

**Observations on Dr. Pearson's Examination of the Report of the Vaccine Pock Committee of the House of Commons, concerning Dr. Jenner's claim for remuneration / [Thomas Creaser].**

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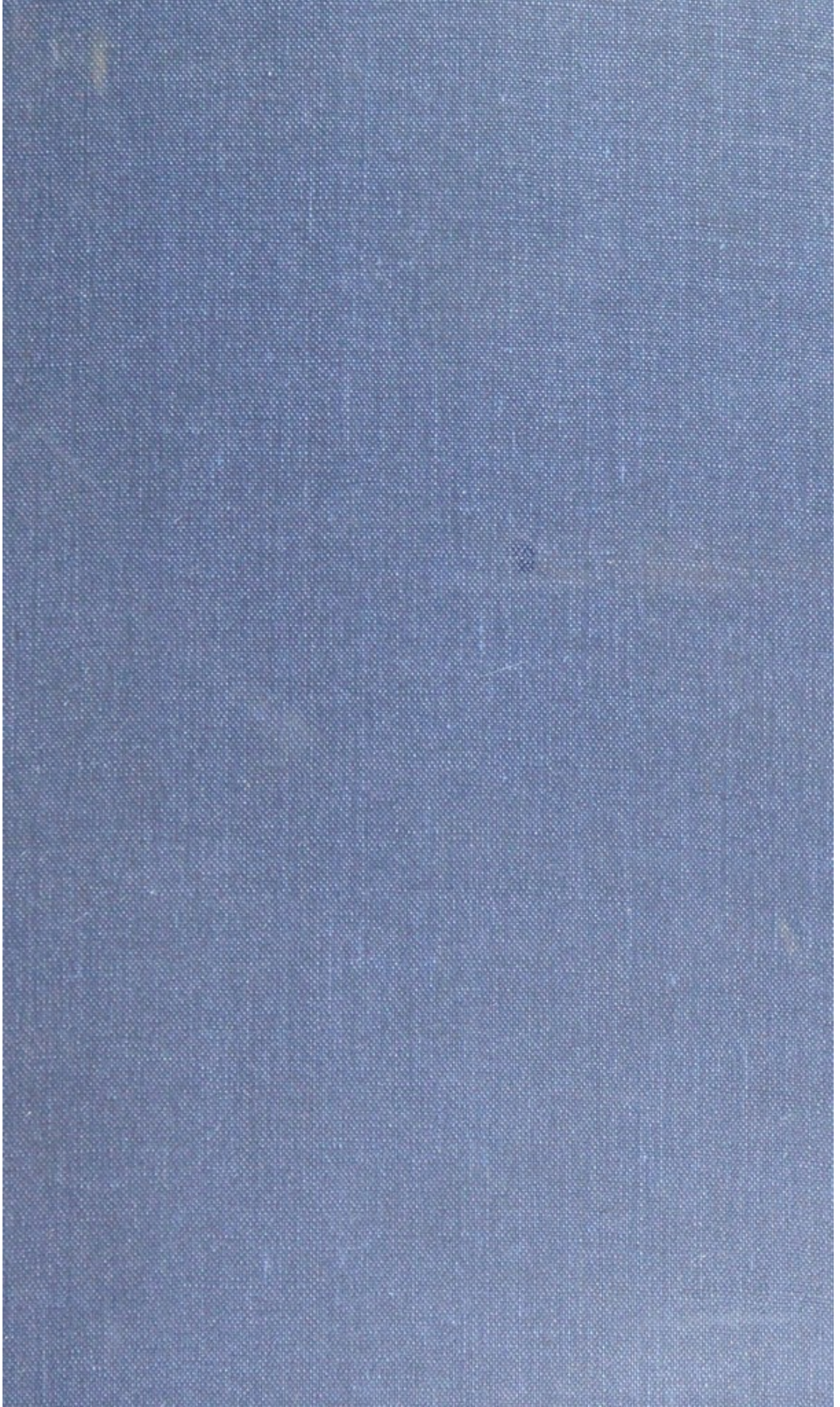
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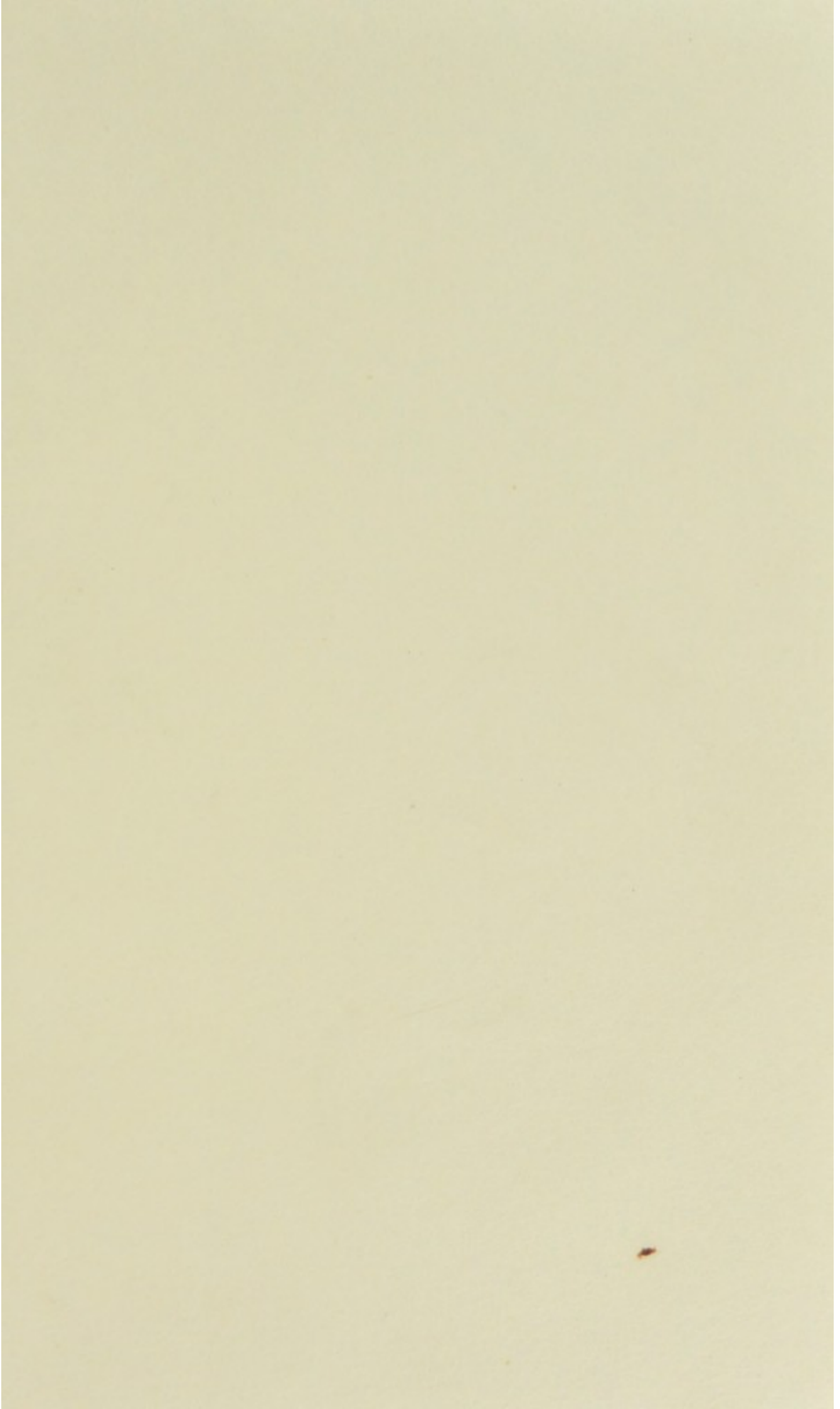
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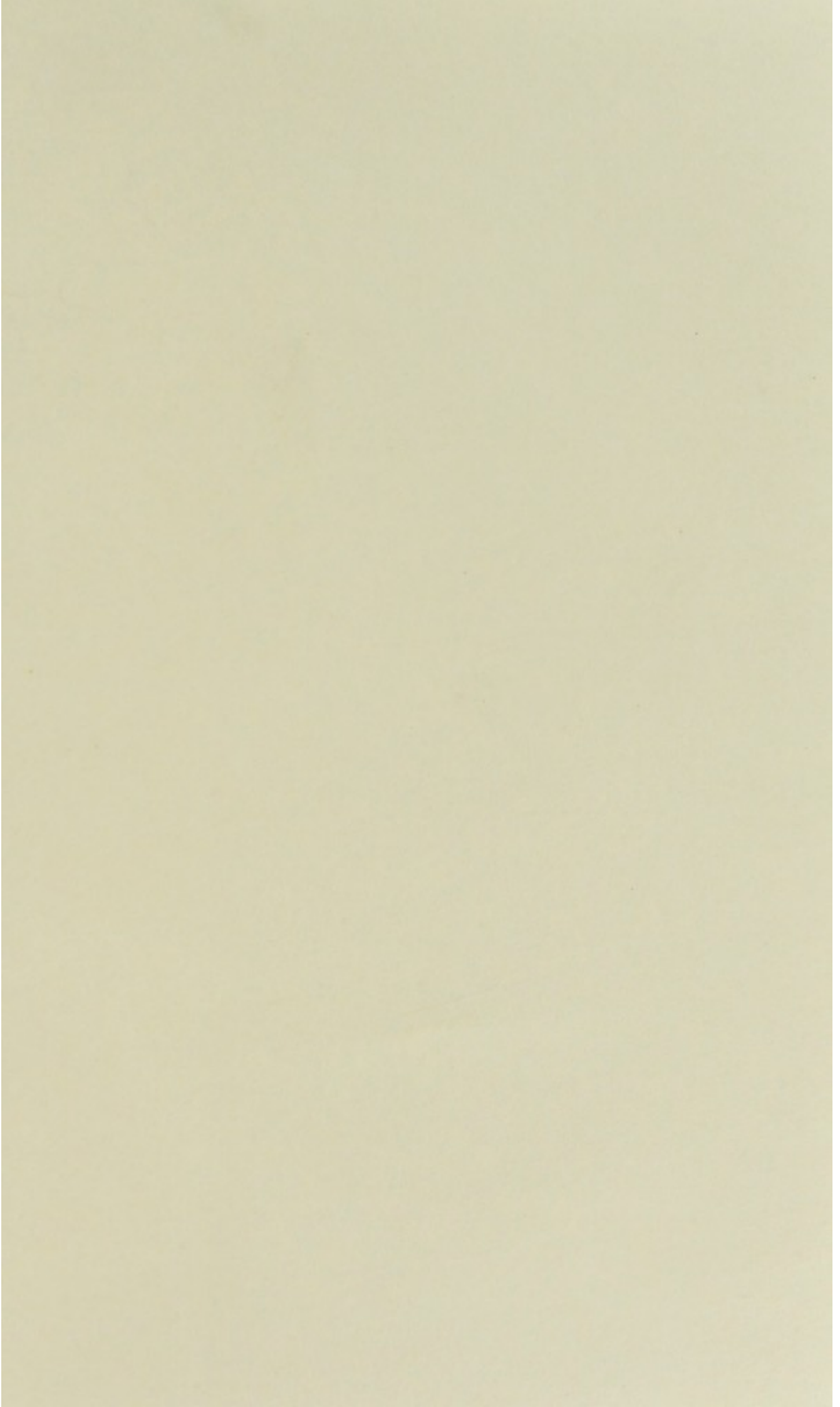






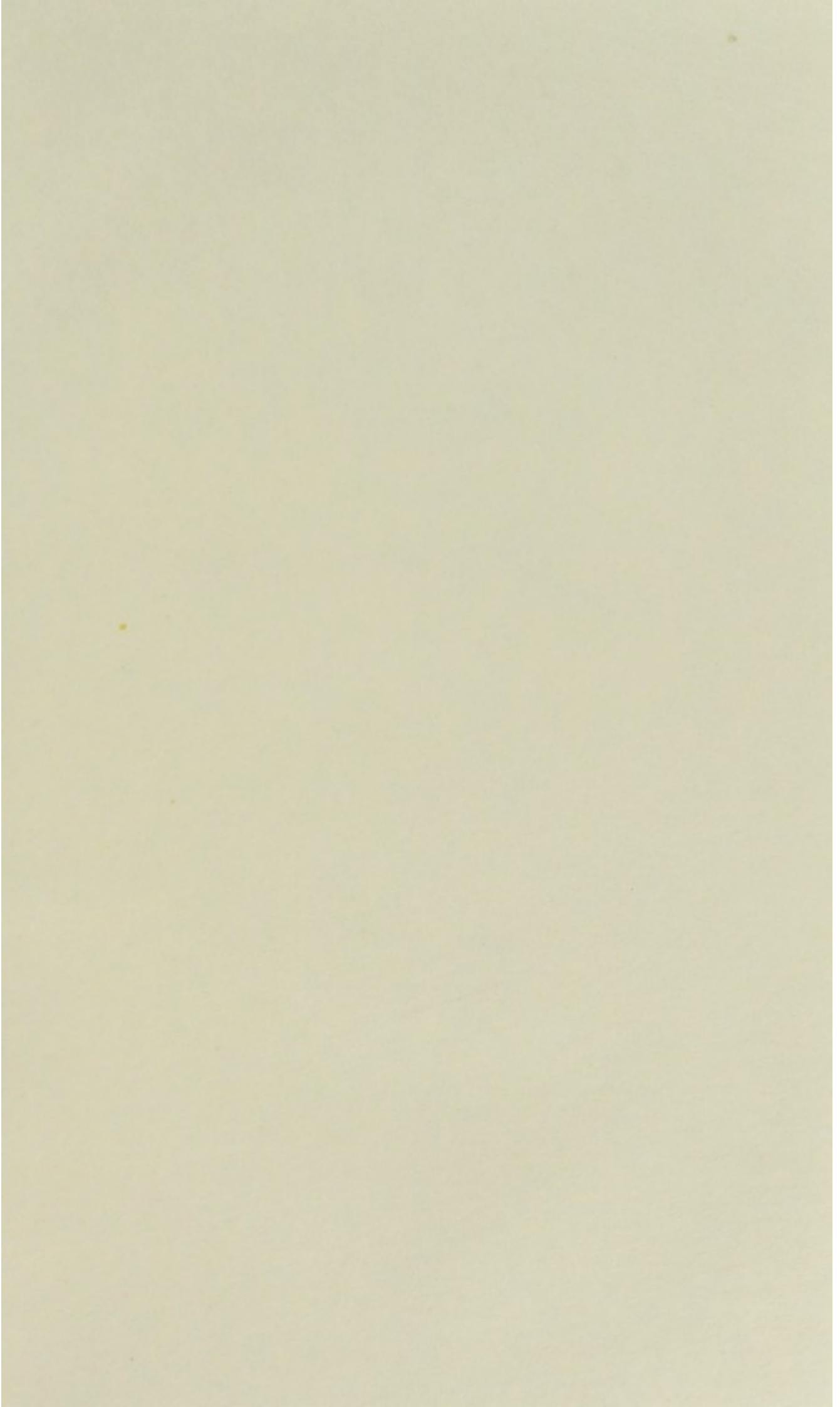
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OBSERVATIONS  
ON  
DR. PEARSON'S EXAMINATION  
OF THE  
REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE  
OF THE  
HOUSE OF COMMONS,  
CONCERNING  
*DR. JENNER'S CLAIM for REMUNERATION.*

The SECOND EDITION, enlarged with a Preface.

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BY  
THOMAS CREASER, *Surgeon.*

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1805.





## PREFACE

TO THE

### *SECOND EDITION.*

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THE publication of the Evidence and Report of the Committee concerning Dr. Jenner's claim of remuneration for the discovery of Vaccine Inoculation, induces me to a re-publication of these Observations. To this I am additionally incited by the fortunate possession of the means of demonstrating the complete falsity of one branch of Dr. Pearson's evidence in opposition to Dr. Jenner's fair and valid pretensions. I am so conscious of being unmoved by personal partiality or animosity in the execution of this task, and of being singly and solely actuated by an impartial interest in truths of importance, that I shall not apologize for the revival of this discussion. I deem it only moral justice to the Author of one of the greatest benefits imparted to mankind, that the register of the reward conferred



by the Legislature of his Country should be accompanied by a commentary on the detraction which has been levelled both at the one and the other.

The first edition of this work has been honoured with no reply, unless the personal abuse of a Reviewer, who has uniformly supported the party and the principles against which it was directed, can be so termed. Without fear of contradiction, I may affirm, that my elucidation of some proceedings in the early history of Vaccination in London cannot be refuted; and my opponent is doubtless well acquainted with the advice of a celebrated orator, who tells us, “when an argument is unanswerable, to pass it over.” In this abeyance I should have suffered the question to remain, but for the considerations already alluded to. It is with reluctance that I rake the embers of dissention amongst the advocates of Vaccination, when its present circumstances call for their united support against its active antagonists, and its timid and wavering supporters. I could wish that the example of the extinction of party differences by political danger were imitated in this respect. But I see no such indication. To the “Statement of Evidence,” published by the Vaccine-Pock Institution, as well as to their printed resolutions, on the supposed failures of Vaccine Inoculation, (both which publications I consider as personally and exclusively Dr. Pearson’s) I most freely admit the general interests of Vaccination to be es-



sentially indebted. It is with as much alacrity that I make this avowal, as I deprecated, and still continue to deprecate, the influence of the greater portion of Dr. P.'s conduct and writings in every stage of the history of Vaccine Inoculation, from its earliest period to the present moment. After the most ample admission of his few services, I must turn to view them in another direction, and to analyze their relation to the Author as well as to his discovery. In this light I trace a systematic continuation of the spirit which directed former attacks on Dr. Jenner, and which merits the most invincible and decided reprobation. Every triumph of Dr. Jenner's system is in Dr. Pearson's hands the medium of a new attack. "If he loves the treason, he hates the traitor." It seems inseparable from Dr. P.'s mode of warfare to direct his artillery against the opponents of Vaccination, without levelling an oblique shot against its discoverer; indeed, if the force of the latter be compared with that of the former, it would seem that Dr. J. was a primary, and the common enemy a secondary object of destruction and annoyance. The publication\* which constitutes the favoured vehicle of Dr. P.'s opinions, follows with scrupulous fidelity the same line of proceeding. No echo was ever more faithful to sound, or imitation to its original, than is this Reviewer to his prototype. "None but

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\* See Medical and Chirurgical Review, March and May, 1805.



himself can be his parallel." We may sometimes discover with more certainty the sentiments of a man through the medium of his expositor, than from himself. If, according to this principle, the Reviewer is the more intelligible standard of Dr. P.'s opinions; it would appear, that opposition to the Cow-Pox (provided it be only coupled with the name of Jenner) is by no means adverse to his feelings;\* but if the successful extension of Vaccination is to be recorded, it is only to inscribe Dr. Pearson's name on the pillar of its fame. Dr. Moseley, whose prostituted wit, frothy declamation, and impotent ridicule, are allied with the most notorious misrepresentation of facts,† for the laudable purpose of obstructing the progress of an improvement, justly dear to the philosopher and the philanthropist, is termed, by this Reviewer, a "good-humoured facetious writer, and "one who has endeavoured to inspire a salutary horror of the practice into the minds of his readers." Not one syllable of dissent from Dr. Moseley's opinions, either express or implied, appears in any part of this Reviewer's critique. I am not here questioning his right to condemn Vaccine Inoculation, if he can disprove its utility; but I cannot

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\* Vide Preface to Med. and Chirurg. Review for May, 1805.—Also the account in the same Review of the report of the progress of the Vaccine Inoculation in Bengal.

† See Remarks, &c. by Mr. Merriman.



reconcile to consistency this proceeding in the panegyrist and editor of Dr. P.'s opinions. I would pledge myself, that if Dr. P. could atchieve his grand design of appearing as the efficient author of Vaccination, we should hear no more of its failures or imperfections in the Medical and Chirurgical Review.

I have now to advert to the leading object of my present remarks, by referring to the accounts of the Vaccine Inoculations, which were alleged to have been practised anterior to Dr. Jenner's, in pages 5, 6, and 7 of the ensuing Observations. To my comments on the pretensions of the Rev. Herman Drew and Mr. Bragge, I have little to add. It may fairly be inferred, that Sir G. B. conceived the communicated manuscripts to have been unworthy of preservation, or he would not have committed them to the flames; an act which in a gentleman of Sir G. B.'s character would have been a most improbable proceeding, had they contained the important discovery of Vaccine Inoculation. The story of Mr. Bragge's enquiries and experiments rests on his single assertion, and is unsupported by collateral proof, or by any existing extract or document taken from the papers themselves.

I congratulate Dr. P. on having at length established the fact of Jesty's Vaccine Inoculations. To have succeeded in the manifestation of a small portion of truth amidst so much of error, is a set-off, of which I am disposed to allow Dr. P. all the advantages. After the assignment of two different dates, viz.



1774 and 1786, by Mr. Dolling,\* as the period of Mr. Jesty's casual imitation of the natural Vaccine disease; it is now shewn that Mr. Jesty did inoculate from the natural Cow-Pox some parts of his family in 1774. In page 6 of the First Edition of the ensuing Observations, published more than two years since, I have asked why we have not "the attestation of the accounts of Mr. Jesty himself." I did not deny the fact, but objected to the sufficiency of proof; and now that this is afforded, it becomes more interesting to consider how far Dr. Jenner's title is thereby affected. On this question, I must again refer to pages 14 and 15 of the following Observations, which express my sense of the estimation in which these early Vaccinators should be considered. For the proofs which their experiments afford of the futility of that hypothesis, which would allow to Vaccination a temporary prophylactic power, the reputation and interests of Vaccination are much indebted. But if in the promulgation of these instances, there is even a latent and sidelong intention (of which I entertain no doubt) of stripping the minutest portion of honour,

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\* I have now before me a letter from Mr. Dolling to Dr. Jenner, dated Chettle, Nov. 28, 1798. This letter thanks Dr. Jenner for the present of his first publication, expresses Mr. D.'s conviction of the truth of the doctrine, and appears to consider Vaccine Inoculation as a perfectly new discovery of Dr. Jenner's. *It does not even hint at Jesty's or any other anterior Inoculations.* Did Mr. Dolling at this time know the facts which he has since vouched for? and if he did not, it is one proof that they were generally unknown.



inventive faculty, or originality from Dr. J.; I protest against the unjust and insidious design. Let it be remembered, that although Dr. Jenner did not inoculate with Vaccine fluid till 1798, yet that it is attested, by the evidence of Mr. Gardner before the Committee of the House of Commons, that Dr. J. had been engaged for 30 years in the previous steps which led to the Vaccine Inoculation. During this long period, Dr. J. proposed the experiment to many of his own friends, and not only gave Vaccine virus to the late Mr. John Hunter for this purpose, but communicated orally his conviction on the subject to Mr. Cline, who imparted it to Dr. Adams, and by whom it was inserted in the valuable Essay on Morbid Poisons. During this time, whoever heard of the Vaccine Inoculations of Mr. Jesty, or the Vaccine investigations of Mr. Bragge? Immediately on the communication to the public of Dr. Jenner's experiments in 1798, the general interests of the Philosophic and Medical World were awakened; and in seven years, this spark from Jenner has communicated a flame over nearly the civilized globe. So far from preceding experiments having led the way for Dr. J.; it was himself, and the issue of his efforts which have dragged these men from the profitless obscurity, in which they would have ever remained. In the history of Mr. Jesty's inoculations, as given by *the Vaccine-Pock Institution*, we find that the surgeons in his neighbourhood *thought* of imitating his practice.



Was their public and professional spirit so dead and so deficient, that no one ever committed to print the record of so interesting an innovation?

Mr. Naish, of Shaftesbury, has been held up by Dr. Pearson, to the high authority of a Committee of the House of Commons, as an *experienced Vaccine Inoculator*. This belief was not expressed in dubious terms, but in the most express affirmation; and was conjoined with a strong and illiberal reflection on the comparative knowledge of Dr. Jenner and Mr. Naish. In the Star newspaper of the 19th Dec. last, appeared a letter, signed "Observer," which bears internal evidence of its origin and manufactory. The letter in the conclusion attacks Vaccination itself, which I have already commented on as the usually connected system of hostility from these sources. The letter says, "but the most curious and distinct are the manuscripts of the late Mr. Naish of Shaftesbury, describing not only his Inoculated Cafes, but relating many facts belonging to the Vaccine disorder, which were intended for publication." It will appear that Mr. Naish's claims are as incapable of substantiation by the Observer, as by Dr. Pearson himself.

On the most critical perusal of Mr. Naish's papers, as given by Dr. P. to the Committee of the House of Commons, I differed entirely from Dr. P. concerning the inferences which were deducible from them; and have expressed my opinion to this effect in pages 9 and 10 of the ensuing Observations, and



which I will here recapitulate briefly. From the history as given in Mr. Naish's words, Dr. P. publicly and positively affirmed, that Mr. Naish had inoculated the Cow-Pox; that Mr. Naish, jun. Mrs. Scammel, and Mrs. Bracher, had been inoculated for the Cow-Pox by Mr. Naish; *and that Mr. Naish knew as much as Dr. Jenner, excepting his errors.* "Mark how a plain tale shall set you down." On the same data as Dr. P. reasoned from, I concluded that in the cases of Mrs. Scammel and Mrs. Bracher, Mr. Naish had practised Variolous Inoculation on those who had undergone natural Cow-Pox; but that there was no reason to infer that he had practised Vaccine Inoculation. My inference was formed at that time from the context of Mr. Naish's papers alone; from these also, let it be repeated, Dr. P. did the same. I had remained in silent conviction of this truth, when professional intercourse soon after introduced me to Dr. Pew, then residing at Shaftsbury, but now at Sherborne. I cannot mention Dr. Pew without recording my high sense of his medical and general talents, which have been exemplified both within and without the pale of his profession. Dr. Pew undertook to investigate (with an impartiality, which had I wished, it was not in my power to warp) the inoculations by Mr. Naish of his son, Mrs. Scammel, and Mrs. Bracher; the result appears in the following letter:



“ DEAR SIR,

“ AGREEABLY to your request, I have taken an opportunity of examining the arm of Mr. Naish, son of my predecessor the late Mr. Naish, surgeon, of this place; and also the arm of Mr. Abraham Mathew, who was inoculated by Mr. Naish on the same day, with the same lancet, and with the same matter with which he inoculated his own sons; and this was done at the particular request of Mrs. Mathew, who told Mr. Naish, that if he inoculated her son with the same Small-Pox matter with which he inoculated his own children, she should have the best of all possible securities that it was taken from a proper person. This information I had some time ago from Mrs. Naish; and this very morning I accidentally met Mrs. Adams, (late the above Mrs. Mathew) and took the opportunity of asking her respecting the inoculation of her son; who told me, that she never had the most distant idea that the matter with which her son and Mr. Naish's children were inoculated, was at all different from Small-Pox matter; that her son was extremely ill in *breeding* the Small-Pox; (as she supposed it to be) that he had more than 300 pustules; that she recollected nothing different in these from the pustules of a child of her's, since inoculated for the Small-Pox by me; and that a great number of persons, some of them her relations, were inoculated by Mr. Naish at the same time, on account of the Small-Pox raging universally at that time in



the town; all of whom, as she apprehends, sickened for the Small-Pox in the usual manner, and had more or fewer Variolous pustules.

“ With respect to the late Mrs. Scammel and Mrs. Bracher, both of whom have been my patients, and who, it has been inferred from Mr. Naish’s papers, were inoculated by him for the Cow-Pox, I have clearly ascertained *to have been both Inoculated for the Small-Pox, and the slightness of the effect evidently arose from their having taken the Cow-Pox when girls, by milking their father’s cows*; which fact I have learned from Farmer Phillips, the brother of both; and from Farmer Scammel, the widower of the late Mrs. Scammel. If any further investigation, which it may be in my power to make, should be deemed necessary, you may command the impartial exertions of,

Dear Sir,

Your faithful and obedient servant,

Shaftesbury, Oct. 14, 1803.

R. PEW.

P. S. It may not be improper to mention, that at the time Mrs. Scammel was inoculated by Mr. Naish for the Small-Pox, six or seven of her children were also inoculated, all of whom had more or fewer pustules, although she herself escaped with the slight affection of the arm Mr. Naish has recorded.”



Dr. Pearson is not alone committed on the fact of Mr. Naish's having been an *experienced Vaccine Inoculator* before the House of Commons, but in the Appendix, p. 183, to his "Examination of the Report of the Committee, &c." he again records his opinion, viz. "it was not supposed I could make such an assertion without *plausible proof*. If I had not had *such proof*, I certainly should not have made the assertion, and a part of *that proof* may be found at pages 24, 27, of this work." The emotion which I feel on the whole of this, is an arrest of indignation and an irresistible propensity to smile. In a note to p. 121 of his "Examination," Dr. P. peculiarly points at me as "one of the partizans of personal interests," and of "the persons who have had little experience, and without pretensions from a studious life." Of all men existing, if we judge him by his fruits, Dr. P. is least entitled to triumph in the benefits of experience, or to impute to others the consequences of its deficiency. From a few cases Dr. Jenner defined the appearances and diagnostics of the Vaccina, with a correctness which succeeding experience has continued, but has not enlarged. From hundreds of cases Dr. P. drew grossly erroneous conclusions. From Mr. Naish's manuscripts Dr. P. formed inferences, which irrefragable evidence proves to be false. Of the meaning of these same manuscripts I, who have been contemptuously accused by Dr. P. of incompetency to decide, *have formed a right con-*



*struction.* Dr. P.'s mistakes are too ludicrous to afford me any serious exultation. He is a perfect *master of medical metamorphosis*. In his earlier proceedings he converted the *Vaccina* into *Variola*. By converse reasoning, he afterwards transforms Mr. Naish's *Variolous* into *Vaccine* Inoculations.

I could pursue this subject further, but that I wish to quit it for ever. Dr. P.'s "Statement of Evidence" would afford a wide field of comment. Dr. P.'s criticisms of Dr. J.'s opinions are like those of the artist, who, unable to detect a flaw in the figure of a beautiful statue, found fault with the slipper. Whenever Dr. P. impugns Dr. J., it is to place him in the most obvious and palpable comparison with himself. To Dr. P.'s late efforts in defence of Vaccine Inoculation some credit is due; had they been "unmixed with baser matter," the friends of the system, and the friends of the author, might have jointly accorded him the meed of unqualified praise.

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## OBSERVATIONS, &c.

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**H**AD my perusal of Dr. Pearson's "Examination of the Report of the Vaccine-Pock Committee" terminated in the first few sentences of his exordium, I should have been eminently gratified. Voluntary and honourable testimony to distinguished merit is certainly a pleasing theme of contemplation. No more unequivocal tribute of applause could have been offered, than is here rendered to Dr. Jenner. The term and title of "the discoverer to the public of the Vaccine Inoculation" is unreluctantly awarded; and it would have foiled my acutest conjecture, to imagine how this ample admission could have been made a prelude to the most inimical attack on his reputation, claims, and capacity. The transition is, however, but short. In the succeeding passages we are presented with qualifications of the meaning of the epithet "discoverer," which amount to its negation; and we are told, in the language of apparent modesty, that "Dr. Jenner's publication was the



sole primary occasion of all the experiments hitherto instituted." It is asserted also, that by these experiments new facts have been discovered, and errors corrected.

To myself it appears, that this language of Dr. Pearson is not simply incongruous, but that it amounts to the most obvious of solecisms, and that his positions are at variance amongst themselves. I shall not now consider their truth or their falsity. He attributes to Dr. Jenner the merit of discovery; of what? of something whereon experiments have been founded. Take Dr. Pearson's own terms: "The sole primary occasion of *all* the experiments hitherto instituted." This is further explained in a nearly-connected part of Dr. Pearson's context, "Human society would not have been in possession at this hour of the means of preserving the constitution from a most hurtful disease, if the disclosure had not been made by the publication of the *Treatise*," meaning Dr. Jenner's first and original essay.

In this mass of contradiction, I can scarcely know where to fix. Dr. Jenner is first described as "a discoverer to the public." We are next told the modification and sense in which this complimentary appellation of discoverer is employed. This is defined to be the discovery of something which was "the sole primary occasion of all the experiments hitherto instituted;" and lastly, it is admitted that *the means* have been disclosed by Dr. Jenner. To simple ap-



prehension, as well as to logical induction, it must therefore be inferred from Dr. Pearson's statement, that Dr. Jenner made *no experiments*, but *was the sole occasion of them*; yet that he *disclosed means* which have been confessedly adequate to their end, and which, from the very indispensable nature of the subject, could alone have been experimental. Contradictions like these are so irreconcilable, that I cannot but consider them as the necessary embarrassments of sophistical reasoning in an indefensible cause; and I contemplate them with surprise, in a work which occasionally assumes the nicest and most rigorous philological accuracy in the criticism of others.

I have hitherto only endeavoured to shew the inconsistencies of Dr. Pearson's definitions in respect to Dr. Jenner's pretensions to the claim of discovery, and a further examination of his work confirms and multiplies them. After an appropriation of thirty pages to the insertion of his own arguments, urged with the most determinate zeal; the adduction of every communication, both relevant and irrelevant, which could exhibit Vaccine Innoculations anterior to Dr. Jenner's, and the most unsparing depreciation of his inventive claims, Dr. Pearson allows, (p. 88) that he gave it as his opinion to the Committee of the House of Commons, "That the different trials were made independent of each other," and that "he thought the question of reward could not justly be affected by any number of antecedent cases."—



The import of each of these sentences is not quite identical, but they are enough to warrant my conclusions. They are besides corroborated by the universal tenor of the evidence. To what end has Dr. Pearson solicitously raked together every isolated fact of Vaccine Inoculation practised before Dr. Jenner's discovery? Wherefore has he laboured to annihilate Dr. Jenner's claims, and to vilify his deserts? if he must finally admit those which are most essential. If an antagonist, writing in the spirit and in the tone of Dr. Pearson, be necessitated to concede so much, what must be the suffrage of impartial judgment, and of ingenuous scrutiny. I cannot form another or a better idea of the term discovery, than the detection and the manifestation of a fact generally or entirely unknown. I affirm, that if any individual can be shewn to have cultivated a field of inquiry by the dint of his own powers, and to have produced a result which he is the first to promulgate, it does not vitiate his title to originality, that he has been preceded by others in the same investigation, when no co-operation can be proved, or mutual knowledge inferred between them. This is my definition of the meaning of discovery,\* and of its consequent reference to the indivi-

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\* With respect to the published accounts of the efficacy of Cow-Pox, in preventing Small-Pox, anterior to Dr. Jenner's publication, Dr. P. gives some instances in his *Examin.* p. 16. The adduction of these authorities, as a matter of historical fact alone, would certainly be proper; but this does not appear to be the single view of



dual making it. By this criterion, Dr. Jenner's claims should be tried. Has Dr. Pearson's hostile activity excited a doubt that Dr. Jenner was not to all intents and purposes an original experimenter, and the only conclusive, accurate, or known authority on the subject. The instances invidiously adduced by Dr. Pearson before the Committee of the House of Commons, and introduced into his "Examination," are at the best vague and incomplete. If they contain any proofs of the institution and success of Vaccine Inoculations anterior to Dr. Jenner's, they are not such as to carry conviction to the pathologist. Their paucity and insufficiency of detail, render their authority irrelevant. I will take notice of them in the order wherein Dr. P. has arranged them. Mr. Downe's case (Examination, p. 17.) is a single one; and is wholly deficient in that circumstantiality of proof (as the narrative of the Inoculator himself, or his attested record) which could give it credibility sufficient to rank as evidence. Mr. Bragge (p. 18, Examination) says, that he made experiments thirty years ago, and proved that the Vaccine disease was a preservative against Small-Pox, and that through

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Dr. P. in collecting them. Dr. P. quotes a passage from "Adams on morbid poisons," to this effect. It is barely worthy of introduction, that I have the authority of Dr. Jenner to say, that Dr. Adams received his knowledge from Mr. Cline, in consequence of a communication from Dr. Jenner many years since. As Dr. J. has so fully acknowledged the derivation of his information to have been from general tradition, it could not be material to him, had the published authorities been ever so numerous.



the Rev. Herman Drew, he acquainted Sir G. Baker of it. He adds that *fire* has destroyed his documents, therefore *they no longer exist*, and of course are nothing to the purpose. I must certainly conceive that some of these experiments might have lived in memory, but not one is detailed or recorded. Mr. B. concludes by telling us, that the wife of a farmer in Dorsetshire, inoculated herself and children with Cow-Pox matter, and that these children have, when grown up, inoculated others. All this may be true, but I affirm it is deficient in minuteness of relation and in collateral proof. The letter of the Rev. H. Drew (p. 19, Examination) says, that Mr. Justins, a farmer at Yetminster, Dorset, inoculated his wife and children with Vaccine matter. But why have we not the attestation and the accounts of Mr. Justins himself. Mr. Herman Drew is so imperfectly informed on the subject, that he does not even know the time when Mr. Justins inoculated his family, but with a confidence, of which I cannot perceive the foundation, boldly affirms, "I have no doubt it was previous to Dr. Jenner's practice." This assertion is to me a little hazardous. If Mr. Herman Drew does not exactly know the era of the very experiments to which he is giving an antedate to Dr. Jenner's, it is very probable that he is unacquainted with the duration of Dr. Jenner's own investigation, and may unintentionally make an anachronism in their order. Mr. Gardner has proved before the



Committee of the House of Commons, that he has known of Dr. Jenner's attention and occupation in the subject of Cow-Pox for twenty years past.\* In a letter from Mr. W. Dolling to Dr. Pearson, (p. 23, Examination) we are told that Mr. Justins' inoculation was on or before the year 1786. In a subsequent letter Mr. Dolling says, it was in 1774, and that he is still living. I ask again, if the inoculator *be still living*; why have we not (where so much labour is employed in the establishment of this fact) his own confirmed, personal, and particular relation. I do not deem it as bearing with importance on Dr. J.'s pretensions, whether this or an hundred such stories are allowed, but I am merely taking into view the looseness and the informality of such evidence. Akin to this is a letter of Mr. Downe's immediately following, in which he says, "*he has heard, that a woman, in the vale of Dorsetshire, practised Vaccine Inoculation, probably long before Dr. Jenner ever thought of it.*" Whether or not Mr. Downe was solicited by Dr. Pearson for his suffrage on Dr. Jenner's general merits, I do not know; but there is an apparent alacrity and decision in Mr. Downe's expressions, and they are so much in unison with Dr. P.'s objects, that I cannot but suspect intentional coincidence. Mr. Downe adds, "I am well assured Dr.

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\* It does not follow that Dr. Jenner's communications to Mr. Garden were coeval with the commencement of his pursuits.



Jenner has no claim to the first discoverer and performer\* of the new Inoculation; and *if he be only the promulgator*, I see no propriety in his being exclusively rewarded." The observation is sufficiently indicative of the liberal spirit and the enlarged views of Dr. Pearson's correspondents, and is a specimen of the temper, the argument, and the talents which are employed in disproof of Dr. Jenner's claims.

In the order as introduced by Dr. P. we are next presented with the manuscripts of the late Mr. Nash, surgeon, at Shaftesbury, as attested by his son before the Committee of the House of Commons. In Dr. Pearson's "Examination," these simply rank with other matter of the same kind, matter which I should miscall by the name of evidence. I have it from the perusal of the minutes of the Committee of the House of Commons, with which I have been favoured, that these papers were ushered in by a most threatening assertion of Dr. Pearson's, viz. "That they would be found to contain *every thing* related by the petitioner, (Dr. Jenner) *except his errors*." There is a prudent consideration or a cautious policy which generally leads men of reflection, not to exceed the force of events in the extent of prediction: but it is not thus with Dr. Pearson's annunciations. He introduces them in the full garb of importance, and

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\* Dr. Pearson might here have usefully corrected his friend's language.



they turn out in the nakedness of inanity. Would it be conceived, by minds habituated to consistency, that these vaunted documents absolutely contain *no single affirmative* instance of Vaccine Inoculation. I defy Dr. P. to make such an induction from the contents of Mr. Nash's papers; and if he can, I will admit all he has laboured to establish against Dr. Jenner. Let us examine the essential points of Mr. Nash's papers, as given by Dr. Pearson, (Examination, page 14.)

Mr. Nash's manuscripts first relate the universal tradition and conviction, that those who have had the Cow-Pox cannot have the Small-Pox. Mr. N. then affirms his own proofs of this fact; also that it is not contagious by effluvia. Then follows the passage which alone may be supposed to prove that Mr. N. had really inoculated the Cow-Pox. "In Mrs. Scammel, and Mrs. Bracher inoculation produced no eruption, no sickness, and little or no suppuration of the arm; the place punctured not being bigger, when inflamed and *suppurated*, than a pin's head." Now, I think, a fair doubt may arise, as to the construction and reference of this description. Mr. Nash's description is not a faithful or probable one of Vaccina. The picture is so incorrect and so deficient, that it could not refer to this. The inoculated Cow-Pox infinitely exceeds the diameter of a pin's head, or twenty pins' heads. Mr. Nash talks of its being *suppurated*, which we know only refers to the



formation of pus; and, without the expectation of critical nicety, is a very improbable term of description. Mr. Nash also omits to describe the very peculiar and striking appearance of the circumjacent redness, which, I think, no observer could have failed to recognise. On the most intent perusal of this narrative, I think the conclusion is equally just, that Mr. Nash was here speaking of the inoculation of Small-Pox on those who had undergone Cow-Pox; his relation is far more appropriate to this than to the Inoculation of the Vaccina; and I think the most accurate logician (if he understood the subject) would concur in this inference from the data. Mr. Nash, in a sentence nearly preceding, says: "I have inoculated above sixty persons who have been reported to have had the Cow-Pox, and I believe, at least forty of them I could not infect with *Variolous Virus*." The intermediate passages in Mr. Nash's relation are entirely in reference to the powers of Cow-Pox, but there is no mention either directly, or by implication, of Vaccine Inoculation. Then follow the passages concerning the Inoculation of Mrs. Scammel and Mrs. Bracher, which, connected with the former context, I affirm to apply with more fairness of construction to the Inoculation of Small-Pox after Cow-Pox, than to Vaccine Inoculation.

This interpretation is confirmed by a subsequent part of the paper. The author (Mr. Nash) observes, "My principal intention in publishing being



to *recommend* to the world a method of Inoculation that is far superior in my opinion." It is certainly to be collected from this sentence, that Mr. Nash might intend to propose, and to excite the public attention to, the Inoculation of Cow-Pox; and this is the utmost degree of latitude which can be afforded to his meaning. Is it credible, that if Mr. Nash ever performed a single Vaccine Inoculation, and was convinced of its successful result, he would fail to record it in the most positive and unequivocal terms, when he was committing to writing his experience and his deductions on this subject. Of the accuracy of Mr. Nash's knowledge, and his selection of language for the description of morbid actions, an estimate may be formed from this passage, (Examination, page 27) "When those who have had the Cow-Pox, are inoculated,\* the arms inflame, but never, or at least seldom, form an abscess, but some hard tumour in the *muscular flesh*." Every anatomist and pathologist knows that no abscess is formed in Inoculation, except rarely in contiguous lymphatic glands; and it is equally well known that the *muscular flesh* is not the seat of the tumour, as the trifling hardness which occasionally occurs, is denominated by Mr. N.

The evidence of Mr. Thomas Nash, son to the gentleman above alluded to, was taken before the

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\* Mr. Nash here uses the term *inoculated*, without telling us with what fluid, in the same vague manner in which he before employs it.



Committee, for the purpose of elucidating the issue of the experiments of his late father, as well as for investigating the source of a rumour, that Dr. Jenner had been acquainted with Mr. Nash, sen. As the report of the Committee on this head, is less particular than their minutes, I will insert a copy of Mr. Thomas Nash's evidence, as taken from the latter:

April 26th, 1802.

*Mr. THOMAS NASH called in and examined.*

*Question.* Did you ever understand you were inoculated by your father with Vaccine matter?

*Answer.* Not for certainty. I have heard my mother say, that at the time of my inoculation my father was greatly taken up in the study of Cow-Pox, and made many experiments, but of what nature she did not know.

*Q.* Did you ever hear her speak of any persons whom she knew to have been inoculated with Vaccine matter?

*A.* Certainly not: his experiments were kept secret from her.

*Q.* Have you any reason to think that Dr. Jenner was acquainted with the author of these papers?

*A.* I never heard that he was till this morning, and then from rumour.

*Q.* Who gave you this intelligence?

*A.* I heard it from Mr. Robert Keate.



Mr. R. KEATE again called in and examined.

Q. Have you any reason to think that Dr. Jenner was acquainted with the author of these papers?

A. I heard from Mr. Battiscombe yesterday, that he believed he had heard Mr. Nash and his sister mention the name of Dr. Jenner; but was not at all certain that it was this Dr. Jenner, who now applies to Parliament.

Such are the documents, and such are the facts, on which Dr. Pearson has the hardihood to assert, that Mr. Nash *was an experienced Vaccine Inoculator*. (Examination, Appendix, p. 183.)—“*Ab uno disce omnes*” may hence, without a violation of candour, be applied as a characteristic motto to similar affirmations. On presumptions and insinuations of connected origin was founded a report, that Mr. Thos. Nash had been inoculated with Cow-Pox by his father, and that Dr. Jenner had known Mr. Nash. The evidence of the parties who were well-disposed, if practicable, to have confirmed such opinions, is a sufficient exposition of their truth, liberality, and consistency.

It is not from the sense of any necessity for disproving the existence of Vaccine Inoculations anterior to Dr. Jenner's, that I have commented thus on the very barren evidence scraped together by Dr. P. to exhibit them. I have deemed it only essential to expose their force and adequacy in the light



wherein they seem to me to be placed. To what end they are so industriously edited by Dr. Pearson, is not explained by himself, even by all the labour he has employed. The object and intention of the whole of a work is not to be inferred from a detached part, but from its general spirit. Here, I believe, we shall be at no loss to divine the motives of Dr. P. in so grossly exaggerating the force of these evidences, and particularly of Mr. Nash's, so as to term him *an experienced Vaccine Inoculator*. A more unfriendly office could hardly have been exercised by their editor towards these Vaccine Inoculators, than to drag them from their obscurity. In what moral estimation, let me ask, do their pretensions stand, when placed in the same space with Dr. Jenner? These men, several of them *medical*, have been for years in possession, according to their own testimony, of an antidote to one of the most baneful of human evils. With long continued conviction of the powers of the one, and the destructive malignity of that to which it forms a sure relief, they have locked up the valuable secret in their breasts. At what time do they offer it to the public ear? Is it from the philanthropic view of meliorating the condition of mankind by imparting it; or have they exercised time, talent, or labour, in perfecting it, with the intention of future discovery? We perceive no trace of such conduct, or such design, in their communications; and it is self-evident that they would never



have given their opinions to mankind, had not an occasion occurred of contesting the deserts of superior genius, industry, and public spirit. I do not think the vocabulary rich enough in appropriate terms for the exposition of such demerit. It is the profoundest, and most insensate indolence, aggravated by the admixture of invidious feeling.

The experiments of Dr. Jenner bear internal evidence of originality and unity of design. They have taught us, in conjunction with his succeeding observations, *all* which we at present know. Much better had it been for the interests of the cause, had the succeeding experimenters, who have formed a competition with Dr. Jenner, adhered to his authority. I say this, and I will undertake to establish it. They have arrogated to themselves the character of auxiliaries in a cause which their service had nearly subverted.

Dr. Pearson depreciates the value of Dr. Jenner's conclusions from the small, but authenticated number of his inoculations. Some loose suggestions, without *a single case*, are sufficient, in Dr. P.'s mind, to entitle Mr. Nash to the name of *an experienced Vaccine Inoculator*. The enquiry is, whether Dr. Jenner's first experiments were sufficiently detailed, and deserving of credit to produce a repetition? I affirm, and will endeavour to prove, that on these experiments the most *perfect* and *extensive practices*



have been founded. On what an incontestible basis of originality and accuracy do they stand; and what a striking relief do they form to the succeeding ones of Drs. Pearson and Woodville. I will leave to the least critical of observers to decree the palm of pathological skill. From these *few* experiments Dr. Jenner drew inferences, which time and experience have evinced to be faithfully correct. Mark the difference: From hundreds of experiments Drs. Pearson and Woodville atchieved nothing but error, and were at last corrected by Dr. Jenner himself. I will confirm my assertions by a few extracts. Dr. Jenner describes the symptoms to have been very slight in his cases of inoculated Vaccina.\* In a circular letter, dated March 12th, 1799, Dr. Pearson says, that in 160 patients, inoculated by him and Dr. Woodville, "the whole amount of constitutional illness seemed to be as great as in the same number of patients in inoculated Small-Pox."—Dr. Jenner, in his cases, describes no eruptions, and says, "I have never known fatal effects from the Cow-Pox, even when impressed in the most unfavourable manner." In the first 600 persons, inoculated by Dr. Woodville, one died, and a large majority had pustules, of which I will give a statement from the Report published in May 1799.

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\* See Jenner's Enquiry.



Of 302 who had Eruptions, 90 had 100 Pustules.

12 - - - - -	100	1 - - - - -	220
1 - - - - -	102	3 - - - - -	250
2 - - - - -	105	2 - - - - -	400
2 - - - - -	120	1 - - - - -	430
1 - - - - -	140	1 - - - - -	450
6 - - - - -	150	11 - - - - -	500
1 - - - - -	156	1 - - - - -	530
1 - - - - -	165	3 - - - - -	600
2 - - - - -	170	2 - - - - -	650
1 - - - - -	174	2 - - - - -	700
17 - - - - -	200	2 - - - - -	1000

In a communication inserted in the Philosophical Magazine, dated August 1799, it appears, that Dr. Pearson had not yet arrived at the knowledge of pure Vaccina, but that Dr. Woodville and himself still cherished the *bastard progeny*, which they had begotten, as a *legitimate succession*. Speaking of a considerable number of additional inoculations, he says, “The whole amount of the constitutional illness was not one half of the whole amount in an equal number of patients inoculated with the Small-Pox;” and he attributes this mitigation to the different state of the human constitution in the summer, from that of the winter. Dr. Pearson is equally at fault in the endeavour to account for the cause of the eruptions; he observes, “No explanation hitherto given consists with the observations relative to these eruptive cases;” and “they have occurred much less fre-



quently this summer than in the spring and winter preceding." Let us look a little further after Dr. Pearson's self-correction of opinion. So late as February 1800, in a letter to the Editor of the Medical and Physical Journal, we find him labouring, with misplaced effort, to account for the existence of eruptions, and still asserting their pathognomonic connexion with Vaccina. Such an aggregate of hypothetical and practical erroneousuess, and so unlucky an exertion of pathological ingenuity, is certainly no common result of acute or assiduous enquiry; and I know not how they could be placed in so dark a shade as in the same space with the simple and luminous observations of Dr. Jenner. This account is equally decisive in proving, by the opinions of the author himself, that the Vaccina was absolutely deteriorated in the public opinion by the issue of his misconducted experiments, *i. e.* "convincing evidences." We will adduce the necessary quotations from this communication. "The unexpected appearance of eruptions *has inclined many persons to be of opinion, that no beneficial consequences can be produced from this practice.*"

"The genuine Vaccine poison does occasionally produce a certain variety of the Cow-Pock, characterised by the appearance of pustules like those of the Variola." Dr. Pearson then details his inoculation of a child, with what he terms *Vaccine poison*; that a few eruptions broke out on the second day, "but not



at all like the Small-Pox;" matter was carried from this child to Brighthelmstone, and from thence to Petworth, where several patients were inoculated, and all had eruptions. With these occurrences staring him in the face, Dr. Pearson makes the following conclusions, in the full conviction, and in the most direct line of inference, that the eruptions were Vaccine:—

That "the Vaccine poison produces a disease *resembling Small-Pox*. That the matter of such eruptive cases," (still conceiving them to be Vaccine) "produces universally, or at least generally, similar eruptive cases." Dr. Pearson then exhibits the profound difficulties into which he is led, in theorising on this subject, by saying "Whether the Vaccine poison, when it produces these cases resembling the Small Pox; becomes, by composition or decomposition, Variolous matter, is not determined;" and he endeavours to illustrate his supposition by a chemical simile between the effects of Magnesia and Sulphate of Magnesia. Speaking then of the comparative utility of Vaccina and Small-Pox, he says, "I apprehend the value," that is of Vaccina, "is *thereby* depreciated, *but not to such a degree* as to create any reasonable apprehension of the failure of the Vaccine Inoculation in superceding, and finally extinguishing, the Small-Pox." Dr. P. is, however, not merely satisfied, like the partial father of a peculiar offspring, in ascribing to it its common portion of family simili-



rude, but he even deems it necessary to add, "These eruptive cases, as far as I have observed, are not more severe than the ordinary kinds of inoculated Small-Pox." How flattering, how correct, and how tempting a portrait of the characters of the Vaccina!

In the very same Medical and Physical Journal is recorded a letter of Dr. Jenner's on the subject. From this it is necessary to select but a single sentence. Dr. Jenner says, "Where Variolous Pustules have occurred, I believe Variolous Matter to have occasioned them; and the many obscure ways by which it may affect the system, must be too obvious to require explanation." The letter and the spirit of this passage is equally verified, and its accurate sagacity demonstrated, by succeeding events. I will challenge Dr. Pearson and Dr. Woodville to affirm, at this period, that the eruptions thus depicted were any part of pure Vaccina. Will they aver, that the severity of constitutional affection, and its concomitants, were not equally the products of Variolous contamination; or will they deny that Dr. Jenner, with *consistent penetration*, perceived their source? Has not Dr. Woodville candidly admitted, that the Variolous atmosphere of the Small-Pox Hospital, (the last and worst of all theatres which could have been selected for this exhibition) was the generative source of them? Or if Dr. P. should, at this moment, cleave to his former opinions, will he find in Europe a Vaccine Inoculator who will support him?



The stress which I lay on Dr. Pearson's admission of these facts, is of the first and highest importance. If they are, as I affirm, truly and entirely incontrovertible, the inferences are certain, viz.

That nearly two years after the publication of that beautiful and ingenious specimen of pathological reasoning, Dr. Jenner's Enquiry, Dr. Pearson was not only uninformed of the pure and perfect phenomena of Vaccina there described, but that he was plunging deeper and deeper into error.

That Dr. Pearson had propagated a painful and hazardous disease, in its name and character, by which the value of the Vaccina, in his own language, "was depreciated," and concerning which he only allows a doubtful superiority over Small-Pox.

Without expecting from human nature too extraordinary an exercise of candour, I should have entertained hopes, that Dr. Pearson would at this time have displayed a conduct diametrically the reverse of that which I have taken on myself the business of criticising. To wade through the mazes of inconsistency, and to speak with due desert of the most ignoble conduct, is no pleasing occupation; but in the minds of those, to whom this investigation is of almost matchless interest, it becomes a duty, and it is one in the execution of which, whatever are my powers, I cannot be sparing. With the facts which I have described on record, I ask, is there a consistency allied to shame which can speak of "la-



bour, expenditure of time, and other sacrifices, in introducing or maintaining the Vaccine Inoculation;" or which on such co-operation can arrogate a claim, not merely to a division of honour, but to a superior share of effective merit and utility, exemplified in the disfiguring and deforming the subject of its boasted protection and solicitude.

Such is the view in which Dr. Pearson's opinions and conduct appear in 1800. It might have been expected that the disavowal of them, after so laborious a defence, would at any time have been conveyed in the manner of direct and honorable recantation. But what do we find concerning this self-same transaction in the publication of Dr. P. just issued. Without even a semblance of apology for past error, or the pains of even a plausible reason for the dereliction of former opinions, we find Dr. P. in his pamphlet of 1802, confessing broadly, that the eruptions, formerly insisted on by himself to be Vaccine, were really Variolous. It is curious that this very radical and important concession is introduced by a side wind. We will extract the passage from Dr. P.'s "Examination."

"I was indeed disturbed, for a short time, by the fresh occurrence, in the course of the winter of 1799, of the eruptive cases which happened at Bright-helmstone, from matter taken out of *the distinct Vaccine Pock*, of one of my patients.



“ This occurrence was in an early period of the Vaccine practice, when those who first inoculated for the Cow-Pock, did not *know the characteristic symptoms of the eruption from experience.*” Let me pause to enquire, why they did not know it? Dr. P. or any other inoculator, at this æra, is bereft of all excuse for ignorance, after it had been mentioned by Dr. Jenner, in his Enquiry, in the most unequivocal terms, and afterwards insisted on by him in different public and private communications, that eruptions formed no part of pure Vaccina. Instead of profiting by this information, we find Dr. P. in February 1800, exhibiting a vain display of reasoning, to prove, *that the Vaccina was little better than Variola.* Dr. P. disdains to accept the knowledge dispensed by Dr. J. and now assails him for not having promulgated more. A singular effect of inconsistency, and obliquity of view! Dr. P. continues—

“ Unfortunately matter was sent from the Small-Pox eruptions to Petworth for inoculation, in place of Vaccine matter, *and there, of course, it produced the Small-Pox.*”

The account here afforded will be still better illustrated by a letter from the Rev. Mr. Ferryman to Dr. Jenner:—

*Petworth, June 14, 1800.*

“ DEAR SIR,—Nothing could be more unfortunate than the introduction of the Cow-Pox at Petworth, nothing more happy than the conclusion of



the business. The first matter, which, at my request, you were so obliging as to send to Lord Egremont, did not succeed in communicating the disease. A few weeks after, some other matter was sent from Brighton, the stock of which came from Dr. Pearson, of Leicester-Square, London.

“ Fourteen patients were inoculated with this matter. It excited such a fever, and such a number of eruptions, that I did not hesitate to say decidedly, the disease was not the Cow-Pox, but the Small-Pox.— As soon as this unlucky business was got rid of, some Cow-Pox matter arrived from you, but among the affrighted inhabitants, it was with difficulty that Lord Egremont could find one willing to be inoculated. At last, however, his Lordship succeeded, the matter took effect, and in the course of a few months between 4 and 500 were inoculated, without a single case of pustules, of danger, of difficulty, or alarm.”

I will rest on these facts, in the confident conviction, that no reader of common intelligence will mistake their application. They afford a means perfectly adequate to judge of the beneficial agency of Dr. P. at this epoch of Vaccine Inoculation. They are events which would not have been revived, from their fortunate oblivion, for the mere sake of impugning error; but on the ground of these very proceedings, (would I could only say nugatory) and of the period of the introduction of the Vaccina into



London, a monstrous and invidious pretension has been raised. It is that, which if admitted, would reduce to insignificance the deserts of the discoverer, and would place laurels on the brow of Dr. Pearson for a service, in which I can trace nothing but unsuccessful and presumptive competition.

The protests against Dr. Jenner, and the consequent requisitions in his own favour, are thus collectively stated by Dr. Pearson, page 159:—

“That the facts communicated to the public, by the petitioner (Dr. J.) in June 1798, would not have been alone sufficient to instruct or teach the practice of Vaccine Inoculation.”

“The *convincing evidences*, with a good part of the medical public, were obtained by other practitioners subsequently in 1798 and 1799.”

“Supposing other practitioners had not stirred to investigate the subject, what would be the probable state of it at the present time?” page 161.

The two first positions, and the concluding query, certainly demand a separate, and in my opinion, may receive a facile reply. The first I totally and directly refuse assent to; and I will also add, that I esteem it to be one of the most unsupported assertions, which ever was sported upon public credulity. I affirm generally, that Dr. Jenner's Enquiry did contain all that was sufficient for the successful and correct practice of Vaccine Inoculation; and that it had not only the positive merit of including nearly all that



was relevant and essential, but the equally important negative excellence of containing nothing that was erroneous. My reasons for so thinking are drawn from facts accessible to every one. Dr. Jenner, in his Enquiry, has given us, with faithful accuracy, the constitutional diagnostics of Vaccina. His account of symptoms is minutely correct, and coincide precisely with their actual existence, when they appear at all. He has told us *there are no eruptions in Vaccina*, and that the disease is not communicable by effluvia. Are not these accurately defined and important distinctions, and will Dr. P. venture to impeach their fidelity? Dr. J. furnished us with delineations of the local disease, not, indeed, in all its progressive stages, but in more than one state of duration, as may be proved by referring to the recent pustules of natural Cow-Pox, on the fingers of the hand in plate I. and by comparing plates III. and IV. in which a difference of period and appearance is perceptible. Dr. J. also tells us, that the fluid of the pustule is limpid, and that “the efflorescence, spreading round the incisions, had more of an erysipelatous look, than when variolous matter has been made use of in the same manner.” With respect to Dr. Jenner’s plates, I may certainly say, that both the pathologist and the engraver will admit, that better representations have never occurred, and that they are incomparably more excellent than the *last* of Dr. P.’s.



Dr. Pearson cavils with severity at Dr. Jenner's comparison between the aspect of the local Variolous and Vaccine diseases. His criticisms directly insinuate, and are framed to convey a meaning, that Dr. Jenner had inferred, the diseases were of identical appearance. I think that there is a generic similarity sufficient to vindicate Dr. Jenner's comparison, which is by no means a strict one. He says, "*Almost* the only variation which follows, consists in the pustulous fluids continuing limpid nearly to the time of its total disappearance." The term *almost*, to candid interpretation, is inclusive of other differences, and the distinction between limpid and purulent fluid is incomparably one of the most essential of the local characteristics. But what was Dr. J.'s extent of probable intention at this time. One question is as stated by Dr. P. Were these facts sufficient to teach the practice of Vaccine Inoculation? I affirm, they were completely and adequately so; and that numerous inoculations, with uniformity of successful result, were actually made on their plan, whilst the affected improvements and boasted practices of Dr. P. were overwhelming the cause with blunder and disgrace!

In asserting the sufficiency of Dr. J.'s experiments, in order to their successful and certain repetition, I do not wish to infer, that nothing could possibly be added. It were to ascribe to any individual, however pre-eminent his powers, something exceeding



the most fortunate dispensation of human talent, to say, that he anticipated all succeeding capacity. I consider myself to have proved, that Dr. Jenner's communications were ample, original, and efficient. That the first cultivation of this neglected soil, and its increased fertility, have been equally the result of his persevering talents; and that his *soi-disant* supporters, so far from contributing an iota of value, did, at one period, absolutely retard the successful march of his opinions. In confirmation of this, I have quoted Dr. P.'s acknowledgements. The additions which Dr. P. made to Dr. J.'s fund of information, should have been of the highest import, to have constituted even a balance to the drawbacks he has created. And what are these asserted contributions? In Dr. P.'s statement, they are the more accurate delineation of the characters of the Vaccine and Variolous pustules; the refutation of certain opinions, concerning the susceptibility of Vaccina after Small-Pox; and the effective dissemination of Vaccine Inoculation.

Of the two latter claims I shall hereafter speak. The first is connected with my discussion of the position of Dr. P.'s, which constitutes the present division of the subject. I shall be found here widely dissenting from Dr. P.'s estimate of his auxiliary aid. He asserts to have given a nicer description of the characters of the Vaccine and Variolous Pustules. Let it be remembered, that it is not the abstract value



of this pretence which is to be considered, but the use to which it is attempted to be applied. It might be granted that Dr. P. had pointed out minute differences, without the smallest yielding on the side of Dr. J. of their import or consideration, in the general object. Dr. Jenner had previously defined the principal characteristic local appearances with perspicuity and correctness; and he had formed those grand conclusions on which the entire principles and practice are founded. The assistant who supplies with fuel the boiler of a steam-engine, or he who affords a material to the execution of the designs of the architect, may as well claim the participation of mechanical or architectural skill, as the contributor of a trivial addition to the observations of Dr. J. can possess to a portion of his fame.

In less than a year succeeding his first publication, Dr. Jenner gave to the public his "Further Observations;" and in these he supplies the single deficiency (as it refers to practice) in his Enquiry, by directing practitioners to the use of recent Vaccine Virus; and he supports his opinion by analogy with Variolous matter. Now whether this analogy be just in equal extent, is not the point of investigation; but it exemplifies the opinion which Dr. J. has constantly held, on the necessity of employing early Virus. Now in the argument on this question, as coupled with the adequacy of Dr. J.'s first instructions, Dr. P. is certainly in a dilemma, of



which he may avail himself as he pleases of either side. If, as Dr. P. in coincidence with Dr. Woodville at present affirms, the period of taking Vaccine Virus is entirely unimportant, then Dr. Jenner's first instructions could not be defective, from the omission of a rule which is nugatory; otherwise Drs. P. and W. are in error, by affirming, that Virus of any duration is equally efficacious; and Dr. J. has supplied the necessary knowledge. I shall hereafter endeavour to shew, that the latter opinion is not only founded in truth, but that its observance constitutes the most momentous rule in the conduct of Vaccine Inoculation.

Dr. Pearson's next position is, "*The convincing evidences*, with a good part of the medical public, were obtained by other practitioners in 1798-9."

I think grave discussion much more appropriate to subjects of philosophical and serious interest than levity or irony. Yet the term "*convincing evidences*," is calculated almost irresistibly to provoke a sportive comment. The words appear extremely equivocal. In the sense which Dr. P. undoubtedly annexes to them, they seem to me somewhat of a "*lucus a non lucendo*," after the history we have traced of the proceedings in 1799 and 1800. If Dr. P. will accept my interpretation of what I deem the due import of these *convincing evidences*, we shall be no longer at issue, and I will allow them the fullest force. To myself it appears most conspicuously,



that in more than one light they are “convincing evidences.” They had nearly convinced those, who looked up to them as authority, that *the Vaccina was an unprofitable commutation for Small-Pox*; and they are very convincing of the empire which vanity or self-interest may hold over the human mind, in blinding its judgment, and averting its decisions from the influence of candour and truth.

It would be superfluous to say more on the subject of that monstrous creation, the *Variolo-Vaccina*, or of its birth, propagation, and extinction. I have endeavoured slightly to trace the effects of its existence, and it forms the largest portion of the transactions of that period, during which Dr. P. says, that himself and others supported the tender infancy of that babe, which, they assure us, must otherwise have perished unknown and immaturally.

Another claim to valuable service is founded by Dr. P. on his having clearly ascertained the effect of casual Cow-Pox in preventing Small-Pox, “by a large body of most respectable evidence;” and he adds, “this fact was known, long before Dr. J.’s book appeared,” Examination, p. 12. Dr. P. is, I think, a little unnecessarily eager in informing us, that Dr. J.’s annunciation was not new; but he does not manifest the same ready alacrity in speaking of the secondary import of his own efforts. Dr. P. in the work called an “Enquiry, &c.” published soon after Dr Jenner’s, and possessing a *rather suspicious*



*similarity* of title, certainly gave many additional instances of the powers of Cow-Pox. But do these increased number of cases attest the fact one jot more conclusively, than the eleven, minutely recorded by Dr. Jenner, exclusive of eight reported by Mr. H. Jenner. Dr. J. was at this time adducing only a sufficient number of examples to illustrate the truth of a generally-received tradition. Had he wished to accumulate evidence, he could have as easily done it as Dr. P. I cannot conceive, that the general belief of the fact could have been facilitated by a body of cases, ten times as numerous as Dr. P.'s. Those reported by Dr. Jenner are also much more circumstantial; and however proper in itself a multiplication of proof may have been, I repeat, that Dr. J.'s cases were completely capable of exciting belief; and that he might, with strict propriety, have exclaimed to Dr. P. "*non tali auxilio*," &c.

Dr. P.'s query, of what the probable state of Vaccina would be at the present time, if other practitioners had not stirred to investigate it, is in a great measure, replied to by the considerations which necessarily flow from the facts I have stated. If it stand confessed (and this I have proved to be the case by Dr. P. himself) that Vaccina was at one time, and that when it most required collateral support, disparaged by his efforts and experiments, it would puzzle the profoundest casuist to reconcile Dr. P.'s pretensions. Towards the formation of a



full answer to the query, we have in some measure seen what has been the probable sum of extension and public favour, in which the Vaccina is indebted to Dr. P.; but we must look further for what has been actually effected by Dr. Jenner, and those who prosecuted their practices by his lights alone. We may also reasonably conjecture how much more might have been effected, had not the just and simple directions of the discoverer been thwarted and obscured by the circumstances I have so fully dwelt on.

It is certainly the most decided proof of the general sense entertained concerning the complete and ample sufficiency of the instructions afforded by Dr. Jenner, that the whole of Europe, as well as all the other parts of the globe to which his discovery has extended, regard him as the sole source and origin of information. In every treatise on the subject, which has appeared in foreign parts,\* his authority

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\* See the publications on Vaccina by Drs. de Carro, and Careno, of Vienna; by Moreau, of Paris; and Macdonald, of Hamburgh. I cannot find in any of these, who regarded the first sources of information concerning Vaccina, any cognizance of Dr. Pearson's authority. The practitioners of distant countries are not likely to partake of those local partialities in Dr. Jenner's favour, to which Dr. Pearson would insinuate, all his reputation is owing. Dr. Pearson, as the ostensible head of the Vaccine-Pock Institution, has, no doubt, been a channel for the communication of Vaccine matter. Would that he had even executed this *subsidiary agency* with skill, with success, or with due fidelity. The latter virtue would have saved himself from imputation, and the cause from injury. In the



is alone referred to; and to him nearly all communications, either to acknowledge the magnitude of this improvement, for the explanation of doubt, or the confirmation of fact, have been addressed. An individual alone, in the country which gave it birth, has disputed the competency of Dr. J.'s information.

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expansion of Variolous, in lieu of Vaccine infection, I conceive Dr. Pearson to have been equally mischievous with the man who infects his patients with syphilis, instead of the exhibition of its antidote. Many of the active friends of Vaccina may lay claim to this service with more fortunate effect than Dr. P. Amongst the rest I have my pretensions, having printed some hundred copies of Instructions for Vaccine Inoculation, and circulated them, together with supplies of matter, to a great number of surgeons in the West of England. I have also been extensively engaged in correspondence and consultation on this disease. Connected with this point, I must here contradict most directly, and accuse as the most ridiculous boast, an assertion which appears in the form of a note in the Appendix to Dr. Pearson's Examination, p. 47. Here we are told, that "the Vaccine matter, which first succeeded in America with Professor Waterhouse, was transmitted from England in a bottle with a glass stopper. This matter was furnished by the Institution." I should really not have stooped to the notice of a circumstance which I deem as trivial, except as connected with Dr. P.'s general assumptions. He usurps so much, that I think not a particle should be allowed which is not his due. From the falsely-asserted fact of having transmitted Vaccine matter to America, Dr. P. seizes an occasion of panegyrising the Vaccine-Pock Institution. I would ask no better specimen of his accuracy. *It was from myself*, through the hands of Dr. Haygarth, that the matter was sent, which first succeeded in the hands of Dr. Waterhouse, and from thence was conveyed through the United States of America. I received on this occasion the acknowledgements of Dr. Waterhouse. In this part of the history there is also some matter, which strikes as directly against Dr. P.'s doctrines, as against his accuracy. The Vaccina *degenerated*, and was nearly lost in America, from the use of matter taken at too late a period. Dr. Waterhouse referred to



I might quote this general opinion, in contravention of Dr. P.'s "convincing evidences," and his hardy assertions. The historical documents in my mind shew incontrovertibly, that not only the discovery, but the successful promulgation of the practice, has emanated from Dr. J.; and altho' the task is nearly that of superfluity of proof, yet, in answering the claims of Dr. P. I must employ them.

In respect to that distinguished surgeon and anatomist Mr. Cline, it must first be recorded that he inoculated, with matter sent him by Dr. Jenner, before Dr. P. or any person in London, had performed a single inoculation. Mr. Cline gave early and public testimony of its success; and it is no extravagant stretch of conclusion, that Mr. C.'s experiment must have been of some weight in the scale of public opinion. Mr. Cline's case was one of *pure and regular* Vaccina.

Dr. Jenner's "Further Observations," published in 1799, and his "Continuation of Facts and Observations," published in 1800, contain much and original matter, concerning natural Cow-Pox, its laws, and the causes of apparent exception to its ordinary effects. These also include accounts of the

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myself, and I sent him Dr. Jenner's opinion, that such was the cause. The Vaccina was thereby regenerated. In every circumstance of the Trans-Atlantic proceeding Dr. P. is, in his opinions and in his assertions, at war with fact and with correctness. Dr. Haygarth is my evidence of the transmission of virus to America through his hands, before Dr. Waterhouse had been otherwise in possession of it.



extension and successful exercise of Vaccine Inoculation by Dr. J.'s friends ; whilst Dr. J. himself is arduously combating the impediments which Dr. Woodville's and Dr. Pearson's experiments have produced *by the fabrication* of an eruptive disease.

Other instances of the success and rapidity with which Dr. Jenner's discovery has been expanded, independently of *the encumbering* support of Dr. P. and others, may be seen in the communications with Dr. Jenner from all parts of the habitable globe ; in the re-publication of his treatises in many foreign languages ; and in the reference to their contents, and those alone, by all foreign authors. They are more demonstrated by some of the evidences to the Committee of the House of Commons, of which it may be right to adduce some extracts.

Dr. Marshall, physician extraordinary to the King of Naples, began to inoculate in Gloucestershire *in the summer of 1799,\** having received instructions from Dr. Jenner. He inoculated at Gibraltar, Minorca, Malta, Sicily, Rome, Leghorn, Genoa, and Naples. The number inoculated under his direction was upwards of ten thousand.

The Rev. G. C. Jenner has inoculated three thousand persons.

Mr. Taylor, of Wootton-Underedge, has inoculated one thousand persons.

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\* See Jenner's "Further Enquiries."



Dr. Thornton, at Lord Lonsdale's, 1000 persons.

Mr. John Ring has inoculated upwards of 1200 persons.

The evidences of Drs. Sir W. Farquhar, Blanc, Sims, Lettsom, Baillie, &c.; and of Messrs. Cline, Griffiths, Addington, &c. surgeons; all consider Dr. Jenner as the *sole* author of Vaccine Inoculation, and its consequent adoption and extension. By none of these gentlemen are the direct or collateral services of *Dr. Pearson once named or hinted at.*

I have so far adduced, whether successfully or not is for the public decision, the reasons and the facts which appear to me irresistibly to contravene the pretensions of Dr. P. to any important share in the support of the beneficial discovery. I would willingly stop at the refutation of this claim. But if my conclusions are admitted, it must necessarily follow, that Dr. P's assumptions are not merely groundless, but that if his ingenuity had been directed to the perplexing and deteriorating this investigation, he could not more amply have succeeded. Against the history which has been delineated, I wish the substance of Dr. P.'s claims not to be forgotten, as they were detailed in his evidence before the Committee, viz. "That although Dr. Jenner first set on foot the Vaccine Inoculation, it was established by the extensive practice of other persons, to-wit, Dr. Woodville and himself." I will, with the most perfect confidence, abide by what I conceive must be



the inevitable judgment concerning this arrogant pretension in the minds of those who are capable of the slightest examination.

On the conduct of those who have aimed to sap the foundation, or to blast the products, of Dr. Jenner's merit, however wide might be the field which it presents to the eye of the moral critic, and however keen the indignation which it excites, I am not disposed to enlarge. There is a grossness in some species of vice which renders its example innocuous; and there is a palpable injustice in the attacks on Dr. Jenner, which disarms their force. It is of incalculably more consequence in my opinion, to endeavour at the confutation of some pathological errors, which, in conjunction with the first and best opinions on the subject, I affirm to be most important and detrimental.

The progress of moral and physical error is seldom single, and those who have so actively undermined Dr. J.'s claims to discovery, will be found to have assailed with equal perversity the most essential of his opinions. It is in this department of the subject that I principally feel a hope of correcting pernicious misrepresentation. Great as is the insult to Dr. Jenner's character, it is trivial, when compared with the influence of false doctrines on this very interesting practice. Had these not been propagated, I should have felt no inducement which would have led to the execution of the task I am attempting.



Of all the points or principles in the practice of Vaccine Inoculation, it is agreed by common consent, that the age and period of the Virus is the most important. I say it is agreed, because it is a question, which on all sides has received the greatest notice and discussion of any particular in the investigation. On this fact the opinion of Dr. Jenner has been uniform, and we shall hereafter see that it is supported by respectable, numerous, and unconnected authorities. If it be erroneous, *its only effect can be to deprive us of the employment of Vaccine Virus, when it might answer our purpose.* But if, on the other supposition, Dr. J.'s idea be correct, then the opinion of Dr. P. as seconded by Dr. Woodville, *leads to the most dangerous and destructive consequences.*

I must here state the contrasted and diametrically opposed opinions to which I refer. Dr. Jenner's rule is to employ Vaccina Virus at some period between the 5th and 9th day, or before the areola is formed. Dr. Pearson and Dr. Woodville insist there is no difference in the Vaccina produced by Vaccine Virus, taken at any period of the duration of the vesicle, provided it continues limpid. Dr. P.'s opinion is confessedly founded on that of Dr. Woodville, from whom he has inserted a letter expressive of it. In this Dr. W. says, "I can declare that I have very frequently inoculated with Vaccine Matter, taken on the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th day after



the inoculation ; and though I have given the utmost attention to the effects of each, I have never been able to discover any difference." " I could produce several instances in which the matter, taken so late as the 14th day after the inoculation, has been attended with equal success as that taken at any earlier period." But Dr. W. then adds, that the Virus which this late stage of the pock furnishes, is more liable to fail in communicating infection, and that its effects proceed more slowly. The very admission that its *effects proceed more slowly*, in a disease of which the precise and regular progress is the leading characteristic of certainty, and which is thus allowed by an advocate of the use of late Virus, is sufficient to demonstrate, that such Virus is inefficient and uncertain. Dr. P. observes, " On this point I consider the most satisfactory and clear evidence to be the register of the Vaccine-Pock Institution, and the result of Dr. Woodville's practice at the Small-Pox Hospital." Vain and unwarrantable assertion ! The practice of individuals has exceeded manifold that of these boastfully described establishments. Dr. Marshall's personal experience has more than doubled numerically the inoculations of both these institutions. The Rev. G. Jenner, Mr. Ring, of London, and Mr. Taylor, of Wootton-Underedge, have individually performed more inoculations than have occurred at the Vaccine-Pock Institution. Are we then to be told, that it is to



these authorities we are to bend and to stoop for the solution of our difficulties, and that we are to look up for information to a source which in one material instance has led us egregiously astray? I hope Dr. Pearson will furnish us with more “convincing evidences,” before he requires the surrender of our powers of observation to the polluted shrine of his authorities.

In the general denunciation of every opinion which concurs with Dr. Jenner’s, I find myself honoured with Dr. Pearson’s severest stricture—Note to page 121 of his Examination. At his imputation of prejudice or personal interest, I am not surprised; and I may perhaps observe with equal truth, that I am not much wounded. Observers of human actions have asserted, that we are most prone to transfer the conscious motives of our own minds to account for the conduct of others. I do not know an example which, in my opinion, more clearly illustrates the remark, or to which the retort of the argument may be more closely applied, than to Dr. P.’s own. In Dr. P.’s observations on “persons without pretensions from a studious life, and who have had but little experience,” I must, from the general context, conceive myself to be included. On the value of experience, it is hardly necessary here to enter into a discussion. It has been, from time immemorial, the stalking-horse in the pretensions of those principally to



whom it has been of the smallest utility. It has served both as the blind covering of superannuated ignorance, and as the sole direction to truth, according as it has been accurately or erroneously understood. With its application to the present subject, I have alone concern ; and my experience may not here be so little or so unfruitful as Dr. P. insinuates. From himself the comment originates with peculiar ill grace, to whom experience was so unproductive at a certain period of this investigation. If I am compelled defensively to speak of myself, I shall merely say, that I have inoculated many hundreds, and have inspected a far greater number. But it is of greater moment in the estimate of my experience, that I do not stand like Dr. P. convicted of fundamental and systematic error.

The opinion contained in the letter which has drawn these comments from Dr. P. was sent from me to the Medical and Physical Journal, for October 1801. It is thus expressed, that Virus at a late period "is capable of producing morbid and phagadænic ulceration, considerable erysipelatous inflammation, and a train of effects wholly dissimilar to those of pure and recently-formed Virus." So far is either experience, or the presumptuous correction of Dr. P. from inducing me to retract an iota of this opinion, that I am more confirmed in its truth, and I could even add to it. Its accuracy is, however, of incomparably more importance in its effects, than



with any relation to the justice or erroneoufnefs of my ideas. In detailing fome of the facts on which my affertion was founded, I am neceffarily led into the developement of instances, which at one time I fhould have much regretted to expofe. They would have afforded a pretext to inveterate enemies of Vaccine Inoculation, which would have been more operative than their real force would have juftified. That æra is, however, paft; and in the great aggregate of facts in favour of Vaccine Inoculation, even the confequences of avoidable error in its procefs will be loft and abforbed.

It cannot be too often or too ftrongly repeated, that in the decifion of this point confifts the truth or the falfhood of a practical rule, and which, if it can be proved to exift as believed by Dr. Jenner, and many other obfervers, muft, if acted againft, not merely fubvert all the imputed advantages of the Vaccina, but entail an enormous train of evil. I will firft refer to the cafes which occurred at Clapham, in the year 1800; and I cannot prefume either to explain or to comment on them, after the very perfpicuous and mafterly account afforded of the tranfaction in the “Comparative View of Opinions of Drs. Jenner and Woodville.” Dr. P. ingenioufly gloffes over this occurrence, by faying that “fome unfortunate cafes of inoculated Vaccina occurred, which were imputed by the medical gentlemen who investigated



them to the lateness of the period at *which the inserted matter was taken.*"

Let Dr. P. bring forward something beyond insinuation to disprove the conclusions of these investigators. He has not given one fact, which on a fair comparison with the phenomena stated in the narrative alluded to, will invalidate the obvious and certain inference, that they were such as could only arise from the use of Virus taken at a late period. Dr. P. observes in a note, p. 101, that "no contrary evidence has since been given from experience." What contrary evidence could be necessary, in addition to the correct and faithful narration given by the author of the "Comparative View?" That the inferences made were founded in the justest deductions, may even be negatively inferred, by observing that no such occurrence, or any thing analogous, has ever existed in consequence of the use of early Virus. Does Dr. P. consider the deleterious tendency of the doctrines, which mere opposition to the opinions of Dr. Jenner has led him to propagate, and for the resistance of which every advocate of Dr. J.'s doctrine is overwhelmed with his illiberal imputations. The position which has included me in this anathema, I will here repeat, and fortunately I am not destitute of circumstantial proof in its support; viz. "That Cow-Pock Virus at a late period is capable of producing morbid and phagadænic ulceration, considerable erysipelatous inflammation, and



*a train of effects wholly dissimilar to those of pure and recently-formed Virus."*

In proof of the former part of this opinion, I can merely give my personal and decided suffrage, that in much experience (amounting in the whole to more than 1000 inoculations of my own) I have seen repeatedly phagadænic and crustaceous ulcers, and the most extensive inflammations, ensue from the use of Virus taken at a late period, when I was not sufficiently informed of the importance of using it more recent. I also affirm, that on inspection of a number of the inoculated patients of others, exceeding in aggregate those of my own, I have never seen a local or general affection which considerably exceeded the ordinary and general mildness of the inoculated Vaccina, when Virus of an early period was employed. The credibility of a man's evidence must rest on his personal reputation, when it is unsupported by additional proof. In respect to the effects which *I preferred to describe* by the appellation of being "*wholly dissimilar to those of pure and recently-formed Virus,*" I possess substantiated evidence which is beyond Dr. Pearson's controversion, and facts which are unassailable by his sophistry. The possession of these instances alone would have led me to make the communication which has so offended Dr. P. On these I ground an opinion, that at a certain but indefinite age of the Vaccine Pustule, a modification of vital action of the part, or a change



of chemical constitution of its contained fluid, occurs, which alters its action on the human body, so as to render it capable of exciting a local effect essentially different, and even of appearing in the system *in a constitutional and secondary form of ulceration*. Of such instances, I shall relate two.

In November 1799, I inoculated the child of a patient belonging to the Bath City Dispensary, of the name of Spering. I employed at this period of my practice (notwithstanding the verbal injunctions of Dr. Jenner) Virus of all periods, and this child was inoculated with Virus from a very advanced Pustule. The local affection was regular, but the surrounding inflammation intense, and the scab after separating left a crustaceous sore which continued in a state of ulceration. A month after I was desired by Mr. White, apothecary to the Dispensary, to visit the child; I found her covered on the nates, thighs, and belly, with pustules which had a near resemblance to the spurious Vaccine Pustule. I say *the Spurious Pustule*, and will explain my idea by a future definition with which Dr. P. may grapple if he pleases. The case interested me so much, that I requested Dr. Parry of this city to see it, knowing his attention to this subject; and the child was also visited by Dr. Crawford; they both concurred in having never seen a similar case of eruption, and believed it to depend on the Vaccina. To ascertain this connexion, Mr. H. Jenner, surgeon, inoculated



a child with the fluid taken from one of the pustular fores, and produced a spurious Vaccine Pustule. I must add, that the inoculated part was unhealed for several weeks, and that the child got well in the event.

Another case, which in my opinion incontrovertibly supports the opinion that I have laid down, occurred at Bristol in the beginning of 1801. The appearances had excited some prejudices against the Vaccina, and I was requested by the Rev. G. Jenner and Mr. H. Jenner to see it. It was the infant of Mr. Morris, woollen-draper; I do not know the name of the medical gentleman who had inoculated it, but I was informed the inoculation had been done some weeks before. I found the infant had several pustular eruptions on the body, closely resembling the Vaccina in its advanced stages. These had existed ever since the inoculation. Suspecting the cause of these to be such as had produced the preceding case, my queries to the mother were in the following form.

Q. Was this child inoculated with dried matter, or with fresh matter from another person?

A. With matter from another person.

Q. What was the colour of the part from which the matter was taken?

A. It was quite brown, almost black, and the child was inoculated twice from the same person, at the distance of 2 or 3 days.



I have minutes of this conversation, and of the appearances, as taken at the time. The Rev. G. Jenner and Mr. H. Jenner were present, and would, I am confident, readily contradict my statement if it were erroneous. I think from these instances singly, that we are completely warranted in imputing to Vaccine Virus of a late date the effects which I have described. In my communication on this point, I intended only generally to express my conviction that there is a period, although I could not define the precise one, at which this chemical or living alteration occurs, and that it might be avoided by an adherence to the rule alluded to. I have now to adduce some authorities, which, though they do not exhibit any proof of such effects as I have described, yet are equally inimical to the propriety of Dr. P.'s and Dr. Woodville's practical opinions in another respect. My own opinion was merely declaratory of the mischievous effects of Vaccine Virus, which had acquired new properties by a change in its constituent parts from a different period of its formation. This is, however, not the only objection to the use of Virus of this description. Dr. Pearson observes, p. 123, "That the rule of not taking matter is not allowed to be founded in experience on the other side of the Atlantic, any more than in this country." It is singular that my principal authorities should be drawn from that very quarter of the globe, to which he refers for the support of his own opinions; and I



think he could no where have looked for less confirmation; nay, for a diversity of opinion more directly adverse. I have already resisted his claim to the supply of America with this new disease, which was ranked amongst the obligations under which it lay to his fostering aid. I also hinted that the history of Vaccination in America was peculiarly counter to his doctrines. My authorities follow:—Dr. Waterhouse, of Cambridge University, near Boston, to whom I first sent *Vaccinae Virus*, informed me by private communication, that it had lost the powers which it had exhibited, when he began to inoculate; and he lamented very strongly its degeneracy of effect. There is, however, a more regular and undeniable record of Dr. Waterhouse's opinions in the *American Medical Repository*, vol. v. No. 4. Dr. W. here gives many cases in detail, where the *Vaccina* had lost its character from the use of *Virus* taken at too late a period. Dr. W. says also, that many persons took Small-Pox after Inoculation with this *Virus*; and that on attention to the instructions sent out again by Dr. Jenner, the *Vaccina* was restored to its pristine character and efficacy. To the whole of this history I am a party, as it was one wherein I was originally concerned between Dr. Waterhouse and Dr. Jenner. In the same number of the *American Medical Repository* we find that Dr. Spence, of Dumfries, Virginia, concurs in similar conclusions concerning the incertitude and



inutility of the use of late Virus. Some deference will probably be given to the opinion of the Professor of Physic to an American University in a point of practice which he has superintended over a great Continent, though it may clash with the doctrines of the Lecturer of Leicester-Square. But without balancing their authorities, is it not apparent that Dr. Pearson must be sadly uninformed of the existing authorities in America, when he affirmed "that the rule of not taking matter is not allowed to be founded in experience on the other side of the Atlantic."

In our own country I can also find respectable and ample support of Dr. J.'s opinion. Mr. Bryce, whose late Treatise on Cow-Pox exhibits the most accurate attention and very considerable ingenuity, says, "that during the 7th, 8th, and 9th days, the Virus is in the state of greatest activity." He adds, "I have inoculated with Virus which was taken at the end of the 11th day from Inoculation, and with it have produced the affection regular in all its stages. But I have observed, that the Virus when taken at this stage of the affection, was less certain of taking effect, and that it frequently happened, that although the appearances were favourable for the first 3 or 4 days, yet that they then gradually would die away, and no Vesicle be produced. At other times, Virus of this description has produced a *Pustule of considerable size*, and one *having a considerable*



*degree of redness* around the base, which was nevertheless easily distinguished from Cow-Pox." Mr. Bryce's observations here coincide most exactly with my own. A rapid progress of inflammation ceasing before the due period, or an excess of inflammation and undue extent of pustule terminating in protracted ulceration, have been the events in many cases, where I have witnessed the application of Vaccine Virus taken at a late period of its duration. I wish to know, if Dr. Pearson will apply to Mr. Bryce and to Dr. Waterhouse his description of "partisans of personal interests, and whose reasons become warped by such interests;" if he should, I shall not be surprised at the defect of justice or decency. If this or any other question of pathology were to be decided by the number and character of its evidences, it is manifest where the weight would attach. We find Dr. Blane, the Rev. Mr. Jenner, Dr. Croft, Dr. Thornton, and others, definitively and explicitly asserting, that the most common cause of failure was owing to the employment of Virus at a late age. Against the concurrent opinion of these men, some of them possessing extensive and experimental knowledge of the subject, and in direct opposition to the consistent and uniform sentiments of Dr. Jenner, we have the converse assertions of Drs. Pearson and Woodville. To the assertions of the latter, however I may deem them erroneous, and at issue with general experience, I look with



some deference ; and although I may *toto cælo* differ from them, I beg leave to disclaim all reflexion on the motives of their author. But my conviction of their truth or incorrectness is another consideration ; and I confess, they are so repugnant to general authority, and to connected opinions, which in extent demand more than an equal claim to belief, that I must insist on their total want of force, and on their practical injuriousness.

Dr. Woodville, in his letter to Dr. Pearson, page 94, states many positions which I consider to be at variance with the observations of fact by others and by myself. He says, “ the Areola rarely supervenes before the 7th, or later than the 12th day.” There is surely a fatality in the investigation of this simple disease, which has perverted the perceptions of some of its observers. From oral and written communication with numbers of inoculators, and from my own experience, I believe the complete formation and acmé of the Areola, to be regularly on the 10th day, and that its occurrence a day sooner or later is an anomaly.

From the expressions of Dr. Woodville, one might suppose that it occurred at any time indifferently between the 7th and 12th days. Further, Dr. Woodville says, “ Dr. B. and Mr. K. are of opinion, that what they call spurious cases of Cow-Pox, *have arisen from the using of matter taken at too late a period of the pustule, which may equally happen in*



*inoculating for the Small-Pox with Virus taken at an improper period of maturation."*

Now, I join in opinion with the last part of this citation, and with the last part only, which is, that this said spurious Pustule may equally happen (or is as likely to happen) in inoculating for the Small-Pox as for the Cow-Pox, with Virus taken at an improper period of maturation; because I am convinced, by numerous experiments in Variolous Inoculation, that it never does happen. Assertions of this kind, and so authoritatively announced from characters of experience, have great apparent weight. But it is not by respect to name or pretension, that questions of fact in science are to be decided. On this as on every branch of the subject, or on questions in close analogy with it, the opinions of Dr. Woodville and Dr. Pearson happen to be arrayed in antithetical contrast to those of the majority of others. If Dr. Woodville be right, the gentlemen whose authorities I must quote, are not merely in error, but have coined falsehoods. In the 4th volume of the Memoirs of the Medical Society of London, Mr. Kite relates the history of three children inoculated with Variolous matter from a single and late Pustule. A short time after they caught the disease in the natural way. Dr. Jenner, in his "Further Observations," relates some accurately-detailed instances, on the authority of Mr. Earle, surgeon, of Frampton-upon-Severn. This gentleman inoculated five



persons with Variolous matter taken from a late stage of the Pustule; and of these five, four afterwards had the Small-Pox in the natural way. The inflammation and suppuration of the arms were as considerable, or more so than common; and in one there was an ulcer which cast off large sloughs. Eruptions appeared about the 9th day, which died off sooner than usual. Mr. Trye, surgeon to the Gloucester Infirmary, has given some instances of peculiar effects of Variolous matter, taken at a late period of the Variolous Pustule, when exsiccation had taken place. Ten children were inoculated with this matter; and in the decline of the disease, two had erysipelas about the incisions; another had abscesses in the cellular substance; and five or six of the rest, abscesses in the axillæ. Besides the cases above quoted, Mr. Earle inoculated three children with matter procured by another person. The arms inflamed; fever and eruption appeared, but disappeared in two days. These he inoculated again with matter in its perfect state, and they received the infection of Small-Pox.

Now, will Dr. Woodville affirm that these circumstantially detailed facts are undeserving of reception or attention? Or will Dr. Pearson employ so forced a conclusion, as to say concerning these what he has already said of the effects of degenerated Vaccine Virus, viz. that its anomalous effects were owing to the idiosyncrasy of the individual? The



medical critic will here weigh fact against fact, and will combine the probabilities arising from the very obvious analogies here illustrated. At any rate, if the comparison of the Vaccine and Variolous fluids, when of advanced ages, does not apply in strict similarity, yet the doctrine, as it applies to Vaccine Virus, is still unrefuted, and is supported by opinions and by facts which are more than equal in force and in extent to the opposing ones.

The term *Spurious Cow-Pox* has afforded to Dr. Pearson a copious theme of criticism, both verbal and pathological. The quibbling objections of the special pleader, or the splenetic minuteness of an invidious commentator, are here more observable than the liberal remarks of a man of science. Dr. P. says, “the terms *Spurious Cow-Pox*, to my conception, either convey an erroneous notion, or have no definitive meaning; for I am unable to perceive that they mean any thing but a particular and specific disease, or else they mean any local affection whatever produced by inoculating animal matter, or other substances, or by the mere puncture.” Dr. P. pursues this opinion at some length, and concludes by imputing incorrectness and absurdity to the term; whether for the sake of exhibiting philological skill, or for the purpose of detecting error, is not entirely clear. If there subsist a local affection uniform and definable, resembling Cow-Pox in some of its characters, though dissimilar in others;



and if this local effect be the occasional result of the application of Vaccine Virus, then I conceive such an affection, by the strictest literal rules, to be fairly described by the term Spurious Cow-Pox. It is at least as correctly just as the true and false Aneurism, or many other medical names. But it is to me incredible, and reflects much either on Dr. Pearson's candour or his experience, that possessing so extensive a knowledge of the Vaccina as he assumes, he should not have recognised and admitted this regular and occasional deviation from the accustomed character of the Vaccine Pustule. I have seen it in numerous instances, and have never known an inoculator of observation, but who has accurately taken notice of it. That I may not appear to entrench myself in generalities, I will define the phenomena of the Spurious Cow-Pox. The appearance of the inoculated part for the first three days is as usual; by the 5th or 6th a Pustule is formed, containing not diaphanous Virus, but yellow purulent fluid; at this time a livid and unequal redness surrounds the Pustule, and they together rapidly disappear long before the accustomed process of the regular Vaccine Pustule terminates. The appearance of the Spurious Cow-Pock does not resemble any other pustular disease, and is so specific, that an accurate drawing of it has been taken by Mr. Cuff, which will convey its perfect similitude. It certainly, according to every information I can procure, frequently



succeeds the application of late Virus, but is capable of being produced occasionally by Virus of any age. To what purpose does Dr. P. except to this descriptive appellation, and endeavour to substitute a circuitous and unsatisfactory definition. He must, or at least he ought to, know the occasional existence of this deviation; and if so, he might have supplied some term which he deemed more literally correct.

Dr. Jenner has defined a Spurious Cow-Pock, which he considers as another idiopathic disease of the Cow. By communication with some practitioners of Veterinarian Medicine, I believe that such a disease subsists, and that it has some diagnostic marks which distinguish it from real Cow-Pox. The subject merits farther investigation; but it is not relevant to the question of the occurrence and phenomena of the Spurious Vaccina. In the description of this, I have no fear of animadversion from the impartial observer. Dr. Jenner, in speaking of Spurious Cow-Pox, had recourse to it to account for the instances of Small-Pox following natural Cow-Pox. He did not apply this strictly to the Spurious Vaccina; and whenever the term is used in reference to this, it is clearly meant to refer to a definite and regular, though incomplete effect, produced by the inoculation of Vaccine Virus. In his comments on the name and the meaning of this affection, Dr. P. has merely continued the general features and ex-



emplified the tendency of his unjust and unsparing series of depreciation.

Opposition to any branch or part of a system slides with much facility into aversion to the whole. I believe that all the declamation and all the prejudice employed by the avowed enemies of the Cow-Pox have not been so inimical to its character, as the pertinacious differences and the unlucky experiments of some of its friends. Dr. P. is so intent on disagreement with every opinion on the subject which emanates from Dr. Jenner, that although he is nominally in the list of the strongest supporters of Vaccination, nay, although he would fain appear to the world as little less than its author, yet he will not allow with Dr. Jenner, "that the adverse cases are sinking fast into contempt." The man who describes himself as a thorough believer in the powers of the Vaccina, and who at the same time does not think the adverse cases deserving contempt, must be the most inconsistent of reasoners. Such is the inevitable tendency of personal and partial views. To similar feelings I refer Dr. P.'s incredulity concerning the connexion of Cow-Pox with Grease, and his complete suppression of the facts on this point. Not one word of reference is made to authority or to experiments, except to the conjectures of Dr. Jenner, as given in his "Enquiry," and to the evidence of Mr. Coleman. The latter gentleman I am honoured with the friendship of, and from my



intimate knowledge of his singular and almost unparalleled talents in physiological and pathological research, I am confident it is from no deficiency of accuracy or of ingenuity, that his experiments have exhibited results differing from those which I shall quote. I may be excused in taking an opportunity of affording here the tribute of personal esteem, and of professional admiration which I feel towards the Professor of the Veterinary College. In general anatomical science, and in rare originality of genius, he has, in my opinion, few competitors; and they are applied with all the force of powerful judgment to the objects of his art. In the cultivation of these he has in a very short period made advances which would hardly be credible, except from the slowest results of lengthened experience. But to revert to the subject; it was certainly incumbent on Dr. P. when treating on this subject, not to have suppressed facts in favour of Dr. J.'s hypothesis, which were known before the time he wrote. Would a reader of Dr. P.'s work believe that experiments the most decisive, in establishment of Dr. J.'s opinion of the origin of Cow-Pox in Grease, had been made and promulgated? If Dr. P. refused assent to their conclusiveness, he might have favoured us with his reasons; but in justice to his own reputation for information, he should not have passed them "sub silentio:" with the policy or impolicy of making known such a fact in respect to public opi-



nion, the philosophic investigator has nothing to do. He is to be the register of truth. For the information of those who might otherwise draw their only instruction from Dr. P.'s work, I will introduce the known evidence, both probable and direct, on this part of the subject. Dr. P. considers this opinion "as immaterial whether it be true or not, with respect to the practice of Vaccine Inoculation:" So do I think; but in other relations, and especially as no possible fact in pathology can be unworthy of our knowledge, I deem it by no means *immaterial*. Dr. P. has esteemed it sufficiently *material* to induce him to communicate garbled and incomplete information on it. He observes, page 133, "the author (Dr. J.) gives no proof by inoculating either the Cow or the human subject with the matter of Grease. Even the circumstantial evidence offered, I am of opinion, was so little satisfactory, &c." To minds of different perceptions the same objects will appear differently, and to mine this circumstantial evidence carried with it a high degree of probability; a probability which by succeeding proof has attained to certainty, and which is the best comment on the accuracy of Dr. J.'s early conjecture. Does not Dr. P. know perfectly that Mr. Tanner, a veterinary surgeon, has inoculated the Cow from the Grease of the Horse, with the effect of producing Cow-Pox. Mr. Tanner's account is inserted in an excellent



Pamphlet,\* published about two years since, with the contents of which it is *peculiarly improbable* Dr. P. should be unacquainted.

Mr. Ring, in his able Treatise on Cow-Pox, gives this mention of Mr. Tanner's results:—"Matter taken from a Cow which Mr. Tanner had inoculated, and some taken from the Dairy-maid who had caught the infection from the Cow, were inclosed in a letter from Mr. Tanner to Dr. Jenner, which is now in my possession. In this letter he says, four or five of his uncle's Cows had the disease; that it first appeared in a Cow which he had inoculated from the heel of a Horse, and was thence communicated to the man who milked that Cow, and afterwards to the other Cows and two other men and the dairy-maid."

But the experiments by Dr. Loy † are still more convincing in accuracy of detail and completeness of result. For their circumstances I must refer to his statement, and will only relate, that Dr. Loy has inoculated both the Cow and the human subject with matter taken from the heel of the horse, when affected with incipient Grease. That the effect was Cow-Pox in the Cow, and a Pustule resembling remotely the Vaccina in the human subject. This also produced insusceptibility to Small-Pox.

\* Comparative View of Opinions, &c.—1800.

† Experiments by Dr. Loy.—1801.



The Cow-Pox of the inoculated Cow, produced *the perfect* Vaccina in the human subject, and consequent insusceptibility to Small-Pox. The trials were made in more than one instance. Was it not a debt due to candour and to justice, that Dr. P. should have brought forward these curious and convincing facts, when delivering himself on the subject; or will the omission be apologised for by saying, "*I do not mean to enter into the account of all that has been said on this point?*" Of collateral and presumptive evidence to the same point much might be given as Dr. J.'s own, and that of Sir Christopher Pegge, in the Medical and Physical Journal, if such could add strength or credibility.

I have dwelt on this theme with more prolixity than perhaps may seem necessary. But I think the most liberal constructor of the motives of human actions would not hesitate to attribute the unbelief of a fact so demonstrated, to feelings of a personal kind towards Dr. Jenner. To those who have systematically differed with him, and who at last endeavour, by studious and persevering hostility, to denude him of all merit or honour, it must be not a little insupportable to witness the full confirmation of his theory as well as his facts. It is the very uncommon lot of Dr. Jenner to find every position which he primarily laid down in an investigation new and extensive, and which he has supported with equal energy and moderation in a perplexing and



invidious controversy, unequivocally and finally established. It is at this very conclusion that he is assailed on every point by those, who, on account of the dangers into which they plunged the infantile existence of his discovery, should be the most eager to offer him the magnanimous tribute of candid praise.

Amidst the imputed errors of Dr. Jenner's, which Dr. P. claims the merit of redressing, is Dr. J.'s proposition "that those who have had the Small-Pox, are commonly again and again susceptible of Cow-Pox." Dr. Jenner has since qualified this opinion, by admitting that they are only susceptible once of the constitutional effect of Cow-Pox, and afterwards of its local operation only. Dr. P. in order to affix as much as possible importance to this part of the laws of Cow-Pox, affirms that "the clamour against the proposal of the new Inoculation was partly on account of the apprehensions, that persons who had already gone through the Small-Pox, would be in a worse state of society by the introduction of a new infection." How such a fear could for a single moment exist, or if existing, why it must not immediately have been quashed by the obvious demonstration that the Cow-Pox was not contagious by contact or effluvia, I am at a loss to comprehend. The error, if such, and if done away by Dr. P. would be, in my opinion, no high acquisition to his merits in the service, or the credit of the



Cow-Pox; but I am not inclined to grant, that the error of such is exposed by Dr. P.'s reasoning or his experiments.

Against the seven experiments of Dr. Pearson, on persons who had undergone the Small-Pox, (the first with dried matter, of which the effect is notoriously uncertain) I will oppose Mr. Fewster's as a positive fact, which should have more weight than many negative ones. I will also adduce the general tradition where the Cow-Pox has existed, and which is dispersed through the observations of many enquirers, that the local Cow-Pox may occur again and again. In page 138, Dr. P. observes with respect to this opinion, that "the apparent and almost mathematical demonstration of the impossibility of its being true has been attempted to be shewn." In page 68, to which we are referred for this demonstration, we are told, "I do not mean to offer this demonstration as infallible like mathematical." Either the demonstration approaches to mathematical certainty, or it does not; and after we are told by Dr. P. that it is almost "mathematical demonstration;" we then find he does not offer it at all as such. His chain of reasoning on the subject is built on a postulate, viz. "if the variolous poison destroys the susceptibility of the constitution to the future agency of the Vaccine poison." These are the grounds on which Dr. P. pretends to the correction of what he calls an error of great im-



port, and of mischievous operation in Dr. Jenner's first communications. For the revision of this supposed error, Dr. P. also makes a conspicuous item in the general debt of the Vaccina to his support. If I may propose my own conclusions on this point, it is that we are not in possession of a sufficient number of experimental facts to decide it conclusively, but that I think the weight of evidence and of opinion is in support of the affirmative supposition. In the fulfilment of this task, which I felt imposed on me by my interest in the cause which constitutes its subject, by private as well as public respect for calumniated genius, and by my wish to defend opinions of my own, I have not proposed an analytical survey of Dr. P.'s entire sentiments. As I have no reason to indulge an expectation that his own zealous endeavours, or those of his re-echoing critics, will cease to assail the invulnerable fortrefs of Dr. J.'s reputation; I doubt not but some other and some more capable hand will supply my defect of plan. I have aimed, in a principal degree, to express my sense of what I esteem important errors of pathological doctrine; and by demonstrating their tendency, to disprove the claims, which even under their existence have been formed for the entire annihilation of just desert.

After a series of reasoning, which to my perusal has seemed so diffuse, so desultory, and so disjointed, as to produce some sensations of fatigue in the col-



lation of its scattered parts, we are at last presented (page 159) with a summary of Dr. P.'s opinions; that is, with a formal indictment of Dr. Jenner. It is here that we arrive at the extent of Dr. P.'s accusations, and that we perceive the genuine colour of his meaning. In former passages of Dr. P.'s examination, we might sometimes have caught a reluctant, an assumed, or an extorted admission towards Dr. Jenner. Some decency of ostensible candour was preserved, and the full allowance of detraction was diminished by some barren scraps of praise. But in the propositions which include the amount of Dr. P.'s arguments, every iota of credit or of allowance to Dr. J. is excluded. I had no doubt, from the interpretation which the very first pages of Dr. P.'s book carried with them to my understanding, that however he might "*have damned with faint praise*" in the outset, yet that its progress would rescind the affected tribute,

As Dr. P. advances, we see less and less of the qualified admissions which he set out with granting; and at last he appears more in the character of a forensick advocate against a culprit, than as a critical investigator. Had his hired occupation been to impeach Dr. J. for imposition in a scheme to swindle society out of their health, he could not more faithfully have laboured in the task of inculpation. Any specific reply to the propositions of Dr. P. is anticipated by the preceding parts of these obser-



vations; at least I hope it is anticipated in that degree, to which alone I conceive it can be deemed incumbent on the warmest vindicator of opposite opinions to notice them. To Dr. P.'s repeated affirmations, that the Vaccina would at this hour have been unknown in practice, but for his subsidiary aid, I cannot refuse a little more attention. The temerity of this challenge to all those who know better, astonishes me. Of the bottomless confidence of Dr. P.'s declarations, we have already seen a specimen in his introduction of Mr. Nash's posthumous manuscripts. His assertions concerning the dependence of the Vaccina on his fostering care are equally unfounded and gratuitous; and it would be a sufficient acquittal, if Dr. P. were to stand excused of conduct calculated or at least directly tending to its extinction. The information of its discoverer had placed the subject in the fairest path of prosecution, and we have actually seen, from the depositions before the Committee of the House of Commons, that it has been the parent stock of the most successful and extensive multiplications. In Great-Britain and Ireland, in the different countries of Europe, down to the Italian States, even in the southern shores of the Mediteranian, and *in the whole Continent of America*, it has been propagated in some exclusively, and in all principally, by Dr. Jenner's opinions and communications. From the primary experiments of Dr. Jenner in 1798, a



continued series of practices have been instituted, which exist to the present day. The matter first diffused by him is still existing through the medium of thousands; and the results of its application have been uncontaminated by erroneous practices, or by theories invented for their justification. Dr. P. has given at some length the proceedings between himself and the inoculations in France. He has also claimed the reputation of introducing the Vaccina, through the means of Mr. Keate, into the army and navy. Let it all be granted, and what is the “honour due?” *Subordinate agency, and subsidiary assistance*—undoubtedly laudable in itself and useful in its effects, but of which the motives, as far as we can perceive them, are not entitled to the merits of pure or disinterested zeal. Had these proceedings been carried on with some consideration of, or reference to, the just part which the discoverer had a right most conspicuously to take in them, we might have attributed to Dr. P. the most independent and the most deserving intentions. But, connected as these transactions are with the oblivion even of Dr. Jenner’s name, with an indecent contempt of his participation, and with an affectation of original authority, I think they are on the whole deserving of far different appellations. At any rate the services are such as Dr. Jenner could and would have preferably executed. If Dr. Pearson’s agency or his *new opinions* in Vaccine Inoculation were looked up



to by the Navy as leading and important, how comes it that no public attention has been given him? Whilst the Physician of the Fleet, and the Surgeons of the Navy, have awarded a splendid memorial of their sentiments to Dr. Jenner. It is not merely from the Committee of the House of Commons, that Dr. P. is despoiled of secondary honour. Here it is that we penetrate a little into the possible sources of Dr. P.'s studious efforts towards the subversion of Dr. J.'s claims to originality, to scientific correctness, and to honourable reward. The laborious investigations, and the arduous efforts of Dr. P. to this end, indicate no weak or common motive. I verily believe, and from a comparison of Dr. P.'s conduct, his writings, and his evidence, I think every impartial observer of human nature would concur with me in the conclusion, that had the petition of Dr. J. to the Committee of the House of Commons included a portion of requisition in favour of Dr. P.; or had Dr. P. himself been permitted to usurp the claim entirely, we should have heard nothing of inoculations previous to Dr. Jenner's, or of his pathological deficiencies.

The Committee of the House of Commons, and the Honourable House itself have adjudicated Dr. J.'s claims in a way which, whether or not it may be proportionate to the sense which the most ardent friends of him and his discovery entertain, is nevertheless demonstrative of their conviction. I cannot



but consider Dr. P.'s construction of the nature of this court of decision as a libel on its functions. They are appointed by the House of Commons to report on the *whole case* of a petitioner. That, in the business of our present consideration, this duty was executed with vigorous impartiality, and with industrious and enquiring zeal, no observer of their minutes can deny. Evidence both positive and negative was scrutinised with penetrating assiduity. The nature of the facts were such as to lie within the sphere of unprofessional capacity. It was, as before the Committee, merely a question of the force of testimony, and the probability of fact. The very conduct of the Committee is a refutation of Dr. P.'s observation; but the approver of their general decision is not compelled to support Dr. Jenner on the grounds of their Report. If they thought right to regard Dr. J. only as "the discoverer of the Vaccine Inoculation of one human subject from another," I do not arraign their limitation, but I do not therefore acquiesce in it. To me it is irrefragably certain, that Dr. J. is the only proved and authenticated practiser of Vaccine Inoculation; that he was an original, independent, and unassisted experimenter in it, and as such has appeared to the world. I have also, I trust, made out that he alone has adequately and efficiently informed society of the means of practising his discovery; that his merits have been greatly transcendent, and his correctness unimpeach-



able. The Committee of the House of Commons, and the House itself, have, in my opinion, done well in deciding on the high utility of Vaccine Inoculation. Much as I revere the deserts of Dr. Jenner, I esteem the force and the influence of the Committee's Report as a paramount consideration to any personal one; had the personal part been more amply allotted, my gratification would have been unalloyed. I must express a hope, that the same House which has voted approbation and reward to Dr. Jenner's discovery, will pursue the principle which this resolution involves; and that they will prevent, by law, the murderous diffusion of a disease which daily thins the inhabitants of the country over which they legislate and preside. In so doing they will become the guardians of that most essentially constituent part of the public welfare—public health.

Were I again to endeavour to illustrate my sense of the obligation which the *Vaccina* exists under to-wards Dr. P. I think that the form of a mercantile account would afford a tolerably perspicuous method of statement and elucidation, as thus :

*VACCINA Debtor to Dr. PEARSON.*

For writing a Book on the subject, when its Author had said enough before.

For circulating the *Vaccina* where it might have gone by any other means.



## VACCINA Creditor.

For proving at one time that it was little better than Small-Pox.

For stating that opinions adverse to it "*were not falling into contempt.*"

For sending it abroad in the company of the enemy, with whom it was at war.

For exhibiting it in a shape which its nearest friends could not recognise, or (in the language of a passage in Mr. Sheridan's *Critic*) "*serv-  
ing it, as Gypsies do stolen children—disfigur-  
ing them, to make them pass for their own.*"

Dr. P. has deprecated in his adversaries all intemperance in reply to him. If by the preservation of temper he means the absence of invective or of virulence, I hope I have fulfilled his conditions. But the force of strictness and the severity of comment may exist in their fullest degree, unaccompanied by either; and if such are mine, I shall not apologize for them; they will arise out of the nature of the subject, and the feelings of its commentator; where the latter are powerfully enkindled, the extent of expression must either be commensurate or be suppressed. I have, as far as my powers extend, preferred the former; and though I have before hinted at the reasons which induced me to the formation of this attempt, I will repeat that the defence of some doctrines which I esteem as funda-



mentally important in the practice of Vaccine Inoculation, have concurred with an anxious desire to proclaim my sense of the injustice inflicted on its author. Should my arguments or my facts have any share in the direction to right opinions concerning the one, as the welfare of numbers are in this respect dependent on our correctness, I shall rejoice in their feeblest influence, even more than in a successful defence of the person whom I consider as one of the first and greatest benefactors of his species.

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IF I have felt a wish to endeavour at the refutation and the exposition of Dr. Pearson's "Examination," my inducement is, I confess, still greater to animadvert on the literary support and the consentaneous feelings towards his cause, which are exhibited in the Medical and Chirurgical and the Critical Reviews. The former in its number for November, and the latter in that of October last, have inserted critiques or rather eulogiums on Dr. P.'s work. Their coincidence with the Doctor's doctrines, their acquiescence in his conclusions, and their administration to his eager ambition of Vaccine reputation, is so zealous and so peculiar, that I cannot but congratulate him on a degree of support, which, I am confident, he will no where else enjoy. With the effects of enkindling the resentment of these directors of the public taste, I am not unacquainted. As a vulgar



simile is most apposite to my meaning, I must apply it here, and observe that I should expect in the conflict with a scavenger to be overwhelmed with his dirt. The self-constituted judges of science and literature possess an influence nearly unlimited over general opinion; an influence which capacities and qualifications the most perfect, in union with the most incorruptible integrity, and the most unchangeable partiality, could alone vindicate. I have to learn that these are the rare endowments of the Critics with whom I do not hesitate to differ, and whose decisions I do not dread to appeal from. The general advantages of public and anonymous criticism, as now conducted, would afford a theme of discussion exceeding equally my talents and my design. It is with the application of this formidable engine of condemnation or of applause to the subject before me that I have concern, and here it shall receive the most unreserved freedom of remark. "*Laudari a laudato viro,*" is the fairest subject of exultation; and the converse of this proposition is equally a just theme of indifference.

The account given us by the Editors of the Medical and Chirurgical Review is made up in the proportion of four-fifths of a transcript of Dr. P.'s Examination; the remainder is an unqualified and undeviating panegyric on Dr. Pearson, and a trite, feeble, and contemptible tissue of depreciation of Dr. Jenner. I do not say that Dr. P. has here fulfilled



*the joint occupations of author and reviewer*; but I am sure that if he had passed sentence on himself, he could not have bespoken a more favourable one. The observations are so thoroughly a reflexion of his own opinions, that we may hail the happy coincidence between him and his critic. For form's sake it might have been well to intersperse a trivial alloy of fictitious censure; and it would have been still better to have given weight to maukish adulation, by the demonstration of some knowledge of its subject.

A little will, I trust, be necessary on the observations, which however sparingly introduced amongst the quotations from Dr. P.'s work, partake directly of its spirit. It is said, "that the particular facts in regard to its origin, progress, and full investigation, are very imperfectly known to the public at large, and we believe even to them embers of the medical profession." I will venture to say, that the author is thoroughly unacquainted with the state of the public mind on this topic, or after Dr. Jenner's own account of the origin of the Vaccine Inoculation, after the numerous treatises which have issued from the press on the subject; and especially after the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons; he would never have committed so improbable an opinion. The tendency of this is however clearly to preface the asserted expediency of Dr. P.'s Essay.

Page 237, the Reviewer observes, "That at the time of Dr. J.'s first publication, he (Dr. J.) was so



far from having discovered the principal laws of the Vaccine disease, that he was not even acquainted with its characteristic traits." For the reply to this unwarrantable assertion, I can do no more than refer to the preceding part of this work where it is considered; and on those arguments I accuse the Reviewer with palpable ignorance or voluntary misrepresentation.

Page 239, The Reviewer employs the invidious and impertinent term of "followers," to those who are in concurrence with Dr. J. The "followers" of Dr. J. are the convinced admirers of the truth, the ingenuity, and the established correctness of his opinions; amongst them are ranked the first and the highest ornaments of medical science; and they are equally remote from the influence of the denunciations or the encomiums of Dr. P.'s literary supporters.

Page 243, "The supposed origin of the Cow-Pock in the *Grease* of Horses" is directly charged as an error. For the utter defect of information which this remark manifests, I must again entreat a reference to the preceding pages.

Page 247, The Reviewer, not satisfied with reasserting Dr. P.'s arguments, and enforcing to the best of his capability, and to the fullest extent, Dr. P.'s requisitions, goes even into an approbation of the uncharacteristic and inelegant plate which is prefixed to his book: "An engraved coloured plate is given, representing the appearances of the Cow-



Pock and Variolous Pustule, in their different and respective stages, and where the two are so well contrasted, that a flight inspection must enable any one to acquire an adequate knowledge of each." Why it was necessary to give Dr. P. credit for the fidelity and beauty of his engraving, as well as for his other claims, I cannot conceive. But to those who have seen superior delineations of this strikingly characterised disease, the account will appear as absurd and as tasteless as if the admiration had been applied to the vignette of a ballad, or child's story book.

From the imbecile strictures of the Medical and Chirurgical Review, I turn with different feelings to the severely personal and inimical comments of the Critical. I have for some time followed the medical criticisms of this publication, and can point out some instances, in my opinion, nearly parallel in point of misrepresentation, prejudice, and injustice.\* It commences with deprecating the spirit of party in scientific questions; a prepossessing prelude to a criticism which breathes throughout its most eager spirit. If the imputation of party be directed towards the friends of Dr. Jenner, the charge may be retorted. "*Mutato nomine de te fabula narratur.*" Does the charge of party combination apply with strictest probability to two or three individuals maintaining precisely the same opinions and pursuing the same ends;

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\* See the account of Dr. Parry's Treatise on Angina Pectoris.



or to numerous, respectable, and unconnected authorities, concurring generally in sentiment, but manifesting no combined view? That the latter definition applies to the friends of Dr. Jenner, I need scarcely explain. The Reviewer after, advertng to the parliamentary decision and remuneration, observes, “a more minute discrimination might have avoided a few objections which malice or prejudice may now raise. I concur with him, that after an investigation the most ample, the most protracted, and the most rigorous, it must be the attribute of malice or prejudice alone to form objections. The person who has ever read the Report of the Committee, and who asks for more minute investigation, must possess an understanding insatiable in the exaction of proof.

The Reviewer observes, “our remarks, however, will only be valuable as they are supported by facts and arguments.” On no other ground would I join issue with him; and in so doing, it is with the full freedom of remark and the perfect equality of feeling which I should entertain towards any other individual: He says, “it was a well-known fact in many counties, that when persons had been infected by milking a cow with these peculiar eruptions, they were incapable of receiving the infection of Small-Pox. Where then is the distinction? The constitution can receive it from touching the sores, and may of course receive it by inserting the matter under the skin. To call this a discovery, is a



mockery, an abuse of words." In this shameful and illiberal denial of merit, the Reviewer outstrips even the opinions of his author. Dr. P. has constantly allowed the Vaccine Inoculation to be *a discovery*, though he has refused, in its fullest sense, to Dr. J. the title of its discoverer. Is it necessary for me to explain, or to insist on a truth so obvious, as that, whatever pathological analogy might infer, the demonstration *by actual experiment* of the phenomena and effects of its Inoculation, the important observation that its properties were not lessened by transmission, and above all the detection of its anomalies, constitute, to all intents and purposes, *a discovery*; a spirit the most adverse to liberal allowance could alone contest it. It matters not *how close* the preceding state of knowledge bore upon the experiment; it had not been previously made, at least to Dr. J.'s knowledge. Numerous discoveries have been brought to the very borders of their developement, long before they were hit on. Most of the facts in chemistry, entitled discoveries, were preceded by former ones, which left barely room to advance without detecting them. Had our English philosophers employed an envelope of sufficient specific lightness, they would have been the discoverers of aërostation. So it was with Dr. Jenner, he went forward a single step, but this was the necessary advance, and in it consisted strictly and legitimately the fact of discovery.



In the order of successive defamation, we are next told that Dr. Jenner's claim for remuneration on the score of the loss of his practice, and for his having disinterestedly declined to conduct Vaccine Inoculation as a secret, are weak allegations. The previous situation and the personal character of Dr. Jenner are known to the first of our professional ornaments. With a late and great distinguished physiologist, (Mr. Hunter) who has more than any other individual extended our knowledge of animated nature, Dr. Jenner lived in mutual intimacy and in exalted estimation. Living characters of eminence, the most competent to decide, have given their testimony of what Dr. Jenner has sacrificed in point of fortune to his liberal and undisguised communication. After this, an anonymous doer of medical criticism, whose name, for aught we know, may be unknown in the paths of science, or the line of professional honour, has the audacity to impeach their authorities. He says, that the application of the fact, "every medical man must see, would consume but a very moderate portion of time. No talents but eye-sight, no mental exertion but common attention." The man who endeavours to prove too much, is as remote from successful evidence, as he who proves nothing. How happened it that the very low degree of faculty which the Reviewer would persuade us that this investigation required, left it unattempted for a series of ages, in spite of the ob-



vious existence of the fact. Will he say, that the subject was not environed with difficulties, when Dr. J. first directed his attention to it, and that they have not been solved by his ingenuity? Were the causes of apparent denial and exception to the general rule no impediments? But if the investigation, according to this Reviewer, was so trite and so unmeritorious in the hands of him who has conducted it with accuracy and with felicity of result, why does his *venal* partiality attribute honour and ingenuity to Drs. Pearson and Woodville, who have incontrovertibly erred in this simple process? With the malignant sneer of ironical injustice, the Reviewer says, in allusion to Dr. J.'s coming to London on his discovery of Vaccine Inoculation, "He might as well have done so on the publication of his paper on the natural history of the Cuckoo, and expected a national remuneration." It is indeed a refinement in invidious censure, when a man's own deserts are set up as a standard of his humiliation. Dr. J.'s essay on the natural history of the Cuckoo is, in the estimation of naturalists, a production of singular ingenuity. As such it may be excellent; but to render it a theme of comparison in any kind or degree of application to the author's objects or merits in the discovery of the Vaccina, is the most heterogeneous of similitudes; it is a wanton effusion of critical gall. If ever an individual was entitled to claim the attention of the metropolis, it was Dr. Jenner. But a stronger



reason may be adduced why it was necessary for Dr. J. to go to London, and it is one which is most unfavourable to the reputations of those whom it is the Reviewer's occupation to exalt at Dr. J.'s expence. It was during the very æra of the existence of Dr. P.'s unfortunate Vaccine experiments, that Dr. J. fixed himself in London from the magnitude of his discovery, and the sollicitations of the first and greatest of the medical names of the metropolis. The Reviewer most modestly denies that Dr. Jenner would have commanded an extensive degree of confidence, or a considerable extent of emolument, by the concealment of his process. He has so little deference towards the nature of Dr. Jenner's discovery, that he compares it with the general forms of quackery, had it been rendered an arcanum. Such opinions, in the accustomed force of the authority of the journalist, may pass current; and I doubt not their influence even on reflecting minds, were there no counterpoise of attestation. The declared evidence of medical characters, as appears by the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, is decidedly opposite. Professional men of high reputation, conversant in the habits of society in every particular which bears on the medical art, and fully acquainted with its prejudices and its predilections, have delivered other opinions with the most perfect decision. Between these and the *ipse dixit* of the *unknown partisan* of Dr. P. the comparison of credibility may rest.



A little more on the topics wherein this Reviewer has equally held at variance fact and reasoning. He says, "If we refer to Dr. Jenner's work and the very few cases there recorded, we shall see some erroneous positions." It might be expected that these erroneous positions would have been exemplified. No distinct instances are adduced; but we are told in the succession of the context, "We have said enough of the supposed *fomes*, the Horse's Heel, which offers the most disgusting image." This is the language of a professed medical critic, of a pathologist who sits in judgment on the truths of opinions. This also is his commentary on a most curious and important fact, deduced from ingenious speculation, and demonstrated by absolute experiment. Such is the information and the critical uprightness, in the execution of their duty, of our censors.

We are afterwards told, that "if Dr. Jenner's admirers please, we will consider him as a public benefactor, but not as a philosopher of the first magnitude." No such requisition has been made by the more discreet adherents of Dr. Jenner. They have asked for him the allowance of fortunate talent, of physiological skill, of acute ingenuity, and of laudable disinterestedness. It is not these which the worshippers of Dr. P. would arraign, but they would place the offerings on their own altar; and they are neglectful, that in the levelling of the merits of Vaccine discovery, they are sapping the foundations



of the edifice which they would fain raise in honour of the deity of their own praise.

I shall follow this Reviewer but little further,—as where he says, “Dr. Jenner having started the subject and pursued it somewhat carelessly, left it and his residence, seemingly splanetic and angry.” Had the most irascible expressions of human feeling been wrung from Dr. J. by the blundering torturers of his discovery, he might have been justified by the feelings of outraged truth; but no such sensations are depicted in any part of his written works, and by these alone that part of society who are unacquainted with his personal and internal character can judge. To those who are conversant with these, no defence will be needed of his philosophic moderation.

The Reviewer concludes with observing, in allusion to Drs. Pearson and Woodville, that their labours “are so important and beneficial, they have placed a subject incumbered with difficulties and contradictions in a point of view so clear, forcible, and scientific, that they cannot see, without a little indignation, praises and rewards strikingly exclusive.” Were there a syllable of just foundation for these aimings at desert, it would be well; but “there’s the rub.” In lieu of the removal of difficulties whose existence I have not been able to descry, they have imposed those of their own formation, and are afterwards irritated by the radiance of the truths



which they had obscured. For this they fret and murmur at exclusive distinctions. In short, if the claims of Dr. Jenner's opponents are well founded, they leave him with exalted pretensions to honour; but if unjust and frivolous, they incur, and I believe will receive from existing and future society, all that the impartial feeling of mankind can apply to the grossest of injuries on its best of benefactors.

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## APPENDIX.

*NOTE to Pages 19, 20.*

SOME recent information which I have received from the most authentic and respectable sources, induces me to enlarge a little more on the occurrences at Brighthelmstone and Petworth. The circumstances were as follow:—A lady of rank at Brighton determined on the adoption of the Vaccina for three of her children, as some objections had long subsisted to the Inoculation of Small-Pox. Here then was a case of unusual nicety, and which required much circumspection. They were accordingly inoculated with supposed Vaccine matter, and which is allowed to have been furnished by Dr. P. A severe degree of Small-Pox succeeded in the patients; matter from these was sent to Petworth, the seat of Lord Egremont, where in numerous instances it produced, as we have before seen, most decided and unequivocal Small-Pox. The sceptical reasoner might say of the first of these cases, that it is impossible to prove that Small-Pox contagion was not applied in some other way, and the same argument (*i. e.* the difficulty of proving a negative) might be used in every case. But it happens that in the present



transaction, we are in possession of proof amounting to positive, and that from no less a source than Dr. P.'s own authority, that the Small-Pox was the actual result of the application of Variolous matter. I will endeavour to make out this affirmation from Dr. P.'s own statements, and to contrast his sentiments at the period when he was establishing his "convincing evidences" of the character and the utility of the Vaccina in 1800, with the opinions given in his "Examination." The latter are so completely at issue with the former, that no stretch of liberal interpretation can reconcile them. In a letter inserted in the Medical and Physical Journal, of February, 1800, Dr. P. says, "In the month of October last, I inoculated a child with *Vaccine poison*."

"The Vaccine disease took place with the usual appearances in the inoculated part, and affected *the whole constitution in the ordinary manner*; but a few eruptions broke out on the second or third day, *after a slight fever*; they were however only the large red pimples afore-mentioned, and of course not at all like the Small-Pox. Mr. Keate carried matter from this child to Brighthelmstone, where Mr. Barret inoculated two children who took the disease, and from one of these Mr. Keate inoculated three children. They had all the usual fever about the eighth day, and all had a number of eruptions. Matter from these patients was sent to Petworth, where, Mr. Andre informs me, he inoculated with it



fourteen children ; they all took the disease, and *had eruptions like the Variolous.*" Dr. P. then infers, " That in certain constitutions, or under the circumstances of certain co-operating agents, the Vaccine poison produces a disease resembling the Small-Pox ; and the eruptions resemble very much, if not exactly, some *varieties of Small-Pox.*" It is unnecessary to urge more explicitly than Dr. P.'s text expresses, that he positively regarded these eruptions as specifically Vaccine, and not Variolous. Let it be remembered, that this was at the time when he professed the *correction of the errors* of the discoverer, and that auxiliary support of the discovery, without which, he says, it could not have taken root. What, then were Dr. P.'s qualifications for this important task ; and of what description were his powers of discrimination, who could infer that " a number of eruptions after a slight fever," propagating similar eruptions and similar fever, were essential symptoms of Vaccina ? But my business here is with the fact, and we must go to Dr. P.'s " Examination," p. 74, for his confession : " Unfortunately matter was sent from the Small-Pox eruptions to Petworth, for Inoculation, in place of Vaccine matter, and there of course it produced the Small-Pox. All that could have been done by an experienced practitioner at the time, was to have taken the matter from the pock of the inoculated part which shewed the distinguishing characters of the Vaccina." Dr. P. adds, with much



indifference, "this accident, however, furnished a delightful gossip's story for those who chose to represent me and my friends as blameable, although in truth I had no concern in the practice, except furnishing a distinct case of Cow-Pock, to afford matter without eruption."

From the whole recital of Dr. P.'s it is manifest, that he will make any concession, except that the matter furnished by him for the Brighton inoculations was really Variolous; and he affects surprise at the imputations against him on this account. To prove that such was the absolute fact, we need not go further than his history. It is now well known that Variolous eruptions over the system may co-exist with the local and perfect Vaccine Pustule. We know also, that the matter of the Pustule in these circumstances produces as pure Vaccina as if the eruptions did not exist. But what was the case in the Brighton patients? They had the most absolute Small-Pox; and yet Dr. P. tells us, he afforded "a distinct case of Cow-Pock to afford matter without eruption." Now at this time Dr. P. was perfectly ignorant of the possible co-existence of Variolous eruption and Vaccine Pustule; and he conceived and insisted that the whole phenomena were Vaccine. A person of such opinions would probably take matter indifferently from the local Pustule or the general eruptions; and he acknowledges that his "*distinct case of Cow-Pox*" was an *eruptive case*. Whether



Dr. P. took matter himself, or afforded the opportunity, is immaterial. From the facts now known concerning the Vaccina as applied to this history, one of these inferences must be incontrovertible, viz.

The local Pustule in Dr. P.'s case of "distinct Cow-Pox" was variolous; or matter was taken from the Variolous Pustules, supposing, as Dr. P. did, they were Vaccine.

I hope Dr. P. will no longer impugn the motives of the propagators of this story as unjust, or term those strictures *false and ridiculous*, which are aimed at the elucidation of errors so momentous, and explications so disingenuous.

#### NOTE to Page 63.

On this fact I have the pleasure of finding, that that the opinions of the "Commission Medico-Chirurgicale institué à Milan en vertu des ordres du gouvernement Cisalpin," are in union with my own; I mean on the question of the susceptibility of the Cow-Pox after the Small-Pox. The passage, page 137, is thus: "Jenner affirme le contraire, et pense que la Vaccine peut se contracter deux fois. Pearson le nie; mais les expériences de la Commission, quoique conformes à celles de Pearson, ne sont point assez nombreuses pour refuter solidement l'opinion de Jenner."

FINIS.







