

**A review of the Report of the Royal College of Physicians of London, on vaccination / [Benjamin Moseley].**

**Contributors**

Moseley, Benjamin, 1742-1819.  
Royal College of Physicians of London.

**Publication/Creation**

London : Longman, 1808.

**Persistent URL**

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A REVIEW  
OF  
THE REPORT  
OF THE  
ROYAL COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS  
OF LONDON,  
ON  
VACCINATION.

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By BENJAMIN MOSELEY, M.D.

AUTHOR OF  
A TREATISE ON TROPICAL DISEASES;  
OF  
A TREATISE ON COFFEE;

OF  
MEDICAL TRACTS,—

*Containing Dissertations on Sugar; on the Yaws; on Obi, or  
African Witchcraft; on the Plague, and Yellow Fever of  
America; on Hospitals; on Bronchocele; on Prisons, &c.;*

OF  
A TREATISE ON HYDROPHOBIA,  
*its Prevention and Cure;*

OF  
*A Treatise on the Lues Bovilla, or Cow Pox;*

OF  
*Commentaries on the Lues Bovilla, or Cow Pox;*

AND OF  
*A Cow Pox Epistle, entitled, An Oliver for a Rowland.*

PHYSICIAN TO THE ROYAL MILITARY HOSPITAL AT CHELSEA,  
MEMBER OF THE COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS OF LONDON,  
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LEYDEN, OF THE AMERICAN  
PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY AT PHILADELPHIA, &c.

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LONDON:

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RIDGWAY, PICCADILLY; CALLOW, CROWN COURT; AND  
FAULDER, NEW BOND STREET.

1808.

No 3



77172



Nichols and Son, Printers,  
Red Lion Passage, Fleet Street.



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PART I.

**THE REPORT** of the College of Physicians on the Cow Pox, has been circulated with great industry, by those who are interested in the practice of Vaccination.

Furious partisans, in their renovated mania, hoisted it as their bloody flag; and denounced vengeance on all who should dare to oppose it.

Unterrified, however, by this Vaccine BULL, I carry on my siege as usual.—Protected by the irresistible battery of Truth, I disregard the impotent pop-guns of blockheadism.

Great was the unreasonable expectation from the College of Physicians. Half-starved vaccine Apothecaries trembled during their Cow Pox gestation. The hopeful progeny at length appears;—but it has no effect on my nerves. No, nor on those of the Publick.—Not even that soporific



operation, predicted by one of the learned body who composed it\*.

In respect to the House of Commons, excitement was not wanted; where Vaccination had worked such miracles in 1802, that there remained no doubt of the Cow Pox being an infallible preventive of the Small Pox; because, it appeared in evidence before them, that—

Some persons had Vaccinated their own children; and that one man had seen some cases of *spurious* Cow Pox; another asserted that pregnant women, and children during dentition, had undergone Vaccination with safety,—and that the course of the *spurious* disorder is quicker than the *perfect*; another believed it to be a perfect preventive of Small Pox; another said he was Drawing Master to Dr. JENNER; another, that it would ultimately cause the Small Pox only to be remembered by name; another, that the health of sickly children was mended by it; another, that it was never fatal, nor excited other diseases; another, that he had never found any *spurious* Cow Pox, but had seen many cases of *spurious* Small Pox; another, that he believed it to be equal to the Small Pox Inoculation, in preventing

\* Dr. PEMBERTON said, in his *Harveian Oration*, at the College on the 18th of October 1806, while they were employed about the Cow Pox,—“*Vestrâ auctoritate confisa, mens Publica, jam timoribus dubitationibusque turbata, conquiescet.*” Pag. 33.



the Small Pox; another, that he had endeavoured to extend Vaccine Inoculation in the Army; another, that he thought *experience had sufficiently demonstrated, that persons inoculated with the Cow Pox, are incapable of receiving the Small Pox*; another, that he believed Vaccine Inoculation will prevent the Small Pox to the extent of human life, because, he said, the *natural Cow Pox has already been proved* so to do,—and that the *spurious* sort of Cow Pox can readily be distinguished from the *real*; another, that he had one of his grandchildren inoculated with the Cow Pox, and that he played with his brother, and he was of opinion that Vaccine Inoculation is a permanent *security* against Variolous infection, and never proved fatal; another, that it was one of the most important discoveries ever made for the benefit of the human race; another, that he believed Inoculation of the Cow Pox secures the person inoculated from the Small Pox, as much as the method of Inoculation for the Small Pox; another, that he had seen but one instance of the *spurious* sort, which appeared to him to be easily distinguishable from a *genuine* pustule; another, that it is so mild as scarcely to deserve the name of a disease,—that he believed, when a patient has undergone the Cow Pox, he is *perfectly secure* from the Small Pox,—that it was the most important discovery that had ever been made in medicine,—and that if it were adopted universally,



sally, it would ultimately banish the Small Pox from the class of diseases\*.

This, with very little more, equally relative and impressive, was the whole essence of the evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons on Dr. JENNER's Petition in 1802; which put £10,000, in the first instance, into his pocket.

There was no medical rationale demanded; nor was any given. Not one ray of pathology, physiology, or medical science, was disclosed; and though there had been but three years' experience of Vaccination, and, at the utmost, only its temporary effects proved,—yet the greater part of the evidence went to a solemn pledge, that it was a permanent security against the Small Pox; and some to the irrational speculation of making it the means, by which the Small Pox was to be exterminated.

These things I have discussed, at large, in other Publications. My present design is to dissect the Evidence, which put the further sum of £20,000 into Dr. JENNER's pocket, by the House of Commons, on the 29th of July 1807, —the REPORT of the College of Physicians.

The arguments in favour of Dr. JENNER's pre-

\* See my TREATISE on the *Lues Bovilla*, or Cow Pox, 2d Ed. p. 19; and my OLIVER for a ROWLAND, 9th Ed. p. 74. Also the printed Evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons, on Dr. JENNER's Petition.



tensions on this occasion, in the House of Commons, turned chiefly on his merits as the Discoverer of Vaccination.

Whether Dr. JENNER be the *Discoverer* of Vaccination, or only the instrument by which that practice has been extended, and rendered popular, is not now under consideration.

It will not be credited by future generations, that both these large sums were granted by Parliament, without even a symptom of controversial discussion. Party tongues were dumb ; and the spirits of contention, which, on subjects of much less importance to the human race, have so often shaken the Empire, were here absorbed in sympathetic composure and unity.

But, though political party dissonance was not heard in this extraordinary concord, yet great was the individual struggle to obtain the foremost rank for praise and profusion.

One member was of opinion, that—

“The *Discoverer* of Vaccination had done more than if he had slain his thousands and tens of thousands.” Whether the Orator meant this prodigious slaughter, after the manner of Saul and David, or in the practice of Physic, was not explained.

Another member,—

“Viewed it as a *Discovery* of equal importance to that of the Longitude; for which £20,000 had been offered by Government.”

Another



Another said, that—

“The ingenious *Discoverer* had not brought forward his plan in a rude and undigested state, but in one in which it was hardly susceptible of greater improvement. His instructions for carrying his plan into execution, had been so plain and intelligible, that almost every person who saw, or heard it detailed, was able to put it in practice; and in this way, every other person being complete master of the system, the *Inventor* of it had little or no practice in carrying it into effect.”

Another, that—

“So transcendant was the service rendered by this *Discovery* to mankind, that to talk of recompence to Dr. JENNER, was out of the question. The very impossibility of coming up to the *quantum meruit* in the present instance, might throw back the mind so far, as to sink it in the other extreme.”

Another, that—

“The Small Pox had been annihilated in Marseilles.”

Another, that—

“Dr. JENNER’S system had considerably lessened the Poor Rates.”

Another, that—

“This valuable *Discovery* had been injurious to the professional reputation of the Doctor; for that in this city many, of morbid imagination,  
and



and capricious taste, had a vulgar prejudice against a person they looked on as a mere Cow Pox Doctor; and that was a matter of serious consideration\*.”

This Member was deemed to have by much the best argument, in supporting the cause; and was received with universal acclamation. To be called *Cow Pox Doctor*, by people of *morbid imagination*, and *capricious taste*, was, on all hands, agreed to be very scandalous treatment; and that Dr. JENNER deserved, at least, £20,000 for putting up with the affront.

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To understand the true character of the REPORT of the College, it is necessary to take into consideration, who the Members were that constituted the COMMITTEE for collecting the materials, on which the REPORT was founded;—who the Witnesses;—and who the selected Members from the COMMITTEE were, that digested the materials, and drew up the REPORT.

The President, and Censors at the time, of course, formed part of the Corps; and the names of the others are well known; and it is also known, that the majority of the parties concerned, had been previously engaged in supporting Vaccination. They had passed the Rubicon; aban-

\* See the *Morning Chronicle* News Paper of the 30th of July, 1807, from which these extracts are taken.



doned contingencies, and set time and experience at defiance.

They had either gone beyond the limits of moderation, as evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons in 1802; or in print; or as Members of, or Subscribers to, the Jennerian Society; or some other Cow Pox Club, or Station; or as advocates in the cause publicly, or privately.

They who blindly commit themselves to the guidance of enthusiasm, and advance on baseless hypothesis, are generally left to the choice of dishonourable obstinacy, or disgraceful recantation.

It is well known that the Fellows of the College, in general, have had no practical experience in Vaccination; nor in Small Pox Inoculation. The REPORT confesses that they are entirely unacquainted with the mischiefs of Vaccination; and their inference, that one person in three hundred, dies from Small Pox Inoculation, requires no other comment, than, that the authority which has misled them, is no authority, in the eyes of practical Inoculators\*.

If then the Cow Pox Fellows of the College had acted up to their admitted incompetency, to judge, and decide, from their own proper expe-

\* Here I beg leave to say, that in this Dissertation, wherever I mention the *Fellows* of the College, I mean only those concerned in this REPORT.



rience, on the Question proposed to them by Government, they would, without sinking the smallest part of their dignity, have confessed their inability ; and referred Government to those who, from experience, were competent ; and who have pursued the investigation without any motives of interest.

The mere operative practice of Vaccination has been chiefly carried on by Lady-doctors ; wrong-headed clergymen ; needy and dependent medicasters ; and disorderly men-midwives. No man of letters, or of the least pretensions to science, Dr. PEARSON excepted, has lately been concerned in it.

It has been, and now is, in the hands of the most ignorant of medicine. Therefore, it must have been from an impure fountain, whence the College drew their information. I suppose it is in vain for me to tell the Reporters, though it happens they are not acquainted with any mischiefs from the Cow Pox, that I know of no disease, one only excepted, which has brought more mischiefs into the world, than the Cow Pox. I have seen these mischiefs ; and almost daily see them.

May I ask these Fellows of the College, if they yet know what the Cow Pox is ? What the origin, and specific nature of this virus, which they so earnestly recommend to be poured into the veins of the beauteous infants of this country ?

Dr. JENNER said it was from that most loathsome



some disease, the *Grease*, in horses. His words are—

“In this dairy county, Gloucestershire, a great number of cows are kept, and the office of milking is performed indiscriminately by men and maid servants. One of the former having been appointed to apply dressings to the heels of a horse affected with *the Grease*, and not paying due attention to cleanliness, incautiously bears his part in milking the Cows, with some particles of the infectious matter adhering to his fingers. When this is the case, it commonly happens that a disease is communicated to the cows, and from the cows to the dairy-maids, which spreads through the farm, until most of the cattle and domestics feel its unpleasant consequences. This disease has obtained the name of the Cow Pox\*.”

Is this really the Cow Pox origin? and is the infection carried to cows in the manner here stated?

Did Dr. JENNER, before he published this opinion, prove what he asserts; by inoculating a cow, or an human being, immediately, with matter taken from the *greasy heel* of an horse?

The process is very simple; and easily performed by a man living in a dairy country.

As I believe this has not been done, may I ask

\* Dr. JENNER's first Publication, of the 21st of June, 1798, entitled, “An Inquiry into the Causes and Effects of the Cow Pox,” &c. p. 3.



the Fellows of the College if they know whether the Cow Pox in cows be a local, or a constitutional disease? If local, whether it is not possible, that the pustule may be accidental from some other cause than the *grease* of the horse's heel? If constitutional, is the pustule symptomatical, or critical, of a spontaneous, or a contagious disorder, in the animal?

There are diseases of bestial origin among the human race, in Africa, it is certain. And that there are diseases of human origin, among brutes in Africa, and also in Europe, is well known to those who have made researches on this subject.

Is the Cow Pox one of them?

Had the Reporters seen as many tumours, ulcerations, *green* discharges, rank itches, scald-heads, inveterate corrosions, distorted joints, and rotten bones, peculiar to the Cow Pox, and consequently of a new character, as I have seen, there would be a fair occasion for discussion, supposing a difference of opinion. But with those, who have never had the advantage of sight, there is no illustrating a subject by objects of colour, or comparison.

The area of a Medical Corporation may be so contracted, as to render its members incapable of moving in the great circle of human calamities; and to whom the reading of the various and combined practice of HIPPOCRATES, GALEN, and CELSUS, would be but time thrown away.

Hence,



Hence, in great cities, we see Medical Oracles and Impostors, perched on every unfortunate part and organ of the body; brooding, like Harpies, over that portion of the victim they have seized.

One pounces on the eyes; others on the ears; the teeth; the skin; the brain; the liver; the lungs; the urethra; and the uterus.

Thus, whatever mischief may be committed in one department, the Harpy that views it from another must be silent; according to the laws of jugglery.

A Medical Corporation, with so little extent of action, as that in contemplation, and further curtailed by the incroachments of Surgeons, may lose its dignity; and, when sunk into insignificance, may be considered as useless.

That many Surgeons have encroached, and do daily encroach, on the rights of the Physicians in London, is certain. Several Members of the College of Surgeons now prescribe, and take fees, as Physicians, in the metropolis, and within seven miles of it; contrary to the statutes of the realm, and injurious to the legal interests of the regular Physicians.

This, formerly, would have moved the College to have supported the Privileges granted to them by Charters and Acts of Parliament; and established in various trials by the authority of adjudged cases. The history of the College furnishes  
proper



proper examples of successful opposition to this practice, from the time of their strenuous defender, the excellent CAIUS.

Perhaps the College have been terrified by some omnipotent Surgeon, who spurns all colleagues, and arrogates the reins of physic in one hand, and of surgery in the other:—who defies Oxford and Cambridge, and abjures the aid of those that have acquired knowledge, through great expence of time and money, and supplies their places by cheap men,—who cannot read.

From arrangements thus constructed, œconomy dispenses with diplomas; and requires only an expert wielder of a pump and lancet.—The saving so resulting, except in the trifling article of human lives, does honour to the genius of innovation.

This doctrine is thought to accord with one of the axioms of the great Father of Physic; which considers,—“The art of medicine to consist in adding, and taking away\*.” That is, as has been practically illustrated,—in adding to the sufferings of the patient, and taking away his life.

I do not believe that any of the Members of the College of Physicians exceed what they conceive to be the delicate boundaries of their order, and practise Surgery, which they have a legal right to do; although no Member of the

\* *Ἰητρικὴ γὰρ ἐστὶ, προσθεσις καὶ ἀφαιρέσις· Ἀφαιρέσις μὲν τῶν ὑπερβάλλοντων, προσθεσις δὲ τῶν ἐλλειπόντων. ΠΕΡΙ ΦΥΣΩΝ.*



College of Surgeons has a right to practise Physic.

The Physicians' Charter says,—

“ For as much as the science of Physic doth  
 “ comprehend, include, and contain, the know-  
 “ ledge of Surgery, and a special member and  
 “ part of the same, therefore be it enacted, that  
 “ any of the said Company, or Fellowship of  
 “ Physicians, being able, chosen and admitted  
 “ by the said President and Fellowship of Phy-  
 “ sicians, may from time to time, as well within  
 “ the City of London, as elsewhere within this  
 “ Realm, practise and exercise the said science of  
 “ Physic in all and every its members and parts,  
 “ any Act, Statute, or Provision made to the  
 “ contrary notwithstanding.” 32 *Hen. VIII.*  
 c. 40.

The words “ being able” imply, that a person might be a Physician, without being qualified in Surgery. Yet, there have been but few Physicians of eminence belonging to the College, until of late years, who were not well acquainted with Surgery. HARVEY was an expert operator; and performed many great cures in Surgery. LINACRE, CAIUS, CALDWELL, GLISSON, WHARTON, WILLIS, and SYDENHAM, were all skilled in Surgery.

The Fellows of the College going out of their own Society, in this Cow Pox business, having undertaken it, and asking for aid from the College  
 of



of Surgeons of London, and from the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons of Dublin and Edinburgh, circumstanced as they are, may possibly be right. But their submitting to advertise for assistance in the public Newspapers, and applying to Cow Pox Clubs, and Associations, and deigning to receive information from some who live by Cow Pox and other low practice, is surely not right;—and is a proof, if not of their incompetency to answer the Requisition of Government—of their disposition towards Vaccination.

It is universally admitted that they obtained no useful information whatever by their applications to the other Colleges;—which indeed may be seen in the respective Reports of those Colleges, printed in the Appendix to that of their own.

The Edinburgh College of Physicians frankly confess, in their Report, that they know nothing of the Cow Pox. But the Dublin College of Physicians have given an opinion, which, duly considered, embraces all that can be said of the inutility of Vaccination.

They state, that—“The Small Pox is rendered a much less formidable disease in this country, (Ireland) by the frequency of Inoculation for it, than it is in other parts of his Majesty’s dominions, where prejudices against Inoculation have prevailed; hence parents, not unnaturally, ob-  
B jected



jected to the introduction of a *new disease*, rather than not recur to that, with the *mildness* and *safety* of which they were well acquainted."

This is cool, unbiassed, sober sense.

It may be urged, that our London College were the mere organs of collecting information. I would then ask, how can people, having no experience in a matter referred to them, appreciate justly the truth, or falsehood, of what is told them?—This was a Cause for a special jury.

Supposing an hundred men were to tell me that they had just returned from the Moon; and ninety-nine of them, being knaves, were ready to swear that it was made of green cheese; and that one only, being an honest man, was ready to swear it was not. I, really believing that they had all been in the Moon, and not knowing any thing of her substance myself, and ignorant of the character of the travellers,—should, without hesitation, give my verdict for the ninety-nine knaves; and pronounce that the moon was actually made of *green cheese*.

I wish the College had given us the names of the parties, and the particulars of the information they received. They have not told the Publick what I said to them. The fact is, they were overwhelmed by Cow Pox enthusiasts; and I am sorry to observe, that they delivered their opinion,

as



as will be seen, in no common style of judication, —considering the peculiarity of their situation.

The Requisition of Government to the College, originated from a motion, made by Lord HENRY PETTY in the House of Commons, on the 2d of July, 1806; while he was Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The College were thereby ordered “to report their observations and opinion upon that practice (Vaccination) upon the evidence adduced in its *support*.”

The words of the Order are remarkable. But a parental mandate to Spartan youths was never more faithfully obeyed.—The COMMITTEE kept their martialled eyes stedfastly fixed on, what they were told, was Vaccina’s *support*; and never looked awry, lest they should discover her scabs, her sores, her filth, and her deformity.

Ignorance of the Small Pox, and of the proper method of Inoculation, has made that disease terrible; and this ignorance, and this terror, have been the true *support* of Vaccination.

Before I enter into an analysis of the REPORT, further preparation is necessary for the reader. He must be apprised that a multitude of medical men made up their minds on Vaccination, not only before they gave their testimony in the House of Commons on Dr. JENNER’s Petition, but before any thing of the practice could possibly be  
B 2 known.



known. This was manifested to the world by the following Advertisement, published in the daily Newspaper, the *Morning Herald*, on the 19th of July, 1800.

### ADVERTISEMENT.

“ Many unfounded reports having been circulated, which may have a tendency to prejudice the mind of the Public against the Inoculation of the Cow Pox, we, the undersigned Physicians and Surgeons, think it our duty to declare our opinion, that *those persons who have had the Cow Pox are perfectly secure from the infection of the Small Pox.*—We also declare, that *the inoculated Cow Pox is a much milder and safer disease than the inoculated Small Pox.*

William Saunders, M.D.

Matthew Baillie, M.D.

Maxwell Garthshore, M.D.

J. C. Lettsom, M.D.

James Sims, M.D.

John Sims, M.D.

William Lister, M.D.

Robert Willan, M.D.

C. Stranger, M.D.

Alexander Crichton, M.D.

Thomas Bradley, M.D.

Thomas Denman, M.D.

Richard



Richard Croft, M.D.  
R. J. Thornton, M.D.  
John Abernethy,  
S. Chilver,  
Henry Cline,  
William Blair,  
Astley Cooper,  
J. M. Good,  
James Horsford,  
Joseph Hurlock,  
Francis Knight,  
James Leighton,  
James Moore,  
Thomas Paytherus,  
Thomas Pole,  
J. W. Phipps,  
John Ring,  
James Simpson,  
H. L. Thomas,  
Jonathan Wathen,  
Thomas Whateley."

From the tenor of this Advertisement, a person unacquainted with the fact, would suppose, that these important declarations were founded on long experience. But from the date of the Advertisement, it will be seen that there had not been time for any experience ; and the utmost which could then be known of the effects of the Cow Pox, was, that a few children had been



been vaccinated; and afterwards exposed to variolous contagion without effect, between that time and the month of June 1798;—a period of two years only,—when Dr. JENNER first published his crude notions on Vaccination\*.

The *unfounded reports*, as they are called, alluded to in the Advertisement, I have said on a former occasion, originated with me; no other person having then opposed Vaccination\*.

Four years after this Advertisement, and two years after the evidence in the House of Commons, when the deception of Vaccination had appeared in every part of the Metropolis, and had been fully detected by me, Vaccina produced new reveries; and, in one of her Queen Mab's dreams, undertook to *exterminate* the Small Pox. This will be seen by the following extract from a Publication, dated the 20th of November, 1804, by some gentlemen, who called themselves “A MEDICAL COMMITTEE, *on the Cases of SUPPOSED Small Pox after Vaccination.*”

This perspicuous Committee, notwithstanding many children were inoculated, and had the *real* Small Pox, from the subjects of their investigation, and which they knew, allowed the disease to be nothing more than *supposed* Small Pox.

\* I began my opposition to Vaccination in September 1798, three months after the doctrine was promulgated; on principles which time and experience have justified. See my “TREATISE on the Cow Pox,” 2d Ed. p. 7.



The Cases were those of Mr. Hodges's two daughters, in Fullwood's Rents, Holborn. These children had been vaccinated at the Small Pox Hospital by Mr. Wachsell; one of them in October 1800; the other in May 1802. They had been afterwards repeatedly exposed to variolous contagion, and escaped infection; but were both attacked, and loaded with the Small Pox, in September 1804, when it raged epidemically in London. This Committee were not the most extraordinary visitors of these children. Almost all the medical men in the Metropolis saw them; and many wise heads did not think the cases either *supposed* or *real* Small Pox\*.

After a toil of many days, registering various observations on subjects inoculated from these children, all having the Small Pox, and having positive proof before their eyes of the inefficacy of the Cow Pox for the end they proposed, the Committee, deeply weighing all things, issued the following fiat, for Exterminating the Small Pox.

“ The COMMITTEE, therefore, with one accord, subscribes to the established opinion, that if Vaccination were universally adopted, it would

\* For an account of these Cases, and of this SUPPOSING COMMITTEE, see my TREATISE on the Cow Pox, 2d Ed. p. 82, 83, 84. 104.



afford the means of finally EXTERMINATING the Small Pox."

### COMMITTEE.

Dr. Gower,  
Dr. Ash,  
Dr. Pemberton,  
Dr. Willan,  
Dr. Temple,  
Dr. Clarke,  
Dr. Croft,  
Dr. Yelloly,  
Dr. Skey,  
Mr. Addington,  
Mr. Pears,  
Mr. Morgan,  
Mr. Wigham.

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I must next in order take Dr. PEMBERTON'S *Harveian Oration*; delivered at the College on the 18th of October 1806. This will,—besides marking the Cow Pox progress, give some idea of the temper of his brethren, the Cow Pox Fellows of the College; at the very time they were preparing their REPORT for Government.

On this occasion, the learned Doctor gave us a fresh specimen of his Cow Pox sentiments; and acquitted himself,—as we say when a lady is brought to bed,—as well as can be expected.

It



It is easily perceived in this Oration, that the Doctor had not forgotten the memorable Fullwood's Rents SUPPOSING COMMITTEE. We recognize the *veteris vestigia flammæ*, by which the Small Pox was to disappear, in total eclipse.

I hope the Doctor,—for whom I have a proper respect,—will excuse the observations I shall make, on the manner in which he has treated Anti-Cow Poxers.

If the Cow Pox were\*, what enthusiasm has proclaimed, it might have been justly mentioned, in the same breath, with the discovery of the Circulation of the Blood. It would then be what Dr. PEMBERTON, and many other members of the College think it is; what every good man wishes it was;—and what I know it is not.

If the Doctor really thinks that there are but few, if any, instances in which the security of Vaccination has failed, proved on good authority†; and that all the Cases which have been *impudently* published, are mere *falsehoods, tricks, illusions, snares, and cunning frauds‡*,

\* “—— si firmo nitatur fundamine.” P. 31.

† “—— paucissima esse exempla, si quæ forsitan fuerint, certâ et indubitâtâ auctoritate firmata, quibus hocce inventum spem fefellit.” P. 32.

‡ “Neque id etiam ulli, ut opinor, latet, scripta contra hoc Inventum (Vaccination) ubique exstare, *effrænata quâdam audaciâ publicè venditata*, quæ *dolos omnes præstigiasque* præ oculis populi ostentant, ut mentem publicam captent, *illusionibusque decipiant*.”



—I must inform the Doctor, that he is mistaken; and that such language is not the result of unbiassed reflection; nor conformable to the prudence and moderation, recommended by the statutes of the College, in supporting a difference of opinion.

If HARVEY were *living*, as the Doctor says he was when he *saw* his adversaries vanquished, and his doctrine universally received\*, he would not have approved of this language; particularly in the learned Doctor's situation, and on the occasion of his Oration.—We have had too much of this *lenocinian*† elegance of expression, from the Cow Pox fraternity already, where better was not to be expected.—But before that Chair, in which “such a race of Heroes‡” have been seated, and before that PREFECT who bears the buffetings of hard fortune so wonderfully§, we never expected to see

“In his scriptis, ita callidè *vera*, ad hanc causam nihil pertinentia, cum *falsis* miscent, ut non modò incautus *laqueis* suis irretiant, sed prudentes solertesque etiam confundant, quorum scilicet summa diligentia vix sufficit ad *fraudem* adeo *vafre* implexam plenè apertèque evolvendam.” P. 32, 33.

\* “Ipse videns vivensque.” P. 14. “Ipse adhuc in vivis manens conspexit.” P. 15.

† “—— neque lenocinia verborum curiosius insectans.” P. 2.

‡ “—— talem Heroum progeniem.” P. 30.

§ “Quem nullæ rerum angustiae exanimant; nulli labores fatigant.” P. 31.

a crude,



a crude, undigested medical project, displayed in the most affronting language, put into competition with that stupendous, and finished work,—the CIRCULATION OF THE BLOOD. No cause was ever sustained by epithets without application; aspersion without argument; and contradiction without proof.

It was not by such means, that HARVEY soared above RIOLAN. HARVEY was as modest in expression, as he was correct in thought. Unaffected, and unadorned, Truth bore his mighty conception on her sacred wings, beyond the vanity of ignorance, the delusion of theory, and the credulity of cultivated prejudice.

Every reader of medicinal history knows the complete state of demonstration, to which HARVEY brought the Circulation of the Blood, for several years, while lecturing thereon at the College\*, before he published his discovery; which was first done at Frankfort in 1628.—Was Dr. JENNER's project in that state, when he rushed headlong into the world with it? Is he the perfect man, who does nothing by halves†?

No man will deny, but rather readily agree with the learned Doctor, that it would be an eternal monument of the medical art, to exter-

\* “Nonum prematur in annum.” HOR.

† “Nihil actum reputans, si quid adhuc superest agendum.” P. 32.



minate the Small Pox\*; and that such a discovery would surpass all others, that have ever been made in medicine †.

The learned Doctor should remember, that there are people so dull, as to set no estimation on *discoveries*, that have not been *discovered*. I, unfortunately, am one of that sort.—When I find a man has discovered a method of changing the nature of the atmosphere, or of the winds, or of the tides, I shall then begin to think, that the discovery of the *Leathern-Bottle* was no discovery at all. But until then, I hope the learned Doctor will excuse me, if I say, I think *that* was a real discovery;—

“And wish in Heaven his soul may dwell,  
Who first devised the Leather Bottel.”

So much for the *discovery*, that is to be *discovered*,—for exterminating the Small Pox!

It is evident to me that HARVEY, during his whole life, was more anxious to serve others than himself. He had neither ostentation, nor vanity. Hence, there is less known of HARVEY'S private history, than of any other man's of his

\* “—— æternum quasi artis nostræ monumentum, quæ dirissimam pestem, humanum genus undique vastantem, tantâ clade profligare potuerit.” P. 33.

† “Vobis proponam rem nuperrimè exploratam, quæ, si *firmitate nitatur fundamine*, omnibus aliis inventis longissimè præcellit, qualia è primordiis rerum ad hominum conditionem sublevandam unquam fuerint excogitata.” P. 31.



professional celebrity. HARVEY was one, among the few instances, of early maturity, and longevity.

When nineteen years old, in 1597, after having been three years at Gonville and Caius College in Cambridge,—where he was admitted on the 31st of May, 1593\*, at the age of sixteen,—he determined on going to Padua.—There he remained for nearly five years; and took his Doctor's degree on the 25th of April, 1602, and returned to England.

When I was at Padua in 1787, I looked for the arms of HARVEY among a multitude which adorn the Public Hall of the University.—But his were not there. There were several of the English, of his standing. It was the custom, at Padua, for every person who had taken a Doctor's degree, to have his arms and name hung up in the University when he went away.

After such a lapse of time, it was not likely that I should obtain any anecdotes concerning him at Padua.—But I did not omit to inquire. Among other things, on which I could obtain no additional information, was the tradition of the extraordinary preservation of his life, in the com-

\* He was entered in the College Books as follows:—

“William Harvie, the son of Thomas Harvie, born at Folkstone, educated at Canterbury School, 16 years of age, was admitted on the last day of May 1593, a Pensioner of this College; under the tuition of Mr. George Estey, one of the Fellows.”

mencement



mencement of his journey to Padua; in which there appeared an interposition, of something more than human intelligence.

When he arrived at Dover, with several other young men, in order to embark for the Continent, in their way to Italy, they went with their passports to Sir Henry Brooke, then commanding at Dover Castle.

When HARVEY presented his passport, Sir Henry told him he should not go; but must remain his prisoner. HARVEY desired to know the reason, and to be informed of what offence he had committed? The governor replied, it was his pleasure; and gave him no further satisfaction. In the evening, which was very clear, the packet-boat sailed, with HARVEY's companions on board. In the night, there arose a terrible storm, in which the vessel was lost; and all the passengers perished.

The next day, the melancholy news was brought to Dover. The Governor then explained himself to HARVEY; whom he knew only by sight. He told HARVEY, that, on the night before his arrival, he had a perfect vision of him, in a dream;—coming to Dover to cross over to Calais; and that he had a warning to stop him.

Great and glorious was indeed the use which HARVEY made of a life, so miraculously protected.—But this English Constellation, did not  
appear



appear in that dark firmament of Anatomy, which Dr. PEMBERTON has suggested\*.

ASELLIUS then dissected dead and living animals, and demonstrated at Pavia; which CARPUS† had long done before at Bologna, and EUSTACHIUS at Rome.

VESALIUS, and FALLOPIUS, had preceded the renowned FABRICIUS ab Aquapendente at Padua; who taught in that University for nearly half a century.

It was from these restorers of the Anatomic art,—these correctors of the errors of the ancients, whose grand discoveries are well known,—that HARVEY acquired all his Anatomical Physiological, and Chirurgical knowledge.

The spirit of research, and emulation, which inspired the Medical Schools of Italy in those days, especially at Padua, in the time of FABRICIUS,—thirty years before HARVEY became his disciple,—still flourished when he was there; and was never equalled in any University in the world.

\* “Post longam illam et caliginosam Anatomix noctem, &c.” P. 12.

† CARPUS is related to have dissected two Spaniards alive; in which it is said he indulged as much hatred as curiosity. But he fled for the crime from Bologna to Florence, where he died in 1550.—N. B. VESALIUS died in 1564; EUSTACHIUS in 1574; FALLOPIUS in 1563; FABRICIUS in 1619. HARVEY was born in 1578, and died in 1657.



It was there, from the luminous genius of FABRICIUS — that “*alienus homo*,” — in the happy climate of Italy, that HARVEY acquired all his light, expansion of thought, and persevering practical habits; which our gloomy skies, and our untravelled countrymen, are neither capable of giving, or receiving.—The road which led to the Circulation of Blood, was not explored in the hypochondrical geography, from Cambridge to Warwick-lane.

Why Dr. PEMBERTON should be so very *war-like* against “*alieni homines*,” meaning Physicians who have not graduated at Oxford or Cambridge, I cannot conceive.

I suppose he is aware, that the immortal HARVEY was an *alienus homo*. So was CAIUS. Nay, the renowned LINACRE himself, acquired all his learning at Rome and Florence. The public state of physick then, in England, was in a kind of Cow Pox stupefaction,—no better; and almost as barbarous about *Contagion*, and *Quarantine*, as it is at present.

Does Dr. PEMBERTON know how many of the first forty Fellows, mentioned in the Charter, were *alieni homines*? and what description of people that Charter directs should be Fellows in future?

The words of the Charter are—

“ And we do further will and ordain that the  
 “ Fellows of the said College shall be chosen out  
 “ of



“ of the Commonalty (Licentiates) of the said  
 “ College hereafter, by virtue of these presents;  
 “ to be nominated, or chosen, by the President,  
 “ and Fellows of the same College\*.”

It was duly qualified people, from learning and experience, the Charter had in view, and not merely Graduates of either University, who might not be qualified. For they have no more right to practise in London and within seven miles of it, until they have been examined and admitted by the College, than the “ *alieni homines* ;” whose innocent and precious blood Dr. PEMBERTON wishes to shed †.

It was under the protection of their Charters ‡, that the College fined and imprisoned Dr. BONHAM, who was a Graduate of Cambridge; and sanctioned by the same Charters, they would not permit Dr. BUTLER of Cambridge, to practise on his occasional visits to London, though strongly solicited by the Lord Treasurer BURLEIGH, unless he promised, if he came to live in town, to submit to the customary examinations of the College. And it was given in opinion by Lord Chief Justice POPHAM, “ that no man, “ though never so learned a Physician or Doctor,

\* 15 CAR. II.

† “ *In tali causa, ubi is vestrū invenitur, qui non ad arma currat?—clamandoque pro salute nostræ reipublicæ propugnet?*” P. 30.

‡ 14 and 32 HEN. VIII.



“ may practise in London, or within seven miles, “ without the College Licence.” Even the Archbishop of Canterbury’s Licence is not sufficient authority; as appeared in the case of TANNER, recited in the Proceedings of the College against EMPIRICKS; where it will also be found, that any person having been in Holy Orders cannot be permitted to practise physic, nor even to be examined by the College; as contrary to the Statutes of the College, the Statute Laws of the Realm, and the Ecclesiastical Canons. This was acted on, and determined by the College, in the cases of Dr. BURGESS and Dr. LEIGHTON.

Under these circumstances, the Fellows of the College have no occasion for alarm; if they perform their own duty, by pursuing the steps of their predecessors.

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*Favete linguis!*—I am now almost before the College.

I shall here present the reader with the Circular Letter of that learned body, requesting, from all sorts of individuals, what idle school-boys call—*sense*; to enable them to perform the task set them by Government.



To Dr. MOSELEY.

SIR,

His Majesty has been graciously pleased, in compliance with an address from the honourable House of Commons, to direct his Royal College of Physicians of London, to enquire into the present state of Vaccination in the United Kingdom, to report their observations and opinion upon that practice, upon the evidence adduced in its support, and upon the causes which have hitherto retarded its general adoption.

The College are now engaged in the investigation of these several propositions; and request you to communicate to them the result of your experience and enquiries on the subject, that they may be thereby assisted in making their intended Report as perfect as possible.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

By order of the Royal }  
College of Physicians. }

JAMES HERVEY, Reg.

October 23, 1806.

In compliance, I furnished the College with the result of my experience and inquiries, by sending them my Writings on the Cow Pox; with the following Letter, as explanatory of my sentiments on that part of the Requisition referred to.



Albany, 18th November, 1806.

SIR,

I believe there are two causes which have retarded the general adoption of Vaccination.

1st. Experience has shewn, that it is no security against the Small Pox.

2d. That it frequently occasions diseases, of a new character ;—difficult to cure,—and sometimes fatal.

I beg, Sir, you will do me the favour to present to the College, the two Dissertations which I now take the liberty of sending to you for that purpose ;—published by me. One, entitled—A TREATISE on the *Lues Bovilla*, or Cow Pox ; the other, COMMENTARIES, on the same subject.

In these Tracts will be found, abundant support of the opinion, which I have the honour to submit to the College.

I am, Sir, with great respect,

Your most obedient humble servant,

B. MOSELEY.

To Dr. HERVEY, &c. &c. &c.

On the 4th of December, I received another Letter from the College, requesting my attendance at the next meeting of the COMMITTEE, on the 18th of the same month. I attended accordingly.

Among



Among the Fellows present, were, I believe, Sir Lucas Pepys, Doctors Budd, Hervey, Hunter, Roberts, Ainslie, Stone, Pemberton, Powell, Heberden, Ash, Maton, Frank, and Lambe.

I desired that the Questions, the COMMITTEE intended to ask me, might be put down in writing; and that my answers should be so likewise, immediately on the spot.

Before my examination commenced, I asked the President Sir LUCAS PEPYS, if he had read the Tracts I had written on the Cow Pox, and sent to the College? He said, he had; and that they were then before me on the table. Which I saw.

The following are the Questions then proposed to me by the President; with my Answers taken down by Dr. POWELL; a copy of which, as I desired, was very politely sent me by Dr. POWELL.

Q. 1. What is the extent of your personal experience respecting Vaccination?

A. I never Vaccinated; but have had abundant personal experience in the disease.

Q. 2. What is, in your opinion, the number of cases in which Vaccination has failed ultimately to prevent subsequent Small Pox?

A. I have seen numerous Cases of failure, and have published many; of the number of which I have kept no account.

Q. 3.



Q. 3. Is it your opinion that Vaccination has produced as its consequence any new diseases, especially Cutaneous ones?

A. Yes; it is my firm opinion it has.

Q. 4. What are such diseases?

A. I have described them in my Publications, now before you on the table; to which I refer.

Q. 5. Do you conceive that the opinion of those Physicians who have paid particular attention to Cutaneous diseases, should have any weight in determining how far any new Cutaneous disorder has appeared since the introduction of Cow Pox?

A. Of course,—if a Physician has made Cutaneous diseases his particular study, and be a man of observation, talents, and correctness, with unbiassed judgment, his opinion would have great weight;—but I know no such man.

Q. 6. Have you met with any failures of the preventive powers of Vaccination, or with any Cases of new Cutaneous disease since your last Publication on the subject?

A. Yes, of failure; and also of sores, and ulcerations.

Q. 7. Please to mention the instances.

A. I decline giving the particular Cases; as I intend to publish them\*.

\* I have fulfilled this promise; by publishing an hundred of these Cases, in the Appendix to my OLIVER for a Row-



Q. 8. If fifty persons who have been Vaccinated, resist Small Pox infection five years afterwards, do you not conceive that this resistance arises out of some preventive power which is still exerting its influence on the constitution?

A. I believe it to have a temporary, but uncertain preservative power; on which there can be placed no dependance.

Q. 9. Do you know of any instance of a person dying of Small Pox, after having previously had the Cow Pox?

A. Yes; several.

a ROWLAND. The summary of which is,—

Small Pox after Cow Pox	-	-	-	-	67
Diseases in consequence of Vaccination	-	-	-	-	25
Deaths by Small Pox after Cow Pox, and by Cow Pox diseases	-	-	-	-	8
Total					100

Previous to this, there had been published by me, and a few others whom I furnished with most of their Cases, exclusive of the Surgeons Return, and Newspaper accounts, the following well-authenticated statement, of Cow Pox Failures, Mischiefs, and Deaths.

Small Pox, after Cow Pox	-	-	-	418
Deaths, by Small Pox after Cow Pox	-	-	-	51
Diseases, in consequence of Vaccination, mostly				
Cutaneous, and of a new character	-	-	-	257
Deaths, by Cow Pox diseases	-	-	-	34
				<hr/>
			Total	760

Q. 10.



*Q.* 10. If any, please to inform the COMMITTEE what they are, and where the particulars of such Cases can be learnt?

*A.* Such Cases may be found in my Publications, now before you; one instance has happened since my last Publication, at Stockwell.

*Q.* 11. Can you favour us with the number of failures you have met with since the time of your last Publication?

*A.* No.

*Q.* 12. What are the peculiar appearances of the new Cutaneous diseases which have appeared after Vaccination?

*A.* They are described in my Publications on the Table. In respect to Edward Gee's Case, I stated the fact from my own observation. I saw that child several times\*.

Here ended my examination before the College. I thought it right to have the Questions and Answers committed to writing; not only for the sake of brevity, and to avoid a Babylonian confusion of tongues, but to render it impossible that there should be any misunderstanding.

\* This is the Case, mentioned in my COMMENTARIES, and OLIVER for a ROWLAND,—where patches of long hair, resembling that of a Cow, grew on the Cow Pox eschars. The patient died in the most miserable manner from Cow Pox ulcers, and Vaccine diarrhœa. The Fellows of the College might all of them have seen this Case if they had chosen; as I published it many months before the boy's death.



## PART II.

THESE transactions related, I shall proceed to the REPORT, and review its principles; and the language in which these principles are conveyed.

To prevent all mistakes, and doubts, which might arise from quoting particular passages, I shall give the whole REPORT, verbatim, as printed by the Order of the House of Commons, on the 8th of July 1807.

I have numbered the Paragraphs, in addition to the original Sections, for the facility of reference.

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REPORT of THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS OF LONDON, *on* VACCINATION.

1.—The Royal College of Physicians of London, having received His Majesty's Commands, in compliance with an Address from the House of Commons, “to inquire into the state of Vaccine Inoculation in the United Kingdom, to report their Opinion and Observations upon that Practice, upon the evidence which has been adduced in its support, and upon the Causes which have hitherto retarded its general adoption;”—Have applied themselves diligently to the business referred to them.

2.—Deeply impressed with the importance of an inquiry which equally involves the lives of individuals, and the public prosperity, they have made every exertion to investigate the subject fully and impartially. In aid of the knowledge and experience of the members of their own body, they



they have applied separately to each of the Licentiates of the College; they have corresponded with the Colleges of Physicians of Dublin and Edinburgh; with the Colleges of Surgeons of London, Edinburgh, and Dublin; they have called upon the Societies established for Vaccination, for an account of their practice, to what extent it has been carried on, and what has been the result of their experience; and they have, by public notice, invited individuals to contribute whatever information they had severally collected. They have in consequence been furnished with a mass of Evidence communicated with the greatest readiness and candour, which enables them to speak with confidence upon all the principal points referred to them.

3.—I. During eight years which have elapsed since Dr. Jenner made his discovery public, the progress of Vaccination has been rapid, not only in all parts of the United Kingdom, but in every quarter of the civilized world. In the British Islands some hundred thousands have been vaccinated, in our possessions in the East Indies upwards of 800,000, and among the nations of Europe the practice has become general. Professional men have submitted it to the fairest trials; and the Public have, for the most part, received it without prejudice. A few indeed have stood forth the adversaries of Vaccination, on the same grounds as their predecessors who opposed the Inoculation for the Small Pox, falsely led by hypothetical reasoning in the investigation of a subject which must be supported, or rejected, upon facts and observation only. With these few exceptions, the testimony in favour of Vaccination has been most strong and satisfactory; and the practice of it, though it has  
received



received a check in some quarters, appears still to be upon the increase in most parts of the United Kingdom.

4.—II. The College of Physicians, in giving their Observations and Opinions on the practice of Vaccination, think it right to premise, that they advance nothing but what is supported by the multiplied and unequivocal evidence which has been brought before them, and they have not considered any facts as proved but what have been stated from actual observation.

5.—Vaccination appears to be in general perfectly safe; the instances to the contrary being extremely rare. The disease excited by it is slight, and seldom prevents those under it from following their ordinary occupations. It has been communicated with safety to pregnant women, to children during dentition, and in their earliest infancy; in all which respects it possesses material advantages over Inoculation for the Small Pox; which, though productive of a disease generally mild, yet sometimes occasions alarming symptoms, and is in a few cases fatal.

6.—The security derived from Vaccination against the Small Pox, if not absolutely perfect, is as nearly so as can perhaps be expected from any human discovery; for amongst several hundred thousand cases, with the results of which the College have been made acquainted, the number of alledged failures has been surprizingly small, so much so, as to form certainly no reasonable objection to the general adoption of Vaccination; for it appears that there are not nearly so many failures, in a given number of vaccinated persons, as there are deaths in an equal number of persons inoculated for the Small Pox. Nothing can more clearly demonstrate the superiority



riority of Vaccination over the Inoculation of the Small Pox, than this consideration; and it is a most important fact, which has been confirmed in the course of this inquiry, that in almost every case, where the Small Pox has succeeded Vaccination, whether by Inoculation or by casual infection, the disease has varied much from its ordinary course; it has neither been the same in the violence nor in the duration of its symptoms, but has, with very few exceptions, been remarkably mild, as if the Small Pox had been deprived, by the previous Vaccine disease, of all its usual malignity.

7.—The testimonies before the College of Physicians are very decided in declaring, that Vaccination does less mischief to the constitution, and less frequently gives rise to other diseases, than the Small Pox, either natural or inoculated.

8.—The College feel themselves called upon to state this strongly, because it has been objected to Vaccination, that it produces new, unheard-of, and monstrous diseases. Of such assertions no proofs have been produced, and, after diligent inquiry, the College believe them to have been either the inventions of designing, or the mistakes of ignorant men. In these respects then, in its mildness, its safety, and its consequences, the individual may look for the peculiar advantages of Vaccination. The benefits which flow from it to society are infinitely more considerable, it spreads no infection, and can be communicated only by Inoculation. It is from a consideration of the pernicious effects of the Small Pox, that the real value of Vaccination is to be estimated. The natural Small Pox has been supposed to destroy a sixth Part of all whom



whom it attacks; and that even by Inoculation, where that has been general in parishes and towns, about one in 300 has usually died. It is not sufficiently known, or not adverted to, that nearly one-tenth, some years more than one-tenth of the whole mortality in London, is occasioned by the Small Pox; and however beneficial the Inoculation of the Small Pox may have been to individuals, it appears to have kept up a constant source of contagion, which has been the means of increasing the number of deaths by what is called the Natural disease. It cannot be doubted that this mischief has been extended by the inconsiderate manner in which great numbers of persons, even since the introduction of Vaccination, are still every year inoculated with the Small Pox, and afterwards required to attend two or three times a week at the places of Inoculation, through every stage of their illness.

9.—From this, then, the Public are to expect the great and uncontroverted superiority of Vaccination, that it communicates no casual infection, and, while it is a protection to the individual, it is not prejudicial to the Public.

10.—III. The College of Physicians, in reporting their Observations and Opinions on the evidence adduced in support of Vaccination, feel themselves authorised to state that a body of evidence so large, so temperate, and so consistent, was perhaps never before collected upon any medical question. A discovery so novel, and to which there was nothing analogous known in nature, though resting on the experimental observations of the Inventor, was at first received with diffidence: it was not, however, difficult for others to repeat his experiments, by which the truth of his observations



tions was confirmed, and the doubts of the cautious were gradually dispelled by extensive experience. At the commencement of the practice, almost all that were vaccinated were afterwards submitted to the Inoculation of the Small Pox: many underwent this operation a second, and even a third time; and the uniform success of these trials quickly bred confidence in the new discovery. But the evidence of the security derived from Vaccination against the Small Pox does not rest alone upon those who afterwards underwent Variolous Inoculation, although amounting to many thousands; for it appears, from numerous observations communicated to the College, that those who have been vaccinated are equally secure against the contagion of epidemic Small Pox. Towns indeed, and districts of the country, in which Vaccination had been general, have afterwards had the Small Pox prevalent on all sides of them without suffering from the contagion. There are also in the evidence a few examples of epidemic Small Pox having been subdued by a general Vaccination. It will not, therefore, appear extraordinary that many who have communicated their observations should state, that though at first they thought unfavourably of the practice, experience had now removed all their doubts.

11.—It has been already mentioned, that the evidence is not universally favourable, although it is in truth nearly so, for there are a few who entertain sentiments differing widely from those of the great majority of their brethren. The College, therefore, deemed it their duty, in a particular manner, to enquire upon what grounds and evidence the opposers of Vaccination rested their opinions. From personal examination, as  
well



well as from their writings, they endeavoured to learn the full extent and weight of their objections. They found them without experience in Vaccination, supporting their opinions by hearsay information, and hypothetical reasoning, and, upon investigating the facts which they advanced, they found them to be either misapprehended or misrepresented; or that they fell under the description of cases of imperfect Small Pox, before noticed, and which the College have endeavoured fairly to appreciate.

12.—The practice of Vaccination is but of eight years standing, and its promoters, as well as opponents, must keep in mind, that a period so short is too limited to ascertain every point, or to bring the art to that perfection of which it may be capable. The truth of this will readily be admitted by those acquainted with the history of Inoculation for the Small Pox. Vaccination is now, however, well understood, and its character accurately described. Some deviations from the usual course have occasionally occurred, which the author of the practice has called spurious Cow Pox, by which the Public have been misled, as if there were a true and a false Cow Pox; but it appears, that nothing more was meant, than to express irregularity or difference from that common form and progress of the Vaccine pustule from which its efficacy is inferred. Those who perform Vaccination ought therefore to be well instructed, and should have watched with the greatest care the regular progress of the pustule, and learnt the most proper time for taking the matter. There is little doubt that some of the failures are to be imputed to the inexperience of the early Vaccinators; and it is not unreasonable to expect that farther observation



tion will yet suggest many improvements, that will reduce the number of anomalous cases, and furnish the means of determining, with greater precision, when the Vaccine disease has been effectually received.

13.—Though the College of Physicians have confined themselves in estimating the evidence to such facts as have occurred in their own country, because the accuracy of them could best be ascertained; they cannot be insensible to the confirmation these receive from the Reports of the successful introduction of Vaccination, not only into every part of Europe, but throughout the vast Continents of Asia and America.

14.—IV. Several causes have had a partial operation in retarding the general adoption of Vaccination; some writers have greatly undervalued the security it affords, while others have considered it to be of a temporary nature only; but if any reliance is to be placed on the statements which have been laid before the College, its power of protecting the human body from the Small Pox, though not perfect indeed, is abundantly sufficient to recommend it to the prudent and dispassionate, especially as the Small Pox, in the few instances where it has subsequently occurred, has been generally mild and transient. The opinion that Vaccination affords but a temporary security is supported by no analogy in nature, nor by the facts which have hitherto occurred. Although the experience of Vaccine Inoculation be only of a few years, yet the same disease, contracted by the milkers of Cows, in some districts, has been long enough known to ascertain that in them at least the unsusceptibility of the Small Pox contagion does not wear out by time. Another cause is, the charge  
against



against Vaccination of producing various new diseases of frightful and monstrous appearance.

15.—Representations of some of these have been exhibited in prints, in a way to alarm the feelings of parents, and to infuse dread and apprehension into the minds of the uninformed. Publications with such representations have been widely circulated; and though they originate either in gross ignorance, or wilful misrepresentation, yet have they lessened the confidence of many, particularly of the lower classes, in Vaccination; no permanent effects, however, in retarding the progress of Vaccination, need be apprehended from such causes, for, as soon as the Public shall view them coolly and without surprise, they will excite contempt, and not fear.

16.—Though the College of Physicians are of opinion that the progress of Vaccination has been retarded in a few places by the above causes, yet they conceive that its general adoption has been prevented by causes far more powerful, and of a nature wholly different. The lower orders of society can hardly be induced to adopt precautions against evils which may be at a distance; nor can it be expected from them, if these precautions are attended with expence. Unless, therefore, from the immediate dread of epidemic Small Pox, neither Vaccination nor Inoculation appear at any time to have been general, and when the cause of terror has passed by, the Public have relapsed again into a state of indifference and apathy, and the salutary practice has come to a stand. It is not easy to suggest a remedy for an evil so deeply imprinted in human nature. To inform and instruct the public mind may do much, and it will probably be found that the progress of Vaccination in different parts of the United Kingdom will

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will be in proportion to that instruction. Were encouragement given to Vaccination, by offering it to the poorer classes without expence, there is little doubt but it would in time supersede the Inoculation for the Small Pox, and thereby various sources of Variolous infection would be cut off; but, till Vaccination becomes general, it will be impossible to prevent the constant recurrence of the natural Small Pox by means of those who are inoculated, except it should appear proper to the Legislature to adopt, in its wisdom, some measure, by which those who still, from terror or prejudice, prefer the Small Pox to the Vaccine disease, may, in thus consulting the gratification of their own feelings, be prevented from doing mischief to their neighbours.

17.—From the whole of the above considerations, the College of Physicians feel it their duty strongly to recommend the practice of Vaccination. They have been led to this conclusion by no preconceived opinion, but by the most unbiassed judgment, formed from an irresistible weight of evidence which has been laid before them. For when the number, the respectability, the disinterestedness, and the extensive experience of its advocates, is compared with the feeble and imperfect testimonies of its few opposers; and when it is considered that many, who were once adverse to Vaccination, have been convinced by further trials, and are now to be ranked among its warmest supporters, the truth seems to be established as firmly as the nature of such a question admits; so that the College of Physicians conceive that the Public may reasonably look forward with some degree of hope to the time when all opposition shall cease, and the general concurrence of mankind shall at length



length be able to put an end to the ravages at least, if not to the existence, of the Small Pox.

LUCAS PEPYS, President.

Royal College of Physicians, }  
10th April, 1807. }

JA. HERVEY, Register.

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The observations I have to make on this REPORT, shall not be numerous; as Cases are daily occurring, and a sufficient number has been already published, to establish, beyond the effect of contradiction, the two great propositions which I originally laid down, and have uniformly maintained.

- I. The Cow Pox is no security against the Small Pox.*
- II. The Cow Pox frequently occasions diseases of a new character;—difficult to cure, and sometimes fatal.*

If I find embarrassment in adopting a suitable manner of treating the REPORT, and free from exceptions, it is, because I am the principal Anti-Cow Pox object of its hostility.—If I trespass on decorum, let it be remembered that I am not merely a by-stander; nor am I like the REPORTERS, who have so splendidly shewn, that

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individual



individual intemperance and asperity may be curbed and smoothed, by multitudinous counsel.

I know this REPORT is virtually an act of the whole College. Yet I also know, that it is in reality, the act, and I trust contains the sentiments, of a few individuals of the Fellows, only.

Be that as it may, no person can suppose, that I would suffer such an attack on the facts and doctrines I have advanced, to remain unnoticed, longer than the impediment of my want of leisure existed.

The subject, from its nature, could not fail to interest the world. If the Cow Pox prevented the Small Pox, it could have no opposer of long duration. The proof must soon come home to every man.

Had the College left the cause to time, from which nothing can arrest its fate, it should have escaped further persecution from me. But we find it is still doomed to suffer; and, like a crooked and distorted monster, is murdered by attempts to make it straight and comely.

The Reporters begin, by telling us, the College—"have *applied themselves* diligently to the business referred to them;" and that "the subject must be supported, or rejected, upon facts and observation only." (3.) The latter sagacious remark, is probably meant as an admonition to those who have acted solely on facts and observation;—the opposers of Vaccination.

It



It is asserted in the REPORT, that “*a few indeed* have stood forth the adversaries of Vaccination, on the same grounds as *their predecessors* who opposed the Inoculation for the Small Pox, *falsely* led by hypothetical reasoning, &c. : with *these few exceptions*, the testimony in favour of Vaccination has been most strong and satisfactory, and the practice of it, though it has received a check in some quarters, *appears* still to be upon the increase in most parts of the United Kingdom.” (3.)

The Reporters here shew great want of knowledge respecting the history of Small Pox Inoculation ; by attempting to make it out, that the old opposers of Small Pox Inoculation are the doctrinal predecessors of the modern advocates for Small Pox Inoculation. It is to be hoped they are more correctly acquainted with the heraldry of other diseases, than they seem to be with that of the Small Pox.

Better information will convince them, that the old opposers of the Small Pox were the predecessors of the modern opposers of the Small Pox ; —an unphilosophical and superficial class of bigots.

As to the “*few indeed*” adversaries of Vaccination,—that I am one of them is well known : the first, and for several years, the only public adversary Vaccination had. Even at present, it has no other adversary among the Members of the  
the



the College of Physicians ; which the Reporters know. The same solitary instance of Cow Pox opposition, is as remarkable among the College of Surgeons,—in Mr. BIRCH. But what of that, if “ facts and observation only” are to decide ?

Or, is the subject to be submitted to a poll, and carried by a majority, like an Election ?

Can facts be produced by men, who believe that one disease will for ever prevent another, between which there is neither connection, nor analogy ? Will the observations of men be respected, who, in the most immoral manner, recommended a practice,—“ which equally involves the lives of individuals, and the public prosperity,” (2.)—the effects of which, they were totally ignorant ?

Ingrafting diseases, even from one human being, on another, might reasonably alarm the cautious and prudent ; before time and experience had sanctioned its beneficial consequences. But downright folly, or insanity, and nothing else, can plead for the rashness of recommending a practice for contaminating the whole human race with a bestial distemper, neither sanctioned by time, nor experience ; and more especially while the subject is under controversy, and the objections against it neither removed, nor palliated.

The Public must ever be obliged to those who oppose the forcing a new disease on them, before it has been thoroughly investigated ;  
its



its safety ascertained ; its salutary consequences proved ; and that it performs what it is professed to do,—to diminish, instead of augmenting, the number of human ills.

Even if I had been wrong in my first ideas of the Cow Pox, and unsuccessful in my attempts to stop the torrent of infatuation,—are my opinions to be crammed into a REPORT by men of equal rank in society with myself, and amalgamated like those of an hireling scribbler, or an illiterate pamphleteer ?

I flatly deny, as far as respects myself, that the opposers of Vaccination have been “*falsely* led by hypothetical reasoning.” Such charges, having no foundation, may become the low mercenaries who have pestered the Public in a cause which gives them bread ; but surely not the Fellows of the Royal College of Physicians of London, when addressing one of the most polished, and learned Personages in Europe.

The “most strong and satisfactory testimony” which the COMMITTEE received, has, in the Metropolis, daily received the most strong and satisfactory refutation. The practice of Vaccination is not upon the increase in any part of the United Kingdom. Far otherwise. In the Metropolis it is not only on the decline, as the College of Surgeons declare, but almost extinct.

“Vaccination *appears* to be *in general* perfectly safe ; the instances to the contrary being  
*extremely*



*extremely rare.* The disease excited by it is slight." (5.)

The Report of the College of Surgeons says the fact is otherwise ; and records—

Cases of Small Pox after Cow Pox	-	-	56
<u>      </u> Eruptions of the Skin	-	-	66
<u>      </u> Bad arms, of which 3 died	-	-	24

" It seldom prevents those under it from following their ordinary occupations. It has been communicated with safety to pregnant women ; to children during dentition, and in their earliest infancy." (5.)

On this ground alone, were there no other, and were this the first time I ever heard of the Cow Pox, I would oppose it; being certain, that such a *no-disease* could not so change the disposition of the system, as to render it unsusceptible of any disease whatever ; more especially of one so virulent, violent, and infectious, as the Small Pox.

For the sake of argument, let us suppose that it is perfectly innocent ; and that it has been *communicated* to pregnant women, and to children cutting teeth. So might a little rhubarb and magnesia be *communicated* with safety. But what is the use of this *communication*, if it do not preserve such women and children from the Small Pox ?

Has Vaccinating pregnant women the same  
relative



relative effect on the *fœtus in utero*, as Variolous Inoculation?

“In all respects it possesses material advantages over Inoculation for the Small Pox.” (5.)

What advantages does it possess over Inoculation for the Small Pox, if it be no protection against the Small Pox?

“The security derived from Vaccination against the Small Pox, *if not absolutely perfect*, is as nearly so as can *perhaps* be expected from any *human discovery*.” (6.)

This is not investigating, but, in the most partisan-like manner, advocating the cause of Vaccination.

It is not possible to know what human discoveries shall be unveiled to the eyes of men; but some of the “*few indeed*” are in full possession of an innocent and *absolutely perfect* security against the Small Pox,—yet an human discovery. And I can assure the College, that they now put their doctrine in practice; and to my knowledge, when they fail, which is not often, in giving the Small Pox to any person who has been long vaccinated, they consider it as a disappointment.

It is very true, as the College observe, that “at the commencement of the practice almost all that were vaccinated were afterwards submitted to the Inoculation of the Small Pox,” (10.) without producing the Small Pox. I have known  
some,



some, so tested at that time, to have had the Small Pox since ; and many that were then supposed to have been vaccinated were, either by mistake, or design, variolated ; and consequently they were afterwards tested in vain. The fact to which I allude, is no secret.

I am not driven to the necessity of taking the confession of the Reporters, that Vaccination *is not an absolutely perfect security against the Small Pox*. I have long known that, and proved it.—But how came so many Physicians to say it was, before the Committee of the House of Commons on Dr. JENNER'S Petition ; and on other occasions already noticed ?

“ Amongst several hundred thousand cases, with the *results* of which the College have been *acquainted*, the number of *alledged* failures has been *surprisingly small*.” (6.)

I am not so fastidious as to cavil about words, where there are ideas. But who ever heard of any thing being “ *surprisingly small*,” excepting “ *alledged failures*” of Cow Pox ?—Longinus is of opinion that small things do not occasion surprise.

“ It appears that there are not nearly so many failures, in a given number of Vaccinated persons, as there are deaths in an equal number of persons inoculated for the Small Pox.” (6.)

The meaning of this, I conceive, is, that not so great a proportion as one in three hundred, of those



those persons who have been vaccinated since 1798, have *yet*, the 10th of April 1807, had the Small Pox.

How many of them have had the Small Pox, since the College made their Report? And how will the account stand twenty years hence?

The supposition that one in three hundred dies of Small Pox Inoculation, is a vulgar error. The registers of experienced Inoculators prove, that an hundred thousand persons have undergone Inoculation for the Small Pox, without one death.—No estimate or calculation on this subject can be made, by people unacquainted with the true practice of Inoculation.

There is not a single death recorded, among the vast numbers inoculated by Dimsdale, the Suttons, Archer, and Woodville.—Upwards of a million of people were inoculated by these gentlemen and their assistants. How then can the College adopt the incorrect opinion, that one in three hundred perishes by Small Pox Inoculation?

But deaths may happen; because there are other duties, besides those of the Inoculator, to be performed. Patients and nurses may err; and there are besides idiosyncrasies, or habits of body subject to peculiar influences, which no general law can control.—But these are rare.

However, estimates should not be made from the abuse of a science. The abuse ought not to exist. The aggregate mass of London practitioners



tioners know nothing of Inoculation; and but little of the Small Pox. Many of them do not know the benign sort, from the Chicken Pox; and it is this kind of ignorance, that has seen the Small Pox twice, in the same subject.

Let there be an Institution to teach the art of Small Pox Inoculation; to examine Candidates, and to grant licences to duly qualified persons; and let no person be permitted to practise Inoculation without such licence: then we shall hear no more of calculations that are a disgrace to the profession.

The College would have shewn their real attention to the public welfare, in recommending this measure; whatever may be thought of their intimations for suppressing the practice,—which is the sublimest effort in the science of Medicine.

What would the great SYDENHAM say, were he living, to a proposition for destroying the glorious fabric, whose foundations he laid, just at the time it was completed!

If the College will take into their consideration what I have here recommended, I pledge myself to produce a plan, for carrying it into execution. And more than that, lectures shall be given on Small Pox Inoculation; and I will take a responsible part for its success, without any emolument whatever.

“ It is a most important fact, which has been confirmed in the course of this inquiry, that *in almost*



*almost every Case* where the Small Pox has succeeded Vaccination, whether by Inoculation, or by casual infection, the disease has varied much from its ordinary course; it has neither been the same in *violence*, nor in the *duration* of its symptoms, but has, *with very few exceptions*, been remarkably mild, as if the Small Pox had been deprived, by the previous Vaccine disease, of all its usual malignity." (6.)

I should pay respect to these assertions, were they from the experience of those who make them. But they are not from their experience; nor from the experience of any man.

I believe I have seen more people in the Small Pox, after the Cow Pox, than all the Cow Poxers, from whom the COMMITTEE collected their information, put together.

This declaration will cause no surprise, to those who know the sources of my information on this subject; arising from the popularity which experience has given, to the opposition I have made to the Vaccine quackery.

Cow Poxers are not sent for by people whom they have deceived; and from whom they often meet with an unwelcome reception, and sometimes admonitions, not of the most pleasant nature,—when through officiousness they have intruded on the distresses they have occasioned. Nor do afflicted parents send their children for cure to  
the



the authors of their diseases, to have insult added to injury.

Parents, who are healthy and strong, and who never had any foul humours in their habits, are not likely to bear the scandalous impudence of a Cow Poxer, who shall tell them, that they have transmitted incurable scabs and ulcers, to their children—or to endure the gross attempt to impose on their understanding, by charging scald heads, rank itches, and variously coloured knobs, and horridly foetid abscesses, to the effects of dentition.

There is certainly a small, horny sort of Small Pox eruptions, which sometimes occurs, almost peculiar to vaccinated subjects. These, when the pustules are but few, do not remain in a state of maturation so long as is usual in the ordinary Small Pox. This is often the case in the Inoculated Small Pox; when there are but few eruptions. But this only happens after Vaccination, while the Vaccine temporary influence is recent in the habit: and I aver, from my own experience, that so far from the Small Pox after the Cow Pox, varying “*in almost every case,*” that it rarely happens; and I also aver, that there are more people who have the Confluent Small Pox, after the Cow Pox, than there are who have favourable deviations.—As to the “*violence and duration of the symptoms,*” they are, from my  
observa-



observations, as violent, and as durable, and precisely the same as in the ordinary Small Pox; depending entirely on the habit of body of the patient, and the quantity of disease.

“The testimonies before the College are very decided in declaring, that Vaccination does less mischief to the Constitution, and *less frequently* gives rise to other diseases, than the Small Pox, either natural, or inoculated.” (7.)

The testimonies before the College,—some of them at least,—are very far from displaying any medical knowledge; and I wonder at the College noticing them.—A very pretty testimony his was, who talked of “*less frequently!*” I know some of these testimonies; and, if I am rightly informed, the College have now cause to know them better than they did, when they listened to their nefarious tales.

The Small Pox, whether natural or inoculated, gives rise to no disease, peculiar to the specific nature of Variolous infection.—The Small Pox, in a great degree of severity, like fever, dysentery, abscess, hæmorrhage, or any other debilitating cause, may so weaken and derange the system, as to expose it to the invasion of many evils—scrophula perhaps in children; and hectic, or marasmus, in adults.—But this operation is the effect of the quantity, and not of the quality of the disease.

But how is it with the Cow Pox?—In that  
surely



surely there is no quantity of disease; because the College say,—“*it is slight, and seldom prevents those under it from following their ordinary occupation.*”

Whence then arise the cutaneous, and other dreadful diseases, which succeed Cow Pox contamination?

“The College *feel themselves* called upon to state this *strongly*, because it has been objected to Vaccination, that it produces *new, unheard-of, and monstrous* diseases. Of such assertions no proofs have been produced; and, after diligent inquiry, the College believe them to have been either the inventions of *designing*, or the mistakes of *ignorant* men.” (8.)

This is rather strong language from the College; especially as I had sent to them my Publications, and also confirmed personally the facts I had written, respecting what they are pleased to call *new, unheard-of, and monstrous* diseases.

I must take the liberty to refresh the memory of the College with an inventory of some *new, unheard-of, and monstrous* diseases; the produce of Vaccination.

—Ox-Faces to human beings, — I mean dis-tempered into resemblance,—and long patches of hair, like Cows hair, growing on eschars after Cow Pox ulcers, may not have been seen by the College; but some extraordinary instances of both have been seen by me. And my mind is  
as



as unsatisfactorily exercised thereon, as it would be in contemplating the appearance of the learned, and highly civilized PRESIDENT of a certain College,—were I to spy him ruminating in a field,—with horns, hoofs, and a long tail ;—attended, at a respectful distance, by his Cow Pox COMMITTEE, ‘ eating grass as Oxen, and their bodies wet with the dew of Heaven, till their Hairs were grown like Eagles feathers, and their nails like Birds claws\*.’

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## NEW DISEASES;

*Caused by the subtile Poison of the*

Cow Pox.

I. The face swollen, with the eyes distorted by Strabismus ; tumefaction, or abscesses, sometimes sanguineous, about the zygoma, orbits of the eyes and cheeks ; the nose flattened, the front tauriform, and the countenance so changed, that people have, with much reason, given this sort of face the appellation of OX FACE†.

II. Pustules, or ulcerations, in various parts of the body, with painful unremitting, and intolerable itching, that instead of being alleviated, is increased by scratching ; in which the

\* DANIEL, ch. iv.

† FACIES BOVILLA.



afflicted tear their flesh into bleeding sores; and have no rest, particularly by night. Tetters, and *Urticaria Bovilla*, or Cow Pox Nettle Rash, are frequently attendants in a violent degree\*.

III. The head covered with scabs, and incrustations. Nothing like the common Scaldhead. Some dry and hard; some issuing a corroding rotting matter; destroying the parts about the ears in its course, and sometimes the ears themselves; and ulcerating the neck, face, and temples. When the head is dry, the incrustation is hard, and yellow; and appears as if it were covered with brimstone†.

IV. Green, offensive discharges from sores; sometimes of a blue colour; sometimes of a peculiar bright yellow, terminating in squamous, or furfuraceous desiccations, and breaking out in fresh places;—black, brown, or livid knobs, difficult to mature; some almost as hard as wood; some burst and running; the ulcers sometimes discharge blood; others resemble the Cow Pox Pustule, with a widely-extended florid area. The ulcers frequently produce caries of the bones of the face, arms, fingers, &c.‡

\* SCABIES BOVILLA.

† TINEA BOVILLA.

‡ ELEPHANTIASIS BOVILLA; with its *Leprous* varieties, and FARCY. See my COMMENTARIES on the Cow Pox, 2d Ed. page 105, 6; and my OLIVER for a ROWLAND, 9th Ed. page 84.



But we have not yet gone through the REPORT.

“ It is from a consideration of the *pernicious* effects of the Small Pox, that the *real value* of Vaccination is to be estimated.” (8.)

Ay, there's the rub. But, if the Cow Pox be no security against the Small Pox, what is its *real value*; and what is the utility of complaining, if five, instead of one in six, die of the natural Small Pox; and fifty, instead of one in three hundred, by Inoculation; and half the mortality in London, instead of a tenth, from Small Pox propagated by contagion,—while folly relies on folly, for protection?

“ The College of Physicians in reporting their *Observations* and *Opinions* on the Evidence adduced in *support* of Vaccination, *feel themselves* authorised to state that a body of Evidence *so large*, *so temperate*, and *so consistent*, was never before collected upon any *Medical Question*.” (10.)

I believe the College have been grossly abused by this huge Falstaff carcase of Evidence, in this their *Medical Question*. And as to the *temperance* of Cow Poxers, a person who has had the misfortune to read any of their gibberish, and ravings, would require a stronger testimonial of that, than this *gratis dictum* of the College.

The *consistency* of Cow Poxers may be admitted. They are not puzzled with discrimination, and those elements of philosophy, by which truth is separated from falsehood. They have



but one plain story,—*simplex duntaxat et unum*. That is,—lie straight on, through thick and thin; and pour forth senseless effusions, in praise of Vaccination;—or starve.

“A *Discovery* so *novel*, and to which there was nothing *analogous* known in *nature*.” (10.)

Discoveries generally, I suspect, are novel; and I allow that there is nothing in nature analogous to a Discovery. Even the innate ideas of the Reporters are not analogous to a Discovery. But this principle cannot be applied to a *Discoverer*.

DR. JENNER is a Discoverer\*; but DR. PEARSON's friend, Farmer JESTY, who vaccinated his wife and his two sons in the year 1774, is analogous to him.—With this difference—that Farmer JESTY did not get £30,000. for his job;—and, that DR. JENNER was a Discoverer about a quarter of a century after Farmer JESTY†.

“Those who have been vaccinated are equally secure against the contagion of *epidemic* Small Pox.” (10.)

I disproved this fact, many years before the REPORT was thought of.

In the infancy of Vaccination, before I, or any other person, had an opportunity of determining how far vaccinated people, who had withstood the effects of Variolous air, in rooms and chambers, and even Inoculation, would be secured

\* See page 7.

† See my COMMENTARIES on the Cow Pox, 2d Ed. p. 59.  
from



from the Small Pox when it raged epidemically, —I suggested, as may be seen in my *COMMENTS*, that they would not. Time and experience have confirmed my opinion, in thousands of instances, in England only.

“ There are a *few* who entertain sentiments differing widely from those of the *great majority of their brethren*. The College therefore deemed it their duty, in a particular manner, to enquire upon what grounds and evidence the Opposers of Vaccination rested their opinions. From *personal* examination, as well as from their writings, they endeavoured to learn the full extent and weight of their objections. They found them *without experience* in Vaccination, supporting their opinions *by hearsay information*, and *hypothetical reasoning*; and upon investigating the facts which they advanced, they found them to be either *misapprehended* or *misrepresented*; or that they *fell* under the description of Cases of *imperfect Small Pox*, before noticed.” (11.)

Indeed! So, here the College tell the world, that there is not one word of truth in any of the statements, of nearly a thousand instances of failures, and of diseases and death, from the Cow Pox; which by me, or to my knowledge, have been published, with the names of the subjects, their residence, and the dates of the occurrences. —Nor in the statement, I suppose, sent to them by the College of Surgeons!

This



This is a *new, unheard-of, and monstrous* way of treating gentlemen. However, it is not the College; it is the Cow Pox, 'that has shot the arrow o'er the house, and '*fell*' their brother.'

The Cow-mania, I have repeatedly said, does wonderfully alter men; but never improves them.

In this symptomatic transport,—this *Ranz des Vasches*, of the College, we see the Cow Pox, like its friend and ally Death, levels all distinctions.

I wish the College had informed the medical world, what *imperfect* Small Pox is. And who the opposers of Vaccination were, they *personally* examined, and found *without experience*: and supporting their opinions on *hearsay evidence*, and *hypothetical reasoning*; and *misapprehending*, or *misrepresenting* facts.

I think I know by name, all the public opposers of Vaccination; and I find from inquiry, that the COMMITTEE never examined any opposer, personally, at the College, excepting myself; and it is to be hoped that my Evidence will not justify the grave College, in this juvenile manner of expressing themselves.

I think MR. BIRCH told me he had some conversation, by appointment, with three or four Members of the COMMITTEE, at the private house of one of them. Perhaps he may be thought *without experience*, having done no mischief with the poisoned lancet. These charges of the College



lege do not apply to him ; because I know he has had too much experience of Vaccination, and has had his great skill, and humanity, too often employed in Cow Pox disasters, to *misapprehend* its pernicious effects ; and I believe he is incapable of *misrepresenting* any thing.—If the College think as I do, they will consider, by these remarks, that their honour is called on, to point out the man, personally examined by them, who has advanced facts, which they investigated, and found *misapprehended*, or *misrepresented*. It is impossible to read such charges, made by the College of Physicians, and treat them with silent contempt, as issuing from the distempered brains of Cow Pox runners, affidavit-men, and dastardly anonymous letter-writers.

“ The practice of Vaccination is but of *eight years standing* ; and its promoters as well as its opponents must keep in mind, that a period so short is too limited, to ascertain every point, or to bring the art to *that perfection* of which it *may be capable*.” (12.)

Here we have a strong instance, that some men are more prone to give, than to take advice. It is a pity that this judicious reflection had no influence with the College themselves. They first make up their minds ; decide on the subject ; and then tell us, it must not be done without more time and experience :—Observe the next sentence :

“ Vaccina-



“Vaccination is now, however, well understood.” (12.)

In what manner are these assertions to be reconciled?

“Its power of protecting the human body from the Small Pox, though *not perfect indeed*, is abundantly sufficient to recommend it to the *prudent and dispassionate*.” (14.)

The College may have some peculiar standard, by which they estimate the *prudent and dispassionate*, which others cannot guess at. But I do not think the *prudent and dispassionate*, according to the common acceptation of those words,—when they have read the College REPORT, and find that the security is *not perfect*, will try Vaccination on their children by way of experiment; to prove how long it will be, before the spell shall be broken; and the innocent lives, which unwarrantable temerity has sported with, shall be punished for the crimes of those, who would not trust to the experiment on themselves\*.

“Although the experience of *Vaccine Inoculation* be only of a few years, yet the *same disease* contracted by the Milkers of Cows, has been long enough known to ascertain that in them, at

\* Farmer JESTY, DR. PEARSON'S friend, is the only grown-up person, in a sound state of mind, on record, who bravely submitted to the filthy process.



least, the *unsusceptibility* of the Small Pox contagion, *does not wear out by time.*" (14.)

The incorrectness of this paragraph is not confined to the language. It is not correct in point of fact, which I have repeatedly proved in my Publications. Nay, I told the College (see page 40) that since my then last Publication, there had been a recent instance at Stockwell. This was the Case of Mrs. Fenner, who died of the Confluent Small Pox on the 7th of October 1806; attended by Mr. Williams, Surgeon and Apothecary at Brixen, near Stockwell.

Mrs. Fenner had the Cow Pox twice, in the natural way, as it is called, from Milking. The first time, about fourteen years before her death, when she lived with a farmer at Rutherford in Sussex; and the second time, when she lived with another farmer at Lackbottom, near Farnborough in Kent.

The Milkers' Cow Pox, through a sore, or scratch, on the hands, or fingers, is precisely the same as that by a wound made with a lancet; and it is astonishing to me, that any physiologist should conceive it can be otherwise.

Is the disease not the same?

Does the virus not enter the system in the same manner?

Are not both by the external application of the virus?

I have seen several people die of the Confluent  
Small



Small Pox after having had the Cow Pox from Milking; and many who have escaped with great difficulty.

There is a man now living (October 1808) with Mr. Warren, a respectable Cow Keeper at Knightsbridge, William Denton, a Milker, who had the Confluent Small Pox, in 1789, after having had the Cow Pox from Milking in 1779. He is much marked, and lost his right eye, by the Small Pox. He has since that, in 1802, had the Cow Pox a second time, where he now is at Knightsbridge.

Why did not the COMMITTEE send a *deputation* to inquire into the truth of this fact, which I published, more than two years before the College made their REPORT,—as I am informed they were ingenuous enough to do, after some other Cases recorded by me\*?

The distance was but a short walk; for a pedestrian Fellow from Warwick Lane.

Among many instances of the false notion that the Milkers Cow Pox is a security against the Small Pox, I will mention the following.

Two servants of Mr. Gamble, of Bungay in Suffolk, had the Confluent Small Pox, after the Cow Pox from Milking. One died, the other recovered.

\* An account of the particulars of this man's Case may be seen in my TREATISE on the Cow Pox, 2d Ed. page 88. It is in the possession of the College.



William White, Green Grocer in Fullwood's Rents, Holborn, had the Small Pox in 1788 by Inoculation, after having had the Cow Pox from Milking in 1786.

Mary Childs, and Jane Targett—both servants of Mr. Caldwell of Swaffham, in Norfolk, had the Small Pox, after the Cow Pox from Milking. Mary Childs had the Cow Pox in 1785, and the Small Pox by Inoculation in 1796. Jane Targett had the Cow Pox in 1798, and the Confluent Small Pox, attended by me, at Chelsea in 1805.

Two countrymen, John Adams, and Jeremiah Dobson, whom I saw in the Confluent Small Pox, at Nine Elms near Vauxhall, with Mr. Charles Alderman, Surgeon and Apothecary, at Battersea, in June 1805, had previously the Cow Pox from Milking. Adams had been a Milker in Gloucestershire, and had the Cow Pox in 1778. Dobson a Milker in Berkshire, and had the Cow Pox in 1801. Adams died of the Small Pox. Dobson struggled through it with great difficulty; but died soon afterwards.

I warrant the truth of the preceding Cases, of Small Pox, after Cow Pox from Milking. Many others have been reported to me on good authority; such as those of the following people. Francis Walker, of Chiswick; Mrs. Drudge, of Castle Carey; Mary Deacon, of Mary-le-bone; Clarissa Sarnwell, at Battle; and two servants of Mr. Keene, a Dairy Farmer, at Minety in Gloucestershire;



shire; one of whom died of the Confluent Small and the other had it severely.

Will these Cases convince the College of their error, respecting the Milkers' Cow Pox being a Security against the Small Pox?

It is of the utmost importance that the College should retract what they have said on this point. It may lull people into danger. The same doctrine was advanced by one of the Jennerian Evidences, before the Committee of the House of Commons; the fallacy of which, I exposed in the Publications I sent to the College; and it is to be regretted that they did not profit by my animadversions.—Here is an instance of the unpleasant consequences the College must experience, from meddling with the Cow Pox.

That the College should seriously notice the Prints which have been exhibited of some peculiarities occurring in the New Diseases, with “frightful and monstrous appearance,” borders on the ludicrous.

What do the College think of the Mountebank Jennerian Placard, which was dispersed on walls, and in allies, and among all the blackguard Public Houses, in town and country, and hung up in the shop, or parlour, of every Cow Poxer in England, with Their Majesties Names, and those of Their August Family, audaciously emblazoned on it?

I beg



I beg leave to ask, on what authority do the Reporters presume, that those Prints to which they allude, originated “either in gross ignorance, or wilful misrepresentation?” (5.)

I had no concern in them; but I am possessed of information, which enables me to deny that they originated, either in ignorance, or in wilful misrepresentation.

We have heard of soft words, and hard arguments, recommended in supporting a cause; but I fear the Reporters have reversed the adage.

“The College of Physicians *feel* it their duty *strongly to recommend the practice of Vaccination*. They have been led to this conclusion by no *preconceived opinion*, but by the most *unbiassed judgment*, formed from an irresistible weight of evidence which has been laid before them. For when the *number*, the *respectability*, the *disinterestedness*, and the *extensive experience* of its *Advocates*, is compared with the *feeble and imperfect testimonies* of its *few Opposers*, and when it is considered that many, who were once adverse to Vaccination, have been convinced by further trials, and are now to be ranked among its warmest supporters, the truth *seems to be established*, as firmly as the nature of such a *Question* admits.” (17.)

Such professions of candour, would alone create suspicion. But the language is quite sufficient to convince every person of common sense,



sense, of the *preconceived wisdom* of the Cow Pox Fellows of the College; and of the *unbiassed politeness* of their Reporters.

Of the “few opposers,” here so cavalierly treated, I presume to answer only for one.—He, I know, has not held out to the Publick, as the Reporters have done, that the Cow Pox is “*to put an end to the ravages, at least, if not to the EXISTENCE of the Small Pox.*” (17.)—He thinks he knows atmospheric diseases, better than to hazard such a daring attempt at compromise with the Almighty.

Yet, he is not conscious of any want of *respectability*, or of *disinterestedness*, either in his profession, or out of it.

Unfettered by illiberal pertinacity, and without descending to unmannerly comparisons, he views with fraternal compassion, the intellectual state of some of “the great majority of his brethren.”—And though standing unshaken on the rock of truth and science, he is a stranger to arrogance; even when he sees his *feeble* and *imperfect testimony* create such havock among those bewildered in Cow Pox labyrinths. It is enough for him, that his *feeble* and *imperfect testimony* has roused the Public detestation, of the most stupid infatuation, that ever subverted the good sense, and good manners of mankind.

If respectability, and disinterestedness, which slander itself can find ‘no hinge nor loop to hang



hang a doubt on,' have any real weight with the College, let them read the following. It is worthy to be placed among their archives; and on the same shelf with the Annals of CAIUS, and the Will of HARVEY. This will be a proper corrector to their REPORT; and should descend with it to posterity.

*Extract of a Letter from the venerable and profoundly learned Prelate, the Right Reverend the Lord BISHOP of DROMORE, to his learned and worthy Kinsman GEORGE AUST, Esq. of Chelsea Hospital. Dated the 4th of May, 1806.*

'... Another interesting event has happened in Mr. Meade's family\*. They have all happily gone through the Small Pox, in the most decided and unequivocal manner, after having been inoculated with the Cow Pox, for which Mr. Meade had a great partiality. His two first sons, who were born at or near Gloucester, had been vaccinated soon after their birth, and that in the most perfect manner. About two years ago, soon after the birth of their daughter, the same precaution was applied to her, but she did not seem to receive it. About two months after, they were all three inoculated with the common

\* The Hon. Mr. Meade. He is Son in Law to this venerable Prelate; and Brother to Earl Clanwilliam.



Small Pox, and it took effect upon the eldest boy, and the little girl; but on both so mildly, that Mr. Meade could not believe they had it, though the Physicians had no doubt of it. On the second boy (who is named, after me, PERCY) it had no effect at all; and he might have been considered as secure ever afterwards: but last January Mr. Meade had his little son Edward (born in November last) inoculated with Vaccine matter, which he himself brought from the Institute in Dublin; and it took effect in the most perfect and decided manner. In March, Mr. Meade was persuaded to try if the child would receive the Variolous Infection; when, on his being inoculated, many fair large pustules appeared over different parts of his body, and he went through the disease completely. This induced his father to try the effect once more on Percy, who had resisted it two years before. He was accordingly inoculated with the common Small Pox last month, and then had a strong Fever at the usual period, followed by an eruption of between twenty and thirty pustules all over his body; but the child is now happily recovered, and, thanks to the Author of All Good, secure for life from this dreadful contagion. You may mention this, if you please, to Dr. MOSELEY, to whom the Publick and ourselves are under infinite obligations, for his generous attempts to dispel the prevailing delusion.'



To urge, in favour of Vaccination, that many converts have been made to it, is the very dregs of argumentative ways and means. It is a total unacquaintance with the character of the people of England,—daily made converts to the most extravagant nonsense. Our history is full of degrading monuments of our credulity.

Look at the increase of sectaries in this climate. See what swarms of enthusiasts fly from the pure, calm, and rational doctrines of our established Religion, expounded by an enlightened Clergy, to the ravings of madmen,—‘ who know not what they do.’

People of no stability of mind, either from the effect of atmosphere, or disease, or “*morbid imagination*,” believe any thing that has the turn of marvellous in it; and take up, or lay down their creeds, as they receive impressions.—And what means have not been used by Cow Pox idolaters in the Senate; and I am sorry to say, in the Pulpit; in the public Papers; by parochial Officers\*; by prostituted Scribblers; and by hireling Emissaries, in almost every town and village in England?

Many whom I know, that were inclined, against their better judgment, to give credit to the solemn declarations of the original promoters

\* The Article, Cow Pox, was omitted in the last year’s Annual *Bill of Mortality*; when it is notorious, that there were deaths occasioned by the Cow Pox, in every Parish in London.



of Vaccination, so far from “now being ranked among its warmest supporters by further trials,” have confessed, that every day has given them proof of its fallacy and mischief; and are of opinion, that should the practice be abolished instantly, the contamination already effected in thousands of unfortunate families, would not, according to all the laws of animal œconomy, wear out in the present generation.

“Were encouragement given to Vaccination, by offering it to the poorer classes *without expence*, there is little doubt but it would in time supersede the Inoculation for the Small Pox, and thereby various sources of Variolous infection would be cut off.” (16.)

The simplicity of this humane proposal, and the calculation of its effects, shew how egregiously the College have been imposed on. Every person, except the Cow Pox Members of the College, knows, that there have been, for years past, in almost every street in London, signs, or boards, on the sides of houses, or on Methodists’ shops, or in Apothecaries’ windows,—inviting the ignorant multitude to gratuitous Vaccination. The Cow Poxers, within the College, seem to be totally unacquainted with the benevolent tricks of the Cow Poxers, without; by whom, like children just taken from the breast of *Alma Mater*, they seem to have been unmercifully cajoled.

I have seen as many *gratis* Cow Pox hand-bills ;



bills ; *gratis* puffs ; *gratis* pathetic sermons and addresses ; and *gratis* station advertisements, as would load an ox\*.

“ But till Vaccination becomes *general*, it will be impossible to prevent the constant recurrence of the natural Small Pox, by means of those who are inoculated ; except it should appear proper to the Legislature *to adopt, in its wisdom, some measure*, by which those who still, from terror or prejudice, prefer the Small Pox to the Vaccine Disease, may, in thus consulting the gratification of their feelings, *be prevented* from doing mischief to their neighbours.” (16.)

I reserved this paragraph for the last.

Here I must pause.—The spontaneous current of language, which serves the ordinary purposes of ratiocination, is inadequate to express my indignation at the degraded condition, into which, I perceive it is possible, to libel the national sense and humanity.

\* Behold a Specimen.—

#### “PRESERVATIVE AGAINST THE SMALL POX.

The ROYAL JENNERIAN SOCIETY, for the EXTERMINATION of the Small Pox, hereby inform the Public, that all Persons, desirous of receiving the Benefit of Vaccine Inoculation, *Free of Expence*, may apply at the Society's Inoculating Station, No. 3, Great Chapel Street, Broadway, Westminster, every Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday Morning, from half past nine to eleven o'clock, where Medical Gentlemen, appointed by the Society, will regularly attend for that Purpose.”



“ Except it should appear proper to the Legislature to adopt, in its wisdom, *some measure*.”

What measure?—Why did the Reporters not mention the measure?—Or was it left for Mr. Fuller to explain?

Will the College call to recollection, the delightful employment Vaccination afforded the Ladies, and the ease with which it was performed, in the beginning of the practice; and that since its fallacy and mischief have been found out, what a different story is told?

Now, there is the *spurious* and *genuine* Cow Pox; and two or more punctures must be made, when at first, one was sufficient; and that “ those who perform Vaccination ought to be well instructed, and should watch with the greatest care the regular process of the pustule, and the most proper time for taking the matter;” (12.) with an host of other difficulties, which at first were denied to have existence.

But to conclude.—

Is it possible that the College, whose very REPORT exhibits the most convincing proofs of the imperfect, unsettled, and unsatisfactory state of Vaccination, should wish to plunge the Country into a determination, by which,—even admitting their own flattering statements and imaginary grievances,—the balance of evil would exceed all calculation?

To



To inflict diseases on people by Law, against their will; or drive them to a Pest House, in their greatest distress—exiled from their family and friends—imposed on by some hardened wretch, and there to perish from neglect and want!

To compel affrighted parents to give their children up to a disease, the effects and security of which, the College confess, after eight years experience, is still a “*Medical Question!*”

To debar people from the advantage of Small Pox Inoculation, in which success has given them confidence, and which has been the protection of their forefathers for a century!

To have this known blessing, when it has arrived at perfection, prohibited by Law, or defeated by restrictions, to give place to an experiment, which the College acknowledge—*they have not had sufficient time to decide on correctly*; and finally declare that,—“*it is not an absolutely perfect security against the Small Pox!*”

I have now done with the REPORT; and take this opportunity of declaring, that notwithstanding the Reporters have gone unnecessarily out of their way, to be harsh and severe in their expressions, against those who have as much right to entertain an opinion as themselves,—yet this has not diminished my respect for the College collectively, nor my esteem for them individually,



ally, on all occasions, and on every subject in Medicine, excepting that, against which I am at present engaged. And whatever opinion they may have of my judgement, they must applaud my perseverance.

It is ten years since I began this Trojan war against VACCINA; and if it be not yet ended, I have at least the satisfaction to see, that her original, and native troops are no longer able to defend her throne; and that at length the 'mobled Queen,' with 'a clout upon that head, where late the diadem stood,' has fallen into the hands of a new dynasty of mercenaries.

CHELSEA HOSPITAL,

B. M.

20th Oct. 1808.

THE END.







