

Alexander Popham, M.P. for Taunton, and the Bill for the Prevention of the Gaol Distemper, 1774 : a hygienic retrospect : presidential address delivered before the Annual Meeting of the West Somerset Branch of the British Medical Association at Taunton, on Thursday, June 28th, 1894 / by Arthur Durant Willcocks.

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ALEXANDER POPHAM, M.P. FOR TAUNTON,

AND THE

BILL FOR THE PREVENTION OF THE GAOL
DISTEMPER, 1774.

A HYGIENIC RETROSPECT.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

*Delivered before the Annual Meeting of the West Somerset Branch of the
British Medical Association at Taunton, on
Thursday, June 28th, 1894,*

BY

ARTHUR DURANT WILLCOCKS, M.R.C.S., L.S.A.

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At the request of several friends and members of the Association, I have printed the Presidential Address which I had the honour to deliver before the Annual Meeting of the West Somerset Branch of the British Medical Association on June 28th last. I have, at the same time, added in the form of an Appendix, a chronological table of all outbreaks of so-called Gaol Fever which I have been able to verify down to the end of the eighteenth century.

A. D. W.

Taunton,

September, 1894.

ALEXANDER POPHAM, M.P. FOR TAUNTON

AND THE

BILL FOR THE PREVENTION OF THE GAOL
DISTEMPER.

GENTLEMEN:—

I have to thank you for the honour you have conferred upon me in raising me to the post of President of this Branch, and I need hardly assure you that I am deeply sensible of the importance and of the responsibilities of my position. It was well said by the wisest man of old, that as iron sharpeneth iron, so a man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend. When I look around on the keen and friendly countenances assembled here to-day, I feel, therefore, very hopeful, as a comparatively junior member, that my intelligence will be considerably sharpened before I come to the end of my tenure of office. The value of such meetings as ours is at once obvious. The friendly conflict and inter-communication of many and diverse minds, all engaged in the same arduous calling, where knowledge is continually advancing, and where each may perchance at times, add some fragment of fresh truth to the total sum, must of necessity redound to the mutual advantage of us all. In a more practical sense, this great association of medical practitioners has done much, and will continue to do more, to raise the standard of public health, and to further the cause of sanitary legislation. I would venture, therefore, with your kind permission, to occupy your attention for a short time this afternoon with a brief glance backwards at some aspects of

the progress that has taken place in the general salubrity of our own neighbourhood.

The enormous advance made during the past century in the sanitation of our public buildings, and more particularly of our prisons, is a subject which should appeal with peculiar interest to us in Taunton. For we are indebted to the benevolent and statesmanlike efforts of a former senior Member for this ancient borough, for one of the most epoch-making Acts of Parliament, as bearing on public health, that was passed during the latter half of the eighteenth century. This Bill was one entitled "an Act for preserving the health of prisoners in gaol, and preventing the gaol distemper." It received the Royal Assent on June 2nd, 1774, some one hundred and twenty years ago, and we have still much reason for gratitude to our former Member of Parliament, Alexander Popham, who was one of its most influential supporters during its passage through the House of Commons. He backed the Bill on its original introduction, and also served on the Select Committee to which it was referred, and presented its report to the House. So intimately was Popham concerned in this Bill, that on its passing its third reading, we find from the Journals of the House of Commons for that year (1774)¹ that it was ordered: "that Mr. Popham do carry the Bill to the Lords and desire their concurrence." Their assent to the Bill was given on May 20th, without any amendment, and the Royal Assent was accorded on June 2nd, as I have just stated. It is some satisfaction to feel that this particular Parliament (1774-1780), which most unwisely declared war on the American colonists, and lost the United States to the British Empire, does in some measure reinstate its character in the eyes of medical posterity, in that, during the first year of its assembly, it passed this admirable piece of hygienic legislation. And it should be still more a source of pride to Taunton that

¹ Vol. xxxiv. p. 740.

it was its senior Member who saw the Bill for the prevention of gaol distemper through the House of Commons.

The gaol distemper mentioned in the title of this Bill, and against which its provisions were mainly directed, was also called the gaol fever. And, as is well known to all readers of Murchison on the Continued Fevers of Great Britain, these names were only some of the numerous synonyms applied to what we at the present day recognise as typhus fever. Among other names used were spotted, or pestilential fever, camp, hospital, or ship fever; and all this variety of nomenclature very largely indicated the close association of typhus with conditions of defective ventilation, overcrowding, filth, and the general bad hygiene so common in the last named situations. It is worthy of passing notice, as an indication of our vastly improved sanitary state, that the three preventable diseases, scurvy, small pox, and typhus (under its many designations), which occupied so very prominent a position in the medical writings of the last century, are at the present day comparatively uncommon. Indeed, as regards the last named, typhus fever, it is certainly a disease we do not ordinarily expect to meet in country practice at the present day; and I read only recently that there had been considerable difficulty in the early diagnosis and notification of some imported cases at one of our large seaport towns. My own experience of it has not been very extensive, but I had the opportunity when I was a student of seeing a considerable number of cases who were admitted into King's College Hospital, during a limited outbreak that occurred in the poor and overcrowded neighbourhood around that Institution.

The close relation of typhus with the prisons of this country during the last century, when their sanitation everywhere was notoriously bad, led to the fever being popularly known among the civilian population under the name of gaol fever. So numerous and insidious were these localised out-

breaks that Dr. Murchison went even so far as to suggest that many of the facts appeared only to be explicable on the supposition that the poison was developed *de novo* in the prisons themselves.

On the outbreaks of typhus at sittings of Courts of Law, so well known as "Black Assizes," where the contagion was conveyed into court from the prison by the prisoners for trial it will be unnecessary for me to dilate here, as they are well considered in the work to which I have already alluded (Murchison on Fevers). In other ways, also, the gaol contagion spread devastation far and wide. Both branches of the service were often largely recruited during our great wars in the last century from the inmates of prisons. To give but one instance, which I have extracted from the addresses of Sir George Paul to the Grand Jury of Gloucester in 1783. A regiment raised on the spur of the occasion for the West India service, and plentifully supplied from various prisons, embarked seven hundred men. The gaol fever immediately spread itself through the whole embarkation, and raged with such fatal effects that the regiment arrived at its destination with only forty men.¹

As Bristol was at that time the great centre for West Indian traffic, it would appear from intrinsic evidence that the majority of this regiment must have been raised on our own borders. Many similar instances may be found in the writings of Pringle, Monro, Carmichael Smyth, Lind and others, of the serious epidemics of typhus which were at times conveyed into the British Army and Fleet from the prisons, or from the guard ships² and tenders at which impressed men were received.

¹ *Considerations on the defects of prisons, and their present system of regulations, &c.*, by Sir George Paul. London. 1784. p. 23.

² Lind called the guard ship at the Nore, where impressed Londoners were received, "A seminary of contagion to the whole fleet." (*On Health of Seamen in the Royal Navy, &c.*, 1757. James Lind, M.D., p. 3.)

In reference to the treatment of these various manifestations of typhus fever, it may not be out of place to record here, that it was largely due to the writings and practice of a great West Country physician, Dr. John Huxham, that the Jesuit's Bark¹ became such a well-known and popular remedy. He practised at Plymouth for some forty years, during the earlier part of the last century; and in his work on fevers brought the Cinchona Bark prominently before the profession as a powerful remedy in febrile states. The official Tinct. Cinchonae. Co. was his original composition.² It was well known for many years as Huxham's Tincture, a name which has, I consider, somewhat unfortunately been permitted to disappear from later editions of the "British Pharmacopœia."

From the evidence of John Howard's visitations of the English gaols there is no reason to assume that the Somerset gaols of his day were in any worse state than those of the rest of the country, yet Taunton has had dire reason to remember the gaol distemper. In close proximity to our meeting place to-day stands the ancient Assize Hall within the Castle Green, the scene of the ever memorable "Bloody Assizes" under Judge Jeffreys that followed the field of Sedgemoor (1685). Almost as it were by a kind of Nemesis there occurred on the same spot a still more fatal "Black Assize,"

¹ An early allusion to Peruvian bark under this name occurs in Congreve's play, *The Old Bachelor* (1693). Act II., scene i.

Bluffe. But! look you here, boy, here's your antidote, here's your Jesuit's powder for a shaking fit.

² *An Essay on Fever*, &c. J. Huxham, M.D., F.R.S. 2nd Edition. 1750. p. 122. (1st Ed. 1739) The best clinical account of Typhus that had hitherto appeared. (Murchison.) Grant, in his *Essay on the Pestilential Fever of Sydenham*, &c. (1775), says (p. 87), "Huxham's situation at Plymouth during the war before last furnished him with the greatest opportunity of seeing the pestilential fever in every possible degree of it, in prodigious numbers, of both sexes, of all ages, constitutions, and situations, in gaol, hospitals, ships, town, and country."

within the life-time of many who must have been present at the former tragedy. For at the Lent Assizes of 1730 the infection of gaol fever was carried into the court by prisoners brought from Ilchester Gaol for trial. It proved fatal to the Lord Chief Baron (Sir Thomas Pengelly),¹ to several of his officers and servants, to the Serjeant-at-Law (Sir James Sheppard), and to the High Sheriff of Somersetshire (John Pigot). The fever subsequently spread through the town of Taunton and carried off some hundreds of persons.² The county gaol of Somerset was, at this time, and for many years after, situated at Ilchester (or Ivelchester), probably from the convenience of the site for the judicial centres of Taunton, Bridgwater, and Wells; and prisoners were conveyed to Taunton Assizes by boat from Ilchester by way of the rivers Yeo, Parret, and Tone, a distance of about twenty-five miles.

A reference to the sanitary condition of our local prisons some years later, in the time of John Howard (1774-1790) shows in a most striking manner that they were still a continual source of danger to the public health. As an illustration of their condition a few extracts may be taken from Howard's notes on the prisons of Ilchester, Bridgwater, Taunton, and Shepton Mallet.

The old county gaol of Ivelchester, which has now entirely disappeared,³ was situated near the river, and was too small for the usual number of prisoners, which averaged about thirty or forty debtors, and about twenty felons. The men and women felons had no separate day-room, another room which appeared to have been designed for the purpose was

¹ *Judges of England*. Foss, Vol. viii., p. 147.

² *State of Prisons*. John Howard. 2nd Ed. 1780, p. 12. *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. xx., p. 235. *Observationes de aëre et morbis epidemicis*. John Huxham, M.D., F.R.S. Vol. ii., p. 83.

³ *Ilchester Almshouse Deeds*. Buckler, 1866. (Library Taunton Museum.) *Investigation at Ilchester Gaol, &c.*, 1821. (Same.)

taken by the gaoler for a stable. There were separate lodging rooms, with straw on the stone floor, and no bedsteads, some of the windows also being improperly stopped up. The arrangements for exercise were scanty, the courtyards small, there was no infirmary, the water supply defective, and no bath. It is worthy of note also, as showing the manner in which the gaols were farmed by the keepers, that Ilchester Gaol had a license for beer and wine, the bridewells of Taunton and Shepton Mallet were licensed to sell beer only to the inmates. Ilchester, as the county gaol, appears to have been the only prison in the locality which had a surgeon attached to it at a salary of £8 a year. Howard applauds the generosity of the county in having appointed chaplains, as well, at Ilchester, Taunton and Shepton Mallet, at a salary of £50; but somewhat later these salaries were reduced, and in one place abolished, on the plea of neglect of duty. We hear nothing further about the surgeon at Ilchester; at any rate, there is no mention of his salary being raised. It is to be hoped that he did not suffer the same fate as his colleague, the chaplain, nor fall a victim to the gaol fever as the surgeon to the Exeter County Bridewell did about this time.¹

The Bridgwater Town Gaol consisted of only one middle-sized room with one of its two windows stopped up.² In this room at the Midsummer Quarter Sessions, 1774, twenty-seven prisoners were shut up, and at the Summer Assizes the same year, thirteen were imprisoned here, two of them being women. The keeper's mother, says Howard, complained to him of the confusion and distress occasioned by confining prisoners there for so long a time; and said there were few at any time who could pay for beds and separate rooms.

¹ John Howard. *State of Prisons*, 1780, Ed. II., p. 348.

² One of the evils of the window tax, *vide* Howard, p. 215.

The Taunton Bridewell was somewhat superior to Ilchester Gaol in its arrangements. It was indeed in Howard's time a comparatively recent structure, having been built in 1754, some twenty years before his visit. The rooms are reported to have been convenient. The prison had a court-yard and a pump, and also "two inconvenient bathing tubs, never used." There was a ward for the sick. It had only a common day room, and at Howard's visit in 1779 he found that all the prisoners were in irons. It was obviously not in a good sanitary state, for in his report Howard says, "If the windows, especially that in the sick ward (lately added) were enlarged, and the prison be constantly kept as clean as it was the last time I saw it, they would have little to apprehend from the gaol fever, which six years ago, for want of an infirmary, and separation, infected the whole prison so that of nineteen prisoners, eight died." This local outbreak of gaol fever must have taken place about the time Mr. Popham first became Member for Taunton (1768). Taunton had also another place of detention, known as the town gaol, which is reported to have consisted of two insecure and offensive rooms in an old house rented by the keeper. There was neither court, nor sewer, nor water accessible to the prisoners. The keeper had no salary, and presumably made what he could out of his prisoners. In 1782 there were only three prisoners, one being a prisoner of war.

At Shepton Mallet Bridewell the same insanitary state of things existed. This was an old structure, with the date 1625 over the door. There was one common day room, and the keeper had taken off from one of the night rooms, already too small, a portion out of which to make his malt loft. The prison had no infirmary, and some years before had been so unhealthy that the keeper told Howard he buried three or four a week. These are only instances drawn from our own

more immediate neighbourhood, and the facts are given on the authority of John Howard,¹ in several instances in his own words. It must not be supposed for a moment that the general average of prison sanitation or arrangement was, in other parts of England, in any sense superior; in fact in many cases, more particularly in the prisons of London and in the hulks on the Thames, gaol fever was far more prevalent, and apparently always more or less endemic.

The peculiar merit of Alexander Popham (the Member for Taunton) lies in the fact that he was one of the first to bring practical and common sense legislation to bear on the seething mass of corruption, both physical and moral, that was associated with the prison system of his day. A descendant of the Sir John Popham who was the Lord Chief Justice of the time of Elizabeth, and James I., and who lies buried at Wellington, Alexander Popham first sat for Taunton in 1768, and again was its representative in the Parliaments of 1774, 1784, and 1790, always as the senior Member, finally retiring just before the General Election of 1796.² His parliamentary services extended over four Parliaments, and for more than a quarter of a century. The Rev. Dr. Joshua Toulmin, our local historian, who was his contemporary, particularly extols him as being among the earliest to fully appreciate the national importance of John Howard's reports on prisons. It was, indeed, due to his influence that Howard

¹ *The State of Prisons in England and Wales*, 1777, 1780, 1784.

² I am indebted to my friend Mr. Bidgood, the learned curator of the Somerset Archæological and Natural History Museum in Taunton Castle, for the following additional notes in reference to Mr. Alexander Popham, M.P. He was the son of Alexander, of Monkton, Clerk; entered Balliol College 11 Nov. 1746, aged 17; B.A. from All Souls, 1751; M.A. 1755; Barrister-at-Law, Middle Temple, 1755; Benchet, 1785; Master in Chancery, 1786, an office which he held for 23 years; Auditor of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1802; died 13 Oct. 1810; buried in the Temple Church.

was called before a Committee of the House of Commons in 1774, examined at length as a witness, and subsequently thanked publicly at the bar. The Bill, therefore, which was embodied and brought forward by Popham, mainly rested on the valuable mass of evidence which had been collected by John Howard, and it was largely as the result of Popham's encouragement that Howard continued his researches and labours in the cause of sanitation and decency, both at home and abroad, up to the time of his death from typhus at Kherson in 1790.¹

The provisions of the Bill for the prevention of gaol distemper were very simple,² but it may not unjustly be considered the foundation of that long series of sanitary enactments that has gone so far to raise the general health of the English race during the past century. It provided for a more efficient control of the prisons by the magistrates; all walls were to be scraped and whitewashed once in the year at least; proper ventilation was to be provided; rooms were to be allotted for the immediate treatment and separation of the sick, both male and female; proper arrangements for bathing were to be instituted, and no prisoner was to leave a gaol without sufficient ablutions. It also enacted that "an experienced surgeon or apothecary" at a stated salary should be appointed to each prison, and be directed to report to the Justices, at each Quarter Sessions, on the state of the health of the prisoners under his care. The magistrates were directed to take all other precautions to prevent the outbreak or spread of infectious fever, either in public courts or in prisons, by providing clothing for prisoners,

¹ *The History of Taunton*. Joshua Toulmin, D.D. 1791. 2nd Ed. James Savage, 1822, pp. 330, 340, 365-367.

² 14 George III. c. 59. The abolition of the fees demanded by gaolers from acquitted prisoners was originally incorporated in the Bill on its introduction, but this portion was subsequently formed into a separate measure (14 George III., c. 20), and was passed in the same session shortly before the Act now under consideration. *Journals of House of Commons*, Vol. xxxiv.

and the like ; and to charge all expenses to the local rates. By later Acts of the same reign (*e.g.* 1784) these provisions were still further extended, and the sale of alcoholic drinks in prisons, by gaolers, was prohibited ; and gaolers were paid a fixed salary in place of the profits made previously by this sale.

The beneficial effects of Popham's Bill became rapidly manifested, and, though Howard reports some occasional outbreaks of gaol fever in later years, typhus was in the end entirely stamped out of our prisons, and they ceased to be centres of infection for surrounding districts, and a source of alarm to the nation at large. Among the long line of distinguished men who have represented this ancient borough, there is no one, I venture to think, who deserves to be held in higher estimation by the members of the West Somerset Branch of the British Medical Association than this eminent man. His colleague in the representation of Taunton, Sir Benjamin Hammet, is remembered by the street which bears his name, but I know of no local record worthy of Alexander Popham. It is, therefore, a great privilege for me this evening, before this distinguished audience of my professional brethren, to be permitted to recall from the dust of oblivion the memory of this great sanitary legislator of a by-gone day—the Member for Taunton, and the father of the Bill for the prevention of the gaol distemper.

APPENDIX.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF OUTBREAKS OF GAOL FEVER.

Date.	Locality.	Mortality, &c.	Authority.
1414 ...	Newgate and Ludgate Prisons.	Gaolers and 64 prisoners died ...	<i>Stow's Survey</i> , 1598, Strype's Ed., 1720, Book I., p. 19.
1522 ...	Cambridge Assizes	Many died—almost all in court were infected ...	<i>Hall's Chronicle</i> , 1548, Fol. LXXXIX; <i>Hist. and Antiqs. of Univ. Oxford</i> , 1790, Anthony à Wood, Vol. II., p. 191; <i>The Hauen of Health</i> , Cogan, M.B., 1596, p. 318; <i>Philosoph. Trans.</i> , Vol. L., 1758, p. 699. Ward.
1573-1579 ...	King's Bench Prison	Upwards of 100 died from 1573 to 1579. Disease was known as "the sickness of the house," and was attributed to overcrowding.	<i>Stow's Survey</i> , Vol. II., Book iv., pp. 18, 19.
1577 ...	Oxford Assizes	510 died in five weeks, including Lord Chief Baron, High Sheriff, and many justices. Contagion spread to neighbouring villages.	<i>Hist. and Antiqs. of Univ. of Oxford</i> , Anthony à Wood, Vol. II., p. 188; <i>Stow's Annals</i> (Howes Ed.) 1615, p. 681; <i>Baker's Chronicle</i> , 1730, p. 353; <i>Camden's Annals of Q. Eliz.</i> , 1625, p. 285; <i>Holinshed's Chronicle</i> , 1587 (Hooker), p. 1270; <i>The Hauen of Health</i> , Cogan, 1596; <i>State of Prisons</i> , John Howard, 2nd Ed., 1780, p. 302.
1586 ...	Exeter Assizes	"Very many" died including the Sergeant, three Knights, many justices, jurymen, &c. Fever spread through the county.	<i>Holinshed's Chronicle</i> (Hooker), 1587, p. 1547; <i>Stow's Annals</i> , 1615, p. 718.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF OUTBREAKS OF GAOL FEVER—continued.

Date.	Locality.	Mortality, &c.	Authority.
1666 ...	Thetford Assizes ...	Sheriff, his chaplain, and others of the retinue died. Questionable whether due to gaol fever.	<i>Hist. and Antiq. of Univ. of Oxford</i> , Anthony à Wood, p. 191.
1730 ...	Taunton Assizes ...	Lord Chief Baron, Sergeant-at-Law, and High Sheriff died, and some hundreds beside in the town of Taunton. The fever was brought from Ilchester gaol by the prisoners.	<i>Gentleman's Magazine</i> , May, 1750, Vol. XX., p. 235; <i>State of Prisons</i> , J. Howard, 1780, 2nd Ed., p. 12; Dr. Huxham, <i>De aëre et morbis epidemicis</i> , Vol. II., p. 83.
1740 ...	Plymouth ...	Fever brought into the port by the <i>Panther</i> and <i>Canterbury</i> , and lasted from spring to autumn.	Huxham, <i>Observationes de aëre et morbis epidemicis</i> .
1740-41 ...	Ireland, Munster Circuit.	Fever was violent in Irish prisons, especially in those of Limerick and Tralee—Judge died on return from Munster Circuit of the fever—a general epidemic.	F. C. Webb, M.D., <i>Epidemiological Trans.</i> , 1857.
1742 ...	Launceston Assizes....	The fever took its rise from prisons, and was disseminated far and near by the County Assizes—"ragged very much, and proved very fatal."	Huxham, <i>Observationes de aëre et morbis epidemicis</i> , Vol. II., p. 118.
1745 ...	Plymouth ...	"Fever raged amongst the sailors and prisoners."	Huxham, <i>ib.</i> , p. 193.
1746 ...	Inverness ...	More than 200 men of one regiment infected by fever brought by deserters from prisons. During the campaign against the young Pretender.	J. Pringle, M.D., F.R.S., <i>On Hospital and Jail Fevers</i> , 1750, p. 5.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF OUTBREAKS OF GAOL FEVER—continued.

Date.	Locality.	Mortality, &c.	Authority.
1750 ...	Old Bailey Assizes ...	Four out of six on the Bench died, including Lord Mayor, two judges, and an alderman — forty others died in a fortnight.	Pringle, <i>Diseases of the Army</i> , 5th Ed., p. 330. <i>Gentleman's Mag.</i> , May, 1750.
1752 ...	Newgate ...	Seven workmen attacked by gaol fever and others infected outside.	<i>Philosophical Trans.</i> , Vol. xlviii, 1753, p. 42. Pringle.
1755 ...	Axminster, Devon ...	Many died, including two of the discharged prisoner's family, of gaol fever brought from Exeter gaol.	Howard, <i>State of Prisons</i> , 1780, 2nd Ed., p. 12.
The dates of some of the outbreaks given by Howard cannot be exactly fixed.	Bedford County Gaol	Many died in the gaol, including the surgeon, and also many in the town. About twenty years before Howard's visit.	Howard, <i>State of Prisons</i> , 1780, 2nd Ed., p. 241.
—	Usk, Monmouth, County Bridewell.	Keeper, his daughter, and many others of the family and of the prisoners had gaol fever. Three of family and many prisoners died of it.	Howard, 2nd Ed., 1780, p. 322-3.
—	Southwell County Bridewell, Notts.	Seven died of gaol fever in two years. A few years ago.	Howard, 2nd Ed., p. 282.
—	Worcester County Gaol.	Surgeon caught the fever and recovered. Some years ago.	Howard, 2nd Ed., p. 307.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF OUTBREAKS OF GAOL FEVER—continued.

Date.	Locality.	Mortality, &c.	Authority.
—	Shrewsbury County Gaol.	Gaol fever has prevailed here "of late years" more than once.	Howard, <i>State of Prisons</i> , 1780, 2nd Ed., p. 314.
—	Winchester County Gaol.	"Twenty prisoners died in former dungeon in one year." The Assizes were postponed in 1767 in consequence of the gaol fever.	<i>Gentleman's Mag.</i> , July, 1767, p. 340; Howard, <i>ib.</i> , p. 330.
—	Winchester Bridewell	"This prison has been fatal to vast numbers."	Howard, <i>ib.</i> , p. 332.
—	Devizes County Bridewell.	"A few years ago the gaol fever carried off many."	Howard, <i>ib.</i> , p. 339.
—	Bodmin County Bridewell.	"A few years ago the gaol fever was very fatal, not only in the prison, but also in the town."	Howard, <i>ib.</i> , p. 352.
—	Taunton Bridewell ...	Out of nineteen prisoners eight died of gaol fever "some years ago."	Howard, <i>ib.</i> , p. 357.
—	Shepton Mallet Bridewell.	Three or four were buried a week from gaol fever "some years ago."	Howard, <i>ib.</i> , p. 358.
—	Carlisle County Gaol	Gaol fever carried off many of the prisoners "some years ago."	Howard, <i>ib.</i> , p. 390.
—	Chester Castle County Gaol.	Gaol fever often prevailed	Howard, <i>ib.</i> , p. 401.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF OUTBREAKS OF GAOL FEVER—continued.

Date.	Locality.	Mortality, &c.	Authority.
1772 ...	Warwick County Gaol.	"Gaoler and some of the prisoners died of the gaol distemper."	Howard, <i>ib.</i> , p. 265.
1773 ...	Wood Street Compter.	Eleven prisoners died	Howard, <i>ib.</i> , p. 190; Lettsom, <i>Memoirs of General Dispensary</i> , 1774.
1773 ...	Newgate	Discharged prisoner infected fourteen persons near Aldersgate Street.	Lettsom, <i>ib.</i> , p. 26.
1773-74 ...	Aylesbury County Gaol.	Six or seven died of gaol fever	Howard, <i>ib.</i> , p. 239.
1773 ...	Gloucester Castle County Gaol.	Many died—Howard generally saw some sick here.	Howard, <i>ib.</i> , p. 323.
1774 ...	Dartford Bridewell (Kent).	Keeper and his family and every fresh prisoner caught fever. Two died.	Howard, <i>ib.</i> , p. 227.
1774 ...	Monmouth County Gaol.	Gaoler, several of the prisoners and some of their friends died of gaol fever.	Howard, <i>ib.</i> , p. 320.
1774 ...	Marlborough Bridewell.	Howard saw a man dying on the floor of gaol fever. Two others had already died of it.	Howard, <i>ib.</i> , p. 339.
1774 ...	Launceston County Gaol	Keeper, assistant, and all the prisoners but one ill of gaol fever. Many died a few years before, keeper and his wife in one night.	Howard, <i>ib.</i> , p. 351.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF OUTBREAKS OF GAOL FEVER—continued.

Date.	Locality.	Mortality, &c.	Authority.
1775 ...	Dublin Newgate ...	Howard saw many ill with gaol fever. Prison in a dreadful state.	Howard, <i>ib.</i> , p. 167.
1775-6...	Hertford County Gaol.	Two turnkeys and seven or eight prisoners died of gaol fever.	Howard, <i>ib.</i> , p. 216.
1775 ...	Chelmsford County Gaol.	Prison frequently infected. Head turnkey died of gaol fever this year.	Howard, <i>ib.</i> , p. 220.
1775 ...	Thirsk Bridewell (N. Riding of Yorkshire).	Fever there just before Howard's visit ..	Howard, <i>ib.</i> , p. 366.
1775 ...	Liverpool Borough Gaol.	Twenty-eight prisoners ill with gaol fever at once.	Howard, <i>ib.</i> , p. 397.
1776 ...	Dublin Court of Sessions.	Gaol fever brought into court by a prisoner. Eight deaths are mentioned, including High Sheriff and four counsellors, besides several others who were in court.	<i>Gentleman's Mag.</i> , April, 1776, p. 187.
1776 ...	Savoy Prison, London.	Many sick and dying. Many caught the distemper subsequently.	Howard, <i>ib.</i> , p. 201.
1776 ...	Exeter County Bridewell.	Surgeon and two or three prisoners died of gaol fever.	Howard, <i>ib.</i> , p. 348.
Aug., 1776, to March, 1778.	Hulks in Thames ...	Out of 632 prisoners received between August, 1776, and March, 1778, 176 died.	Howard, <i>ib.</i> , p. 429.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF OUTBREAKS OF GAOL FEVER—continued.

Date.	Locality.		Mortality, &c.	Authority.
1779	Cambridge Bridewell.	Town Seventeen women incarcerated in a room nineteen feet square. Two or three died of fever a few days after discharge.	Howard, <i>ib.</i> , p. 247.
1780	Winchester (House).	(King's House). Fever broke out among the Spanish prisoners of war, and 268 died in three and a half months. Contagion probably brought from the English fleet.	Carmichael Smyth, <i>A Description of the Jail Dis-temper</i> , &c., 1795.
1782-83	...	Gloucester Gaol.	County Nineteen prisoners died in the gaol, two of whom only were convicts; two visitors and five discharged prisoners died, and many were infected in the county by the discharged prisoners.	Sir George Paul, <i>Considerations on the Defects of Prisons</i> , 1784.
1783-84	..	Maidstone Gaol	.. In the previous forty years, the fever had constantly broken out, five successive gaolers took fever, two died, one turnkey died, one chaplain died, two surgeons took fever and recovered. Fever was especially violent in 1755. In present outbreak;—of 106 felons, fourteen died; of twenty-nine debtors, five died; many discharged prisoners, visitors, workmen, and persons in the neighbourhood took the fever, and many died.	Thomas Day, <i>Some considerations on the different ways of removing confined and infectious air</i> , &c., 1784.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF OUTBREAKS OF GAOL FEVER—continued.

Date.	Locality.	Mortality, &c.	Authority.
1783 ...	Worcester County Gaol. Castle	One surgeon died of gaol fever in 1783, and the gaoler and his wife died about the time of Howard's visit in 1788.	Howard, <i>Lazaretto</i> s, &c., 1789, p. 174.
1783 ? or later	Marlborough, County Bridewell and Town Gaol.	"Since the year 1782 the keeper and surgeon died of gaol fever."	Howard, 1789, <i>Lazaretto</i> s, p. 184.
1784 ...	Salisbury County Gaol	Seventeen prisoners and one turnkey died of gaol fever.	Howard, <i>Lazaretto</i> s, 1789, p. 183.
1784 ? or later	Exeter High Gaol ...	"Late gaoler died of gaol fever" ...	Howard, visit in 1787, <i>ib.</i> , p. 185.
1787 ...	Stafford County Gaol	Seven felons died of the fever and nine debtors	Howard, <i>ib.</i> , p. 173.
1788 ...	Warwick County Gaol	Thirty-two prisoners lying chained in a dungeon, two of them ill of a slow fever.	Howard, <i>ib.</i> , p. 158.
1788 ...	<i>Ceres</i> hulk at Ports-mouth.	"Some had the gaol fever and a few pe-techire."	Howard, <i>ib.</i> , p. 218.
1793-96 ...	England, Ireland, Holland.	Typhus fever, brought partly by independent levies from gaols, &c., caused great ravages in British troops, 3,000 sick out of 9,000 men collected at Cove of Cork in 1795, and 500 died.	Robert Jackson, M.D., <i>On History and Cure of Fevers</i> , &c., 1798.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF OUTBREAKS OF GAOL FEVER—*continued*.

Date.	Locality.	Mortality, &c.	Authority.
1810 ...	Plymouth (Hulks) ...	Typhus broke out among French prisoners of war. Of 4,000 prisoners, 1,050 took fever and 150 died. The account of this outbreak given by M. Bouchet, himself a prisoner at the time, is quoted by Gaultier de Claubry.	<i>De l'identité du Typhus et de la fièvre typhoïde</i> , Gaultier de Claubry, p. 37.