

**[Correspondence with Daniel Rutherford and James Gregory concerning A guide for gentlemen studying medicine at the University of Edinburgh, attributed to James Hamilton].**

### **Contributors**

Hamilton, James, -1839.

Rutherford, Daniel.

Gregory, James, 1753-1821.

Hamilton, James, -1839. Guide for gentlemen studying medicine at the University of Edinburgh.

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SIR,

A PAMPHLET, intitled "A Guide for Gentlemen Studying Medicine at the University of Edinburgh," with a signature supposed to be fictitious, having lately appeared, a report has been for some time industriously circulated here, stating that I am the author of it.

I therefore thought it incumbent on me, not only formally to disavow being either directly or indirectly concerned in that Publication, but also to endeavour to ascertain the circumstances on which so extraordinary a charge could be founded.

For that purpose I addressed the letters, of which copies are inclosed, to the gentlemen who had principally countenanced the report. The answers which I received are so little satisfactory, that I think it proper to take the liberty of submitting them to your perusal.

Permit me to hope, that the feelings of an injured man will sufficiently apologise for having thus reluctantly intruded himself on your notice.

I have the honour to be,

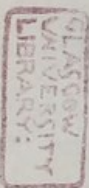
SIR,

Your most obedient humble servant,

EDINBURGH,

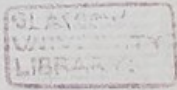
*James Watt*

*J. Watt*



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To Dr RUTHERFORD, Professor of Medicine and of Botany in the  
University of Edinburgh.



S I R,

HAVING been told by Mr Alexander Wood this afternoon, that you have alleged that I am the author of a Pamphlet, intitled, "A Guide for Gentlemen studying Medicine at the University of Edinburgh," I take this method of informing you, that I neither wrote that Pamphlet, nor had the smallest concern in the publication, either directly or indirectly.

As the allegation may be prejudicial to my Character, I hope and trust you will take every proper opportunity of contradicting the report.

I have the honour to be,

S I R,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

EDINBURGH, }  
Nov. 23. 1792. }

JA. HAMILTON jun.

To Dr JAMES HAMILTON Junior.

S I R,

You must have misunderstood Mr Wood, in supposing that any supposition of your being the Author of the Pamphlet you allude to originated with me. I confess myself totally ignorant who was the Author of it. I certainly have heard it imputed to you among others; but as all seemed to me to be vague report, I have never given myself any trouble about it. If you think the allegiance can be prejudicial to you, you must yourself clear yourself of the Imputation. I can do nothing farther in this than acknowledging your having disavowed it to me if I am ever spoken to upon the subject which I hardly expect to be.

I am,

S I R,

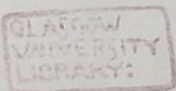
Your most humble Servant,

Friday Evening, }  
Nov. 23. }

(Signed)

D. RUTHERFORD.

To



To Dr GREGORY, Professor of Medicine, and of the Practice of  
Physic, in the University of Edinburgh.

S I R,

I HAVE been told by several people, that although I sent a letter to Dr Rutherford, which you must have seen, asserting that I had no concern whatever in the publication of a Pamphlet, intitled, " A Guide for Gentlemen studying Medicine " in the University of Edinburgh," you still persist in alleging that the work originated from me, or that I had assisted the Author.

As I cannot be induced to believe, that a man in your respectable situation should subject himself to the consequences of *falsely calumniating* any person's character, I am inclined to think, that the Gentlemen who have given me this information, have mistaken your meaning.—But, as I feel myself much interested in knowing the truth, I take this method to learn from you, whether I have been misinformed or not.

I am,

S I R,  
Yours, &c.

EDINBURGH, }  
Jan. 17. 1793. }

JAS HAMILTON jun.

To Dr JAMES HAMILTON Junior, Castlehill, Edinburgh.

S I R,

HAVING no direct knowledge of who were or who were not concerned in the Composition and Publication of the Pamphlet you mention, I never thought myself intitled to *allege*, or simply and positively assert, that you or that your Father had or had not any concern in it. On the contrary, I thought it would have been necessary for the University to have obtained a strict judicial Enquiry into that matter; which enquiry should have terminated either in the full and honourable acquittal, or in the complete conviction and exemplary punishment of the Person *suspected*.

I never dreamed of asking any Person whether he were the Author of that Pamphlet ; nor of paying any regard to any person's Denial of his being concerned in it : for this plain reason, that I was sure whoever was concerned in it would deny it. It contains such things as no man can avow without incurring lasting Infamy. This the Author well knew ; and accordingly published it under a false name, and with the most extraordinary Precautions to baffle Enquiry. He published it with a resolution to deny it. The false Name on the Title Page is *ipso facto* a Denial of it by the real Author or Authors.

I did see your letter to Dr Rutherford ; and also his answer to it : which answer appears to me a very proper one.

You know perfectly the general suspicions and opinion which have prevailed concerning the origin and Purpose of that Pamphlet. You know also on what particulars of internal Evidence and collateral circumstances that opinion is founded. From the hour I read the Pamphlet I adopted that opinion ; and I still retain it. I have mentioned it openly, and also the reasons on which it is founded ; particularly in so far as related to your Father.

This, I presume, the persons who gave you your information have called persisting in alleging that the Pamphlet originated from you.

If you think fit to do me the honour to single me out as the Object either of your personal Rementment, or of legal prosecution, for that general and very natural opinion, you are heartily welcome. My Conduct from first to last in the business has been upright and open : and I care not how generally it be known, or how feverently it be scrutinized.

(Signed) JAMES GREGORY.

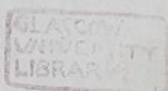
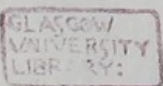
St JOHN'S STREET, *Thursday* }  
Evening, 17th January 1793.

To Dr GREGORY, *Professor of the Practice of Physic, &c.*

S I R,

I cannot choofe, for the object of *personal resentment*, any man who could write so extraordinary a letter as that which you have done me the honour to address to me.

You mentioned to my Father, on the 11th of December last, that *you could bring your charge home to me*. You have now DENIED that, and shelter yourself under the canopy of public opinions and suspicions — opinions and suspicions which probably originated



originated from, and certainly were fancioned and carefully propagated by, yourself and Dr Rutherford.

Your letter, and his "*very proper one*," shall be laid before the public, who will then be able to judge, how far the conduct of either of you has been "*upright and open*."

JA. HAMILTON jun.

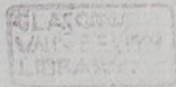
Edinburgh, January }  
18. 1793.

To this letter, which was sent immediately on receipt of Dr Gregory's, no reply has hitherto been made.

J. H.

January 21. 1793.

{ HAMILTON (JAMES), -1839  
RUTHERFORD (Daniel)  
GREGORY (James) 1753-1821



# A N S W E R

T O

DR JAMES HAMILTON,

JUNIOR.

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BY DR <sup>James</sup> GREGORY.  
<sub>n c</sub>

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*He that maketh haste to be rich, shall not be innocent.*

SOLOMON.

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EDINBURGH:

1793.



ANSWER

TO

DR JAMES HAMILTON,

JUNIOR.

By Dr GREGORY.

Printed and Sold by G. GREGORY, Edinburgh.

EDINBURGH.

1793.

GLASGOW  
UNIVERSITY  
LIBRARY:

( vi )

P R E F A C E.

**S**INCE Dr James Hamilton junior has thought fit to make an appeal to the Public, by printing and distributing certain Letters, in which he represents himself as an injured man, and strongly insinuates, that I am one of his greatest wrong-doers, it is incumbent on me to meet him before that tribunal which he himself hath chosen: indeed it is impossible for me to decline it, after telling him (as I did in that Letter which he has printed) that  
“ my conduct from first to last in the bu-  
“ siness had been upright and open; and  
“ that I cared not how generally it was  
“ known, or how severely it was scru-  
“ tinized.”

It never was my intention to injure him; but, on the contrary, to obtain for him, and others concerned, the strictest  
a 2 justice.

justice. It was impossible for me to wish to injure him ; for he had never injured nor offended me. But without insisting on any such argument *a priori*, I shall mention just one proof, which must convince every person, that my conduct was open, and my intentions upright, with respect to the enquiry which I wished to be made concerning the origin of that ill-fated Pamphlet so generally imputed to Dr J. H. or to his Father, or to both of them jointly ; and now so strenuously disavowed by them both : I endeavoured to obtain a strict judicial investigation of that point.—That such was my object and my endeavour from first to last, the University record, and even my letter to Dr J. H. junior, which he hath printed, will amply testify. But this mode of investigation and decision, both he and his Father, after maturely considering the matter for six weeks, have declined ; and instead of it he hath contented himself with an Appeal to the Public. What his reasons for this conduct may have been, he best knows ; but the most certain and obvious effect of it is to preclude me from calling on those persons as witnesses, who,

according to my information, could give the most decisive testimony with respect to the origin and history of the Pamphlet in question ; but which testimony, I have good reason to think, they will not give, unless made to do so in the course of judicial proceedings.

MANY circumstances about that unlucky Pamphlet appeared to me to deserve animadversion.

IT related to our University ; it was addressed to our students, and professed to give them directions with respect to their conduct, and the course of their studies ; it was formally dedicated to the Medical Professors, and, as a name that had no appearance of being feigned was given on the title-page, it seemed to come out under our patronage, or at least with our knowledge and approbation.—But it was soon discovered that the name on the title-page was not the real name of the author ; none of the Professors to whom it was dedicated, or of the booksellers who sold it, knew any such person ; and one of the latter (Mr Mudie) mentioned frankly, that

that he had been told by the London publishers, (the Mess. Robinsons, who sent the Pamphlet down to several book-sellers here), that the name on the title-page was a false one.

It soon appeared by the most complete and irresistible internal evidence, that the chief purpose of the Pamphlet was to raise the fame and promote the pecuniary interest of Dr Hamilton, the Professor of Midwifery in this University. This was attempted with the most injudicious and shameless eagerness. Much praise too was bestowed on several members of the University, whose conduct had been obliging to Dr H. or who were united by some bond of friendship with him or with his Son. And a most insidious and malevolent attempt was made to undermine the professional character, and hurt the fortune of others, whose conduct had been disobliging to Dr H. or whose interest was either essentially or accidentally inconsistent with his. This malevolence appeared most remarkably with respect to the Professors of Botany and of Mathematics; and with respect

respect to a certain private Teacher of Anatomy and Midwifery.

IT plainly appeared from the tenor of the Pamphlet, that the author of it was minutely acquainted with many of the most recent transactions in the University; and that he had the most intimate knowledge of every particular relating to Dr H.'s lectures, and their peculiar merits, and his plan of teaching; and that he expressed himself on these points, in many passages at least, and even on some other points, in the well-known words and phrases of Dr H. which were immediately recognised by many of his students.—Of the justness of this remark I myself could in some measure judge, though I had never heard nor read any of his lectures: for, many years ago, in consequence of a pretty extraordinary accident, I had heard Dr H. express himself without reserve on the same subjects; and I recognised at once in the Pamphlet many of his sentiments, and some of his most remarkable expressions. But what was to me still more striking, I found that the author of the Pamphlet had adopted, and actually

tually executed a particular intention, which I knew to be Dr H.'s, having myself heard him avow it. This the author of the Pamphlet has done, by making, in very rancorous terms, a certain enquiry, which I had heard Dr H. declare, in the most vehement and passionate manner, that he *must* make.—This enquiry relates to a point highly interesting to the Professor of Midwifery in this University, and to those connected with him; but not in the least interesting to any other body.

THOUGH the Pamphlet is dated *London*, yet when enquiry was made at one of the Mess. Robinsons, (the London publishers), he declared that they got it from their correspondent at Edinburgh. But, after taking time to write to Edinburgh, and receive an answer, they refused to give up the author, or to tell from whom they had received it.

THE Pamphlet, in so far as it related to Dr Hamilton, appeared to be, to all intents and purposes, a quack bill in his favour. As no such publication was ever yet known or supposed to come forth  
without

without the knowledge and participation of the person whose interest it was intended to serve, it was immediately supposed, that this one proceeded either directly or indirectly from him. And this almost irresistible presumption was so much confirmed by the concurrent circumstances that little or no doubt was entertained of it. I had occasion to hear that the " Guide was soon spoken of among our students by the name of Dr H.'s Pamphlet.

IN this suspicion, or rather belief, Dr J. H. junior was of course involved; for he still lives in his father's house, as a member of his family, and in the most cordial intimacy and affection with him, and acts as his father's assistant in the practice and in the teaching of midwifery, and is his Father's known and avowed assistant, or rather his agent in the writing of books\*.

THE internal and circumstantial evidence seemed to affect equally both Fa-

\* See Preface to Dr H.'s Treatise on the Management of Female Complaints, &c. pag. vii. ; and Letters to Dr Osborn, pages 86. & 105.



ther and Son: nor do I believe any person thought of making a distinction between them in that respect. It seemed almost a physical as well as a moral impossibility for the one to have written such a Pamphlet without the knowledge and participation of the other.

So strong and so public was the belief with respect to Dr J. H. that he soon was fain to try the sad unavailing expedient of a formal disavowal of the Pamphlet; as appears by his letter of November 23. to Dr Rutherford, which he hath printed.

ABOUT a fortnight afterwards I chanced to learn that he had been disclaiming it in *viva voce* conversation with another gentleman, whom he requested (as he had done Dr Rutherford) to contradict the report of his being concerned in it. This gentleman advised him to do that in the only effectual manner, by applying to J. Johnson the author, through the Mess. Robinsons, the London publishers, and getting him to stand forth. This good advice, which was indeed a severe touchstone,

stone, Dr J. H. declined, by his father's advice, as he said; and for a most absurd reason, to say no worse of it, namely, that it would look like throwing the burden of it on Dr Rotheram, who, he said, had been vaguely, but he thought unjustly, pointed at as the author; and added, that it was probable that the author had received some hints which might have led to the present publication, from his father or himself, by means of information conveyed to a friend in London.

I could not suppose Dr J. H. to have used his Father's name on this occasion falsely: I therefore understood it as a kind of indirect acknowledgement that he (the Father) was in the secret: the insinuation of hints and information being conveyed to a friend in London, appeared to be a finesse, (to give it no harsher name), for I had just learned that one of the London publishers had acknowledged having received the work from his correspondent at Edinburgh: the admission that it was probable the author had *received* hints from Dr H. or his Son, seemed to me irresistibly to imply, that they had *given*

b 2 him

him hints ; else it would not only not have been probable, but it would have been absolutely impossible that he should have received them. Such giving of hints is just what I should call assisting in, or being accessory to, the composition of such a work. Nor can I perceive any difference in point of turpitude between giving such assistance to it, and doing the whole of the work. The hint about the receiving of such hints, seemed to be intended to account for the wonderfully accurate information in the Pamphlet about Dr H.'s lectures, &c. which was so striking as to require some account to be given of it.

SUCH a publication, and such suspicions connected with it, appeared to me to require the most serious animadversion, as touching the honour, the interest, the very existence of our University. In vain shall the munificence of our Sovereign, the favour, partial perhaps, yet not, I trust, quite unmerited, of our Country, the grateful attachment of those who here first caught the flame of Virtue and of Science, rear for our use buildings more splendid than the Porticos of Athens, if attempts  
are

are made to raise the fame and fill the pockets of any of our own number, by arts that would disgrace an advertising or a circumforaneous Mountebank. For, unless the contrary be clearly proved, it will always be believed, that such attempts are made either by the persons whose interest they are intended to serve, or at least with their knowledge and participation. And, if we allow such things to pass unnoticed, it will naturally be thought that we choose rather to connive at them, than to detect and punish them.

I thought it my duty, therefore, to call the attention of the *Senatus Academicus* to that Pamphlet; to inform all my colleagues of the general suspicion or belief entertained with respect to the origin of it, and of the many strong particulars of internal and concurrent circumstantial evidence on which that opinion was founded; and to propose that those disgraceful suspicions should be done away speedily and effectually by the only adequate means, a strict judicial inquiry, which should terminate either in the honourable acquittal, or complete conviction and punishment

punishment of the person suspected. It was a duty to the University at large; more especially it was a duty to my colleagues and my friends, whom the author of the Pamphlet had insidiously attempted to injure: above all, it was a duty to the youth entrusted to our care; whom we ought not only to direct in the honourable paths of Science by our precepts, but also to guide in the sacred ways of Truth and Virtue by our example.

ACCORDINGLY, at the meeting of the *Senatus Academicus*, December 10th 1792, I formally laid the matter before the University; having previously, by a circular letter to all my colleagues, informed them of my intention, and intreated them to attend the meeting; and having also, by an additional private letter to Dr H. intimated to him how much he was interested in the business, and how much it behoved him to attend.

I expressed in very plain terms my sentiments of the turpitude of the Pamphlet; I read several passages of it, (the same that are quoted in the following pages), relating

ting to the Midwifery, the Botanical, and the Mathematical Classes, that my colleagues might clearly perceive the drift of it, and have some notion of the strong internal evidence thence resulting; I mentioned the reasons there were for believing the name on the title-page of the Pamphlet to be a false one, and the strong suspicions, or general belief entertained, that Dr H. was concerned either as principal or accessory in the composition and publication of it; and I proposed that it should be made the subject of a strict judicial enquiry; offering to state, either at that time to the whole *Senatus Academicus*, or at any other time to a secret Committee, all the particulars of internal and circumstantial evidence which were known to me; and as I thought would justify and require such a proceeding.

THIS alternative I proposed, because I knew it was the wish of some of my colleagues, and in particular, of the Principal, to have the matter discussed in a small Committee, rather than in a full meeting of the University. And it was referred to such a Committee accordingly.

I proposed an *enquiry* only, and stated the alternative of the complete conviction or full and honourable acquittal of the person suspected, because I did not think myself entitled to hazard a positive assertion on the force of internal and circumstantial evidence only; especially as, tho' it appeared to me irresistibly strong, it was in one respect ambiguous, for it might affect either Dr H. or his son; and from the tenor of some information which I had received, (at that time only at second hand, but afterwards, about the end of December, I had it fully confirmed from the first hand), I thought it possible that any direct testimony, that should be obtained by a judicial examination of the proper witnesses, might affect the Son only, and not the Father. How far any testimony against the Son, the known assistant of the Father in practice, in teaching, and in writing books, could clear the Father of any concern in the unlucky Pamphlet, it was not for me to determine: but the possibility of it was at least no reason for me to desist from my proposed enquiry.

I cannot conceive that any injustice was done to Dr H. by such proceeding. Of the drift of the Pamphlet, and of the general belief entertained with respect to its origin, there could be no more doubt than of its existence. If he was concerned in it, it behoved the University to know it; if he was not, it was for the honour and interest of the University, and still more for his own, that he should be cleared of all suspicion.—Sure I am, that if such a Pamphlet had been published in my favour, I should have used my utmost endeavours to discover and expose the author of it; from a thorough conviction, that though all who knew me would regard it as a malicious piece of knavery intended to injure and provoke me, yet all who did not know me would consider it as my own act and deed, and judge of me accordingly. If any of my colleagues had expressed his opinion to that effect, as founded on the presumptive evidence, and had proposed that strict enquiry should be made into it, I should have eagerly seconded and urged the enquiry, and I should have expected of my colleagues and my friends, (if I had any among  
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them),



them), that they should have done so too : just as I should have done to any of them whom I conceived to be unjustly suspected of such illiberal conduct.

DR H. most solemnly and vehemently disavowed all knowledge of the composition and publication of the Pamphlet. He said he could not conceive how such particulars were in it about his lectures, unless that his Son had been corresponding with somebody in London about it.—This came so near to what I had learned three days before of what his Son had said about the conveying of information and hints, &c. (page xi.) that I thought all was coming out ; but I was disappointed.—He went on to declare, that he had asked his Son about it, who assured him that he had not done so, and had no concern in it ; that he did not believe his Son would do such a thing without his knowledge, and that he thought it impossible he should have done it without his knowing it ;—and was proceeding, when he was stopped and admonished, that I had said nothing about his Son. The truth is, I had avoided mentioning his name,  
or

or even alluding to him ; for this good reason, that he is no member of the University, nor consequently subject to Academical authority or censure.

THE Committee met December 22. 1792, and after hearing what I and what Dr H. had to say, agreed on a long report, which, with very slight alteration, was adopted by the University at a meeting held January 1. 1793.

THEIR report, in so far as related to the enquiry, was as follows :

——“ THAT though they are convinced, that the motive which alone induced Dr Gregory to bring forward this charge, was a zeal for justice, and for the honour of the University ; yet they do not think that the circumstances specified by him do amount to such evidence as could either justify the *Senatus Academicus* in founding any judicial proceeding upon it, or render it necessary to take any further steps in this matter.” ——

IN short, there was an end of the enquiry on the part of the Univerfity.

*Victrix caufa Diis placuit.* I thought it my duty to bring the bufinefs before the *Senatus Academicus*; but they were well qualified to judge of it, and well entitled to difpofe of it as they pleafed. It was no private or perfonal affair of mine, but their own public general concern. It could neither be my duty nor my intereft, and I am fure it was not my inclination, to quarrel with any of my colleagues about it. Accordingly, no vote or divifion difturbed the peaceful harmony of their fociety; no expreffion of diflent difgraced their fair record: the affair was decided unanimoufly. But previously I had required, as a matter of right, that a full and particular account of what I had faid with refpect to Dr H. fhould be inferted in the Univerfity record, which was granted; but, at the particular defire of the Principal, I allowed the phrafe *Quack-bill* to be expunged.

SUCH a full record of what I had faid with refpect to Dr H. I confidered and  
ftated

stated as a matter of justice, not to myself only, but to him also, that he might have a fair opportunity to bring an action against me, if he seriously thought I had done him any wrong. I knew he had been threatening to do so, and at the meeting of the Committee, (December 22.) I had strongly invited him to try it. But instead of the threatened prosecution, in about three weeks out came the appeal to the Public, in the name of Dr J. H. his Father appearing in it only in the character of a *witness*; and if not an absolutely false witness, at least a wilfully incorrect one.—But I have had the pleasure of hearing from different quarters, that both Dr H. and his Son have expressed their intention of making this Answer of mine the subject of a legal prosecution. How they acquired such accurate and premature intelligence of it, they best know.

As the case is probably a new one, it may be worth while to try it: but I own, such a plan appears to me just as absurd as it would be for a man to send his adversary a challenge, and then prosecute

cute him for accepting it ; or to bring an action against his adversary, and then send him a challenge for making his defence.

THE appeal to the Public was a kind of challenge ; a very shameful one I own ; but that is Dr J. H.'s business, not mine. It was his own deliberate choice ; and he certainly would not have chosen so lamentable an expedient, unless he had expected to gain by it very great advantages. What the advantages of it are to him, I know as well as he does. But, *Nihil est ab omni parte beatum* : it has its disadvantages too. From the moment that he called me before the Public, and represented me as injuring and calumniating him, and as denying what I had said, it became not only my right, but my duty, to vindicate myself ; to state to that Public to which he has appealed, every fact, and circumstance, and inference, which I think requisite for my own justification ; in particular, to expose every particular of that internal and circumstantial evidence which had so completely determined my belief, (and that of many others), in opposition to his formal disavowal

disavowal of the Pamphlet imputed to him.

If the result should not be quite agreeable to his wishes, nor the style and manner of the discussion altogether to his taste, he cannot reasonably complain. *Qui vult quod antecedit, non debet nolle quod consequitur*, is an axiom of common sense and equity, as well as law; and as it is an axiom of Midwifery also, I believe indeed the basis of the whole science, I presume Dr J. H. junior must understand it thoroughly, and admit it in its full extent: If not, it is time he should learn it.

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THOUGH the University would not engage in my proposed enquiry, I did not conceive myself thereby precluded, as an individual, from using my honest and diligent endeavours to detect the author of the Pamphlet. Some means for  
that

that purpose were, as I thought, in my power; with what success I have employed them, will appear from the following Remarks on it, and account of the correspondence I have had with its pseudonymous author.

J. G.

ST JOHN STREET, }

April 20. 1793. }

R E -

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# R E M A R K S

ON

*THE PAMPHLET OF*

J. JOHNSON, Esq.

I.

**T**HE Pamphlet which is the subject of the following remarks was published by several bookfellers in this city about the end of October 1792, a few days before the meeting of the Medical Classes in the University of Edinburgh for

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the present Session. But it was published in London, and, as I have been told, in Dublin too, some time before; with the evident purpose of attracting the attention and influencing the conduct of gentlemen who meant to come, or who were already come, to this University, in the prosecution of their medical studies.

It is entitled, "A Guide for Gentlemen  
 " studying Medicine at the University of  
 " Edinburgh." It should have been entitled, "A Guide to the Midwifery Class,  
 " and a Warning against the Botanical  
 " and Mathematical Classes in the University of Edinburgh;" for such is the true intent and chief purpose of it, as will plainly appear from the following ample specimens of it, which are faithfully extracted from the original Pamphlet; and which are *complete*, as being *all* that our Author has said with respect to those three classes. The reader may be assured, therefore, that no injustice is done to *J. Johnson, Esq;* by either misrepresenting or suppressing any part of his discourse on those points. I quote these passages at full length for another reason, namely, that his valuable and truly original work

is already becoming very scarce; and I wish to gratify the curious by a good sample of it.

On the subject of *Midwifery*, which is his darling theme, he thus expresses himself.

### M I D W I F E R Y.

“ THE importance of the art of midwifery to mankind in general, is universally acknowledged; and that art is now considered, with much propriety, a very interesting and necessary branch of medical education.

When the practice of midwifery was principally confined to *women*, it might be deemed merely a mechanical art; but, since *gentlemen* began to be employed in that line, it has become very different; for the treatment of the diseases of women, in almost every stage of life, has, by common consent, been consigned to the charge of male-practitioners of midwifery. It is, therefore, very surprising, that this should be the only medical class which candidates for degrees are not obliged to attend. Does

this proceed from the jealousy of the other professors, the negligence of the professor of midwifery, or the ignorance of the patrons of the university?

Dr Hamilton divides his course into four parts. In the first he explains every circumstance in the state of women before delivery, with which a practitioner ought to be acquainted; in the second, he describes the treatment, during child-bearing, in all the variety of cases which can occur; in the third, he describes the management of lying-in women; and in the fourth part, he exhibits a most complete view of the diseases of children in early infancy.

In the first part the professor explains the peculiarity of the structure of women and the diseases arising from that cause; he then proceeds to shew the effects of pregnancy, and the diseases in consequence, with the proper treatment. Many of the subjects of this part require to be illustrated by preparations, a complete collection of which has been procured by the present professor, with much trouble and at a great expence.

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In the second part of the course, the management of all the variety of *labours* is detailed. In this part of his course Dr Hamilton is particularly eminent; for, without disgusting his pupils with tedious minuteness, he describes, most accurately, the treatment of every general case which can possibly happen.

His observations are illustrated by casts in plaster of Paris, and by demonstrations on *machinery*, imitating women and children. These demonstrations are given at extra hours, by which the intention of them is completely fulfilled; and they are not hurried over at the ordinary time allotted for the lecture, as is done by most teachers.

The treatment of women in child-bed, forms the third part of the course; it is a very important subject, and, notwithstanding the many authors who have written on it, is not yet fully explained. The professor has paid particular attention to this part, and gives a very extensive view of it.

In the fourth part of this valuable course, the nature and treatment of the diseases  
in-

incident to children in early infancy, are pointed out.

Although these have lately attracted much attention, many of them are still involved in obscurity; and that practice, which is founded on philosophical principles, now so universally adopted in the disorders of grown people, has not hitherto been extended to the complaints of children.

The professor has for many years, endeavoured to point out a rational practice in the different diseases incident to infancy.

Dr Hamilton concludes his course with the history of midwifery. He divides this into two parts: in the first, he describes the progress of midwifery; and, in the second, he exhibits a critical view of the different works which have been published on that art.

The practice of midwifery is acquired in the lying-in ward of the Royal Infirmary; but, as it is on a very small scale (containing only six patients at a time,) Dr Hamilton *engages* to furnish his pupils with *private deliveries*, if they are very anxious to see much practice.

It

It must appear astonishing, that, in Edinburgh, there is no public lying-in hospital. Whether is this occasioned by the fault of the inhabitants, or of the medical practitioners? it is a great reproach on the latter, at least \*.

Dr Hamilton has been assisted, for above three years, by his *son*, whose education has been regulated with the *sole design* of rendering him capable of that important task.

The course of lectures, given by the professor and his assistant, calculated to exhibit a complete scientific view of the diseases of women and children, should be attended by every medical student, whatever his future prospects may be; for, without a knowledge of these subjects, no practitioner of medicine can expect to succeed in business.

\* Since this work was put to press, the author understands that proposals for a lying-in hospital, on an extensive scale, have been published, by the professor of midwifery; and have been received with so much approbation, that the institution will be established, it is thought, in a short time. *J. J.*

*Method of studying Midwifery.*

Dr Hamilton's course is conducted in such a manner, that gentlemen are gradually instructed in the principles of the art; and, therefore, no book, as an assistant, except the professor's "Outlines of Midwifery," should be used for the first course. The student, however, ought to mark down, every day, the principal observations which have been made during the lecture.

In the second course, Foster's Midwifery, Denman's Introduction, White's Treatise on the management of Pregnant and Lying-in Women, and Underwood on the Diseases of children, may be occasionally consulted; and in the third course, the student may peruse Baudeloque's Midwifery with advantage.

Dr Hamilton is accustomed to mention, as he proceeds, the principal authors on the various subjects of which he treats, and to point out the circumstances in which they judge properly, and in which they are mistaken; this method is productive

ductive of important advantages to his pupils, and should certainly be more universally adopted by lecturers than it is at present.

Dr Hamilton gives three courses of lectures in the year; the first is begun at the end of October, the second at the beginning of February, and the third in the first week of May. The fees are, three guineas, for the first; two guineas, for the second; and one guinea, for the third course; after which the gentlemen are entitled to attend *gratis*. The fee for the lying-in ward is eleven shillings and sixpence each course.

Dr Hamilton also takes private pupils, (named *annual pupils*), who, besides attending the lectures and lying-in ward, are sent to visit patients in private practice.

As midwives are almost exclusively employed in *low life*, in Edinburgh; and as many of them are very ignorant; difficult cases occur in a great proportion; Dr Hamilton's pupils are entrusted with the charge of these cases; they deliver under the direction of the doctor *or his son*, and hence acquire a *complete knowledge* of the practice. They have also opportuni-



ties of attending puerperal complaints and chronic diseases of women and children.

The advantage of being an annual pupil is, therefore, very great ; but it unfortunately can be extended to few, for Dr Hamilton restricts the number. The fee paid by annual pupils is *ten guineas.*" *Pamphlet, Page 26. 32.*

" After the first year, the students comprehended under this order should attend midwifery ; because a much more scientific course is given by Dr Hamilton than by any teacher in any other medical school." *Pag. 57.*

" The advantage of attending anatomy, the institutions of medicine, and materia medica, may probably be so obvious, that no illustration is required ; but the use of midwifery, the first year, may not be so evident.

Dr Hamilton, in the treatment of every subject, proceeds on the supposition, that gentlemen are almost unacquainted with other branches of medicine ; and, therefore, all the students understand him easily : hence midwifery can be attended more easily the first year, than during the second, when their hours are occupied in  
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the investigation of subjects which require much time.

Besides, if any circumstance should occur, which might render the knowledge of midwifery an interesting object, as gentlemen, by paying for three courses, have it in their power to attend gratis as long afterwards as they please, the sooner they begin, they will reap the greater benefits." *Pag. 58. 59.*

"Midwifery is recommended on the third year, for the sake of the important observations which Dr Hamilton makes on the diseases of women and children." *Pag. 60.*

(Are these important observations on the diseases of women and children not delivered in the first course of Dr Hamilton's lectures, which gentlemen are thus exhorted to attend? Or how is this matter managed? for it should seem, at first view, that what was the third year, and the second or third course of some gentlemen, might be the first year and the first course of others.)

"Every gentleman, therefore, who means to enter on business immediately after leaving the college, ought to endeavour

to visit private patients during the last year of his residence in Edinburgh. This may be accomplished, by attending the shop of a respectable surgeon, or by becoming annual pupils to the Professors \* of midwifery. If the practice of midwifery will form any part of his future occupations, he ought by no means to lose so favourable an opportunity for improvement in that line." *Pag.* 62. 63.

" Dr Hamilton's lectures are recommended to gentlemen, for whom this table is intended, on account of his valuable view of the diseases of children, in which he is probably not equalled by any other teacher." *Pag.* 68.

" The mathematical class in summer, in the college of Edinburgh, must be perfectly inconsistent with the views of medical gentlemen; for it meets at the same hour with the lectures on midwifery, which ought not to be omitted by any student who remains in Edinburgh during the summer." *Pag.* 71. 72.

\* Who are these PROFESSORS?

“ M I D W I F E R Y .

“ T H E importance of this class has been already so fully explained, that it is perhaps unnecessary to add any thing on the subject.

No gentleman, who pursues the study of medicine, ought to neglect this class, whatever his future prospects may be.

The extent of the present professor's lectures far exceeds that of any other teacher; and as his course comprehends the diseases incident to women, in the unimpregnated, pregnant, parturient, and puerperal state, and also the complaints incident to children in early infancy, it should be considered as one of the most important medical classes.” *Pag. 72.*

Such are the sentiments and the words of J. Johnson, Esq; with respect to Midwifery, and to the Professor, or, as he is pleased to say, the Professors of it in the university of Edinburgh.

On the subject of Botany, and the professor of it, he is much less enthusiastic  
and

and rapturous ; but not less edifying.  
His words are as follow :

“ B O T A N Y.

“ BOTANY, although more properly a branch of natural history, is included among the studies which, by the laws of the college, are necessary for those who mean to become candidates for the degree of doctor of medicine.

Botany was formerly, with great propriety, joined with the materia medica ; it is now however taught separately.

The study of Botany is highly seducing : few who pursue it, reflect that it is only in a very slight degree connected with medicine ; hence many are led into a wide field of speculation, which though it exhibits some of the most beautiful views in nature, carries off the attention from more profitable pursuits.

There is a public botanic garden in Edinburgh, for the purpose of illustrating the subjects of the lectures ; and in it the class-room is situated.

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In studying botany the physiology of plants perhaps deserves the principal attention. The long time which Dr R. employs in explaining the terms of the art, renders the study highly disgusting to the general run of his pupils, and prevents him from doing sufficient justice to the physiological department of his course.

The Linnæan system of classification is now fully established, and may be easily understood by perusing Linnæus' *Principia Botanica*: it may, however, probably be better for medical purposes to direct the attention more particularly to the fifty-eight natural orders.

The late worthy Dr Hope used to conclude his course by the exhibition of the exotics belonging to the botanic garden, and by a description of their powers in the cure of diseases, &c. We learn, with much regret, that Dr R. has not hitherto paid proper attention to so important a part of the course.

It has been alledged with some plausibility, that the study of botany, in the present improved state of medicine, is not necessary to practitioners of the healing art, as all the medicines which the vegetable

table kingdom furnishes are found in the shops, and described in every treatise on the materia medica.

But when it is considered that botany, like other branches of natural history, has now become part of the education of every gentleman, no medical practitioner will choose to hazard his abilities being called in question by his ignorance of the principles of a science which is vulgarly believed to be necessary and subservient to the study of medicine.

It must not, however, be forgotten, that medical students should acquire all the knowledge essential to the practice of their profession before they amuse themselves with ornamental accomplishments."

He adds in a note,

" Though the botanic garden is maintained at the expence of government, two shillings and sixpence is demanded from each student, by the principal gardener. Such extortions are shameful." *Pag. 12.*

—15.

It may be observed, that in this passage J. Johnson, Esq; as if conscious of the shameful wrong he was doing, and afraid  
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of some of the probable consequences of his conduct, and anxious to evade those consequences by a species of chicanery worthy of himself, has had recourse to the wretched expedient of giving only the initial Dr R. instead of the Professor's name at full length, Dr Rutherford. No such precaution is used by him in mentioning the other professors. But, independently of that characteristic expedient, the insidious malevolence of the whole passage is very striking. At any rate, our author is the best commentator on his own text, as he surely best understood his own meaning: which in a subsequent passage he has fully expressed, in such a manner, that it can neither be mistaken nor explained away.

“ It is surprising that no private lectures on botany have ever been proposed. A garden might be hired for a small sum, and there is certainly an excellent field for a man of abilities.

If the physiology, the method of cultivation, and the medical properties of plants, were described in an accurate manner; and the *terms* of botany and *principles* of classification



fication explained in a syllabus, or at extra hours, instead of being made to form a part of the course, a valuable addition to the medical institutions at Edinburgh would be established.

Medical students would thus understand a part of natural history with which, *by the present mode of teaching it*, not above one in a hundred who attend the university is acquainted." *Pag. 43.*

Next I must give a specimen of our author's sentiments with respect to the study of mathematics; for they are perfectly original and very instructive. He has taken occasion to express them fully in giving an account of the lectures read during summer in the university of Edinburgh.

#### “ M A T H E M A T I C S .

“ THE propriety of teaching the elements of mathematics in a public class, may be very much doubted. The first six books of Euclid, which form the foundation of the ordinary courses on mathematics,

matics, cannot be acquired by attending *lectures*.

As the study of this science ought to form a part of the preparatory acquisitions of a medical student; if it has been neglected, he should certainly endeavour to remedy the defect in his education.

The best means, however, for this purpose, is to attend a private teacher, who, at less expence, and in a shorter time, will qualify a young man for understanding natural philosophy, better than any public professor can do.

The mathematical class in summer, in the college of Edinburgh, must be perfectly inconsistent with the views of medical gentlemen; for it meets at the same hour with the lectures on midwifery, which ought not to be omitted by any student who remains in Edinburgh during the summer." *Pag. 71. 72.*

Lastly, I shall quote what J. Johnson, Esq; is pleased to say with respect to myself. I wish it to be fully understood, as well from his own words as from my declaration, that there was no personal quarrel nor animosity between us; nor any

thing said in his Pamphlet with respect to me, at which I, as an individual, can be supposed to take offence.

“ PRACTICE OF MEDICINE.

“ ALL the classes already enumerated (except midwifery) may be considered to be subservient to the practice of medicine, which is the important object of medical students.

Dr Gregory, whose abilities are so well known, succeeded the celebrated Dr Cullen in this charge. As he has not yet made out a perfect plan of lectures, very little can be said respecting his course. In his public discourse, when he first appeared in his present chair, he mentioned that he meant to lecture according to the order of Dr Cullen's Nosology: last year he only finished the first order of that work; and this season, we learn, he began where he left off.

Although, perhaps, it would be better for the general run of students, that a *complete view* of the practice of medicine should be exhibited in every course; or,  
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in other words, that the explanation of the general principles of every disease should be comprehended within one course; yet, as it is impossible for gentlemen to acquire the knowledge of the practice of medicine in a *single season*, the plan which Dr Gregory has adopted is probably the most eligible one.

By this means he is enabled to give a much more accurate description of the several diseases than could otherwise be done; and gentlemen attending two successive courses are not disgusted with a repetition of the same subjects." *Pag. 32. 33. 34.*

But this is not all: J. Johnson, Esq; in his great goodness, when he is giving directions for the study of the institutions of medicine, takes occasion to praise still more highly my former labours, as Professor of the Theory of Physic. I quote his words:

“ DR Gregory, who preceded Dr Duncan in the charge of this class, and whose lectures on the institutions did him much honour, published a work, which should  
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be used as a text-book, for the first two parts of Dr Duncan's course. The beauty of the language is equalled by the value of the matter, which is so great, that, by means of the "*Conspectus Medicinæ Theoreticæ*" alone, an adequate idea could, perhaps, be formed of the subject of these two parts." *Pag. 23.*

I hope I need not say that it is merely for the purpose I have mentioned, that I quote these passages in my own praise, and not from any vanity: I am not in the least flattered by them; nor is it possible I should be gratified by any praises bestowed on me in such a Pamphlet as that which I am considering, and by such an author as J. Johnson, Esq;

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II.

“**S**PEAK that I may see Thee,” is the well known apophthegm of an ancient sage. It was addressed by *Socrates* himself to a young man, who was just wise enough to hold his tongue ; and who by that rare piece of discretion posed the Philosopher, notwithstanding his superior wisdom, and his skill in physiognomy.

“ Behold my desire is, that mine Adversary had written a Book,” is a sentiment derived to us from still higher authority.

On these two texts, both of which imply a just notion of the art of finding out a man from his speech, or from his writings, I shall give a short practical commentary, strictly applicable to J. Johnson, Esq; and to his Pamphlet.

1. First,

1. First then, I observe, that whatever may be thought of his Pamphlet in many respects, it *must* have had an author or authors, as certainly as the *Iliad* of *Homer* or the *Principia* of *Newton*. I conceive too, that the principles, the understanding, the sentiments, the passions, the interests, nay, the very profession of the author of it, may as certainly be judged of from his composition, as the genius of *Homer* and of *Newton* may be known from their immortal works. If two or more persons have been concerned in the composition of the Pamphlet which bears the name of J. Johnson, Esq; they must have acted in concert: for the same spirit and tendency, the same train of thought, and, to the best of my judgement, the same style, (only more animated and eloquent on the subject of midwifery), pervade it all. The occasional use of the first person plural instead of the first person singular, *we* instead of *I*, seems to favour the supposition of the Pamphlet being the work of more than one person. But as that is a common Scotticism, even when a person is speaking or writing for himself alone, I  
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do not much rely on it ; nor do I think the question of any moment.

2. J. Johnson, Esq; *must be* a perfect enthusiast in the practice and in the teaching of midwifery. This is the burden of the song ; often repeated ; strongly inculcated ; always kept in view ; even in giving instructions for the study of mathematics not forgotten ; praised and recommended in such fulsome terms, as none but an enthusiast in midwifery could ever have thought of, or can ever read without disgust and contempt. *Ab Jove principium ; Jovis omnia plena.*—I hope I need not say that it is not the ancient Heathen Jupiter, but *Jupiter Lucinus*, the God of men-midwives, a modern Deity, whose ardent votary our author is.

He mentions, indeed, the various branches of medicine that are taught here, and the several professors who teach them ; and recommends some of them, and praises some of the professors : which, in a work calling itself a Guide for Gentlemen studying Medicine at the University of Edinburgh, could not be avoided. He mentions also mathematics, and even philo-

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phy ;



phy ; but still midwifery, midwifery, midwifery, is always uppermost. His whole Pamphlet smells insufferably of midwifery. *Omnia cum fecerit, Thaida Thais olet.*

3. J. Johnson, Esq; *must be* intimately acquainted with many of the most *recent* occurrences and establishments in this University. The summer Clinical Lectures, and other summer courses, Dr Duncan's Lectures on Medical Jurisprudence, Dr Rotheram being Dr Black's assistant, &c. He is also well acquainted with many minute particulars, especially as to *money matters*, with respect to the lectures of the several professors, and the attendance on the hospital, and the medical society. But, above all, he appears to be most intimately acquainted with every thing relating to Dr Hamilton, the Professor of Midwifery, and with his various *fees*, even to the mathematical precision of shillings and pence ; and with his way of teaching, and with the plan of his lectures, and with the extraordinary merit of them, and with their superiority to all other lectures on the same subject ; and with the precious opportunity

portunities which his pupils have of seeing the actual practice of midwifery, both in the public hospital and in private houses; and with the *very great advantage* of becoming private or annual pupils of Dr Hamilton; which *very great advantage* is obtained by a few happy individuals, who pay him *ten guineas*. But our author feelingly remarks, “that this very great advantage “*unfortunately* can be extended but to “few.” In short, the chief aim of J. Johnson, Esq; in his Pamphlet, plainly is, to raise the fame, and promote the pecuniary interest of Dr Hamilton.

4. He tells us, that “Dr Hamilton *engages* to furnish his pupils with private “*deliveries*, if they are very anxious to “see much practice.” This is the very language of an advertisement; or at least of one having, or thinking he had, authority, from Dr Hamilton, to promise and engage in his name.

5. He tells us, that the education of Dr Hamilton’s son has been regulated with the sole view of rendering him capable of the important task of assisting his

father in teaching midwifery. This implies very intimate knowledge of their history, and of the actions, and even the thoughts and motives of Dr Hamilton.

6. Though J. Johnson, Esq; is so accurately informed of every thing relating to the midwifery class, and to Dr Hamilton, he appears to be most *wonderfully* ignorant of some things relating to the conduct of the professors of medicine; and even of the public regulations, (called *Statuta Solennia*), with respect to the obtaining of degrees in physic in this University.

He tells us, (pag. 66. of his Pamphlet), that, "After having studied at any other  
 " medical university, candidates for the  
 " degree of Doctor of Medicine at Edin-  
 " burgh are not obliged to attend the clas-  
 " ses of that College above *two* years;  
 " but they must take tickets from all the  
 " professors of medicine." To take tickets from them all, means to pay three guineas to each of them. The expression, "are not obliged to attend the classes of that College above two years," implies that they are obliged to attend them at  
 least

least two years. J. Johnson, Esq; is notoriously wrong on both these points: for, first, students who have attended the lectures on medicine in other universities are not obliged to study here two years in order to obtain the degree of Doctor of Physic; and, secondly, such students are not obliged to take a ticket from the professor of any branch of medicine here, which they had studied in another university. Accordingly, to my certain knowledge, and that of all my colleagues, the professors of medicine, and to that of many of our students, graduates, and others, many gentlemen have taken the degree of Doctor of Physic in this University, tho' they had studied but one year with us; and though they had not attended the lectures of all the professors of medicine, nor taken tickets from them all. Our laws relate to the time that they must employ in the study of physick, and to the various branches of it which they must study; not to the number of guineas that we may exact from them. It was the intention of the professors of medicine who proposed, and of the university which sanctioned those laws, and it has been our uniform practice

practice in the interpretation of them, to act in the most liberal manner to all other universities, and to all other professors of medicine, as well as to those students who came from them to us. J. Johnson, Esq; not knowing the fact, has represented us as doing the very reverse, and as shewing the most sordid attention to our own pecuniary interests. Any person may easily judge of the character of an author who could so shamefully, so sordidly, misconstrue the following liberal, reasonable, and just law, the second of our *Statuta Solennia*.

“ *Nemo Candidatorum numero ascribatur*  
 “ *priusquam triennium, in hac aut aliâ A-*  
 “ *cademiâ, Medicinæ studio impenderit, et*  
 “ *omnibus quas Scientia Medica complectitur*  
 “ *Disciplinis, scilicet Anatomix et Chirur-*  
 “ *giæ, Chemiæ, Botanicæ, Materiæ Me-*  
 “ *dicæ et Pharmaceuticæ, Medicinæque*  
 “ *Theoreticæ et Practicæ, et Prælectionibus*  
 “ *Clinicis, à Medicinæ Professoribus habitis,*  
 “ *de ægris in Nosocomio decumbentibus, ope-*  
 “ *ram dederit.*”

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These laws are made as public as possible : they are printed, and are in the hands of the students ; for every candidate for degrees in physic receives a copy of them : And a copy of them hangs in the great library, to which all the students have access.

I cannot suppose that J. Johnson, Esq; intended to misrepresent that law ; for such a misrepresentation could do no good either to him or to his friend, whose pecuniary interest he has so much at heart. I presume he has only mistaken the meaning of the law, which, though public enough and plain enough, unhappily for him, is in Latin.

## III.

**N**EXT to the enthusiastic passion for midwifery, and the eager desire to raise the fame and promote the pecuniary interest of Dr Hamilton, the most striking and characteristic circumstance in the Pamphlet of J. Johnson, Esq; is the extraordinary rancour which appears in it against those persons whose conduct has been disobliging to Dr Hamilton, or whose interest is either essentially or accidentally inconsistent with his.

1. The principal object of this rancour is Dr Rutherford, Professor of Medicine and Botany. The passages relating to him, and displaying that rancour, have been already quoted at full length, and need not be repeated. They are decisive as to the  
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sentiments and intentions of the author of the Pamphlet.

I shall make no attempt to refute the malevolent assertions and insinuations of J. Johnson, Esq; with respect to Dr R. and his professional character. In this city, and in this University, his character, in every respect, is too well established to need or to admit of any vindication: and the great and increasing numbers of the students who attend his lectures afford the most ample and honourable testimony of what his pupils think of him. But I shall mention what I conceive to be the reason of the inveteracy of J. Johnson, Esq; against him.

It happens, that Dr R.'s sentiments with respect to midwifery in general, and to the male practitioners of it in particular, are widely different from those of J. Johnson, Esq; and, to my certain knowledge, they have been expressed by him for many years past, both in public and in private, without any reserve. Without entering needlessly on the discussion of minute particulars, it will be sufficient at present to mention, that four or five years ago, when the question, Whether

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men-midwives should be admitted to be Fellows of the Royal College of Physicians, was under consideration, Dr R. long and keenly opposed their admission. I remember it well, and even the general tenor of his sentiments, and his objections to their admission, from this circumstance, that he and I were on opposite sides in that question, and argued it fully, both in public, (at the College), and in private, with much keenness, though without any breach of friendship on either part.—Dr Home too was on the same side with Dr R. that is, against admitting the men-midwives to be Fellows of the College of Physicians: and he too is treated but scurvily, tho' not with the same inveteracy that Dr R. is treated, in the Pamphlet of J. Johnson, Esq;

Much more lately, indeed just about the time that the Pamphlet in question was written, Dr R. did, what, I presume, would be very displeasing to our author and his friends. Dr R. is one of the Physicians of the Royal Infirmary; and when the Managers of that Hospital (tired, I believe, with frequent complaints of the abuses and inconveniences connected with  
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the lying-in ward which had been permitted in it) consulted him about the propriety of continuing it or abolishing it, he gave a decided opinion for abolishing the lying-in ward; and, as I understand, it is to be abolished accordingly. — In both these questions, man-midwifery in general, and Dr Hamilton in particular, were much interested. He was one of *two* men-midwives, who were desirous to become Fellows of the College of Physicians, at the time the question for rescinding the law that excluded them was in agitation. He had formerly been of the College of Surgeons, but had got a diploma of M. D. (from the University of St Andrew's) some years before he obtained a licence from the College of Physicians.—And as to the abolition of the lying-in ward in the Royal Infirmary, that was a point still more interesting to him; for without such a ward in the common hospital, or a particular lying-in hospital, he could not carry on that important plan of obstetrical education which J. Johnson, Esq; recommends so eagerly. Accordingly Dr Hamilton has exerted himself so much in that good cause, as to have al-

ready obtained the institution of a lying-in hospital, quite unconnected with the Royal Infirmary.

As the sentiments and conduct of Dr R. on both those points were open and avowed, I presume they have been known to many persons, especially to those peculiarly interested in them; and that J. Johnson, Esq; has taken umbrage at them. But I must do Dr Hamilton the justice to mention, that he declares that he knew nothing of them.

2. Our author is very unfriendly to the Professor of Mathematics; and has made a most absurd attack, not so much on him as on his academical profession, which he endeavours to represent as useless and improper. At first view, it is not obvious what possible offence such an obstetrical Quixote could take at a science, of which it is infinity to one that he knows not a single proposition; and with which, at any rate, he has no more to do than with Civil law or Church history. But the mystery is fully explained by his own imprudence: in his last paragraph relating  
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to mathematics, he mentions, that “ the  
 “ Mathematical Class in summer, in the  
 “ College of Edinburgh, must be perfect-  
 “ ly inconsistent with the views of medi-  
 “ cal gentlemen ; for it meets at the same  
 “ hour with the Lectures on Midwifery,  
 “ which ought not to be omitted by any  
 “ student who remains in Edinburgh du-  
 “ ring the summer.”——The rest of the  
 story is, that Dr James Hamilton junior  
 came to Mr Playfair, the Professor of Ma-  
 thematics, and, in the name of his father,  
 the Professor of Midwifery, requested of  
 him to take a different hour for teaching  
 mathematics, as he meant to teach mid-  
 wifery at ten o’clock, the hour which Mr  
 Playfair had chosen. This Mr Playfair,  
 who thinks almost as highly of mathema-  
 tics as Dr Hamilton and his Son do of  
 midwifery, would not agree to.

Now, as it is an undeniable axiom in a-  
 cademics, that young men cannot study  
 mathematics and midwifery at the same  
 hour, and as Mr Playfair would not  
 change his hour of teaching to gratify Dr  
 Hamilton, and as his summer course of  
 mathematics was peculiarly intended for  
 the medical students, and had been re-  
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commended to them accordingly by some of the Professors, it follows by plain demonstration, that the Elements of Mathematics, and especially the *first six books of Euclid*, cannot be properly taught by a public professor, but only by a private teacher, who will do it at less expence, and in a shorter time, better than any public professor can do ; though, as appears by the last paragraph of J. Johnson's Pamphlet, Natural Philosophy, which involves the most difficult application of the most difficult part of mathematics, may be tolerably well taught by a public professor. But then this Professor's hour of teaching did not interfere with Dr Hamilton's.

It is certainly a very extraordinary discovery, that a thing cannot be done, which has been done easily times innumerable, and which is done successfully every day : that a public professor cannot teach the elements of geometry ; which are among the very few things that such a professor may teach without the possibility of error ; and in the learning of which, the example, the efforts, the emulation, of the students, in demonstrating publicly the several propositions, are almost as useful as the  
the

the lectures or other instructions of the Professor.

I consider J. Johnson's discovery on that point, as the greatest discovery that ever was made in the lower and hinder parts of mathematics. But there is reason to think, that Dr James Hamilton junior is well entitled at least to share with him the honour of it : For I have learned, from unquestionable authority, that, before the publication of J. Johnson's Pamphlet in Edinburgh, Dr James Hamilton junior had expressed his opinion of the impossibility of acquiring a knowledge of mathematics in a public class ; and had assured the gentleman from whom I have my information, that he had not been able to learn even the first elements of geometry in that way. Perhaps J. Johnson, Esq; had known this, and having profited as little by the instructions of the Professor of Logic, as Dr James Hamilton junior had done by those of the Professor of Mathematics, had boldly ventured to draw a general conclusion from a particular instance.

3. Our author, in his Pamphlet, (pages 10. & 11.), expresses great inveteracy against  
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gainst certain private teachers of anatomy, who have undertaken to furnish their pupils with *private dissections* : he even asserts that “ they have only imposed on the “ world.” A most wonderful imposition it must be, if it be any imposition at all ; and they must be at least magicians who practise it : for, granting that the noses of the young anatomists might be deceived, or at least puzzled, by honest physical means, and by substituting *quid pro quo*, surely nothing less than the black art could so fascinate their eyes and fingers, as to make them believe they were dissecting human bodies when they were not. As such an imposition is impracticable, and as an unsuccessful attempt at it would instantly be found out, and would bring shame and ruin on the teacher who should make such an attempt, it was plain to me, that J. Johnson, Esq; must have had some other reason than honest indignation at such an impossible piece of knavery for his peculiar inveteracy on that point. I was not in the least at a loss to understand his reason.

The only person now living, (so far as I know), to whom he can allude in that passage

passage of his Pamphlet, is an eminent surgeon and anatomist in this city ; whom it would be indelicate for me to name, as J. Johnson, Esq; has not named him ; and it is unnecessary to do it, as it is abundantly well known who he is. I myself have but little personal acquaintance with him : but from all I have seen or heard of him, I believe him to be a man of talents, and a good anatomist ; and I heartily acquit him of the charge of imposition which our author has brought against him ; but I cannot acquit him, nor can he clear himself, of a much worse offence, and one which J. Johnson, Esq; was not likely either to overlook or to forgive. He is Dr Hamilton's rival in the *practice* and in the *teaching* of midwifery ; and, as I understand, a very formidable and successful rival : too formidable even to name.

There *was* another person, and, so far as I know, only one other person, to whom J. Johnson, Esq; could be supposed to allude in that severe censure of the private teachers of anatomy. That person has been dead these two years and more ; but when alive he too was Dr Hamilton's rival



val in the practice and in the teaching of midwifery.

4. It is curious at least, and, as I think, in some measure instructive, to observe how J. Johnson, Esq; treats the private teachers of medicine in Edinburgh.

He begins by acknowledging that “some of these by their abilities have been admitted into the College;” (*Pag.* 40.) Dr Hamilton himself was long a private teacher of midwifery, before he was made Professor of it in the University.

But he (J. Johnson, Esq;) immediately proceeds to express in the plainest terms his disapprobation of private teachers, and cautions gentlemen very strongly against attending their lectures in preference to those of the professors. He even endeavours (after expressing his impartiality, and the necessity of explaining the matter) to prove *a priori*, that the Professors evidently will be men of abilities, and that their lectures “must be *at least equal* “to those of any private teacher;” (*Pag.* 41. & 42.) He even admonishes gentlemen, that, “in a political view, no private  
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“ vate teacher ought to be preferred to  
 “ the professor ; for as the world is apt  
 “ to judge of the abilities of medical men  
 “ by the opportunities of acquiring know-  
 “ ledge which they have possessed, the  
 “ gentleman who has attended *eminent*  
 “ *teachers*, will always be preferred by the  
 “ judicious part of mankind.”

Another of his arguments to the same purpose is much more absurd than this one, and even makes against his own conclusion. But it would be worse than heresy for a professor to controvert his doctrine on this subject ; and it is unnecessary, as an anonymous writer in the Gentleman's Magazine for November 1792 has done it sufficiently. It will be observed, that Dr Hamilton is now, and has long been a Professor in the University.

Let it be observed too, that J. Johnson, Esq; notwithstanding his strong dislike to private teachers, in the very next page (the 43d of his Pamphlet) warmly invites, and assures of good encouragement, a private teacher of Botany, in opposition to the Professor.

5. Even the poor midwives in Edinburgh (the female midwives I mean) seem somehow to have incurred the displeasure of J. Johnson, Esq; for he mentions them (*Pag.* 32.) with a sort of contempt and reproach; “as midwives are almost exclusively employed in *low life*, in Edinburgh, and as many of them are very ignorant, difficult cases occur in a great proportion.” Who but a Male Practitioner of Midwifery in Edinburgh could know or judge of those things? Who else could have any motive for publishing such an assertion?—Dr Hamilton and his Son are Male Practitioners of Midwifery in Edinburgh.

## IV.

**A**NOTHER curious circumstance in the Pamphlet of J. Johnson, Esq; is the very lavish distribution of praise which he makes among those whose conduct has been obliging to Dr Hamilton, or who are connected by some bond of friendship either with him or with his Son. I am not enough acquainted with his connections and his private history, to know whether this be the case in *every* instance of praise bestowed by him, as the opposite conduct has been with respect to those whose behaviour had been disobliging to him; but I am sure it is so in several striking instances. If it had been universal, it would not have been blameable: such liberal praises might be supposed only expressions of our author's genuine sentiments. But, either

as universal or only as general and remarkable, that kind of correspondence may be instructive, and may serve to shew the intimacy and relation between the nominal and the supposed author of the Pamphlet.

1. I am be-praised very liberally. —  
 “ When I am praised by a bad man, said  
 “ *Antisthenes*, I am troubled to think what  
 “ ill I have done.”—I should have been  
 puzzled at least, if not troubled, to guess  
 how I had merited the praises of J. Johnson, Esq; if I had not read at the same time  
 his still more liberal praise of Dr Hamilton,  
 and his rancorous attack on Dr Rutherford,  
 and on the private teachers of anatomy,  
 and on the public Professor of Mathematics.  
 But with the help of so full a context, I thought I understood it perfectly.

My conduct in the College of Physicians,  
 when the question about admitting the  
 men-midwives to be Fellows was in agitation,  
 had been diametrically opposite to Dr R.’s.  
 I fought their battle with great keenness;  
 and I was successful. The consequence  
 was, that soon after, Dr Hamilton,  
 ton,

ton, and, very lately, his Son, were admitted Fellows of the College. When I congratulated Dr H. on his admission as a Fellow, the first time he appeared in the College in that capacity, I had his particular thanks for my good offices to him. These thanks I understood to be for my conduct when the general question was agitated; for it was no secret, and had procured me expressly the thanks of another person who was in the same predicament with Dr H. and, like him, desirous to become a Fellow of the College. But when I mentioned the occurrence (in presence of Dr H.) to a committee of the University appointed to confer with him and me about J. Johnson's Pamphlet, he declared that he knew nothing of such conduct of mine. When I reminded him of his acknowledgement of particular obligation to me at the time of his admission, he explained that it was for having seconded the motion for his being admitted a Fellow; which, it should seem, he was informed of, though not of what had passed before. I believe he is right as to my having seconded the motion for his admission, though I myself had forgotten it; and, for the purpose

pose at present in view, it is of no moment whether it was in the one or the other, or in both of these ways, that my conduct had been peculiarly obliging to Dr H. so as to procure me his thanks.

I can say with great confidence as to myself, what I cannot presume to say with respect to the other persons whom our author has thought fit to praise, that the praises which he has bestowed so liberally are not his genuine sentiments. This will appear in some measure, even from that letter of his which I have published in the sequel of these Remarks; for in it he declares himself well acquainted with numerous deficiencies in my lectures, and seems to be well disposed to make them known. In another letter of his, dated at *Benares*, but bearing the London post-mark of 15th January, and the Edinburgh post-mark of the 18th January last, and received by me the same day with Dr James Hamilton's second letter, which he has had the goodness to print, J. Johnson, Esq; avows the same sentiments and intentions in still stronger terms, and takes care to let me know, that he thinks me a very shallow Fellow. This obliging information

mation he gives me (strange to tell) in the words of *Persius*: *Tecum habita, nosti quam sit tibi curta supellex*. Possibly some learned Bramin, more learned perhaps in Latin than in the Shanfcrit, has helped him to that scrap of erudition. Such being his genuine sentiments with respect to me, all the praises which, in his Pamphlet, he has lavished on my abilities, and my lectures, and my book, must have proceeded from some other principle; and most probably from one corresponding to those which have prompted the rest of his work. —I hope the Royal College of Physicians will forgive the liberty I take, which perhaps is not strictly regular, in mentioning thus publicly the transactions and debates in their society. They were at any rate very well known; the knowledge of them can injure no one: nor can any person be supposed to be ashamed of the part he took in that debate to which I have alluded.

2. Dr Monro is praised very highly, and perhaps very honestly, and at least very deservedly, by J. Johnson, Esq;

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Dr Monro is the chosen friend and patron of Dr Hamilton, as appears by the dedication of his work on the Management of Female Complaints, &c. which was published but a few months before J. Johnson's Pamphlet, and is dedicated to Dr M. in terms of the highest admiration, respect, and regard.

3. Dr Duncan is praised very highly and deservedly, perhaps honestly too, by J. Johnson, Esq. Dr Duncan is a particular friend of Dr James Hamilton junior, as appears by the preface to the last volume of his Medical Commentaries, in which he says, "For this translation," (viz. of the new medical constitution proposed for the kingdom of France), "I am indebted  
 " to an ingenious young friend, Dr James  
 " Hamilton, son to Dr Alexander Hamil-  
 " ton, Professor of Midwifery in the U-  
 " niversity of Edinburgh, whose industry  
 " and abilities are already so well known,  
 " and have been demonstrated on so ma-  
 " ny occasions, even at his early period  
 " of life, that his reputation can derive no  
 " addition from the mention of his name  
 " on the present occasion."

A friend in need, say the vulgar English, is a friend indeed; and such a friend is Dr D. to Dr James H. junior. That preface is dated December 1. 1792, about a week after Dr James H.'s formal disavowal of the Pamphlet in his letter to Dr R. and Dr R.'s dry answer to it; and at a time when very strong and general suspicions were entertained of his being concerned in the composition and publication of J. Johnson's Pamphlet; and near ten days before I proposed that an enquiry should be made into the origin of it, and still longer before I mentioned those very particular coincidences (stated in the following Section of these remarks) which have been thought strongly to confirm the suspicions previously entertained.

4. Our author praises, in the highest terms, Mr Stewart the Professor of Moral Philosophy, as "a man of the first abilities, *perhaps*, in the University of Edinburgh;" and very warmly exhorts the students of medicine to attend his

summer course of lectures. (Pamphlet, p. 73.)

I shall throw away that silly *perhaps*, and say with confidence, that we are all sensible that the talents and virtues of Mr Stewart do honour to our University; and I heartily second the recommendation of Mr Stewart's lectures: sincerely hoping that every student of medicine, and every other student who attends them, shall profit more by them than J. Johnson, Esq; seems to have done; whom probably neither Mr Stewart, nor Chryfippus, nor Crantor, nor Homer, nor Socrates could ever have taught, *quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non*; as the whole tenor of his Pamphlet amply testifies.

On the same strong internal evidence (of his own composition) I should say with equal confidence, that he could no more judge of Mr Stewart's abilities, nor understand his lectures, than the *fœtus in utero* could do.—But he certainly could understand *ten guineas* as well as *Aristotle* himself could have done, as plainly appears from what he says of Dr Hamilton's annual (that is *ten guinea*) pupils. Now

*ten*

*ten* guineas is the exact sum which Mr Stewart subscribed to the lying-in hospital, which Dr Hamilton has been labouring hard to establish ever since it was determined by the Managers of the Royal Infirmary, that the Lying-in ward, long permitted in that Hospital should, be abolished.

5. Dr Rotheram (Dr Black's assistant) is praised very highly by J. Johnson, Esq; and very justly, I acknowledge, for he is really a man of merit. But it has been thought, that, in this instance, as in so many others, our author had some private reason for the praises he bestows so liberally.

Dr Rotheram, in a publication to which his name is not prefixed, took occasion to mention a book of Dr Hamilton's writing in a manner highly gratifying to the author, and at a time when such favourable mention of the book was of *very peculiar* consequence to it, and to Dr H. Dr H. was informed by the bookseller who was concerned in the transaction, and who was himself useful on the occasion, by clearing

clearing up an unlucky mistake about it, that it was to Dr Rotheram he owed that favour.

When I mentioned this in the Committee of the University, 22d December 1792, as the supposed private reason of the praises bestowed on Dr Rotheram, in the Pamphlet, (*Pag.* 20.), Dr Hamilton declared he had never heard of the business. I ventured to say, that I could not be mistaken about it, for I had got my information from Mr Creech, (the bookseller concerned in the transaction), in presence of Dr Rotheram himself, who gave the very same account of it.

Dr Hamilton declared, that he had not spoken to Mr Creech for three months. That, I told him, might very well be, for the affair to which I alluded passed more than a year ago. I should have been nearer the truth if I had said three years ago. I have since conversed very fully about it both with Mr C. and Dr R. from whom I have learned many other particulars of the story; and a very curious one it was. But it should seem that Dr H. had somehow forgotten it,

Now,

Now, all these circumstances taken together, the eager desire to raise the fame and promote the interest of Dr H. the accurate knowledge of so many minute particulars relating to his lectures, and even to his family history; the remarkable favour to those whose conduct has been friendly to him; the uniform malignity against those whose conduct has been disobliging to him, or whose interest was inconsistent with his; plainly shew, that the author of the Pamphlet must be at least an intimate and confidential friend of Dr H. *Namque idem velle atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est.*

His attachment to Dr H. seems to be more than friendship; more even than the veneration and duty of a pupil to his instructor; for neither pure and honest friendship, nor veneration and gratitude towards a teacher, so far as I know, ever yet produced such conduct as his. I think he might almost say to Dr H. in the sublime and pathetic words of the affectionate *Ruth* to one who was not her parent: " Intreat me not to leave thee, or to re-  
" turn

“ turn from following after thee: for  
“ whither thou goest, I will go; and  
“ where thou lodgest I will lodge; thy  
“ people shall be my people, and thy God  
“ my God.”

V.

## V.

**T**HE circumstance in the Pamphlet under consideration, which soon decided my opinion with respect to the real origin of it, was the finding, that in the passages already quoted in praise of Midwifery and of Dr Hamilton's Lectures, our author expressed the very same sentiments, and, in several remarkable instances at least, employed the very same words and phrases to express them, which Dr Hamilton himself had employed many years before, when in a very angry mood, and on a very particular occasion, he discussed that subject with me. Nay more, I found that he had adopted and even executed the very intentions of Dr H. with respect to a certain enquiry, which Dr H. at that time, in a very unguarded manner, and with

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the utmost violence of passion, had told me that he *must* make. The subject of this enquiry is the state of the Professor of Midwifery in the University of Edinburgh, who is not considered as a Professor of Medicine, and whose class the students are left at liberty to attend or not as they please; attendance on it not being required to entitle them to be admitted to examination as Candidates for the degree of Doctor of Physic. This point, it may be believed, is very interesting to the Professor of Midwifery; and it appears to be no less so to J. Johnson, Esq; for he states his enquiry about it in very keen and almost rancorous terms, conveying indirectly a compliment to Dr H. and very directly a severe censure on the Professors of Physic, and on the Patrons of the University.

These things I can assert with confidence from my own immediate knowledge; but in order to explain them properly, I must mention the transactions which gave occasion to such a conversation between Dr H. and me.

In 1783, in consequence of certain occurrences which are fully stated in the Records of the University, but which it is needless here to detail, it was thought proper to publish, in the English newspapers, a translation of our Laws, with respect to the time and course of study required before any of our students can be admitted to examination as Candidates for the degree of Doctor of Physic, and with respect to the examinations which they must undergo, and the various exercises which they must perform before they are promoted to that degree.

The Principal, who, with his usual zeal for the honour and interest of the University, had suggested this plan, and explained the propriety of it, obligingly undertook, himself, the task of translating those Laws, and illustrating them by a short commentary, which was certainly needed to some of them. This passed at a meeting of the *Senatus Academicus* in September.

At the annual meeting of the University, in the beginning of December, the Principal read his translation of the *Statuta Solennia*, and his commentary on them,

which were unanimously approved of, and ordered to be published.

They were published in the newspapers accordingly very soon after; I believe either in the end of December 1783, or in January 1784.

A few days after they were published, Dr Hamilton, with whom I was and am still but very slightly acquainted, and who, I believe, never was in my house either before or since, came to my house in an agitation of mind and body that cannot be described, nor indeed conceived by any but those who have chanced to see him in such a state.

He complained, in the most violent terms, of the *injury* and *injustice* that I had done him, and *insisted* on immediate reparation by publishing anew the account of our Laws. At first I could not conceive what he meant, and was very much astonished at his behaviour; but I soon found out his meaning, and the supposed injury which had made him so angry. — In the paper that was published there was not one word about Midwifery: it had been totally forgotten. This omission he supposed to have been wilful and malicious;

cious ; in which opinion he was completely mistaken. His anger was particularly directed against me, because he thought *it was all my doing* ; this too was a mistake, but it was a very natural one, which the former was not.

I was at that time the youngest Professor of Medicine, and of course Dean of the Faculty, which, in plain English, means Secretary for the Medical Department in the University. It was natural enough for Dr H. to suppose that the translation and explanation of the laws was my work, and consequently that the omission of the Midwifery Lectures was my fault. Undoubtedly the task would have been either mine or the Secretary's of the University, most probably mine, if the Principal himself had not voluntarily undertaken it ; for none of us could have desired him to undertake it.

As soon as I discovered the nature of Dr H.'s mistake, and the cause of his anger at me, I endeavoured to undeceive and pacify him, by assuring him, that the omitting to mention his Class was not intended, but proceeded merely from forgetfulness ; and that, at any rate, I had

no

no concern in it, as it was not my work. But in this attempt I could not succeed. He would scarce listen to me, or, if he did listen, seemed not to believe me: perhaps he thought it impossible that we should have really forgotten his class, which to himself appeared of such importance; and the declaring that we had forgotten it must have appeared to him a kind of insult.

I tried to explain to him that the publication he complained of as my doing was the solemn act and deed of the University, the translation and commentary being the work of the Principal, and having been read and approved of at a regular meeting.

I remember telling him, that it was his own fault not to have attended to it when it was read there. He said, he was not at the meeting, and could not be at it, being called to a very urgent case. That, I told him, was his misfortune; and still endeavoured, but in vain, to convince him that he ought not to blame me for what I had no concern in; nor any body, for mere unintended omission. He repeatedly urged the injury done to him, and *insisted* (for this was always his word)  
on

on having the Paper immediately reprinted, and his Class mentioned in it, by way of reparation.

I told him, that if ever the Paper was republished, care should be taken to mention his Class in it. But this would not satisfy him; he would have it done immediately. This I did not approve of, and told him so. My reason was, that our Classes had been advertised in all the newspapers, in the usual way, in September and October; then, in two months after, another and much longer advertisement or manifesto of ours had made a conspicuous figure in them: to have repeated this so soon, and to be perpetually in the newspapers, I should have thought ridiculous and disgraceful, as being too like to the practice of mountebanks.—I tried to convince Dr H. that to reprint our Paper, merely to mention in it his Class, would be an injury and not a favour to him, as it would be just telling all the world, that his Class was of so little importance, that we had all forgotten it. This made him more angry than before; and he declared with great vehemence, that *it was all sophistry*; which expression,

as well as my argument that led to it, and the general tenor of this conversation, it appeared at the conference, December 22. 1792, that he remembered perfectly.

As he still returned to the charge, maintaining, that he had been greatly injured, that it was all my doing, and that it was very hard that I refused to do him justice, and always *insisted* on having the Paper republished immediately, and his Class mentioned in it; and as Dr G. unfortunately, as well as Dr H. has some portion of the irascible in his composition, I became warm as well as he, and told him in a different tone, that he had no reason to complain, and no right to insist on having the Paper republished, and his Class mentioned in it; that there was no occasion to mention his Class in that Paper, which was not an account of all the Classes taught in the University of Edinburgh, (like our annual newspaper-advertisement), but a translation of our laws respecting Candidates for Degrees in Physic, and the course of study required of them, and the examinations that they must undergo, and the exercises that they must perform; and bid him remember,  
that

that they were not obliged to attend his Class, nor study midwifery unless they pleased.

That such was and is the case will sufficiently appear from the Law already quoted (*Pag.* 30. of these Remarks); which will also shew that the Principal was not in the least blameable for the omission of Dr H.'s Class in the paper. Nor was it in order to throw any blame on him, but, on the contrary, to convince Dr H. that no body was to blame, that I was at so much pains to make him understand that the paper was not my work, but the Principal's.

Things were very bad before; but this unlucky argument of mine made them much worse. Dr H. told me instantly, and with the utmost vehemence, that he knew *that*;—that it was very extraordinary, that it should be the only Medical Class that they were not obliged to attend, when it was one of the most important of them;—that he must *enquire* into *that*. Then he burst forth into an oration of some length, I believe not less than three or four minutes, delivered with great fluency and vehemence, in praise of midwifery,



wifery, and of his own lectures. The general tenor of this oration was precisely the same with that of the part of the Pamphlet which relates to midwifery, and to Dr Hamilton's lectures.

At the distance of nine years it is impossible for me to remember every topic that he touched on, or any great number of the peculiar expressions that he used. But two or three of them I remember distinctly; partly perhaps from their oddity, and partly from my having been very much struck with the whole scene and conversation. I remember well the sentence containing the happy antithesis between the state of midwifery when confined to *women*, at which time it was but a mechanical art, and the state of it since *gentlemen* were employed in it.

He told me, that it was now greatly improved, and become an extensive science; and said much of the complete and scientific view that he gave of it in his lectures, which he declared roundly to be much more extensive and scientific than any other teacher's, as he gave in them a full account of the diseases of women and children. I remember well the curious alliteration and  
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stetrical climax of *the pregnant, parturient, and puerperal state*, which I find in the Pamphlet, with an additional word, *unimpregnated*, prefixed to them. That no doubt makes both the alliteration and the climax more complete: but as I do not remember it as part of the expression which struck me so much at the time I heard it, I suspect it has been added more lately. But it may only have escaped my memory.

All Dr H.'s arguments and eloquence were lost on me: I adhered to my first opinion; and on his saying, that he would bring it before the College, and telling me that the other Professors would do him justice though I would not; and again insisting peremptorily, that he would have the paper reprinted, and his Class mentioned in it, I told him flatly, that it should not be done if I could hinder it. This put an end to our conversation; and Dr H. went away more displeas'd, if possible, at me than he had been when he came.

By that singular accident, and by Dr H.'s complicated mistake, first, in supposing himself injured, when in fact he was

not; next supposing that imaginary injury done intentionally, when, in truth, it was purely accidental; then supposing me the author of it, when, in fact, I had nothing to do with it; then applying to me for redress, whose sentiments were totally different from his own, and whose every argument intended to appease and convince, served only to provoke him; I, who know very little of Dr H. chanced to know as well as his most confidential friends could do, his enthusiasm about midwifery, his opinion of the importance of it as a branch of medicine, his admiration of his own lectures, his indignation at not being considered as a Professor of Medicine, and his intention of enquiring into *that*; nay, I knew even the words and phrases he used to express his sentiments on these points.

Great was my astonishment, and no less my indignation, to find, on reading the Pamphlet, that the author of it had adopted the same sentiments and expressions, and even executed the same intention. It appeared to me *impossible* that this should have happened without the most confidential intercourse between him and Dr H.;  
and

and very *improbable*, that any person, so much in his confidence, and so eager to promote his interest, should have made such an use of what he had learned from him, without his knowledge and participation. This notion too accorded perfectly with every particular of internal and circumstantial evidence, which either occurred to me on reading the Pamphlet, or has become known to me since, by subsequent enquiry.

Such a coincidence, though not strictly speaking legal *proof* of Dr H. being concerned in the composition and publication of the Pamphlet, was at least ground of irresistible suspicion; and, as I should have thought, of strict judicial enquiry.

Whether Dr H. had been informed of my having mentioned that curious conversation, and of the use I intended to make of it, as a part of the circumstantial evidence which I had undertaken to state; or whether he had recollected it of his own accord, I know not; but I am sure he had been thinking of it before I mentioned it in his presence in the Committee of the University, December 22. 1792; and I suspect, that he was well aware  
of

of the very particular relation between it and what is said in the Pamphlet on the subject of midwifery. For as soon as I mentioned the occasion and date of that conversation, and referred to the University record (which I had taken care should be at hand) for the history of the transaction that led to it, he interrupted me with much keenness, and gave his own account, at some length, of the conversation, and of my conduct to him. He expressed his regret that he had not brought with him a certain letter about it, which he had written at the time, but had not sent to the Principal, for whom it was intended. I am sorry the letter was not produced: It must be a genuine and authentic document of what were his sentiments on that occasion; and, making due allowance for his complicated mistake, I have no doubt but it will accord perfectly with the account which I have given of what passed between us, and which I gave in his presence to the Committee; and no one particular of which he chose to controvert.

He mentioned, however, and seemed to lay great stress upon one particular of that

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conversation which I had not mentioned, because, in truth, I had not the least remembrance of it. He said, he had applied to the other medical professors, (whether he meant some or all of them I know not), and that they had agreed to allow the paper to be immediately reprinted, and mention to be made in it of his Class; and that it was I alone who opposed it.

This, no doubt, gives a different view of the business, and must make me appear more blameable, or at least more harsh in my conduct to him, than I had thought myself. But I trust the whole of my conduct in this affair, and particularly my stating the particulars (in so far as I remembered them) of that conversation, in his own presence, that he might set me right, if he thought I misrepresented any part of it, will exempt me from the suspicion of having wilfully suppressed any circumstance that might be thought unfavourable to myself, or favourable to him.

The conversation itself was so very extraordinary, that it is impossible either Dr H. or I could forget it: it was, I think, the most extraordinary that ever passed in my house; and more like a scene in a ludicrous

dicrous comedy or novel, than like any occurrence in real life. But, after so long a time as nine years, I cannot be sure that I remember every particular of a very angry conversation that lasted at least ten minutes or a quarter of an hour; though I am sure I well remember the general tenor, and many of the particulars of it.

That particular, of the other professors having agreed to what Dr H. required, may have escaped my attention at the time; or may have escaped my memory since. It accords very well with his violence of passion against me, and his *insisting* so often on what he required, as a matter of right and justice to him. But it does not so well accord with his supposing me the author of the injury done to him: for all my colleagues knew perfectly that I had no concern in the composition of that unlucky paper; and none of them, I am sure, could be so malicious as either to lead him into such a mistake, or even to encourage him, or allow him to remain in it, if it was originally his own; which, from the whole tenor of his conversation and conduct, I firmly believed it to be.

It

It is very strange too, that Dr H. when he found the other professors willing to gratify him, or, as he conceived, to do him justice, and me alone obstinate, unreasonable, and unjust, on that point which he had so much at heart, did not bring it before the University; as at one time he seemed fully determined to do. Even in the Faculty of Medicine there would have been five to one, and in the *Senatus Academicus* perhaps twenty to one, against me and in favour of him: so that my opinion and my opposition would have availed nothing.

However, I am sensible that neither these considerations, nor my *not* remembering that very important particular, of some or all of my colleagues having agreed to Dr H.'s request, can reasonably be put in opposition to his positive assertion of it from distinct memory; especially when his memory is assisted by so good and authentic a document as that letter which he intended to have sent to the Principal. Perhaps that letter, which is still extant, may explain fully what to me appears so strange and incongruous.—I therefore admit it to have been as Dr H. states it:



and I should certainly have mentioned it at first, if I had known or remembered it.

In the Committee of the University, (December 22. 1792), Dr H. mentioned another very curious particular, which was quite new to me, and, I believe, to all my colleagues, in relation to the candidates for degrees in physic not being obliged to attend the Midwifery Class: that is, in other words, midwifery not being deemed an essential part of the education of a physician. He told us, that Dr Young (his predecessor, who took him in as his colleague and successor) had informed him how that matter stood, but said, he hoped it would soon be put on the same footing with the other medical classes. This conversation, which was prior to Dr H.'s admission as Professor, must have been in 1780, at least three years before the time of the unlucky paper which gave him such cruel offence, by the omission of the Midwifery Class. We may be certain, therefore, that he had long had much at heart that enquiry which he told me so vehemently he *must* make, and which J. Johnson, Esq; actually hath made in such rancorous

corous terms. “ Does this proceed from  
 “ the jealousy of the other professors, the  
 “ negligence of the Professor of Midwife-  
 “ ry, or the ignorance of the Patrons of  
 “ the Univerfity ?”

The “ negligence of the Professor of  
 “ Midwifery” is quite out of the question,  
 even according to our author’s own ac-  
 count of the matter ; for he gives a true,  
 full, and particular account of Dr H.’s  
 extraordinary diligence, in reading no few-  
 er than three courfes of lectures every  
 year, teaching at *extra hours*, taking an-  
 nual pupils, &c. That query, there-  
 fore, is only a compliment to the Profes-  
 for.

But the other two queries are no com-  
 pliments, either to the other Professors, or  
 to the Patrons of the Univerfity.

As to any jealousy of the other profes-  
 fors, I can fafely declare that I never felt  
 any fuch jealousy, nor ever faw nor ever  
 heard of any thing that indicated any  
 fuch jealousy of Dr H. in any of my col-  
 leagues. I cannot even conceive the pof-  
 fibility of any fuch jealousy on our part ;  
 we have not the fame object of attachment  
 with him ; we are not his rivals, nor is he

ours; we are not engaged in the practice nor yet in the teaching of midwifery. If Dr H. or any other professor of midwifery, by his extraordinary talents and unwearied diligence, should contribute more to raise the reputation of this medical school, than all the professors of medicine that ever have been in it, and more than *Boerhaave* did at Leyden, or *Hippocrates* at Cos, it would be no loss to any of us; but, on the contrary, a very great advantage: it might, and certainly would gain him our esteem and good will; but never could excite our jealousy.

Nor yet can I admit, that the Patrons of the University are justly charged with ignorance in not making the Professor of Midwifery a Professor of Medicine; and in allowing, as the University does, the students of medicine and candidates for degrees to attend his lectures or not as they please.

Without flattery to them, and without attributing to them any supernatural knowledge, we may suppose them to know that physic and midwifery are two very different things; which may be learned and practised by persons of very different capacities

capacities and educations, nay, even of different sexes; that it is just as possible for a man to be a good physician without being a midwife, as it is for a discreet sober woman who hath born three or four children, to be a good midwife without being a physician. They may even have known, that the most eminent physicians, both in ancient and modern times, from *Hippocrates* to *Dr Cullen* inclusive, were not midwives. They may even have conceived that *Dr Cullen*, whose talents contributed so much to raise and support the character of this medical school, and on whose skill they relied when health and life were at stake with themselves or their families, would have made almost as bad a figure, if called on to play the midwife's part, as a good motherly woman or a midwife would do, if she were dressed in his gown and wig, and placed in his academic chair, and desired to teach the theory and practice of Physic.

As the practice of midwifery by men is very fashionable, and as many who receive their medical education here may choose to practise midwifery, and as every person should learn what he intends to practise,

practise, it is very proper that there should be a Professor of Midwifery, and that the students should have every opportunity of learning it. But, as many of our students never mean to practise midwifery, it would be unreasonable and unjust to compel them to learn it ; more especially, as, notwithstanding the influence of fashion, there are many young men to whom it is peculiarly disgusting ; and many wise and good men, and women too, of all ages, to whom the practice of midwifery by men is an abomination, which degrades the character of the one sex, and sullies the purity of the other. Many Physicians even are of this opinion. The Royal College of Physicians in London does not admit as a Fellow any man who practises midwifery. A licentiate in physic may practise midwifery without forfeiting his general medical licence ; but, I believe, they have licentiates for midwifery only, who are not entitled to practise physic.

The Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh has (of late years) allowed them to become Fellows ; probably for various reasons, which it is needless here to consider. I shall only say, that I espoused their  
 their

their cause, not from any esteem I have for their art, which I never studied, because I was resolved never to practise it, but because I hate all invidious distinctions, and every thing that has the appearance of an illiberal corporation spirit; and because I can see no good reason why those men who pretend to help folk into the world, and those who pretend to keep them in it, or, as the malevolent presume to say, who help them out of it, may not live on good terms with one another, and from time to time drink a glass of Claret together, "To the memory of their deceased Benefactors."—Besides, I am clearly of opinion, that it is not for physicians, but those who employ them, to decide who are to be deemed physicians. If people chose to regard not only male but female midwives as physicians, and to call them Doctors, I think we should gain neither honour nor advantage by disputing the rights and privileges of the learned sisters.

As I heard no more of Dr H.'s peremptory demand of reparation, nor of any application from him to the University on the subject of the printed paper, I took it  
for

for granted, that either his own deliberate reflections, or the admonitions of some of his colleagues to whom he might have listened more than he did to me, had convinced him that my arguments against republishing it immediately were not just such *Sophistry* as he was pleased to call them : but as he never made any apology to me for his strange and almost outrageous behaviour, which most men would have thought it necessary to do after such conduct as his, if they were convinced they had been in the wrong, I doubted whether he had ever been convinced how egregiously he was mistaken in supposing that I had ever injured or intended to injure him. But strange as his conduct was, it certainly could neither justify nor produce any serious or permanent resentment on my part ; and I am persuaded that my conduct towards him in the College of Physicians, (which was near four years after the other affair), must have convinced Dr H. that I entertained no such sentiments towards him.

WHEN

WHEN I was first informed of the general suspicion or belief entertained among our students, that Dr H. was concerned in the composition and publication of the Pamphlet of J. Johnson, Esq; I was told, that this opinion was founded partly on the striking similitude of several sentences, and of many words and phrases in it, to those used by him in his lectures; as well as on the general tendency of it to raise his fame and promote his interest, and to injure those whose interest was inconsistent with his.—This raised my curiosity to get a sight of a copy of his lectures; but I could not procure one. One gentleman who had heard of the general observation, but who could not speak to it from his own knowledge, at my desire, applied to some gentlemen, who were qualified to judge of it, to mark some of the sentences and phrases that they recognised as Dr H.'s.

They marked accordingly the sentence beginning, "When the practice," *Pag.* 26. of the Pamphlet, *Pag.* 3. of these Remarks; the one about the importance and expence of his preparations, *Pag.* 27. of the Pamphlet, *Pag.* 4. of these Remarks; and the one



containing the climax of “ the unimpreg-  
 “ nated, pregnant, parturient, and puer-  
 “ peral state ;” Pamphlet *Pag.* 72. Re-  
 marks, *Pag.* 13.

The peculiar phrases specified as current-  
 ly used by Dr H. in his lectures, are,  
 “ Healing art,” and “ Practitioners of the  
 “ healing art,” for physic or medicine, and  
 physicians, “ advanced students,” “ extra  
 “ hours ;” all which are used *passim* in the  
 Pamphlet.—No person, however, so far as  
 I could learn, recognised the *enquiry*, (of  
 which so much has been already said), as  
 occurring in Dr H.’s lectures.

I need scarce say, that many persons, e-  
 specially authors and public speakers, are  
 as well known by their peculiar favourite  
 words and phrases, as they are by their  
 faces, persons, or voices. But I must  
 mention, in justice to Dr H. that he ad-  
 mits these words and phrases to be what  
 he used in his lectures, and the minute  
 detail given of the plan of them to be ac-  
 curate, and what he gives himself ; and  
 accounts for these things appearing in the  
 Pamphlet, on the very simple and easy sup-  
 position, that some one of his pupils who  
 had learned them by attending his lectures,

was

was concerned in the composition of the Pamphlet.

His calculation, (which he stated fully, both on the 22d of December, in the Committee, and on the 1st of January, in the *Senatus Academicus*), was, that as he gives three courses of lectures in a year, and as many students remain here three years, some of them may have heard his lectures ninetimes, particularly the introductory lecture, in which the plan of his course is detailed.

The calculation is exact; and the supposition (or indeed much less, the hearing three or even two courses, nay, even one course) fully accounts for the possibility of a person's remembering his most frequent expressions and most remarkable sentences. But the difficulty is, to explain how any person, having no interest to serve nor passions to gratify by such conduct, should ever think of making such an use of his acquisition, and writing such a Pamphlet as J. Johnson, Esq; has done.—Besides, our author must not only have written down or got by heart the words and phrases of Dr H. about his own lectures, but must also have made him his model for style

and composition: for the same phrases, "Healing art," &c. occur in parts of the Pamphlet that do not relate to midwifery, and never could have made a part of Dr H.'s lectures. See Pamphlet, *Pag.* 1. 14. 15. 17. 21,

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THE Preface to the last volume of the Medical Commentaries strongly excited my curiosity to read the translation by Dr James Hamilton junior, of the proposed French Medical Constitution, and to compare the style of it with that of the Pamphlet of J. Johnson, Esq; Though the one is a translation and the other an original composition, yet, either from the force of prejudice, or from some real similarity between them, I was much struck with many coincidences, not in expression only, but in thought and substance. I should not scruple to give it as my opinion, that the French Medical Constitution is the prototype of the "Guide," and first suggested the general plan of it, and even

many

many particulars of the train of thought, which J. Johnson, Esq; gives as his own.

Such a general observation, like the perception of likenesses among living persons, is too vague to be either refuted or established precisely; it may strike different people very differently. But to show that it is not altogether groundless, I shall point out a few particulars of the coincidence or resemblance both in style and thought, which cannot admit of dispute.

“ The healing art,” and “ Practitioners of the healing art,” occur more frequently in the French Medical Constitution, even than in the Pamphlet; sometimes twice in a page; and at least eleven times in the first eight pages; how much oftener afterwards I cannot tell, having satisfied my curiosity, and tired of counting the frequency of it. In one place (*Pag.* 181. of the volume, 7th of the paper, *l.* 21.) it seems plainly to be a close translation of some French phrase, I suppose *l'art de guerir*; it may be so in every other place of that paper; but surely it is not a translation from the French in the Pamphlet of J. Johnson, Esq; in the very first sentence of which, and in several others,

thers, the unlucky "healing art" makes a conspicuous figure.

As specimens of the coincidence in point of thought, as well as of expression, between the French Medical Constitution, as translated by Dr J. H. junior, and the Pamphlet of J. Johnson, Esq; I select the following passages.

"It will not be considered improper to require, that the Professor of *Materia Medica* should also teach botany, not only in a botanic garden containing the usual officinal plants, and in the fields, but also in hot-houses, to make the pupils acquainted with the exotic plants used in medicine." *Medical Commentaries*, vol. 17. p. 203. 204.

Let any one compare that with the paragraphs of the Pamphlet, bottom of page 12. and top of page 14. (quoted verbatim in page 14. line 10. and page 15. line 16. of these remarks), and he will instantly perceive, that the sentiments of J. Johnson, Esq; are taken from the French Constitution, and adapted to the meridian of Edinburgh.

The

The same reflection will occur to any person who shall compare the following passages relating to the mode of teaching the Practice of Physic,—

“ The Professors of the Practice of Medicine should teach that great and noble science in its full extent.

Their courses should occupy two years; one of which ought to be appropriated to acute, and the other to chronic diseases; but they should give these courses by turns; so that, while one is employed in detailing the treatment of acute diseases, the other should be engaged in treating chronic ones. By this plan, the students will have an opportunity of attending a complete course every year.” *Med. Com.* vol. 17. p. 206.

—with what is said of my lectures, and my mode of proceeding, in the Pamphlet, *Pag.* 33. and 34; quoted already in these Remarks, *Pag.* 20. & 21.—J. Johnson, Esq; had been very imperfectly and erroneously informed of what I had done, and what I had left undone; and is completely

pletely mistaken with respect to my supposed plan and intentions ; but this point I shall not insist on, as it is not worth while to set him right.

But the most curious and edifying kind of affinity, is that between the general plan and course of study proposed in the French Medical Constitution, (*Med. Com. p. 239. & 240.*), and the various plans and courses of study proposed by J. Johnson, Esq; for those who study physic in the University of Edinburgh; (*Pamphlet Pag. 54.—68.*). The passages are much too long to quote, and I therefore refer the curious to the original work.

By the French plan, the course of study was to last six years. This J. Johnson, Esq; knew would never do for Edinburgh.

In the French plan, very little is said of midwifery ; much less indeed than I should have expected. By it, the students are not even to begin the study of midwifery till their fourth year. This, it is plain, would never do for J. Johnson, Esq;

Accordingly he has taken effectual care to supply that lamentable defect, by exhorting his followers to begin, continue,  
and

and end with the study of midwifery. And as to the six years course of study, with wonderful dexterity he has contrived to hash it into various forms, which are detailed in two different classes and six different tables, as he calls them, which are accompanied and enforced by suitable remarks and exhortations. Yet still it is easy to see whence the general notion of such directions is borrowed.



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VI.

**J.** JOHNSON, Esq;’s Dedication of his Pamphlet is dated from London; but there is reason to think, that this is part of the same shallow artifice with the false name on the title page. Every circumstance about it, the language of it, the general purpose and tendency of it, the minute knowledge of many recent occurrences in this University which it shews, all concur to prove that it is an Edinburgh production.

Of this, moreover, I have positive information. When enquiry was made about it of Mess. Robinsons, (the London publishers), one of the younger partners, the only one whom the attorney found in their shop, told him that they had it from their correspondent at Edinburgh; that  
he

he should make no difficulty in giving the name of the author; but he added, that he wished first to consult his partner, who knew more of the business than he did. He was allowed till next morning to consider of it. That day, November 28. 1792, the elder partner wrote to the attorney, telling him, that he really did not know the name of the author of the Pamphlet; that it had been put into his hands by a friend to be published; that his friend was at a great distance from London; that he himself was going down to Bath, and should not be back till December 14th; that if by that time he could gain the desired information, he should have no hesitation in giving it, &c.

The attorney wrote to him again, December 3d, repeating and urging the enquiry, and received for answer, “ That  
 “ being from home, he did not see his  
 “ (the attorney’s) letter till that moment;  
 “ that if he had seen it before, he could  
 “ not have given him an answer sooner;  
 “ —declared upon the word of a man,  
 “ that he did not know the author of the  
 “ Pamphlet in question; that it was put  
 “ into his hands by a gentleman who does

“ not wish to be known in the business,  
 “ and therefore he could not give him  
 “ up.” This letter is dated December 5.  
 1792. There was therefore abundance of  
 time between November 28th, and the  
 day when it was written, for the Mess.  
 R. to write to their correspondent in E-  
 dinburgh, and to receive his answer and  
 instructions,

It is at least possible, that a London  
 bookfeller's correspondent in Edinburgh  
 may be an Edinburgh bookfeller. It is  
 possible even, that, in the present case,  
 the correspondent may be one of the  
 four Edinburgh bookfellers whose names  
 appear on the title-page of the Pam-  
 phlet. And this possibility is rendered  
 somewhat probable with respect to one  
 of them, by the fact, (of which I am  
 well assured), that some very interest-  
 ing information about the history of the  
 Pamphlet had transpired from his shop be-  
 fore any alarm was taken about it, and  
 when it was only an object of merriment  
 and curiosity. The intelligence to which  
 I allude was so particular, as to imply the  
 knowledge of the origin of the Pamphlet  
 a considerable time before it was publish-  
 ed

ed here. But as it is not at all of the nature either of internal or of circumstantial evidence, it can have no place in these Remarks : nor indeed can it be properly established and made effectual but by a judicial examination of the persons through and from whom it came to me.

FOR

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FOR the knowledge of the following particulars, I am indebted to a gentleman on whom I can perfectly rely: and who, though nowise ambitious to appear in this business, is ready, when judicially called upon, to declare on oath all that he knows about it.

To this gentleman Dr James Hamilton junior hinted one day last autumn, that he had already published more than one pamphlet or book without his name; and certainly said, that he should soon appear before the public in that way.—This conversation passed about the end of September or beginning of October; that is, near a month before “the Guide” was published here.

A few days afterwards, Dr J. H. junior shewed this gentleman a copy of “the Guide,” inscribed “from the author,” and allowed him to peruse it.

No other conversation passed between Dr J. H. junior and this gentleman on the subject of the Pamphlet till about the beginning of December, when Dr J. H. one forenoon, told the gentleman that he (Dr H.) had been accused of having written it; that he was exceedingly hurt with the imputation, and requested of him to contradict it, if ever he heard it mentioned.—The gentleman advised him to do that in a much more effectual way, by applying to the real author, J. Johnson, Esq; through the medium of the London publishers, and requesting him to stand forth on the occasion.—Dr H. said, “ that his father had objected to his doing this, “ as Dr Rotheram had also been vaguely, “ but, he thought, unjustly pointed at.” —He added, “ that the author might possibly have received some hints respecting “ the present publication, from his father “ or himself, by means of some information which had been conveyed to a “ friend in London.” He also hinted his suspicion, that the report might have come from Mr Hill or his men: and said, he wondered how *he* could be suspected of being the author, as his time was so fully occu-

occupied with the translation of Morgagni, the answer to Dr Osborn, the Medical Constitution of France, &c.

On these particulars I make no commentary; leaving it to every reader to judge for himself.—The conversation, I observe, passed at least a week after Dr H.'s formal disavowal of the Pamphlet in his letter to Dr Rutherford, which he hath printed, and as long before I moved in the *Senatus Academicus* for an enquiry into the origin of it.

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VII.

ON the 24th of December 1792, I had the very great and very unexpected pleasure of receiving a letter from J. Johnson, Esq; It was directed, Dr Gregory, Professor of Medecine, [*Medicine*], Edinburgh. The tenor of it was as follows :

*Pater-Noster Row, Dec. 18. 1792.*

“ SIR,

YOUR office induces me to apply to you, on the subject of the unfortunate Pamphlett [*Pamphlet*] which has given so much uneasiness. I designed to offend



no one \* ; I wrote what I had seen and heard ; but I did not write the whole truth, for I could have said things much more offensive, without in the least deviating from its paths. But this is from the purpose : as it has given offence, which I did not intend, as it is supposed to injure some whom I respect \*, I have given orders to stop the sale, and you will hear no more of it.

What my motives may be for this step, you need not know. It does not proceed from apprehension, for I am not even most remotely connected with the University. My fortune cannot be affected by the result of any verdict ; and my practice, established on a well-grounded confidence, you cannot injure. In short, I am, in every view, out of your reach. If malevolence had actuated me, I should be amply gratified by your purposed prosecution ; for every literary journal should record the trial, every Professor should be subpeened [*subpœna'd*] to give his evidence, and ample proofs should be produced of numerous deficiencies, of defi-

\* See Page 14.—18. of these Remarks.

ciences, Sir, even in *your own* Clafs. If I wished to raife one Profeflor over another, the attempt would, I know, have failed from its weaknefs: The idea would have been abfurd. Yet I fee this, with other marks of equally unfounded illiberal abufe, attributed to me in the laft Gentleman's Magazine, a publication which thofe who know how it is conducted, will beft know how to value.—I fhall not imitate your *friends*, by retorting abufe in the language of Bilinfgate [*Billingfgate.*]

Such is the ftate of the circumftances, and I would request you to weigh them well. If I have injured any one, I am ready to make any reparation for the injury.—But, I own, I feel the warmeft indignation, when I reflect on the language and the conduct it has occafioned.—For you in particular, I have been ufed to feel a fincere \* refpect; and when the circumftances make a myftery no longer neceffary, a period not far diftant, you will find me your real friend, and an old acquaintance.

J. JOHNSON.

\* See Page 48. and 49. of thefe Remarks.

Since I now write to you as Secretary, I must request that this letter be communicated to the Committee."

The wonderful jumble of reproaches, of flattery, of threats, of declarations which it is impossible to believe, of professions of contrition for past misdeeds, and of intimations of further mischief which he has in view, contained in this letter, afford an admirable sample of the understanding and character of J. Johnson, Esq; But they are too bad for animadversion. Some other things in his letter deserve more attention.

He must have been minutely informed of the part I had taken, and of what the University was doing, with respect to his Pamphlet. He knew the language and conduct it had occasioned: that is, my language and my conduct, when I expressed in very plain terms my sentiments of the turpitude of it, and mentioned the general opinion that prevailed as to its origin, and proposed that a strict enquiry should be made in order either to establish or refute that opinion. He felt "the warm-  
" est

“ est indignation” at that language and conduct: yet not so warm as to make him stand forth, either to take vengeance on me, or to vindicate his friends, whose fame and fortune he was so eager to raise, from that foul suspicion which they had so unhappily incurred: on the contrary, it only made him suppress his Pamphlet, and employ all his eloquence to prevail on me to desist from my proposed enquiry. These are more like the effects of cold fear and conscious guilt, than of warm indignation.

He knew of the appointment of the Committee of the University to confer with me and Dr H. about the Pamphlet. Whether the blunder of supposing me Secretary to it be his own or his informer's I know not, nor does it signify. He requests me to communicate his letter to the Committee. This implies, that he thought his letter would reach me in time; that is, before the meeting of the Committee. This again implies, that he knew when the Committee was to meet. His information seems to have been very accurate, and wonderfully early, earlier by a day than mine was, though I was so  
 much

much interested in the business, and was in the college every day. The Committee met (as summoned) on Saturday 22d December 1792. He seems to have known of this intended meeting on the preceding Tuesday, the 18th, which is the date of his letter. If his letter had come in due course of post from London, I should have received it on Friday the 21st, the day before the meeting of the Committee, and then I might have complied with his request by communicating it as he desired. But I did not receive it till Monday the 24th, two days after the Committee had met, and conferred with me and Dr H. and agreed on its report: so that it was impossible for me to comply with his request.

Between the 18th, the date of the letter, and the 24th, the day on which I received it, is twice the time required for a letter to come by post from London to Edinburgh; or, in other words, just the time required for one to go by post from Edinburgh to London and return to Edinburgh. Such I instantly guessed had been the very eccentric orbit of the letter of J. Johnson, Esq; But wishing to get all the  
 insight

infight I could into the matter, I applied to the Secretary of the General Post Office in this city, and begged to know how it came to pass that a post-letter from London should be six days of coming to Edinburgh. On examining the date, and the post-marks on the outside of it, he immediately assured me that there was no irregularity in the conveyance of it, in so far as the Post-Office was concerned. He shewed me that it bore the London post-mark of the 21st December 1792, testifying that it came into the General Post Office there that day, and not before; and that it bore the Edinburgh post-mark of December 24. testifying that it came into the General Post-Office here that day, in due course from London. To have reached London on the 21st, it must have left Edinburgh before four o'clock in the afternoon of the 18th, under cover, no doubt, to some confidential friend in London.

That it related to the approaching meeting of the Committee on the 22d of December, I can have no doubt; for the only two days ever mentioned for its meeting were that Saturday, and, as I and others

thers had understood, the preceding one, the 15th of December. The Committee was appointed on Monday evening, December 10. The Principal mentioned at that time, that it must meet on Saturday, the Professors being so much engaged every other day. *That I bona fide* believed to mean Saturday next ensuing. But the Committee was not summoned to meet that Saturday; and it was afterwards (January 1. 1793) explained to me, that it meant only *some* Saturday.

It is plain, that J. Johnson's letter was not intended for the meeting of the Committee on the Saturday first supposed to be meant, however accurate, and authentic, and early his intelligence of it might be; for the date of his letter is three days later than it, and three days more would have been required for it to come from London to Edinburgh. But, according to its date, it should have reached me the very day before the Committee was at last to meet, and is plainly intended to influence the proceedings of the Committee. Without the most particular information, he could not have known or supposed, that such a Committee would be so long of meeting

meeting on such an urgent piece of business, which might be done in an hour or two as well as in a month.

I think it *probable*, therefore, that, on Tuesday December 18. J. Johnson, Esq; had somehow learned that the Committee was to meet on Saturday the 22d, and knowing there was time between Tuesday and Saturday for a letter to come from London to Edinburgh, wished to avail himself of his knowledge, and try his eloquence on us, to make us drop the proposed enquiry or prosecution; that, in his great wisdom, he falsified the place of writing, by inserting Pater-Noster Row, (the place in London where his booksellers the Robinsons have their shop), instead of Edinburgh; but in his great hurry (of which indeed the composition of his letter amply testifies) forgot to falsify the date of it, and by mistake wrote the real date of it; and that he forgot to calculate, or perhaps did not clearly understand, that from Edinburgh to London, and back again to Edinburgh, is twice as far, and, in course of post, takes twice as long time, as simply from London to Edinburgh. The consequence of his first

O

mistake



mistake was, that his date and the post-marks differ by three days ; of his second, that I did not receive his letter till two days after the Committee had met, and agreed on its report.

It is yet a matter of some difficulty to conceive how J. Johnson, Esq; came to know, even in Edinburgh, on the 18th, in time for the London post, that the Committee was to meet on the 22d of December. I did not know it on the 18th ; and actually wrote a letter to the Principal that evening, begging to have the earliest notice of the meeting of the Committee, that I might arrange matters so as to be able to attend it. Next morning I received his answer, informing me, that *before* he received my letter he had given orders to summon the Committee to meet on Saturday the 22d.

Having heard that Dr H. had been much displeas'd at the Committee not meeting, as was expected, on Saturday the 15th, and had even made a very *strong* application to the Principal about it, I thought it possible that he might have known a day or two sooner than

I did when the Committee was really to meet.

At the meeting of the *Senatus Academicus*, January 1st, it was ascertained by the Principal's answer to a written query of mine, which the Secretary read, that he had received a very *urgent* letter from Dr H. on that subject, *after* which, and in consequence of it, though he meant to have done it at any rate, he had ordered the Committee to be summoned to meet on the 22d of December. He did not mention, nor did I ask, whether he had answered Dr H.'s letter or not. But from the Principal's well established character for good sense, good manners, and knowledge of the world, and attention to the duties of his station, there can be no doubt that he answered it immediately, and in the most satisfactory manner; and that it was *after* receiving Dr Hamilton's letter, and *before* receiving mine of Tuesday December 18th, that he ordered the Committee to be summoned to meet on Saturday December 22.

I then read to the *Senatus Academicus* J. Johnson's letter, which I had no opportunity of reading to the Committee; and,

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 after a few dry remarks on the date and postscript and post-marks of it, concluded with these words, (referring to the happily emphatic expression of one of my colleagues on a former occasion), “ I shall not say “ that there is a *Judas Iscariot* among us, “ but I say with confidence, there is a “ *Judas Iscariot* very near us, who has “ early intelligence of what passes among “ us.”—A proposition which I have not hitherto found any person inclined to dispute.—J. Johnson, Esq; will understand perfectly, and may explain whenever he pleases, why I mention here that peculiar expression.

Dr Hamilton declared, that the letter “ was all a mystery to him.”

J. Johnson Esq; in his great hurry of writing that letter, and his exultation in the belief that “ he is in every respect out “ of my reach,” has dropped a hint that deserves attention, because it suggests some easy and natural *enquiries*. “ My “ practice, established on a well-ground- “ ed confidence, you cannot injure.” I have no doubt that he thinks it establish-  
 ed

ed on well-grounded confidence; and I can assure him, that, if I could, I would not injure his practice; for I take no concern in it. But by his own account this Esquire is engaged in practice, which indeed appeared very plainly by the internal evidence of his Pamphlet. By the same evidence it must appear clearly, (I mean to the private conviction of every individual, though perhaps not as a matter of legal proof) that the place of his practice must be Edinburgh, and the *line* of it midwifery.

His boast of well established practice completely refutes the *supposition* at one time stated, that the Pamphlet was the work of *some student*. To that supposition, as being both vague and gratuitous, I believe no regard was ever paid. Probably there is not a single student at the University, who would not disclaim with honest indignation such a supposition if made with respect to himself or his companions. But, from the whole spirit and tenor of the Pamphlet, it is plain that in the author of it, the sacred fire of youth had either never burned, or had soon been smothered  
by

by the fordid rancorous passions of maturer years.

The field of enquiry is much limited by J. Johnson's account of his own practice, and the irresistable implication with respect to the kind and the place of it. The number of such practitioners in Edinburgh is but small, and their characters and their connections are pretty generally known. Every one of them must be either connected with Dr H. or not connected with him.

If J. Johnson, Esq; be *not* connected with Dr H. (I mean connected with him by the sacred bond of interest), he can be no fit object of animadversion or enquiry; and his calamitous situation must soon make him generally known. The poor man must be deemed *felo de se*, unless it can be proved, that he is *non compos mentis*, for taking so much trouble, and publishing a Pamphlet of such turpitude, as to require the use of a false name, and every possible precaution to prevent his being known; and all this to raise the fame and promote the interest of a rival practitioner.

Such

Such conduct, though not physically, is morally impossible; it is as contrary to the moral, as living on stones, or falling headlong to the clouds are to the physical nature of man: and as incredible, as that J. Johnson, Esq; merely out of a frolic, and without any enmity to himself, should bite his own nose off: which, I have been told, was the plea set up, and even sworn to by two witnesses, in vindication of a man who, in a broil, had done that extraordinary injury to his adversary.

If J. Johnson, Esq; be connected with Dr Hamilton, he must be either his Son, Dr James H. junior, or not him. *He* disavows most solemnly any concern in the Pamphlet; we must therefore suppose it written by some other person. Now, if this were stated to one hundred people, probably ninety-nine of them would say, "Then who the Devil can that person be?"

As the publishers either could not, or would not answer that question, I thought the most likely way to obtain a satisfactory

factory answer to it would be by a *proper* application to J. Johnson himself; such an application I mean, as should *induce* him to appear, or at least to speak out, in *propria persona*. This I attempted in the following manner.

VIII.

## VIII.

**H**AVING been favoured with so acceptable and edifying a letter from J. Johnson, Esq; it was plainly incumbent on me to return him a proper answer to it: and an answer I did return him accordingly, of a very extraordinary kind; not to be paralleled by any of the letters of *Cicero* or *Pliny*, nor even to be matched by any thing in that valuable work called the Complete Letter Writer. It was in every respect a truly original production; and, without vanity be it said, a very good one: but, if it should ever make its appearance, it must not be judged of by any common rules of criticism. It was good, in my opinion at least; as being well adapted for the purpose it was intended to serve, which was a very uncommon one: it was



neither to make the person who should receive it laugh nor cry; neither to make him wiser nor to make him better; neither *prodesse* nor *delectare*, but quite the reverse; to provoke him to fury, to alarm him with the apprehension of the probable bad consequences of his Pamphlet to himself in his real character and person, which I endeavoured to shew him were abundantly well understood; and to drive him to some absurd public exhibition or explosion, in *propria persona*, that either by itself, or in concurrence with other circumstances, might make him generally and indisputably known.

I intended and expected, that my letter should operate on him as the touch of *Itburiel's* spear did on the toad at the ear of *Eve*: and sure I am, that if there had been but half a grain of gun-powder in his whole composition, he must have gone off like a sky-rocket before he had read it to the end.

My letter was directed most precisely to J. Johnson, Esq; Author of "the Guide," and contained the most pointed answer to his letter, almost sentence by sentence, and a few general remarks on the whole of it,  
and

and on his own character and conduct ; so that it was impossible it should affect any person, or be applied to any one that was not concerned, either as principal or accessory, in the composition of that letter and Pamphlet. But if my letter should have “wandered, Heaven directed,” to Dr James Hamilton junior, which I own I thought much more than possible, then he must have found himself dissected and anatomized in a most horrible manner. He must also have found in it the most cogent reasons (at least the most cogent that I could think of for him) to induce him to try some expedient, if possible, to take vengeance on me, and at least publicly to vindicate his own character, and to prevent some of the evils with which he was threatened.

A legal prosecution of me was surely the most obvious expedient ; but my letter, for many reasons, was hardly ostensible ; and if it had been produced, he could find no action on it, nor have any cause to complain of it. What is it to Dr J. H. junior what I say to J. Johnson, Esq; of himself, in answer to his letter to me ? Dr J. H. junior could not even acknow-

ledge having seen that letter, (in which, to the best of my remembrance, neither his name nor his father's is mentioned), without shewing that he was in habits of the most confidential intimacy and correspondence with the author of the Pamphlet; which would go near to establish for ever the opinion so generally entertained from the first, that he had some concern in that work.—Besides, there might be many other reasons, especially the embarrassing affair of the judicial examination of witnesses, for not making my conduct the subject of legal prosecution. An appeal to the public was seemingly free from those inconveniencies and dangers; and might be carried no farther than should be deemed expedient.

My assertion, that what I said to J. Johnson, Esq; in answer to his letter was adapted to produce a public answer or explosion, not from him under his assumed name, but from Dr J. H. junior in his own name, is so strange a paradox as cannot be believed till it is explained, which may easily be done by a single specimen.—In his letter to me he says, “ I am not  
 “ even most remotely connected with the  
 “ Uni-

“ University.” My answer to that part of his letter (as nearly as I can remember) was as follows : “ It is true, at least in one “ sense of the words, that you are not even most remotely connected with the “ University ; and it shall be my study “ to prevent you from ever being more “ nearly connected with it.” Of the propriety of such study with respect to the author of the Pamphlet and letter in question, whether his name were J. Johnson or not, there could be no doubt. I leave it to the candid and intelligent reader to judge how such a hint was likely to operate.—Much more to the same purpose was said in answer to his vaunt, that he is in every view out of my reach.

Such being the general purpose and tenor of my letter, I think it may be reckoned good, in the same way that we reckon ipecacuanha and rhubarb, though very nauseous drugs, good medicines ; they are good for their several purposes, and accordingly, in certain circumstances, might be recommended to an Alderman of London, nay, to my Lord Mayor himself, as better than venison or turtle, Champaign or Madeira.

My

My letter was sent under cover to the Mess. Robinfons, the London publishers of the Pamphlet, whom I begged to forward it, if they could, to J. Johnson, Esq; and, if they could not transmit it to him, to send it back to me. The latter part of it (for it was too big to go all in one frank) went from Edinburgh January 3. as the former part had done January 1. Neither part of it was sent back to me; I presumed, therefore, that the whole went in due course to J. Johnson, Esq; The latter part of it could not have reached London till Monday the 7th, no post entering that city on Sunday. In course of post it might have reached its destination in Edinburgh on the 10th; but as the packets were very bulky, I thought it possible that Mess. R. might either wait a day or two to procure franks for them, or send them down by the stage-coach, as is often done with Reviews and Magazines, or get the opportunity of sending them hither by some person coming to Edinburgh; so that the second part of my letter might not reach Edinburgh till two or three days after the 10th.

No explosion happening for several days after the time that I expected it, I began to suspect that J. Johnson, Esq; had discovered my intention; and to fear that I should be totally disappointed in my plan, from which I had entertained such sanguine hopes.

But I was not disappointed. On the 17th of January (pretty late in the evening) I had the pleasure of receiving that letter from Dr J. H. junior which he hath printed. Judging from the tenor of it that my letter to J. Johnson, Esq; was likely to operate, I took care that my answer to Dr J. H. which he hath also printed, should co-operate with it. I had instantly formed an opinion about the real cause of the step he had taken, but I was unable to form any conjecture about the ostensible cause that he could assign for it. My proposed judicial enquiry (which had been at an end more than a fortnight before) related not to him, (who was no wise subject to academical authority or censure) but to his Father, a member of the University, whose conduct was surely subject to the review of the University, and of the Patrons of it. The expression  
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in his letter, " I am told that you still  
 " persist in alledging, that the work origi-  
 " nated from me," &c. plainly refers at  
 least to something very *recently* said by me,  
 if not to a *frequently* and *recently* repeated act  
 or habit. But from the time that the U-  
 niversity had dismissed the enquiry, which  
 coincided with the time of sending the  
 first part of my letter to J. Johnson, Esq;  
 I had, for very obvious reasons, carefully  
 avoided the subject; and from first to last  
 I had been peculiarly careful not to ha-  
 zard any simple positive allegation (imply-  
 ing direct and immediate knowledge) with  
 respect to the origin of the Pamphlet. I  
 had been at pains to explain to my col-  
 leagues and others that I had no such di-  
 rect knowledge, and that my conviction  
 on that point was founded on the strong  
 internal evidence of the Pamphlet itself,  
 and on many concurrent particulars of cir-  
 cumstantial evidence of which I had cer-  
 tain knowledge. I thought it possible, that  
 some people who had told Dr J. H. of my  
 conduct, had not duly attended to that  
 precision and distinction, which I explain-  
 ed, or at least tried to explain fully to him  
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in my answer to his letter. But he did not choose to understand me.

Still however I was at a loss to guess how my letter to J. Johnson, if it had reached its destination, and was to operate at last, should be so long of operating as from the 10th or 12th to the 17th of January. But next forenoon this was in some measure explained to me. Meeting the post-man on the street, I received from him, along with some other letters, a reply from J. Johnson, Esq; but without any subscription: this defect I imputed to his not quite relishing the way that I had chosen to read his initial J. my letter, at the end, having been addressed to Judas Johnson, Esq;

This reply is dated, “ Benares, in the “ 1850th year of the æra of *Bikramajit* :” to preclude, I suppose, any further remarks, such as those I had given him on the place and date of his former letter. But *Cælum non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt*. J. Johnson, Esq; had profited so little by his travels, and by his former experience, as not yet to understand the system of the post-marks on letters, and the evidence resulting from them. This letter of his

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bears the Edinburgh mark of the 18th of January, (the day I received it), and the corresponding London mark of the 15th January 1793.—Between the 10th (the earliest day that the second part of my letter could have reached Edinburgh) and the 15th, there is abundance of time for his letter to have gone from Edinburgh to London, and be put into the General Post-Office there on the 15th.

I found, to my great satisfaction, that he had not even suspected my intention in writing him such a letter as he had got from me; but had considered it only as a discharge of bile, and (as he said) was much entertained with it. He tells me, my arrows have missed their aim, &c. which I took the liberty not to believe; partly, I own, in consideration of the letter I had received about twelve hours before.—He is to write a whole pamphlet against my Essays, to shew his mathematical knowledge, which in my observations on the date and post-marks of his former letter I had held very cheap; he is to ruin my Class, by exposing the weakness and imperfections of my Lectures; he is to annoy me with letters from the principal towns

towns in the kingdom ; he is to stick fast to me ; he is to meet me at Philippi. — He must have been excessively entertained indeed with my letter.

On returning to my own house I received Dr J. H.'s second letter, which he hath also printed. If it had not been for the unfortunate accident of my meeting the letter-carrier, and his knowing me, and giving me my letters on the street, I should have received, at the same moment, the second letter of Dr J. H. junior, and the second letter of J. Johnson, Esq; — both of them threatening me with publication vengeance. — The common time of the arrival of the London post, and consequently of the delivery of the letters that come by it, is well known.

Thus I found myself placed between two fires ; one from the open stationary battery of Dr J. H. junior, on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh, the other from the masked flying battery of J. Johnson, Esq; in Pater-Noster Row, at Benares, nay, perhaps, at every town in the kingdom. It was impossible to resist such superior artillery, and such exquisite generalship. I there-

fore submitted in silence. The first discharge from Dr J. H.'s battery soon took place; to the astonishment and entertainment of all who heard it: the deeper thunders of J. Johnson's artillery are still in reserve.

Now all these coincidences may have been accidental; but I own they do not appear so to me. I beg it may be observed, however, that I do not presume to assert or allege, that J. Johnson, Esq; was at last caught in his own trap; nor yet, that Dr J. H. junior is J. Johnson, Esq; nor that he ever had any connection or correspondence with him, or ever saw, or ever heard of my letter to him. *Post hoc, ergo propter hoc*, I know is but scurvy Logic. At any rate, I am no more entitled to hazard a simple allegation than I am to make oath on those points. The impropriety, though perhaps not the falsity, of such an oath or allegation must be very apparent. It would be virtually asserting or swearing to the infallibility of my own judgement, in the inference I drew from the various concurrent circumstances which I have mentioned: for, in every act  
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of belief founded either wholly or partly on circumstantial evidence, there is involved some exercise of judgement. Now such judgement may be erroneous; and it certainly is not quite uniform among different people, as belief is, when founded on the evidence of intuition, of demonstration, of sense, or of good direct testimony. Hence it is, that mere circumstantial evidence, though it must always have great weight, forasmuch as belief is involuntary, is not by itself deemed legal proof, on which a person may be convicted in any penal case. Hence too it is, that our Scottish jurymen, who decide by a majority, often differ irreconcilably, as to the force of evidence, partly circumstantial, partly of testimony.

On the point in question, all that I am entitled to allege or to swear, is, that I wrote such a letter, with all the circumstances of time, place, and manner which I have stated, and for the very purpose of producing an explosion from the person who should receive it; and Dr J. H.'s printed letters amply testify, that, in *a few days*, the explosion took place in the very person in whom I expected and intended  
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to produce it.—The ostensible reason of the explosion is a *misrepresented* account of what I had said more than *five weeks* before; and which, supposing it to have been as it is stated, and also to have been really injurious to Dr J. H. junior, would have been (what my letter never could be) a very fit subject for legal prosecution; to which text I had repeatedly desired that my conduct, and the mysterious origin of the Pamphlet, might be brought.—The ultimate inference from these, and all the other particulars that I have stated in the preceding pages, I leave to the candid, attentive, intelligent reader. For my own part, I do not scruple to avow that the perfect coincidence of so many particulars, independently of any direct testimony or information, would have produced in me the fullest conviction that Dr J. H. junior was concerned in the composition and publication of the Pamphlet which bears the name of J. Johnson, Esq. To the best of my judgement such coincidences could not have been by mere chance; nor yet by any design or contrivance: and like the exact fitting of tallies, or the discovery of a key that fully explains a writing  
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in cypher, they seem to partake so much of the nature of demonstration as to make the opposite belief impossible. If this be possible, it can be produced only by fairly and rationally accounting for them all some other way.

Having mentioned my receiving two letters from J. Johnson, Esq; and two from Dr J. H. junior, it is proper to say, in justice to the latter, that the letters from J. Johnson are not in the same hand-writing with his. The spelling of J. Johnson's letters, as will appear from the printed letter, is somewhat peculiar. But a more extraordinary remark has been made on his letters. Some persons, at the first sight of them, have guessed them to be in the hand-writing of a woman. This did not occur to myself on reading his first letter; nor am I even yet quite convinced that the remark is just. But it is somewhat confirmed by the unquestionable fact that the spelling at least is female, forming a curious contrast with the classical learning displayed in the quotation from *Persius*, (Pag. 49.), which, by the by, was originally wrong spelt too; *suppellex*, instead

stead of *supellex* : but this peculiar spelling, which was a blunder in profody, as well as etymology, J. Johnson, Esq; had corrected, by erasing with a pen the second *p*.

These things I take notice of, not as matters of mere idle curiosity, but as leading irresistibly to the dilemma, that J. Johnson, Esq; either employs occasionally a female *Amanuensis*, or else is itself an Hermaphrodite. I incline to the former opinion ; but I own it is a moot point.

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IX.

**I**N a kind of postscript subjoined to his second letter to me, Dr J. H. mentions, that to *it* (the one in which he told me that my letter and my conduct should be laid before the Public) no reply had been made, at the time he printed the letters.

No reply ever was made to it, nor could any be reasonably expected. Certainly I should never think of carrying on any correspondence with a man whose avowed purpose was to lay my letter before the public, that the public might judge how far my conduct had been upright and open; and who was actually employing misrepresentation and falsehood in the account which he gave of my words and of my conduct. I did not even think it incumbent on me to set him right as to

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those



those misrepresentations, being convinced they were wilful. As he seemed to think, notwithstanding what I had told him, that I must be afraid of an appeal to the public, I chose rather to let him feel his mistake than to tell him of it.

Next to that strict judicial investigation of the question respecting the origin of the Pamphlet which I had been endeavouring to obtain, and which would have enabled me to call on the proper witnesses, and perhaps get direct testimony in addition to the internal and circumstantial evidence, nothing could be more agreeable to me, than to have a fair opportunity of stating publicly the internal and circumstantial evidence by themselves. In my own opinion they are amply sufficient to decide the question to the private conviction of every individual, and of course as to public opinion, which is but the aggregate of many private opinions. If they were not sufficient, I should have wished them to be fairly examined and set aside; for I had no ill-will, and meant no injustice, to either of the persons suspected. At any rate, I could not have prevented Dr J. H. from making his appeal to the Public;

lic ; and since he was to do it, I own it was gratifying to me to see him set out with the most unequivocal evidence of his own difingenuity.—In this respect he has been very obliging to me.

When a man who says he is injured, instead of seeking that effectual redress which the impartial laws of his country would certainly afford him, tries the inadequate, precarious, disgraceful expedient of an appeal to the public, he must no doubt have some very particular reasons for acting in a manner apparently so preposterous. It must certainly be thought, either that he is not so much injured as he would have the public believe, or at least that there are circumstances of his story not quite fit for strict judicial enquiry.

When a man who makes such an appeal, and wishes the public to decide in his cause, instead of telling the whole tale, tells but a very little of it, and that little very erroneously, stating only what is in his own favour, suppressing whatever can make against him, and misrepresenting the words, the meaning, and the conduct of his adversary, it must be believed

that he has the most substantial reasons for acting in a manner so evidently disingenuous.

Such however has been the conduct of Dr J. H. in his appeal to the public. He has stated the evidence (if evidence it may be called which can have no weight) in his own favour; I mean his disavowal of the Pamphlet imputed to him. But he has said not one word of the strong internal and circumstantial evidence on which the common belief with respect to the origin of the Pamphlet is founded. Unless these were also stated, the public could not judge what regard was due to his disavowal. No man can be supposed so weak and ignorant as to think the disavowal or denial of a suspected person complete proof of his innocence, in opposition to all possible internal and circumstantial evidence.

In his first letter to me he stated very precisely, that he had been told by several people that I still persisted in alleging that the work (the "Guide") originated from him, or that he had assisted the author.

As there might have been a *bona fide* mistake, either on his part, or that of his informers, with respect to what I had said,

said, notwithstanding all my care, not only not to hazard any simple positive allegation on those points, but to state expressly what was the nature and ground of my conviction with respect to them, I thought it incumbent on me to explain the matter fully to him; which I did in the following words:—“ Having no direct knowledge of who were or who were not concerned in the composition and publication of the Pamphlet you mention, I never thought myself entitled to *allege*, or simply and positively assert, that you or that your father had or had not any concern in it. On the contrary, I thought it would have been necessary for the University to have obtained a strict judicial enquiry into that matter, which enquiry should have terminated either in the full and honourable acquittal, or in the complete conviction and exemplary punishment of the person *suspected*. — You know perfectly the general suspicions and opinion which have prevailed concerning the origin and purpose of that Pamphlet. You know also on what particulars of internal evidence and collateral circumstances

“ stances that opinion is founded. From  
 “ the hour I read the Pamphlet I adopted  
 “ that opinion, and I still retain it. I  
 “ have mentioned it openly, and also  
 “ the reasons on which it is founded;  
 “ particularly in so far as related to your  
 “ Father.

“ This, I presume, the persons who  
 “ gave you your information have call-  
 “ ed, persisting in alleging that the Pam-  
 “ phlet originated from you.”

As he also mentioned, “ the conse-  
 “ quences of *falsely calumniating* any per-  
 “ son’s character,” I told him in my an-  
 “ swer, “ If you think fit to do me the ho-  
 “ nour to single me out as the object ei-  
 “ ther of your personal resentment, or of  
 “ legal prosecution, for that general and  
 “ very natural opinion, you are heartily  
 “ welcome.”

I could not tell him in more explicit  
 terms, that my firm conviction with re-  
 spect to the origin of the Pamphlet de-  
 pended not on my own direct knowledge  
 of it, but on the force of evidence  
 which I deemed competent and strong,  
 though

though it was not sufficiently precise to touch either him alone, or his Father alone, exclusively of the other; and that I was willing to let it be made the subject of legal discussion.—But Dr J. H. did not choose to understand me.

In his second letter to me, (the reply to mine), he says, “ You mentioned to my Father, on the 11th of December last, that *you could bring your charge home to me*. You have now DENIED that, and shelter yourself under the canopy of public *opinions* and *suspicious*.” — The first of these assertions is evidently his Father’s, the two last of them plainly his own.

All three are *false*. The two last of them are such glaring and palpable falsehoods, as hardly to require animadversion. I know of no such canopy as he mentions, nor of any shelter that public opinions and suspicions could afford me: at any rate, I sought no such shelter; nay, I formally and explicitly renounced it, by telling him on what kind of evidence my opinion was founded, and inviting him to make my conduct the subject of legal prosecution.

Yet,

Yet, with a wonderful incongruity of thought, which would be absolutely incredible, were it not ascertained by his own printed letters, and which seems very near akin to some of the incongruities that appear in the Pamphlet of J. Johnson, Esq; he makes his appeal to that very public whose opinion he knew was so decidedly declared against him as to afford me shelter, or, in his own metaphorical language, to be a canopy to me.

As to the point of my being able to bring home my charge to him: in the first place, I never asserted it; and in the second place, I never denied it.

That I never denied it, is evident from my letter which Dr J. H. hath printed, in which there is not one word about it; nor could I, when I was reading and answering his first letter, have guessed that he alluded to that point, or to any thing that had passed between his Father and me concerning it. To have said on the 11th of December that I could bring my charge home to him, which, it should seem, his Father had told him, and to persist in alleging, on the 17th of January, that the Pamphlet originated with him, which he said

said in his first letter he had been told by several people, are plainly very different things ; especially if it be considered that the discussion with respect to the Pamphlet took place in the intermediate time ; viz. on the 22d of December, and on the 1st of January.—To change the terms employed in any strict discussion, is always disingenuous ; it is never done, I believe, but in order to pervert their meaning ; it can serve no other purpose ; and it is equally shameful and unavailing.

I conceive that a person may reasonably allege or simply assert any thing of which he has certain and direct knowledge, whether he can bring evidence of it or not ; and that he may properly say that he can bring home a charge, if he can produce satisfactory evidence of it, whether he have any direct knowledge of it or not.

But the account of my conversation with Dr H. on the 11th of December is very imperfect ; and, supposing it to have been reported by Dr H. as his Son has stated it, must be wilfully erroneous. It is an attempt to convey a lie in the words of

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truth,



truth. All the words imputed to me were really uttered by me to Dr H. that day ; but they are not all that I said to him even in one sentence, and by the suppression of the rest of the sentence my meaning is perverted. My conversation with Dr H. was very short, and I remember it distinctly.

On that day, to my great surprise, he accosted me on the street, and after telling me that I had been very *rash*, and that my conduct was *insidious*, declared, as he had done the evening before, that he had no concern in the Pamphlet. I told him, *That* would appear on the enquiry. To this he answered with great warmth, “ I defy all the Devils in Hell to bring it “ home to *me*,” with a peculiar emphasis on the last word *me* ; alluding, as I understood, to what he had said the evening before, that he could not conceive how such things about his lectures were in the Pamphlet, unless that his Son had been corresponding with somebody in London about it. This distinction between him and his Son I had always held very cheap ; thinking it almost absurd to suppose that the Father could be in any degree cleared  
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by the conviction of his Son, his assistant in business and in teaching, and his known agent in the writing of books; more especially when, to my certain knowledge, several of the sentiments, and even expressions, and one very pointed intention, to be met with in the Pamphlet, were the Father's.—My reply to him (which put an end to our conversation) was, “ No matter, I shall bring it home *either* to *you or your Son.*”—Any one who hath read the preceding pages may judge whether or not I was entitled to say so.—Take away but the three little words printed in Italics, and there will remain just what Dr J. H. with his Father's knowledge no doubt, and on his testimony, hath stated as what I said to him.

It was very natural and very wise for Dr H. to wish to get out of the scrape himself, *si posset recte, si non quocunque modo*, even though he should leave his Son in the lurch; and to choose to appear in the character of a witness, rather than in that of a party in the business: but I never understood that he could have his choice in that respect. The enquiry which I had proposed the evening before that conversation,

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sation, and the particulars of internal and circumstantial evidence which I stated to the Committee of the University eleven days after it, related solely to him. I stated that alternative to him at that time, in allusion to what he had said the evening before. For though in my own private opinion the internal and circumstantial evidence brought it home both to him and his Son, yet I knew, that in the course of judicial proceedings, further evidence, I mean testimony, would be required: and I thought it *possible* that testimony might be obtained which would affect his Son only. I thought so for reasons with which I meant to have regaled them both, whenever the question came into a Court of Justice. Those reasons remain in full force, and await them still.

I have no doubt that Dr H. heard all that I said, as well as that part of it which he hath reported, and that he understood me perfectly.

The next time he chooses to play the witness in his own cause, and in a case in which his interest and his passions are  
deeply

deeply concerned, he will please to remember, that it is the duty of a witness to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

From the tenor of his conduct and of his Son's letters, I judge that they consider nothing but direct testimony as evidence of the origin of the Pamphlet, or *bringing home the charge*. This plainly was the notion of J. Johnson, Esq; as appears by his utterly neglecting the strong internal and circumstantial evidence in his work, while he took the utmost pains to prevent any testimony with respect to it from being obtained.

By the metaphorical phrase *bringing home*, I understand, proving by competent evidence of any kind. By evidence I understand whatever produces belief. It may be of various kinds; internal, circumstantial, or testimony, or all of them combined.

On some points internal evidence is supreme and conclusive: for example, with respect to the purpose of any written composition or publication. It would be absurd to set about proving by testimony, that

that the Pamphlet of J. Johnson, Esq; was intended to raise the fame and promote the interest of Dr H. and to injure the professional character and fortune of the Professors of Botany and of Mathematics in this University. And it would be worse than absurd, to attempt to prove by testimony that it was not so. If an hundred witnesses should swear this, they could not be believed.

Deliberate inconsistency in any story or declaration is decisive evidence of falsehood; and if such declaration were given on oath, the inconsistency would be legal evidence of perjury.

The perfect sameness, or even very near resemblance, both in thought and expression, were it but in a single sentence or couplet, to the composition of a preceding author (if it were not acknowledged as borrowed) would be complete internal evidence of plagiarism. Such sameness or close resemblance in a whole work would, in certain circumstances, be legal evidence of another kind of literary theft, which booksellers call piracy.

Internal evidence, strictly so called, I believe, can never be explained away, or otherwise

otherwise accounted for, as circumstantial evidence often may be : Yet even this kind of evidence has great weight, unless it can be fairly accounted for, or explained away.

If a man were found robbed and murdered, and his property were found in the possession of the person suspected of the crime, and used by him as his own, tho' such a circumstance might not convict him, yet, if it were not well accounted for, it would fix indelible suspicion on him.

Crim. Con. is generally proved chiefly or solely by circumstantial evidence; for this good reason, that it is not usually committed in presence of witnesses. If *Jack* were found in bed with *Tom's* wife, it would be no direct proof that he had committed, or ever intended, to commit adultery with her : it would be only a strong circumstance against him, which might be accounted for by proving that some of his companions had found him dead drunk, and had conveyed him thither by way of a frolic; the lady being fast asleep, or in the same situation with him,

him. But in the mean time (that is, till such proof were given) *Tom*, though he might be egregiously mistaken, would not be in the least criminal, if he should think himself a cuckold, and should speak and act as men usually do in such circumstances. And if *Jack* should offer no such proof, and only say, that he supposed it might be so, or that he did not know how he came to be in that bed, *Tom* would be well entitled to shake his head, and hold fast his first opinion, and pay as little regard to *Jack's* protestations of his innocence, as has generally been paid to Dr J. H.'s disavowal of the Pamphlet which bears the name of J. Johnson, Esq;

This point, with respect to the import of the term *evidence*, and the phrase *bringing home*, is of great consequence in this discussion. It is conceivable, that, *per fas aut nefas*, all direct testimony may be withheld or suppressed. In that case, according to Dr J. H.'s notion of the matter, there would be no evidence at all against him; that is, no more reason to think that he, than that any indifferent person, was concerned in the composition of the Pamphlet; and  
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of course, that the belief that he was concerned in it must be groundless, unjust, and malicious.

According to my notion of the matter, though every person who could give his testimony with respect to the origin of the Pamphlet, were annihilated, the various particulars of internal and circumstantial evidence relating to it would fully justify and for ever establish that opinion of its origin, which even a small part of them had at first produced.

The only difference between the having or not having direct testimony in this case is, that with it there might be, while without it there could not be, legal conviction of the author. No court will depart, or ought to depart, in any particular case, however strong the circumstances of it may be, from its established general rules of proceeding, whether these be of positive institution, or only the result of reflection and custom. Where the law requires two witnesses to prove an act, a court will not be contented with one, though that one were *Cato* himself. Where the law requires two men to witness and authenticate the subscription of a person to any deed or instrument,



strument, a court will not be satisfied with the attestation of two women. But in all such cases the difference is only as to legal decision, not as to general and just belief, which does not depend on courts of justice, nor on any human laws.

From the conduct of Dr J. H. in attempting to vindicate himself by simply disavowing the Pamphlet, it appears that he thought his own declaration sufficient evidence, in opposition to the internal and circumstantial evidence. I believe it was generally thought, and such I am sure was my opinion, that his disavowal could have no more weight against that evidence, than it would have had in opposition to direct testimony, if this had been obtained by the judicial examination of competent witnesses.

As he did not seem to understand the gentle hint which Dr Rutherford gave him on that point, I endeavoured, in my answer to his first letter to me, to explain it to him more fully ; telling him,

“ I never dreamed of asking any person whether he were the author of that  
“ Pamphlet,

“ Pamphlet, nor of paying any regard to  
 “ any person’s denial of his being concern-  
 “ ed in it ; for this plain reason, that I was  
 “ sure whoever was concerned in it would  
 “ deny it. It contains such things as no  
 “ man can avow without incurring lasting  
 “ infamy. This the author well knew ;  
 “ and accordingly published it under a  
 “ false name, and with the most extraor-  
 “ dinary precautions to baffle enquiry.  
 “ He published it with a resolution to de-  
 “ ny it. The false name on the title-page  
 “ is *ipso facto* a denial of it by the real au-  
 “ thor or authors.”

I wished to make Dr J. H. understand  
 that his disavowal of the Pamphlet, in the  
 circumstances in which he was placed, was  
 just like a prisoner at the bar pleading *not  
 guilty*, which has no force in opposition to  
 any kind of evidence. Far from being  
 considered as true, it is not even deemed  
 a falsehood, when it is disregarded in  
 consequence of the most decisive evi-  
 dence.

As I do not find that he hath paid any  
 more regard to my explanation than he  
 did to Dr R.’s hint, I shall tell him what

one of the wise men of Greece said in a case somewhat similar. A young man had unluckily incurred the suspicion of Crim. Con. with his neighbour's wife ; I presume on circumstantial evidence only. Displeas'd at the suspicion, he asked *Thales* whether he might not vindicate himself by his oath. " Young man" (answered the Sage) " Perjury is worse than Adultery."

The two cases, I own, are not exactly parallel ; for in this one there is neither adultery nor perjury ; nor can it be said with truth, that the disavowal is worse than the deed ; if there be any difference, it is less bad. But there is a wonderful incongruity of thought in it. It is self-evident that no regard is due to any declaration of the author of the Pamphlet : he can have no pretensions to veracity or credibility. What regard then can be paid to the declaration of one supposed to be the author of it ?

Surely no man's simple declaration can be thought of more weight than his oath. Yet if a man, who, in any case in which his own passions and interest were deeply concerned, had incurred strong and general

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ral suspicion of perjury, were to offer to prove his innocence by swearing that he was not perjured, we should be more inclined to laugh at the expedient than to listen to his oath. Such a mode of vindication is in truth a downright *Bull*. The only thing *simile aut secundum* to it that ever I heard of, was the conduct of the great *Baron Monkhausen*, of authentic memory, when he had one night unluckily fallen into a deep pit, which he could not get out of. He waited there per force till morning; then went to a village two leagues off, whence he fetched a spade, and returned to the pit, and dug himself out.

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## P O S T S C R I P T.

**I**T must no doubt appear strange that this Answer to Dr J. H.'s printed letters should be so long of appearing. They came forth the 21st of January. — The unavoidable length of this answer, as comprehending so many particulars and discussions, and my own well-known occupation in the University during the winter months, will in part account for the delay. But I must own there was another, and a stronger reason for it. J. Johnson, Esq; in his reply to my letter (which he says entertained him much) promised and vowed to write a whole Pamphlet of strictures on a Philosophical and Mathematical Essay which I published last year; and also an Analysis of my Lectures, exposing all their insufficiencies and

and blunders, &c. &c.; the latter is to prove his medical, the former to prove his mathematical knowledge. I have no doubt but his publications will be decisive in both these respects. The analysis of my Lectures I could not in reason and conscience expect to see till near the beginning of next winter. But the pamphlet against my Essay, I thought might have appeared by this time: for I am sure J. Johnson, Esq; is singularly qualified for such an undertaking, and could do it as well in one day as he could in seven years. I wished to have enriched this Answer with a few samples of his mathematics, of which his great discovery (page 36. 39.) had given me a very exalted notion. But as his pamphlet has not yet (after four months) appeared, and as I have no doubt that he had as early intelligence of the printing of this Answer as Dr J. H. had, I presume it is in vain to expect to see his Pamphlet till after this Answer has appeared. I must be satisfied therefore with the honour of announcing his pamphlet, which will certainly be expected with impatience and perused with avidity. For my own part, I have no doubt that it will infinitely sur-  
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pass all the boasted performances of that great genius whose unparalleled attainments in literature and science but a few years ago astonished and delighted the great and gay world in London ; I mean *The Learned Pig.*

30th May 1793.