruptions appeared about the ninth day, which died off sooner than usual."

Mr. Trye, Surgeon to the Gloucester Infirmary, has given some instances of peculiar effects of variolous matter, taken at a late period of the variolous pustule, when exsiccation had taken place. "Ten children were inoculated with this matter; and in the decline of the disease, two had erysipelas about the incisions; another had abscesses in the cellular substance; and five or six of the rest, abscesses in the axillæ." Besides the cases above quoted, Mr. Earle inoculated three children with late matter procured from another person. "The arms inflamed; fever and eruption appeared, but disappeared in two days. These he inoculated again with matter in its perfect state, and they received the infection of Small-pox \*."

\* Please to refer to note \*, p. 201 of this work.



## 20, 21, 22. A SECOND ADAM STREET CASE, THE ADAMS MEWS CASE, AND BERKELEY STREET CASE.

### LETTER FROM GILBERT BURNETT, ESQ.

*" Upper Berkeley Street, 29th March, 1805.*

" SIR,

" Harriet Bambridge, sister to Thomas Bambridge, before mentioned, aged nearly three years, was also inoculated for the Cow-pox, by Mr. Wachsels, in October 1802, and had the disorder to his entire satisfaction. She also has had the Small-pox. You, Sir, are very well acquainted with the general state of the case; but I beg leave to send you the particulars, as I attended her, to lay before the public, if you please.

" She sickened considerably on Sunday the 17th instant. The pulse was very quick; the tongue dry and coated; the skin dry and hot; with shiverings, offensive breath, sickness of the stomach, pain in the head, and lassitude. She had been drooping for several days before. On Monday a number of eruptions appeared, and the violence of the fever abated; but she was very restless in the night, and the fever remained four days. I saw her every day. Some of the pustules matured; and the scabs are not yet fallen off. She, as well as her deceased brother, caught the Small Pox from their infant sister, whom I inoculated on the 5th of the last month. This child has been seen by many gentlemen of the profession, and some of them deny her disease to be the Small Pox. But they are vehement advocates for the Cow Pox.

" Mrs. Bambridge informs me, that Dr. Walker of the Central Inoculation House, on looking at the child's arm when he went to see her brother, and observing the Cow Pox marks, said 'it was impossible she could ever have the Small Pox.'

" Mrs. Bambridge also informs me, that two gentlemen, one a man midwife in great practice in this town, the other a surgeon to a public hospital, both declared that this was not the Small Pox; and that the latter said, the eruptions only arose from sleeping in the same sheets which her brother had slept in. However, the symptoms, regular course, duration, and nature of the case, will refute them. I know it was the Small Pox; but as you frequently saw the child yourself, I leave the matter to you for superior opinion.

" I remain, Sir, your obedient humble servant,  
" GILBERT BURNETT."

To Dr. MOSELEY,  
Albany House, Piccadilly.

To put it to the proper proof, but not for any satisfaction of my own, the case being clear enough, I advised Inoculation from Harriet Bambridge.

Mr. Burnett accordingly inoculated Patience Edwards in Adams Mews, a child three months old, on the 22d of March, from her. Patience Edwards had the Small Pox in the usual and regular manner:—about 150 pustules. I saw this child often during the disease; and had others inoculated from her; all of whom had the Small Pox properly. MOSELEY.



Here are cases of exultation for Dr. Rowley, who thus states them:

### CASES XXVIII. XXIX. AND XXX.

NAME AND ABODE.	AGE. Ys.Ms.	When and by whom vaccinated.	EVENTS.
Harriet Bambridge, sister to Thomas Bambridge before-mentioned. Some <i>Cow Pox</i> adherents looking at the arm, as in <i>Gould's child's case</i> , thought it impossible for the patient to catch the Small Pox, but the partisans of Cow Pox were <i>deceived</i> , as usual.	1	October, 1802, went through the Cow Pox satisfactorily. Besides these two inoculated with Small Pox, Mr. Maybank, Sloane-street, inoculated Lady Syke's footman's child, who had the Small Pox.	In March, 1805, received the Small Pox infection. Caught it from her infant sister, whom Mr. Burnett inoculated for the Small Pox. This case was seen by numbers: <i>the enthusiasts, as usual, denied the fact</i> ; but Mr. Burnett inoculated <i>Patience Edwards</i> , three months old, <i>Adams-mews</i> , and <i>Elizabeth Walter</i> , in Berkeley-street, aged two years, and to the <i>entire discomfiture</i> of the <i>violent vaccinators</i> , they both had the Small Pox in a <i>regular</i> manner. The last child had passed through Cow Pox at five months old, under that <i>respectable Surgeon</i> , Mr. Tuson.

One of these cases excited the attention of the Medical Council of the Royal Jennerian Society, and the following fair account of it, was drawn up by two of their members.

“ Harriet Bambridge \*, had about two dozen

\* Extracted from the Minute Book of the Royal Jennerian Society.



small pustules, and it is uncertain, *whether* these proceeded from the constitutional affection, or whether they were *local*, and occasioned by contact. *It is not improbable*, that they were of the *latter kind*, since this child several times lay in the same bed with her brother, and matter must have been frequently applied to her skin, by the hand of her mother, who sedulously attended upon both."

This case, therefore, cannot be alleged, as a *fair* instance of Small-pox after vaccination.

That local pustules, are capable of exciting as great, or even greater constitutional affection, may be seen in my little work, PROOFS OF THE EFFICACY OF THE COW-POX, WITH AN ANSWER TO SOME OF THE OBJECTIONS RAISED AGAINST IT. Price 1s. 6d. Printed for Symonds, Paternoster Row, for distribution. In this the Fulwood's Rents Cases, (Cases C. and CI. of Rowley) are fully considered, and instances are adduced of great constitutional effects, *sometimes* produced by the irritation of local pustules, to which I refer my readers.

It may be here remarked, that Mr. Burnett, whatever reliance he might have in *saline* medicines in the Small-pox, was not justified in not having inoculated the whole family.

If he *approved of the Cow-pox*, he should not have used the variolous matter. If he *doubted its efficacy*, he should not have inoculated one



child, leaving two others to sleep with this child unprotected \*.

This fact will stand recorded among other proofs of the dire evils arising from *partial* inoculation.

As to Dr. Rowley's case XXIX. Patience Edwards, (constituting one of his 440 cases), it is related by Doctors Moseley and Rowley in so ambiguous a way, that no one would have thought that this could not be *properly* brought forward in justification of the title to his book, "Cow-pox Inoculation no Security against Small-pox Infection,—proved by 440 Cases of Small-pox *after Vaccination.*"

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. BURNETT TO  
DR. THORNTON.

"Patience Edwards, I can declare, never had the *Cow-pox* in her life !!!"

Respecting case XXX. "Ann Walter, inoculated for the Cow-pox by that *respectable* Surgeon, Mr. Tuson,"—whom Dr. Moseley represents "as having the Small-pox in a *slight* but *perfect* way," the reader has been already so much prepared to receive *counter declarations*, that he will not be surprised at my receiving the following letter from that eminent Surgeon.

\* This inadvertence brought on the poor parents, for medicines alone, charged by Mr. Burnett, upwards of three pounds—a *funeral* besides !



## LETTER TO DR. THORNTON FROM MR. TUSON.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ Not having seen either Dr. Moseley's or Dr. Rowley's publication, your information respecting the insertion of the case of Elizabeth Walter was perfectly new to me. The particulars of which, as far as I can recollect, are, that about two years and a half since, I inoculated her for the Cow-pox; the first and second time it did not succeed; she was soon after taken ill of the measles, the failure of success, therefore, I imputed to this cause. When she was perfectly recovered of this complaint, I again inoculated her, and in both arms; the inflammation took place in both, and the subsequent pustules, and I was well satisfied that she was perfectly secure. I inoculated a patient from her, which succeeded. Since the receipt of your letter, I have seen her mother, who corroborates this statement. She further tells me, that Mr. Burnett, who lodges in the same house with her, (a common chandler's shop \*,) was desirous of inoculating the child with the variolous matter; that she was well satisfied that the child was perfectly safe, as she had been several times since the ino-

\* On one side of the door-post is Mr. Burnett's *bell*, on the other door-post is Mrs. Walter's *bell*, mantua-maker !



culation where the natural Small-pox was ; she had, therefore, no objection, and Mr. Burnett's request was acceded to. The result was, that there was some trifling redness in the arm, which disappeared in a few days, but *no pustule* ; and as to perfect Small-pox, there was not the smallest appearance of it. She says the child was slightly indisposed with the head-ach a few days after the inoculation, which lasted about a day or two, and that Dr. Moseley had given it as his opinion ' that it was entirely owing to the Small-pox,' but it is very improbable that this should have been the case ; for if it had been owing to the inoculation, a pustule would have previously taken place where the virus was inserted, which I understand was done in two places in the right arm, and there is not the smallest appearance of cicatrix in either. I am therefore decidedly clear, that the inoculation had nothing to do with the indisposition.—I have never seen an instance in my own practice, and I have inoculated thousands, where the Cow-pox has not been an effectual preventive of the Small-pox.

“ I am, dear Sir,

“ Yours, &c:

“ J. TUSON.”

*Bulstrode-street, Manchester-square,*

*Dec. 16, 1805.*



The next case brought forward is,

### 23. A THIRD ADAM STREET CASE.

NAME AND ABODE.	AGE. Ys. Ms.	When and by whom vaccinated.	EVENTS.
XVIII. Mary Hart, daughter of Mr. J. Hart, of Adam-street, Portman-squ.	3	In October, 1802, at the Small-pox Hospital, and pro- nounced secure from Small-pox.	In March, 1803, seized with the Small-pox, caught it from a relation inocu- lated by Mr. Robinson, Duke-street, Grosvenor- square.

This person now resides at No. 6, Great Chapel-street, Soho. "Her child was vaccinated," says Mr. Ring, "by Mr. Wachsel, and has since had an *eruption*, which some persons thought the *Small-pox*. Mrs. Hart says, 'she had between thirty and forty pustules, *two* of which were of a *moderate size*, and the others of the size of the heads of large pins. It is highly probable, that the two largest eruptions were real Small-pocks, occasioned by contact, as the child was in the habit of nursing and fondling a younger child under the inoculated disease. As to the smaller eruptions, the experiments of Dr. Rollo and Mr. Merriman prove, that they are not always of a variolous kind, but merely the consequence of cuticular inflammation."



It deserves to be mentioned here, that Mrs. Hart lived in the same house with Mrs. Bambridge, and in the adjoining room, and that her son Thomas, and Harriet, used to be constantly with this child, and yet did not take the Small-pox, and were often otherwise exposed to the Small-pox, and always resisted it, until their sister was inoculated for the Small-pox, which goes to prove a position I have laid down in my PROOFS OF THE EFFICACY OF THE COW-POX, when relating the *Fullwood's Rents Cases*, which Mr. Wachsel acknowledges he inoculated with *old* matter, that even then such are *less susceptible* of impression from the Small-pox, and when they receive it, have usually a more benignant sort, and better termination, unless from some peculiarly untoward circumstances.

#### 24. THE NO-NAME COURT CASE.

NAME AND ABODE.	AGE. <i>Ys. Ms.</i>	When and by whom vaccinated.	EVENTS.
Henry Semon, son of Mr. Semon, Taylor, in No-Name Court, Bedford- bury.	3	Inoculated for the Cow-pox by Mr. Morris, Apothe- cary, in Chandos Street.	He had the natural Small- pox in June, 1804.  <i>MOSELEY's Statement.</i>



The only difference in Dr. Rowley's statement is, that the child was named *Henry Lemon*, son of *Mr. Lemon, No-name Court, Bedfordbury*.

Mr. Ring, in his Answer to Dr. Moseley, relates, speaking of this case, "that Mr. Morris, of Chandos-street, informed him, that when the brother of *Henry Semon* had the natural Small-pox, this child was put to sleep in the same bed with him; and the season being warm, and the bed small, from the legs being brought together, a few small eruptions came out on the legs, which is here magnified into a case of real Small-pox."

## 25, 26. THE BOW-STREET CASES.

NAME AND ABODE.	AGE. Ys. Ms.	When and by whom vaccinated.	EVENTS.
XX. Mary Goulds, daughter of Mr. Goulds, 38, Bow-street, Co- vent Garden.	2	In March, 1804, at the Small-pox Hospital.	In March, 1805 seized with the Small-pox: at- tended by Mr. Andrews. I was called, and attend- ed the case of Small- pox.
XXI. Joseph Goulds, her brother. Small-pox was communicated to others by in- oculation.	3	Caught the Small- pox of his sister, though vaccinated, and had the <i>inden-</i> <i>tation</i> complete, By Mr. Brown, Cam- berwell.	The father was in <i>great</i> <i>distress of mind</i> . The vac- cinators said it was im- possible for Joseph to re- ceive the infection. I ADVISED THE FA- THER TO PUT THE CHILD TO BED TO THE OTHER. He re- ceived the Small-pox in- fection, and I attended him <i>through all the four</i> <i>stages</i> . ROWLEY's Statement.



These cases were examined into by Dr. Pearson and Mr. Andrews, and they were both agreed that these were chicken-pox, and these cases are so stated in the Medical and Chirurgical Review.

In the Report of the Committee of Enquiry of the Royal Jennerian Society, the minutes declare, "that both the father and mother assert, that when the eruption took place in their children, it contained only a *fluid*, resembling *water*, which confirms the opinion given by Dr. Pearson and Mr. Andrews, that the disorder was chicken-pox, and not Small-pox."

Dr. Rowley declares that he saw the cases, and he affirms that they were Small-pox; and here it must be observed, had he doubted *vaccination*, as he asserts he does in his title-page—shamefully, nay, worse than cruelty, for cold, deliberate, experimental inquiry—put one of these children, labouring under Small-pox, (as he pleases to say it was,) with his brother, who never had it, in order that he might *catch it naturally*, instead of *inoculating him*—although the assertion of such an inhuman *monster*\* hardly merits to be received—

\* This is the more extraordinary in the man who shall write thus, p. 20. "The projects of the vaccinators seem to bid bold defiance to heaven itself, even to the will of God. They assume the exclusive right to expose human beings to wanton, sportful experiments; but can such conduct be considered strictly professional, moral, or religious? Let experienced physicians, moralists, divines, and persons pos-



nevertheless, I must accept it for the present, and inform the public, that these two diseases, the chicken-pox and Small-pox, sometimes so much resemble each other, that better judges than even Dr. Rowley have been before deceived.

sessing common sense and reason answer the question. It is barbarous to inflict painful experiments on brute beasts; for the merciful man is merciful to his beast; but, lately, human beings have become the victims of various irrational projects and experiments, to the great disgrace of a profession, which should be founded in humanity."

The character of Dr. Rowley, unless mad, now becomes developed. I have pleaded for him that he is actually a lunatic, but his friends declare him always to have been as I now observe him.—Blind of one eye, diminutive in stature, devoid of every tooth, he has *then* been exactly depicted by Homer, when he painted the character of Thersites:

" THERSITES only clamour'd in the throng,  
Loquacious, loud, and turbulent of tongue :  
Aw'd by no shame, by no respect control'd,  
In scandal busy, in reproaches bold :  
With cunning malice studious to defame ;  
Scorn all his joy, and ridicule his aim.  
But chief he glory'd with licentious style,  
To lash the great, and monarchs to revile.  
His *figure* such as might his *soul* proclaim ;  
One eye was blinking, and one leg was lame :  
His mountain shoulders half his breast o'erspread,  
Thin hairs bestrew'd his long mis-shapen head ;  
Spleen to mankind his *envious* heart possess,  
And much he hated all, but most *the best*."

HOM. IL. Book II.



The quicker progress is often the only criterion to judge from. Thus, in Vogel's Nosology:

“ *Hæc varicella facillime illudere medicis sub specie variolæ potest, nisi ad decursum accuratissime attendant; unde dein bis vel ter laborare homines variolis existimantur.*”

I also made inquiries respecting these cases; and Mr. Gould came to my house, and said, “ that all who spoke and wrote in favour of the Cow-pox were bribed to it;” and being shewn the arms of one of my children, vaccinated by Dr. Jenner, he said, “ the scar was not like his children's, theirs were worth five of it.”—and when I went to examine the cicatrices I saw those large escars most frequently attendant upon the spurious pustule.

I then asked the mother, whether the children had not been subject to a scabby head? and found “ that the hair of Joseph had been twice shaved off for that disease.”

So that in whatever light we view these cases, they can form no just conclusion adverse to the general practice of vaccination.

The last and concluding adverse cases from Dr. Moseley's evidence, to be found in his *Lues Bovilla*, are,—



## 24, 25. THE STRAND CASES.

## No. IV.

" Mr. Thomas Alexander, Grocer, No. 368, Strand, London, had three children, two daughters and a son, inoculated for the Cow-pox, in the month of November, 1800, by Mr. Potier.

" Mr. Potier had the matter from the Cow-pox Institution, in Warwick-street, and paid half a guinea for having the three lancets infected with Cow-pox matter, with which he inoculated the children. The lancets, thus infected, he received from the Institution, inclosed in a paper, which was sealed with the arms made use of by the medical promoters of the Institution.

" These three children all had the Cow-pox in the *usual way*. The elder girl's, and the son's arms, were so much inflamed and ulcerated, where the matter was inserted, that great danger was apprehended, from the virulence and malignity of the infection.

" The son went into the country, after he had the Cow-pox ; but the two girls remaining at home caught the Small-pox in the natural way.

" The younger girl was first seized with the Small-pox. After previous indisposition, the eruptions appeared on the 24th of December, 1800. She had the disease mildly ; but a child of Mr. Harding's, Hatter, No. 342, Oxford-street, who received the infection from her, had the confluent Small-pox.

" The elder daughter was seized with the Small-pox eruptive fever on the 8th of January. On the 12th the eruptions were distinctly out, and scattered over her whole body.

" I saw these children while under the Small-pox ; but Mr. Walsh, Apothecary, in the Strand, had occasion to observe the whole progress of the disease."

It is singular that these *two cases* of Small-pox, after *supposed* Cow-pox, should have been made to constitute only *one* numeral by Rowley.



Does this prove the *candour* or the *carelessness* of the narrator?

It is according to his *usual* inaccuracy; for in numerous other instances the *same* names are put under different numerals, and a single case in this way, or, by altering the name, becomes multiplied several times over.

These two cases are related in Mr. Ring's very excellent Treatise on the Cow-pox, p. 267, in the following manner:

“ It is well known that innumerable false reports, concerning vaccination, are circulated with great industry; and it cannot escape the most superficial observer, that *no persons are so indefatigable in propagating such reports, as those who are wickedly interested in the suppression of the Cow-pock.*

“ In making this remark, I can scarcely be supposed to cast the least reflection on those professional men, who, instead of perverting, only wish to ascertain the truth; and, instead of disturbing the minds of timorous mothers with vain alarms, either institute inquiries themselves, or recommend that they should be instituted by others whom they suppose, from their experience, to be better qualified for the task.

“ Among the various rumours which have lately gone forth, and excited doubts in the minds of the most respectable persons, no one has been spread with more confidence, or gained a greater



number of converts, than that respecting Mr. Alexander's family, in the neighbourhood of Exeter 'Change. I was therefore induced to investigate the truth of those assertions.

" I was informed, that *three* children, in the family alluded to, had been inoculated for the Cow-pock, and, after proceeding regularly through the disease, had caught the Small-pox. The mother of the children, a very sensible woman, stated the particulars in a very accurate manner, and with great candour. By her statement it appeared, ' that the gentleman who inoculated the children, confesses *he had never inoculated any one with Cow-pock matter before :*' and it is worthy of observation, that these failures commonly occur in the practice of those, who have had little experience in this kind of inoculation.

" The children were all inoculated by means of an incision, which is stated to have been *very long* and *very deep*. These incisions are said to have been *very much inflamed on the third day*, which induced the medical gentleman to pronounce them all infected. In one of the patients *no pustule, or elevation of any kind*, took place : in the second there was a *very small pimple*, which did not scab ;" (therefore no Cow-pox) " and in the third, a *pustule*, depressed in the centre, and filled with matter.

" About two months after inoculation, the *two first*, in whom *no pustule* appeared, sickened with the natural Small-pox. The *other* was sent into



the country six weeks before, while the pustule was on his arm. By some accident it broke, and the arm continued discharging a long time before it healed.

“ *This last child* was brought from the country, and exposed to the infection of a child, who had caught the Small-pox from the other two; but *he resisted* that infection. It is proper to remark, that the lancets which inoculated the two first were charged with a considerable quantity of *thick yellow matter*; which renders it probable, that it was taken at a *late period* of the disease, and, consequently, was the more likely to fail.

“ It deserves also to be mentioned, that Dr. Croft, and a considerable number of other respectable medical men, residing in London, had called at the house, in order to scrutinize the cases; almost all of whom were confident, that in *two* of them *inoculation had failed*.

“ When all the circumstances of these cases are therefore well weighed, it must be acknowledged by every unprejudiced person, that, instead of furnishing an argument *against* vaccine inoculation, they afford the strongest and most *incontestible argument* in its *favour*, the one which took the proper infection being found secure.”

Thus do we find, that by a fair and candid inquiry, not a single case adverse to vaccination, recorded by Dr. Moseley in his *Lues Bovilla* (the second edition) can stand the test of examination.



Never was there exhibited, in any country, a completer specimen of medical ignorance, than from this before-approved physician.

With the imposing name of doctor, the medical student and public are made to purchase what does not contain a syllable of science—adverse cases—so reported, as would have disgraced even the apprentice of the lowest apothecary.

Yet see with what exultation and pride this opposition is celebrated, and how I am singled out, with more illustrious names, to enter the list.

*Review in the Gentleman's Magazine for June, 1805, of Dr. MOSELEY's Treatise on the LUES BOVILLA, or COW-POCK, Second Edition.*

“Again this hardy veteran, Dr. Moseley, has boldly taken the field. Again has he hurled defiance at vaccination, and the numerous sons of Æsculapius who have so strenuously engaged in its support. It is astonishing, that an article of such universal importance should have continued, for more than seven years, a matter of doubt and uncertainty. Not one family in the whole united empire is unconcerned in the determination; and the *College of Physicians* are loudly called on to publish their decided opinion.

“There may be *some good*, Dr. Moseley observes, 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 account; but it never must be relied on for any *durable purpose*.

“The Report of the third Jennerian Festival (p. 521) is so strongly at variance with the writings of Dr. Moseley, that they can scarcely be supposed to have been published at the same æra.

If Dr. Jenner and his friends are correct, Dr. Moseley must be egregiously wrong.

If Dr. Moseley, on the contrary, be founded in his assertions (and his veracity and long-established character are at stake on the issue), it becomes the province of the *Medical Council* of the *Jennerian Society* to refute his pamphlet.

Eighteen strong cases are selected, out of nearly a thousand which have come to Dr. Moseley's knowledge, of ‘the *mischief* and *failure* of the Cow-pox;’ which he boldly pronounces to be a medical experiment, commenced without due discrimination, extended by a rash transgression over the bounds of reason, and, after the fullest conviction of its inutility, obstinately continued by the most degrading relapse of philosophy, that ever disgraced the civilized world.’—We *earnestly hope* the *pudet hæc opprobria* will not be found so applicable, as the *potuisse refelli*.”



*In consequence of the preceding criticism, we find in the same Magazine for the month of August, 1805, page 697, the following Letter.*

*" Grosvenor-square, July 1, 1805.*

*" MR. URBAN,*

*" In your Magazine for June, page 555, in the Review of Dr. Moseley's second edition of his Treatise on the Lues Bovilla, or Cow-pox, it is justly remarked, as a matter of surprise, that none of the medical men whose characters are most pledged for the reputation of vaccination, should have come forward against this gigantic opponent: an opponent so formidable, that, unless an immediate stop be put to the effects of his arguments, supported as they are by facts, the practice of vaccination must soon sink into oblivion; and the great names and munificent benefactions which have hitherto upheld it, will no longer avail. Such must be the consequence of the persevering attacks on vaccination which Dr. Moseley has made against it, in his various publications in 1798, 1799, 1800, before the House of Commons on the 24th of March, 1802; and since that period, in two express publications on the Cow-pox, which he terms the Lues Bovilla, in 1804, and in the present year 1805.*

*" Does not, then, Mr. Urban, the silence of*



Doctors Jenner, Pearson, Lettsom, *Thornton*, and Mr. Cline, the authors and supporters of vaccination, amount to a CONFESSION *that the Cow-pox is not what they have asserted?* And will it not be considered that Dr. Moseley has rendered the public most important service, in detecting a project so fraught with evil to the *salus populi?*

“ Dr. Moseley has, as your critic observes, given those gentlemen a *challenge?* and, let me add, Mr. Urban, a fair, open challenge, in which there is neither ill-manners, nor ill-humour; and which, in spite of contest, we trust, will excite as much *laughter* in his opponents at whom his *witty* arrows are shot, as it has in the rest of the community. But still they must get the better of his objections to their doctrine; or confess that they cannot.

“ Dr. Moseley, asserts three things, *viz.*

“ ‘ I. That those persons who have had the Cow-pox, are NOT *perfectly secure* from the infection of the Small-pox.

“ ‘ II. That the inoculated Cow-pox is not a much milder and safer disease than the inoculated Small-pox.’

“ ‘ III. That all attempts to exterminate the Small-pox by Cow-pox are *vain* and impotent; because the influence of the Cow-pox is not permanent in the human frame; that the Small-pox is an *atmospheric* disease; and that all those who



have had the Cow-pox, will be subject to Small-pox *contagion*, when it rages epidemically.'

"It is believed he has proved these points to the satisfaction of the most enlightened part of the community; and these opinions are now widely circulating among the mass of the people.

"Therefore, Mr. Urban, as the inferior publications in which the Cow-pox subject is handled by common writers are not likely to reach the higher and learned orders, I request that you will give these, I fear unworthy, observations a place in your universal miscellany.

"I again admonish those whom it most concerns, to read what they have pledged themselves to; and that, unless Dr. Moseley's theory and facts be demolished *in toto*, vaccination must end. Besides, it cannot fail to happen, but that others have had opportunities of seeing the insecurity and evils of vaccination, as well as Dr. Moseley; consequently he cannot remain its *only* antagonist in the department of medicine and science; and that other authors, and other facts, will appear at the standard he has erected in so hostile a manner, against a doctrine that has pervaded a considerable portion of Europe, on the credit and faith of its promoters in this country.

"MEDICUS."

In the Gentleman's Magazine for October, 1805, again appears—"What does Dr. Thornton NOW think of the Cow-pox?" *Moseley.*



This produced the motto to this work ; and, contrary to the sentiments of many, I have entered the lists against *men unworthy of observation*.

Dr. Pearson, in a letter I had the honour to receive, writes “ that the men, whom I was going to refute, merited only SILENT CONTEMPT.”—and Mr. Cline declares, “ that he should be sorry to have his name seriously brought forward in refutation to downright NONSENSE.”—Hear also the opinion of the learned Dr. Willan, who usually writes to me in elegant Latin—“ Moseleus se gestat veluti *simia*, nec jaculis nec sagittis nostris DIGNUS EST.” Yet have I condescended so far as to notice the futility of the objections of these men, in order to stop the impression such writings are capable of making on some *weak minds* ignorant of the subject.

Having accepted the *challenge*, Dr. Moseley being incapable of *substantiating* a single *adverse case* he has published, must now have recourse to the expedient of *vulgar abuse*.

I *once*, indeed, entertained the idea, that he had *generosity* enough to acknowledge a *defeat*, and would handsomely come forward, and publicly make *his recantation* ; but in this I am disappointed.

*Mis-statements*, with the *low art*, or *foolery*, of the *buffoon*, is the only weapon of his defence,



“ DR. THORNTON'S TRANSMUTA-  
TION. \* ”

“ Before Dr. Thornton's *excineration*, I thought he could argue like a rational man, behave civilly, and write decently. But, whether I was blinded by *my regard for him*, or whether this beastly distemper has got hold of him, or whether the fire has scorched his intellects †, I cannot tell. This I know, that since he has turned REFUTOR to the Jennerian Society, he is not that Dr. Thornton I once knew, and *respected*. He is not my old friend with a new face only, but with a *new head* also;—of *vituline character*; and it would not at all surprise me, *when his head has done growing* ‡, to see it as a companion to Master Joules, in one of Dr. Rowley's pamphlets.”!!!

“ In his present honourable employment, he has fallen to a level with those Cow-pox Mohocks, who have preceded him in the same ruthless violation of sense, and propriety; and, like them, he seems now only capable of daubing, hacking, and

\* From “ Commentaries to the Lues Bovilla,” lately published by Dr. Moseley.

† Alluding to a fire at the printer's, which destroyed the first impression of this Vindication.

‡ This some people may call *wit*. But I would define *wit* to be *fine sense at play*; and I could as well allow PUNCH to be *witty*, as give this meed, when upon the Cow-pox, to Dr. MOSELEY.



disfiguring philosophy in broken English, and misapplied scraps of Latin \*."!!!

"The flights and reveries of these Cow-pox scribblers, were there no mischief in them, might, when put into *grammatical* dress †, appear on the *meridian* of a Circulating Library !!!"

\* To prove his *consistency*, he has, in the same breath, paid me the following tribute of applause. "It is with pleasure and *sincerity* I acknowledge, that, in my opinion, his TEMPLE OF FLORA, or GARDEN OF NATURE, is *an honour to the country and age in which it was produced*. On this table FAME shall inscribe the name of THORNTON, and deliver it to the protection of IMMORTALITY."

† Nothing can be more contemptible than such an attack, and from one who really often does himself neither *spell* properly, or write *grammar*. I will give only two examples for the present. For instance :

First, as respects *spelling*. "In the year 1798, the Cow-POCK *inoculation* MANIA seized the people of England *en masse*."

"It broke out in the month of April, like a symptomatic eruption of nature : the planet *Mercury*—the delusive author of vain and fond imaginations, being then in the *zodiacal sign* of the *Bull*."

"It increased as the days lengthened ; and at Midsummer large societies of the medical profession, which was first attacked, were distempered TO AN INTOLERABLE DEGREE. While some members of these distinguished bodies were absorbed in deep study and intense thought, THE MANIA stole upon them, *taking advantage* of the ABSENCE OF THEIR INTELLECTS."

He goes on in the same silly pedantic style of writing : "The Cow-pock has lately appeared in England. This is a *new star* in the *Æsculapian* system : it was first observed from the provinces. It is so luminous there, that the greasy-healed hind feet of *Pegasus* are visible to the naked eye



“ Dr. Thornton is loose ! Plunging, foaming, panting ;—with all the dire sensations of the animal in the motto to my title-page.” !!!

The *hidden parts* of that *constellation*, which have puzzled astronomers as to the *sex* of Pegasus, and which Hypparchus, Tycho, Hevellus, Flamstead, and Herschel, *could never discover* ; the reason now is evident. *Some pretend that a restive greasy-heAled*” (the same bad spelling repeated) “ *a horse will kick down all the gallipots of Galen.*”

The Rev. Rowland Hill, in order to *chastise* such *ignorance* under the *garb* of *science*, has let the public into a *secret*, p. 52 of “ Cow-pox Inoculation Vindicated,” that *Prophet* Moseley is an *astrologer*, and author of *Moore’s Almanack*, who in the title-page styles himself a *Physician*. For as Rowland Hill says,

“ *First*, he appears to be most marvellously versed in ASTROLOGY.

“ *Secondly*, He is quite a prophet, the great LUES BOVILLA prophet, as it respects the future ravages of the Small-pox after the Cow-pock, and twenty frightful diseases besides.

“ *And, Thirdly*, He can insult the public credulity by his preposterous assertions, as though all the world were a set of half-witted fools but himself ; now these are my reasons for supposing that the *Chelsea astrologer* must be the editor of that almanack.”

Now for his *Grammar*.—“ Though I am ready to admit that the Cow-pox is not contagious,—yet I know the Cow *Mania* is ; and that the malady, whether arising from *empty ventricles of the brain*, or from excessive thickness of the *os frontis*, makes the distempered, to *men* not steeled against the infirmities of *HIS* fellow-creatures, more objects of pity than of resentment ;—more proper,—than any infected from the Levant,—to perform solitary quarantine on beds of straw,



"He *broke out* of Salisbury-court, Fleet-street, and *went off* with an huge bundle of *waste* paper on his back—the *whole property* of the Jennerian Society."!!!

"If Dr. Thornton has been *employed*, expressly, to refute TRUTH, SENSE, and REASON\*, he has succeeded with so much ingenuity, that he himself is the only person who is lost in his labyrinth. That he is *employed* by *this Society*, I shall appeal to *evidence*; and that the *expence* of these insulting advertisements, which has been considerable, was not defrayed—*deficiente crumend.*"!!!

"Dr. Thornton may try his confusions successfully on some feeble-headed Cow-poxing country practitioners; but I advise him to *beware* of *London Anti-Cow-poxers*.—They are dangerous in *Anti-Vaccinarian armour*, when roused by hostile *foolery*, or insult."!!!

"As to my cases, if his authority were of any consequence, I know how he will *refute* them.

with a regulated diet, usual in such cases, than for the rational pursuits of society."

Rowland Hill commenting on this passage, p. 71 of "Cow-pox Inoculation Vindicated," says, "that such false concord would have procured for a school-boy a *whipping*." I should not have indeed, for myself, noticed such defects, but as the case now stands, I thought it right to give the Doctor a *Rowland* for his *Oliver*.

\* Dr. Moseley's *great modesty* appears again in another place. "Cow-pox TINKERS think of *refuting* MEN OF SCIENCE."



“ He will try a *bullish* experiment on these cases, by *running a Cow-poxer's head against them* ; and thereby proving the quantity of reaction, in an uncommonly hard *body*. This, he and his RUMINATING SOCIETY will call—*refuting* !” Being REBUTTED, Dr. Moseley here BELLOWS like one of the bulls of Basan.

As to the *new case* of “ my head really transforming into that of a BULL,” from vaccinating others, (for I have had the Small-pox,) I must observe, that it is not the first BULL several of Dr. Moseley's countrymen have made, and I allude particularly to his associate, the OX. ONIAN ; and I am not more belied in this than was Master Joules, as I shall presently prove.

Men of more timid spirit may be COWED by such language, but, as to myself, I will not be BULLIED out of my senses. I should, indeed, be a CALF, if I minded such ridiculous nonsense.

At first, I was at a loss to *understand* the drift of such low effrontery : but I have had it explained to me : “ That you certainly *now* wish to have it believed, that all your former and present sentiments on the Cow-pox are as my GRANDMOTHER's PINCUSHION \* !”

\* The old lady, with apparent seriousness, told her granddaughter not to touch one of those pins, for all contained poison at their points. But are such *falsehoods* to be tolerated in *physic*, and the most serious subjects to be treated with indecorous *levity*, so difficult for all to comprehend, that it may lead to the loss of the lives of thousands ?



I have excused Rowley, when he wrote his work as *insane*, and when you penned such stuff as the present for the amusement and instruction of mankind, I am disposed to make some excuse for you—namely, that you had tasted too deeply of the *Falernian wine*.

As to the assertion, “that I have received any *bribe* from the Royal Jennerian Society, which is supported by public subscription, and their funds are in consequence greatly diminished”—I am astonished how any *gentleman* could condescend to fabricate a charge so easy to be repelled.

As to my “coming loaded away from the Central Station in Salisbury-square, with the papers of the Royal Jennerian Society,” this is an invention of the same cast: these were sent to me to my house unsolicited.

Another circumstance you also affirm, that I said, “that the Medical Council of the Royal Jennerian Society had formed their Report, (being a string of resolutions) from the evidence of *one Inquiry* into a *single case*!!”—an assertion too *idiotic* for *me*, or *any one*, to have made, and which the very first part of my *Vaccinæ Vindicia*, published some time before your last work, which I sent you, acquainted you with the contrary\*; and therefore when you impute

\* First, in the Dedication, p. iv. to the Medical Council of the Royal Jennerian Society, I say, “From the *labours* of your Committee of Inquiry, I chiefly expect to establish *truth*.” Again, p. 5, “Whose inquiry goes on in *regular*



to me such a calumny on the most exalted medical characters of the country, I must say, you have not published the *truth* here also, but have most shamefully endeavoured to make me appear contemptible to the public by what you knew beforehand to be *untrue*.

You may try to plead, what cannot excuse you, the testimony of a Mr. Lipscomb, who thinks "he heard me say so in a *private* company;" and he is, I suppose, that "formidable Anti-Vaccinist in armour," who has publicly declared "he is ready to maintain *his* assertions with his *life* \*," expecting thereby to evade contradiction.

*progress*, and whose *indefatigable labours* I have now by my side." Again, "Unless Dr. Rowley had been consummately ignorant of the *multiplied labours* of those great and meritorious characters forming the Medical Council of the Royal Jennerian Society," &c. p. 19.—The contradiction to this public statement is said to have been made by me in a *private* company, the first time I ever saw Mr. Lipscomb; but the improbability, or rather *impossibility*, of my uttering such an *absurdity*, must acquit me. In the same page, and by the same man, I am accused of "suppressing the particulars of the case of Mr. Baillie's child"—which was, in fact, already published. In short, Dr. Moseley seems to have deserted all *decorum* in his opposition to the greatest blessing ever bestowed by a bountiful Providence to mankind, and to have forsaken the usual practices established in civilized society.

\* "The *facts* which I have related want *no proof*,—but the *assertion* of one who is ever ready to defend with his *life*, what he *writes* with his *pen*." Vide Mr. Lipscomb's Letter, published by Dr. Moseley, p. 179.



As to the declaration of my “not having refuted, or attempted to refute, any of the cases in your work\*,” I appeal not to your judgment, but to the public; and shall ever rejoice in the applause of Dr. Jenner, the benefactor of a whole world, who writes to me as follows :

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM DR. JENNER TO  
DR. THORNTON.

“I thank you greatly for your *Vaccinæ Vindicia*. Wherever the MOSELEAN and ROWLEAN *poisons* flow, may they meet with this their true and certain *antidote*.”

In another letter he says,—

“Your laudable endeavours have been strenuous, and *completely successful*, against the false statements of these men.”

But it is time to return to the cases.

Dr. Rowley next comes forward with his *own* information, and the case he first relates *outdoes* every thing that has yet been published in physic.

It is as follows :—

\* Dr. Moseley has the *audacity* to declare in print, that I have not refuted any of the cases adverse to vaccination reported by him or Dr. Rowley. “Dr. Thornton has, on the contrary, *established* every thing Dr. Rowley has asserted,



## 26. AN HAMPSTEAD CASE.

FIRST EDITION.

NAME AND ABODE.	AGE. <i>Ys.Ms.</i>	<i>When and by whom vaccinated.</i>	EVENTS.
XXXIV. Miss Elizabeth Lutwidge, Mr. Paxon's niece.		Vaccinated at Hampstead.	Had the Small-pox two years after.

SECOND AND THIRD EDITIONS.

Miss Lutwidge, Mr. Paxton's niece.		Vaccinated at Hampstead, <i>as the mother says.</i>	Had the Small-pox two years after. <i>But the gen- tleman says the reverse.</i>
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This case excited the attention of the Medical Council of the Royal Jennerian Society.

with proofs refuting the refutor," p. 162. Again, he says, p. 166, " Every fact recorded by Dr. Rowley stands as it did, with the addition of Dr. Thornton's vouchers." Shortly after, " Not a single case has he *attempted to refute.*" !!! Again, p. 182, " All Dr. Thornton's correspondents are *mud.*" *L—g* is the order of the day with Dr. Moseley ; or, to be charitable, as the one doctor wrote his work against the Cow-pox by *moonlight*, the moon at the full, the other must have written the whole of his *Lues Bovilla*, and its Commentary, after dinner, the *bottles empty*.



## MR. BLISS'S LETTER TO DR. WALKER\*.

*Hampstead, October 18, 1805.*

“ DEAR SIR,

“ On looking over Dr. Rowley's proofs and illustrations of unsuccessful cases, in his pamphlet lately published against vaccination, my attention was particularly arrested by his 34th case; where he states, ‘ Miss E. Lutwidge’ was ‘ vaccinated at Hampstead,’ and ‘ had the Small-pox two years after.’

“ As the doctor has avowed *truth* to be the object of his inquiry, he should doubtless thank me for promulgating it: and, as it now becomes the indispensable duty of every one, friendly to the interests of humanity, to state their experience as to the relative advantages of the two inoculations, I have been induced to trouble you with this, for the information of your Committee of Inquiry.

“ It is unfortunate for the doctor, and the cause he espouses, that he had not made some inquiry before he published this case; because he then would have been informed, that the child was *not vaccinated*, but inoculated by me with variolous

\* Extracted from the Minutes of the Royal Jennerian Society.



virus, March 26, 1797, at which time vaccination was not known to me.

“ That I might have every information upon this subject, and by that means state facts only, I waited upon Mrs. Lutwidge yesterday, who has all the circumstances of the case full in her recollection ; and states, ‘ that she remembers perfectly well the child having pustules, or, as she expressed it, a tolerable sprinkling, at the time of its inoculation ; that she was soon after removed from Hampstead to reside in London, where, in about *three* years from the time of its inoculation, she had a full crop of natural Small-pox, and was then attended by Dr. Rowley and another medical gentleman.’

“ A strong instance this, of the constitution being more than once susceptible of variolous contagion ; but I have one more decided, of a girl I inoculated about the year 1793, who likewise had several pustules, and considerable indisposition, and who was three different times afterwards exposed to variolous infection, in her employment of nursing children in that disease : but who, nevertheless, when the natural Small-pox was prevalent here in the latter end of the year 1798, had a very full natural case, with much constitutional affection.

“ Doubtless, numberless instances of such susceptibility might be produced, as having occurred to gentlemen in their private practice, and who,



at a time when prejudices against vaccination are so industriously propagated, would do well to make them public ; and likewise the result of their practice in vaccine inoculation. Mine has been somewhat extensive, and hitherto successful : for I have not met with a single instance of failure, or seen one of the dreadful effects which are stated to have resulted from it.

“ I am, SIR,

“ Your very obedient and humble servant,

“ JOHN BLISS.”

*Dr. Walker.*

This is a convincing proof of the ignorant way in which the adverse cases have been collected.

Had Dr. Rowley properly adverted to the year, he would have found that in 1797 vaccination was not in practice.

Dr. Pearson says, “ In the month of June, 1798, Dr. JENNER published his ‘ Inquiry into the Causes and Effects of Variolæ Vaccinæ,’ the first authentic account of the Cow-pox. This publication, for which the world is *so greatly indebted* to Dr. JENNER, contains seven cases of inoculation for the Cow-pox, one of which was in May, 1796, (*none were vaccinated in 1797*) two in 1798 ; these three were all from the Cow ; then four from one human subject to another in



the same year (1798). It appears, that no other person was in possession of vaccine matter even in the year (1798), except Mr. Cline, who vaccinated one patient."

But in 1799, vaccination had so far prevailed, that 4000 persons were vaccinated, principally in London, and its neighbourhood.

LETTER FROM MR. BLISS TO DR. THORNTON.

*Hampstead, Dec. 6, 1805.*

"DEAR SIR,

"I have, agreeably to your request of yesterday, obtained information from Mrs. Lutwidge, respecting the conversation she had with Dr. Rowley, when he attended her daughter in the case of secondary Small-pox I transmitted to the Royal Jennerian Society.

"My partner, Mr. Hawes, waited upon her last night for that purpose, when she assured him, 'that she informed the Doctor, that the child's disease could not be Small-pox, for that Mr. Bliss, of Hampstead, had inoculated it with *Small-pox*—that it was indisposed, and had pustules in consequence.' She also stated, 'that she could not have informed him it was *vaccinated*, she not having then heard of Cow-pox Inoculation.'

"I have further to add, that I had a similar



conversation with her, when I made the inquiries alluded to in my letter to the Jennerian Society. And, perhaps, it may be of importance for you to know that Mr. Field, of Newgate-street, was the apothecary who attended the case, to whom Mrs. Lutwidge says 'she made the same assertions.'

" I am, DEAR SIR,

" Your very obedient and humble servant,

" JOHN BLISS."

Mr. Bliss, I must observe, is an old established practitioner at Hampstead, deservedly of the highest reputation, and his word may be *relied upon*.

In order to get off from the *imputation* that would fall upon him from such a case, Dr. Rowley ridiculously says, " the mother told me so."

This is like the father of the children \* at Oxford, telling him what could not, and never did, happen. In that instance he must have *dreamt it*, and in this *also*.

The only difficulty that can arise in favour of Dr. Rowley, is that of a person having the *Small-pox* twice, and this is readily obviated.

The cases upon record are so very numerous, and so well authenticated, of such an event sometimes actually occurring, that to disbelieve the

\* Vide note \*, page 25.



occurrence, however rare it may be, is to give up all faith in medical testimony.

Here it is the *antivaccinists* so greatly exult over the *Cow-poxers*, as they deridingly call the *vaccinators*.

Dr. Rowley, probably, alluding to Mr. Bliss's case, states,—

“As to the question, whether persons have not the regular Small-pox twice, as a *palliative* for the failure of Cow-pox, it is too ridiculous to require an answer. Ask all the world for a century, inoculators, inquirers, practitioners, the Dimsdales, Suttons, Dr. Archer, Mr. Jony, Dr. Kirkland, and others, and all the millions *now living*, secured from Small-pox taint, all who have inoculated thousands and hundreds of thousands, and they will all unanimously answer, NO.

“A pitiful, solitary, doubtful case or two are brought from provincial practitioners; but how comes it to pass, that neither myself, nor any other *hospital* experienced, old practitioner, have seen such instances in London, at least, where we see a thousand cases of every disease, to one of men in small country practice? At Mary-le-bone Infirmary are two Small-pox wards.”

Sutton states,—

“It has also been lately maintained by these experienced inoculators, advocates for vaccination, that many have had the Small-pox a second time, I am strongly of opinion, that these instances



have occurred only among themselves, or such others as have not had the *gift* to distinguish the Chicken-pox, or some other eruptive disease not variolous, from the Small-pox."

Dr. Moseley asserts the same.

" I am told that one of my *Answerers* (Mr. Ring) has asserted that Dr. Woodville *countenanced* an opinion, that a person may have the Small-pox *twice*. This is calumny on the good sense of Dr. Woodville. Every pathologist knows, what Dr. Woodville well knew, that *this never did*, or, from the nature of things, *ever can happen*. There is no dispute among *practical* men on this point. That it was Dr. Woodville's opinion that *no person* ever had the Small-pox twice, I know ; and Mr. Carpue, and some others, heard him declare that to be his opinion a little time before his death. I mention this in justice to the memory of Dr. Woodville, and to deter these *little calumniators* from fathering their folly on the sacred dead.

" It is no calumny on *this sort* of *Cow-poxers* to say that he has seen the Small-pox twice, or three times, or twenty times, if he please, in the same person. Nobody minds what Cow-poxers have seen ; for it has been proved on all of the most active of them, that they do not know the *Small-pox* from the *Chicken-pox*. Several of them have *solemnly sworn*, that persons actually labouring under proved Small-pox, after Cow-pox,



had not the Small-pox on them, but the *Chicken-pox*. Are such people to be trusted to inoculate for the Small-pox?"

The first assertion made by Dr. Moseley is, that no such opinion, as a person having the Small-pox twice, is countenanced by Dr. Woodville.

Dr. Moseley I have often called *learned*, but in this instance my appellation is not made out, and I begin to think, that as he is completely *ignorant* of the *Cow-pox*, so he is not quite so well informed respecting the history of the *Small-pox*, as he ought to be.

*Extract from the History of Inoculation, by Dr. Woodville.*

"In Dr. 'Deering's Account of the improved Method of treating the Small-pox,' which was published in 1737, is related a case of *natural Small-pox*, occurring after *inoculation*.

"The patient was a child of Dr. Croft. He was inoculated by Dr. Steigerthal, Physician to King George the First. Dr. Deering was an eye-witness of the operation, and assures us, great care was taken in the choice of matter. He had the Small-pox of the confluent kind, and in a severe manner, in consequence of this inoculation, and yet had it again *very full*, in the natural way, twelve months after. "This," says Dr. Woodville, p. 217, 'is a *striking fact, which has never been contradicted*.'



Surely this is sufficient to justify the idea that, if no instance had occurred in his own practice, that Dr. Woodville did, as Mr. Ring asserts, countenance the opinion, of failure having been seen by other practitioners.

As to Mr. Carpue declaring this to be the sentiment of Dr. Woodville, it was casually mentioned at a dinner-party; and he told me, he himself knew the fact of a person having the Small-pox twice, now resident at Brighton, in contradiction to the sentiment, said to be that of Dr. Woodville\*.

Dr. Adams, now Physician to the Small-pox Hospital, successor to the late Dr. Woodville, writes,—

“ It is certain that persons have been known to have had the Small-pox twice.—This may seem very strange to those who suppose that there are rules which admit of *no exceptions*. But it is well-known that some people never take the Small-pox at all; and it is equally certain that *some few*, happily *very few*, have it *twice*. I know some say this was never thought of till the Cow-pox made its appearance; but the following quotation is from a book published before vaccination was practised.

“ ‘ It is a law with most morbid poisons, that a constitution that has once gone through the ac-

\* Mr. Chamberlaine, Apothecary, of Aylesbury-street, declares he had the Small-pox twice.



tion excited by them is no longer susceptible of it. This is the case, with very *few exceptions*, in the *Small-pox*. I say with very *few exceptions*, because some cases to the contrary have been so well authenticated, that I am not sceptical enough to doubt that the susceptibility may be so strong in some particular constitutions as to *admit of the disease a second time after a certain period*. —See Observations on Morbid Poisons, published by Johnson, 1795."

"The following case of Small-pox in the natural way twice," says Dr. Adams, "stands on such good authority, that I shall think it enough to transcribe it, without troubling the reader with any others. It is extracted from the Memoirs of the London Medical Society, and has been inserted in the parish register."

## " HISTORY OF A SECOND SMALL-POX;

" By EDWARD WITHERS, Surgeon, Newbury,  
Berkshire.

" ' Mr. Richard Langford, a farmer, of West Shefford, in this county, about fifty years of age, when about a month old had the Small-pox, at a time when three others of the family underwent the same disease, one of whom, a servant man, died with it. Mr. Langford's face being remark-



ably pitted and seamed, so as to attract the notice of all who saw him, no one could entertain a doubt about his having had that disease in the most inveterate manner; moreover, it was usual for him also, whenever the Small-pox happened among the poor of his parish, to attend and assist in accommodating them with all necessaries.

“ ‘ On the 8th of May, 1775, I was desired to visit this person. I saw him again early on the morning of the 10th, when his fever was somewhat abated. The succeeding day I found him still better, but complaining of a rash, which the family then informed me they had perceived very early the morning before, but which they forgot to mention to me, and which had escaped *my* notice, his chamber being a very dark one.

“ ‘ On examining this eruption, its appearance so much resembled the Small-pox, that I told the family I should not have hesitated in pronouncing it to be so, if his having had that distemper had not been so notorious. The next day the eruption was universal; his throat also, which he had complained of the day before, was now become more troublesome, and indeed, every other appearance so much favoured the idea of the disease being variolous, as to induce me to give the most decided opinion of its being so, and to desire that there might be no communication or intercourse with any of his friends who had not had that disease. This opinion was ridiculed, and



consequently, but little attention paid to the precaution. In the progress of this case, the advancement of the pustules, the swelling of the face and head, and that smell peculiar to the disease as well as every other circumstance, still more and more confirmed me in the opinion I had given.

“ ‘ Reflecting on the singularity of the case, I desired, on the 8th day from the invasion, that a physician might visit him; accordingly Dr. Collet, then a resident in this place, was desired to see him. Considering how necessary it was that the nature of this case should be investigated in the fullest manner, I requested Dr. Hulbert, a physician of eminence here, would attend with Dr. Collet, on my own account. This measure appeared to me the more necessary, as the whole neighbourhood held my opinion in contempt; even Dr. Hulbert, to whom the patient was well known, laughed at my idea of its being the Small-pox. However, both those gentlemen, on visiting the patient, pronounced it to be so. As the patient himself never could be reconciled to the opinion of his case being Small-pox, he was disinclined to pursue the means recommended. Under these disadvantages, he had but an indifferent chance of recovery from a bad confluent distemper; he died on the twenty-first day from the seizure.



“ ‘ Four of the family, as also a sister of the patient, to whom the disease was conveyed by her son’s visiting his uncle, falling down with the Small-pox, fully satisfied the country with regard to the nature of the disease, which nothing short of this would have done : the sister died.

“ ‘ This case was thought so extraordinary a one, as to induce the rector of the parish to record the particulars of it in the parish register.

“ ‘ EDWARD WITHERS’.”

“ *Newbury, March 20, 1791.*”

Mr. Ring gives us, in his elaborate work on the Cow-pox, abundant well-authenticated instances. Dr. Heberden, in his Commentaries, mentions his having witnessed occasional failures in the Small-pox inoculation.

He relates, in particular, the case of “ a person having a very *full Small-pox*, which ran through all its stages in the usual manner—yet this patient *had been inoculated ten years before*, from this inoculation he had been *feverish*, with *head-ach* on the *fifth* day after the insertion of the Small-pox matter, an *eruption* appeared, but it did not mature. The inoculated part also *inflamed*, and left a dead *scar*, which I saw.”



*The following Letter from EDWARD RIGBY, Esq. a very eminent Surgeon, and at present Mayor of Norwich, appeared in the Norwich Mercury of the 6th instant :*

TO THE EDITOR.

“ SIR,

“ It has been reported in this neighbourhood, that I no longer confide in Vaccine Inoculation, and that I have been unfortunate in adopting it in my own family. Having lately been much questioned on the subject, I think it right thus publicly to say, that I have yet seen no reason to doubt the general efficacy of the new inoculation, and that I am not inclined to discontinue it. I vaccinated my own twin children, when they were six weeks old : I inoculated them with Small-pox ichor when they were eight months old, but they resisted the infection ; and since that time I have exposed them to a patient under the Small-pox, and at that period of the disease when it is most likely to communicate infection, which, as before, they are insensible to. I have, however, seen five cases, in which the patients were supposed to have the Small-pox subsequent to vaccination ; of these, three were cases of Varicella, or chicken-pox\*, and in the others, which were certainly genuine Small-pox, there were doubts

\* Commonly termed *water pox* in this neighbourhood.



of their having gone through the Cow-pox with the usual symptoms ; in neither of them was the characteristic cicatrix, or eschar, on the inoculated arm, and from one of them a child in the same family was inoculated without receiving the disease.

“ But admitting these to have been genuine instances of Small-pox supervening Cow-pox, I should still consider vaccine inoculation not less secure than variolous inoculation : as many instances of persons having undergone Small-pox a second time have been well authenticated. Of this kind I can mention one, which lately occurred in this neighbourhood, and I do it on the respectable authority of Mr. Skoulding, of Wymondham. A young woman at Barford, who had been inoculated some years ago for the Small-pox, who went through the disease in the usual manner, and who bore on her arm three strongly marked eschars, where the punctures had been made, caught the Small-pox from some inoculated patients, and went through the disease a second time with the accustomed symptoms. Under these circumstances, variolous inoculation being evidently not more secure than vaccine, no one will surely hesitate to prefer the latter, and for the manifold reasons which have been so long before the public, and which cannot fail now of being well and generally understood.

“ EDWARD RIGBY.”

*Norwich, June, 1805.*



The following is another recent instance:

LETTER FROM THE EARL OF WESTMEATH TO  
DR. JENNER.

“ SIR,

“ Understanding that a report has been industriously circulated, which, if believed, would tend much to weaken that confidence which is at present so *generally* and so *justly* entertained by the public, in your system of inoculation for the Cow-pox ; namely, that my youngest son had taken the natural Small-pox after having been vaccinated ; I think it but justice to you to contradict the report, and to state for your satisfaction the real circumstances of the case, which are as follow :

“ When he was about two months old, he was inoculated for the *Small-pox* in the Suttonian method, by a physician in Ireland, who has been very generally successful in inoculation, and *pronounced by him* to be entirely free from the risk of infection ; notwithstanding which he caught the infection about a fortnight since, and is now recovering from the *natural Small-pox*.

“ I beg to inform you at the same time, that my youngest daughter, who was vaccinated by you about four years since, has not only been frequently exposed to the danger of infection, but was actually inoculated for the *Small-pox* without



taking it. I have considered it incumbent upon me to bear this testimony to the efficacy of the vaccine system, as I consider the report relative to my son, that originated in *misrepresentation*, to have been circulated for the base purpose of prejudicing that most useful and fortunate discovery.

“ I am, SIR,

“ Your obedient humble servant,

“ WESTMEATH.”

Dr. Rowley next details

## 27. THE NORTH STREET CASE.

NAME AND ABODE.	AGE. <i>Ys. Ms.</i>	<i>When and by whom vaccinated.</i>	EVENTS.
Mr. Nicholson's little boy, North-street, Marybone, No. 2.	1 6	June, 1803. Indentation complete.	Had the Small-pox, June 1805. I attended this case, and many practitioners saw it.

This child was properly vaccinated by Mr. Daw, and the indentation is, as Dr. Rowley says, complete.

The omission of the *kind* of Small-pox is done on purpose.

His sister took the Small-pox *naturally*, and had it dreadfully bad, and her seams and pits denote



the violence and virulence of this dreadful disease.

The mother who has had the Small-pox, who nursed the girl, and the boy who fondled over his sister, had each about *seven* pustules, and this Dr. Rowley magnifies into *Small-pox*.

Dr. Rowley, to give the case great importance, puts down, "I attended this case."

The mother declares, "that he never did attend either of the children,—and nothing was done for the boy, except to wash his pustules with *tripe liquor*."

### 28.29.30. THE BULSTRODE MEWS CASES. *FIRST EDITION.*

NAME AND ARODE.	AGE. <i>Ys. Ms.</i>	When and by whom vaccinated.	EVENTS.
CXXVI. Mary Ann King, 12, Bulstrode Mews, having Small-pox.		Had been vaccinated near the time by St. Mary-le-bone pupils.	The Small-pox was mild, and so it always has been in different subjects. Some benign, or distinct, others malignant and confluent.

CXXVII. Two others were inoculated with Cow-pox two or three days after. It was the <i>phrenzy</i> to inoculate Cow-pox whenever Small-pox appeared.		Vaccinated May 13, 1805, about ten days after Small-pox appeared in the neighbourhood at the same time: there was the usual signs on the arm of vaccination.	They both had the Small-pox mild. The eldest took <i>infusum rosæ</i> , the other recovered without medicine, the Cow-pox going on through its usual progress. These cases may satisfy superficial irrational minds, but have no weight with SENSE and EXPERIENCE, governed by true science.
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## SECOND AND THIRD EDITIONS.

## 28. 29. THE BULSTRODE MEWS CASES.

NAME AND ABODE.	AGE. Ys. Ms.	When and by whom vaccinated.	EVENTS.
XXXVII. and XXXVIII. Elizabeth Keen, William Keen, 12, Bulstrode Mews.	2 3 5	May 10, 1805.	Small-pox, May 29.

30. ANOTHER BULSTRODE MEWS  
CASE.

CXXVI. Mary Ann King, 12, Bulstrode Mews.		Had been vac- cinated near the time by St. Mary- le-bone pupils.	The Small-pox was mild, and so it always has been in different subjects. Some benign, or distinct, others malignant and confluent.
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These cases, so wrongly related, from *first* to *last*, are as follows: The names of all these three persons are *Keine*—neither of them Keen, or King.

If Dr. Rowley were as incorrect in his prescriptions, as in his writings against the Cow-



pox, he must have made a dreadful havoc \* among the poor in the Infirmary of St. Mary-le-bone parish † !

Now, the last case, Mary Ann King, which forms Dr. Rowley's CXXVth case, is the eldest daughter of Mr. Keine.

Now Mary Ann Keine never was vaccinated, or variolated, but she was seized with the natural Small-pox, (as might be expected,) and so far from having it slightly, had it *very full*.

The two other children, Elizabeth and William Keine, were, as soon as this was known, vaccinated by a pupil of the Mary-le-bone Infirmary.

The Small-pox being in the constitutions of these two children, they, in consequence, might have the Small-pox.

Here it should have been stated, that the disease was so very mild, as, with other facts, might

\* A life, to my knowledge, was actually lost by a physician writing Aq: fort. for Aq: font.—Aqua fortis, for bland water. Truth and accuracy are always *expected* from physicians.

† Much to the honour of the Governors of the Mary-le-bone Infirmary, even after this publication by Dr. Rowley, they assembled, and gave positive orders "that *inoculation* of the *Small-pox* should be *disused*, and *vaccination* performed in its stead:" and when the present Apothecary to the Mary-le-bone Infirmary hesitated at complying with an injunction so grating as it must be to the feelings of Dr. Rowley, they insisted upon "their resolution being put into force," for they considered "that the lives of thousands were not to be sacrificed for the vagary, prejudice, or whatever name you may please to call it, of one individual."



prove, if it were the *Small-pox*, that it was greatly mitigated in both these instances.

For an account of the supposed *Small-pox* in these two cases, I shall beg leave to state,

AN EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM MR. DIXSON,  
APOTHECARY TO THE BLOOMSBURY DISPENSARY,  
TO DR. THORNTON.

“ Nine days after vaccination, the *Small-pox* appeared on Elizabeth and William Keine; the vaccine pustules on the arms had risen properly, and the *Small-pox* eruptions were few and small. On the fifth day, the eruptive pustules were scabbed, and the scabs dry and black. They had made more progress in these few days, than with the other child, who had laboured under *Small-pox* nearly three weeks, as both myself and the mother observed. There was in these two instances no eruptive fever, and these cases must, therefore, have been either chicken-pox, or a very mitigated kind of *Small-pox* owing to vaccination.”

As the *Small-pox* was in the family, it was possible the infection might have been received into the habit, when the vaccination might fail of producing perfect security; but even then it is the opinion of the most experienced vaccinators, that the *Small-pox* becomes *mitigated*.

That the *Small-pox* may appear in a *mitigated* form, or, in some instances be wholly superseded by vaccination, the following observations on this



subject are recorded by the justly celebrated Dr. Pearson, who says,—

“ I have already ascertained by the many trials I have made of inoculating variolous matter, even a *day later* than the vaccine inoculation, that if this latter took effect, the variolous infection only produced, at the most, a pimple for the three or four first days, and an imperfect Small-pock vesicle during the succeeding days, which seldom suppurated, but usually began to change into a scab before the tenth day, without any Small-pox like eruptions; meanwhile, the vaccine pock continued its usual march through its different stages. When the variolous inoculation was instituted at a *later period* after the vaccine, but before the 6th or 7th day, the pimple only, was sometimes produced in the inoculated part, which disappeared in a few days; but at other times a small vesicle succeeded the pimple, which, however, became a small scab usually on the 9th or 10th day, without leaving a cicatrix; and this pimple never suppurated. If the Small-pox poison be inoculated as late as the 7th, 8th, or 9th days, I have frequently seen a small pimple produced, but oftentimes with not even more effect than that from a puncture or scratch with an unstained lancet.

“ 2. In the reverse order of Incision with the two poisons, at least with the vaccine, within three or four days from the variolous, the Small-pox was excited in the usual manner; and the Vaccina



observed the march, as above described in the variolous inoculated part.

“ 3. When the two kinds of infection were inserted on the same day, usually both of them took effect ; and the two affections pursued their course pretty exactly, with equal paces, at the same periods, and with the same phænomena as when they take place singly. In such cases, the matter of the part inoculated with variolous infection, and of the eruptions, were found to produce the Small-pox ; and the matter of the vaccine pock excited the Vaccina, on inoculation. In these instances a cicatrix was left in each arm.

“ 4. It has been already represented, that the fact above stated, now under remark, is referable to a new law of agency of morbid poisons, *to wit*, the Small-pox effluvia being introduced into the constitution, nearly cotemporary with the introduction of the vaccine matter by inoculation, the former exerts its specific power of producing the Small-pox in four, five, or six days sooner than it usually does singly, so as to keep pace with the constitutional affection (as far as can be perceived) of the vaccina, or nearly so. This coincidence, which was not suspected by any physician (who, like Dr. Woodville, knows so accurately the history of the facts of infectious diseases) to depend upon a new law, seems to be the truth ; for there was no pretence for doubting that the vaccine inoculation, analogous to the variolous,



would supersede the agency of the variolous poison, admitted casually in the state of effluvia. Dr. Woodville, however, did not scruple to recal his opinion in January, 1801, (Med. and Phys. Journal, p. 6,) by which time the facts of experience had afforded indications of the law, now, I believe, generally admitted to furnish a satisfactory explanation.

“ 5. The fact that the Small-pox, by effluvia, or in the casual way, can take place within a limited time after the Cow-pock, was first observed in Mr. Malin's case, (see Med. and Chir. Review, No. 58 ;) and I think Mr. Bevan's case (Med. and Phys. Journal, p. 455, Vol. V.) is an instance of the same kind: but such occurrences are extremely rare, unless some of them occurred, as I suspect, although unobserved, among the eruptive patients at the Small-pox Hospital. However, I see no known principle to which these facts can be referred; therefore it will be for further contemplation to determine whether or no they also indicate a distinct new law.

These observances lead to a *practical* conclusion greatly in favour of the Cow-pock.

In case the Small-pox infection is in the habit, it has been often noticed, that a *severer* Small-pox has been produced by inoculation.

The common people style it, “ giving a *double Small pox*.”

The contrary is the case with the Cow-pox, the



two diseases run together, and the Small-pox usually becomes mitigated, as the above cases have proved.

### 31. THE UPPER BERKELEY STREET CASE.

NAME AND ABODE.	AGE. Ys. Ms.	When and by whom vaccinated.	EVENTS.
CCIII. Mr. Hall's child, Upper Berkeley- street.		Vaccinated.	Had the Small-pox afterwards, the beginning of the Summer, 1804.

“ Had the Small-pox *after Cow-pox* :”—how long after is prudently omitted !!!

The story is—Mrs. Hall has four children : Elizabeth, the second, at seven took the natural Small-pox, and had them extremely unfavourable. As soon as the eruption appeared, Mrs. Hall prudently hastened to have her three other children, Mary, John, and Ann, vaccinated.

These three were accordingly vaccinated, but Mr. Davis, the operator, of Oxford-street, observed to the mother, that *Mary* appeared *sickening* at the time.

The fact was, early the following morning the Small-pox made its appearance.



This is Dr. Rowley's "Small-pox after Cow-pox."

But he prudently forgot to relate the fate of the other two.

Ann and John were also *vaccinated*; and although they eat, drank, and slept with their sisters labouring under *Small-pox*, yet they both escaped it, and have been since frequently exposed to it, but are found secure.

Many similar instances have occurred to Dr. Jenner, as he informs me by letter, as well as to myself, and to other practitioners.

The next cases in succession are, for I have taken each case usually as it follows,

### 32, 33. THE SOMEWHERE CASES.

NAME AND ABODE.	AGE. <i>Ys. Ms.</i>	When and by whom <i>vaccinated.</i>	EVENTS.
XXXIX. Sarah Gordon.		Four Years since at the Small-pox Hospital.	Both have lately had the Small-pox, which ap- pears still evident. I <i>visited</i> them.
XL. George Gordon.			

These cases resemble some scores of those recorded by Dr. Rowley; the place of residence is omitted, and the nature of the Small-pox after the Cow-pox.



The Register of the Small-pox Hospital was carefully searched, and no such names are recorded there.

Not having any clue to investigate these two cases, I therefore leave them to the decision of my readers.

. . . . . Credat Judæus apella

Non ego.

### 34, 35, 36. THE CHARLES STREET CASES.

NAME AND ABODE.	AGE. Ys. Ms.	When and by whom vaccinated.	EVENTS.
XLI. XLII. XLIII. Mr. Smith's three children, Charles-street, Tottenham- court-road.		One six years ago, one three years ago, and the other two years ago, at the Small-pox Hospi- tal, Pancras.	All have caught the Small- pox in June, 1805, and passed through its regular stages. I saw them, and many others.

“ All had Small-pox after different periods of vaccination—and passed through the *regular* four stages.”

The reader has had so many samples of Dr. Rowley's *regular* stages, that he will not be surprised at my receiving the following account :

The father writes to me, “ that the eldest was inoculated for the Cow-pock at Pancras, the other two by Mr. Carrique, Surgeon, in Charlotte-street ; and that the pustules supposed to be Small-pox, turned on the fourth or fifth day.”



## LETTER FROM MR. CARRIQUE TO DR. THORNTON.

*" Charlotte Street, May 1, 1806.*

*" DEAR SIR,*

*" In answer to your inquiries respecting the family of the Smiths, I vaccinated two of his children, who had the Cow-pock in the most regular decisive way. When the first child was taken ill, the parents, not thinking any thing of the disease in question, did not send to me till the ninth day, and that only to satisfy their minds, whether it was the Small-pox, or not, which, on account of the numerous reports spread abroad, had alone made them think it might be such, then the eruption was over, that I could make no decision on this case; but another child falling ill a few days after, I had an opportunity of seeing it upon its first being taken ill. The child had some fever on the Sunday, and this continued only till the evening, and on Monday morning I found the child free from all fever, playing about the room with the other children; and there was an eruption clearly manifest which continued from Sunday till Thursday, when it turned; that is, on the fifth day, not resembling any thing of Small-pox, such as I had ever seen, but such as I was always in the habit of calling before *Chicken-pox*.*

*" I have the honour to be,*

*" DEAR SIR,*

*" Faithfully yours,*

*" SAMUEL CARRIQUE."*



The next case is from Dr. Moseley.

### 37. THE BUNTINGFORD CASE.

NAME AND ABODE.	AGE. <i>Ys. Ms.</i>	When and by whom vaccinated.	EVENTS.
XLIV. Mr. Simmons, farmer, near Buntingford.		Three years ago.	Caught a most dangerous Small-pox, and died in June, 1805, of that dis- temper.

I must give Dr. Rowley the credit here, that although he says "*a most dangerous Small-pox,*" which he proves in the next line by his "*dying of it,*" yet has he omitted "*that insanity was one of the consequences of vaccination.*"

Dr. Moseley has thought fit to publish the following most *terrific* account.

" *Saffron Walden, November 22, 1805.*

" SIR,

" I duly received your letter respecting the late Mr. Robert Symonds, and must beg your pardon for my seeming neglect in not answering you sooner.

" The delay has been occasioned by waiting for the testimony of Dr. Dimsdale, a very respectable physician, at Bishops Stortford, who attended him in his late fatal disorder.



“ I have received various letters respecting the case in question, and am very ready to afford you every assistance in my power to investigate a subject, which at this time so deeply interests the public. Society claims it from me, and I shall bring forward facts, and facts only.

“ Robert Symonds, aged 25, of Ickleton, in Cambridgeshire, was inoculated by me for the Cow-pox, on the 9th of August, in the year 1800.

“ Being informed by *the vaccinists* that fluid matter was better for the purpose than dry, and that *dilution might render it inactive*, I accompanied him to a neighbouring village, and found a youth with the vaccine disease ; from whose arm I took the matter, and immediately transferred it from the one to the other. It was taken from the genuine Cow-pox vesicle, at the proper period ; and the matter perfectly limpid.

“ About the *fourth* day from its insertion, the small puncture, or wound upon the arm, became inflamed and elevated, and on the *seventh* morning, a vesicle appeared with all its attendant peculiarities (as described by Dr. Jenner), which was followed by surrounding inflammation, tumefaction, areola, &c. He had likewise fever, thirst, and head-ach.

“ I was induced more attentively to observe these appearances from the *novelty* of the practice. His arm afterwards became ulcerated, and,



though different applications were used, it did not get well for some time after the inoculation.

“ On the 8th day of December following, (four months after vaccination) I was desired to see him. He complained of a pain in his head, and his mind, *from no apparent cause*, was much distressed. Having a little increased heat, I gave him a few grains of antimonial powder, and afterwards a common febrifuge mixture.

“ On the 11th he was much the same, and on the 12th also; and shewed little concern about business, or attention to his friends. I applied a blister to his back, and gave him tonic medicines and cardiacs.

“ After Christmas he was greatly better; and, in the early part of the ensuing Spring, blotches appeared upon his legs, arms, &c. which ulcerated, and were afterwards covered with large scabs. There was an inflamed circle round them, with matter underneath, of a yellowish colour. These blotches continued upon him for a considerable time.

“ He was at my house on the 28th of June following; and the eruptions continued in the same state.

“ He removed some time afterwards, to a distance from me; and, in the month of June, in the present year, he was seized with the *Small-pox*, and was then visited by Dr. Dimsdale; who informs me, that he saw him on the fifth day



from the eruption, and found him with every bad symptom of the confluent kind.

“ He visited him again on the seventh day, and again on the ninth. He was met by Dr. Davey, of Cambridge; they both declared him in the most dangerous state; and on the twelfth day—he died.

“ I trust I have been sufficiently explicit; and if any other questions should arise, I will, as far as I am able, answer them; and remain,

“ SIR,

“ Yours respectfully,

“ GEORGE EACHUS.”

“ To Dr. Moseley.”

“ P. S. Dr. Dimsdale further adds, ‘ at the time Symonds had the Small-pox, several people in the village had the same disease, and it was supposed that he caught it from the servant boy of a clergyman; though I think it may be fairly said to have been at that time epidemical; as the town of Ware, and the neighbouring villages, were afflicted with it.’ ”

*Dr. Moseley's Observation on this Case.*

“ Mr. Eachus is a gentleman of real *practical* knowledge. In a very *sensible* letter I have since received from him, he informs me that Mr. Symonds never had any mental alienation, until *after*\* he had the Cow-pox; and that no part of his fa-

\* Four months after.



mily had ever been afflicted in a similar way. He was first alarmed at the ulcerations: and *the dread of the consequences of the disease preyed on his mind.*"

Mr. Eachus is represented as a man of real *practical* knowledge.

Why then talk of the *novelty* of the practice in this case?

It was probably his *first* patient.

He first says, his mental derangement came on "*without any apparent cause.*"—Vide page 268, line 5.

And now, "that the dread of the consequences of the Cow-pox preyed on his mind."

He talks *learnedly* of the Cow-pox, but the description of its *genuine characters* he has mistaken.

He tells us, that he had the *spurious pustule*, as clearly as possible, for he says, "about the fourth day of the insertion of the Cow-pox virus, the small puncture, or *wound* upon the arm, became inflamed and *elevated.*" "That as early as on the *seventh* day the vesicle appeared, followed with the *areola*, *head-ach*, and *fever.*" — The too quick progress denoted a *spurious* pustule, and, as with the *spurious* pustule, "a *troublesome ulceration* followed, which did not get well for some time after vaccination\*."

\* Under these circumstances the *prudent* practitioner would have vaccinated again to remove all doubt.



That the patient was full of *humours*, which, in some instances, converts even the *true matter* into the *spurious pustule*, we find “that in the ensuing spring, *blotches* appeared upon his legs, arms, &c. which ulcerated, and were afterwards covered with large scabs. There was an inflamed circle round them, with *matter* underneath, of *yellowish* colour. These *blotches* continued upon him for a considerable time.”

Hence, in all the adverse cases, that even have any apparent bearing against vaccination, we find always something *peculiar*, and if not the *particular* fault of the practitioner, some *peculiarity* of *constitution*,—and such *exceptions* are brought forward by *fervid brains*, as the proper examples to form a *general* rule, so as *dreadfully* to terrify the credulous minds of fond parents.

Let us challenge our adversaries with *case* for *case*, and in opposition to this *one* I will bring forward *the following* case.

“*Buntingford, Dec. 13, 1805.*”

“SIR,

“From the circumstance of Mr. Simeon’s relations having left this part of the country, I have been prevented from answering your letter. I have made every inquiry as to the symptoms which appeared when Mr. Simeon was vaccinated, but I have not been able to attain any satisfactory information. Mr. Eachus, Surgeon, of Saf-



from Walden, Essex, was the person who vaccinated Mr. Simeon, and by writing to him, you will be able to procure information upon the subject \*.

“ There is one circumstance I can relate, with regard to the Cow-pock ; which is, that a maid, who lived in the same family with the servant boy (who had the Small-pox) from whom Mr. Simeon took the *Small-pox*, was vaccinated by me *three years ago*, and she was constantly with the boy, and nursed him ; the maid was very much alarmed, and was afraid she would have the Small-pox too, it being also epidemic around ; but no such thing happened, nor did she shew any symptoms of it whatever. I remain

“ Yours faithfully,

“ ROBERT WOOD, M. D.”

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I am at a loss to know, why Doctor Moseley takes so much pains to dilate upon every accidental circumstance of discouragement, (which, as a man of humanity, ought rather to excite sensations of regret than triumph), and, not content with a plain statement of facts, usually distorts, perverts, and colours them, till all resemblance of the simple truth is lost ? Let him answer this question to his own conscience, before he

\* I wrote, but did not receive any answer.



attacks the motives of others, who have been guided by the purest intentions of benefitting society, in eradicating the most loathsome pestilence that ever was permitted to visit mankind. Their labours will yet, by the blessing of God, be crowned with ample success, and all the mistakes of *early ignorance* be, in a short time, completely guarded against; the first thing necessary for correcting a fault is to be sensible of its existence, and the scattering instances of doubtful or opposing evidence, may thus be the *unintentional* means of doing great and permanent benefit to the cause. What then becomes of all the laboured opposition given? in what other light does it deserve to be regarded, than as a proof of unwarrantable vanity and ignorance, in contradiction to the sentiments of the whole world, and undeserving, indeed, a serious reply? In the end it must prove greatly to the advantage of vaccination, that such objections have been made, for by this means every *mistake* is effectually detected, and junior practitioners enabled to remedy *any errors* they may have fallen into through want of *experience*, and its final triumph must be the more glorious, after having had to encounter and overcome such inveterate opposition from interest or vanity, ignorance, prejudice, and pride. The firm supporters of the good cause, says Aculeus, will then look back with heart-felt satisfaction on their



past labours, and receive the reward of public confidence and public gratitude, for their disinterested and benevolent perseverance, while the insects of opposition shall be forgotten, or only remembered from the trouble they have occasioned.

It would, indeed, be an affront to my readers to suppose they would have patience to read all the reported adverse cases, and I have given examples sufficient of the want of solid ground of objection to vaccination as an art.

I shall, therefore, out of a pile of communications, select only a few more statements.

LETTER FROM DR. JENNER TO DR. THORNTON.

*Cheltenham, Dec. 19, 1805.*

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ What a sad disaster this has been at Gillet's. I should not be surprised to find that Moseley or Rowley, in some future work, were to ascribe the conflagration to some power, before hidden, in Vaccination. Whatever was the cause, I am most heartily sorry for the effect; and fear it will cost you much labour to go over your notes again; but, luckily you possess the pen of a ready writer.

“ Your idea of comparing the Anti-vaccine Trio to the barking Cerberus, defending the infernal regions, is admirable. Does not this shew



me another of your caricatures? The mischief these ignorant and malicious persons have done is not to be calculated, as it is not confined to the metropolis only, but has spread from one extremity of our island to the other. For where the Small pox rages, there the general intercourse going forwards soon scatters the pestilence. Three times it has been brought to *this place* during the Summer; but I had the happiness to see it confined, in each instance, to the individual on whom it broke out. It was peculiarly pleasant in one instance, as the patient who went through a confluent Small-pox happens to be in a family where there were five children, whom I had vaccinated *some years ago*, and who were daily exposed to the infection. The Small-pox has appeared in this same *insulated* form, in many of the circumjacent villages this year; and in all these cases I heard of similar exposures of those whom I had vaccinated, but *all* resisted the infection. And have we not millions of facts before us to prove that this will invariably be the result, if the *process* be conducted with *proper skill*? Why, then will these *ignorant people* obtrude their *delusive absurdities* on the public?

“ Dr. Moseley has insinuated more of his *wild* letters in the Gentleman's Magazine, that my own inoculations for the Cow-pox have been few and are insignificant. At this place *only*, where I reside commonly during the autumnal months,



I have inoculated *several thousands*; and I can safely say, with uninterrupted success.

" The scheme you mention for ascertaining the effect already produced by vaccination, I always thought a good one, and proposed it to our Society, but it was not adopted.

" With best wishes, I remain,

" DEAR DOCTOR,

" Very sincerely yours,

" EDWARD JENNER."

SECOND LETTER FROM DR. JENNER TO DR.  
THORNTON.

" Cheltenham, Jan. 17, 1806.

" I have just got Mr. Moore's pamphlet \*, and think it an excellent production.

" How will the anti-vaccinists be able to stand against all this artillery? We must not expect them to quit the field without desperate resistance. Recollect—Milton's heroes made a bold and daring stand.

" I will conclude this letter by relating to you a circumstance that has lately happened, and which has completely subdued the small portion of infidelity respecting the powers of vaccination, which was excited among the common people here by Dr. Rowley's pamphlet.

\* Reply to the Anti-vaccinists.



"A young woman (who, by the way, spurned my general offer of security,) caught the Small-pox of some itinerants passing through the town. I went to see her on the eighth day of the disease, and found her a miserable object, covered over from head to foot with pustules, which were maturing. Close by her side lay a fine infant, about six months old, which in this wretched condition she had been endeavouring to furnish from her bosom with its usual supplies, but in vain. My inquiry, of course, was directed to the state of the little sufferer, and I found it was left to share the fate of its mother, having never been inoculated. I was not long in bringing to the cottage one of my vaccinated patients, and having inserted into each of its arms the *Guardian Fluid*, returned it to its bed. Here it lay during the whole progress of its mother's disease, inhaling at every breath the variolous poison; yet it became arrested in its course, and was rendered perfectly innoxious. The child shewed not the most distant symptom of indisposition, nor have any spots appeared, except those placed on the arms by the vaccine lancet.

"Believe me, DEAR DOCTOR,

"With great respect and best wishes,

"Your obliged and faithful servant,

"EDWARD JENNER."



THIRD LETTER FROM DR. JENNER TO DR.  
THORNTON.

" Cheltenham, Dec. 16, 1805.

" DEAR SIR,

" The opponents of the new practice give us case after case of its ill success in our metropolis, and the country, some of these are falsehoods, others actual failures.

" Let the mist of prejudice that envelopes them for a moment be dissipated; let them employ their reason in calm reflection on the subject, and I should presume they would at once perceive that occasional failures must have been inevitable. The great outline of vaccination, we know, may be comprehended quickly, but to understand its *minutiae*, though neither obscure nor intricate, requires time, experience, and attention. I had no hesitation therefore, in predicting what would happen, from the *hasty* and *careless* manner in which many *dashed* into it. I would ask, for argument sake, what would be the result, if the vaccine lancet were put into the hands of those who have lately so vehemently, and in language so very indecorous, opposed its use? Certainly, a verification of their own doctrines—because it is plain from their writings they are *ignorant* of those facts, which *invariably* lead to a *successful* issue.

" But to quit this subject, and reply to your question respecting a case (Case CLXII. of Row-



ley) that cuts so conspicuous a figure in the pages of the anti-vaccinists, I must inform you, that happening to be at Mr. Montague's, in Portman-square, three or four years ago, Mrs. Montague pointed out to me, among a group of fine children who were playing on the lawn, two that had been vaccinated. I requested permission to inspect their arms, which was immediately granted. To my surprise, there was *no cicatrix* discernible on the arm of one of them, but on the other there was a visible impression. I therefore at once pronounced insecurity in the one case, and the prospect of security in the other. I remarked to Mrs. Montague how fortunate this interview was, and took my leave with an earnest intreaty, that both the children might be re-inoculated, and in the interim carefully guarded from the Small-pox infection, leaving the choice of either mode of inoculation to her determination. She chose the Small-pox, and the result is well known. The one whose arm bore no mark of the vaccine pustule, was infected, the other resisted it. Mr. Bunny, the gentleman who vaccinated these children, has since explained the cause of failure, in a manner that reflects on him the greatest credit\*. It is to be lamented that others will not

\* He acknowledges that he used *old* matter, whose operation has been before explained, the *central part* of the pustule rendering inert matter, whilst the outer circles afford matter that will very frequently secure.



follow so laudable an example. But it has too frequently happened, when an adverse case has occurred, that the inoculator, to screen himself, has condemned the practice. Luckily, in this instance, it was in the hands of a man of integrity. This little history has been most cruelly misrepresented. It flew, in a distorted shape, in all directions, from *the palace itself* to the cottage; and so strong were the impressions it made, that I dare say it has sent many a victim to an untimely grave. The first and last part of it only were combined, and put in circulation; the fact which led to the re-inoculation of the children having been, unfortunately, concealed. However, it did not escape the correcting hand of my friend Ring\*, to whose humanity and steady perseverance in detecting similar misrepresentations, and to whose indefatigable exertions in support of vaccination the world stands highly indebted.

“ With best wishes, I remain,

“ DEAR DOCTOR,

“ Your very faithful and obliged  
humble servant,

“ EDWARD JENNER.”

\* These cases are the subject of a Report to the Medical Council of the Royal Jennerian Society, drawn up by Mr. Ring.



LETTER FROM MR. UPPOM, SEVERAL YEARS APOTHECARY TO THE SMALL-POX HOSPITAL.

“ *Warren Street, Fitzroy Square, Jan. 11, 1805.*

“ DEAR SIR,

“ My intimate friend Mr. Wachsel, of the Small-pox Hospital, acquaints me, that you are about to publish some remarks on Dr. Rowley's late work on Cow-pock, &c. &c. I will thank you to notice the following case, which is by no means as the Doctor has stated. In his last edition, Feb. 1805, fol. 360, the Doctor says, “ George Perch, in the Workhouse of St. Pancras, vaccinated by Mr. Uppom, caught the Small-pox and died. Communicated by Mr. Pointer, of the Hampstead road.” I was informed of the circumstance very late by Mr. Bradford, when the child was at the point of death, and being then engaged with a midwifery case, had not an opportunity of seeing the patient. Mr. Bradshaw, however, saw the child, and positively asserts to me that there was not any appearance of Small-pox, but a few petechiæ, and evident to every man of medical understanding, that the child died of *typhus fever*, no way whatever connected with Small-pox or Vaccination. By such *nefarious* publications are the public misguided !!

“ I have the honour to be,

“ DEAR SIR,

“ Your obedient servant,

“ H. UPPOM.”



## LETTER FROM MR. GAUGAIN TO DR. THORNTON.

“ SIR,

“ According to your request, I went to No. 37, Wilstead-street, Somer's Town, to enquire out the case of Mary Badger, recorded by Dr. Rowley ‘ as having had the Small-pox after vaccination,’ (Case CXXIX) and she was then out. A very creditable person in that house told me, that she had known her twelve years, and always remembered her pitted with the Small-pox ; another had known her twenty years, and she was always pitted greatly with the Small-pox : and when she came in, she declared ‘ she had never had the natural Cow-pox, or through inoculation, but had caught the Small-pox when an infant, and that it could not relate to any of her children, as two had had the Cow-pox from inoculation, and had always resisted the Small-pox, but her son *had taken the Small-pox*, but had never had the Cow-pox—nor could Dr. Rowley's account apply to any other, for there was no other at Somer's Town of that name.’

“ Thus do the antagonists to the Cow-pox depend upon public credulity, and they expect to be at once believed, and their names to hinder inquiry of what they advance at random, and without the proper investigation. Such *scribblers* should receive the *chastisement* they deserve, whilst the promoters of human benefits



should reflect, that every thing great and good has sustained for a time the assaults of envy and malice; but still these fiends will in the end be consigned to darkness and oblivion, when truth will appear triumphant, and more resplendent by the contrast. Wishing you every merited success in your praise-worthy undertaking, I remain,

“ SIR,

“ Your very humble servant,

“ T. GAUGAIN.”

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### THE BATH CASES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BRITISH PRESS.

“ SIR,

“ The interests of moral and scientific worth, form an important part of the objects of publication. In conformity with these, permit me to offer some facts and comments relating to Dr. Rowley's recent pamphlet (or rather libel on Cow-pock inoculation). The gross *incorrectness* of Dr. Rowley's assertion, concerning the disposition of the College of Physicians towards this discovery, has already been properly chastised; and it is an error, the more unpardonable, in a *member of that very body*. It will be with little difficulty that I shall *convict* Dr. Rowley of still



greater, and more *flagrant misrepresentation*, respecting some late occurrences in this city.

“ Dr. Rowley is a professed reformer of the medical and surgical sciences. He is the author of the *Scholæ Medicinæ Universalis Nova*, &c. &c. &c. and is a public lecturer on the theory and practice of medicine, *excluding false systems*. He is the allowed *critic* and *censurer* of the *most prevalent existing opinions*; and he is the *bold and confident contemner* of *many practices*, whose patrons rank incomparably higher, in philosophic estimation, than *himself*. He is the *self-invested Judge* in the high court of *Æsculapius*; and, in page 6 of his pamphlet, he has passed a sweeping decree against a mass of practices, under the general stigma of *insane*. In this list, the *most contemptible products* of empiricism and ignorance, and the *most valuable results* of science and *ingenuity*, are involved together, and placed side by side\*.

\* “ My History of Medicine shews much of sects, sectarists, false systems, &c. with the raving mad conceits of every age, and advises the admission of nothing but positive truth, as the only mode of avoiding error, excluding all opinions or conjectures whatever.

“ In my own time, we have seen the world and some of the faculty

Quicksilver mad  
Viper broth mad

Tincture of cantharides mad  
in impotency, by which

some



“ But, in a person of Dr. Rowley’s high *pretensions*, however little they may be borne out by

some old vicious men were slaughtered	Transmutatio metallorum into gold mad
Tar-water mad	Gas and vital air mad
Stevens’s stone-powder mad	Poison mad
Calves-pluck water mad	Nitric acid mad
Digitalis mad in numerous disorders	Phosphorus mad
Arsenic mad, in intermittent and cancers, &c.	Vegetable diet mad
Sugar of lead mad	Le fevre gout powder mad
Magnetism mad	Henbane or nightshade mad
Caustic bougie mad	Cow-pox mad
Mephitic water mad, in cancers	Metallic tractor mad
Electricity and galvanism mad	Iced water mad in fits of the gout, by which some have died, or run raving mad
Hemlock mad	Bleeding, jalap, and calomel mad in <i>putrid fevers</i> , to the destruction of thousands, &c.
Salt water mad	Buzaglo mad
Portland powder mad	Bleeding and butter-milk mad in consumptions.
Acid and alcali mad	
Alchemistic mad	

“ All these strange conceits and impositions have been credited and supported by knavery, ignorance, folly, and false faith, often to the detriment of society.

“ Complete anatomists, physiologists, and those excellent pathologists, who build their faith only from facts as they appear from dissections *post mortem*, never run into those errors. They see, reason, and reflect before they conclude. Every *novus homo* seems to think he has a right to practice physic according to any whim or caprice his superficial



his *performances*, we have a more than common right to look for the humble merits of correctness and veracity :

“ Let such search others, who themselves excel.”

He should be an example to those with whom he sets up as an oracle of instruction.

“ In page 81 of Dr. Rowley’s pamphlet, entitled, ‘ *Cow-pox Inoculation no Security against Small-pox Infection*,’ is the following note : ‘ *Some very decided cases (one given on oath), are delivered by Mr. Edwards, surgeon, of Walcot, in the Bath newspaper, where Small-pox was audaciously called Chicken-pox ; but inoculation from the pustules proved the case to be Small-pox after Cow-pox.*’ ”

“ Sir, the whole of this note I affirm to be a *new and incorrect edition* of an *old falsehood*, which has already received a severe and ample exposition.

“ The term ‘ *some*,’ seems to be employed for the purpose of amplification.

“ The imputed cases were *three* in number,

brains may suggest : but such ought to be more modest and less conceited, and endeavour to learn their profession from the most learned, intelligent, and experienced. We should not then have such crudities, as daily appear, to the disgrace of medicine, for it renders physic an art of experiment instead of science.” ROWLEY.



viz. *one* case of mistaken Small-pox, previously vaccinated by me; and *two* abortive attempts to inoculate Small-pox after vaccination. The latter instances must have appeared as indubitable proofs of successful vaccination, unless to minds incapable from ignorance, or depraved by prejudice.

“The *first* case was minutely scrutinized by several eminent medical characters in this city, (whose names will not suffer on comparison even with Dr. Rowley’s), and was decided publicly by them *not to have been Small-pox*.

“In contravention of Dr. Rowley’s direct assertion, *no Small-pox* was ever produced by inoculation from either of the cases, though different attempts were made to this effect, under circumstances strongly indicative of evil design.

“For a full account of this business, in which the interests of vaccination were so triumphant, and the conduct of its opponents so contemptibly weak and unjustifiable, I must refer to the *Medical and Physical Journal* for October, and to the excellent letter of Dr. Parry, in the *Bath Journal* of the 19th of August.

“If Dr. Rowley, Sir, can contradict an *iota* of these particulars, I will make him a *public apology*; otherwise, I will leave them as a fair and standing specimen of the truth of his numerous facts, ‘*ab uno disce omnes.*’



"His 500 cases, which are the '*crambe recocctu*' of every old *anti-vaccine* story, will, from hence, receive no accession of credibility. Of the general contents of Dr. Rowley's pamphlet, this is not a place for discussion; but I must declare my opinion, that the misrepresentation of fact, in a concern of the highest public importance, is a misdemeanour against society, as great as many which are so deemed, and punished by our statutes.

"The severe ordeal to which the reputation of the Cow-pox inoculation has recently been submitted, will induce me again to address you on the subject, which, universal as are its interests, demands that publicity of discussion, which a newspaper alone can afford.

"Permit me only to express my hopes that, if the vaccinists are condemned to eternal hostility, it may be with the *same enemies* against whom they have hitherto contended, and I shall not despair of their ultimate victory. In the mean time, let not the anti-vaccinists imagine that we are subdued or appalled.

"THOMAS CREASER,

One of the Surgeons of the Royal  
Somerset Jennerian Society."

Bath, Oct. 26, 1805



## LETTER FROM DR. PARRY TO DR. THORNTON.

Bath, June 1, 1806.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I am sorry that it has not been in my power to return an earlier answer to the letter with which you have honoured me.

“ I inclose you a copy of that which I inserted in the Bath Journal ; and, at this interval of time, I have no reason to change the sentiments which I there expressed. All the cases in this place which I have seen of supposed variola after vaccina, have been either varicella\*, primary or local variolous pustules from contact, or mere cutaneous phlegmons from the inflammatory irritation of the inoculated variola propagated to distant parts of the skin.

“ That a few instances, nevertheless, have happened elsewhere, in which persons vaccinated four or five years ago by operators, who, at that period, could have little skill, have since had the variolous fever, attended with secondary pustules, I have little doubt. My wonder is, that under all the *ignorance* necessarily attendant on a new practice, there should not have been many more than its most zealous enemies have fabricated or conceived. Farther experience has supplied these defects, and left little abatement of the benefit

\* The reader has long before this learnt, that *variola* is Small-pox, *vaccina* Cow-pox, and *varicella* Chicken-pox.



conferred on the human race by this inestimable discovery.

“ Mr. Edwards has certainly a right to be heard; and in order that he may be *heard* and *seen*, I would recommend that his letter to you may be published *verbatim et literatim* \* as you have received it.

“ Of him no more: but I am grieved to see men of *higher talents*, and of *some well-earned fame*, degrading their profession and themselves by building theories on *ex parte* and controverted evidence, and exulting with the rapturous malice of childhood at the grains of evil which, in this case, may be set against the immense weight of preponderating good. If any man is so absurd as to look for absolute perfection in human affairs, I trust that with that man I shall not be expected to reason. Throughout the whole of our conduct, all to which we can aspire is, the choice of that which is best; and he, who at this period of knowledge, prefers the Small-pox to vaccination, is exactly in the situation of a man who fears to walk the street, lest he should be bitten by a mad

\* Mr. Edwards, in his letter to me, says, “ the oath was taken before *proper* persons;” but the public has seen so much bad spelling, and bad language, before in the *Anti-vaccinists*, that I shall not publish this letter, though requested, fearing the public will think ours is not in truth a *learned* profession—filled with *gentlemen* and *scholars*.



dog, or who commits suicide—he must be deranged in intellect.

“ I have the honour to remain,

“ DEAR SIR,

“ Your very obedient servant,

“ C. H. PARRY.”

I now have reached the limits \* of the *First Part* of my work, and I have performed a severe but necessary duty; and having no private interest to serve, I have, I trust, impartially weighed the merits of both sides of the question, and struck the balance as truth preponderated.

I may have greatly wounded, Sir, whilst I was establishing the truth, your feelings, as I know I did those of Dr. Rowley, author of the admirable *Schola Medicinæ*, who, from his letter to me before his death, and conduct, I have reason to think, would have shewn how much I had changed his sentiments;—but death, alas! suddenly snatched him before that awful Tribunal, at which

\* It was my original intention to have published upon the whole of the adverse cases reported, and I have plenty of materials for this purpose; but I found this would swell the work to an unreasonable bulk, and enough has been already said to prove, that my adversaries, otherwise clever men, in this instance are wholly unworthy public confidence—and their facts not to be depended upon. I grieve that so much attention has already been occupied by such cases, that even *Parliament* should call upon the *College of Physicians* for its interference.



the heart only is judged, and all involuntary errors, which I should hope were his, are forgiven.

At his late period of life, and with his volatile spirits, it was not to be expected that he should *taste deep* of the new discoveries in science; and ardent in whatever he undertook, he blazed out with all the fury and bigotry of party, or rather, what might now be termed *madness*, he was led into all the desperation of faction, and hence alarmed mankind by publishing a series of adverse cases, such as evinced the *disturbed state* of his intellectual powers, and which, upon examination, must disappear, "like the baseless fabric of a vision, and leave not a wreck behind."

"You, Sir, who on Tropical Diseases shewed a profundity and originality of thought and observation, that obtained for you fame and practice, and are not yet tottering in limb and intellect; to you the world looks up for *true narrative, sober and wise reflections*,—and that you may not lose that reputation formerly acquired, by your cruel, unfair, and improvident opposition to vaccination, but may *fairly, openly, and candidly* declare the *truth* in its favour, and be still the pride and boast of the profession, is the sincere prayer and ardent wish of one who has yet the honour to remain,

SIR, &c.

ROBERT JOHN THORNTON,



## SECOND LETTER

ADDRESSED TO

DR. MOSELEY.

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June 1, 1806.

No. 1, *Hinde-street, Manchester-square.*

SIR,

THE inquiry respecting the Cow-pox branches out into two considerations; the one, that it secures the patient from the Small-pox, which I have proved, (*Vide FACTS DECISIVE IN FAVOUR OF THE COW-POCK*) beyond the power of just cavil or doubt—and the second, that it does not *viliate* the habit, so as to render the remedy oftentimes as precarious and dangerous as the evil we are endeavouring to obviate\*.

Although the vaccinators consider the Cow-pox as so slight a disease from inoculation, as, like a flea or bug-bite, to be only a temporary evil, yet several most alarming cases have been stated by Dr. Rowley in a work he has advertised “as necessary to be read by all tender parents,” and a

\* As a full example of my own absolute belief in the Cow-pox, I have very *lately* vaccinated my last sweet babe, after seven years experience on the subject.



melancholy death has, in some instance, been attributed to vaccination. You, Sir, have concurred in this, and observe,—

“ The Cow-pox inoculation has brought with it disorders that were never known before, and which have no affinity to common cutaneous diseases, or to scrofula ; neither in situation, form, or pathognomic character.”

You likewise observe, “ That the Small-pox inoculation, in the hands of those who understand it, never produces diseases ; and often removes them. In the hands of those who *do not understand* it, the body may be so loaded with pustules, or with the confluent sort, that the habit may be so vitiated, reduced, and disorganized, as to be subject to scrofula, and many other disorders.

Let us examine the leading proofs of so alarming an assertion respecting the former disease.

In order that this opinion might make the deeper impression, two engravings were published, the one of Master Joules, the ox-face boy, and the other of Marianne Lewis, a girl with the Cow-mange.

The first of these cases is thus stated.



## 1. THE NORTH-STREET CASE.

NAME AND ABODE.	AGE. Ys. Ms.	When and by whom vaccinated.	EVENTS.
XXXVI. Mr. Joules's son, 2, North- street. No lymphatic glan- dular tumours whatever.	5	Small-pox hospi- tal; parents per- fectly healthful. I intend producing this case in my Lectures; which was done Octo- ber, 1805.	Terrible tumour 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 increasing on the right cheek, dreadful to behold! Besides this, a diseased elbow joint. Other si- milar cases have occur- red.

"Dr. Moseley," says Dr. Rowley, "who sensibly first exposed the errors of vaccination, saw the case of the *ox-face* 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*." !!!!!

Attracted, like other gentlemen of the faculty, to see this transformation, I went to the place where the boy resided, and I recognized an old patient.

He immediately ran up to meet me, and with a smile thanked me for coming to see him, and his mother hoped "I would take him under my care, as Dr. Rowley had only made an exhibition of her



child, and would do nothing for him, or allow any thing to be done for him by the Surgeon of the Parish Infirmary," in whose province this case more properly belonged.

She then said, the Apothecary of the Mary-le-bone Infirmary being present, "that he was vaccinated three years and a half ago, and remained in perfect health for *three* years, and she then lodged in the New Road; that his present illness first came on since their living in this wooden box, (it is built in a timber-yard, leading out of North Street, six feet in height, eight feet long, and seven and a half in width) which continually smoked; and that as the boy was so well before they came to that little smoky hole of a place, that she attributed herself his present bad health solely to that cause\*."

I beg my readers to consider again the size of this wretched habitation, which is destined to contain a man, his wife, and two children.

I asked her, "whether she thought any kind of fowl, if stived up as that boy was, would remain long in health."

She answered, "that her experience led her to know, that fowls required much air, and she

\* It may be here observed, that the father is troubled with almost constant headach, looks an ailing man; and has a scar on one side of his face denoting former scrophula in him.



would find them all dead before morning of the croup, if lodged as they were obliged to be from poverty; for she had the room for nothing, in order to guard the timber-yard from thieves."

The boy was brought originally to me for a debilitated habit, as, on certain days, I give my advice gratis; and from the poverty of the mother, who, with her child, looked half-starved, for the father earns only sixteen shillings a week, and has to feed out of it four persons, I advised her to apply to the parish, observing, "that he wanted food as much as medicine."

She accordingly went to the Infirmary, and Dr. Hooper first saw the child, and he thought exactly with me, as to the source of the disease, and recommended nourishing things for the child, and ordered for him some tonic medicines.

Another cause of the present disordered state of the frame in the boy is, that the mother drinks very hard, and probably gives her son often "a little drop of comfort."

As might be expected alone from such a creature, although she had medicine from the Infirmary, she heard of a person famed for curing *sore* legs by a wash; and from the situation of the room—a fire, and the door open, and these but eight feet separate, the boy always placed in a draught between the two—his eyes were inflamed from that cause—and she would apply, what cured *sore* legs to a *sore* eye. Even the man hesitated who supplied



her with the wash. He confessed to her, it contained a *poison*, and he had never applied it, or seen it applied by others, to the *eye* or *face*; and warned her not to let any *run down his mouth* into his *throat*, as this would poison him.

The woman, probably half fuddled with gin, dabs a flannel, well moistened with the poisonous wash, all over his cheek—and violently inflaming this side, and then the next, she at last applied it all over the face.

Becoming frightened from the *tumefaction* which ensued, she then applied again to the Infirmary; and for what then followed, I shall add the testimony of a surgeon of very distinguished eminence.

#### LETTER FROM MR. BLAIR TO DR. THORNTON.

*Great Russell Street, May 1, 1806.*

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I have examined the case of Frederick Joules, whom you sent to me. He has a scrofulous tumour below the elbow, on his left arm, and a scrofulous affection near both eyes. The child's mother tells me, that he was inoculated at the Small-pox Hospital above three years and a half ago, and remained in health for almost *three years* afterwards; at which time swelling and inflammation appeared under his left eye, presently followed by the tumour on his arm. Somebody having advised the application of an empirical wash,



it aggravated and inflamed the child's face greatly, and soon excited a similar tumour under the other eye. This lotion, she was told by the person who made it, 'contained poison.' She then put her child under the care of Dr. Hooper and Mr. Philips\* (who both told her, '*it was an aggra-*

\* These gentlemen are the able *colleagues* of Dr. Rowley at the Infirmary, and they both pronounced the case *scrofula*. Mr. Cline, Mr. Abernethy, Mr. Wilson, Lecturers on Anatomy and Surgery, each saw this child, and pronounced the disease to be a bad *scrofula*. A great many other surgeons have also seen this child at my house, and none perceived in him the *visage* of a cow, or, or bull, but all said it was KING'S EVIL.

Yet have Dr. Rowley and Dr. Moseley, presuming that they once were SURGEONS, before they got dubbed *Physicians*, and still, probably, hankering after the *shop*, the rashness or folly to pronounce this a *new* disease, in contradiction to all the *eminent surgeons* in London.

ROWLEY says, "The *swelled, cow-poxed, or-faces* are not diseases of the lymphatic glands; but large swellings, as far as anatomical science, and my long-experienced judgment extends, between the periosteum and inferior surfaces of the muscles of the face, and in the interstices of muscles in the cellular structure; where they form not pus, but a bloody ichor, which I have seen evacuated. I do not hesitate to pronounce these cases not *scrofula*, as not appearing in the lymphatic *conglobate glands*, which is always the seat of *scrofula*, or king's evil; nor can any other tumours, unless these glands be affected, be nominated *scrofula*. So that the opinion of some of the vaccinators, who pretend mange, blotches, &c. are *scrofula*, which is easier pronounced than proved, only exposes themselves to the censure of every learned anatomist, physiologist, pathologist, and experienced practitioner.



vated scrofula)' at the St. Mary-le-bone Infirmary; and after two months Dr. Rowley saw

"When men are so uninformed, or have become so abandoned as to pervert truth and demonstrative science, and call one disease by the name of another, quite dissimilar in seat, in the structure of parts, in appearances and morbid effects, it is high time for the learned in the faculty to awaken from their torpid lethargy, and suppress evasion, fallacy, and blundering, in a profession, whose basis ought to be founded in profound science, truth, practical and successful experience."

MOSELEY says, "The *Medical tribe* in London must be viewed in an extraordinary light by people of understanding; when they see what havoc Dr. Jenner, and his COW, have made *in their intellects*.

"Their wild rhapsodies, and devotions for these authors of their distraction, were never equalled without the walls of a Pagan Temple.

"One bewildered soul, starting in his phrenzy, vows that 'the sweet influence of the Pleiades, and the bands of Orion,' are nothing but Jennerian pustules;—then decorates VACCINA with moons and stars,—worships the divine beast in Pythagorean relationship,—sends her to the heavens as a constellation,—and swears he will have a Cow, instead of a BULL, in the Zodiac.

"Another cut-throat, Smithfield scelerat, drags VACCINA to the slaughter-house; and, in carnivorous hymns, sings the praises of her divisibility on the shambles, in beef-steaks, rounds, and sUrloins,—like a savage of New Zealand.

"But these ravers are not the men who alone have carried the Cow-pox disastrous practice into its widely-extended effect. Nor are these the only men from whom the public will, in due time, expect retribution.



the child, who 'was very angry that the case had not been presented to him before, at the In-

"The culprits who keep out of sight, and prompt the mischief, and have not honour enough to renounce, nor courage enough openly to defend their conduct, will not be forgotten.

"They may skulk behind the curtain, and keep the stage occupied, by bringing forward one silly buffoon after another, 'To feed contention in a lingering act,' and blind the public—but they will not escape.

"Therefore, they may begin to rehearse their own parts, and be ready, when called on, to make some ATONEMENT for the victims they have immolated; for the miseries they have occasioned in the present race of beings; and for the incalculable corporal and mental derangements, which may be expected from an unknown poison contaminating the source of future generations."

Dr. Moseley continues: "I, who am not *worthy* of a place in any Cow-pox or Anti-Cow-pox Institution, keep aloof, like Ariel in the Tempest, and see what is going on without being seen. Of late, I have only demonstrated myself occasionally; when I perceive the children of infatuation in an uproar pressing on the feelings of society, and committing extraordinary outrages—Then I give them warning,—

'As doth the raven o'er th' infected house.'

"An excellent novel might be made for the use of the Cow-poxers, with *pails of milk*, the *roast beef* of Old England; and a few episodes from Dr. Rowley's dreadful COW-POX RAW-HEADS AND BLOODY BONES!!!"

Indeed, I am inclined to think that Dr. Moseley is almost as *mad* as the *other man*; or, at any rate, the *singularity* of these two writers, in *style* and *matter*, will certainly obtain for them a foremost place in the *Wonderful Magazine*.



firmary.' Dr. Rowley informed the child's mother, as soon as he saw her, '*that this mischief arose from the Cow-pox inoculation!*' Here I leave the affair, as I have no desire to set my opinion in opposition to that of Dr. Rowley. But you know, and all the world knows, that such an affection as this might have existed if the child had never been inoculated for the Cow-pock; and that, as the scrofulous symptoms did not appear till nearly *three years after the vaccine disease*, it must be whimsical in the extreme to attribute the present disorder to the inoculation. I am very sorry that such paltry and mischievous objections against the inoculation of the Cow-pox are circulated—*ad captandum vulgus*

" I have the honour to remain,

" DEAR SIR,

" Your faithful obedient servant,

" WILLIAM BLAIR."

This boy was made a public spectacle of, and exhibited to instruct an audience on the mischiefs resulting from vaccination!!!

When I lately told Rowley of the circumstances of this case, he was all confusion.—He allowed "he had taken up this case *rather* too hastily," and said, by way of excuse, "the mother *ought* to have *informed him of all this*"—and as she observed,



“he came once, after this conversation, to see the child, but was very different in his manner, and seemed quite cooled.”

Another dagger also stabbed his heart. Whilst he was making all this *hubbub* about this case, the sister to Master Joules sickened with the *Small-pox*, taken naturally, and had it extremely full.

Moseley and Rowley both attended; they repeatedly both mentioned to the mother, “that Frederick must soon take the *Small-pox*,” for they slept together, and in this stived box.—“What, not yet sickened?—but he will *by* and *by*.”—But *no fulfilment* of the prophecy ever took place.

When I pressed this circumstance home to Rowley, but a little before his death, I saw the blush of conviction redden in his countenance, and he was obliged to confess “that *in some instances*, indeed, vaccination did secure”\*.!!!

\* *Similar* preservations may be numbered by *thousands*. I shall, however, state here only one or two strong cases.

Mr. and Mrs. SAUNDERS, green-grocers, live at No. 7, South Molton-street.

Maria SAUNDERS, their daughter, æt. seven, was inoculated by me with the *Cow-pock*, when two years old, that is, five years ago.

Sarah, æt. three, was inoculated with the *Cow-pock* by me, when five weeks old, nearly three years ago.

Two years ago, Elizabeth PUSEY, their servant, took the *natural Small-pox*, had it confluent, and the children slept



But, in the name of God, why do Rowley and Moseley hide these facts from the public?

with her, but never took the Small-pox. She went away, and gave place to *Martha WEDDERBURN*, who was inoculated for the Small-pox three months ago. She had a good sprinkling, and *these two children slept with her all the time in the same bed, but did not take the Small-pox.*

In the same house lives Mrs. GOULD, who had three children.

One of these, *Robert*, æt. three, was vaccinated when three months old.

*Thomas* and *James* caught the natural Small-pox from *Martha*, of which the former died on the 14th day.

Yet *Robert*, who slept all the while in the same bed, never received the Small-pox, having been vaccinated.

A proof almost equally striking was presented over the way, at our baker's, in Hinde-street.

*Margaret MACLAURIN*, æt. nine, was vaccinated by me five years ago, and *William*, æt. eight, at the same time. They have often been where the Small-pox was, but always resisted it. But they were never put to the test so much as when their brother *Alexander*, æt. six months, took the natural Small-pox confluent, whose recovery at one time was despaired of.

*Margaret*, æt. nine, all the time used to fondle over the cradle of her brother, take him out, and nurse him in her arms, and kiss him repeatedly, but never caught the Small-pox, being vaccinated.

*Emilia SMITH*, æt. five, the child of the apothecary at the Mary-le-bone Dispensary, was vaccinated by me when three months old, a year after inoculated with Small-pox, and two years after that again, and been repeatedly in the company of those labouring under the Small-pox, as are *Frede-*



Why do these men conceal this part of the narrative?

Why inculcate, that the Small-pox is not kept off by vaccination—when they have such a striking instance before them of the contrary?

The cause they have in hand, it should be remembered, is life and death: and to withhold, or give, false evidence, under such circumstances, is no less than . . . . .

They bid us “repent”—Have they not cause to ask forgiveness of their God?

rick and Seymore, and yet have not taken it. I shall confirm my account by the

#### CONCLUSION OF A LETTER FROM DR. JENNER.

“Every year confirms my persuasion in the *preservative efficacy* of the *Cow-pox*; and in order very fully to ascertain this point, *many* of my *vaccinated patients* have been put to the test of *variolous inoculation*. *Some* have had sheets wrapped round them, in which those had lain who had laboured under a full burden of the Small-pox. *Some* have had the matter thrust up their nostrils; and *others* have been put into beds with those who had the Small-pox in its highest state of infection:—but **THEY HAVE ALL, IN EVERY INSTANCE, RESISTED ITS ACTION.**”

Such examples may be multiplied *ad infinitum*; so that I would rather a man would say at once, that *emetics* do not vomit, nor *blisters* vesicate, nor *cathartics* purge, than he shall dare to assert, against all the faculty, that the *Cow-pox* is *no security* against the *Small-pox infection*, when this has been properly done according to the clear and easy rules laid down by the illustrious discoverer, Dr. Jenner.



*Mr. Moore's statement of this Case.*

"Many surgeons, as well as myself, have seen Mr. Jowles's son, whom Dr. Rowley has so cruelly nick-named, '*The Cow-pored Ox-faced Boy*;' and of whom he has published so hideous a caricature. I made inquiry 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 *scrofulous* 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 increased malignity.

"The eldest son was vaccinated; and the youngest had the Small-pox.

"In the eldest, there are two *scrofulous* 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



editary *scrofula* ; 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 humorously clapt upon the shoulders of *Bottom, the weaver.*”

*Mr. Ring’s statement of this Case \**.

“ The first case which presents itself to our view, upon opening his book, is the *ox-faced boy*. This

\* This was published in the Medical Journal for Jan. 1806.



is a most *barefaced imposition*. The boy has tumours on his face, which disfigure him, as all tumours ever must do ; but he is no more like an *ox*, than the man who compared him to that animal is like an *ass*.

“ His present complaint did not commence till long after vaccination ; it is of a *scrofulous* nature, and is evidently hereditary. A younger child, who never was vaccinated, had the same affection in the groin a few months ago, after the natural Small-pox ; of which Dr. Rowley could scarcely be ignorant, since he was attended by the apothecary of the Mary-le-bone Infirmary, of which Dr. Rowley is physician.

“ The cause of this complaint is easily traced to the father of these children, which could not possibly escape the notice of Dr. Rowley, when he frequented the house. The moment I saw this man, I discovered a large and deep scar under the lower jaw. I then inquired what occasioned it. He replied, that when he was about thirteen years old, he kept cows in Hampshire ; and one day sat down on the grass when the ground was wet. In consequence of this, he had a number of large swellings all round his neck, one of which suppurated and broke, and did not heal for three years. This is one of the persons whom Dr. Rowley calls ‘ *healthful*.’ ”



The next boasted case is,—

## 2. THE COW-LANE CASE.

NAME AND ABODE.	AGE. Ys. Ms.	When and by whom vaccinated.	EVENTS.
<p>LXXXVIII. Marianne Lewis, at the Fox and Knot, Cow-lane, Snow-hill. This child was brought to me at my house, Kentish- town, and a more shocking instance of human woe I never saw in all my long and very extensive practi- cal experience. Mr ROGERS, in his letter to Mr. Birch, observes on this subject, 1st, that there is an eruption which appears, as well on the body as limbs; 2dly, an hasty abscess, which contains a fluid dissimilar to any other; 3dly, glandular en- largements of the skin, at first the size of a pea, then growing knotty and hard, at length suppu- rating. I have seen numerous instances of these facts.</p>	<p>3 ½ Now, July 1805.</p>	<p>At the Small-pox Hospital, April 1803. The mother earnestly requested to have the child variolated, but it seems, was harshly refused. The mo- ther and father are very healthful per- sons, without spot or blemish, and <i>without any family disease whatever.</i> I have prescribed for this unfortunate, very unfortunate ob- ject of commiser- ation, mineral alter- atives, but with what success time must determine. A drawing by Mr. Pugh, an eminent miniature painter, graces the head of this tract. I am en- deavouring to cure this truly horrid case, and she is bet- ter in August, 1805.</p>	<p>In June, 1804, broke out in the head, ears, and chest, with cow-pox mange, cow- pox bluish abscesses. When the cold weather came they were better.—In May, 1805, the same cow-pox mange, cow-pox abscesses, bluish in appearance, at- tacked the child in every part of the body; from head to foot there were nothing but cow-pox mange; cow- pox gatherings or matter, cow-pox ulcers, excoriations. The child was a mere <i>La- zarus</i>, covered all over with sores and disease, a most disgusting spectacle of terri- ble disease. In the night, from pain and irritation, the child is delirious, and mourns comfortless all the day. I have given a drawing col- loured, of these appear- ances. It is my intention, Sept. 1805, in my next course of medical lectures, excluding false systems, to exhibit pub- licly instances of cow-pox failure, and subsequent con- sequences, with the theory and cure of cow-pox mange, cow-pox evil, &amp;c. This has been performed before an audience of nearly 100 phy- sicians, surgeons, apotheca- ries, and students.</p>



In this other picture, with which he says he has "graced" his work; he has given a more than half-naked figure of Mary Ann Lewis, whom he represents, not as transforming into an ox in visage, as with the last, from the Cow-pox, but as having the *Cow-pox Mange*. Unfortunately for the doctor's position, another and sufficiently satisfactory cause can be also given here for all the appearances in this child. He says, "the father and mother are healthy." "*Without any family disease whatever,*" although REBECCA, æt. 5, was long in a most declining state of health, and only recovered from large doses of peppermint, gin, and brandy and water, often repeated by the father, who is a publican \*. THOMAS, æt. 8, has gone seven years on crutches; and ELIZABETH, æt. 14, has frequent swellings in her neck, and from weakness in the eyes cannot work, or even read, by candle-light: and what is still more important, MARY ANN, although taken to the Small-pox Hospital at Pancras for vaccine inoculation, it never took effect, the arm, as the mother declared to me in the presence of witnesses, "being as clear as her own in less than a week;" nor is the cicatrix on the arm orbicular, as from the true Cow-pock.

The evil in this child came on, *a year and a*

\* Hence this child, only five years old, will toss off peppermint, as another would water, and she continually cries for a little drop.



LEY. 'This cow-mange in Marianne Lewis arose from the cow, not the parents, as the Cow-poxers or examine them, they are very healthful persons'. (p. 49.)

NET MOSELEY. None but these vile cow-poxers ever doubted your cases, which you properly visible, demonstrable, indubitable, self-evident Truths'. (p. 20.)

LEY. 'No spot or blemish in the parents, and no family disease whatever'. (p. 49.)

INGER. What! Is this one of your self-evident truths? I know the family. One child, named as Lewis has gone on crutches these eight years, Elizabeth Lewis has eyes so weak, that she see to work by candle-light, or bear the sun in the noon day, and the third child Rebecca is in a deep decline, for which her father prescribes GIN.

LEY. 'Psha! all these disorders, you have named, are a mere nothing'!!!



Woolnoth del. et sculp.

*Doctor Rowley's Healthy Family.*



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*half* after the attempted inoculation, as is common in other children liable to this disease, with running of the ears, weak eyes (blind in the right eye for nearly a fortnight), scabby head, a general incrustation, or tinia capitis, and scrofulous ulcers about the body. Surely this is not a case of “new beastly disease produced from Cow-pox” —“a case against the Cow-pox” “well authenticated” and “irrefutable.”

The mode in which Dr. Rowley obtained this case was as follows: The child is sent to nurse at Kentish Town. The doctor has the child taken to him by his ignorant nurse, who is asked, “Whose child is this?” —“Mr. Lewis’s, publican, in Cow-lane.” “Are the parents healthy?” —“Very healthful persons, without spot or blemish.” “No evil in the family?” —“Oh! none, please your honour.” “The child has had the Cow-pock?” —“Yes, please your honour; and never was there a finer child before, but afterwards it became exactly as you see it.”

The report is thus taken down, and trumpeted forth with the aids of a bad eloquence, and the painter’s skill, to instruct mankind in the true science and practice of physic, freed from *every error!*

*Mr. Ring’s elaborate statement of this Case.*

“In my last communication, I made a few remarks on Dr. Rowley’s *ox-faced* boy; in my pre-



sent I propose to give a short account of his *man-gy* girl. These two elegant and delicate portraits, to use the language of Dr. Rowley, grace the head of his tract, and serve as a double frontispiece. The latter, as well as the former, is a bare-faced *imposition*.

“ It is a little remarkable, that in the first edition of Dr. Rowley’s publication, the face is represented free from blemish; but in the second edition, there are ulcerations on the face; and it is probable that in time we shall see them spread over the whole body. Hence it may appear to the public, that the disorder is worse than when the first edition of the pamphlet was published. This, however, is far from being the case: on the contrary, there is not at present a single sore remaining. Even at the time when Dr. Rowley saw her, she had none on the face.

“ According to his statement, she was vaccinated in April, 1803, and the complaint in question did not appear till June, 1804. Had it been occasioned either by the Cow-pock, as Dr. Rowley supposes, or by any other disease communicated at the same time, it is impossible it could have lurked in the habit so long. It was, in fact, neither more nor less than a case of scald head; which, not being properly treated in the beginning, spread over several parts of the body, where the matter was applied; a circumstance which is extremely common. In consequence of this,



swellings took place in the inguinal glands, which still remain. This case, therefore, as well as the former, is evidently scrofulous.

“ Dr. Rowley says, the child was a mere Lazarus, covered all over with sores and disease. He takes care to inform his readers that he is prescribing for her his *mineral alteratives*; but he takes care not to inform them, that Mr. Beveridge, of Newgate-street, had previously been prescribing for her *his* mineral alteratives. The truth is, the child had been for some time under the care of Mr. Beveridge; and both Mr. Beveridge and the mother assure me, that all the sores, except one or two, were healed before Dr. Rowley saw her. A lodging was taken for her at Kentish Town, in order to restore her strength; and when her mother was conveying her thither in the stage, she was advised by a lady and a gentleman to shew her to Dr. Rowley. The consequence was, that the Doctor prescribed for this unfortunate, and, he truly adds, *very unfortunate*, object. In the first place, she was so unfortunate as to go through one long course of mineral alteratives; and in the next place, when reduced to a state of extreme debility, she was so unfortunate as to go through a second. Having long ago fully expressed, in this Journal, my opinion of the impropriety of giving mercurials in cases of scald head, it is the less necessary to enlarge on that subject here. I shall only observe, that many



instances have verified the truth of this opinion, both before and since. The same observation may be applied to other scrofulous cases.

“ In the present instance, the very judicious external application employed by Mr. Beveridge, healed the ulcers. It consisted of equal parts of Ung. Hydrarg. Nitr. and Ung. Ceræ. As to the scrofulous disposition, it is the general opinion of medical practitioners, that it is not to be removed by mineral alteratives, which increase debility, but by the tonic plan; by country air, a nutritive diet, sea-bathing, bitters, and steel.

“ Dr. Rowley pretends, that the abscesses, in such cases as these, contain a fluid dissimilar to any other; and he will be able to prove, that they contain matter dissimilar *from* any others when he has proved, that a child who has undergone vaccination has *the head of an ox*; or that any one who tells such a foolish story, has not *the head of an ass.*”

*Aculeus's statement of this Case.*

“ As Dr. Thornton is so much better qualified than myself to give a statement of these cases, I shall suppress the result of my inquiries which I had prepared for the press, and merely give a brief relation of those two which are mentioned in the Preface; and first of Marianne Lewis, Case



**LXXXVIII.** The mother of the child states, that it was vaccinated at the Small-pox Hospital in *May*, 1803; she thinks there were near two hundred vaccinated at the same time—*she never carried the child to be seen afterwards; there was no regular pustule; a little sore which soon healed up without inflammation, was all that was produced.*"

This case, like the last, therefore, falls to the ground, as *evidence against vaccination.*

Another *ox-faced* boy, and mangy girl!!!

#### 4. THE CROSS STREET CASE.

NAME AND ABODE.	AGE. Ys. Ms.	When and by whom vaccinated.	EVENTS.
CLXXX. CLXXXI. Two children of Mr. Warren, No. 3, Cross- street, where are no signs of indentation.	2 5	In the beginning of May, 1805, from the same child, by that ex- cellent surgeon, Mr. Griffiths; but it seems the Cow- pox did not take in the usual way.	The boy's face swelled enormously, like to Joules's, broke three times, and an immense quantity of matter was evacuated. The youngest is now with cow-pox mange, and ab- scesses forming in the chest. In short, he was another cow-poxed, ox- faced boy.



This same case occurs a second time under another name—but it is the same person, and it served to swell out the numerals.

NAME AND ABODE.	AGE. Ys. Ms.	When and by whom vaccinated.	EVENTS.
CXCVIII. Joseph Warren- er, No. 3, Cross- street, Carna- by-market, mentioned be- fore with cow- pox mange: the younger child likewise was vaccinated, and had cow-pox mange at the mother's breast.	3 5	In May, 1805. A great eruption af- ter; inoculated for cow-pox by an eminent hospital surgeon; but as it <i>did not take</i> , con- sidered as nothing. No disgrace to vaccination, though the party may die of small- pox.	In August 26, 1805. Has a very unfavourable con- fluent small-pox. Led through it by bark and acid of vitriol. When the cow-pox does not take, are not the vaccinators highly culpable for not re- peating the operation? but whether it take or not, small-pox will always, at some future period, be the consequence, however vac- cinators may screen them- selves until the event hap- pen.

The inaccuracies from bad information have made Dr. Rowley, in numerous instances, put the same case two or three times over, or on purpose.

At No. 3, Cross-street, I find only a gun-lock-maker, named Warriner.

He has three children, two only, for *special reasons*, are mentioned by Dr. Rowley.

Joseph Warriner, whom he makes into two cases, is another *ox-face boy*, according to Dr. Rowley's statement.

He was taken to Mr. Griffiths, with his sister Elizabeth, to be vaccinated.

No effect of any sort was produced: nothing



was seen after two or three days, but the puncture of the lancet.

An old woman came in at the time, and dissuaded Mrs. Warriner from taking her children again to Mr. Griffith—for she said “it would make him grow hairy all over;” (this Moseley asserts) “it would convert them into cows or oxen;” (this Moseley also asserts) “it would render them idiots;” (this Moseley also asserts) “it would cover them all over with mange;” (this also Moseley asserts) “and this humour would never get out of the blood, but would be an hereditary evil.” (this also Moseley asserts.)

This wicked old witch, who for so saying ought to be ducked in a horse-pond, so worked on the easy credulity of the mother, that she acted against her better reason.

The vaccination was omitted. Two months after the ineffectual attempt, the boy caught a cold, and he had, as often happens, a swelling near the ear.

Mr. Warriner's mother had lately cured a similar swelling in his sister Elizabeth, who lives at No. 8, Amphitheatre-row, Lambeth; but she had had the Small-pox.

The grandmother says, “there was no kind of difference in the two diseases, and in both instances she brought the swellings to a head, and then applied marshmallow ointment.”

There was not here the slightest affection of



the eyes, and the swelling was confined to one side of the cheek only.

The grandmother had often seen similar cases, and laughed at the idea of its being new, and from the Cow-pox. Her occupation is that of a nurse.

How scandalous then, "to affright the isle from its propriety," by such shameful misrepresentations.

The old witch's stories recorded above hindered these children from receiving the Cow-pox.

Playing about, unprotected, one fell into company where the Small-pox was, and having never had the Small-pox or Cow-pox, it took it naturally. It went through all the horrors of this loathsome disease, a confluent Small-pox.

Dr. Rowley, to commend himself, says, "led through it by bark and acid of vitriol."

The mother says, "fortunately, he never swallowed a drop, for he always spit it out of his mouth; and the infant who took Dr. Rowley's medicine, and actually swallowed it, *died*."

The infant at the breast, Elizabeth, whom Dr. Rowley says "has Cow-pox mange, and abscesses forming in the chest"—because he knew it *died*, and wishes to hide his own turpitude, by catching, as might be expected, the *Small-pox* of its brother—for Dr. Rowley had neglected to inoculate it—and taking his "certain cure"—the acid coagulated the milk—and the bark affected the bowels—and the sweet babe *died* during the erup-



tion—not of “the Cow-mange,” nor “abscesses in the lungs,” but of the *Small-pox*, every time vomiting up Dr. Rowley’s medicines.

I must here open to the public eyes the *wilful intention* of Dr. Rowley to *mislead* the public opinion.

Providence, as if intending to make a convert, if possible, of Dr. Rowley, as with Master Joules, shewed him here also a convincing proof of the *certain efficacy* of the *Cow-pox*.

One of the Warriners actually died, and the other had nearly died of the *Small-pox*—yet was their sister *Jane* secure.

She had been vaccinated five years and a half before by Dr. Storey, of Bedford-square, who benevolently performed the operation when she was only two months old.

Therefore she had been vaccinated now more than twice two years.

She had gone through a mild disease, had never ailed any thing since, and was in the most perfect health.

She had a pustule on the arm—and the mark or indentation was visible on her, but not so with the other two.

Two years after the vaccination, John Allwood sickened in the same house with the natural *Small-pox*, and she was constantly with him—but remained *secure*.

And Dr. Rowley, when he examined the arm



of this child, said to the mother, "it would soon sicken for the Small-pox, notwithstanding."—He therefore knew *the fact*.

But it was notoriously *secure*, and this is hid from the public view, from a motive which, if admitted as an excuse, would exculpate even murder and the most heinous of crimes:

My blood revolts at such conduct; and the history of the Cow-pock is, I fear, the key which unfolds the deformity of the human heart.

Another ox-face boy!!!

## 6. ANOTHER CROSS-STREET CASE.

*FIRST AND SECOND EDITIONS.*

NAME AND ABODE.	AGE. Ys. Ms.	When and by whom vaccinated.	EVENTS.
CCCLXXIX. Mr. Woolley's male child, five years ago, vac- cinated. Intro- duced by Mr. Sutherland, Vi- go-lane. The father is a most ingenious en- graver, No. 1, Cross-street, Carnaby-mar- ket.	6	Three times, by a gentleman vac- cinator, recom- mended by Mr. W. Cuff, drawing master to the vac- cinators.	Cow-poxed, ox-faced swellings in the face, cow- pox blotches, and small- pox about one year and a half after being cow-pox- ed. Now, Nov. 16, 1805, face swelled, the eyes bur- ied; the whole body has been full of abscesses and ulcers; sometimes deli- rious, and begging to be cut to pieces, as the mo- ther says. The face now covered with horrid erup- tions — swelling so large at one time, that he could not get his father's hat on.



## THIRD EDITION.

NAME AND ABODE.	AGE, Ys. Ms.	When and by whom vaccinated.	EVENTS.
Mr. Woolley's boy, formerly mentioned, as another instance of a COW-POX- ED, OX-FACE boy, whose fa- ther's hat was too small to put on his head, with dreadful eruptions, scabs, ulcers, &c. No. 2, Cross-street, Carnaby-mar- ket.	6	By Mr. Moore, Norfolk-street, Strand, six years ago, repeatedly; the indentation or scar in one arm only. A more miserable instance of human misery was never exhib- ited to medical contemplation! suffering for years, and last dying wretchedly of the most malignant small-pox ever seen.	Jan. 6, 1806, has a most malignant small-pox, with purple petechiæ of the darkest colour. I met Dr. Thornton at the house. I was accompanied by Mr. Hyde of Old Burlington- street. All agreed that it was as bad a small-pox as ever was seen, caught in the house from others late- ly infected. I prescribed bark, syrup acidulated with acid of vitriol, omni hora, and infus. rosæ, free air, &c. red wine, &c. This unfortunate child died Jan. 8, 1806, in a perfect state of putrefac- tion.

The stage effect of this case, as recorded in the first edition, is in the third omitted.

It there must be "Mr. Woolley's *male* child, an ingenious engraver."

The inoculator must be "a gentleman recom-  
mended by Mr. Cuff, drawing-master to the vac-  
cinators."

He must "be introduced into the Lecture  
Room by Mr. Sutherland, of *Vigo-lane*."

The residence "Cross-street, Carnaby-mar-  
ket."



In the country this would be supposed to be some *new street*.

The most *ingenious engraver* may be supposed, from his genius to ride in his carriage.

Mr. *Sutherland*, of *Vigo-lane*, to be some eminent Surgeon.

And Mr. *Cuff*, *Drawing-master*, to the *Vaccinators*, must be a most fit person to point out the *proper vaccinator*.

The fact is, *Cross-street* is one of the most low and filthy streets in London.

This most *ingenious engraver* is the complete figure of poverty, and engraves names and arms upon silver—

And Mr. *Sutherland* is his friend and neighbour, the *pawnbroker*.

Mr. *Cuff* is a colourer of prints, and tinted what *Ring* had had drawn by *Edwards*.

He lives in a back parlour, as small nearly as *Joules's* habitation—and a slaughter-house being within five yards of the room, the stench from within and without are nearly equally dreadful.

I shall here take an opportunity of giving an account of Dr. *Rowley's public exhibition*, as I propose commenting on every one of the cases there introduced. He prefaces it thus—

The first case brought into the lecture-room was case 26, *Joules*, the cow-boy, or-faced boy, who, likewise, has a terribly diseased



*"Authenticity of the Facts produced against  
Vaccination.*

"The various excuses, evasions, and subterfuges which vaccination, to its disgrace, has produced, have been amply exhibited in the former part of the work. It need only be observed here, that TRUTH, absolute TRUTH, never requires the false props of low cunning, sophistry, or deception to support its validity.

"Knowing the cavilling character of many of the furious vaccinators, it was thought expedient to introduce in public many of the horrid cases that have arisen from Cow-pox. This was done in the two first Introductory Lectures on the Theory and Practice of Physic, the beginning of October, 1805, and convinced every one present of Cow-pox enormities.

*"Public Exhibition of Cow-pox Disasters before  
an Audience of many experienced Physicians,  
Surgeons, Apothecaries, and Students, amount-  
ing to near One Hundred Auditors, in Saville-  
row.*

"The scene was truly affecting and distressing to humanity. The first case brought into the lecture-room, was case 26, *Joules*, the *cow-poxed*, *ox-faced* boy, who, likewise, has a terribly diseased



elbow-joint. Marianne Lewis, case 88, was the second, who was covered with Cow-pox blotches, like a leopard. The indentations were shewn in these two cases, and they were compared and viewed by all the gentlemen present, with the print so well and faithfully executed by the ingenious Mr. *Pugh* and Mr. *Annis*. The exactitude of the drawings were acknowledged by all. Then appeared the cases under my care and Mr. *Gaunt*, covered with ulcers and blotches, and Mr. Englefield's child, of the Assembly House in Kentish-Town, who, holding his living child in his arms, whom I have nearly cured, and with tears deploring the loss of the other mentioned, cases 25 and 26, he declared, in the presence of all the gentlemen, that the child who *died* had ulcers in the hands, in which he could put his finger, with swellings, sores, and dreadful eruptions. A pulmonary suppuration, perhaps from *metastasis*, destroyed this child, after suffering such inexpressible affliction from Cow-pox poisonous impurities.

“After these, a load of children, brought in a cart from Sleaford-street, Battersea-fields, &c. appeared; amongst whom were the six surviving children of eight, two having *died* of Small-pox after vaccination. The *indentations* in the arms were all seen and acknowledged, and they all now have the Cow-pox mange. Cases 50 to 57.

“When these had been viewed, a very great number of other cases followed, all mentioned in



the book, where Small-pox had happened after vaccination. The *indentations*, or scars in their arms, were examined and proved by all present, nearly one hundred auditors, to be incontrovertible facts\*.

*“ Second Day’s Lecture, another public Exhibition.*

“ This day’s exhibition of Small-pox after Cow-pox, was similar to the former, besides a great number of Cow-pox abscesses, eruptions, blotches, sores, &c. from different parts of London, and places adjacent.

“ Thus publicly, every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, on lecture days, as cases occur, are shewn the horridly distressing facts to the medical audience; and most of the remarkable cases in the second and third series, amounting to 504, which have come to light since the publication of the first edition, may strike a damp on the minds of all the honourable and disinterested faculty. The investigations are continuing, and daily fresh cases arise; so that by the time this third edition is sold, the public may be presented with fresh

\* “ So convinced are many, both in town and country, of the dangerous tendency of Cow-pox, that Small-pox inoculation is daily gaining ground, even at the Small-pox Hospital; and I am daily solicited for Small-pox matter from my two Small-pox wards in the St. Mary-le-bone Infirmary.”



instances of cruel vaccination: which, though proving so abortive, is pursued with an ardour in proportion to defeat. When humanity reflects on the 504 cases; when it perceives 75 have DIED, with a great host of victims diseased for life, and likely to transmit to posterity, for ages, *beastly chronic diseases*, it is enough to freeze the soul with horror, especially when it be considered, that all who have been *Cow-poxed*, may be the destined victims to future and similar *Small-pox*, *Cow-pox mange*, *evils*, *ulcers*, *blotches*, and other poisonous impurities. If mankind suffer vaccination, if affectionate parents can any longer justify Cow-poxing their children, after such calamities, they justly merit all they are doomed to suffer."

An account of this curious spectacle appeared in several of the public papers.

"On Monday and Wednesday last, Dr. Rowley, in his introductory Lectures, produced the cow-poxed, *ox-faced* boy, and *mangy girl*, and an immense number of children and others, who had severely suffered after vaccination from Small-pox, cow-pox mange, evil, &c. all with cow-pox scars, or indentations in the arms; so that, besides the 218 cases in the doctor's book against Cow-pox, there appeared daily proofs of its failure in preventing Small-pox, &c. The auditors were nearly one hundred."

*Morning Herald, Oct. 26, 1805.*



Dr. Rowley particularly mentions Woolley's case in his third edition. He says,

"The late melancholy instance of Woolley's child, the last mentioned in this present *third edition*, was a case replete with terror: it was publicly shewn in October, 1805, to a great number of auditors attending my lectures; at which time, though all the feelings of humanity were racked and tortured at the view of this other instance of a *cow-poxed, ox-faced boy*, covered likewise all over the face with running sores, filthy mange, &c. and matter issuing from his ear, his horrid fate was not then foreseen. In the beginning of January, the Small-pox being in the neighbourhood, the boy, in addition to all his other dreadful calamities, in addition to all his former miseries, caught the Small-pox, which was of a most *malignant nature*, interspersed with purple, mortified, or blackish spots, and other symptoms of the highest putridity."

The reader will recollect, that Dr. Rowley, in the first edition of Woolley's case, records, "he had the Small-pox"—so that if this be *true*, he has had the Small-pox *twice*.

In his exhibition, Dr. Rowley waxed unusually warm, and after setting his whole audience a *scratching*, from the filth he produced from his cart-load of *lousy* and *itchy* beggars' children—he presented to a *shocked* audience this *blind* and *scrofulous* child.



I admire his descanting on the *blindness* produced by a vaccination which never took effect, and which *arose* to the child soon after vaccination was attempted, by another child running a sharp instrument into the eye, which perished that organ!!!

Dr. Rowley took every thing for Cow-pox, and never asked any questions, but, as the mother says, told her "*it was the Cow-pox,*" and would not hear her speak—but went on, she declares, "as if he were mad."

Here we find the origin of his *scrofula*. With Joules's, it could not be the Cow-pox, for *three years* interval of health had occurred—and in this instance the Cow-pock never *took place*.

What made Mr. Cuff know Mr. Woolley was his bringing him Mr. Ring's plate, and, wishing him to put the figures and days to the different stages of the Cow-pox pustules.

This led Mr. Woolley to be informed *precisely* as to the true character of the vaccine pustule, and he declares, "that nothing at all resembling it took place with his son."

The boy was remarkably well after the attempted vaccination—and as it had not produced any effect, the mother meant to have taken him again to be vaccinated, had not the unfortunate accident occurred.

The eye was actually torn across, it inflamed and suppurated, and he was constantly crying,



nor could any applications be kept to the eye, from the agony of pain produced.

The child was detained for weeks constantly in the cradle, and was never pacified unless under the stupefaction of rocking or opiates.

It was such an object, that the mother says she could not venture out *in the air* with him.

Under all these circumstances, it was a wonder that the child survived.

As was natural to expect, *tinia capitis* ensued, and an apothecary, who shall be nameless, ordered the head to be anointed with strong mercurial ointment, without ever seeing the child, until he was salivated by his ignorant parents, and all his teeth dropt out.

With this second shock to his constitution, was it a wonder that his blood was impoverished, and he had *breakings-out* and *scrofula*?

And can any but a *madman* attribute such to a vaccination that never took effect?

I am glad that Dr. Rowley has said he met me at the bed side of this unfortunate victim to the Small-pox.

For I asked Dr. Rowley, in the presence of Mr. Hyde, whether, as this child had *tinia capitis*, he might not then have been proof against Small-pox?

He said, "None but *fools* entertained such a notion."

And this was his friend, Dr. MOSELEY.



I now seriously adverted to the trial about to be undergone by the sister of Woolley, a patient I had *vaccinated* some years ago.

Small-pox in the house, sleeping with her brother dying of the Small-pox, although taking Dr. Rowley's *certain cure*—(even in bed with him half an hour before he expired)—and another of the Woolley's by his side in a cradle with the natural Small-pox out and full—in so small a hovel—only one little window for ventilation—and I offered *any wager* to the Doctor, that my VACCINATED PATIENT would not catch the Small-pox—and if it did, that I would not only pay him the *wager*, but would advertise it in all the newspapers at my own expense.

The Doctor did not *dare* to accept the *wager*—made in the presence of the whole party—nor was he *man* enough, when republishing this case—to notice this *security* from vaccination, so completely proved and demonstrated—for this child passed on—without ever taking the Small-pox.

Dr. Rowley sinned, therefore, in this instance, as in the case of Joules's little sister, with his eyes completely open.

His intention to *deceive* hence appears obvious, and his *adverse cases*, as if intended by Providence, *recoil back upon himself*\*.

\* Several persons reading the VACCINE VINDICIA, have said, that it contained so many stubborn facts of VACCINATION



## 6. A TOTTENHAM-COURT ROAD CASE

NAME AND ABODE.	AGE. Ys. Ms.	When and by whom vaccinated.	EVENTS.
CLXXXIV. The child of Mr. Hewitt, No. 18, Southampton- court, which I have seen.	5	About two years ago, by an emi- nent vaccinator. Now under Mr. Grant.	A large abscess formed on the side, which now com- municates with the thorax internally; a dreadful case. The air, in respira- tion and breathing, comes through the wound.

This child was *vaccinated* by me not *two*, but about *five*, years ago, and for three years had no humours or abscess. Dr. Rowley purposely omits, as in all his other cases, to inquire, whether any chances were incurred by this child or his sister, also vaccinated by me, of taking the Small-pox, which has been prevalent in the neighbourhood\*, and even at the next door, where these children were repeatedly, and yet—*did not take the infection*. The truth is, this child—after three years being vaccinated—had a fall, and was brought to me with an injured rib, which produced the abscess in question. As well might the fall have

*securing from the Small-pox, that the examination into the adverse cases was, of itself, a sufficient refutation of the contrary doctrine held by the anti-vaccinists.*

\* In this little confined street, at No. 7, three *died* of the natural Small-pox in one house, one *died* at No. 6, and two had it also naturally at No. 19, and three next door.



been occasioned by the Cow-pock, as the abscess from this cause. The case is a *dreadful one*! --I mean against the correctness of Dr. Rowley, as he pronounced to the mother at first seeing it, "the child would not survive three months;" but I am happy to relate, that more than twice that time has elapsed, and she, I trust, will do well under the care of Mr. Blair.

LETTER FROM MR. BLAIR TO DR. THORNTON.

"Great Russell-street, Oct. 17, 1805.

"DEAR SIR,

"I shall do the best I can for Mary Hewett's child, whom you have recommended to the Bloomsbury Dispensary. She appears to have a collection of pus within the thorax, which discharges occasionally; but I by no means think the case so *dreadful* as you say Dr. Rowley \* has pronounced

\* Mr. Blair having since examined into Dr. Rowley's work, gives it the following character: "The author of these pages has never perused a literary work, on any subject, so completely unfair—so insidiously imposing—so calculated to deceive—so mischievous in its tendency—so full of invective—so abounding in *falsehoods*—so plainly inconsistent with itself—and so disgustingly repugnant to common decency. A mere glance at this book awakened attention; and a *deliberate perusal* of it, suggested the idea of turning against an implacable adversary the *murderous weapons* which he himself had provided for a different purpose. The Author judged it would not be lost time, though a nauseous and revolting task, to extract the *marrow* or *quintessence* of



it. I have not read as yet a syllable of what Dr. Rowley may have written against the vaccine ino-

that extraordinary performance; and, by placing THE DOCTOR'S OWN LANGUAGE in a new and vivid light, to afford a spirited and glowing picture of its genuine deformities. The real character and motives of an opponent who is so entirely devoid of justice and decorum, cannot be better discovered, than by dissecting, analysing, and exposing to public view, what may be called the vitals and sinews—the internal springs—the peculiar features and tone, of his composition. And if it should be found, that his character and motives are far from pure, except in his own eyes, it may be questioned whether his pretended TRUTHS be *unexceptionable*, or his *alleged* FACTS such as honesty demands."

"By perusing the several *answers* these works have received, you will discover the height, the length, the depth, and the breadth, of *anti-vaccinarian frauds and mistakes*; you will see, to your great astonishment, 'the mass of evidence' collected by Dr. Bragwell in its truly disgusting deformity: you will find, that most of the adverse 'facts' which he and others have been so actively holding up to public notice, have been repeatedly and 'demonstrably proved' to be either forgeries, or the stories of incompetent judges: you will perceive how ingeniously, perversely, and degradingly, these *adverse writers* have raked the very kennels of human misery, for diseases; that they might impute them all to the 'beastly origin' of vaccination, and argue their unenlightened readers into a persuasion of their own *disinterested* exertions! It would exhaust your patience, and fatigue your attention, if I were to enter into a description of the cases which I myself and my friends have known to be thus *egregiously misrepresented*: I shall therefore decline, at present, detaining you with any farther observations



culatation in general, or on this case in particular, and therefore cannot pretend to answer his as-

of this kind. Only let it be remembered, that I do not wish you to take my *ipse dixit* in behalf of vaccination, but to sift and examine the *whole* affair for yourself, as a question of inconceivable importance to society.

“ My own experience can never stand in competition with that of many others, in this department of medicine; but such has been my success (in about *seven hundred* cases), that it would be nothing short of insanity to discontinue the practice of Jenner, and to substitute the *curse* of *variolous pestilence* in its stead: I should regard such conduct as no less *criminal* than voluntarily throwing fire-brands, arrows, and death, among my peaceful fellow-creatures, in the centre of this vast metropolis! Dr. Bragwell’s words, prophetically uttered on another occasion, must now recoil upon himself—  
 ‘ *Calumny and detraction,*’ said he, ‘ *have been, and will be, exercised against every attempt to improve medicine. The more successful any improvement is, with so much the more fury it is opposed; and it rarely fails to excite, in envious minds, private opposition, AT THE EXPENSE OF HONOUR, INTEGRITY, AND TRUTH.*’ Too exactly, alas! have these just observations been verified! For if any improvement be ‘ *SUCCESSFUL,*’ it is this: which, under God, hath stopped the horrid ravages of a fatal epidemic, in villages, in towns, and in cities; which hath arrested the footsteps of death in its most horrid and ghastly forms; which already (notwithstanding the malevolence of some, and the culpable ignorance of others) hath preserved its *millions* to the present generation, and will extend its benefits to posterity in a tenfold proportion! Surely, in such a cause, the name of JENNER will resound (and it even now resounds through all this gloomy opposition) to the farthest limits of the globe! If the fame of the Cæsars and Alexanders, who have destroyed man-



sertions: but I am confident that if he has no better objection against the Cow-pock than this child's case affords, the vaccine inoculation will triumph most gloriously; as there is no more affinity between the symptoms of empyema in this child and the Cow-pox inoculation, than between an *aneurism* and the *Small-pox*. Your, &c.

“ W. BLAIR.”

To Dr. Thornton, *Hinde-street*.

But all these cases fade away in the presence of the following:

## 7. THE WALWORTH CASE.

NAME AND ABODE.	AGE. Ys. Ms.	When and by whom vaccinated.	EVENTS.
CIII. The case of the child of Dr. Smyth Stewart, who died from vaccination, communicated by the Doctor himself in a letter already published, in the most extreme parental anguish.	22 days old. In perfect health. Dated Dec. 4, 1802.	In April, 1802, was vaccinated by Mr. CANADINE, Walworth, and went through the disease agreeably to Dr. Jenner's description. The case was cow-pox mange, cow-pox abscess, cow-pox ulcer, ending in a miserable death.	On the 14th day after vaccination, the inflammation in the arm returned, extended to a very alarming degree, accompanied with hard tumours and blotches. These terminated in foul ulcers, resisting all medicine. The infant was in most excruciating pain and torture. She died the 1st of October, 1802. The afflicted affectionate father's description and feelings would melt a heart of stone.

kind by thousands, be transmitted to their children's children; such a discovery as this will indeed commemorate the name of its AUTHOR (mild, modest, and unassuming as he is) to the latest period of time! Oh that I had the tongue of angels to proclaim his praise!" From BLAIR'S VACCINE CONTEST.



This case is *thus* published by Dr. SQUIRRELL\*.

“ *The following Case was communicated to ME*  
by Dr. SMYTH STUART.

“ *Billericay, Essex, Dec. 11, 1804.*

“ SIR,

“ According to your request, I send you inclosed the case of a child of mine, who was inoculated with the Cow-pox, which proved fatal to the poor infant. During the time the Cow-pox inoculation was introduced, and brought into general practice, I *was abroad*, and having heard repeatedly the most favourable and flattering account of its success, was induced, when I came home, to have my child vaccinated.

“ On the 8th of April, 1802, the child, *twenty-two days old*, being in perfect health, was inoculated with good *laudable vaccine matter*, from a very healthy subject, by Mr. Canadine, a very respectable and experienced surgeon, of East-lane, Walworth. The pustule on the arm

\* This gentleman is author of a book with the following title :—

“ Addressed to the King.—OBSERVATIONS on the pernicious Consequences of COW-POX INOCULATION; containing *many well-authenticated Instances*, proving the Insecurity against the SMALL-POX: also, Remarks on the Advantages of SMALL-POX INOCULATION.”



seemed in every respect favourable. It inflamed and suppurated *agreeably*, and on the ninth day it had every satisfactory appearance, according to Dr. Jenner's description. But on the 14th the inflammation on the arm returned, and extended to a very alarming degree, accompanied with hard painful tumours and blotches, which terminated in obstinate phagedenic sores and ulcers, resisting *every internal medicine*, as well as *all external applications* !!! The poor pitiable infant was constantly in a state of restlessness, owing to the most excruciating pain, *medicines* not having the *smallest* effect !!! *Having been in great and general practice myself* !!! and from the appearance of the eruption, and its obstinacy in respect to cure, I was led to consider the Cow-pox virus as possessing a specific *scrofulous* nature, or as an infection of the same deleterious quality !!! and having *experienced* the *good effects* of MERCURY in a *vitiated state* of the *blood* and *other juices*, I was determined to make a trial of this medicine, as most likely to eradicate the poison out of the system. *It was therefore applied by friction to the child, and given internally to the mother, who suckled it with a good breast of milk* !!! By this method the violence of the symptoms considerably abated. Although the child was much relieved by the use of *mercury*, yet it constantly suffered more or less



from pain, intermitting fever, and restlessness. The mother took it to some distance into the country. *Soon after*, the violence of the above symptoms *returned*, and the child died in the most agonizing pain on the 1st of October, 1802.

“ This circumstance of my own child induced me to entertain the most unfavourable opinion of the vaccine virus, and to minutely enquire into the nature of it; when I was *informed*, that in all cases where the inflammation *returned* it either terminated fatally, or rendered the person a miserable object ever afterwards. I found also *many* shocking cases, which very much militated against Cow-pox inoculation, from the violence of the complaints which succeeded in consequence; and *numerous* cases where the Small-pox happened to many persons after vaccination, some of whom had it very bad, and others died. I send you the above case, from a desire of being serviceable to the public, and you may make use of it as your own discretion may direct. *Should it contribute towards* **EXPLODING VACCINATION**, or obviating any further injury being done to the public, I shall feel myself satisfied in having done my duty, by making known such a case *through the medium of your publication*. I sincerely wish every success may attend your endeavours in so *laudable and spirited an undertaking!!!*

“ FERDINAND SMYTH STUART.”



Dr. Squirrell is the gentleman who advertises *Tonic Drops and Tonic Powders*.

Dr. Squirrell very properly complains against his brothers the *anti-vaccinists*, of their *stealing* from him *this invaluable history* !!!

Dr. Rowley, he says, purposely *mis-spells* \* the name, and Dr. Moseley incorporates it, as a communication from this *PHYSICIAN* to *HIMSELF*; ante-dating his *Lues Bovilla*, in order that Doctor Squirrell "*might*," as he affirms, "*lose the honour* of such a publication !!!"

This case has accordingly produced much discord among the *fraternity*.

Dr. Rowley asserts, "that as it is quoted by Mr. Birch's pupil, it was *a communication* to *that Surgeon*, and puts it down to *HIM* accordingly †."

\* This man not unfrequently boasts of being of a great family and having *kingly* blood in him.

† This is *one* of the *cases*, of which he, Mr. Birch, says, in his "Serious Reasons for uniformly objecting to the Practice of Vaccination," "I pledge my *word* as a *man*, and my *character* as a *professional man*, to prove its *truth*." !!!! P. 12. In the same work he displays his *sour temper* very completely:—"Why is it not remembered, that, in the populous part of our metropolis, where the abundance of children exceed" [for exceeds] "the means of providing food and raiment for them; the *Small-pox* must be considered as a *MERCIFUL PROVISION* on the part of *PROVIDENCE*, to lessen the



Let us now see how far this case merits the *squabble* it has occasioned.

In order to render it of more importance, Dr. Squirrell states, that Dr. Smyth Stuart resided in *Bloomsbury-square* !!!

The Doctor himself states his large and extensive practice *abroad* !!!

But he candidly acknowledges, that he was ignorant of vaccination, except from *reports*, which led him to think so favourably of it, that he had his child vaccinated.

He indeed proves his *ignorance* of *this subject* to be complete, by talking of his child having been vaccinated with *laudable vaccine matter* !!!

If a person of the profession were to describe a *blister* as yielding two or three ounces of *laudable pus*, how ridiculous he would make himself! and to talk of *laudable vaccine pus* is equally strange; unless, indeed, Mr. Canadine, the vaccinator, did take some *laudable pus* (as the Malden Surgeon did) instead of *the vaccine fluid*.

And the strange story of the inflammation from vaccination receding, and recurring on the 14th day, and the evils that this presages, are a posi-

burthen of a poor man's family?"!!!! P. 28. *If so*, it is a pity that Parliament rewarded JENNER for *saving* the lives of mankind; rather, on the contrary, should it have been granted to a MOSELEY, a ROWLEY, a SQUIRRELL, and a BIRCH.



tive proof of complete ignorance on the subject, or misinformation.

The *right vaccination* produces, I affirm, no such event.

Applying to Mr. Canadine respecting this subject, he informs me, " that he delivered Mrs. Stuart, at Walworth, of a fine infant; that he vaccinated the child according to the desire of the father, and that the father undertook (who has confessed his total unacquaintance with the practice,) to superintend the child himself, for Mr. C. never saw it afterwards—and that, as he tells you, ' he used for the child's arm every application, both internal and external—salivated his wife (a beautiful young woman, about twenty years younger than her husband) and employed mercury to the child both inwardly and outwardly—and, after all this, *the Cow-pock* killed the child." !!!

" As to Doctor Stuart being in large and general practice, he never understood he had practised physic at all at *Walworth*, where he lived; but had heard him say, that he was a Captain or Major in the army, and he might have been a Negro-Doctor in America \*."

\* I should be sorry if I found a physician *regularly* educated as such *from his youth*, an opposer of vaccination. Doctors MOSELEY, ROWLEY, and SQUIRRELL, although *certainly* physicians, were each once *Surgeon-Apothecaries*; and I feel



"Or, he could not say to the contrary, he might have got a Saint Andrew's degree.

"But as to the doctrine of mercury curing *scrofula*, he had never heard before such an opinion advanced in the whole course of his life, but thought it an established rule that *mercury* always did *injury* in *that disease*."

This assertion, together with the equally false and cruel declaration, "that the *Cow-pox* is a *species* of *scrofula*, and only to be eradicated by *mercury* \*," made me, when I first read the ac-

proud that *my brothers in education* ALL espouse *vaccination*—and that ALL the most eminent among the *Surgeons*, and also amongst the *Apothecaries*, have certified that they espouse the *cause of vaccination*: and it will be a matter of future astonishment, that three or four *singular men*, opposed by ALL the weight of ALL the branches of our profession, should have made such an impression upon the public, as at one time, absolutely, to have created almost a *total cessation of vaccination*—and even to call forth the *interference of the Houses of Parliament, his Majesty*, and of the *Royal College of Physicians*.

\* Such, indeed, is likewise the doctrine and language of Doctor Squirrell, who proposes in his book that all parents should bring their children to him, to undergo, as this poor infant did, a *course of mercury*, for *four or five weeks*, and he affirms, not that he *can* but *expects thereby* to eradicate the *Cow-pox particles* adhering in the system—and after this course, he will (he should have said *I will if I can*) give them the *inoculated mild Small-pox!!!* p. 42. Did ever a *medical man* before produce in print any thing equally *cruel* and *ridiculous*?



count hesitate, whether such a doctor existed at Billericay ; and, upon inquiry, I find there is, undoubtedly, the same person there, a *Barrack-master* of that name.

In putting down this *death* to the Cow-pock, Dr. Rowley and Dr. Moseley purposely omit the *medical treatment* ; for I think that neither of them could subscribe to the *practice* here followed, and which I do not hesitate to say, if pursued as an *example*, would lead to the destruction of thousands.

LETTER FROM MR. GRIBBLE, SURGEON, TO  
DR. THORNTON.

*Billericay, July 22, 1806.*

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I beg leave to inform you, we have *no physician* at Billericay, or its neighbourhood.

“ We have, indeed, a *barrack-master*, FERDINAND SMITH STUART, who rents a house of mine, next door ; but I do not understand *he is in the medical line*.

“ I questioned him as to the letter published in Dr. Squirrell’s book, and he *acknowledges* ‘ he did write that he then believed, led to it by Dr. Squirrell, (an apothecary,) that *Cow-pox* was *scrofula*, and *mercury* the *specific* for *scrofula* ;’ but he is, I believe, now heartily *ashamed* of such an *opinion*.



" His wife fortunately escaped, for having a good constitution she out-lived the pernicious effects of the *mercury*; but the infant certainly fell a victim to so violent and ill-judged a practice.—STUART shewed himself in this a better *barrack-master* than a *doctor*.

" As to myself, I have vaccinated *several hundreds*, and with the greatest success, and never observed in any of my patients symptoms of following *scrofula*.

" The medical gentlemen in this town, who are four in number, equally with myself, practise and approve of vaccination, and recommend it to families. I have the honour to be,

" DEAR SIR,

" With equal respect and esteem,

" Your faithful obedient servant,

" PHILIP GRIBBLE."

I am quite *astonished* how Dr. Moseley, a *Member of the Royal College of Physicians*, with Dr. Rowley, could condescend to *steal* such a narrative from Dr. Squirrell, who is indeed a *very good* apothecary, and one of the best of the *advertising* fraternity, but surely no sufficient authority to be received by them, as their oracle of information!



## 8. THE MARY-LE-BONE LANE CASE.

## FIRST EDITION.

NAME AND ABODE.	AGE Ys. Ms.	When and by whom vaccinated.	EVENTS.
XCII. Daniel Butler, lived with Mr. Stone, in High- street, lodged at 42, Mary-le- bone-lane, went to Mr. Ring to shew the small- pox; but was <i>violently has-</i> <i>tened out of the</i> <i>house, but not</i> <i>before he faint-</i> <i>ed and dropped</i> <i>down almost</i> <i>lifeless from</i> <i>fear.</i>	33	Inoculated for cow-pox, now five years ago, August 5, 1805. When the small- pox was in the house, on a child now living, to render small-pox lighter, but the experiment brought death in all probability, instead of a milder small-pox.	Five days after he sickened with the small-pox in both arms. The cow-pox pustule appeared. The arms where the cow-pox pustule was, became gan- grenous, mortified, or black. He had one of the worst small-pox cases pos- sible, with purple <i>pete-</i> <i>chiæ</i> , and <i>died putrid</i> on the eleventh day. Here we see a <i>horrid in-</i> <i>stance</i> of the fatal effects of <i>vaccinating insane pro-</i> <i>jects</i> . There are others similar. Attended by Mr. <i>Leighton</i> , Welbeck-street.

## SECOND AND THIRD EDITIONS.

Daniel Butler, lived with Mr. Stone, in High street, lodged at 42, Mary-le- bone-lane, went to Mr. Ring to shew the small- pox; but was violently has- tened out of the house. <i>Pro-</i> <i>perly</i> , lest he might have in- fected patients who came to be vaccinated; but not before he fainted and dropped down, almost lifeless from fear.	33	Inoculated by Mr. Ring for cow- pox, now five years ago, August 5, 1805. When the Small-pox was in the house, on a child now living, to render small-pox lighter, but the experi- ment might have accelerated death, in all probability, instead of a mild- er small-pox, however well in- tended.	Five days after he sick- ened with the small-pox, in both arms the cow-pox pustule appeared. The arms, where the cow-pox pustule was, became gan- grenous, mortified, or black. He had one of the worst Small-pox cases possible, with purple <i>pe-</i> <i>techia</i> , and <i>died putrid</i> on the eleventh day. Here we see a horrid instance of the fatal effects of vaccinating insane pro- jects. There are others similar. Attended by Mr. <i>Leighton</i> , a sensible prac- titioner then living in Wel- beck-street. Cow-pox expectant con- ceits have been numerous, but they all prove abor- tive.
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## 9. ANOTHER MARY-LE-BONE-LANE CASE.

NAME AND ABODE.	AGE. Ys. Ms.	When and by whom vaccinated,	EVENTS.
<p style="text-align: center;">XCIII.</p> <p>Marianne Butler, child of the unfortunate man who died, as represented in case XCII. The unfortunate widow, with the most pungent grief, related the facts drowned in tears.</p>	3 6	<p>Year and a half ago vaccinated, and then went through the cow-pox. Attended in the cow-pox mange, &amp;c. by Mr. Blandford, surgeon, Great Mary-le-bone-street.</p>	<p>Every part of her body, from the head, face, which was covered like a mask, chest, abdomen, arms, legs, fingers, and feet, with <i>cow-pox mange</i> and <i>cow-pox abscesses</i>. Got apparently well in 1803. In 1804 broke out again, with eleven holes in her back, like Lewis's child. It is impossible to perceive the end of beastly <i>cow-pox mange</i>, &amp;c.</p>

The first case has been answered by Mr. Ring in the Medical Journal, thus—

“The part I have taken in promoting vaccination, left no room to doubt that I must have incurred Dr. Rowley's resentment, and, consequently, that in what he was about to write on the subject, I should be honoured with some share of his attention. But I little expected that he would have advanced what is not only *untrue*, but so *improbable*, that no person of *common sense* can believe it.

“Of this kind is the story about *Daniel Butler*, whom I vaccinated at his own request, at a



time when he thought he was not infected with the Small pox. Dr. Rowley says, that I vaccinated him, in order to render the Small-pox lighter. This, from whatever quarter it originates, is a false assertion; but had I vaccinated him with that view, it is well known to every one who knows any thing of the subject, that I should have been justified by the example of the most eminent members of the medical profession.

“ But there is a charge of a more serious nature brought against me by Dr. Rowley; namely, that when this man came to me to shew the Small-pox, which appeared about the sixth day, ‘ he was violently hastened out of the house; but not before he fainted, and dropped down almost lifeless from fear.’ This also, from whatever quarter it originated, is a most base, malicious, and impudent *falsehood*.”

“ Mrs. Butler, the widow of the person above mentioned, positively denies ‘ that she gave Dr. Rowley any such information’.”

I must beg leave to remark, that when I put the question to her, she said, “ it was quite the reverse; for having walked to Mr. Ring’s, and the day being very hot, and affected with the Small-pox, he fainted, and the smelling-bottle was brought to him, and he remained after that some time in the house.”

“ In the second edition,” continues Mr. Ring,



“ of this untrue and wicked charge, Dr. Rowley softens it, and says, ‘ that he was violently hastened out of the house. *Properly*, lest he might have infected patients who came to be vaccinated.’ This, as far as it is intelligible, for we must not expect any thing very intelligible in the writings of Dr. Rowley, means, that it was proper to hasten a man who had the Small-pox violently out of the house, lest he should infect other patients. The truth is, that he was not hastened out of the house at all, but every attention was paid to him which his case required. Proper means were used to revive him, and he remained in the house as long as he thought proper. No one can suspect that a practitioner could conduct himself with the least inhumanity to an unoffending individual, who had just before placed confidence in him, but the man who is capable of relating such an outrage. *No other patients were present whom he could infect; it was on a Sunday morning; and we all know, that there is no infection in the Small-pox at its first appearance.*”

Dr. Rowley insinuates, or, rather more, charges the death of this man to the mad project of vaccination.

The fact was, the Small-pox was in the house he was obliged to go through (for he dwelt in a room built in the yard), and he had hoped to escape the Small-pox by vaccination.



This was done before his second time of coming, and the Cow-pock took—and Mr. Ring, seeing that the Small-pox, before in the habit, had not been prevented, “desired the man to hasten home, and send for Mr. Leighton, an apothecary near him, as the Small-pox was coming out upon him.”

The word “hasten,” to the deaf ear of Dr. Rowley, was enough to create this shameful story.

Upon hearing that he had taken the Small-pox, he might be frightened, and “fainted”—and this must be “fainted through fright, being hastened out of the house.”

This man, I must observe, was an ostler, and Mr. Leighton being sent for, not seeing the Small-pox pustules rise, and fill with matter, being mitigated, or rather overcome, as I have seen by the Cow-pock inoculation, unwisely took alarm, ordered his feet to be immersed in hot water, wine, and even brandy, to be used, with alexipharmic medicines, (as in Cornwall they use gin and gunpowder to bring out the Small-pox, and never fail to cover the patient from head to foot, and, as Mr. Townsend says, usually make the disease, thereby, fatal,) and nothing succeeding, more and more wine and brandy were given, and this in the hottest days of the year, and my reader will not wonder at *another dying*—and the case being brought forward to disgrace vaccination!!!



As to the succeeding case, "of which the unfortunate widow of the above related the facts *drowned* in tears"—the mother, who is a sturdy chairwoman, and not indeed, they say, blessed with the softest feelings, declares, that her child had the *chicken-pox*, of which she soon got well; and all that ailed her afterwards were *eleven boils*, which came out on her back after a blister, that had been placed betwixt her shoulders !!!

### 10, 11. THE MARY-STREET CASES.

NAME AND ABODE.	AGE. Ys. Ms.	When and by whom vaccinated.	EVENTS.
CCXXXV. CCXXXVI. Mr. Cox's two children, Philip and Harriet, 16, Mary-street, Hampstead- road, now under Mr. Gaunt, who requested me, Sept. 19, 1805, to prescribe for these unfortun- ate children.	1 2	Nearly two years ago, twice by Dr. Pearson's order, at the Institution, Broad-street. In- dentation com- plete. These chil- dren, and Lewis's child, the cow- poxed, ox-faced boy, and an im- mense number of disastrous cow- pox cases, were publicly shewn at the lecture in Oc- tober 1805, to nearly 100 audi- tors.	Cow-pox mangle to a ter- rible degree; like Job and Lazarus, all over sores. Treated as <i>itch</i> nearly two years by a respectable practitioner, though evi- dent it could not be itch, or it would have been cured by the specifics for itch. They are now in a fair way of cure under my prescriptions.

One of these children is *one* year old. The nar-  
rative states, "vaccinated nearly *two* years ago !!"



These children were vaccinated by the apothecary of the family, Mr. Ougler, but not "by Dr. Pearson's orders."

Mr. Ougler looked over his ledger, and found a charge, near a year back, for *three* pots of ointment (brimstone) to cure the *itch* in Mr. Cox, Mrs. Cox, the mother, maid, and two children. —No other charge.

This was Dr. Rowley's "two years attendance," and this his new disease, the Cow-pox mange!!!

It broke out again, as is common, in the spring; and Mr. Ougler being out of town, Dr. Rowley and Mr. Gaunt were employed; and as the father writes to me, "he is astonished how these cases should have come into print so *grossly*\* misrepresented."

\* Nothing can exceed the *lies* which have, on all quarters, appeared against vaccination. The following is also another worthy specimen.

*Extract of a Letter from Capt. Maenamara, in the Hon. East India Company's Service, to the Editor of the Medical and Physical Journal.*

"During my residence at Cheltenham, this autumn, a circumstance occurred to me that, as thousands may be benefitted by its being made public, I request the favour of your rendering it generally known through the extensive circulation of your publication.



"I was proceeding towards the Well on the morning after my arrival, accompanied by Mrs. Macnamara, when we met a woman carrying a child, whose face was covered with an ill-looking eruption which bore so strong a resemblance to the Small-pox, that it alarmed us considerably, as we had our only child with us, about six weeks old, who had never been inoculated. Our apprehensions led us to enquire into the cause of this shocking appearance, when we were informed '*That the child had been inoculated about twelve months back with the Cow-pox, and had, in consequence, been in that condition ever since.*'—Having intended to consult Dr. Jenner respecting the inoculating of my own child with vaccine matter, I was so far staggered by this circumstance, as almost to give up the idea of it; when, fortunately happening to communicate my fears to a friend, an eminent physician in London, he gave me so very favourable an account of the new practice, his own son having undergone it without a moment's uneasiness or difficulty, that I immediately waited on Dr. Jenner, and frankly avowed the whole to him. He delivered himself so clearly and satisfactorily on the subject of vaccination, that I not only resolved on having my child inoculated, but felt it incumbent on me to trace what I now was fully persuaded would prove to be either a mistake or a gross misrepresentation. I therefore waited on the mother of the child, accompanied by Mr. Liddle, a medical friend, when she told us *the child had never been inoculated at all*, but that she intended taking it to Dr. Jenner for that purpose, since the Cow-pox inoculation had *entirely cured* another of her children, who had been afflicted with *a similar eruption*.

"The reflection that, had we quitted Cheltenham without any investigation of this affair, we might, innocently, have been the instruments of propagating a most injurious *falsehood*, persuaded both my friends and myself of the absolute necessity of publishing the case as it really is. I should not



## 12. THE HIGH STREET CASE.

NAME AND ABODE.	AGE. Ys. Ms.	When and by whom vaccinated.	EVENTS.
CCXL. Mr. Sharp's child, Butcher, High-street, Mary-le-bone.		Three years and a half ago by Mr. Maurice. I saw it Sept. 27, 1805.	Has had the Cow-pox mange for above a year, abscess and ulcers.

The circumstances of this case were early communicated to me by Mr. Morris, of High-street, only have been convinced myself that this was an instance of Small-pox, or something as bad after Cow-pox; but should have publicly declared *the fact* as happening within my own observation and knowledge.—Without dwelling on the consequence this might have been to others; I cannot but remark that my child might have suffered disfiguration, if not death, from the Small-pox; whereas, on the contrary, by having been inoculated with the vaccine matter, she is now rendered proof against that loathsome disease, without having ever suffered a moment's uneasiness, or having the least mark on her person, except that left on the arm by the vaccine pock.

"Under the full assurance of all agreeing that so valuable a discovery and important benefit to mankind *ought not to be checked* by similar *ignorance or malevolence*, I trust you will allow the circumstance a place in your widely-circulating publication." From the MEDICAL and PHYSICAL JOURNAL:

October 24,  
1805.



an eminent surgeon and apothecary, who attended the family.

All Mr. Sharp's children were afflicted with an humour, being, as the common saying is, very gross children.

The parents wished for the advice of Dr. Rowley. He was sent for, and, as chance would have it, the one who was vaccinated happened to be at home when the Doctor arrived. At once he declared "it had Cow-pox mange, Cow-pox abscesses, and Cow-pox ulcers."

The affrighted mother flew to the father, to communicate to him the doleful tidings. He came in, and reasoned with the Doctor, "that the pig, the horse, and the dog, had sometimes the *mange*, but to his knowledge, as a butcher, the cow never had the *mange*; and he believed it the only animal free from that disease." Cow-Doctors hold the same language.

The other two children, who had had the Small-pox, now came in, and the father, with some shrewdness, presented them to the Doctor one by one.

"Here is more," exclaimed the Doctor, "of that *infernal* Cow-pox mange!"

"Examine them well," said the father.

"*Exactly* the same *beastly* disease in ALL these children," replied the Doctor!!!

He went on as in his book, "that this Cow-mange was hereditary; would, if not cured by



him, and *no one* knew this *new disease* like himself\*, pass from parents to children; and it was impossible to say what kind of human beings would exist after a few centuries."

The father thought he was *mad*, and said, bluntly, "You are a pretty Doctor, to frighten people about what you don't understand; for my other children, all, except John, have had the Small-pox, and you say, they are *ALL* alike."

The Doctor then excused himself with declaring "this *Mange* was catching"!

"Then pray," says the father, "why have I not caught it—and the children at the school where they go—and how comes it that my children, who have had the Small-pox, *had it first?*"

It ended in the dismissal of the Doctor, and none of his medicines ordered were given; the children, however, are well; and I went, accompanied to the house with a very intelligent medical gentleman at this time, to see these children. And we both had a *laugh* at the Doctor's expence, and this before and but *little expecting* the publication of this idle *bugaboo story*, which none but a *madman* would have *dared* to have published after the palpable *blunders* he had committed.

\* There is now publicly selling in New-street, Covent-Garden, Dr. ROWLEY's *Grand Specific* for the FACIES BOVILLA, SCABIES BOVILLA, TINEA BOVILLA, ELEPHANTIASIS BOVILLA, in short, for all diseases *after* the Cow-pock!



As a good companion to this case, I shall next give—

### 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20. THE BATTERSEA CASES.

NAME AND ABODE.	AGE. Ys. Ms.	When and by whom vaccinated.	EVENTS.
L. Charles Farley.	7	In the same house at Battersea-fields, by a gentleman from Great	These are the eight well-known cases of Small-pox after vaccination. All had the Small-pox in May, 1805; all pitted. They were seen by numbers of the faculty. Another child in the same place shared the same fate. The two last, LVI. and LVII. died of Small-pox. Dr. Moseley and Mr. Roberts attended the whole eight cases. All have Cow-pox mange, I saw these unfortunate victims to Cow-pox inoculation, and the misery produced was inexpressible.
LI. Ann Harris.	7	Queen-street, Westminster, in the summer, 1804,	
LII. Ann Vine Evanlist.	7	Indemnification complete in all these cases, which I exhibited at my lectures, October, 1805.	
LIII. Jas. Woodward.	3		
LIV. Jane Harris.	3		
LV. Jane Water.	3		
LVI. LVII. Eliz. Nicholson,	3		
John ———	3		

ROWLEY.

The only practitioner in Great Queen-street, Westminster, is Mr. Sutherland, and I therefore addressed him as to these cases, which happened indeed “in the same house,” for it was part of a Workhouse.

Mr. Sutherland informed me, “that to assert that all these were cases of Small-pox after Cow-pock, was a gross misrepresentation, as his nephew, a very young man, had gone to vaccinate them, and that he saw them all after the process,



and when he was returned, he told his uncle 'that the vaccination had not succeeded in them all;' and going immediately after that to India, he was unable to repeat the operation where it had not succeeded."

Of what nature was the *Cow-pox mange*, has been explained by Dr. Clutterbuck, who examined into these cases.

LETTER FROM DR. CLUTTERBUCK TO THE EDITOR  
OF THE MEDICAL AND PHYSICAL JOURNAL.

"It has been publicly stated within these few days, by a professional enemy of the Vaccine Inoculation \*, 'that at the house of a Mrs. Mills, Sleaford-street, Battersea-fields, (a nurse to the poor children of St. John's parish, Westminster,) two children had, within the last ten days, died of Small-pox, who had the Cow-pox last summer; and that three other children were at this time ill of the same disease, in a severe degree, who also had Cow-pox last summer.'

"As this account will probably be laid before the public," (this has been done by both Moseley and Rowley) "and is certainly calculated to make a strong impression, I felt anxious to obtain a more minute relation of the particulars, and for this purpose repaired with my friend, Mr. Sawrey, Surgeon to the House, on Saturday last the 25th instant. The nurse informed us, 'that nine children

\* Dr. Moseley.



under her care were inoculated for the Cow-pox last summer, by a gentleman, who at that time attended the sick poor of the parish, but whose name she does not now recollect. She says, that he never saw the children but once after the inoculation. She thought at the time that some of them *took the infection*, others *not*: but she has no distinct recollection of the particular appearances. *Three* of these children died of the natural Small-pox within the last ten days; but she cannot say whether the inoculation left any marks on the arms; yet she says, that ever since *all* the children have had breakings-out to a violent degree, which *she* attributes to the *Cow-pox*, and to the children not having taken physic afterwards.

“ Upon examining the arms of the *three* children now under the Small-pox, I was not able to discover *any cicatrices* (scars, or marks from inoculation, which continue through life.) But it must be observed, that the arms, like the rest of the body, have a considerable number of pustules on them, though there is sufficient room for the scars to appear, if situated in the interstices. In one of them there is such a general roughness and scaliness of the skin, that a cicatrix, if present, would scarcely be perceived.

“ The remaining *three* children have not taken the Small-pox. Upon the arms of all these *visible cicatrices* are left by the inoculation; in two,



as strongly marked as usual, in the third, very faintly.

"The *breaking-out* on the skin of these children, which the nurse refers to the Cow-pox, is indubitably the Itch; very distinctly characterized between the fingers, and on some other parts, though in many places it has degenerated into angry scabby pustules, an appearance not at all unusual in the itch in children. The nurse herself\* has this disease in a great degree.

"From the above account no inference can be drawn *against* Vaccination: on the contrary, imperfect as it is, it is rather in favour of the practice; for in the *three* instances where there is any evidence of the Cow-pox having really taken place, (*viz.* the *cicatrices* remaining on the arms) *the Small-pox has not occurred*;—whilst in those that died, and in the other three now ill of the Small-pox, it is at least doubtful whether any *cicatrices* were left.

"HENRY CLUTTERBUCK."

"St. Paul's Church-yard,

May 29th, 1805."

\* In several cases referred to me, I have had no other means of assuring persons that the disease was not from the Cow-pock, except by pointing out the same on some others not vaccinated.



## 21, 22. THE KENTISH-TOWN CASES.

NAME AND ABODE.	AGE. Ys. Ms.	When and by whom vaccinated.	EVENTS.
XXV. XXVI. Mr. Englefield, Assembly- house, Kentish- town, near to my country vil- la, had the Cow-pox in the regular way. Mr. Roberts visited these cases.	2 11	By Mr. Sandys, in Jan. 1805, the parents of whom are remarkably healthy, and the children were without eruptive or any disease.	They both had afterwards the Cow-pox mangle to a dreadful degree, Cow-pox abscesses in various parts. One died, as Mr. Sandys informs me, of suppurated lungs, the other I have under my care, nearly cured by alteratives, &c. More dreadful Cow-pox mangle, Cow-pox evil, and ulcer, never appeared than in both these children.

“*Post hoc, ergo propter hoc*”—“after this, and therefore because of this,” is very bad logic.

Mr. Merriman, who has much distinguished himself, as respects vaccination, has publicly contradicted these cases in the Gentleman's Magazine for October 1805, where it is stated.

“Respecting Englefield's child, what I have published from the statement of Mr. Sandys, is as follows :

I am authorised by Mr. Sandys, to contradict the report. He stated to me expressly, ‘that the elder child, as well as his brother\*, recovered

\* Mr. Englefield has now of late an infant disfigured with a dreadful *hushours*, who has as yet neither received either the Cow-pock or Small-pox MERRYMAN.



perfectly from the Vaccination ; that a slight eruption on the skin, altogether distinct from and independent of the Cow-pox, afterwards appeared, but that there was nothing at all uncommon or alarming in this eruption ; that about three months after being vaccinated, the eldest son was attacked with a Peripneumony, of which he died \*.

“ This information I received from Mr. Sandys, in the presence of Mr. Seares, of Half Moon Street, Piccadilly, and of another gentleman, a friend of Mr. Sandys, with whom I am unacquainted. I had no reason to think that Mr. Sandys wished to give me false information ; nor shall I be the more induced to believe, by the authority of Mr. Roberts, that this information was false. Had Mr. Sandys thought fit, he might, without any breach of good manners, have declined giving to a perfect stranger any information at all ; but what end could it possibly answer to him to give a false account ? At my request he obligingly imparted to me the circumstances as I have related them ; they bear the stamp of truth in every particular ; and neither the asseverations of Mr. Englefield, nor of this Mr. Roberts, will induce me to think that Mr. Sandys's statement was incorrect.

“ Your readers, Mr. Urban, will now have an opportunity of judging between Mr. Roberts and



myself. Mr. Henning, and Mr. Seares, to whom I appeal for the truth of what I have written, are well known to be men of strict honour and integrity. I have no hesitation to let the truth or falsehood of what I have published, rest upon their testimony. If what I have called upon them to witness be false, I am content to be branded as a violator of the truth; but, I dare believe my character is too firmly established to be injured by the petulant attacks or the malevolent insinuations of Mr. Joseph Roberts."

Mr. Englefield's note to me is as follows, *verbatim et litteratim*, who begins with the third person, and ends with the pronoun.

"Kentish Town Dec' 29 1805.

"Mr Englefield persents his Complements To Dr Thornton. He Has Had Two Children In a Most Deplorable Setuation From Cow Pox. they Both had Very Bad Breakings Out and Running Sores. One of Which Died after Suffring Very Very much With Ultsers. The Other is Bad at this Time. The Accounts in Dr Rowleys Book Is Truly Given I have no Reason To Dought. I I am Sir your Very

Humble Sarvant W<sup>m</sup> Englefield.

"I have Been from home or I wuld af anserd your Letter sunner."



Cases from "Vulgar tavern-keepers are, as Mr. Merryman states, always of a doubtful nature," and it is easy for the vulgar to believe, that all the humoury diseases of children arise from the inoculation, instead of the neglect of nursing, or the foolish indulgence of ignorant parents.

For, as Mr. Moore well observes, "It is now boldly published, that Vaccination produces scrofula, 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 humour 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 commonplace 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 en-



tirely 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."

"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 favourable. 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 al-



leged against it; but the most favourable construction should be put upon this conduct; and it ought to be admitted that the afterward opponents disbelieved, or at least doubted, the facts reported in favour 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 favouring 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 favouring 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.”

Mr. Moore closes with this strong and unanswerable argument. “The Cow-pox is no new disease; but has been common in our dairies in Gloucestershire, in London, and elsewhere, as far back as 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."

"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 unregarded even by the milkers."

"When the benefits resulting from inoculating the Small-pox were first 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 then 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 numerous cases were published in support of both 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\*."

\* Mr. Moore will have the pleasure to learn, that some steps are now about to be brought forward in Parliament on this very subject by the philanthropic Mr. Wilberforce.



## 23. A CHELSEA CASE.

NAME AND ARODE.	AGE. Ys.Ms.	When and by whom vaccinated.	EVENTS.
CCCCXX. Mr. New's daughter, at Don Saltero's Coffee-house, Chelsea. See Dr. Mose- ley's Treatise, pages 95 and 100.		By that respect- able surgeon Mr. Morrison, at Chel- sea, 12th Octo- ber, 1802. It is to Cow-pox ve- nom, not to the operator, that this misfortune, as well as many others, is attached.	On the 20th of the same month, she was attacked by violent restlessness and fever. Her limbs became enlarged and inflamed, a violent acrid rash, and eruptions broke out all over her body, and the pain and misery was so excruciating, that they produced incessant screamings, and plain- tive groans. She was in agony on being touched in the slightest manner. She died on the 28th of the month, a dreadful specta- cle of horrid deformity and inexpressible misery!

Dr. Moseley gives us the following frightful narrative:—

“ I have seen *children* die of the Cow-pox, without losing the sense of torment even in the article of death.

“ *Curæ non ipsâ in morte relinquant.*”

VIRG. *Æn.* vi. 444.

“ I saw *one* child in Chelsea, that died on the 16th day after inoculation; who shewed evident signs of severe anguish, on being touched in the



slightest manner, at the very moment she expired. Her terrible illness, from tumid inflamed limbs, inveterate acrid rash, and eruptions, was, from the first, accompanied with a continual screaming, from agony in every part of the surface of her body. This child was five years old, inoculated in perfect health on the 12th of the month. The mischief commenced on the 20th, with a painful, pricking sensation in the skin: great fever, and incessant restlessness.

“ I forbear to say more.—Not for want of other instances, on this part of the subject. Parents are sufficiently wounded, where the misfortunes happen, without having their names handed about in public print, to aggravate their feelings; and seeing themselves recorded, and pointed at, as monuments erected by Providence, to be a warning to others.

“ Enough has been said, I fear, to make us regret—‘ *that the inoculated Cow-pox is NOT a much milder and safer disease THAN the inoculated Small-pox*.’ ”

As these two anti-vaccinists have *invariably* neglected to corroborate their opinions by declaring the sentiments of the gentlemen of the faculty concerned, although they have mostly brought in *their names*, I have made, instead of them, here likewise the requisite inquiries, to which I obtained the following answer:—



EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. MORRISON,  
SURGEON.

“ *Chelsea; 17th July, 1806.*

“ DEAR SIR,

“ Whatever is the extent of my slender abilities, and I am fully conscious how much they are over-rated in your very flattering letter; but, such as they are, I trust I shall never be backward, when called upon, to exert them in the cause of truth and humanity.

“ I am most happy in the opportunity you have afforded me, to controvert a very false impression that you seem to think has been formed upon the case of Mr. New's child, from the conclusions of different persons leading to an inference that my sentiments were inimical to vaccination. The best confutation I can advance against such an opinion is a reference to the case itself, and my reflections upon it, by which it will appear, that in its publication I was only desirous that every thing relative to a *new practice* should be impartially disclosed by the profession, that its value might be more clearly appreciated. But, that my sentiments may no longer be either mis-stated or misunderstood, my present opinion of the practice is, that vaccination is infinitely less hazardous than Small-pox inoculation, and certainly not



more likely to excite humours in the habit of the patient than the latter; and, judging from my own experience, and the result of a candid and impartial examination of the opinions of others for and against, as far as my observation has extended, I am inclined to think that, *properly communicated*, it is a positive and lasting preventive of Small-pox.

“ In answer to your queries respecting the case itself, it was merely intended as a statement of the fact, in as clear language as I am capable of conveying them, with no other object than that expressed in the introduction.

“ The child was inoculated in October, 1802. Of *the age of the matter* I cannot myself decide, not having at the time any register of my practice: only this I may say, that the operation was conducted upon the established rules of the leading vaccinators at the time. You heard the lady (Mrs. Owen) say, at whose house I had first the pleasure of conversing with you upon the subject, and from whose child the matter was taken, that she believed it was from rather advanced matter.\*

\* Mrs. Owen remarks, “ that the scab, to the best of her remembrance, was turning *black*”—and “ as to her own child, or indeed children, vaccinated, they have had *no humours* of any kind since, are the picture of blooming health, and being inoculated last spring *for the Small-pox* resisted it; and she has no doubt on her mind of their being secured from so loathsome a disease by vaccination.”—Mr. Morrison very justly deploras, in a second letter, ‘ that *the age of the*



“I have always thought, that in Mr. New’s child the appearances arose from the *peculiar* constitution of the patient, and that any other cause at the time exciting fever would have produced a similar result. I am the more confirmed in this opinion from an occurrence nearly the same having since happened in a child after inoculated Small-pox, belonging to one of the families in which Urticaria appeared after vaccination, viz. acute fever, with erysipelatous inflammation in the leg, from which the child narrowly escaped. Indeed I am of opinion, that what are commonly called *humours* have their rise in particular constitutions, and particular states of the same, by whatever induces *febrile* action to a certain extent, and consequent *debility*, though sometimes these appear without apparent fever or debility; hence they occur more commonly after confluent than distinct Small-pox, and therefore more seldom after inoculated Small-pox; and hence a fair conclusion may be drawn, from the hardly

*matter* was held by Drs. Pearson and Woodville as a thing immaterial, and, therefore, that point had not at the onset been attended to:’ but he remarks, with his natural sound judgment, and cultivated mind, ‘that the discoverer has surely a right to be tried by his own rules; and as these two gentlemen were agreed that *early* matter produced the *true* disease, it would be right in the faculty for the future to adhere to Doctor Jenner’s maxim.’



perceptible constitutional affection that generally occurs after vaccination, that the last practice will be least likely of all to excite them; and *this I firmly believe to be the fact*. I certainly considered the case a *peculiar* one, and on that account worthy of record; but think no *general* inference can be drawn from a single instance, opposed to hundreds of thousands with a contrary result.

“ It remains now for me, individually, to return you my best thanks, for the laborious and highly useful task you have imposed upon yourself for the benefit of the public, who, I sincerely hope, will entertain a just sense of an undertaking of so much interest to *themselves* and *posterity*: and that the result of your labours may bring forward a cloud of evidence, with a knowledge that will silence all opposition, and fully establish the expectations at first formed from a discovery, which once promised to be one of the most valuable that ever graced the annals of medicine, is the fervent wish of,

“ DEAR SIR,

“ Your obliged friend,

“ And faithful humble servant,

“ THOMAS MORRISON.”

Inquiring into the circumstances of this case, Mrs. New describes, “ that in consequence of the inoculation, for seven days and nights her child from *irritation*, never slept, and no *opiate* was



given, although she earnestly requested it of Dr. Moseley, nor *any applications* made to the arm. When the child died, the whole of that side, with the arm and leg, turned green, or mortified."

Respecting this case, a doubt arises, whether matter *not stale*, which was used in this case, would have produced similar effects? Let us examine this point.

I believe I was among the first to sound the alarm respecting the dangerous and insecure effects sometimes arising from the use of *stale* matter\*. This opinion is not solely confined to me, or Dr. Jenner, although at one time *disputed*, as well as it could be, by Dr. Pearson and Dr. Woodville.

In Mr. Creaser's admirable "Observations," he says, p. 43, "It cannot be too often or too strongly repeated, that in the decision of this point consists the truth or the falsehood of a *practical rule*, and which, if it can be proved to exist as believed by Dr. Jenner, and many other observers, must, if acted against, not merely subvert all the imputed advantages of the Vaccina, but entail an enormous train of evil: I will first refer to the cases which occurred at Clapham, in the year 1801; (Case 101, of Rowley) and I cannot

\* Vide Facts decisive in Favour of the Cow-pock, where several frightful cases from the use of *stale* vaccine matter are recorded. P. 277. These were not published by me as OBJECTIONS to vaccination, but as CAUTIONS towards the *right performance* of the same.



presume either to explain or to comment on them, after the very perspicuous and masterly account afforded of the transaction in the 'Comparative View of Opinions of Drs. Jenner and Woodville.' Dr. Pearson ingeniously glosses over this occurrence, by saying that 'some unfortunate cases of inoculated Vaccina occurred, which were imputed by the medical gentlemen who investigated them to *the lateness of the period at which the inserted matter was taken.*'

"Let Dr. Pearson bring forward something beyond *insinuation* to disprove the conclusions of these investigators. He has not given one fact, which on a fair comparison with the phenomina stated in the narrative alluded to, will invalidate the obvious and certain inference, that they were such as could *only* arise from the use of Virus taken at a late period. Dr. Pearson observes in a note, p. 101, that 'no contrary evidence has since been given from experience.' What contrary evidence could be necessary, in addition to the correct and faithful narration given by the author of the 'Comparative View?' That the inferences made were founded in the justest deductions, may even be negatively inferred, by observing that no such occurrence, or any thing analogous, has *ever* existed in consequence of the use of *early Virus*. Does Dr. Pearson consider the deleterious tendency of the doctrines, which mere opposition to the opinions of Dr. Jenner has led him to propagate, and



for the resistance of which every advocate of Dr. Jenner's doctrine is overwhelmed with his illiberal imputations. The position which has included me in this anathema, I will here repeat, and fortunately I am not destitute of circumstantial proof in its support ; viz. ' That Cow-Pock Virus at a *late* period is capable of producing morbid and phagadaenic ulcerations, considerable erysipela-tous inflammation, and a train of effects wholly dissimilar to those of pure and recently formed Virus.'

" In proof of the former part of this opinion, I can merely give my personal and decided suffrage, that in much experience (amounting in the whole to more than 1000 inoculations of my own) I have *seen* repeatedly phagadaenic and crustaceous ulcers, and the most extensive inflammations, ensue from the use of Virus taken at a *late period*, when I was not sufficiently informed of the importance of using it more recent. I also affirm, that on inspection of a number of the inoculated patients of others, exceeding in aggregate those of my own, I have never seen a local or general affection which considerably exceeded the ordinary and general mildness of the inoculated Vaccina, when Virus of an *early* period was employed. The credibility of a man's evidence must rest on his personal reputation, when it is unsupported by additional proof. In respect to the effects which *I preferred to de-*



scribe by the appellation of being '*wholly dissimilar to those of pure and recently formed Virus*,' I possess substantiated evidence which is beyond Dr. Pearson's controversion, and facts which are unassailable by his sophistry. The possession of these instances alone would have led me to make the communication which has so *offended* Dr. Pearson. On these I ground an opinion, that at a certain but indefinite age of the Vaccine Pustule, a modification of vital action of the part, or a change of chemical constitution of its contained fluid, occurs, which alters its action on the human body, so as to render it capable of exciting a local effect essentially different, and even of appearing in the system *in a constitutional and secondary form of ulceration*. Of such instances, I shall relate the following.

In November, 1799, I inoculated the child of a patient belonging to the Bath City Dispensary, of the name of Spering. I employed at this period of my practice (notwithstanding the verbal injunctions of Dr. Jenner) Virus of all periods, and this child was inoculated with Virus from a very *advanced* Pustule. The local affection was regular, but the surrounding inflammation intense, and the scab after separating left a crustaceous sore which continued in a state of ulceration. A month after I was desired by Mr. White, apothecary to the Dispensary, to visit the child; I found her covered on the nates, thighs, and belly, with



*pustules* which had a near resemblance to the *spurious Vaccine Pustule*. I say *the Spurious Pustule*, and will explain my idea by a future definition with which Dr. Pearson may grapple if he pleases. The case interested me so much, that I requested Dr. Parry of this city to see it, knowing his attention to this subject; and the child was also visited by Dr. Crawford; they both concurred in having *never seen a similar case of eruption*, and believed it to depend on the *Vaccina*. To ascertain this connexion, Mr. H. Jenner, surgeon, inoculated a child with the fluid taken from one of the pustular sores, and produced a *spurious Vaccine Pustule*. I must add, that the inoculated part was unhealed for several weeks, but that the child got well in the event.

“Another case, which in my opinion incontrovertibly supports the opinion that I have laid down, occurred at Bristol in the beginning of 1801. The appearances had excited some prejudices against the *Vaccina*, and I was requested by the Rev. G. Jenner, and Mr. H. Jenner to see it. It was the infant of Mr. Morris, woollen-draper; I do not know the name of the medical gentleman who had inoculated it, but I was informed the inoculation had been done some weeks before. I found the infant had several pustular eruptions on the body, closely resembling the *Vaccina* in its advanced stages. These had existed ever since the inoculation. Suspecting the cause of these to be such as had produced the preceding



case, my queries to the mother were in the following form.

“Q. Was this child inoculated with dried matter, or with fresh matter from another person?”

“A. With matter from another person.

“Q. What was the colour of the part from which the matter was taken?”

“A. It was quite brown, almost *black*, and the child was inoculated twice from the same person, at the distance of two or three days.”

I have minutes of this conversation, and of the appearances, as taken at the time. The Rev. G. Jenner and Mr. H. Jenner were present, and would, I am confident, readily contradict my statement if it were erroneous. I think from these instances singly, that we are completely warranted in imputing to Vaccine Virus of a late date the evil effects which I have described.”

As the inoculation in New's child, was not performed, according to the golden rule of Dr. Jenner (Vide page 199, line 11, of our *Vaccinæ Vindicia*) this *death*, therefore, cannot fairly be laid to the charge of Vaccination.

At any rate, as one of Mrs. New's children had died before from Small-pox inoculation, and a second had narrowly escaped, and the mother had lost her two sisters from the Small-pox, this might be a *remarkable* instance of *idyosyncrasy*, which in no wise affects the *general propriety* of *vaccination*.



## 24. THE PIMLICO CASE.

“ Edward Bozzard was *never well after the Cow-pox*; but had *always* breakings out in *ulcerations*, with fevers, head-ache, and wasting, until he had the *Small-pox*, since which he has been in perfect health.”

The full statement of the case of Mr. Bozzard's child, is recorded by Drs. Moseley and Rowley, p. 105 of this work.

I there promised to bring it forward again, that the public might become better acquainted with Dr. Moseley's and Rowley's “*Cow-pox mange, ulcerations,*” &c.

As I observed before, there is *no cicatrices visible*, where the inoculations were said to have been performed\*.

The affair ought to have rested here, but it has been attempted to be asserted, that *pustules* and *scars* were unimportant; for, as Dr. Rowley ludicrously says, “The vaccination, where these do not appear, has taken a *wrong turn*.”

Dr. Moseley, in his Commentary, has given us further insight into this case.

\* Mrs. Blake had her child at the time *properly vaccinated*, compared arms, and declares, they were agreed “*no true similarity existed betwixt them*.” The *cicatrix* here is evident.



He says, "that a *tumour* was produced in consequence of vaccination, on the right *side* of the lower jaw, the size *at least* of an orange."!!!

The sons of Mrs. Bozzard declare, "that the Doctor might as well have said, one's *head*, as an *orange*, and with as much truth!!!"

How this tumour, the size of an orange, was to burst in the inside of the mouth, he has left the reader to conjecture!!! although bred a surgeon, I doubt whether he himself could explain it.

The fact is, that the boy's disease was no other than a common quinsy, or ulcerated sore-throat, which begun and ended, and all was well, in the course of a week!!!

This is Dr. Moseley's "swelling on the lower jaw, the size *at least* of an orange, breaking inwardly"!!!

This is Dr. Moseley's "always breaking out in *ulcerationS*"!!! and Dr. Rowley's "Cow-pox *ulcerS*."

As to "*fevers, headache, and wasting*," the fact is, the child was a sickly, puny infant, and we are only astonished he was not more so, when we consider, what these two doctors have purposely chosen to hide; that the mother was in her youth a martyr to the *King's evil*. She has a deep scar on the side of the neck, and says, "that she had open wounds for three years there, and has been afflicted with a *scorbutic* humour upwards of thirty years.'



Being a widow with seven or eight children, she adds, that she went to a charity soup shop to procure some, where she first heard of the *Cow-pock*, and, by her description, Mr. Lewis inoculated the child, who informs me, "that he used matter then as he met with it," and he might have used *old* matter, for the pustules were unlike Mrs. Blake's child, and they left *no scars*.

By concealing some circumstances, and immensely distorting others, have the public been deluded in this and other similar \* instances !!!

But as Dr. Pearson says,

#### EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM DR. PEARSON.

"If the public will pay attention to these narratives, and disregard all that has been said by almost the united faculty †, and be such an *idiot* as believe such *new diseases*, as COW-POX MANGE, and COW-POX ULCERS, actually to exist, I am almost tempted to think such a public undeserving of consideration."

\* Dr. Moseley, in order, if possible, to make Mr. Howard in the wrong, who investigated this case from me, has in his Commentary, a letter *as if* written by this Mrs. Bozzard. I asked her the meaning of one of the Doctor's fine words in the letter. She confessed "she did not understand such word, was no *scholar*, and had signed *whatever* he pleased to dictate to her."

† Nothing but the great spirit of *liberty* in England could have obtained for Doctors Moseley and Rowley an *hearing*.



The last case I shall notice is one that Doctor Rowley, *mad* as he was, had *sense enough* not to accept; and it was reserved to Doctor MOSELEY, thereby to *disgrace* HIMSELF and the PROFESSION, by evincing a CREDULITY, that would have appeared *contemptible* in the *most low fortune-telling woman* in our island.

## 25. THE HOLLES STREET CASE.

### (" A CASE.)

" I have seen *several instances* of this sort.

" WILLIAM INCE, son of Mr. Ince, upholsterer, Holles-street, Cavendish-square, was vaccinated when four months old, in the spring of 1800, by ———. Soon after the Cow-pox, he broke out in sores, and eruptions, nearly all over him, and *in that state*, when he was nine months old, he was sent to Mr. Leach, No. 4, South-row, Somers Town, to nurse. The sores, with acrid discharges, were then on almost every part of his body; but *particularly* about the *joints* of his wrists, knees, ankles, and toes. *When the sores dried up, there appeared on his back and loins patches of HAIR, not resembling his own hair, for that was of a light colour, but brown, and of THE SAME LENGTH AND QUALITY AS THAT OF A COW.* The scabs and blotches were worse in the Spring and Autumn, and he remained in a miserable state, under *various changes*, until he was three years and a half old, when he languished and died."

MOSELEY'S COMMENTARY.

A case indeed!!! Surely, IF Dr. Moseley had SEEN "*several such instances*," he would, and indeed he ought, to have published them!!!!



“It is strange,” as Mr. Moore observes, “those who vaccinate most never meet with such cases.” The child was vaccinated by the late Mr. Toke—whether well or ill cannot now be ascertained.

Being placed out to nurse, as is too common a circumstance, he contracted the *Itch*.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. INCE, SURGEON,  
TO DR. THORNTON.

“My nephew was attended by me, and certainly had the disease vulgarly called the *Itch*; his fingers were affected—also betwixt his fingers.

“What proves it to have been the *Itch*, it was communicated to his brother, and both Mrs. Leach and her daughter, who nursed the child, had a similar eruption, appearing a day or two after his arrival in South-row, Somers-town.

“They complained of dreadful *itching*, and it was certainly that disease in an inveterate degree.

“My nephew was, after some time, cured of that disease, and became a fine healthy child, without spot or blemish, for more than a year and a half, when he caught the *scarlet fever*, which laid the foundation of a *pulmonary disease*, which took him off.

“As to patches of cow-hairs on the child’s back and loins, no such circumstance was known to any of our family, and I doubt whether such



a thing ever existed. It is certainly strange none of us ever heard of so *extraordinary* an event—before this publication by Dr. Moseley.”

I waited upon Mrs. Leach, to learn the truth of so *wonderful* an occurrence.

She denied “the child was in the condition stated in Dr. Moseley’s narrative, especially as regards time.”

“She had contracted, with her daughter, by sleeping with him, a similar disease, and *itched* dreadfully.”

“They all got well of that disease under Mr. Porter.”

As to the *patches* of cow-hairs, they were now reduced, “to *one* scab, rather bigger than a shilling, near the rump, which coming away, *some soft hairs* were seen on it.”

Asking her, “of what kind?” she says she particularly told the gentleman “not at all *like a cow’s*, for they were *downy*, and *very fine*, and not at all *wiry like a cow’s*.”

The fact was, when the scab came away, some of the *down of the blanket* stuck to the sore\*.

This is what Dr. Moseley calls, “when the sores dried up, there appeared on his *back and loins* PATCHES OF HAIR, of the *same length* and *quality as that of a COW*”!!!

\* Hence, in a few days, this *wonderful* hair disappeared.



By such ridiculous stories have some people been frightened into a belief, that the Cow-pox covers people over with never-ending sores and *cow-hairs*, and converts the "human form divine" into *the beast* !!!

Had this circumstance been the fact, it would, as Mr. Moore well observes, have long ago struck medical men in the Vale of Gloucestershire, &c. and this dreadful *curse* on mankind would have been long ago known to the world.

To *silence* every doubt upon this subject, I shall now appeal to the highest authority, as far as that can have weight ; namely, to the learned author "on Cutaneous Diseases," who has paid this subject his particular attention.

#### LETTER FROM DR. WILLAN TO DR. THORNTON.

" Bloomsbury Square, July 17, 1806.

" DEAR DOCTOR,

" In a treatise on Vaccination, which will appear next week, I have endeavoured to shew that the inoculated Cow-pox does not excite Scrofula. My own experience, supported by that of others in extensive practice, authorizes me to say further, that proper Vaccine inoculation neither produces any *new cutaneous diseases*, nor has increased the number of those with which Medical Practitioners have been long acquainted.



“ Where the eruption is extensive, *even in the inoculated Small-pox*, the disease is *very often* succeeded by scrofulous tubercles, ophthalmia, purulent discharge from the several glands, pustules round the mouth, and a discharge from behind the ears; also by tumours and abscesses in different parts of the body.

“ I have the honour to remain,

“ DEAR DOCTOR,

“ Sincerely your friend,

“ ROBERT WILLAN.”

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## CONCLUSION.

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Most surgeons and apothecaries now *refuse* to inoculate with the Small-pox. They are convinced respecting the *Cow-pock*, and would not, for all the riches in the world, disseminate *Pestilence* and *Death*. Yes, Sir, you may, if you are callous to every principle of *honour* and *religion*, for a short time find a *few*, who will spread *Contagion* and *Death*, enlisting under your banners, but some of them are excused the *CRIME*; “ they know not what they do;” but you, Sir, stand awfully responsible. Heaven has blessed *you* with an understanding to look beyond the narrow bound of individual advantage, to explore the public welfare, to see the wide-spreading mischief of variolous inocula-



tion, to know that you are answerable for the many deaths your *promulgated* opinion must occasion, with a heart, I trust, sensible to the moans of the dying, and the afflictions of surviving parents.

Yes, Sir, from you the world looks for *better principles* and *better actions*. I believe you to be a man of *honour*, and if you wrote your book on "*Tropical Diseases,\**" you have shewn yourself a man of *uncommon merit*; therefore, from you, I expect, with the *rest of mankind*, not an *opposition* to a *saving practice*, conducted with all the *madness* and *desperation* of party, but a *serious* weighing of circumstances, a *faithful* relation of facts, a *clear* deduction from cases, a *candid* and *circumstantial narrative*—such as ought to come from a *physician*—and maintain for you that character which you formerly most justly possessed, and made me once proud to sign myself,

SIR,

With equal esteem, respect, and regard,

Your obedient and devoted servant,

ROBERT JOHN THORNTON.

\* I do not mean to say Dr. Moseley *did not write* that excellent work, nor wish it to be so understood; no more than when I say his *Lues Boyilla*, with its Commentary, must have been written *the bottles empty*, that the Doctor has *hours of inebriety*; these are only *terms of severe satire*, to shew the great contempt in which I hold such *disgraceful performances*.



P. S. I expect *some* answer to *these* letters like a scholar—and not, upon a *serious* subject, in the ridiculous style of a *Merry-Andrew*\* : For this question concerns the *lives*, ANNUALLY, of 2,000 in London alone; ANNUALLY, of 40,000 in the united kingdom; and, ANNUALLY, of 11,536,000 throughout the world; or the destruction of *one* life in every *second* of time! If Dr. MOSELEY feels I am *right*, he ought publicly to *confess* it. For to attempt to *avert* the *easy* saving by vaccination of so many thousands of individuals from a cruel death, by persisting in the promulgation of known error, is a CRIME against humanity—is a CRIME of that black dye, that no language or law has found a name for it; and if I have ever forsaken the character I would wish to hold in life, as a gentleman of forbearing manners, I trust the strong language I have, of necessity, occasionally used against some gentlemen in the profession, urged, nay compelled to it, by their conduct †, will be by all excused, when it is consi-

\* The public has had a specimen of the style Dr. Moseley has commenced to answer this work, p. 229 of the VACCINÆ VINDICIA, a style equally disgusting as improper!!!

† The candid public will observe that we VACCINISTS were not the aggressors; we fairly and openly stated NUMEROUS FACTS of proper vaccination, upon which we built our conclusions; these remain unrefuted: others have since been thrown into our teeth, and the ANTI-VACCINISTS, reason-



dered what *a cause* I had to *plead*, and how many *credulous victims* might thereby be *saved* by my *pen*.

Yes, we shall conquer ! and the thought should raise  
A spirit in our prayers as well as praise,  
For who shall say, in Nature's wide domain,  
There lurk not *remedies* for *every pain* ?  
Who shall assert, where English banners fly,  
Woe still shall reign,—the *PLAGUE* shall never die ?

BLOOMFIELD \*.

ing upon them, *accuse us of false narratives, erroneous judgments, madness, wickedness, and folly*—this *abuse* we have long patiently borne, yet the burst of indignation could not but sometimes shew itself—when these *adverse cases* were investigated—and the ignorance, delusion, artifice, folly, and scandalous falsehoods of most of them were discovered—and moreover, when it be considered that the *LIVES OF MANKIND* depend upon *the judgments given upon this important cause*—I need, therefore, no longer apologise, I think, with a *judicious public*, for any *strong language* occasionally used by me, who must *acquit* me, I trust, wholly of an *intemperate conduct*.

\* These lines are extracted from "Good Tidings, or News from the Farm." It relates to Dr. Jenner's discovery. "The account," says the poet, "of my infancy, and of my father's burial, is not only poetically, but strictly true, and with me it has its weight accordingly. I have witnessed the destruction described in my brother's family ; and I have, in my own, insured the lives of four children by Vaccine Inoculation, who, I trust, are destined to look back upon the Small-pox as the scourge of *days gone by*."



# DEBATE

IN

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

(Wednesday, July 2, 1806),

ON

A MOTION,

MADE BY

THE RIGHT HON. LORD HENRY PETTY,

IN ORDER TO REMOVE

EXISTING PREJUDICES AND DOUBTS

RELATIVE TO

VACCINATION.

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PRINTED BY C. SQUIRE, FURNIVAL'S-INN-COURT.

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DEBATE

DEBATE

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

JOHN HENRY MURPHY, M.P. addressed the House in the following appropriate and elegant speech. I use the expression of the House to call your attention to a subject of national importance. It is indeed a subject which is generally understood with sufficient knowledge. It is how we concern the welfare, security, and existence of a large portion of the population of this country, and therefore is well deserving of the consideration and support of Parliament. I mean, Sir, that

This nobleman, the youngest son of the late illustrious Marquis of Lansdown, is Chancellor of the Exchequer, and represents the learned University of Cambridge, and has shown himself equally great, whether we view him as a profound statesman, or philosopher. Graced with all the fascinating powers of an excited eloquence, upon this occasion he excited universal interest, and ministerial men, and the opposition were equally unanimous in giving him loud plaudits of admiration. He very frequently testified the cry of No.



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## DEBATE,

&c.

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LORD HENRY PETTY\* addressed the House in the following appropriate and elegant speech: "I rise, Sir, in pursuance of the notice I gave to the House a few days ago, to call your attention to a subject of general importance. It is indeed a subject which is totally unconnected with all party principles. It, however, concerns the welfare, health, and existence of a large portion of his Majesty's subjects, and, therefore, is well deserving of the consideration, and support, of Parliament. I mean, Sir, that

\* This nobleman, the youngest son of the late illustrious Marquis of Lansdown, is Chancellor of the Exchequer, and represents the learned University of Cambridge, and has shewn himself equally great, whether we view him as a profound statesman, or philanthropist. Graced with all the fascinating powers of an exalted eloquence, upon this occasion he excited *uncommon interest*; and ministerial men, and the opposition, were equally unanimous in giving him loud plaudits of admiration by very frequently reiterating the cry of *Hear!*



very remarkable discovery, and the practice which has followed it, of Inoculation of the Cow-Pox, commonly called *Vaccine Inoculation*, as a substitute for the loathsome Small Pox, an evil which has spread a dreadful desolation throughout the whole world.

“In submitting this subject to your notice, I shall not enter minutely into an investigation, or inquiry, as to the gradual progress which the practice of this inoculation has made among the several nations of Europe. I shall briefly mention it to be the discovery of an eminent and most celebrated physician, who for thirty years has devoted his whole mind and attention to promote its salutary effects amongst mankind. The knowledge of this important subject first commenced in the year 1777\*. So early did it strike Dr. JENNER, a name which has become well known amongst all the nations in Europe, and indeed throughout the whole world. That gentleman, by devoting the whole of his time, attention, and labours, to this subject, has, by a slow and gradual progress, brought the practice of his valuable discovery into very great reputation. It was, however, in the year 1796, when he first thought of extending its benefits by inocula-

\* Vide petition of Dr. Jenner, p. 143 of “*Vaccinæ Vindicia*,” presented to the House of Commons in 1802, in which the learned Doctor states the progressive steps he took in the discovery.



tion.\* To that illustrious character, therefore, we are entitled to ascribe our being likely to get rid of the Small-pox, one of the most dangerous calamities that mankind has ever been afflicted with.

“ In the year 1798†, Dr. JENNER having ascertained its advantages by sufficient experiments, it was extended, and soon after‡ submitted to the consideration of this House, and under its sanction, and chiefly owing to its patronage, it was established throughout England.

“ In the year 1799§, this discovery gained

\* Vide p. 240 of “ *Vaccinæ Vindicia*.”

† Dr. Jenner’s first publication appeared in the year 1798. Vide p. 240 of “ *Vaccinæ Vindicia*.”

‡ In the year 1802, Dr. Jenner’s petition was presented to the House of Commons (vide p. 143 of “ *Vaccinæ Vindicia*”), in consequence of which he then received from Parliament the remuneration of 10,000l.

§ In the beginning of the year 1799, Dr. WATERHOUSE, who, from his exertions in the cause of Vaccination, has been honoured with the title of “ the Jenner of America,” received a copy of Dr. Jenner’s “ *Inquiry*.” Struck with the importance of the subject, and the incalculable benefit which might accrue to his country from its adoption, he immediately communicated to the public a sketch of the discovery, which was most favourably received by the then president, Mr. Adams. Dr. Waterhouse, being supplied with matter from England, first inoculated four of his own children. The succeeding president, Mr. Jefferson, gave the practice his utmost assistance. The following is a copy of a letter sent by that illustrious president to the “ Jenner of America.”



its way over the whole continent of America,

“SIR,

“I received last night, and have read with great satisfaction, your pamphlet on the subject of the Kine-pock ; and pray you to accept my thanks for the communication of it. I had before attended to your publications on the subject in the newspapers ; and took much interest in the result of the experiments you were making.

“Every friend of humanity must look with pleasure on this discovery, by which one evil more is likely to be withdrawn from the condition of man ; and must contemplate the possibility, that future improvements and discoveries may still more and more lessen the catalogue of evils.

“In this line of proceeding, *you deserve well of your country* ; and I pray you, Sir, accept my portion of the tribute due to you, with assurances of the high consideration and respect with which I am, Sir,

“Your most obedient humble servant,

“THOMAS JEFFERSON.”

Such are the exalted notions of this great man, that he thought a physician might communicate useful medical intelligence in a common newspaper, without degrading himself, or his profession.

Whether this opinion is well or ill-founded, I shall not myself presume to determine. It is, however, only justice to say, that this letter of the President of the United States breathes the spirit of philanthropy,—the spirit of Washington ; and, that his vigilant attention to the welfare and happiness of the people, proves him worthy to fill the station of his illustrious predecessor.

A letter from Dr. Coxé, dated Nov. 24th, 1801, announces, “that with matter received from Mr. Jefferson, he had succeeded in establishing Vaccine Inoculation at Philadelphia,” which was published in the American Daily Advertiser. In the same paper Dr. Coxé afterwards published another letter, dated



and even amongst the Indians, it has been

Dec. 15th, 1801, wherein he states, "that he had inoculated many patients with vaccine matter with the happiest success, and afterwards submitted them to variolous contagion, both in the form of inoculation, and in the natural way; which they resisted.

"He inoculated one child with the Cow-pox, on whose mother the Small-pox broke out the day before. The child was with her mother during the disease. On the eighth day from the insertion of Vaccine matter, Dr. Coxe inoculated her in three places with variolous matter from her mother. The consequence was only three small pustules, unaccompanied by any general affection of the system. Three weeks had elapsed since the child had been exposed to the natural infection; yet she had perfectly escaped."

Dr. Coxe expresses a confidence, "that the practice will soon spread far and wide;" and which his own conduct, and his own example, of inoculating the poor gratuitously, and distributing Vaccine matter amongst medical practitioners, will tend greatly to promote.

He observes, "that his own experience serves to augment the vast collection of facts on the important point, of the Cow-pox proving a sure preventive of the Small-pox: and to establish the certainty, that a change of climate does not effect its beneficial influence."

He sincerely congratulates his fellow-citizens on the introduction of this invaluable blessing amongst them. He is confident it requires but to be known, in order to ensure its speedy diffusion in every part of the world. He concludes with asserting, that millions yet unborn will have cause to bless the *immortal* name of Jenner.

He observes, that the vast advantages of this practice begin to be duly appreciated. He anticipates its final triumph over the Small-pox, in Philadelphia, in the short space of a few



practised with a degree of success fully answer-

months; after which, he firmly trusts, this ferocious destroyer of the human race will be known by name only.

A letter received from Dr. Coxe by his father, a gentleman of great respectability residing in London, states, "that after inoculating his own child with the Cow-pox, he has several times inoculated him with Small-pox matter; but to no purpose."

To the uncommon ardour of Dr. Coxe, and to his unwearied exertions, Philadelphia is beholden for the establishment of this beneficial practice; and we shall soon see, that his laudable endeavours have been seconded by the most experienced practitioners of that city.

Dr. Rush, in a letter to Dr. Lettsom, dated March 15th, 1802, says, "The publications upon Vaccination, from England, have contributed very much to spread the knowledge of that invaluable discovery through the United States. We have adopted it in Philadelphia, and with universal success. The difficulty of obtaining Vaccine matter is the only circumstance which has prevented its being adopted in every part of our country. This difficulty is lessening daily. The practice, in a year or two, I have no doubt, will be universal."

Dr. Redman, the venerable father of physic in the college of Philadelphia, ardently embraces the new discovery. Under such auspices, Vaccine Inoculation must increase and prosper.

Dr. Waterhouse also communicates, in the public papers, the pleasing intelligence, that Vaccine Inoculation is now extending its salutiferous powers to the remotest borders of the new world. In the month of December 1802, a grand embassy of certain tribes of the Indians came to the city of Washington, in order themselves to be vaccinated, and to learn the practice, while the Congress was sitting, by whose injunction and expense Vaccination was performed on them. The government of the United States continues to do every thing in its power to promote the comfort, happiness, and civilization of that nation; and to ameliorate their condition.



ing the most sanguine expectations of him who at first suggested it.

Washington and Adams had already supplied them with the plough and the loom, causing them to be instructed in agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. It was reserved for Jefferson, to supply them with a prophylactic against the Small-pox, which commits such dreadful ravages among their tribes; and to instruct them in the divine art of Vaccination.

(Vide Waterhouse's Hist. of the Prospect of exterminating the Small-pox, or Hist. of the Kine-pock, 1st Pt. 1800, 2d Pt. 1802; also Ring's Treatise, vol. ii. p. 760.)

To shew the present state of Vaccination in America, I need only give the following extract of a letter from their present illustrious President.

*Extract of a letter from President JEFFERSON to Dr. JENNER.*

“ May 14, 1806.

“ I was among the early converts to Vaccination, and took a zealous part in recommending it to my countrymen. I avail myself of this occasion of rendering *you* my portion of the tribute of gratitude due to *you* from the whole human family. Medicine has never before produced any single improvement of such utility. Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood was a beautiful addition to our knowledge of the animal economy. But on a review of the practice of medicine before and since that epoch, I do not see any great amelioration which has been derived from that discovery. *You* have erased from the calendar of human afflictions one of its greatest evils. *Your's* is the comfortable reflection, that mankind can never forget that *you* have lived. Future nations will know from report only, that the loathsome Small-pox has existed, and by *you* has been extirpated. Accept the most fervent wishes for *your* health and happiness, and assurances of the greatest respect and consideration.

“ THOMAS JEFFERSON.”



“ In 1800, it was adopted upon the continent ;\*  
and,

\* France, in particular, forgetting national jealousy, and individual envy, accepted the boon with alacrity. Even during war, our government allowed our countryman, Dr. Woodville, upon invitation, to go over to France to vaccinate; and this was done in the year 1800. Speedily after, institutions and societies were formed for its extension, under the sanction of the government; rewards were bestowed on the most active Vaccinists, and such progress was made, that, even so early as the month of November 1802, the central committee, in their annual report, declare, that there has not been one example to prove, that amongst *ten thousand* individuals inoculated with the Cow-pox, a single one has been infected with the Small-pox, although living in the midst of the contagion. In a following report they declare, that all which has been asserted of Vaccination is now confirmed; that they are perfectly convinced of the reality of the advantages ascribed to it; and that they cannot conclude without returning “ a just tribute of acknowledgment to Dr. Jenner, being fully persuaded, that he will hereafter be remembered among those who have reflected the greatest honour on science, and rendered the most important service to mankind.” In their report of the year 12 (1804) they say, that the success of vaccination is established by them in *one hundred thousand* facts. (Medical and Physical Journal, May 1805, p. 419.)

“ It has often been asserted, and is generally believed, that Vaccination is more highly esteemed, and more generally practised, in almost every other country, than in this where it was first discovered. In France, it is cultivated with unremitting ardour; and all the energies of government are called forth in support of the practice.

“ Its propagation is there encouraged by something more than barren patronage and empty names. It is there considered



as a national concern. The Minister of the Interior has instituted a Society, over which he himself presides; and under his auspices, upwards of *sixty thousand* human beings have been secured from the ravages of the Small-pox, within the space of *three months*." (Medical and Physical Journal, May 1805).

Dr. De Carro long ago said, "it had excited the astonishment of foreigners, that the Parliament of three united kingdoms, which granted ten thousand pounds to Dr. Jenner for discovering the practice of Vaccination, had done nothing towards putting the practice into execution." No longer being deaf to the calls of humanity, let us at least obey the dictates of policy; and pursue such measures as are calculated to promote population. I here subjoin a translation of the plan of the Society for the Extermination of the Small-pox in France. *Fas est et ab hoste doceri.*

" MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR.

" *Society for the Extermination of the Small-pox in France, by means of Vaccination.*

" Letter of the Minister to the Prefects.

" *Paris, 14 Germinal, An 12.*

" I invited you, Citizen Prefect, by my circular letter of last Prairial, to promote by all the means in your power Vaccine Inoculation; the immense advantages of which, for the increase of population, and the welfare of mankind, are so completely demonstrated.

" The Prefects in many departments are already impressed with a zeal worthy of the highest eulogiums, to fulfil in this respect the paternal views of Government; by establishing Committees of Vaccination, and organizing the practice of this salutary art, in the different districts submitted to their care. It is to second their generous efforts, to strengthen them, and to regulate them by a general impulse, that I again call your attention to this important subject.



“ The Central Committee of Vaccination, whose report has reflected so much light upon that novel species of practice, have expressed a wish, that a new Society for propagating Vaccine Inoculation should be established, for the purpose of accomplishing the extermination of the Small-pox in France,—an object of the highest concern; the practicability of which, already self-evident, was, thanks to their zeal, still farther confirmed by striking examples and undeniable proofs. I am anxious to gratify this wish, which had been equally expressed by the National Institute. Men distinguished by their rank and talents have united themselves; forming a new society, the plan of which I now address to you. Of this society, the actual Members of the Central Committee of Vaccination, from their experience and their devotion to the cause, ought to constitute a part. I now invite you to share their labours, and to second their exertions.

“ It belongs more particularly to the Prefects, to extend through the departments the measures which the Society has adopted; to the execution of which I am ready to dedicate all my attention.

“ The advantages of Vaccine Inoculation are so obvious and so easily attained, that the most certain method of making them known is, to enable every class of citizens to estimate their just value. It is, in fact, the peculiar nature of this discovery to work its own way, and to propagate itself readily by the evidence of its utility, and of the benefits it confers. Being exempt from every kind of inconvenience, and, when once performed, not subjecting the patient to any expense, we are naturally prejudiced in favour of the practice; while the epidemic Small-pox, so frequently recurring, and sparing, in the most populous neighbourhoods, when it rages in all its fury, those who have been inoculated with the Cow-pock, offers a satisfactory demonstration of its efficacy to every observer.

“ It is necessary to apply ourselves particularly to this practice, in order to give it new life; and to multiply, under the



immediate inspection of the people, the opportunities of judging of its advantage. By recommending it to the institutors of lycées, the managers of religious establishments, the proprietors of manufactories, and the governors of workhouses, who employ a great number of children, you will set our cities a salutary example.

“ The children who are supported by the state, when vaccinated, and sent into the country, will also serve to make known the advantages of the new inoculation; unless, through the confidence of certain families in the skill of the faculty, or the zeal and good sense of some of the more intelligent inhabitants, it is already propagated there.

“ The establishment of midwives, who are educated in the hospitals of Paris, in different parts of the country, the Juries of Medicine, and the Sisters of Charity dispersed through the several communes, will prove still more the means of propagating the knowledge and practice of Vaccination among the people. But above all, we must exert our utmost endeavours to enlighten the public opinion; for which purpose, all the facts, and all the results of experiments, should be carefully collected. The most striking instances of preservation, observed during the epidemic Small-pox, should be published; and if errors present themselves, or *ignorance* presume to make *false allegations*, the former should be carefully corrected, the latter *speedily* and *forcibly refuted*. A great number of results would contribute to fix the public opinion.

“ The natural effect of propagating Vaccination must be, to render the Small-pox more and more rare. By keeping an annual register of the continual decrease of the number attacked with that disease, and of the proportion of its victims in our Bills of Mortality, we shall produce general conviction; and no cause will any longer retard the adoption of a practice, which is known to be the source of so great a benefit.

“ This is the object we have in view; and, in order to attain it, we must dispute every inch of ground with the enemy whom



we wish to exterminate, by a wise combination of efforts; and by an union of measures which embrace every part of France. It appears to me necessary, that the example already set by some Prefects, should be followed by all; and that the course they pursue is calculated to obtain uniform evidence upon every point, and unquestionable results from every quarter.

“ This end will be accomplished by establishing in every department a Committee of Vaccination, composed of the most intelligent medical practitioners, and associating with them citizens distinguished by their rank, fortune, and character. The ministers of the Gospel will be useful in these associations, on account of their influence. Many examples have taught us, what services they may render on this occasion.

“ We must commit to the disposal of every committee, in the towns where they are formed, one of the halls of the most frequented religious houses; with all the means necessary for constantly keeping up the practice of Vaccination. In towns of a sub-prefecture, committees of districts should be established, to correspond with the committee of the department; or we may supply the want of this measure by appointing one or two of the most intelligent physicians, who shall be associated with the committee of the department.

“ In order to extend Vaccination through the country, one or two officers of health, in each canton, should be charged by the Prefect to vaccinate the poor gratuitously; or, if circumstances require it, the Prefect should appoint professors of the art, who shall be directed to propagate Inoculation through the country, at stated times. Such resources should be combined as situations admit, and opportunities offer; and those should be preferred which promise the greatest advantage.

“ The instructions and advice which may be deemed necessary, and the supplies of vaccine matter, shall be procured from the Committee of the Society; who shall answer every demand without delay.

“ The Prefects shall address to me, every month, the result



of the measures they adopt; and inform me of such medical practitioners, and zealous citizens, as shall distinguish themselves by their success, and their devotion to this cause; they shall also send to the Society the observations they collect. I recommend to their attention the arrangement of the tables, a model of which is annexed. They will take care to send me two copies.

“ Such are the means, Citizen Prefect, which I have thought it my duty to propose; the success of which, in my opinion, will be the more certain in proportion as they approach to the plan adopted by the Society. No object calls more loudly for your attention; it is one of the dearest interests of the state, and a certain mode of augmenting our population. By employing all the means in your power to enlighten the public opinion, by exciting the solicitude of families, and removing those obstacles which the fear of a trifling expense too often opposes to the greatest benefit, you will manifest to all the citizens, even in the lowest ranks of society, the advantage of the new practice, which secures their preservation.

“ On my part I will second your efforts, I will support you with all the power of government; and, confident of your zeal, and that of the Society which devotes itself to the accomplishment of this good work in which we are all engaged, I doubt not but we shall, in a few years, *annihilate the Small Pox in France*, as we have already annihilated the plague, of which no traces are now to be found, but in obscure or insulated cantons, or in the page of history.

“ I have the honour to be, &c. “ CHAPTAL.”

“ *The Plan of the Society for the Extermination of the Small-pox in France, by means of Vaccination.*

“ The numerous experiments instituted in France, during the space of four years, prove, in the most incontestible manner, that the Cow-pock is a security against the Small-pox, by a process as certain in its effects, as it is mild and simple in its operation. Its success is established by more than a *hundred thousand* facts, verified by the Central Committee.



“ During the four years that this committee have pursued, with no less zeal than impartiality, the progress of Vaccination, not a *single fact* has occurred that could shake the public confidence. It has been proved, that all which has been written to the contrary, has been the result of *ignorance* or of *falsehood*.

“ We are now endeavouring to employ the means of diffusing the benefits of this salutary practice; and, by bringing it, as we hope, into general use, utterly to banish the Small-pox. Such is the object of this new Society forming in Paris, under the auspices of the Minister of the Interior; and which, already fortified by all the means Government can submit to its disposal, wishes to unite and concentrate every kind of knowledge, talent, reputation, and authority, in one point. The annexed ordinance of the Minister of the Interior will explain the plan and organization of the Society.

“ The extreme importance of this design, and the incalculable advantages which will result from its execution, leave no room to doubt, that every citizen, and every friend of humanity and of his country, will applaud the undertaking, and be eager to share our labours. Innumerable facts have demonstrated, that Vaccination shields those who have submitted to it from the attack of the Small-pox; and in the mean time, it is ascertained by proofs equally incontestible, that by multiplying it as occasion requires, we may banish this contagion from the most populous neighbourhood; and even from the precincts of a town or a city. Hospitals containing a thousand children, or more, have been thus preserved from an epidemic Small-pox, by vaccinating those who had not undergone the disease. In some districts, where the epidemic Small-pox had appeared, it was confined to, and extinguished in, the house where it first broke out, by vaccinating all the infants in the neighbourhood.

“ To conclude: we have seen the infection, when spread over a large tract of country, arrested in its course at the gates of cities, where the inhabitants in general had been inoculated with the Cow-pock. These memorable occurrences give us



room to hope, that by propagating Vaccination in every direction, and rendering the practice general, we may accomplish the extermination of the Small-pox in France. This is the final object of our endeavours, the practicability of which is evident; and if we all cordially and strenuously unite in its execution, the French nation will set a great and glorious example to the world."

*"The Ordinance of the Minister of the Interior, concerning the Formation of a Central Society of Vaccination."*

"The Minister of the Interior considering, that the advantages of Vaccination have been sufficiently ascertained, by the numerous experiments made, or collected, by the Central Committee established at Paris, and by the National Institute; that this method, already practised with success in almost every part of France, only requires a regular and uniform mode of propagation, in order to obtain every degree of extension of which it is susceptible, has issued the following decree:

"1. There shall be at Paris, near to the Minister of the Interior, a Central Society of Vaccination, of which the Minister shall be President.

"2. The Members of the Society are,  
Delaplace, Chancellor of the Senate; Lacepede, Grand Chancellor of the Legion of Honour; Fontanes, President of the Legislative Corps; Portalis, Fourcroy, Regnault (de S. Jean d'Angeley), Counsellors of State; Bertholet, Senator; La Rochefoucault Liancourt; Corvisart, Physician of Government; Coulomb, Secretary Gen. of the Minister of the Interior; Thouret, Director of the School of Medicine; J. J. Leroux, Professor of the School of Medicine; Mongenot, and Jadelot, Physicians of the Hospital des Enfants; Marin, Surgeon of the Lyceum; Doussin Dubrenil, Guillotin, Salmade, Delaroche, Doctors of Physic; Parfait, Member of the Central Bureau of Admission to the Hospitals; Husson, Physician of the Hospital of Vaccination; Hallé, Huzard, Tessier, Cuvier, Delambre,



Parmentier, Pinel, Degerando, Members of the National Institute: Duquesnoy, Delessert, Members of the Council Gen. of Hospitals; Delasteyrie; Coste, Physician of Invalids; Barbier Neuville, Chief of Division to the Minister of the Interior.

“ 3. There shall be formed in the bosom of the Society, a Committee, consisting of sixteen members, and the Secretary of the Society.

“ 4. The Members of the Committee are Citizens Thouret, Corvisart, Pinel, Leroux, Hallé, Huzard, Guillotin, Salmade, Parfait, Delaroche, Marin, Jadelot, Delasteyrie, Doussin Doubriel, Mongenot, and Husson.

“ 5. The Secretary of the Society shall also be that of the Committee. The Minister appoints Cit. Husson to this situation.

“ 6. The Prefects of the Departments shall maintain a regular correspondence upon all subjects relative to Vaccination, and to epidemic and epizootic Small-pox; two copies of which shall be transmitted to the Minister, one for himself, and the other for the Society. The Prefects who shall be at Paris upon leave, may assist at the sittings of the Society.

“ 7. Instructions shall be sent to the Prefects, with which they shall be requested to conform, as far as their situation will permit. The plans they have already adopted, for propagating Vaccination in their departments, shall be transmitted to the Minister, in order that, if necessary, and after the opinion of their Society has been taken, they may be sanctioned with his approbation.

“ 8. An annual report shall be made to the Society, at its public meeting, upon the labours undertaken in France for propagating Vaccination; and upon the registers that shall be sent by the departments.

“ 9. Testimonials shall be granted, and rewards given, to those persons who have displayed the greatest zeal in propagating Vaccination.”

This arret is dated the 14th of Germinal, and the 12th year of the Republic; and signed Chaptal, Minister of the Interior.



*“ Regulations adopted by the Minister of the Interior, for the  
Committee of the Central Society of Vaccination.*

“ 1. The meetings of the Committee formed in the bosom of the Society shall be held every Friday ; and last from three to five hours.

“ 2. The Committee shall meet oftener, if necessary, on receiving notice from the President of the Society.

“ 3. The Committee shall correspond with the Prefects of departments ; and render an account every week to the Minister, and every month to the Society, of the facts relative to Vaccination, which are contained in that correspondence.

“ 4. The President of the Committee is to be chosen by ballot, and by a majority of votes. He shall continue in office six months.

“ 5. The Secretary is to have the charge of all correspondence that is carried on in the name of the Committee ; to take copies of the registers sent by the Prefects ; to answer every thing relative to the science, and to send out supplies of Cow-pock matter. He is to present, at every meeting of the Committee, a report of the labours of the week, to keep the minutes, to draw up the verbal process, and attend without delay to all letters and memoirs. He is to be the organ between the Committee and the Minister.

“ 6. The Secretary shall also answer all questions on the part of the administration of the Committees of the departments ; but the answers on this subject shall be submitted to the general meeting of the Society ; and signed, if possible, by the Minister, who is President of the Society.

“ 7. There shall be a general meeting of the Society every month, in which the Secretary shall make a report upon the whole correspondence, the progress of the new practice, the improvements that may be expected, and the rewards that are to be conferred.

“ I hereby certify, that this is a faithful copy of the original, entered in the verbal process of the meeting held by the Minister



and, under the auspices of our commander in chief, it extended to the shores of the Mediterranean\*. Afterwards, from its favourable re-

of the Interior, at Paris, on the 18th of Germinal, and the 12th year.

“HUSSON, Secretary.

“N.B. The correspondence, and applications for Cow-pock matter, are to be addressed under cover to the Minister of the Interior, “Au Cit. Husson, Docteur en Medecine, Rue et “Ecole de Medecine, Paris.”

Here we discover nothing of cold indifference and apathy, but one zealous, uniform, patriotic effort, to exterminate the Small-pox, the most destructive of all diseases. England soon followed this noble example, by the establishment, in London, of a *Royal Jennerian Society*,—Vide its admirable “Address to the British Nation.”

\* In the summer of 1800, Dr. Marshal and Dr. Walker (Report, p. 64) left England, for the express purpose of introducing the Cow-pox into the Mediterranean. They began at Gibraltar, where the practice underwent a severe trial, the garrison then living on salt provisions, in consequence of the plague having stopped the supplies from Barbary; and the thermometer frequently standing 90 deg. Notwithstanding this, the *soldiers under vaccination performed their regimental duties as usual*; not one case occurred where medicine was required, nor was any application requisite to the inoculated part. Proceeding along the Mediterranean, the practice was introduced at Malta, where, it seems, the ravages by Small-pox had always been dreadful. Here an hospital was established by the governor, called the *Jennerian Institution*. At the time Dr. Marshal was at Malta, the armament there consisted of one hundred king's ships, and about the same number of transports, on board of which a large army was embarked. Mr. Ring justly remarks (p. 567) had the Small-pox happened to rage through such a fleet, in such a latitude, what havoc must ensue! It was re-



ception in the kingdom of Naples, and most of the Italian States\*, it gradually made its progress northwards. In Russia†, Prus-

ceived with enthusiasm in Sicily, where the Small-pox had been, if possible, even more fatal than at Malta. Hospitals were established at Palermo and also at Naples, and the salutary effects of the Jennerian discovery was soon felt over the whole of Italy.

\* In the Italian republic alone, Dr. Sacco and others had vaccinated upwards of *seventy thousand*, by the end of the year 1802 (Ring, p. 1011.); and this number has since increased, under that active inoculator, to *four hundred thousand*. The number inoculated under Dr. Marshal's immediate direction was upwards of *ten thousand*; *about two thousand of whom were afterwards subjected to every possible means of infection by Small-pox, but without effect.* (Report, p. 68.)

† In October 1801, when the Court was at Moscow, on account of the coronation of the present emperor, Mr. Lindstrohm, surgeon to his Imperial Majesty, successfully inoculated a child with vaccine matter received on a thread from Dr. Friese, of Breslaw.

The Empress Dowager, who zealously patronizes this beneficial practice, conferred on the child the name of *Vaccinoff*, in addition to her original name; caused her to be conveyed in one of her own coaches to Petersburg, and to be placed in the Foundling Hospital, as a source of future inoculations; and settled on her a provision for life.

She has also sent a valuable diamond ring to Dr. Jenner, by the hands of Lord St. Helens; another to Dr. Friese; and a letter to Dr. Jenner, written by her own hand, of which the following is a translation:—

SIR, “The practice of Vaccine Inoculation in England having been attended with the happiest success, which is well attested,



sia\*, and Denmark † it was eagerly embraced ;  
but I could wish to call the attention of the  
House

I have eagerly imitated that example, by introducing it into the charitable establishments under my direction.

“ My endeavours having perfectly answered my expectations, I feel a pleasure in reporting their success ; and in testifying my acknowledgments to him, who has rendered such a signal service to humanity.

“ This motive induces me to offer you, Sir, the ring sent herewith, as a testimony of the sentiments of esteem and regard with which I am, Your's affectionately,

“ *Paulowsky, August 10, 1802.*

“ MARY.”

By a letter from Dr. Friese I learn, that Vaccine Inoculation is now established throughout the Russian dominions. This is owing to the distinguished patronage and protection it has received :

*Magnum reginæ nomen obumbrat.*

Vaccine virus, which Mr. Harder, surgeon-major of Revel, received from Mr. Ring, proved successful ; and it appears by a letter received from him by Dr. Jenner, that from this source the nobles who possess estates in the neighbourhood, had inoculated many thousands of peasants with their own hands. *Ring, p. 209.*

\* His Prussian Majesty, says Mr. Ring, was the first crowned head, that submitted his own offspring to Vaccine Inoculation ; he also followed the example of the King of Naples, by establishing a Vaccine Institution in the capital of each part of his dominions. Dr. Friese, who has lately favoured me with a second account of the progress of Vaccination in Silesia, is the physician appointed to superintend the latter. The following is the letter which I received from him on this subject :—

“ DEAR SIR,

*Breslaw, June 9th, 1805.*

“ The unremitting zeal with which you have endeavoured to promote the Jennerian discovery in your country, and the in-

† *Denmark*] Vide p. 420. for this Note.



terest you have so philanthropically shewn, on hearing of its first providential introduction into Silesia, will, I hope, excuse me, when I take the liberty to trouble you with some further account of the successful progress which that invaluable prophylactic has since made, in this part of the Prussian dominions. Should the following Report be deemed acceptable to the Editors of the Medical and Physical Journal, I shall feel myself highly gratified, by adding, as a foreigner, some further proofs to the evidence, that Vaccination, when properly managed, every where proves a permanent security against the Small-pox.

“ I could not but be astonished when I read over the pamphlets of Messrs. Goldson and Squirrel. I apprehend the alarm they excite, will come at too late a period for them to flatter themselves with much success. At any rate, I am convinced the new doctrine, which they promulgate, will find but few proselytes in Germany; where both the governments and the people are more and more sensible of the advantages of the new practice; and where similar equivocal arguments, advanced some years ago by the late Dr. Herz, Mr. Ehrman of Frankfort, and Dr. Matterschka of Prague, have been silenced by time and experience.

“ You remember, perhaps, by my former letter, that there was also an adversary of some celebrity in Silesia, who rose up against the Vaccine Inoculation, at its first introduction into this country. His name is Mogalla, a physician known in Germany by his very valuable writings on the several mineral waters and bathing-places of Silesia, and by some other works on the veterinary art; but I have the pleasure to inform you, that this respectable practitioner has been *converted* by reason and evidence into one of the warmest friends and promoters of Vaccination. I must add, that it was particularly by his assistance, that we are now in possession of two public vaccine institutions at Breslaw and Glogaw; which are to be regarded as the centres from which the practice is spread, and continues to be spread, through every quarter of the province.



“ His Majesty has been graciously pleased to appoint me not only a Counsellor of the Medical Department of Silesia, and a Director of the Royal Institution at Breslaw; but he has also honoured me with the superintendency of this new branch of the healing art, in the department of the Royal Chamber in this capital. The establishment of the Vaccine Institution has been so expeditious, that I found myself enabled to begin my operations on the 14th of April 1804, with cow-pox matter, sent to me by my friend Dr. De Carro; from the very same source of which you have spoken in the Medical and Physical Journal for Nov. 1804.

“ I have the pleasure to subjoin a statement of the number of persons inoculated at the Royal Institution of Breslaw, from its establishment till the present day; as well as a general abstract of vaccinations performed by different medical men in all the subordinate districts of the department of Breslaw, during the year 1804, from the annual reports. I hope you will see by these lists, that the progress of the Jennerian Inoculation, during the course of the last year, has by far surpassed those of all the preceding, since the year 1800. I do not yet know all the particulars of the results of Vaccination in the second department of the Royal Chamber at Glogaw; but I am informed by private letters, that the number of persons vaccinated there is more than 10,000; the total number of inoculations successfully performed in the last year amounting to nearly 34,000; besides some thousands more, who have been vaccinated by surgeons of the army.

“ Government have pursued measures well calculated to promote Vaccination. I have been charged with the commission of writing not only a popular publication on it, which is ordered to be printed, and distributed among all classes of people; but also a brief instruction for the physicians and surgeons of the province; wherein I have endeavoured to give an account of this new discovery; and also to acquaint them with the genuine and spurious pustule, and the best method of inoculating, and treating that disease.



“ Another measure not less favourable for promoting uninterrupted vaccination at the central institution of this city, is the grant of a sum of two hundred rix-dollars annually, destined for small premiums at a dollar each, to be distributed among children of the lower classes; who, for the sake of such a trifle, willingly comply with the rules and conditions of the inoculators. It must be particularly ascribed to this encouragement, that the institution has been enabled constantly to provide not only all Silesian inoculators, but also several of those of the adjacent countries, with fresh and genuine Cow-pock matter; having disseminated during the last year 1312 armed ivory lancets of Dr. De Carro's invention.

“ Our mutual friend of Vienna has informed you, that several German clergymen have participated the labour of promulgating the new practice; and I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that there are many in this country likewise, who partake in this laudable design. I even venture to assert, that there are some country clergymen in our province, who are so well acquainted with vaccination both in theory and practice, and have conducted it with so much care and skill, as justly to deserve the name of benefactors of their parishioners. In order to acknowledge the merits of these respectable divines, and at the same time to excite a laudable emulation among all the medical men of the province, Government have granted to several of those who have distinguished themselves in this line, small premiums from thirty to fifty rix-dollars.

“ I find by the Medical and Physical Journal for March 1805, that Mr. Goldson is indefatigable in promulgating his cases of Small-pox subsequent to Vaccination; having just published a second treatise on that subject. I have perused the last numbers of the before mentioned Journal, as well as several other refutations written on this occasion. I wonder that there are people who think the punishment you have inflicted on Mr. Goldson, in your very able Answer to his production, too severe; nay, that there are some anonymous writers, who



pretend Mr. Goldson's pamphlet is entitled to the most serious attention of the faculty. For my own part, I cannot find that the evidence of cases related by him, in order to prove that Vaccination affords no permanent security against the infection of the Small-pox, is so clear and satisfactory as they pretend. I shall have an opportunity of communicating to you some similar cases which happened in Silesia; but I assure you, that after due inquiry, this could not in the least degree alarm the public, who, on the contrary, have every day had the satisfaction of seeing that the Cow-pock is the only powerful and permanent preventive of that dreadful scourge of mankind the Small-pox; which, in the course of the last year, destroyed several thousands of the rising generation, while those who had regularly undergone the operation remained secure from its malign influence and its dreadful contagion.

“ A few mistakes indeed have lately been committed here in the practice of Vaccination. I shall mention one which occurred in the year 1802, at Brieg, a city six German miles from this place. Mr. Taber, a surgeon, inoculated several children from the arm of a child, in whom the pustules were already approaching to the *scabbing* state. He confesses he had at that time never seen the process of a genuine pustule. This occasioned him to mistake the ulcers produced in the arms of these children for the true kind; and to transfer from them a spurious and purulent matter to thirty-one persons, thinking they would all be perfectly secured by this operation. The Small-pox, however, making its appearance at Brieg the next summer, three of the children were attacked by the disorder. At length perceiving his error, and having in the mean time acquired a sufficient knowledge of the true progress of Vaccination, he inoculated the rest of his patients with genuine matter; in consequence of this, they all took the disease in the regular way, and resisted the Small-pox; which then committed great ravages among those children whose parents had refused the benefits of Vaccination.



“ I cannot omit stating three other cases of supposed Vaccination, in children of one family, in a village in this neighbourhood, which greatly resemble those in Fulwood’s Rents and at Kensington. One child, a girl of four years, was attacked four weeks after by the confluent Small-pox. I saw her on the 11th day of the disease; and, as the physician who had performed the inoculation, and accompanied me, confessed he had not had an opportunity of observing its progress, I immediately tried a second Vaccination on the two remaining boys, who had at this time very large and irregular scabs on their arms, remaining from the first operation. The inoculation succeeded, and on the sixth day true flat vesicles appeared, with the common depression in the centre; but on the seventh day they both became feverish, and on the ninth, a small crop of distinct variolous eruptions broke out. The father, though a common country labourer, reproached himself for having delayed a second Vaccination of his children, who, by rubbing and scratching the pustules had entirely destroyed the progress of the first.

“ Accept my best thanks for the honour you have done me in the second volume of your excellent work, and believe me to be,

“ With great respect,

“ Dear Sir,

“ Your obedient humble servant,

“ D. FRIESE.”

Private individuals may not be competent to form a decisive opinion of the political conduct of the King of Prussia, for want of the necessary information; but we are all competent to determine, that the paternal care and solicitude which he has manifested on this occasion, to avert the horrors of the Small-pox from his dominions, entitle him to the gratitude of his people, and stamp on him the character of a *patriot* king.



House in a particular manner, to the success which it has met with in the dominions of the House of Austria.\*

† *Denmark*] The Vaccine Inoculation was practised at Copenhagen in the summer of 1802. This innovation excited the attention of Government; and a Committee of the first medical men was instituted, to inquire into the exact merits of this discovery. A Jennerian Society was then formed, over which the celebrated anatomist Winslow presided, where gratuitous Vaccination was performed. The result of their labours was published, and distributed throughout the country. Small-pox inoculation was immediately discontinued, and Vaccination so generally performed at Copenhagen, that, as Dr. Willemoes lately writes to Dr. Marcet (an eminent London physician), "*the bills of mortality have returned none as dying, at Copenhagen, by the Small-pox.*"—"Vaccination has also become general throughout Denmark."

\* Extract of a letter received by Dr. Jenner from Dr. De Carro, dated Vienna, Feb. 14, 1801.

After informing Dr. Jenner of the success of a clergyman at Brunnam Gebizg, who from the pulpit had exhorted his parishioners to avail themselves of the advantage of one of the greatest blessings ever bestowed by Providence on mankind; he observes, "that if the example of this benevolent divine were followed by the clergy in general, it would, in some degree, repair the waste, and heal the wounds of this destructive war."

We are informed by Dr. De Carro, that a young nobleman, Count Francon Hugues de Salm, particularly distinguishes himself by the encouragement which he gives to this inoculation at Brun, the capital of Moravia.

He went to Vienna, on purpose to enquire of Dr. De Carro, the oracle of Germany, the best mode of introducing the practice into his own country. He took the trouble of examining into



"In the year preceding its introduction into Vienna, the average amount of deaths, occasioned by the Small-pox, was 835, but in 1799

the nature of the disease; and observing the appearance of the pustule. He read all the treatises he could collect on the subject; and addressed an exhortation to the people of Moravia, urging them to profit by this valuable discovery. He has offered two prizes, for the two Moravian physicians, who shall inoculate the greatest number in the course of the year. He has engaged intelligent physicians, to assist in these inoculations, in a part of his father's house, devoted to that purpose. What is most singular, he has written a very good history of this discovery; which he has distributed among all the clergy and schoolmasters of Bohemia and Moravia. These form associations, which are under the direction of Dr. De Carro. From him they have their vaccine matter; and to him they send an account of all their proceedings.

Too much cannot be said in commendation of the patriotism and the philanthropy of this young prince. In forming this humane institution he has erected an eternal monument to his fame.

Dr. Portenschlag, an eminent physician of Vienna, has had his infant daughter inoculated by Dr. De Carro, four hours and a half after her birth, and she was immediately christened Mary Elizabeth Vaccinia. Dr. De Carro suggests, that the thus including christening and vaccination in one ceremony would soon eradicate the small-pox. This excellent idea also struck the celebrated Dr. Darwin, who was one of the warmest supporters of vaccination.

In Bohemia, the number vaccinated, in the year 1801, was *one thousand nine hundred and twenty*; and, in 1802, *eight thousand one hundred and eighty*.

In Livonia, *fifteen thousand seven hundred* were vaccinated through the exertions of Dr. Huhn.



the Vaccine Inoculation was introduced, and in 1802 the number of deaths, arising from that fatal malady, was reduced to 61. In 1803 it was further reduced to 27, and in 1804 the actual number who died of the Small Pox, amounted to two persons only, and these were arrivals from the country.\* (*A loud cry of Hear! Hear!*)

“ Upon a fair calculation, therefore, it might reasonably be computed, that the whole annual saving of the lives of persons from that disorder, amounts on an average to 833, in one capital, by the beneficial practice of Vaccine Inoculation. (*A loud cry of Hear! Hear!*)

“ After having stated this fact, which makes the deepest impression upon my mind, I think I have submitted one of the strongest motives which have induced me to adopt some measure to promote its progress in *our own country*.

“ While the inhabitants of all Europe and Ame-

In the two Gallicias, no less than *sixty-five thousand two hundred and fifty-eight* persons were vaccinated in *six months*.

In the dominions of the Elector of Saltzburgh, the number vaccinated amounted, in the year 1803, to *three thousand three hundred and thirty-two*.

In the Dukedom of Mecklenburgh, up to the year 1804, *four thousand*.—Vide Ring's Treatise, vol. ii.

\* Vide Vaccinæ Vindicia, p. 97, where this very interesting fact is recorded.



rica are at this moment reaping the beneficial consequences of such a wonderful discovery—

“While in the East Indies alone, there have been upwards of 800,000 persons inoculated in the space of a single year\*—

“And whilst in the empire of China, too, its introduction has become general,† and it has

\* On the 14th of June, 1802, Dr. Scott first inoculated a healthy child of three years old, from whom emanated the virus that so soon pervaded the whole of India; and the number inoculated, up to December 1803, was *eleven thousand one hundred and sixty-six*. (Shoolbred, 3. 15.) Since that time, its extension has been so great and rapid over that vast peninsula, that the total number of the vaccinated is estimated at no less than *eight hundred thousand*; and it has even triumphed over the religious principles of the inhabitants; for, contrary to expectation, the Brahmins objected to it, though proceeding from the sacred cow; and a practitioner of *Errode* was, for a time, impeded in his progress by an old woman, who attempted to persuade the people that this was to be a means of enslaving them, and that they would be known by the mark in the arm, which she termed “The Company’s chop.” Dowlut Row Scindia, however, the chief of the Mahratta empire, has had one of his own children vaccinated, which cannot fail greatly to accelerate the progress among the natives.

The practice has since become general in India, and *millions* there bless the immortal name of Jenner.

† By recent accounts from Canton, we find, that the Vaccine Inoculation has been lately introduced there. A book in the Chinese language, we believe *the first British work that ever issued from a Chinese press*, has been published upon the subject, in order to promote the knowledge of the discovery. A copy of



been regularly successful in its effects in every part of the globe—

“ I am sorry, extremely hurt, however, to observe, that in *this country* alone, in which the *discovery* had *originated*, the *salutary practice* of the work has just arrived in this country, with a sight of which we have been favoured by a gentleman, from whose remarks we cannot help making a short extract. He says, “ the curiosity of an English work issuing from the Chinese press, however extraordinary, gives way to the more extraordinary facility with which this people, always strenuous in opposing every innovation, has submitted to receive the new practice of vaccination. Not only the surgeon of the English factory, but numbers of Chinese were constantly employed in communicating the disease, from the moment it was perceived with what ease and convenience the patient went through it; and they had actually raised a very considerable subscription for the purpose of establishing Jennerian institutions, for promoting the practice in every part of their extensive empire.

“ As the small-pox, in China, has usually been attended with most fatal effects, there is little doubt that the same willingness which has manifested itself at Canton, to receive so mild and effectual a substitute, will be felt in every province of that populous country; and the more so, as public confidence *there* is not likely to be shaken by that kind of illiberal opposition which has been so industriously employed elsewhere.

While we cannot but admire *this* departure of the *Chinese* from their usual obstinacy in favour of their ancient customs, what opinion can we entertain of the obstinacy of those Englishmen, who, contrary to all sound reasoning and the strongest evidence, continue to oppose Vaccination, and keep afloat the destructive contagion of the Small-pox, by which they *annually* doom thousands of their believing countrymen to an untimely grave!!!



*Vaccine Inoculation* has been of late years undergoing a *retrograde movement*.

“What has been the *real cause* of *this* melancholy *circumstance*?

“Objections certainly have been started, and the promulgation of them in the manner in which they have been circulated throughout the kingdom, has no doubt had the effect of arresting very considerably the progress of Vaccination, and of spreading abroad the dreadful consequences of the original malady, thereby increasing the number of its victims.

“I observe, in the city of LONDON, in the year 1802, the average number of deaths, for six years, was 1,811, but the effects of the Vaccine Inoculation, at first, went considerably to reduce that number, and in 1804 it was only 629, being about one third of the average number of individuals who had perished by the Small Pox, for six years preceding the introduction of Vaccination.\* (*A loud cry of Hear!*)

“In consequence of the *numerous prejudices* which have been *excited*, and the *opinions* that have been *circulated*, adverse to Vaccination, the original practice of inoculating for the Small Pox has been gradually making progress, and the number of deaths which have happened dur-

\* *Vide* “*Vaccinæ Vindicia*,” p. 97, where this fact is stated.



ing the last year has amounted to no less than 1680\*, which is bringing back nearly that average degree of depopulation which had been experienced previous to the introduction of the Vaccine Discovery. (*A loud cry of Hear!*)

“ Under these alarming circumstances, Sir, I found, that in every point of view, this measure claims the most serious attention of the *Legislature*, and, therefore, I am now about to submit some mode of procedure concerning it.

“ I have not the smallest inclination to propose any *compulsory measures*, being well convinced that whatever may be our view of any subject of science, this House ought to pause very long indeed, before they prescribe any law to individuals upon matters which relate to their own health, and even on which the very existence of their children, may depend†. These,

\* *Vide* “ *Vaccinæ Vindicia*,” p. 99. This *dreadful and avoidable* mortality has sprung, as his Lordship justly observes, from the Works published adverse to Vaccination; also (if I may be permitted to carry on the argument) to the fatal zeal of the *Antivaccinarian Society*, who inoculated for the Small-Pox *gratis*, disseminating far and wide the deadly poison; and at the death of Dr. Woodville, from the resumption of the Small-Pox Inoculation, at the Small-Pox Hospital, by his successor, Dr. Adams, who pretends to have the highest *faith* in Vaccination, and has even written in its vindication. Such *loss of life* certainly deserves the attention of Parliament, and calls aloud for redress.

† The Noble Lord alludes here to compulsory measures, to force persons to become vaccinated.



indeed, are topics upon which private individuals in society are to be allowed to be the most competent judges ; but *if I am not to have recourse to compulsory measures*, I feel that it is at least *a duty* incumbent upon me, in the situation in which I stand at this time, to submit a motion to this House, to which, if they agree, their procedure will tend to *enlighten the public*, by informing them in a *formal and regular manner*, of what appears to us to be *the truth*.

“ It will give to this *valuable discovery* the *advantage* of having *all the weight of promulgation which the high character and popularity of Parliament is capable of*.

“ With that view, I shall think it proper to submit a plan by which this House shall become possessed of a mass of evidence as to the real merits of this discovery ; which will prove highly satisfactory both to *ourselves* and to the *public at large*.

“ This measure I propose to effect by the House voting an *address* to his *Majesty*, praying ‘that his *Royal College of Physicians* shall be requested to enquire into the progress of Vaccine Inoculation, and to assign the causes of its success having been *retarded* throughout the united kingdoms, in order that their *report* may be made to this House of Parliament, and that we



may take the most proper means of publishing it to the inhabitants at large.

“If the result of such proposed inquiry turn out (as I am strongly disposed to think it will) a corroboration of the beneficial effects which other Nations seem convinced are derived from Vaccine Inoculation, it will satisfy the people of this country of the many evils which arise from the rapid progress of the other fatal species of disorder. It will prove to them that the bad effects which have been ascribed to Vaccination have been dreadfully exaggerated; and that the temporary duration of its benefits, in a few cases, have been owing to some kind of mismanagement.\*

“If such shall be the result of the proposed inquiry, I have no hesitation in saying that it ought afterwards to be for this House to consider whether or not any reward has been bestowed upon the original discoverer of Vaccine Inoculation, which is in any degree adequate to its real importance, and as such consistent with the general character and liberality of this country.

“This, however, is a subject for after consideration; but in the mean time the House will

\* Vide Vaccinæ Vindicia, where this is abundantly proved.



agree with me as to the *propriety* of *collecting* *opinions* relative to the general effects of this mode of inoculation, and to show to the world that if there be any *truth* as to *its benefits*, we shall not be the *first* to *reject* *them*; but *that, on the contrary, we shall use every means to encourage its progress, and this in a manner consistent with the dignity and character of our Nation.*"—(A cry of *Hear! Hear!* resounded at every part of the house.)

The SPEAKER then read the motion from the chair:—"That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, praying that he will be graciously pleased to direct his *Royal College of Physicians* to enquire into the state of the Vaccine Inoculation in the united kingdom, and to *report* their opinion as to the progress which it has made, and the causes which have retarded its general adoption."

Dr. MATHEWS\* next made the following admirable speech:—"Sir, it is with much satisfaction that I rise to *second the motion* which

\* This gentleman, a person of great reputation, fortune, and abilities, is Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and was several years physician to St. George's Hospital. He represents the county of Hereford; and by his generous liberality, and virtuous conduct, he is considered in that part of the world as a second *Man of Ross*.



the Noble Lord has just now made, and to take this opportunity of stating my own sentiments upon this invaluable discovery. From the time of its first publication to the world, I have paid it the utmost attention, and have carefully watched its progress. I must confess that, at first, although I was perfectly disposed to admit the veracity of the celebrated discoverer himself, yet I received the accounts of its success with a certain degree of caution. I then thought that it might be attended with considerable hazard to society were we to give up practising a mode, the good effects of which had been already fully experienced, in order to adopt one which might be uncertain, precarious, and dangerous in its consequences. Under these impressions, Sir, I attended with assiduity to the progress of this new practice as it advanced, and the result has been, that my mind has now received the fullest conviction of the vast superiority of the *Vaccine Inoculation* over that of the *Small Pox Inoculation*.

“It may be right, that I should, on an occasion like the present, submit to your notice a few of the most striking circumstances which have occurred to me as to the effects of the original mode of Inoculation for the Small Pox.

“In the first place, in many cases, where the



disorder takes a bad turn, not only will deformities arise upon the human countenance, but death itself, in its most awful form, often ensues.

“ In the *second* place, however beneficial this original mode of prevention may be to individuals, it is well known that it forms a *magazine* of the most dreadful evils, and that contagion, with all its baneful effects, usually follows.—A reference to the bills of mortality will prove this assertion, and show to demonstration, that the number of deaths have been greatly encreased since the first discovery of the Small Pox Inoculation.

“ In the *third* place, my great objection to conveying the variolous matter into the human constitution is, that it has been the means of introducing *Scrophula*, which is a more dangerous and pernicious disorder than even the natural Small Pox itself; insomuch, as that the one makes a speedy, and the other, a slow progress, towards death.

“ The numerous cases which have come under my own observation, since the introduction of the Vaccine Inoculation, have effectually persuaded me of its advantageous effects, notwithstanding the variety of opinions it has excited, and the several instances which have been adduced to demonstrate its failure.

“ These instances, Sir, I have found upon



minute investigation, have been exceedingly equivocal, and in several cases the experiment has turned out not to have been properly performed.\*

“ Where a few instances have been produced to prove that the Small Pox had ensued even after Vaccine Inoculation, they by no means tend to convince me of the inefficacy of the discovery ; for even similar cases are known to have occurred in the other species of inoculation.†

“ None of the instances, which have hitherto been brought forward by those who professed themselves to be *enemies* to this valuable and important discovery have had the smallest effect in creating doubts in my mind as to its ultimate success.

“ I have no hesitation, therefore, in saying at this moment that *I am fully convinced*, the result of further experience will correspond completely with my most sanguine expectations.

“ I cannot doubt, Sir, that the country in a short time will hasten to testify further marks of its gratitude for the inestimable benefits it has received from the assiduous exertions of the *respectable* and *learned* doctor to whom this im-

\* Vide “ *Vaccinæ Vindicia*,” *passim*.

† Vide “ *Vaccinæ Vindicia*,” p. 245, where several facts of this nature are recorded.



portant discovery is owing. His name, I doubt not, will be enrolled by posterity amongst those

‘ Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes

Atque sui memores alios fecere merendi.’

(ÆN. vi. l. 900.)

“ Such are the grounds upon which I rose to second this motion of the Noble Lord, and I have only to express my hope that the House of Commons will add some other *solid* proofs of its gratitude, and thereby shew the disposition in Parliament to encourage all manner of discoveries which tend materially to the general benefit of mankind.” (*A general cry of Hear! Hear!*)

Mr. WILBERFORCE\* next rose, and made the

\* This gentleman, who has long had the honour of being chosen to represent the county of York, has ever displayed the most unshaken integrity, and all his measures have been directed for the *universal good of mankind*. Conscious of inward rectitude, he commands a listening audience by an eloquence that is firm and sonorous; and the wisdom of his opinions, if not always adopted, is ever felt; for *persuasion* hangs upon his lips. The darkest blot that ever clouded the annals of a Christian nation has been effaced, from the firm and impassioned eloquence of this statesman, and the *Slave Trade* is at last abolished, from his unceasing efforts: another crown of immortal honour now awaits him, viz. *the abolition from England of the Small-pox*, which human policy can surely effect, as the PLAGUE and MURRAIN are kept off by wholesome regulations;—and now the *Cow-pock* is introduced, such laws cannot be thought even to trench upon the freedom of mankind.



following very argumentative speech:—"It gives me, Sir, the greatest pleasure to find that the Noble Lord opposite me has now taken up this question. I have long entertained an anxious desire, that such an important subject should be brought into the House, through the medium of some individual in an high and powerful situation.

"Although that Noble Lord has fulfilled my hopes and expectations in this respect, yet, Sir, I am greatly disposed to doubt, whether the plan he has just now suggested is *so likely* to have the *desired effect* as *some others* that might be submitted to the consideration of the House.

"It may be remembered, that some time ago, a certificate had been made out and signed by a most respectable body of medical gentlemen, as to the propriety and efficacy of Vaccine Inoculation. I believe that *every medical name, of any celebrity*, in the city of London and its environs, was attached to that certificate,\* and, therefore, so far as the effect of such a mode of procedure, as relates to *medical men*, could go, it has already been tried.

"Undoubtedly there have been various rumours circulated, and arguments raised against the practice of inoculation for the Cow Pox, and

\* For this list vide Ring's elaborate Treatise on the Cow-Pock, vol. ii.



every one has heard of some individual instances of failure, and it has unfortunately happened, that many of these failures have originated through the imprudent management even of its best friends.

“ Many persons have taken upon them to give this disorder, without any study, relying upon the bare description they had received of it, believing this to be sufficient to enable any individual to pronounce upon its real character, and to practise it with success and the utmost safety.

“ This, I believe, has been carried too far, and consequently there have been instances in which persons have been inoculated with the vaccine matter, who have had no true disease; hence some have had the natural, and others the inoculated Small-Pox, at some distance of time after such imperfect operation.

“ To this kind of mismanagement I am inclined to attribute the foundation of the various publications which have tended to *retard* the progress of this valuable and important discovery.\*

“ What I conceive as a preferable, and more practicable course of procedure, in regard to the object which the Noble Lord has in view, would be, ‘that a Committee of the House of Commons, and another of the House of Lords, should be

\* Vide “*Vaccinæ Vindicia*,” *passim*, where such errors are honourably by the persons themselves confessed.



appointed to enquire into the actual state of the disease, and to receive evidence as to its progress and effects.'

"When the last measure was adopted by the House of Commons, upon this same subject, various cases were brought forward by persons who said that the practice of inoculation amounted to a failure; such cases were heard by the Committee with the greatest impartiality, yet we all know how favourable their ultimate report to the House was as to its success.

"Upon these grounds I cannot help thinking that another Report of a similar nature with the former, being presented to the House, would be attended with much greater advantages than merely a Report or Certificate, from the College of Physicians, and would be much more congenial to the inclinations and feelings of the people of this country. The one might be considered as being biassed by *prejudice*, but the other universally as acting with the greatest impartiality for the general good of the nation.

"Although I agree with the Noble Lord, that compulsory measures, in such cases, ought carefully to be avoided, if possible: at the same time I think there is another method which may be adopted with absolute justice and propriety.

"Although we cannot force people to inocu-



late with the vaccine matter, in preference to that of the Small Pox, yet we may impose certain rules, or restrictions\*, on those who do put the latter practice into execution upon their children. This would contribute greatly to secure the public against the effects of *contagion*, in the same manner as is done in the case of *the plague*.

“The laws of *quarantine*† have continued long

\* *Vide* “*Vaccinæ Vindicia*,” p. 184, where the House of Commons are accused by me of *conniving at murder* (I think myself justified in the expression, however *harsh*), unless some regulations of this nature are now enforced.

† The plague, as it is called, is now chiefly confined to Grand Cairo and Alexandria, the two hot-beds and nurseries of pestilence, particularly the former crowded and filthy city; to many parts of Syria, to the European and Asiatic coast, bordering on the Archipelago, to Constantinople, and some maritime towns of Arabia and Persia, which traffic by the Red Sea. About two years ago, Constantinople lost 100,000 inhabitants by this single disease. Their ignorance of true religion, and stupid notions of irresistible predestination, with other peculiar customs, subject the Turks more than any other Mediterranean nation to pestilential contagion. The plague now seldom gains admittance into other European sea-ports, and even if imported to our shores, the wise precautions and regulations adopted by *quarantines*, check its irruption. This is a most important improvement in the police of modern states, for the original institution and rough draft of which, about 300 years ago, we are indebted to the Venetians. The internal ordinances, however, enacted to prevent the dispersion of pestilential infection, were, until the present century, extremely erroneous and impolitic.



to be enforced, and have been found to be attended with infinite advantage. These may be deemed a constraint upon the public, but having proved so beneficial, why not impose the same controul over mankind in *other cases* where communications with the diseased may be attended with dangerous consequences?

“ Now we know, Sir, that the Small Pox has been found by long and fatal experience, to be nearly *a kind of plague\**, so that great advantage

Fortunately for mankind, the infection of plague spreads to a very small distance through the air, without some contact or adhesion to infected goods and porous materials, or by personal communication of the sound inhabitants with the diseased: a neighbour shutting himself up at a few yards distance from an infected house, as in Small-pox, will always escape unhurt. If the contagion of these plagues could be so suddenly and widely scattered over a kingdom, as epidemical cartarrh or influenza, the earth in a few months would be converted into an enormous church-yard, every where filled with dead bodies. Here they resemble each other.

\* Huxham, Sydenham, &c. have each considered this disease as a real plague. “ The regulations (says the illustrious Hargrave) to prevent the casual Small-Pox at Chester, were so successful, even at the commencement of the society, established here for that purpose, as very early to suggest the idea of exterminating that distemper from Great Britain. In the year 1778, I proposed the outline of such a plan to the late Dr. John Forster, and had the satisfaction of enjoying several personal conferences with him upon the subject. His character, as a physician, and philosopher of the most comprehensive knowledge, of the clearest and soundest understanding, is universally known. The goodness of his heart distinguished him no less



would arise to society were we to prohibit persons who do not vaccinate their children, from allowing them, when labouring under the Small Pox, to go out amongst others who have hitherto escaped its dreadful consequences.

“ This is a sort of justice, which I conceive Parliament owes to the country, and a benefit, which would, by our example being followed, even extend itself to other countries.

“ The present permission of variolated patients going abroad amongst society is not productive of any advantages, either to the children themselves\*, or their parents.

eminently as the friend of mankind. The opinion of such a man will interest the curiosity of the medical and the philosophical reader, and will have due influence with the public, especially with many respectable characters of good sense and benevolent disposition, who have never so deliberately investigated the question, as to acquire the full confidence of their own judgment in its determination. On returning to London in the autumn of 1778, he wrote me a letter, in which there is the following passage: ‘ I have mentioned the intention of ‘ freeing this country from the Small-Pox to divers of the faculty, and shall continue to do so, as it falls in my way. ‘ The proposal is received variously, but in exact proportion to ‘ their *humanity*.’ In a subsequent letter he says, ‘ I do not ‘ forget the business of the Small-Pox. I mention thy views ‘ and wishes as opportunity offers; and shall very cheerfully ‘ unite in doing every thing in my power to promote an institution, which has for its object the banishment of *so great a plague*.’ ”

\* After the eruptive stage *infection* commences, and then cold air is not requisite. DIMSDALE.



“ If we found that the parents were not willing to confine their children in their own houses, would there not be an evident propriety in Government having places\* appointed for that express purpose ?

\* “ If our *criminals* (says Haygarth), who undoubtedly are the most guilty class of the whole community, and the *negro slaves*, a race of people of so degraded a character, and situated in so distant a region, have obtained a liberal portion of the pity, and of the bounty of Great Britain, we cannot entertain a doubt, for a single moment, that the like generous and compassionate sentiments would operate, and much more powerfully, to succour and protect our own innocent infants, the darlings of our bosoms ! The nation that voluntarily offers a large bounty to save the life of a negro slave, would cheerfully and readily bestow one *twentieth* or one *thirtieth* part of such a premium to preserve a British child to his family and to his country. If such grievances and calamities were properly understood, they would soon obtain adequate redress. A people who are shocked at the bare narrative of misery, suffered by the *African slaves* on board crowded transports, or of *criminals* in our jails, could not behold with indifference the poor helpless children of a *neighbouring* cottage, who, through the ignorance, the superstition, or the penury of the parents, are daily dying of the most painful, and loathsome distemper with which this land is visited. Many would gladly bestow their bounty in these deeds of mercy, if any plan, which should be thought practicable, were proposed. If the sufferers by the Small-Pox could obtain the same degree of attention as the *criminal* and the *negro* at present fortunately enjoy, they would not long be destitute of an equal share of compassion, and would soon obtain effectual relief. Their situation is falsely supposed to be **HOPELESS**; on that consideration, and that alone, their *cause* is



“ I only threw out *these hints*, as I think it is a thing which gentlemen ought to hold in their minds.\*

abandoned. All exertions to protect them are thought ridiculous, because they have been hitherto deemed impossible. If it were generally known that we had the power, we should not long want the inclination to help these wretched sufferers. Our sentiments of commiseration, and acts of beneficence would not solely be moved by the description of others; we may behold miserable objects, in sufficient numbers, with our own eyes. These emotions need not solely be excited by the inhabitants of the remote regions of the earth, but by our neighbours and fellow citizens; not by the most guilty, but the most innocent; not by objects of disgust, but of beauty, tenderness, and love.

\* Though the plague is the most mortal disorder to which humanity is liable; though its visitations are attended with the most destructive havoc; yet we may be convinced, by comparing the history of their progress, that the Small-pox has been fatal to infinitely greater numbers of mankind. The plague has probably existed from remote antiquity, and, at times, has excited a general alarm among civilized nations, but its ravages have been temporary and partial. Whereas the Small-pox has universally, with very few exceptions, and constantly, for above a thousand years, spread destruction over the whole habitable world. During this period, we cannot form a probable computation of their comparative devastations; but we may reasonably conjecture that the past and present mortality by the Small-pox is *many thousand degrees* greater than by the plague.

On what principle of reason, or of humanity, do we then nourish and protect the most fatal enemy of mankind? We are astonished at the folly and the superstition of the Turks, whose principles of predestination foster the plague among them, though the cause of so much misery and mortality. Yet, with



“ This measure of regulation could by no possible construction be reckoned compulsory upon

equal indifference, and nearly equal absurdity, we nourish among us a distemper which destroys a seventh or eighth portion of our offspring. The Turks might be taught wisdom by the Europeans, who preserve themselves from infection by very easy rules, and by the successful laws of all the civilized nations of Europe. The general diffusion of the Small-pox affords a popular prejudice that no civil regulations can controul its progress. But authentic proofs of its extermination from Rhode Island, New England, St. Helena, &c. being produced, no great effort of wisdom is required to conclude, that, by the like methods, it might be, aided by voluntary inoculation of the Cow-pock, exterminated from Great Britain.

If a gazette announce the ravages of the plague among the barbarians of Asia or Africa, all Europe trembles. Yet Europe nourishes, in every part of it, a distemper, which for many centuries has been incomparably more mortal, and which might, by the same or easier methods, be utterly extirpated. The *single rule of prevention*, by confining people in their houses under the eruptive stage, or to airy places appropriated for that purpose, which on this occasion I shall take for granted to be adequate to the important purpose, would prove more practicable, beyond all comparison, and less interrupt or derange the habits of society, and of commercial intercourse, than certainly the laws of quarantine.

It is highly probable, that the *murrain*, or the distemper among the horned cattle, like the plague and the small-pox, is communicated through the medium of air. It has been several times successfully exterminated from Great Britain, a fact which certainly enables us to infer, by analogy, that proper measures would, in like manner, extinguish the variolous infection. The murrain appeared in Italy in 1514, and again in 1711, when it spread through Germany, France, Flanders,



the feelings of the people, or in any degree injurious to the liberty of society.

and in July 1714 appeared in England. In Middlesex, Essex, and Surrey, it destroyed 5,518 cows and 439 calves. It raged with great fatality for three months; but, by the wise measures of government, its progress was soon checked, and the distemper perfectly exterminated before Christmas. In many parts of the continent of Europe it continued to rage for several years.

The murrain was again brought from Holland into Great Britain in 1745, and continued its destructive ravages in this island for full twelve years, being not exterminated till 1757. The long continuance of this mischief partly proceeded from the confusion of the nation at that time, harassed by a foreign war, and by an internal rebellion. The rewards offered by government, for observing the prescribed rules, were too small to secure strict and faithful obedience. As an inducement to kill the cattle on the first symptom of infection, only *half* the value was allowed to a poor farmer, not exceeding forty shillings for a cow, and ten shillings for a calf. To shew the general sense of the nation, that this sum was inadequate to the end proposed, several associations were formed in different parts of the kingdom to increase it. Thus at Beverley in Yorkshire, April 6, 1748, landlords agreed to allow ten shillings to their tenants at the rate of twenty shillings given by the king, for distempered cattle, properly slaughtered. We may form some conjecture of the mischief produced by this distemper from the sum total\* of the public rewards, though estimated at so low a rate, and so partially distributed.

As only half the value was allowed to a poor tenant, and

\* The expence of rewards for slaughtering distempered cattle, in different years, from 1746 to 1757, was 169,722 Pounds.



“It is merely an act of security, rendered necessary in order to guard the lives of some of

nothing to persons in better circumstances, the chance of recovering their cattle would tempt many to defer killing the distempered at all till they had generated and communicated the infection. If the public had allowed the full value for cattle properly slaughtered, as soon as infected, and the other regulations had been punctually executed, the murrain might have been exterminated from the whole island in a few months; the total expence of rewards would have been greatly diminished; and the national losses and calamities might have been, in a very great degree, prevented.

The murrain was brought into Hampshire in 1769; it soon afterwards appeared in Scotland; and, since that time, twice in Essex and once in Suffolk. In all these instances, the infection was immediately and perfectly extinguished. Encouraged and instructed by the example of England, the murrain has been exterminated from France, by an imitation of the measures which had proved successful in this country. But in spite of the fortunate and happy exemption of this island from the calamity, and though the regulations by which it was obtained are perfectly understood, yet it is allowed to continue its devastations in several parts of the continent of Europe, even so near to us as Holland.

A letter in the Gentleman's Magazine, dated Rotterdam, 1769, Dec. 17th, exhibits an exact statement of the cattle which died of the murrain in South and North Holland, in five months, namely, from April to August inclusive, according to the returns which were made to the magistrates.

Alive in	Sick.	Died.	Recovered.	In health.
April 1769.				
60,326	29,255	21,083	5,368	31,071 S. Holl.
41,664	19,288	11,824	5,037	22,376 N. Holl.
<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
101,990	48,543	32,907	10,405	54,447 Total.



our fellow-creatures against infection, and is both a salutary and mild restriction.

A premium of ten thousand guilders was offered by the States General, to any person who would discover a remedy. The writer adds justly and pathetically to his English correspondent, "You may learn from this true representation, how happy your island is to be so far separated from the infection, as not to be within its reach. The misery it has occasioned here is not to be expressed; and, if it should please God to continue this severe visitation much longer, an universal bankruptcy must ensue."

That they should not profit by our wise and salutary laws, corroborated by the most authentic facts, appears astonishing and unaccountable. As the distemper still rages so near us, in spite of this evidence, what would have been the consequence, if the contagion in Great Britain, which withstood our anxious exertions for twelve years, had finally proved victorious? If such had been the event, there is a high degree of probability, that the murrain would have continued unconquered through Europe, and would have been submitted to for ever, like the Small-pox, as one of the inevitable evils of nature. We happily improved the peculiar advantages of our insular situation and free constitution. By the complete and frequent extinctions of this pestilence, we have given an instructive and beneficent lesson to Europe, and all other civilized nations. We have clearly refuted, by the most unquestionable proofs, the dangerous doctrine which then generally prevailed, that the distemper originated from bad seasons, and bad food, but not from infection. Had this doctrine become established in Great Britain, and had we submitted to the evil as inevitable, in the same manner as we now submit to the Small-pox, we cannot doubt that the murrain would have become a perpetual calamity.

Let us employ the inestimable privileges of our situation for the general benefit of mankind. Were it possible to excite the



“ It is not contrary to measures which Parliament have it in their power to adopt, in regard to other cases of contagious disorders.

spirit of the English nation to the glorious and humane ambition of extinguishing the Small-pox, the business would soon be successfully accomplished. What blessings and comforts would result to mankind, not only in Great Britain, but in all the surrounding nations! Instead of being regarded with enmity by our neighbours, we should become the most deserving object of their love, gratitude, and admiration. No triumph could render the national character so illustrious as a complete victory over the Small-pox. We need not despair of exciting an enthusiasm among the people, in a cause which leads so directly to true glory and real greatness. Difficulties undoubtedly would arise, but such as ought to excite, not discourage, our exertions. We have overcome difficulties incomparably greater, in a much less meritorious cause.

The rules of prevention proposed by Dr. Haygarth are practicable and very simple.

1. Suffer no person, who has not had the Small-pox to come into the infectious house. No visitor, who has any communication with persons liable to the distemper, should touch or sit down on any thing infectious.

2. No patient, after the pocks have appeared, must be suffered to go into the street, or other frequented place. Fresh air must be constantly admitted, by doors and windows, into the sick chamber.

3. The utmost attention to *cleanliness* is absolutely necessary; *during* and *after* the distemper, no person, food, clothes, furniture, dog, cat, money, medicines, or any other thing that is known or suspected to be bedaubed with matter, spittle, or other infectious discharges of the patient, should go or be carried out of the house till they be washed; and till they



“I remember perfectly well, that soon after the discovery of Vaccine Inoculation, it was said that many more people had died of the Small Pox than before ; this, however, was found to be entirely owing to the patients going into the open air, and catching infection at a time when they were most susceptible of it.

“ I am not at all surprised that the practice of Vaccine Inoculation has made so very little progress in this, the very country where it *originated*, as it is owing to one of those curious circumstances which arise from the state and principles of human nature that *new discoveries* are

be sufficiently exposed to the fresh air. No foul linen, nor any thing else that can retain the poison, should be folded up, or put into drawers, boxes, or be otherwise shut up from the air, but must be immediately thrown into water, and kept there till washed. No attendants should touch what is to go into another family till their hands are washed. When a patient dies of the Small-pox, particular care should be taken that nothing infectious be taken out of the house so as to do mischief.

4. The patient must not be allowed to approach any person liable to the distemper, till every scab has dropt off ; till all the clothes, furniture, food, and all other things touched by the patient during the distemper ; till the floor of the sick chamber ; and till the hair, face, and hands have been carefully washed. After every thing has been made perfectly clean, the doors, windows, drawers, boxes, and all other places that can retain infectious air, should be kept open, till it be cleared out of the house.



viewed with greater caution and surprise in those places where they are first made, than in those countries where they are afterwards disseminated. While in other countries great labour and pains are bestowed in cultivating and improving a discovery, and in putting it into practice for the benefit of the human race, it is often found that the reputation of its original success dies gradually away in the very country which gave it birth.\*

“ Now, Sir, what is the best mode of getting the better of that extraordinary antipathy which arises in the human mind upon the subject of discoveries or innovations ?

“ Is it not to infuse information into the minds of the people by every possible means ! To hold out to their view proofs of its superior efficacy in foreign countries, and to demonstrate clearly the advantages with which it might naturally be attended in our own ? and to remove those prejudices which have arisen from the *vague and unfounded reports of self-interested individuals* ?—These surely are the means which, if adopted, would tend to disseminate the happy consequences of this useful and wonderful discovery throughout the inhabitants of our own

\* This is an elegant explanation of the old and true proverb,  
“ *A prophet is not such in his own country.* ”



country, and still farther to extend its advantages to the most distant quarters of the globe.

“ On the whole, Sir, I cannot help wishing, that the Noble Lord would consider whether, or not, it would be practicable to appoint such a Committee to report to the House the result of their investigations against next Session of Parliament, and also to ascertain whether, or not, such restrictions as those which I have now suggested, would not be attended with most beneficial consequences to the health, welfare, and happiness of society.

“ The plan of having this Committee to procure the evidence adduced before themselves, I am convinced would be much better relished by the country than the mode proposed by the present motion of leaving that Committee to form this judgment upon the previous report of the College of Physicians. The same species of evidence would still be open to them, and they would no doubt be inclined to view the whole through an impartial medium; their minds being previously quite *unbiassed* upon the subject, would only be susceptible of changes by the evidence before them.”

MR. SECRETARY WINDHAM.\*—“ The only

\* It is rather surprising, that this *able politician* should advocate the cause of the COW-Pock,—he who occasioned the con-



point, Sir, in which it appears to me, that we differ in opinion, as to the subject under our consideration, is, as to the mode that ought to be pursued in effecting the object we have in view.

“ Upon this point I must say, that I am rather inclined to give the preference to the plan which has been suggested by my Noble Friend, who brought forward this motion.

“ The proposition which has been just now made by the Hon. Gentleman on the opposite side seems to be merely a commutation of that which has been suggested by the Noble Lord near me. The whole difference turns upon the question of substituting the Report of a committee of this House for that of the College of Physicians.

“ The Hon. Member seems to think, that an investigation and Report, proceeding from a continuance of the diabolical practice of *BULL-baiting*. Gratitude to the COW, it is hoped, will next obtain some clemency to HER HUSBAND. The English mob are surely *savage* enough, without *Parliament* keeping up a brutal practice, which shocks every principle of humanity, religion, and justice. Hence, however I might wish to applaud the splendid talents of Mr. Windham, my pen refuses him the panegyric: yet from our present government, whose highest attribute is *justice* and *mercy*, I expect ere long to see a *prohibition* of such an inhuman custom, sanctioned at it now stands, by a BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS. Surely, Lord Henry Petty, Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, aided by Mr. Wilberforce, will wipe away *this blot* from the *annals* of our nation. When the Cow-pox is next debated in Parliament, the *abolition* of Bull-baiting should be proposed.



Committee, would have more weight and authority with the public, than a report issuing from a body of Physicians.

“ In this particular, however, I must beg leave to differ from him, as I think a Committee of this House would be less competent to form a correct and sound judgment upon the subject, than medical men would be.

“ Their incompetency would be felt and considered by the public, and consequently an opinion, from them, as to the good or bad effects of the Vaccine Inoculation would have much less weight on their minds.

“ It would not tend to allay their suspicions, nor administer a guidance for their future conduct.

“ Far different, however, would be the effect of a Report proceeding from that learned and respectable body, the Royal College of Physicians, most formally called upon by Parliament.

“ By the Noble Lord's plan, I think the authority and influence of Parliament would come in just in the way in which it ought to come.

“ It will add a superior degree of solemnity to our sanction of what we deem a most useful and highly beneficial discovery.

“ In the one case the House would be grounding their procedure upon the opinion of



a Committee, founded perhaps upon fallacious principles, while in the other they will proceed upon the surest grounds, upon the sentiments and opinions of men of experience, in a learned profession, which enables them to judge with superior accuracy and acuteness upon subjects connected with that profession.

“ To Committees of this House the common adage might be applied, ‘ *Ne sutor ultra crepidam* ;’ for it is a well-known fact, that a man is always a more competent judge of matters relating to his own profession, than another who is a perfect stranger to such subjects.

“ On the whole, I think, that the plan of my noble friend would have infinitely the best chance of overcoming the public prejudices, and of giving validity to the opinions of those best able to judge of the real merits of this valuable discovery made by Dr. Jenner.

“ Perhaps, indeed, these prejudices may be found already too deeply rooted in the minds of some few individuals to be extirpated by the combined efforts both of the College of Physicians and of Parliament, if we were to judge from the failure of our former sanction, in accomplishing the utmost of our wishes.

“ This, however, I sincerely trust will not be the case, as I am one of those who, convinced of its superior efficacy by its success in



foreign countries, have only to deplore that it has not met with *better encouragement in our own.*

“The Hon. Gentleman who spoke last recommends a certain species of *compulsion*, and indeed I think it is such a one *as the legislature of any country may, in certain cases, be well entitled to adopt, in order to prevent contagious maladies from spreading among society.* Such compulsory measures ought, however, not to be adopted except in cases of the most urgent necessity. If it really can be shewn that compulsory measures are requisite upon the present occasion, then is Parliament blameable for not having adopted them sooner.

“It is now common to be *scandalized* at seeing the wretched and miserable objects, who are afflicted with this baneful disorder, carried about in the public streets, in the arms of their anxious and afflicted parents, mingling with society, as if no such infectious disease existed.

“I know well, however, that the moment any kind of compulsion is adopted upon subjects of this sort, that moment there is a greater degree of hatred excited in the public mind against what may be judiciously prescribed; and I therefore should be exceedingly unwilling to resort to such a measure.

“The *mild, solemn, and considerate recom-*



*commendation of Vaccination* by Parliament being what they judge the most prudent plan to be pursued, will no doubt go infinitely further than any *constraint* whatever.

“ Had the question this day related solely to the quantum of reward which Parliament ought to bestow upon the Discoverer of this most efficacious and beneficial practice, I should not have objected to the appointment of a Committee in the manner the Hon. Member proposes, namely, for the purpose of leaving the business entirely to their discretion.

“ That subject, however, will be more fit for future consideration, when this previous point is properly ascertained to the satisfaction of the public.

“ Then will be the time to remunerate and encourage that *meritorious individual* to whom society in general owes the utmost gratitude and favour, and who, I cannot help thinking, has not yet been sufficiently rewarded for the expence and trouble this discovery has cost him.  
(*A loud cry of Hear! Hear! from all parts of the House.*)

“ Such are the grounds upon which I think it my duty to support the Noble Lord in the motion he has made, and the reasons which would make me exceedingly unwilling to resort to compulsory measures under any circum-



stances, except those of the most urgent and dangerous necessity." (*A partial cry of Hear!*)

Mr. WILBERFORCE in explanation.—"I should be sorry to be in any degree misunderstood as to what I have said in regard to *compulsion*. The Right Hon. Gentleman seems to suppose, I meant to suggest the propriety of adopting compulsory measures in regard to the practice of the *Vaccine Inoculation*.

"So far from meaning that kind of constraint, I think I expressed myself so as to imply that it would be absolutely wrong. This is my most deliberate opinion. All that I meant by talking of compulsion was, that some particular mode ought to be prescribed for enforcing certain regulations and restrictions upon those individuals, who might in a voluntary manner submit to Small-Pox Inoculation, such regulations being of a kind neither to be injurious nor to bear hard upon them in any respect whatever. It was alone with the intention of providing for the convenience of such afflicted individuals, who, from their situation in life, or other circumstances, might not be enabled to provide for themselves proper accommodation. These, Sir, were my sentiments; and I still think that some such provision is necessary, in order to afford Small-pox Inoculation



(a most valuable discovery) the benefit of an impartial, a prudent, and an effectual trial. Such a measure would be attended with this important advantage too, that the public themselves would more easily become witnesses of the greater efficacy of the Vaccine Inoculation, and consequently of its rapid and successful progress throughout the united kingdom."

Mr. BANKS.\*—"Sir, it appears to me that the mode proposed by the Noble Lord is exceedingly eligible at this late period of the session, in so far as he wishes to combine the science of a Learned Body with the judgment and deliberation of a Committee of the House of Commons, and that nothing should be determined upon until both their reports have been conjoined and submitted to the consideration of the House. If this motion had been made, however, at an earlier period of the Session, I cannot help thinking that, in a matter of this sort (which is a matter of *fact*, and not a *question of science*), there could not be a better mode of procedure than that which has been suggested by my Hon. Friend near me. Even those the

\* This gentleman possesses also a commanding and impressive eloquence, and is one of the highest ornaments of our senate. He was listened to with polite attention, though his speech did not procure him many marks of much approbation.



best acquainted with the matter under discussion cannot pretend to give an accurate description of the real sources from which the existing prejudices have arisen, or the causes from which its want of cultivation and encouragement have originated.\* The subject in which the public are most materially interested, and the fact which remains to be *more clearly* ascertained is, whether this discovery which has been made by Dr. Jenner *is, in the mode in which it is now practised*, of such a sort as to afford us a reasonable security against the ravages of that more dreadful disorder which it is intended to prevent.

“ This, Sir, appears to me to be a subject of consideration so distinct from that of a *scientific* nature, that it is one which any number of reasonable and thinking men, affording their time to it, are as capable of laying distinctly and clearly before the public, as the most learned body that ever existed could do.

“ As my Noble Friend, however, does not, by his proposed plan, preclude a combination of all the advantages resulting from science and learning, and experience, I cannot object to it, although I may think it capable of some improvement.

\* Surely from great *misrepresentation*. Vide “ *Vaccinæ Vindicia*,” *passim*.



From the understanding I have of the matter, I think, that the peculiar *disadvantages* under which this valuable discovery has laboured in this country, and the *causes* which have retarded its progress here more than in other parts of Europe, have been in a great measure owing to the manner in which the operation of introducing the Vaccine matter has been performed.

“ While, in other countries, the practice has been solely confined to *scientific* persons, it has been rendered here so exceedingly plain to every understanding, that all persons have been enabled to put it into execution. In this country it has been found that scarcely any one of *the profession* is called to practise it.\*

“ To this *indiscriminate use*, therefore, I am inclined to attribute its failure of success in those cases which have been urged by its *enemies* as arguments against its introduction.†

\* This is surely a mistake; for few others, I believe, practise Vaccination here but medical men. Witness the many Jennerian Societies established throughout London, and the several country towns throughout England.

† I wish our profession could be wholly exonerated from the charge of experiencing *no failure*, and all the reported adverse cases originated from among the common part of mankind. This, however, is not the fact; nor should *instant perfection* in large bodies be expected—but what we blame the *enemies* of Vaccination for, is, their ever omitting to investigate and explain the *causes of failure*. The practice of Vaccination, we grant, is



“ In those countries where it has been entirely confined to medical persons, it has been ascertained, that no such *exceptions* to its success have ever been started;\* for as I have been informed no such cases of failure have ever happened amongst them.

“ The improvement, or rather addition, which I am inclined to suggest to the Noble Lord's motion, is the junction of another learned body, who have been overlooked on this occasion, but who it would be exceedingly proper, should also be requested to join in this enquiry. The learned body to which I allude, Sir, is that of the *Royal College of Surgeons*. If we are to enter into a minute investigation at all, and endeavour to receive information from men of

*extremely easy*; but still some *little knowledge* is requisite, and *this knowledge* was not at first understood, and hence even medical men have sometimes failed. I again repeat, we hold it ungenerous in the *enemies* of Vaccination to report such failures in *medical men*, without (if this must be done) explaining the *sources of such miscarriage*; and my “*Vaccinæ Vindicia*” will shew how *medical men* are always ready to acknowledge their errors.

\* Mr. Bankes must be much misinformed as to this circumstance; for *ignorant oppositions* have originated in every country; but the *interference of government* has so sanctioned the eminent characters who have stood up for its support, that their clamours have been silenced, and they have been obliged, quite disheartened, to retire.



science as a general rule for our conduct, why ought we not to make that enquiry and research as general and extensive as possible?

“ A subject of this kind does not require us to confine our investigation to *Physicians* alone. Upon that footing, Sir, I shall take the liberty of suggesting to the Noble Lord, that a provision should be inserted for the purpose of referring the question as to the Vaccine Inoculation also to the *Royal College of Surgeons*. (*A partial cry of Hear!*)

“ I cannot help stating, that I still persevere in the opinion I formerly entertained, that if this discovery be of that utility and advantage, which I *trust and hope it will prove to be*, it will find its way against all opposition, and that the *learned Doctor*, who has been the discoverer of this *great and important secret* to mankind, cannot in such a country as this, *fail of obtaining his due reward, by the immense extension of his medical practice*. Add to this, that the *learned Doctor*, who has made this *valuable and beneficial discovery*, certainly must also gain a considerable *additional advantage*, in consequence of this inquiry now about to be set on foot, in order to quiet the fears, and strengthen the conviction of the people, which leads me to think that Dr. Jenner will



find himself well remunerated without any thing further from Parliament.\*

“As to the question of *compulsion*, which has been touched upon in the course of this discussion, I can hardly think that my Hon. Friend near me (Mr. Wilberforce), who has shewn himself so well acquainted with the general principles of liberty, upon all occasions, meant to recommend any compulsory measures, that would infringe upon that freedom, which even allows *prejudice* to work its way.

“You may be assured, Sir, that there is a *sense* in the people of England, which will not

\* This is certainly a very *curious*, and, I think, *unfair* argument, ‘that the *fame* accruing from the interference of Parliament, and the consequent *lift* that this would give the *learned Doctor* in his profession should be considered as a part of his reward.’ Such a *benefactor to a whole nation—to present and future generations—to all the known world*—should feel enough of *gratitude* from the *British nation*, that if he chose it (to adapt my expressions to such a groveling idea), he might *forsake business*, and pass the rest of his days in the happy contemplation of the benefits arising to mankind, from his wonderful discovery. If it were permitted to me to reason with a member of the House of Commons, I would ask the sum total of fifteen millions of pence\*, the extent of our population, omitting the vast population of our foreign settlements; and surely *one penny* is as little as each true Briton would wish individually to give to his *greatest benefactor*, in order that he might pass the remainder of his life in ease and comfort, that he might enjoy “*otium cum dignitate*.”

\* 50,000*l*.



long oppose truth; that even without the aid of Parliament, without enquiries through the means of Committees, or investigations and reports made out by a College of Physicians, *prejudice* will at last disappear, and *truth* will ultimately prevail.

“As the mode now proposed, however, will certainly tend either to *expedite* on the one hand a conviction of that *truth* which it is so desirable to assert, or, on the other, to expose the fallacy of those arguments which have been adduced in favour of the discovery, without any undue means being used to support the one, or the other, I shall certainly vote for the motion which has been made by the Noble Lord.”

Mr. WILLIAM SMITH.\*—“I do not rise, Sir, for the purpose of discussing the real merits, as to the effect of this *wonderful* discovery, relying that we shall in the end find, that it will turn out to our most sanguine expectations, and consequently well worthy the further liberality of Parliament (cry of *hear! hear!*). I merely wish to make a few observations upon a subject which

\* The following speech was extremely well received, and very ably delivered; and the compliment to a Noble Lord at the end put the House into excellent humour.—This gentleman is Member for Norwich.



is of such vast importance to the public at large, that I do not think a few minutes will be at all mis-spent upon this occasion, although there is to be an ulterior discussion. I cannot help thinking with the honourable gentleman who spoke last, that if there were also to be a reference to the *College of Surgeons* as well as to the *College of Physicians*, considerable advantage would be derived, for this plain and obvious reason, that *Surgeons*, more than *Physicians*, have had occasion to practise the Vaccine Inoculation, and to enter into the merits of the arguments which have been raised concerning it. (*A loud cry of Hear! Hear!*)

“ With respect to the reasons which have prevented the propagation of this measure for saving the lives of the people in this country, as it has done in others, I must admit that my learned friend (Dr. Mathews) has hit upon the very sentiments I wished to have expressed.

“ I do not believe that any effectual plan has been adopted in order to prevent *mistakes* in the performance of the operation. I really am of opinion, that a great part of those *prejudices* which have arisen, proceeded entirely from the circumstances of its having been conducted by the hands of persons who from *carelessness* or *ignorance* have communicated to their patients a false and spurious species of this disorder.\*

\* Vide “ *Vaccinæ Vindicia*,” *passim*.



“ This is indeed a cause which we must all lament ; and I think that it affords an additional reason for referring the subject to the investigation of *Surgeons* as well as *Physicians*.

“ I must confess, Sir, that I rose chiefly to express my *extreme* satisfaction, that this most important and interesting subject has been brought forward from the *respectable quarter* from which it has proceeded (a general cry of *hear! hear!*). The *high* and *respectable character* which the Noble Lord possesses in his Majesty’s government is a circumstance *alone* sufficient to do away those prejudices which are at present excited, and to obviate the objections which have been *maliciously* raised against this valuable discovery.

“ I do, I affirm, most *sincerely* rejoice that the matter has been thus taken up, for at all events, I am convinced that if the plan proposed by the Noble Lord be adopted by the House, the ends in view will be completely answered, and the country will soon reap infinite advantage, by a saving of the lives of *thousands* of its inhabitants.”

MR. PAUL.\*—“ Sir, I beg leave to make a

\* This gentleman’s speech contains a very useful and interesting *corroborant* of the fact recorded by Lord Henry Petty respecting Vienna ; and it made a proper impression upon the



few observations upon the subject now under discussion. I happened to live many years in the town of Lucknow, where there is reckoned a greater population than in any other part of the East Indies. The Vaccine Inoculation was there first introduced by *men of science*, although it afterwards came to be known, and practised by people in the profession of physic, *two centuries behind us in the knowledge of medicine*. In that town, Sir, the number of lives, which were annually lost by the dreadful ravages of the Small Pox, was reckoned to amount to between 670 and 800, annually, but since the introduction of this discovery, there were not above 75 persons who annually died of that disease, during the last *three years* I resided in that place. (*A loud cry of Hear! Hear! resounded from every part of the House.*) The people in that part of the world, so far from thinking it requisite that *men of science* should alone practise it, were convinced that it was only necessary to be performed by slight intelligence, in order to be effectual. There is one other circumstance which I think worthy of remark; which is, that in *Scotland* prejudice is

House.—To these interesting facts might be added, I have every reason to believe, the nearly total abolition of Small-pox from Paris, Berlin, and Petersburg.



certainly much stronger against the practice of Vaccination than in England, and particularly in the most northern parts of it, and, for that reason, I am inclined to suggest to the Noble Lord the propriety of joining the *College of Physicians at Edinburgh* in the proposed investigation." (*A partial cry of Hear!*)

LORD HENRY PETTY (no one else rising) concluded the debate.—“Sir, I certainly experience a very great degree of satisfaction in finding the House so *unanimous* as to the *general object in view* from the motion which I have thought it *incumbent* upon *me* to submit to your consideration, and I think that nothing but the lateness of the session should prevent us from coming to some conclusion upon this important subject. Those honourable gentlemen, who have spoken upon this occasion, have distinctly and accurately stated the object I had in view, comprehended in *combining all the weight of scientific knowledge* that could *possibly be obtained*. This end, I think, may be *fully* accomplished by *the inquiry being instituted* by that *learned and scientific body*, recognized by the government of this country, under the name of the *Royal College of Physicians* (*A loud cry of Hear!*), and by an ulterior reference of their sentiments to this House through the medium of our committee. (*A second cry of Hear!*)



I cannot, however, agree with an honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Banks) who has given it as his opinion, that this enquiry will not be one that involves a question of *science*, but merely *a matter of fact*. (*A short cry of Hear!*) Could that honourable gentleman really suppose it possible that any committee of this House can investigate the question in such a manner as to ascertain what is a criterion with respect to the age of the matter to be infused, and how to distinguish the *spurious* from the *genuine* pustule! (a loud cry of *hear! hear!*) I do firmly believe, Sir, that one of the great causes from which its failure has arisen has been the adoption of late matter, and introducing it into the human system instead of that particular description of matter recommended by the learned discoverer himself. (*A cry of Hear!*)

“ I must differ somewhat, too, from another honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Wilberforce), when he suggests the mode of leaving the whole inquiry to a Committee of the House; must it not occur to every one, that the best method to ascertain with precision, its evil or its beneficial consequences, will be to institute the inquiry by means of Medical Men, as none but such men can rightly judge of these matters. (*A general cry of Hear!*)

“ Could a Committee of the House, unas-



sisted by professional gentlemen, be capable of properly ascertaining the degree of credit which ought to be attached to the *various reports* which have been most industriously circulated abroad, in the *various publications* which have lately appeared? Or is it to be imagined, that a Committee of this House can determine the reality of the assertion in some of these pamphlets, that the Vaccine Matter is apt to produce the worst affections in the human frame? (a general cry of *hear! hear!*) No, it is not in the power of any set of individuals, however *learned* and *experienced* they may be in *other matters*, to resolve with accuracy such medical questions without the assistance of *professional men*. (A general cry of *hear!*) I cannot, therefore, entertain a doubt that there are parts of this investigation which may be exceedingly proper for a Committee, and other parts, only for a Medical Body. (*A loud cry of Hear!*)

“Now, Sir, with respect to annexing the *College of Surgeons* to this inquiry, I hope the House will do me the justice to think that I have before *considered that point*. It was suggested to me *previously to my coming down to the House*, but it occurred to me, that the inquiry ought rather to proceed from *one centre*. (*A dead silence.*)

“I have no doubt, Sir, but that the *Royal Col-*



*lege of Physicians in London*, being called on by the *unanimous vote of this House*, will be looked up to by the public, with that liberality and those favourable sentiments which are due to them, and that the *College of Physicians*, both in *Scotland* and in *Ireland*, will correspond with it, and also the *College of Surgeons* will communicate to that learned body every information in their power. (*A general cry of Hear!*) Thus will the opinions of all the learned and scientific men in the three united kingdoms be combined, and, together with the learning and discernment of the Committee, be comprised in the REPORT to be submitted to this House. (*A loud and unceasing cry of Hear!*) We shall then, availing ourselves of such an accumulated weight of information and evidence, lay the whole matter before the public, in order to remove their prejudices or confirm their doubts. (*General approbation.*)

“Such, Sir, is the mode which appears to me to be the most eligible on this occasion; and I trust the House will have no hesitation in agreeing unanimously with the motion which I have this day submitted to them.

“Before concluding, I cannot help taking notice of one other particular, which has been touched upon in the course of this discussion. It related to the remuneration which had been already granted by Parliament to Dr. Jenner,



to whom the world owes this *invaluable* discovery. (*A loud cry of Hear!*)

“As there will certainly be some ulterior proceedings upon this business, it will then become matter of future consideration, whether or not, the reward, formerly conferred upon that learned gentleman, was sufficient, or inadequate, for those great services which he has rendered to mankind, and the great expence he has put himself to in bringing this subject clearly to light.

“If the report shall be favourable towards the successful practice of this discovery, (*as I have no doubt it will be, (A loud cry of Hear!)*) I shall think it my duty to contend on a future day, that the remuneration granted to Dr. Jenner is much more inadequate than it ought to be—(*a general cry of hear! hear!*) On this point, however, there will be ample room for discussion, it being a case which touches the pecuniary concerns of the country, when it will be the duty of every member to state what occurs to him upon such a subject, so those who seem to imagine that the remuneration already conferred is sufficiently ample in every point of view, will have an opportunity of further stating the grounds on which their arguments are founded.”

The motion was then put from the chair, and agreed to *nem. con.*



It was ordered, that the *Address* be presented to his *Majesty*, by such members as were of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council.

### HOUSE OF LORDS.

The EARL of SUFFOLK took occasion to make a few remarks on the above subject. He expressed his happiness at what had taken place with respect to it in the other House of Parliament, which he trusted would tend finally to do away (and to which effect he was ambitious of contributing his mite) those *ill-founded impressions* which obtained against that *useful* and *salutary practice*, originating in certain *scurrilous pamphlets*, and the assertions of *interested individuals*. The practice was grown into extensive use upon the Continent. With respect to *Spain*, (*which was not mentioned in the other House*), particularly, he had the authority of a nobleman of high rank in this country (the Marquis of Bute) to state, that the Vaccine Inoculation was highly esteemed there, and encouraged by the Government, so far, that in all the *Royal Ordinances* relative to that subject, its worthy



author was styled 'the *immortal* JENNER!' He had nothing now to propose, but was so fully impressed with the *importance of the topic*, that he could not avoid thus troubling their Lordships.

## HOUSE OF LORDS.

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