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By JAMES FINLAYSON, M.D., LL.D.

(*Reprinted from the "Glasgow Medical Journal" for May, 1900.*)

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By JAMES FINLAYSON, M.D., LL.D.

"Bronchitis" is a word which has become a great favourite, both with the profession and the public. In the *New English Dictionary*, Dr. Murray attributes its introduction to P. Frank and to Dr. Badham, giving priority to Frank as using it in 1812, as compared with Badham in 1814.[2] Apparently, the earlier edition of Badham's work, in 1808, has been overlooked. The word bronchitis does not occur in the *title page* of the first edition; but it occurs repeatedly in the text, and also in the heading of chapter iv. The word, indeed, occurs in the index of the *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*, vol. iv, 1808, in a review of "Badham on Bronchitis." Unless, therefore, some earlier work than Frank's *Interpretationes Clinicæ*, 1812, can be adduced, the merit of priority of use, such as it is, belongs to Badham. But this is merely a question of the word. The notion of the disease being really an inflammation of the bronchi did not arise with Badham, as he himself indicates in his little book (p. 25)—*Observations on the Inflammatory Affections of the Mucous Membrane of the Bronchiæ*, 12mo, London, 1808, pp. 133.

Attention was called recently to Badham's work by Dr. S. Gee, in his Lumleian Lectures on "Bronchitis," &c., March,

[1] Portion of an address delivered to the Eastern Medical Society of Glasgow, 21st March, 1900, "On Some Medical Men in Glasgow Sixty Years Ago."

[2] "Bronchitis.—*Med.* [Mod. L. f. bronchi, bronchia + itis (= Gr.—ῖτις.) *q.v.* First brought into use by P. Frank, *Interpretationes Clinicæ* (1812) i, 10, and Bodham [*sic*] *Inflammatory Affections of Bronchia* (1814)]. Inflammation of the bronchial mucous membrane.—1814, J. Burns, *Princ. Midwifery* (ed. 3), X, 565 Bronchitis is far from being an uncommon disease of infants." &c.

1899 (see *British Medical Journal*, 1899, vol. i). Badham's book appeared in a second edition in 1814—"An essay on bronchitis, with a supplement containing remarks on simple pulmonary abscess, &c. Second edition, corrected and enlarged," 8vo, London, 1814, pp. 168. This work was translated into German—"Versuch ueber die Bronchitis; uebersetzt von L. A. Kraus mit Anmerkungen von J. A. Albers," Bremen, 1815 (see also Wernich's *Biographisches Lexikon*, under Badham). Badham contemplated the publication of a more comprehensive treatise, which is thus advertised in his Juvenal, 1814:—"Also, preparing for publication, a practical treatise on the diseases of the chest, in one volume 8vo;" but this was never published.

Before his first work appeared, Badham had contributed a paper in 1805 to the *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*, vol. i—"Practical Observations on the Pneumonic Diseases of the Poor." In this paper, he refers to one of his cases, with hydrothorax, which had excited attention, as presenting what he calls "the unequivocal diagnostic of *Aunbrügger*." As Auenbrügger's work on *Percussion* was little known till Corvisart's French translation appeared in 1808, this reference deserves mention as an indication of Badham's knowledge of the literature of his subject. The title of his Thesis, on graduating at Edinburgh University, was—"De Urina et Calculis Urinariis," Edin., 1802, p. 21.

It would almost seem as if Badham may have had enough of ability and industry to gain a standing in the medical profession, had not his energies been so much diverted to classical studies, and to foreign travel, with attendance on such exalted personages as H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex, to whom he was physician, and to whom he dedicated his book in 1808. In 1805, he describes himself in his paper, as "Physician to the Westminster General Dispensary;" and in the title page of his book on the "Bronchiæ," in 1808, he is also described as "Lecturer on the Practice of Physic and Chemistry," as well as "a member of Pembroke College, Oxford."

Although a doctor of medicine of Edinburgh University in 1802, he subsequently entered Pembroke College, Oxford, as a gentleman commoner, graduating in arts and medicine in that University, and soon afterwards he was admitted to the Fellowship of the Royal College of Physicians, London. Important dates in his life are:—Born in London, 17th April, 1780; M.D. Edinburgh, 1802; Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians, London, 4th April, 1803; entered Pembroke

College, Oxford, about 1803; A.B. Oxon., 5th June, 1811; A.M. Oxon., 6th November, 1812; M.B. Oxon., 23rd March, 1817; M.D. Oxon., 27th March, 1817; Fellow Royal College of Physicians, London, 30th September, 1818; Censor, Royal College of Physicians, London, 1821; Fellow of the Royal Society, London, 12th March, 1818; Professor of Medicine, University of Glasgow, 1827-1841; Harveian Orator, London, 1840 (this oration was never published); died in London, 9th November, 1845. He was married twice; first to Miss Margaret Campbell, first cousin of Thomas Campbell, the poet; and, again, about 1833, to a daughter of Admiral Sir Ed. Foote.

In 1812 he issued anonymously, apparently for private circulation, *Specimens of a New Translation of Juvenal*, Oxford, 1812. This was reviewed in the most approved scalping style by Gifford, then editor of the *Quarterly Review*, who, unfortunately for our author, had himself published a translation of *Juvenal* in verse. This review forms amusing reading. Here is a specimen:—

"utere velis,
"Totos pande sinus

"he translates—

"spread each flowing sail,
"Steer to the wind

"Steer *to* the wind! 'Ah! G—— help thee, Rory! more sail than ballast.' Satire would make but little progress in this way; and the translator will probably hear, with some amazement, that when we 'spread our flowing sails, and court the gale,' we steer *from* the wind, and not *to* it" (*Quarterly Review*, Sept., 1812).

After a hint that no new translation, such as the author's "Specimens," was really required, and after emphasising and ridiculing various mistakes and stupidities specified in the course of the review, he adds—

"If, however, the author be determined to proceed, we would intreat him not to precipitate his work. Years must apparently pass away before he can gain a competent knowledge of his author."

Undeterred by what Dr. Badham calls "the *ruffian* style of criticism" in the *Quarterly*, he published, twenty months later, a translation of the whole of the Satires. The "Specimens" had been mainly concerned with the first—"The Satires of Juvenal, translated into English verse, by Charles Badham, M.D., with notes and illustrations," 8vo, London, 1814, pp. 405.

This exposed him to another terrible attack in the *Quarterly*

Review, from the same pen. He is twitted with professing to despise the "ruffian criticism," and yet with practically adopting all the corrections and many of the suggestions then made. He is jeered at for ignoring recent translations (Gifford's in particular!) and yet with having at least one of them at his elbow! He is held as dishonest in submitting his new work to the public, and commenting in the preface, on the review complained of, without saying that the work, as thus published, was really different from the "Specimens" formerly reviewed. He is alleged, in view of his own alterations, to be a more severe critic of himself than the *Quarterly* had been. Referring to these changes, a note says—

"We could almost venture to affirm that Dr. Badham has borrowed less from himself in that satire [the first] than he has from preceding writers in any of the others."

The accusation of borrowing from recent translations, regarding which he had said, "it is not for me to interfere," is supported by copious quotations from each, placed side by side. The following seems the gem of this review:—

"'The brazen frontlet of the uncurtain'd bed
Show'd the rude sculpture of an ass's head.'

"Still copying!—but of what bed is Dr. Badham thinking? Of his own?" (*Quarterly Review*, July, 1814.)

That the translation thus severely handled was not without merit, may be inferred from its *re-issue*, with considerable alterations and improvements, in *Valpy's Classical Library*, in 1831. In the preface to this edition (dated College of Glasgow, 1st May, 1831), Dr. Badham refers to Gifford and the attack in the *Quarterly Review*. By this time he felt free, owing to the death of the rival translator, to express his opinion of Gifford's version, stating—

"without reserve, that I think very moderately of his success; that I hold his version to be not very remarkable for the graces of poetry; that I know it to abound with vulgar and vernacular expressions; and consider it to be much more distinguished by abruptness than by energy of expression. Had I known this work, indeed, as intimately as I was alleged to have done, I am satisfied that not only was it among the last I should have preferred as a model, but that I should have derived from its abounding defects more encouragement to proceed than I actually felt. . . . I might be tempted to designate it rather as the *buoy* which tells of a shipwreck, than as the brilliant Pharos, the revolving light, which invites the security of the harbour."

This edition was dedicated to Sir Henry Halford, President of the Royal College of Physicians, to whom, as we shall see, he owed his appointment to the Glasgow Chair of Medicine.

In the field of poetry, Dr. Badham had made other attempts. In particular, in *Blackwood's Magazine*, vol. 25, 1829, he published "Lines written at Warwick Castle." The poem consisted of sixteen stanzas, occupying nearly three pages of the *Magazine*. The somewhat pedantic style of the author comes out not only in a Greek and Latin quotation as a heading, but in the elaborate notes, which actually extend to double the number of pages occupied by the little poem itself! These six pages of closely printed notes bristle with quotations in Greek and Latin.

This poem, along with eight more, was issued in the form of a slim duodecimo volume, "not printed for publication," in 1835. There is a copy in the Mitchell Library, Glasgow. The preface is dated from "College of Glasgow, 1st May, 1835," but the author's name does not appear, although his identity was plain enough. Apparently one object in issuing it was to dedicate it to Dr. Hawtrey, the Headmaster or Provost of Eton, under whom Badham's sons had studied. The title is "Brief Recollections, Chiefly of Italy. By an Amateur," Glasgow, 1835. The last piece in the little volume has medical bearings, written in a light vein; it is entitled "The Gold-Headed Cane." In the preface, Glasgow comes in for a little condescending approval as regards the classical culture of some at least of its medical graduates. Coming from one who had studied in Edinburgh, and subsequently at Oxford, the following crumb of comfort is worth quoting:—

> "In Glasgow, it is true that I have known several whom I am ready to *presume* good scholars, from knowing the great advantages they had possessed, subsequently taking medical degrees, but here, in an endowed university, there are really vastly more inducements to students to go through the 'gown' [arts] classes, than in any other place in Scotland."

At the date of the preface, the Latin Chair in the Glasgow University was occupied by the learned student of Roman antiquities, Professor William Ramsay, and the Greek Chair was rendered famous by the brilliancy of Sir D. K. Sandford. With these distinguished scholars as colleagues, we can understand his guarded admission that Glasgow students had "great advantages."

The appointment of Dr. Badham by the Crown to the Chair of Medicine in the Glasgow University, was made, apparently,

on the recommendation of Sir Henry Halford, President of the Royal College of Physicians, and on the nomination of the Duke of Montrose, Chancellor of Glasgow University. It created a commotion, locally, as Badham's fame had not reached so far north; and even the editor of the *Lancet* was constrained, on the rumour spreading, to ask "Who this Dr. Badham is?" (9th June, 1827, p. 316). A writer to that periodical undertook to explain that the London College of Physicians regarded him as "their pauper Fellow," he having spent (*incredibile dictu!*) £16,000 to £20,000 in the process of becoming an Oxford Graduate and a Fellow of their College: this Scottish University post was reckoned something of a more permanent provision for him, than travelling physicianships to "lords and ladies of high degree" (*Lancet*, 14th July, 1827, p. 463). In the University itself, even before his actual appointment, MS. records show that misgivings had arisen as to his suitability in the matter of temper and personal peculiarities. The subsequent career of the learned professor may be said to have justified these early doubts. He made no secret that, owing to the decline in his fortune, he needed all the money he could get from his chair. Various difficulties resulted. One arose from his claim to a share of the graduation fees as a perquisite of the chair, whereas these had been paid to his predecessor in his capacity of examiner for degrees. Another initial difficulty turned on the separation of the *Theory* from the *Practice* of Medicine, which had been previously combined. The Government, in his appointment, reserved the right to separate the subjects, if thought fit. In the second or third year of his professorship, Dr. Badham gave two courses, delivering a lecture twice a week on the "Theory of Medicine," long called in the Scottish schools the "Institutes of Medicine," but now represented by separate chairs of Physiology, Pathology, and Hygiene. By and by, he was assisted in this department, for two years, by his son, Dr. David Badham, who conducted this course for him; but, as his son had to go abroad, an arrangement was made by which Dr. Harry Rainy became lecturer on the "Theory of Medicine" (1832), Dr. Badham obtaining, apparently, one-third of the fees for this course. The numbers mounted up to as many as 140 students, as Dr. Rainy's lectures were highly appreciated, and this represented a distinct increase to Dr. Badham's income. His indignation was unbounded at the creation of a new chair of the Institutes of Medicine, in 1839, and at Dr. Harry Rainy being passed over by the Government in favour of Dr. Andrew Buchanan (see *London Medical*

Gazette, 7th September, 1839, pp. 881-2; see also p. 698, same volume). On the other hand, strong expressions of opinion were given against Dr. Badham's efforts to make money out of both courses, and to secure the patronage for himself (see *Lancet*, 3rd August, 1839, p. 704; see also p. 734 and pp. 795-796).

But other troubles, as well as the financial ones, harassed the University authorities. Dr. Badham's fondness for foreign residence, and the poor health of some of his family, and latterly his own, made it difficult sometimes for them to bring him to his work in Glasgow, and the procuring of a competent substitute, without adequate remuneration, was a natural difficulty which had to be put plainly to him. In the last two years of his professorship (1839-41), his course on Practice of Medicine seems to have devolved on Dr. Harry Rainy, who had been freed from the lectures on the Theory of Medicine by the creation of the new chair of "Institutes of Medicine," in 1839 (see *Dictionary of National Biography*, under Harry Rainy).

A brilliant suggestion as to the advantages of hereditary professorships seems to have been advanced by Dr. Badham quite seriously; this, in his case, was to lessen the financial difficulty which arose from the practice at that time, of making a newly-appointed professor pay an annual retiring allowance to his predecessor on his resignation taking effect. Dr. Badham's successor, Dr. William Thomson, was appointed under an obligation to pay £300 a year to the retired professor by the very terms of his Crown appointment. Happily, this kind of arrangement was abolished, very soon after this period, in the University. Dr. Badham had urged the beauty of hereditary succession in his case, as the University could thus get, he said, a well-educated, travelled young man, instead of a peevish old invalid! Lord John Russell, on the part of the Government, and the Chancellor, on the part of the University, could not be brought to see the propriety of this family arrangement! (See a reference to this, *London Medical Gazette*, 7th September, 1839, p. 882.) The suggested successor was his eldest son, Dr. David Badham (1806-1857). He had already taught the Theory of Medicine class for his father, before the arrangement with Dr. Rainy; he made various contributions to medical literature, and subsequently took some position in the scientific world as a naturalist. Another son, John, was also a medical man of promise, but he died in Nice in 1840, after a long period of ill-health. Yet another son of the professor, Charles Badham, D.D. (1813-1884), was ultimately a professor in Sydney, but before leaving this

country he had a high reputation as a brilliant classical scholar; he was said to be able to hear his pupils read any of the Greek poets, and to correct them if they made an error, without the use of the text himself. All these sons were of the first marriage.

By and by, the difficulties of facing a November session in Glasgow became too great for Professor Badham, even with liberal allowances in the way of leave of absence, and he resigned his chair in 1841, with a pension. This was four years before his death.

In the Glasgow Royal Infirmary reports Dr. Badham's name occurs, in 1831, as one of the physicians. At that time there was some difficulty in securing "pure" physicians for duty at the hospital, but his name does not occur again. In connection with this, we find notice of Dr. Badham "being so much of a contagionist, as to have stipulated that it would never be required of him, during his clinical course, to attend *fever cases*" (Moses Buchanan, *History of Glasgow Royal Infirmary*, 1832, p. 23).

One can scarcely keep from thinking that this may have been the reason why we never find his name again in the infirmary reports, for typhus fever was rampant. Perhaps his own fear of contagion may have added force to an eloquent passage in which he pleads the claims of medicine as against the too exclusive, and often blind, admiration awarded by the public to the classical scholar. He asks—

> "Is HE called upon, at the slightest suggestion of duty, to tread the *tainted floor of the pest-house*, or inspire the suspected atmosphere of the Lazaretto? Is HE enjoined to follow with his footsteps, as he *cannot but follow* with his applause, the sublime devotion of these young and generous heroes who quitted, *without* the call of duty, the most fascinating capital in Europe, to expose, under a sky in which the vultures were hovering, the character of a new and ferocious epidemic, and to carry the succours of humanity to the beauty of Barcelona, or the valour of Gibraltar?" (*London Medical Gazette*, 14th November, 1829, p. 204.)

Dr. Badham, however, indicates quite a different reason for his abstention from hospital duty. A daily lecture for six months in the year, without practice, seems to have been all he contemplated in taking the Scottish professorship and its £800 a year; but he says he would have been glad to take duty as a clinical teacher for three months, one-half of the winter course, if this arrangement could have been made to suit his convenience (*London Medical Gazette*, 23rd March,

1833, p. 832). He explains the difficulty in his own flowery language :—

"A daily lecture (often two) from the last oak leaf to the first crocus, is one of the things that cannot be accomplished by steam. Horses on the north road work hard, and a good deal against the collar ; and his insides may constitute as pleasant a party as ever was booked, but the coachman is not sorry to repose. A journey is a journey ; and therefore I conjecture that the professor of medicine will seldom be a permanent physician to the infirmary of this city, which is, however, no reason for his not being an occasional one."

As a balance to such conceptions of a professorship of medicine, which seem in our times so foolish, we find, in the continuation of this same lecture, some saner views. Speaking of medical examinations, he says :—

"The examinations for medical degrees are just beginning : I distrust all such examinations. If I were at once clinical professor, and in possession of the necessary academical authority in my own person, the candidate for a medical degree should be conducted to the clinical ward ; half a dozen cases of disease, acute and chronic (picked cases but not puzzling ones), should be offered to his consideration. Our aspirant to the *summi medicinæ honores*, the candidate for the privilege we confer '*in cathedram doctoralem ascendendi, prælegendi, disputandi*,' and other desirable immunities, should be invited to investigate these diseases by touch, sight, and interrogation (by hearing, too, for he should positively be able to use a stethoscope) ; he should expose to the medical examiners the conclusions to which he might arrive, and the reasons of them ; he should tell us the natural situation of parts, and their morbid liabilities ; he should maintain his diagnostic, not his thesis ; and he should conclude by a summary of the nature, the pharmacy, and the doses of the remedies he proposes to employ. On such an examination, which would be susceptible of infinite variety, and very easy to conduct, I would more willingly confer the diploma than on any oral examination whatever, and by whomsoever conducted."

The emoluments of the chair were estimated, apparently pretty correctly, at about £800 a year, in addition to a free house in the college. Curiously enough, this is the exact sum of the present salary for this chair, under the new ordinances. Private practice, for a successful physician in Glasgow, was estimated at that time as amounting to £1,500 or £2,000 more (*Lancet*, 26th May, 1827, p. 249) ; but at practice in Glasgow Dr. Badham seems to have made no attempt, and so he never joined the Faculty of Physicians

and Surgeons of Glasgow. He went away, often abroad, as soon as he could after his academical lectures. In the social life of Glasgow, apart from the college, he seems to have taken no part, so far as records indicate.

Regarding the character of his lectures on medicine, his students, in an address presented to him at the end of his first session, speaking of the professor and his lectures, refer to "talent so diversified, erudition so extensive, and taste so refined" (*London Medical Gazette*, 10th May, 1828, p. 712). They had requested that his valedictory lecture might be published, but this does not seem to have been done. His address, however, at the prize-giving at the University, in 1829, affords a specimen of his style. Referring to the value of medical attendance, and appealing to the personal recollections of his hearers when affected with feverish illnesses, he concludes his rhetorical address with this sentence, followed by a Latin quotation:—

"How often, when the hot and chafed blood was dashed against its bulwarks, like the tide of some disturbed æstuary, and the once calm and placid respiration had become an hurricane, has the *white star* of medicine (like the constellation of the Dioscuri to the ancient mariner) risen upon your dwelling, the harbinger of returning security, and the pacificatrix of the storm?" (*London Medical Gazette*, 14th November, 1829, p. 204).

Another fragment of a valedictory lecture, with a letter from London, dated Piccadilly, 8th July, 1833, is published in the *London Medical Gazette*, vol. 12, p. 523.

As might be expected, the opening and closing lectures of his course were very special occasions. In a concluding lecture, aiming at a *resumé* of his course, he proposed to his students—

"to go over with you, as it were on the map, the arid region through which we have travelled; remind you of the few, and not very conspicuous or elevated, landmarks which have conducted us over the great desert of a six months' toil; to pause an instant at some of the wells at which we have drunk (though the water, possibly, be not of the purest), and bid you brief farewell by their sides" (*London Medical Gazette*, 25th July, 1835, p. 573).

This "abridged summary," from which the quotation is taken, may be consulted by those who wish to know his views on disease. Appended to it is a report, in detail, of a "Case of Fatal Consequences from Blood-letting."

A letter, dated from Nice, 7th March, 1841, on "Perforation

of the Stomach," is announced as probably his last contribution to medical literature (*London Medical Gazette*, 1840-41, vol. 2).

Tradition in Glasgow indicates that his lectures were more notable for flowery and graceful diction than for any substantial medical value, and his openly expressed disparagement of morbid anatomy may lead us to understand this estimate (*London Medical Gazette*, 7th September, 1839, p. 880).

In a memorial to Lord Melbourne, then Home Secretary, the writer refers to Dr. Badham, and says that his lectures were—

> "more frequently on poetical and literary than on medical subjects. He has, more than once, spent two or three weeks of his course in criticising the works of the English poets, and describing his own travels and hairbreadth escapes on the Continent" (*Lancet*, 9th February, 1833, p. 635).

Such is an account of an interesting figure which flitted across the medical world of Glasgow sixty or seventy years ago; a professor of medicine in the University of Glasgow, with about as little real relationship to medicine as, personally, he had with the life of Glasgow.

REFERENCES.

Gentleman's Magazine, N.S., xxv, p. 99, January, 1846: this contains a notice of his death, with some biographical details which are incorporated in the next two articles.

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Dictionary of National Biography, under BADHAM.

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Addison's Roll of the Graduates of the University of Glasgow, 1898, p. 682.

Duncan's Memorials of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow, 1896 (see index).

Reports of the Glasgow Royal Infirmary (see report for 1831).

Moses Buchanan's History of the Glasgow Royal Infirmary, 1832, p. 23.

Some MS. correspondence between Principal Macfarlane, the Chancellor of the University, and Dr. Badham, is preserved in the library of the Glasgow University, access to which was afforded by the curator, Rev. Dr. Dickson.

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