

Two papers on fevers and infection. Which were read before the Philosophical and Medical Society, in Edinburgh / [James Lind].

Contributors

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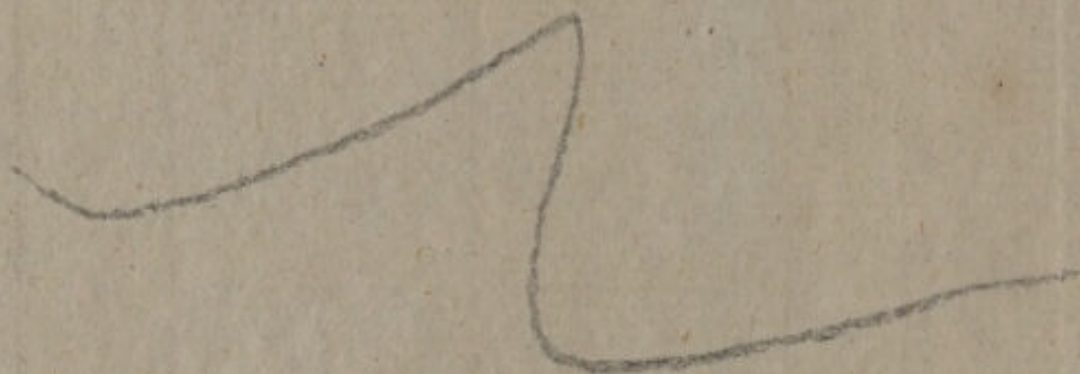
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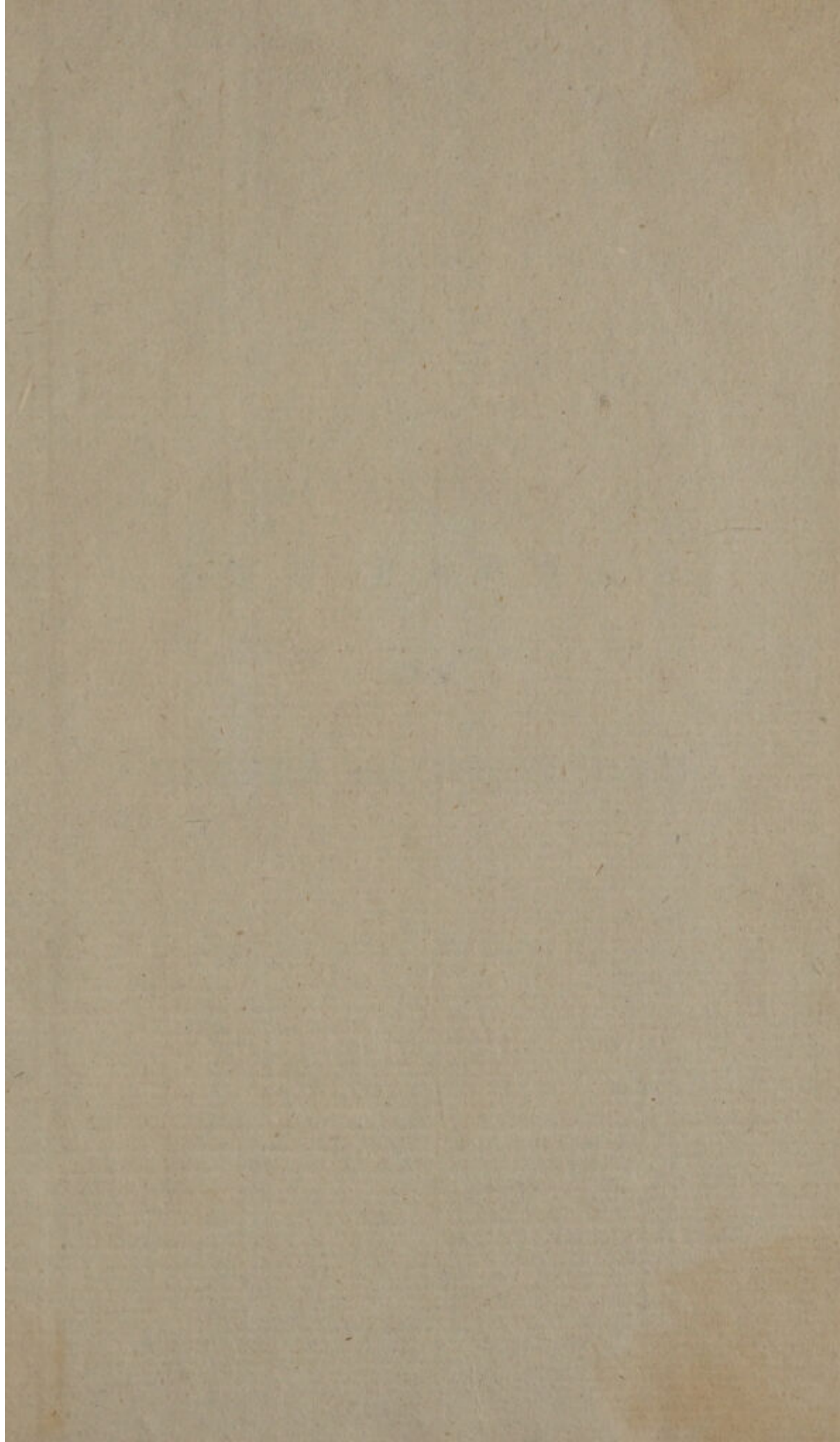


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T W O P A P E R S
O N
F E V E R S and I N F E C T I O N .

TWO PAPERS

ON

FEVERS AND INFECTION

T W O
P A P E R S
O N
F E V E R S
A N D
I N F E C T I O N.

Which were read before the

Philosophical and Medical Society,
In EDINBURGH.

By JAMES LIND, M. D.

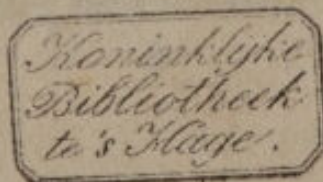
Physician to the King's Hospital at Haslar, near Portsmouth;

And Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in Edinburgh.

L O N D O N:

Printed for D. WILSON, at Plato's Head, in the Strand.

MDCCLXIII.





Multum egerunt qui ante nos fuerunt,
sed non peregerunt: multum adhuc restat
operæ, multumque restabit; neque ulli
nato post mille secula præcidetur occasio
aliquid adhuc adjiciendi. SENECA.

BY JAMES LIND, M.D.

Physician to the King's Hospital at Chelsea, near Portsmouth,
And Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in Edinburgh.

L O N D O N :

Printed for D. Wilson, at Peter's Head, in the Strand.
MDCCLXIII.

T W O P A P E R S
O N
F E V E R S and I N F E C T I O N.

P A P E R I.

Haslar Hospital, near Portsmouth, 5 June, 1761.

OF all the various diseases which afflict mankind, few are more fatal, none more frequent, than the fever. A Dissertation on this malady, but more particularly on the means by which it is propagated, and conveyed from causes hidden, and too frequently unsuspected, I propose as the subject of the following sheets.

A very extensive practice in fevers during three years, in one of the first hospitals in Europe, qualifies me, in some measure, for making researches into the dark and abstruse

B

subject

subject of *infection*. The reading of what has hitherto been published, has induced me to write my own sentiments upon it; and chiefly with an intention, to select from a *Chaos* of contradictory precepts, the most proper, simple, and effectual means of protecting particular persons, as well as guarding the community in general, from this contagion. But as a good foundation is necessary to a solid structure, so it is requisite that I begin with historical facts, which your excellent plan admits as the only basis of all physical disquisitions.

After my first coming to this hospital in June 1758. I observed, that the men in the large ships of the fleet were generally healthy, but that several of the smaller vessels were infected. The sick who were sent on shore, particularly from the *Saltafb Sloop*, *Richmond Frigate*, and *Infernal Bomb Vessel*, notwithstanding the small number of their *complement*, laboured under fevers of the most malignant kind.

The *Revenge* and *Montague* about this time arrived from the *Mediterranean*, the crew of the former being in a very sickly condition. By smoking this ship well with the vapour of tar, the infection had abated, about a month before her engagement, on the

the 28th of *February*, with the *Orpheus*. But some seeds of the contagion remaining undestroyed, the company was again attacked with fevers; and some of them conveyed the distemper into the *Foudroyant* and *Orpheus*, prizes taken from the *French*.

The people in the guardships at *Spithead* were healthy, till the latter end of *July*, or the beginning of *August*, when a large draught of men, who arrived in tainted vessels from *Ireland*, communicated an infection to those ships, by the cloaths, and other moveables received from their tenders.

Those who were on board the *Saltaſh* were seized with a fever, which seemed nearly to resemble that jail distemper, of which *Dr. Pringle* has given an excellent account; and out of her small complement of 120 persons, above 80 were infected with a contagion, much more virulent and dangerous, than that in the guard-ships, or any other vessels, during that time at *Spithead*.

In the months of *July* and *August* 1758. when the men in the ships which had lately arrived from the *Mediterranean*, together with those in some smaller vessels, were distressed with fevers; the scurvy prevailed in the grand fleet under the command of *Lord*

Anson, and in the detachment from it under *Lord Howe*. It raged mostly in the larger ships. From those fleets upwards of 400 sick were sent to the hospital, the greater part of whom were highly scorbutic; none of them had fevers.

In the months of *September* and *October*, after the reduction of *Louisburg*, the *North American* ships arrived at *Spithead*; several of which were infected with a malignant fever. The scurvy was likewise superadded to this distress; and those of a scorbutic habit being seized with the fever, was a proof of its proceeding intirely from infection. For I have found, that the scurvy is a disease in its nature opposite to that of a fever; insomuch that even an infection is long resisted by a scorbutic habit.

It is remarkable, that since the commencement of the present war, the greatest number of patients, and those who, in this hospital, were afflicted with fevers of the worst kind, came from *North America*. The fever brought from thence this year went commonly under the denomination of the *yellow fever*, from the sick afflicted with it often becoming yellow. In the months of *September*, *October*, and *November*, about 300 patients, with either this fever, or the scurvy, were

were received into this hospital from the *North American* fleet ; and of these 28 died.

In the beginning of the year 1759. when the infected vessels were properly purified, and their men free from fevers, as were likewise the other men in the fleet at home ; the *Conqueror* and *Edgar*, two new ships of the line, and afterwards the *Temple*, arrived at *Spithead*. They had been manned partly with prest people from the *Princess Royal* at the *Nore*, and from jails. By draughts from their crews an infection was communicated to the *Royal Anne* guardship, and to the *Resolution* then fitting out at *Portsmouth*.

The fever, which raged in all those ships, grealy affected the breast. Some who were seized with it (as if they had been under a salivation,) spit up six or eight pints of a thin phlegm in 48 hours ; and, to prevent suffocation, were obliged to have their heads supported by pillows. Their blood was extremely viscid and glutinous. This I observed, even during the last stage, in a person from whom it was then necessary to take blood for a stitch, greatly impeding respiration. In this malady the head became affected often with a heaviness, and dull sense of pain, seldom with a *delirium*. Cough, spitting, and lancinating stitches thro' the

the chest, were the most universal complaints. Some, to outward appearance, as also by their own account, were quite well; but their pulse was found to be quickened, their tongue foul, and when raised from the pillow, they complained that their heads were giddy.

The attack of this *infection* began with shiverings, succeeded either by pain of the head or breast; seldom by an universal pain in the limbs, but most frequently by a tightness of the breast, and cough; which last raised the acute pains in the chest. — Several who recovered, were afterwards distressed with a dulness of hearing; — many relapsed. — A midshipman, after being able to sit up for some days, fell again into the fever, which was accompanied with convulsions, and expired in 30 hours after the last attack, when his body was found covered with *Petechiæ* *. A few died consumptive, being exhausted by the vast discharge in spitting. In four or five persons there were symptoms of malignity in their sickness; and out of above a hundred patients received into the hospital from those ships, eight died of the fever. This distemper, if it had occurred elsewhere than in the ships, might perhaps have been judged solely inflammatory, and to have proceeded from causes very different from the real one.

* This term, as here used, is explained in Paper 2.

The *Edgar* failed soon after for the *Mediterranean*, where the contagion in a few months acquiring great vigour, together with a superadded scurvy, destroyed sixty of her men. The manner in which this ship became free from the infection, though not unusual, is worth relating. In the engagement, which happened that year with the *French* fleet, on the coast of *Portugal*, the quantity of gunpowder, fired on board her during the action, was 25 barrels; and to the surprize of the officers, none of her men were afterwards attacked with fevers.

But to return to what passed in the fleet at *Spithead*. In the same year, towards the latter end of *April*, the *Melampe* arrived there, having a distemper amongst the men, of which the surgeon gave the following account. — That, upon receiving two persons from the *Princess Royal*, a guardship, many of the crew were seized with fevers, which appeared to be of the intermittent kind; and, having administered to them the bark in large quantities, he had not lost one patient.

On *April* the 27th, twenty persons in fevers were received from this ship, and more sick were daily sent, in all to the number of 42.

Those

Those patients had been seized at once, when in a state of perfect health, with a severe trembling, upon which ensued pains in the head; and often (to make use of their own expression) in all their bones also. Some had, two or three times in 24 hours, a return of a shivering, which resembled the fit of an ague. A few were attacked with it once every day; others every other day, in the form of a *regular tertian*. With many this cold fit continued for four or six hours; the partial sweats which succeeded it afforded no benefit; and even a more profuse evacuation in that way gave but small relief. The pulse commonly beat quick, and was low.—Most of those patients had been blooded on board their ship; but none of them after they came on shore to this hospital, as their breast was altogether unaffected, and their fever much lower than that which formerly afflicted the people belonging to the *Conqueror*, and the other ships already mentioned.

We observed the natural *crisis* of this infection to be sometimes by stool; and when a purging came on, the patient was immediately restored to health. But the recovery of the greatest part of them was owing to blisters, and the effect of these was both surprising

prising and sudden. I have more than once in an evening ordered eight or ten to be blistered, and have left them with a quick pulse, great heat, immoderate thirst, a pain, confusion and heaviness of the head; and what to a physician, conversant with such fevers, communicates a most certain knowledge of the condition of the patient, such a lifeless sunk state of the eyes as denoted great danger *. But next morning I found these patients with a lively brisk eye, a calm pulse, and with a desire to get out of bed. Of those 42 infected men, though many relapsed, yet not one died.

The *Portmahon* was the next ship that brought an infection to *Spithead*, from among a draught of pressed men from *Scotland*. The contagion was quickly conveyed by them into the *Royal Anne* guardship, notwithstanding all such as appeared sickly were sent to the hospitals.

* When visiting a ward, containing 20 patients in fevers, at *Haslar* hospital, where no curtains are hung about the beds, one may at first view discover the most dangerous cases.

There is somewhat to be observed in the eyes, and their motions, which cannot be described, and yet indicates the present condition of the patient, (if he is not at that time just roused from sleep) more perhaps than any one other symptom, singly taken into consideration.

In *October* we received 24 of those patients, the rest being sent to the hospital-ship. One of them died of the fever, another of a flux, and a third of a consumption after his illness. Several were afflicted with a severe cough, on which account they were frequently bled, and their blood abounded with *Gluten*. In the beginning of this fever, a profuse bleeding from the nose was usual, and relieved the head much, which was always affected.

The distemper abated, chiefly by the use of blisters, on the second, third, fourth, or any other day of the fever, reckoning from its first attack. In four patients, with whom the blisters proved ineffectual, the head-ach and *delirium* were in a few hours removed by *antimonial* medicines. Relapses were, as in similar infections, frequent. *Petechiæ* appeared on some of those men, who were sent to the hospital-ship. This was indeed judged, and with good reason, to be a fever of a bad and malignant kind; and, what was very shocking, a great many of the patients from the *Portmahon*, whom I visited, had never changed their cloaths from the time they were pressed in *June*, to the 22d of *October*, when they came to the hospital. The unshifted linen and rags, which they had lain in for
above

above four months, were sufficient to have bred an infection.

In this month of *October* the Squadron arrived from the *West Indies*, after the reduction of *Guadalupe*, so over-run with the scurvy, that, when in the channel, ten or a dozen persons usually died of it every day. Out of three hundred and fifty scorbutic patients, who were sent a-shore from those ships, there was not one who had a fever. This I mention for the sake of the following remark.

The surgeon of the *Panther* told me, that forty of her men had died of the scurvy in their passage home; and, during that time, there were usually ninety patients in the sick apartment. This place, appropriated for the diseased, was in the *bay* of the ship, and had no pipe from the ventilator, nor any scuttles cut through its sides, for the admission of the fresh air. A number of patients, thus closely crowded together, rendered the place so disagreeable and suffocating, that the sick were in a manner stifled for want of air. The surgeon, when visiting the distressed, could scarcely breath in it, or remain with them for any length of time, without being obliged to have recourse often to the fresh air upon deck, and sometimes to the spirit of hartshorn, or to

a glass of wine, for his immediate relief. He observed, that both the virulence and mortality of the scurvy were doubtless heightened by the unventilated air of the place, in which the diseased for several weeks had been confined; yet out of above an hundred sick sent to the hospital by this surgeon, not one was remarked to have any symptom of a contagion generated in that apartment.

The first ship, which arrived towards the latter end of this year from the fleet in *North America* was the *Loestoffe*. On the 18th of *October* fourteen of her men were sent to the hospital, and thirteen more on the 21st of the same month. The scurvy, the flux, and fevers, were reported to be the prevailing maladies in that ship.

The account given of the fever was to this effect. The company of the *Loestoffe* were in perfect health during the eight months they were abroad in *America*, and until a few days before their departure from *Quebec*. At that time six recovered marines came on board from *Point Levi* hospital, and in 48 hours afterwards, among her company of two hundred people, fifty were seized with fevers and fluxes. In some, the sickness began with a flux, in others with a fever, but the flux was generally moderate and gentle. The fever continued

continued commonly from five to ten days; two patients were distressed with it for a whole month. When the first attack was from the fever, a supervening flux proved salutary; but where the contagion made its first appearance with a flux, the accession of the fever carried off the patient. This ship was twenty-seven days in her passage to *England* from *Quebec*, and during that time six of her men died,

A *Spaniard*, one of the *Loestoffe's* crew, having relapsed, turned yellow on the sixth day of the fever. His chief complaint at this time was an universal uneasiness over his whole body, his head alone being unaffected. He earnestly intreated to be bled; though his pulse was low, I consented to his repeated solicitations, and permitted a small quantity to be taken from his arm. I had now the first opportunity of inspecting the condition of the blood in the yellow state of this fever. The mass was exceedingly viscid and fizy; and, after standing some time in a proper vessel, the grumous concretion became covered with a yellow *gluten* half an inch in thickness, impenetrable to the finger, unless cut by the nail; the *serum* being at the same time of the ordinary consistence of a thin syrup, and of a deep yellow tinge. A person, prompted by curiosity, tasted this *serum*, and found it bitter.

bitter. Another person, not knowing it to be the *serum* of blood, judged it to be a composition of foot.

This fever was plainly the same with that which was brought last year from *North America*, and commonly by us denominated *the yellow fever*. It was more usually accompanied with a flux, than the fever of the preceding year; and of the sick sent to this hospital a greater proportion died of those from this ship, than from any other; for of thirty-four which were admitted, some with the flux, and others with the scurvy, but the greatest number with fevers, we lost nine patients.

In the following month of *November*, after the important conquest of *Quebec*, the *North American* fleet returned to *England* with several of the ships companies in perfect health; while the crews of others were afflicted with an active and powerful contagion.

In the number of the former, or healthy ships, were the *Prince Frederick*, and *Captain*; also the *Somerset* and *Stirling-Castle*, which arrived after the others. The infected were the *Princess Amelia*, the *Orford*, *Skrewsbury*, *Medway*, *Dublin*, and *Neptune*. The most vigorous contagion had invaded the two latter. From the *Dublin* they had buried in
the

the passage home nineteen men ; and, on their arrival at *Spithead*, they reported to the hospital ninety sick in fevers, fluxes, and the scurvy. On board the *Neptune* the mortality had been much greater, for it was said, that she had lost one hundred and sixty of her men in a few months, and her report contained one hundred and thirty-three sick. The surgeon had been seized with the yellow fever, but was recovered. One of his mates had the fifth relapse into it, when at *Spithead*.

Some attributed their sickness to the *French* prisoners, whom they had received on board. Others to the *New England* volunteers, who were very sickly ; and the fever was introduced into several ships by the marines from *Point Levi* hospital. Of near four hundred patients, who were attacked during the months of *November* and *December*, with the contagion in those ships, and were brought into this hospital, I only lost about twenty-six, who might be said properly to have been destroyed by it. And of that number one third were nearly past all hopes of recovery before they were landed.

It may be now proper to give a few observations on this infection, as they were written at different times in the wards of those patients.

“ 20th

“ 20th *November*. The *crisis* of this fe-
 “ ver happens at no fixed period, nor on any
 “ certain day, that can be foretold. The
 “ sick recover chiefly by the discharge from
 “ blisters *. A few had spots; on some
 “ they were *petechial*, most of whom are well;
 “ as also many of them who, in the course of
 “ the malady, became yellow. This last ex-
 “ ternal appearance is at present much more
 “ frequent than the spots. The tincture over
 “ the skin is universal, of a deep yellow tinge,
 “ often painful, and disagreeable to the sight.
 “ One *Ashley* has relapsed three times, and in
 “ each relapse there appeared this jaundice.
 “ In some, the stools, urine, and discharges
 “ from the blisters, are of a yellow hue; but
 “ this is not observed in all. Vomiting an
 “ unusual symptom.

“ 1st *December*. Few in this fever coma-
 “ tose. In bad cases a slight *delirium* at intervals

* Several foreigners, especially the *Spanish* physicians,
 have entertained an unreasonable prejudice against vesi-
 catories, on account of the severe strangury sometimes
 occasioned by their application.

But this distress is for the most part quickly abated, by
 throwing up a spoonful or two of linseed oil in a clyster;
 or by swallowing a few grains of camphire and nitre;
 drinking plentifully of cooling and mucilaginous liquors;
 or even by anointing the *os pubis* with a liniment pre-
 pared with camphire.

“ usual.

“ usual. The pulse always quick, seldom
 “ full or strong. The tongue, for the most
 “ part, foul. The urine varying, but often
 “ yellowish. — The blood taken from a ma-
 “ rine, resembles that of the *Spaniard* before-
 “ mentioned, is viscid and glutinous; both
 “ the *gluten* and the *serum* being yellow, as
 “ is the colour of the patient. — It having
 “ been remarked, that blisters have pro-
 “ duced not only the most salutary effect in
 “ removing the fever, but that such as re-
 “ covered, without their having been ap-
 “ plied, were subject afterwards to a giddi-
 “ ness, and pain in the head; it hath lately
 “ become a general practice to blister all who
 “ have the least symptom of this infection,
 “ and those complaints are no more heard of.
 “ The discharge from the blisters seems like-
 “ wise to assist in preventing a relapse.

“ 10th *December*. The early application of
 “ a blistering plaster causes often a sudden and
 “ entire abatement of the head-ach and fever.
 “ In the more advanced stages of the malady,
 “ blisters produce no bad effects; on the
 “ contrary, they often give the greatest re-
 “ lief, though not so immediately as in the
 “ first stage of this distemper. During the
 “ course of the distress, some have a ten-
 D dency

“ dency to loose stools, others a severe pur-
 “ ging *; but, after the application of a
 “ blister,

* In this complicated state of the fever, with a flux, an ounce and half of a strong decoction of bark and snake-root was given every four hours, with the addition of five drops of the Thebaic tincture. I have, in the same circumstances, exhibited also antimonial medicines in small doses, with a view to abate the fever; but so combined with opiates, as to prevent their ruffling the bowels. Upon the decline of this fever, the danger from the flux became less; and I have, with pleasure, observed both methods sometimes successful in removing the fever and flux at once. The former practice hath already been recommended by my good friend Dr. *Whytt*, (see observations on the diseases of the army, by Doctor *Pringle*, edit. 3. p. 245.) And I am informed, that in the autumnal fluxes of hot countries, the like method of treatment, after proper evacuations, hath also been experienced successful. Such fluxes as continued obstinate, after the recess of the fever, we generally stopped by small doses of *Ipecacoanha*.

Here it may not be useless for young practitioners, to have it remarked; that in many fevers, where the distress or pain is fixed and permanent, topical applications will oftentimes afford more immediate relief, than medicines taken into the stomach, or applied at a distance from the part affected; in like manner as a vomiting and hiccough, that have resisted the effects of opium, musk, and other powerful medicines, taken into the stomach, are often instantly stopped by a warm, spirituous, or camphorated application outwardly to the stomach. Thus opium in clysters will sometimes afford more immediate relief in fluxes, and some other intestinal

“ blister, these complaints frequently become
 “ at least milder. The state of the belly is
 “ carefully attended to, as a lax state of it is
 “ judged to be certainly the most eligible in
 “ all infectious disorders. Internal medicines
 “ have been duly administered, more parti-
 “ cularly boluses † of camphire with vinegar
 “ whey,

testinal maladies, than when administered in any other
 manner; and in the same form, I have often given *spi-*
ritus æthereus, wine, bark, &c.

Cupping and blistering should be used upon the trunk
 of the body and limbs, on, or as near as possible to, the
 parts affected with a fixed pain; as also, in many cases,
 blood should be taken from the vessels nearest to the seat
 of the complaint.

† In this hospital, as soon as a patient in a fever was
 admitted, and put to bed, and when no immediate indi-
 cation for making evacuations, or for altering the com-
 mon method, presented itself, it was our constant prac-
 tice, to give him four or five grains of camphire every
 four hours, washed down with a draught of vinegar
 whey. The camphire, being dissolved in mucilage of
 gum arabic, generally sat easy upon the stomach; and I
 esteem it a proper medicine in such cases. Another me-
 dicine much used, together with camphire, especially in
 fevers of a bad kind, was the following:

R. Rad. serpentar. virg. contus. dr. vi. aceti. lib. ij.
 coque ut sit una libra colaturæ, cui adde aq. alexeter
 spir. syr. e corticib. aurantior, ana unc. ij. Of this the
 patient took two spoonfuls every four hours. It was,
 however, seldom prescribed by itself, but with an ad-

“ whey, often the bark, wine, &c. and, in
 “ the yellow state, the neutral saline draughts,
 “ either with thebaic tincture, or rhubarb,
 “ according to the state of the body. But
 “ we esteem many of those internal medi-
 “ cines, as also bleeding, which I have sel-
 “ dom prescribed, as only temporary, or but
 “ auxiliary means of safety, in respect of the
 “ benefit from blistering. An emetic, given
 “ on the first appearance of a relapse, often
 “ produces the happy effect of preventing a
 “ return of the distemper.

“ *December 12.* Although the weather be
 “ extremely cold with an intense hard frost,
 “ which has continued many days; yet from

dition (to the above proportion) of sal cornu cervi dr. iij.
 vel spiritus ejusdem unc. i fs. And sometimes the acid of
 the vinegar was almost neutralised with crabs eyes or
 chalk.

Having frequently observed the attack of intermittent
 fevers, to be prevented by a draught of vegetable acid
 and *alkali*, (such as vinegar and powder of crabs eyes)
 taken in a state of fermentation on its approach, I am
 apt to think, that there is a much greater febrifuge virtue
 in such draughts, exhibited when in a fermenting state,
 than in a state of perfect quiet and saturation.

To a pound of this decoction of snake-root were
 added occasionally, tinct. cort. Peruv. simp. unc. iv. vel
 pulv. sublt. cort. Peruv. unc. fs. vel vin. croc. unc. i fs.
 And on some occasions elix. paregor. unc. i.

“ the

“ the *Neptune*, *Princess Amelia*, and other
 “ infected ships, they continue daily to send
 “ patients in this fever; some of them be-
 “ sprinkled with numerous *petechiæ*. Thus,
 “ the severity and coldness of the season do
 “ not stop, nor even check, the contagion in
 “ those ships.”

But I now resume the historical narrative of
 our other occurrences.

On *December* the 14th, when visiting in a
 fever-ward, I was surprized to find three pa-
 tients, who came from the *Cambridge*, whose
 company I supposed to be healthy. Accord-
 ing to my usual method, I began with inter-
 rogating those patients concerning the state of
 their ship, in point of healthfulness; and what
 they might imagine to have been the original
 cause of their own illness. Their answer im-
 plied,—that six hundred and fifty men, who
 composed the *complement* of the *Cambridge*,
 had enjoyed a good state of health for a long
 time past; and until they, with some others
 of their shipmates, were ordered on board the
Neptune, to prepare that ship for the dock,
 which was then in great distress for want of
 hands, most of her people being at the ho-
 spitals.

Of

Of those three men belonging to the *Cambridge*, one, on the fifth day of the fever, became spotted, and died; another narrowly escaped with life; and I have reason to believe, that their other shipmates, who were employed in the *Neptune*, conveyed the distemper to the *Cambridge*, as she soon after sent to the hospital several afflicted with the same fever.

I would have it here observed,—That when those men from the *Cambridge*, (one of the most healthy ships then in the fleet) became infected, their infection did not proceed from any person being sick in the *Neptune*. For upon the first complaint, or the appearance of any man being there taken ill, he was immediately put to the hospital. And the same is to be observed, with respect to the numerous infected patients, who were daily sent for five or six weeks, from the *North American* ships; that is, from the time of their arrival at *Spithead*, till that of their purification in the dock. During this period, no sick man was kept for an hour on board any of them, if the weather did permit to send him on shore.

Thus, though the sick with the fever were removed into the hospitals, yet still the pernicious source of infection continued to be as active as ever in the ships.

Further,

Further, it was at this time very remarkable, that no seamen, belonging to any other, but the *North American* ships, were seized in this hospital with that fever; notwithstanding the utmost precaution did not prevent their too frequent communication.

Besides, in those ships where there were no sick people on board, it was plain the infection could not proceed from a foul air, or want of attention in washing and keeping them clean. They were furnished with ventilators; and I have it from good authority, that the *Neptune*, where the men were most sickly, as also the *Dublin*, were kept uncommonly clean and neat. The former being a second-rate, a prodigious draught of air must have been admitted from her having three tier of ports; and when those ports were open, (which was all the time she lay at *Spithead*, and in *Portsmouth Harbour*, while the contagion was so violent) the ventilation and renewal of the air exceeded what could be effected in most other places, in an hospital, or in any chamber, by open doors and windows. The diet of the people was, at that time, fresh beef and broth, with greens.

I have enquired particularly into the condition of the apartment in the *Neptune* for
the

the sick, while she was at sea ; and find it was on the lower gun-deck, and to have been both spacious and neat. In it were cut two scuttles for the admission of fresh air, and these were at all times kept open. The adjoining ports were also thrown up, when it could safely be done, though the fresh air, admitted by the two scuttles, was sufficient to keep the place at all times sweet, and free from any bad scent. It was washed twice a week with warm vinegar, besides being duly cleaned out every day.

Sir *Charles Saunders*, who commanded the fleet, was on board this ship, and spared no method to have the apartment for the sick, the whole ship, together with the men, kept wholesome and clean.

The practice of cleanliness, and the benefit of the freshest air, did not however avail to remove this contagion ; which continued till the ship was taken into dock, and properly purified by fire and smoke. After this operation, the ship and crew became perfectly healthy. This was the case likewise with all the infected *North American* ships.

But to proceed. Towards the latter end of *December*, the *Diana Frigate* arrived from *North America*. When she left that part of
the

the world, the company was in health ; but, a few weeks before she reached the coast of *England*, meeting with very bad weather, the men were attacked with fevers ; of which the boatswain, surgeon's mate, and some others, died. The report of this ship, at her arrival, contained 32 sick of a fever, said to be malignant, with a small degree of infection. One man expired soon after being landed. All the rest recovered their health in the hospital.

Thus a seasoned sound crew became infected, as it would appear, from the closeness or damp below, occasioned by the hatchway being kept shut.

Another instance of the like kind occurred in the *Saint George*, which sailed from *Spithead* about *February* 1760. with a healthy company ; and returned, after meeting with rough tempestuous weather, in a sickly condition. The sickness, in both those ships, made its first appearance during an intense cold season, and was of a malignant nature.

Now, on board most other ships of war, we were able to trace out the importation of the contagion, either from the *Princess Royal*, or the other guardships ; from jails, unseasoned landmen, contaminated persons, or ships.

E

The

The effects of it were discovered, for the most part, in a few days, and the importers of it sufficiently known.

As, perhaps, I may continue the present plan, and transmit a particular account of the diseases, which occurred the year following; so, at present, it may suffice to remark, — That, in the beginning of the year 1769. several frigates, viz. the *Postilion*, *Liverpool*, *Repulse*, and *Niger*, brought an infection to *Spithead*, which they received from some draughts of newly impressed men.

This infection was very slight. In many, its presence was known only by regular or irregular shiverings; which were often mistaken for a sudden chill or cold, and at other times for an ague. Several were subject to a return, at intervals, of those cold fits, even for three weeks after they came a-shore.

In order to the separation of these tainted persons from the other patients in the house, which at that time was pretty full, some new wards, not before inhabited, were necessarily then opened. About 20 or 25 of those who appeared to be the most healthful, and on that account received into the new apartments, were seized with fluxes. In such as died of this distemper, I found large collections of *matter* in the cavity of the lower belly;

belly ; as also ulcerations along the external surface of the intestines, without any apparent sign of a mortification in the parts. Their ship-mates, who resided in the seasoned wards, were seldom afflicted with the flux. Their complaints were an universal disorder, pains in the limbs, sometimes in the head ; a cough and spitting, with recurring shiverings. Two of them in the fever became yellow, and both recovered. But in a seasoned ward, containing 20 patients, it was uncommon to see more than two or three of them confined to their bed.

Although this infection was far from being virulent, and produced but in few instances a fixed fever, yet the number of the infected occasioned a just alarm. Those frigates were therefore ordered to be properly purified. And a complaint having been made of the *Princess Royal*, a guardship at the *Nore*, as a baneful source of sickness to the fleet, that ship was also ordered to be duly cleansed. From the execution of these orders, the most beneficial consequences ensued.

However, from another quarter, we soon after received some infected patients. The *Garland*, a ship of 20 guns, arrived from *Plymouth*. In this vessel the company had been in perfect health, till some of her men

were sent to assist the *Shrewsbury*, whose crew was then mostly sick at *Plymouth* in the hospitals. Upon the return of those men to the *Garland*, they brought along with them a spotted fever, which they communicated to their own company.

The patients received from this ship laboured under a fever of a more malignant nature, than any fever I ever had occasion to observe at *Haslar*; and their sickness appeared to be the effort of a most violent contagion; so that it became necessary, without delay, to smoke and purify the whole ship. On the two following days after the operation, they sent a-shore four sick; and from that time this pestilential contagion was entirely removed from the *Garland*.

In this hospital none of her people, who had been afflicted with that malignant fever, relapsed. This I ascribed to their being most of them seized with the scurvy, while on recovery from the fever; for, at this time, an unusual, epidemic, and real scurvy, prevailed over the county of *Southampton*. Its influence extended itself surprisingly to the ships at *Spithead*, and to such as were hovering on the coast. It attacked some hundreds of the *French* prisoners, both in *Winchester* and *Porchester* castles; nor were families, living
at

at their ease in the county, exempted from a slight attack ; nay, some few persons were afflicted with it in a high degree.

At *Haslar* it seized men who were lately imprest, and who had never been at sea, equally with the old sailors, and those who had made several voyages to the *East* or *West Indies*, and had never before been affected with it. In short, it was uncommon to find a man, long confined in bed, especially after a fever, altogether free from the scurvy in this hospital. But to return from this digression.

I have now given a faithful account of all such infectious fevers, as occurred in *Haslar Hospital* from *June* 1758. to the beginning of the year 1760. Most of these particulars are known to the gentlemen who attended my visits, and who are all now alive ; as likewise to the officers and surgeons of the respective ships. Nor must we omit to mention a matter of less general observation, — That one man only in a ship shall sometimes be seized with the petechial, and sometimes with the yellow fever, all the rest of the people continuing unaffected.

Of this the *Magnanime* afforded an instance. She was 17 weeks at sea, and for a whole month

month of that time, during very bad and stormy weather, had on board those men who were wounded in the general engagement on the 20th of *November*. Notwithstanding this long continuance at sea, and the violent storms that she encountered, yet of 700 men, five only were reported to us to be sick, besides the wounded; and these chiefly in chronic ailments. However, upon their landing, I found that one of them laboured under a spotted fever, of which he soon died, overspread with petechiæ. Another person in the yellow fever was sent from the *Raven sloop*, of which he also died; and yet no other person on board of those two ships were either before or afterwards taken ill of such fevers.

I do not recollect many such incidents, that have occurred in the hospital, although I have frequently visited patients in fevers, similar to the above-mentioned, in families where an infection was not in the least suspected.

But let us leave this part of the subject for the present; and, turning our eyes to a more pleasing scene, take a view of the general state of the fleet, in point of health, during the course of the years 1759. and 1760.

In the grand fleet of *England*, commanded by Sir *Edward Hawke*, who, on the 20th of
November,

November, defeated the *French* under monsieur *Conflans*, they enjoyed a most perfect and unparalleled state of health. This fleet is supposed, at most times, to have consisted of above twenty ships of the line, and ten or more frigates, in which were embarked about 14,000 people. On the day of action, many of those ships and men had been above six months from *Spithead*; notwithstanding, as I have been told, there was not then among them twenty sick in all. Out of 880 men in the *Royal George*, (Sir *Edward Hawke's* ship) there was but one man who was incapable of duty. In the *Union* (Sir *Charles Hardy's* ship) of 770, they had likewise but one unfit for service; and on board the *Mars*, commanded by Commodore *Young*, though a new ship of 64 guns, there was not a sick person.

Now it was hardly ever known before, that ships could cruise in the *Bay of Biscay*, much above three or four months at a time, without having their men afflicted with the scurvy. An exemption from that calamity was entirely owing to this fleet having been well supplied with fresh meat and greens.

It is an observation, I think, worthy of attention, — That fourteen thousand persons, pent up in ships, should continue, for six or
seven

seven months, to enjoy a better state of health upon the watery element, than it can well be imagined so great a number of people would enjoy, though quartered on the most healthful spot of ground perhaps in the world.

How long the health of those men might have been preserved, if their supply of the land productions had not been cut off, we cannot say, though it seems a matter of laudable curiosity. For, after this engagement, the victualling transports having been detained by contrary winds, they suffered a great distress for want of provisions and water. And the commanding officers were at length reduced to circumstances, in this respect, little better than the common men. Notwithstanding, it was more than six weeks after the commencement of those hardships, before the scurvy made its appearance among them. And though most of the ships had been abroad, some seven, and others near eight months, yet they lost very few men, and those chiefly by the scurvy.

The *Royal George*, the capital ship in that fleet, sailed from *Spithead* the 17th of *May*, 1759. and did not return till the 18th of *January* following. When she left *England*, 20 of her men laboured under coughs, and other complaints, which are the usual consequences

quences of the irregular behaviour of seamen when on shore. A boy having brought with him the small-pox on board, five of her people died of that infection; and these were the only persons who died in this eight months cruise. Before her arrival at home, the company in general became more or less affected with scorbutic symptoms. And, when they got into the port, twenty, afflicted with the scurvy, were sent to the hospitals; of whom only one man died, having had a dropfy some time before.

To the general state of good health enjoyed by the ships companies in this great fleet, there were however two exceptions. These occurred in the *Sandwich* and *Torbay*. The former being a new ship, manned with people unaccustomed to the sea, and with many from the *London* jails, returned to *Spithead* towards the end of *December*, 1759. with a sickly crew, after a long and separate cruise from the rest of the fleet. And I have heard, that, in the month of *June*, 1760. several patients, having a malignant fever, were sent from the *Torbay* to the hospitals at *Plymouth*.

But, exclusive of the companies of those two infected ships, I have reason to believe,
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that

that there were few or none of the men employed on the coast of *France*, and in the *Bay of Biscay*, for 18 months, (viz. from *May*, 1759. to *December* 1760.) whose number may be computed at fourteen thousand at first, and ten thousand afterwards, kept constantly in those seas, (commonly from seven to eight months at a time) who were afflicted with any disease but the scurvy; and with that only, when not supplied with fresh provisions.

We must except such chronic complaints, as are always heard of among mariners; such as rheumatic pains, old hurts, and bruises, with consumptive cases, and the like; most of them being the consequence of former disorders, or of old age, and its infirmities.

I have now finished the narrative of such occurrences, as was intended to serve for the basis of the doctrines I now proceed to deliver.

First. It appears, that the sea air is wholesome and salutary to people, who have been for some time accustomed to breathe in it, and who are supplied with their proper food or nourishment. — And experience has further shewn, that persons, when at sea, are less
subject

subject to be afflicted with fevers, than those who are at land *.

Obstinate agues, and what is called the bilious cholic from being accompanied with vomitings and a purging of supposed bile, but especially the flux, are often at *Portsmouth* and *Gosport*, in the autumnal seasons, highly epidemical. — Since I resided here, I have observed those distempers to rage among the inhabitants, strangers, and troops, with an uncommon degree of mortality; while, during this period of universal distress at land, ten thousand men, in the ships at *Spithead*, remained unaffected with them.

From these accumulated proofs, this position seems evident. — And, indeed, so pure and untainted is the atmosphere at sea, by being duly ventilated by uninterrupted breezes, and refreshing winds, that it becomes the undoubted *asylum* for health in sickly climates, and during the rage of epidemical or pestilential diseases at land.

* Since this paper was read before the society, surprising proofs have occurred of the salubrity of the sea air, from several large ships, which have been out a twelvemonth, and some a longer time, in different stations on the coasts of *France*; and whose men have nevertheless continued in an unexpected state of good health.

Add to this, that the effects of a contagious malady are more clearly discovered in fleets, or in a number of different ships, than in towns or villages, as all the ships, which compose a squadron, are under the same influence of diet and of climate, the circumstances of the men being likewise in other respects for the most part similar. Hence, an infection may often spread itself unsuspected over a town or village, while in a fleet of ships its influence becomes more apparent, from its confinement to one or more ships.

Secondly. It also appears, — That fevers of various denominations, and of very different kinds, may be occasioned by a contagion; and that an infection in a village, house, prison, or in any other place, be it either imported, or there generated, does not always produce a malignant, much less a mortal fever.

To illustrate more fully the present point, let us remark what occurs in the flux, which may also be applied to the fever.

Every one knows, that the camp-dysentery, and indeed most dysenteric fevers, are generally both infectious and malignant. — But I had a patient in a chronic flux of two years continuance,

continuance, which seldom confined him to his bed, and yet he infected with it almost all persons who used the same privy. He had been at different times, in all fifteen months, in the hospital at *Hallifax*, in order to obtain a relief from his malady; and he afterwards remained three months at *Haslar*; hence he was discharged as incurable. This person was lodged in a ward with rheumatic patients, several of whom daily complained of a severe purging; and which they imputed to their medicines. The nurses of the ward became affected in the like manner, who first discovered it to be owing to this patient's stools, which were slimy, and very offensive. And, upon debarring him from the use of the common privy, this general complaint among them ceased. Cases of a like kind have frequently occurred in this hospital.

But to proceed further; — I think I have observed, that the propensity of the patients to frequent relapses into a fever, is in a degree proportional to the contagious disposition of that fever; or, at least, that patients relapse more frequently into a fever taken from an infection, whether it be of a mild or more virulent nature, than into other fevers. And this circumstance may, perhaps, sometimes assist us in judging of the nature and cause of a distemper.

Thirdly.

Thirdly. By a fixed attention to this subject for some years past, I am convinced, that the body of the diseased, kept exactly neat and clean, is not so liable to impress the *taint*, as his late wearing apparel, dirty linen, and uncleanness of any sort about him long retained in that impure state.—I say, these last contain a more certain, a more concentrated, and contagious poison, than the newly emitted *effluvia* or excretions from the sick.

What secretions do most readily convey the infection, and at what period of the disease, or under what circumstances the greatest danger may be apprehended, must be referred to a discussion in some subsequent paper on this subject. — I shall at present only, in confirmation of what has already been advanced, relate the different cases of the labourers, and of the nurses at *Haslar*.

The duty of the former was to carry up the sick in their infected cloaths to the wards; and afterwards to bundle up, and bring away, every article of their apparel. Those labourers were repeatedly infected, and with the most obstinate fevers. Whereas the nurses, who undrest the patients (near a good fire, which was always kept in the wards), and who constantly attended them after they were
put

put in a clean bed, and in clean linen, were not only, in many respects, less liable to the fever; but when they did receive an infection, it was generally much milder, and sooner removed. Several, indeed, of the nurses who suffered, owed much of it to their own indiscretion. For it was well known, that many of them, who were tainted, became so, by keeping the dirty linen, after it had been taken from the sick, for some days in the rooms where they slept, contrary to the rules of the house. One nurse was three times by that means infected. These observations may serve to enforce to the sick, and their attendants, the necessity of an exact neatness, and a constant cleanliness about both.

Fourthly. We are of opinion,—That, besides the materials of wool, cotton, linen, and apparel of almost every sort, the seeds of an infection are strongly adhesive to many other substances in infected chambers, and other places. Beams of wood, as in ships, chairs, bedsteads, with other furniture, as also various utensils used about the sick, may, doubtless, become strongly tainted with them. This hath been sufficiently evinced from the foregoing relation of the course of the infection in the fleet.

Fifthly.

Fifthly. Those seeds, more emphatically expressed by the *Greek* appellation *Μιασµατα*, wherever imbibed, or to whatsoever materials they may adhere, I call the *source* (or, what is sometimes understood among physicians by the *Latin* appellation *Fomes*) of an infection.— And we judge, that the malignity, the degree, and the danger, of the subsequent sickness, or fever, will in a great measure depend on the quality, or the specific nature of that source from whence it is derived. *Dr. Pringle* has given an account *, that of 23 persons, who were employed in refitting the old tents in which some tainted sick had lain, 17 died of the infection; so venomous must that source of poison have been: Whereas, on the other hand, we have seen the condition of the *Melampe*, and of many other ships, where there were undoubted proofs of an infection; and yet the fever produced by it was very mild, and in few instances proved fatal.

To illustrate this position more clearly, by other examples and facts, we must observe, That during the months of *January*, *February*, and *March*, *Anno* 1760. 24 patients were received from the *Garland*, most of whom had petechial spots, accompanied with other ma-

* Observations on the diseases of the army, p. 27.

lignant symptoms, and five of them died of the fever. During the same months, one hundred and five infected persons were sent from the *Postilion*, *Liverpool*, and some other frigates, of whom only eight died, and those mostly of a flux, proceeding from the damp in the wards, as before related.

Now, while instances similar to these frequently occur, (as plainly appears from the narrative in the former part of this paper) it seems altogether certain, that some ships are, (and in the like manner other places may be) more strongly infected than others; or, (in a phrase more adequate to our conceptions of the thing) they retain a more concentrated and poisonous source of contagion.

I cannot precisely say, that the number of the infected will be in a proportion to the virulent energy, or the strength of this source; because I have known a greater proportional number infected from a very mild contagion, than were taken ill out of the small *complement* of the ship *Garland*, where the infection was of a very violent nature. This much I am certain, that the danger of mortality will always be proportional to the strength of the poison. But to proceed.

G

Sixthly.

Sixthly. Wherever this venom lurks, and in whatsoever materials it is harboured, the admission of the purest air, or the most perfect ventilation, will often not avail, either in removing or abating its activity.

This position might be proved, by adding many more instances of the like kind to what has already been mentioned, of the *Neptune*, *Dublin*, and other infected ships, which were kept remarkably clean, and well aired; but I shall confine myself only to one proof more.

When ships are to be put into the basin of the dock, it is usual to remove their men out of them into *bulks* in the harbour. These hulks are old ships, containing, as one would imagine, nothing but decayed timbers, capable of receiving or retaining infection. They may be compared to such old uninhabited houses as have the windows broken, or at least at all times kept open, and where the wind, cold, and rain, have the freest access. Not long since, a part of the company belonging to the *America*, having slept in one of those hulks, I remarked several of them were afterwards seized with fevers of a low and bad kind; while the other part of that company, who slept on board their proper ship, were

were affected only with slight coughs and rheums. I have indeed frequently met with instances of bad fevers, which have been contracted from those cold, raw hulks. It must be remembered, that wholesome air, and even the severest frost, did not mitigate the force of the contagion in the *Neptune*.

We will allow, that, under some circumstances, a poisonous *fomes* in an infected chamber, or in any other place, may be removed or destroyed by accidental means, for which we cannot account; and, to speak the truth, what these are, we often know not. But it is most certain, that the case is oftener as it is here represented, and that an exact cleanliness, properly kept up in places truly infected, together with the benefit of a pure air, do often prove insufficient to remove the evil. The unavailing efficacy of those means sometimes must not, however, occasion any relaxation of the attention to them, much less a neglect of two such important articles, that are so highly conducive, during every such calamity, to the preservation of the healthy, and to the recovery of the afflicted.

But if means so absolutely necessary to prevent a contagion, and the spreading of it, as cleanliness and a pure air, do often fail in removing or annihilating its secret pernicious source; it

now gives me the highest satisfaction to acquaint my learned brethren of the society,—that I seldom or ever knew a proper application of fire and smoke to be unsuccessful in producing the happy consequence of effectually purifying all tainted places, materials, and substances.

It is not to be doubted, but that, excepting the true plague, there has been an infection fully as pestilential, and as mortal, in some ships, as in any other place whatever; yet I never heard of any ship, which, after having been carefully and properly smoked, did not immediately become healthy for the men. And if afterwards they turned sickly, it was easy to trace that sickness in persons coming from other infected ships, jails, and the like places.

There are three methods commonly practised for purifying ships or vessels, after the company has been removed out of them.

The first is, by burning of tobacco. A quantity of tobacco is spread on several fires made with such old pieces of rope, as are called junk. These fires dispersed into different places of the ship, their heat and smoke is afterwards closely confined below for a considerable

siderable time. By this operation, the *Neptune* and *Garland* were rendered perfectly wholesome.

The second method is, by charcoal fires, strewed with brimstone. The heat and steam of those burning materials for this purpose, must likewise be long and close shut up. Although this antipestilential fume, properly applied, hath been experienced to purify most effectually all tainted apartments, ships, cloaths, &c. yet I have observed, that it does not destroy some species of vermin, particularly lice. From which we might be led to imagine, that contagion is not propagated from animalcules.

The third method of purification is performed, by the addition of arsenick to the materials of the second process, in the following manner. After carefully stopping up all the openings, and every small crevice of the ship, (as was also necessary in the preceding processes) a number of iron pots, properly secured, are to be placed in the hold, orlope, gun-deck, &c. Each of these are to contain a layer of charcoal at the bottom, then a layer of brimstone, and so alternately three or four layers of each; upon which the arsenick is to be sprinkled, and on top of it, some *oakum*, dipped in tar, is to be laid, to serve

as a match. The operators, upon setting fire to the oakum, must speedily leave the place, shutting close the hatchway by which they came up.

From the known and experienced efficacy of the processes, which have been described, it appears, that fire and smoke are the most powerful agents for annihilating infection; and, it may be presumed, even the plague itself. This is, in some measure, agreeable to what we learn from the antient records of physic. But the preposterous use, or rather abuse, of fire on such occasions, hath caused its effects to be disregarded by some, and to be suspected of mischief by others.

The modern practice of burning large fires in the open air, in the streets, and about the walls of towns infected with the plague, or other contagion, is founded on principles groundless and erroneous; and hath therefore been experienced not only unsuccessful, but hurtful. Might not this have proceeded from a consumption and a destruction, (during the continuance of such great spreading and universal fires in a populous city) of that principle in the air, which is equally the food of animal life and of fire? And would not the mischief be still greater, at a time when a copious and constant supply of fresh air, fully impreg-

impregnated with that principle of life, was so absolutely necessary in the inner, foul, and pent-up chambers of the tainted sick? Be that as it may, and let us freely allow, that fires in the streets, and in the open air, may have proved hurtful during a prevailing contagion, it does not thence follow, that, when once a house hath been infected with a pestilential, or any other fever, and the patients removed from it, the doors and windows being shut, that such fires will then prove hurtful; or that, by this method of purification, all seeds of contagion will not effectually be destroyed. Experience, the surest test of medical truth, has fully ascertained the efficacy of the processes which have been described.

It is therefore much to be wished, for the benefit of the public, that this manner of purification might become a general and universal practice. Mankind need not be furnished with precautions against great and imminent dangers which they see, or poisons which they know; the love of life naturally leads to shun them. But there is a necessity for guarding, by the most effectual measures, against such secret means of sickness and of death, as are not pointed out by the watchful instinct of self-preservation.

Whenever

Whenever therefore persons die of a spotted fever, a malignant sore throat, the small-pox, or any distemper found to be communicable from the sick to others; for the preservation of the rest of the family, and of the neighbourhood, the corpse * ought, quickly after death, to be removed into another room; and that in which they died should be aired, by having the windows opened, till a charcoal fire be kindled, upon which some rolls of sulphur must be placed; and afterwards both doors and windows should be kept close shut for a considerable time, not less than eight or ten hours, and till the room be thoroughly and sufficiently smoked.

I have known in several ships, where there are the fairest opportunities of trying and judging things of this nature, that the contagion of the small-pox has been entirely stopped by means of wood fires, sprinkled with brimstone, kept burning, and closely confined, in the infected place. How useful then must this knowledge prove to the inland towns of England, where the dread and havock of that disease, among grown persons, exceed

* I judge a recent cold corpse is not apt to communicate any taint, unless it be from the discharge of humours, which may happen from any of the outlets of the body, or from running sores.

most calamities? In a word, a judicious and proper application of fire and smoke, is the true means appropriated for the destruction and utter extinction of the most malignant sources of Disease. They are besides the greatest purifiers of all bad and tainted air; but of this I am to discourse more fully in another work *.

With regard to the necessary precautions of defence, which are to be taken where there is infection, and while the sick are still in their chambers, I would for this purpose recommend chiefly the use of wood-fires in the apartments: For it hath been experimentally found, that the smoke of a wood-fire serves not only to lessen the force or violence of such poisons, but is also an excellent protection against their being conveyed. Thus, when from the situation of the fire-place in a ship, some smoke is apt to be frequently occasioned between decks, the men in her are observed to be more healthy.

But to confirm this position by more direct proofs of it. — Some years since, when the infection was so mortal in the *Royal Anne*, a guardship at *Spithead*, that many died of it in forty-eight hours illness, with a fever, and

* The second edition of An essay on preserving the health of seamen.

with violent bleedings from the nose, it was remarked, that none who slept within the reach of the smoke from the cook-room were infected. Hence it would appear, that a cold, raw, damp air increases the power and vigour of contagion *; and which is further confirmed by the following relation given by Mr. *Ramsay Kar*, formerly surgeon of the *Torbay*, and now of the dock-yard at *Portsmouth*.

In the year 1755. when a pestilential sickness raged in the *North American* fleet, the *Torbay* and *Monarch*, both in equal distress, had their sick landed at *Halifax*. The men, belonging to each ship, were daily visited by the respective surgeons of both; and in every respect of diet, regimen, and medicines, were equally treated by their joint advice. The cases and fevers appeared altogether similar. Notwithstanding, there died of the men belonging to the *Monarch*, more every week, by one half, than of the *Torbay's* people. This unequal mortality greatly astonished them. And the surgeons, after duly considering every minute circumstance with respect to the sick, found one point of difference only, to which the greater destruction among the *Monarch's* men could be ascribed. It was this; the

* This will also appear from my second paper on this subject.

latter were lodged in a large mill, without a fire-place ; while the former were in some old houses, not nearly so well accommodated, but where they kept a constant fire of spruce wood.

Next to the smoke of wood, for purifying a tainted air, I esteem that of gunpowder. This I often use, as being quite inoffensive to the lungs. The *Cascarilla Bark*, when burning, gives a most agreeable scent to the chamber of the sick, and so is at least an elegant preservative, and may prevent bad smells from taking effect. The steam of boiling camphorated vinegar is still more powerful for this purpose.

Now, besides correcting the ill quality of the air, and the purification of the chamber, another good effect is produced from such steams and smoke, as are inoffensive to the lungs. It is this ; as soon as the vapour becomes dense, the nurses and patients become desirous of the admission of the fresh air by the door or windows. Now it is certain, that, provided the patient be kept well covered over, and the curtains of his bed, if necessary, be close drawn, the air in the chambers of the sick cannot be too often changed. And there is no argument which can be used, so forcible to prevent sick persons from incurring the

danger of foul air in a room or ward, (occasioned by the obstinacy of his nurses or relations) than ordering it to be frequently fumigated or smoked. A practice more frequent in other countries than in this, and of great benefit to the sick.

I shall, lastly, deliver my sentiments with regard to the purification of goods, moveables, cloaths, &c. which are suspected to harbour infection.—And I cannot but take notice, that the usual custom of only unpacking and exposing such materials to the open air, is in many instances insufficient to destroy the latent seeds of disease.

It will appear from a history, to be given towards the conclusion of my second paper on this subject, that the spreading abroad of contaminated cloaths to dry, or to be aired, without a previous fumigation of them, may be of dangerous and fatal consequence. A damp air, we have already said, gives strength to contagion, and a dry wind may spread the mischief.—All such suspected substances ought therefore to be first fumigated in a close place, and in the same manner as an infected chamber; and afterwards they may be spread abroad, and exposed to the air.

The following late incident serves to enforce this precept. A common labourer having
died

died last *April* of the small-pox at *Porchester*; his wife carried his late wearing apparel, after airing them, as she thought well, to the Town of *Havant*, about nine miles from *Porchester Castle*. And, for further security against the danger, she permitted some weeks to elapse, before she made a present of her late husband's waistcoat to a joiner's servant. This servant, soon after putting it on, took the small-pox, and died. And before his disease was discovered in the family to be the small-pox, (for which he was immediately removed from his master's house into a sort of pest-house) it was found out, that, from the same cause, one of the children in that family, with two of her little companions, who all three together used daily to walk, or be carried, to school by that servant, were also infected. This occasioned a general consternation and fear in the town. But by making a proper separation of the sick from all others, and by taking other necessary precautions, the contagion, without extending itself further, was entirely stopt.

Let me add,—That the linen of the sick in fevers, or such cloaths about them as will admit of being washed, ought never at first to be put in warm water, as it is dangerous for any person to receive the steam that may hence arise. It is necessary to steep them first either
in

in cold water, or in cold soap-lees, for several hours, that the filth may be washed off.

I have thus finished what I intended to offer, with respect to the means of purifying infected places and substances;—and shall proceed to lay before you, in my next paper, what further has occurred to me, concerning the most effectual methods for removing an infection from such persons, as unfortunately may have become tainted with it.

End of the FIRST PAPER.

TWO

TWO PAPERS
ON
FEVERS and INFECTION:

PAPER II.

August 14, 1761.

GENTLEMEN,

I Could have wished, that medical custom had authorised me, in these papers, to have used some other words of equal signification, in the place of *infection* and *contagion*;—as those appellations are apt by too many to be commonly understood under the alarming notion of a plague, a pestilential or malignant fever. But I have here used those terms in no such limited sense, but with an extensive meaning to all fevers, of whatever kind, as are imparted from one person to another, either by a near approach to each other,

other, or by means of such substances, as have imbibed particles by which a fever may be communicated and spread.

It is necessary to obviate also another vulgar error that prevails. — Nothing is more common, than to hear a fever, or other distemper, pronounced to be free from an infectious disposition; and the attack of it upon a few attributed to very different causes, because the person himself, who judges in this manner, has had the good fortune to escape, as some others may have done, who were equally exposed to the infection.

This false manner of reasoning hath done an infinite deal of mischief to physic, in other instances as well as in this; when, from a few exceptions, an attempt is made to overthrow the established maxims of the science. As for example; if the bark should fail of curing an ague, or mercury of removing a venereal taint, are we thence rashly to conclude, that either of those medicines will prove, in all other such instances and cases, ineffectual?

Now, as there is no remedy, though the most sovereign in the world, which does not sometimes fail of its success, even in cases where seemingly it is well adapted; so there is no contagion, so far as I think, yet known,
that

that does affect all mankind indiscriminately. Inoculation for the small-pox sometimes fails to produce that disease, and yet no one questions its being contagious. I never found in myself the least symptom of an infection, although for three years I have daily attended people labouring under contagious maladies. And the young gentleman who was most exposed, by being constantly employed in bleeding, and superintending the other surgical affairs, in the fever wards of *Haslar*, though he never used even the necessary precautions, but was greatly culpable in exposing himself presumptuously to danger, was also never in the least affected. But it does not thence follow, that the fevers, during those times in the hospital, were not infectious, as there are the most positive proofs of the contrary.

An infectious malady is not therefore always such as the vulgar imagine it to be, — a calamity which spreads itself to every person who approaches; the plague itself is not altogether of such a nature. We would then chuse to define it a distemper, which, in certain circumstances, is, or may be, communicated to one, two, or more persons, and that, for the most part, in its identical form, and peculiar nature; which must be also suitable to the habit and dispositions of the persons who receive it. What these dispositions
I are,

are, it is not the purport of this paper to investigate. It may suffice at present, that I further illustrate and confirm my meaning, by an incident which has lately occurred.

In a ward where there were 18 marines, five of them were seized with a severe flux, being infected by two seamen, who were warded with them. Among 592 patients, then in the house, there was heard no-where this complaint, but in that ward. The five marines became themselves sensible how they got the distemper, though 13 men, in a parallel situation, were never in the least affected by it.

I relate this occurrence, to demonstrate the impossibility of proving a disease not to be infectious, by the negative of such as escape it.

In acute ailments, we judge the stools, more especially if very fetid, to be the most communicative of a taint ; next to those, the breath, and lastly, the *effluvia* from the patients in fevers.

But I must now proceed to the method of treating a person, who has received this infection from a fever ; and would have it observed, that the manner ought to be altogether

gether similar, whether the infection be acquired from a slighter or more virulent taint; and that it should be practised also in all cases of relapses.

The effect of contagion is often sudden and sensible. The slightest degree is that which is derived from the bad smell of patients labouring under offensive diseases. Last autumn I visited a lady in the bilious cholic, whose discharges upwards and downwards were intolerably offensive. A gentlewoman became so affected, only in passing the room, that she was immediately seized with a retching and sickness, which continued with her 24 hours. The nurse, who attended, was by this bad smell, (which she perceived at that time, as she expressed it, to reach her stomach) at once taken with a giddiness and vomiting. The vomiting became more severe at night, accompanied with a purging and frequent shiverings. By means of an emetic, both evacuations were stopped. Notwithstanding, for some days afterwards, she continued to have frequent *tremors*, a violent head-ach, with a low irregular pulse; and did not recover so soon as the patient.

Such slight degrees of infection I have often observed to be derived from patients of a

gross habit of body, when labouring under inflammatory distempers, and even other complaints.

A man was sent to this hospital, supposed to have a fever. He was furiously delirious, with a full quick pulse. Notwithstanding plentiful evacuations, this *delirium* continued for two months, with short intervals; when, understanding he had formerly been subject to it, we found his case to be plainly maniacal. A nurse, upon raising this person up in her arms, was instantly seized, from an intolerable bad scent, with shiverings, sickness, and a head-ach. Finding herself very ill, she took a vomit in six hours afterwards, and passed the following night in profuse sweats, by means of a sudorific draught. Next morning the violence of the head-ach was but little abated; for, upon every attempt to move, she complained of a burning heat and pain in her forehead, and also became giddy. Her inclination to drink was frequent, and her pulse low and quick. A blister was immediately applied to the back, and as soon as the blister took effect, the head-ach and thirst entirely left her, with a calm pulse. Next day she arose, and was well.

I have the cases of some, who received a similar infection, from assisting in putting
dead

dead bodies into the coffins. In particular, one man lately from performing that duty to his messmate, who, after the operation of the vomit, it was necessary should also be blistered. And last week I had two nurses infected by a person in the small-pox. Both were seized, in like manner, with shiverings, sickness, and head-ach; the one after receiving the patient's breath, the other after making his bed. In one, a pain darted into her breast; in the other, into the breast, and small of the back. The complaints of the former were speedily removed by a vomit, though she continued to have irregular returns of shiverings for three days afterwards. But in the latter, though the head-ach, sickness, and *rigors*, were greatly abated by the vomit, yet a constant heat and thirst, with a low pulse, and a violent pain in the breast, indicated the necessity of applying a blister, which was done to the affected part; and next morning all her complaints were removed.

Those infections I call the slightest; and, in 20 such instances, I have not met with one that proved mortal, where the patient was properly treated; though, in many of these cases, the taint proceeded from persons in the small-pox.

In

In discoursing with several, who have been infected by patients in contagious fevers, they generally compared the first impressi^on to an earthy, disagreeable scent, received into the stomach, as from a grave newly opened, but not quite so raw as the cadaverous stench; and the effects of it, shivering and sickness, were instantaneous. This is a particular smell, which cannot be described*; but is well known to the attendants about the sick, and the nurses, as it usually accompanies fevers of extreme malignity, and, with the peculiar discharges from the blistered parts, may be reckoned among the most constant symptoms of a bad fever.

But many are not sensible of any effect from this poison at first; and it appears, by the observations contained in my former paper, that an infection from a fever will sometimes continue about a person for many days, nay weeks, discovering itself chiefly by irregular shiverings, and those sometimes so severe, as to oblige the patients to have recourse to their bed once or twice a day; sometimes every other day.—Further, that amongst a

* Some compare it to that of rotten straw. It sometimes most nearly approaches to the disagreeable affecting scent from a person labouring under the confluent small-pox at their turn, though it is not so strong.

number thus affected, such as are put into unseasoned chambers, or have sat down on the cold ground, lain in damp apartments, &c. are immediately seized with a sickness at the stomach, sometimes with a dangerous purging, and often with fevers accompanied with bad symptoms.

It is also found, that in those fevers, concerning which we are treating, the patients are very subject to relapses. Now, in an infected place, whether house, chamber, or ship, where the seeds of contagion are harboured, frequent relapses into fevers, even to the sixth or seventh time, are not unusual, and may justly be ascribed to the influence of the contagion. But in a clean hospital, as this at *Haslar*, where all the bedding, cloaths, &c. of the sick, are duly purified by such methods, as we are certain do effectually destroy the seeds of this evil, relapses must be attributed to very different causes; accordingly, those persons were chiefly subject to them, who were irregular, obstinate, and could not be brought to submit to the proper confinement and restrictions of the house.

This may serve to evince the necessity of taking the utmost care of patients who are recovering, as I have remarked, that the irregular conduct of infected persons, and especially

cially their getting out of bed, or going abroad too soon, renders them subject to a return of the fever.

I must now beg leave to go further, and to offer it as a conjecture, — That these same causes, which occasion relapses, do sometimes give motion to the *morbific effluvia*, (which were before received into the body) and enable them to produce such effects, that probably might otherwise not have appeared. I am the rather of this opinion, because, as I said before, the effects of the communicated mischief from bad fevers are often very quick, and sensible to some, immediately at the time the poison is received. But if a person perceives no symptom of an infection, till many days after having left the place of its abode, and is first taken ill of it immediately after having been wet with rain, exposed to cold or damp, or been guilty of intemperance and excesses, it is probable, that these causes * have

* I have remarked many seamen, who belonged to infected ships, after having been several days at land, to be seized with their ship-fever, by over-eating, getting drunk, quarrelling, or the like excesses; and when they were sent to the hospital, I have found them covered with *petechiæ*.

The circumstance of the infection in the hospital, during the winter 1759. (as related in my former paper),
having

have excited this dormant poison into action; and none can positively affirm, that, without their influence, it would ever have affected the constitution. Be that as it will, and let this infection have been asleep for some time, either in the body, or in the cloaths, or other moveables about the patient, we cannot be too careful in guarding against its deceitful appearances, so soon as it is roused into action.

The coldness felt at first over the body, the shiverings, with slight sickness at the stomach, tend to confirm the mistaken opinion, that these are only the common symptoms of

having been entirely confined to the men from *North America*, further corroborates this sentiment. There were in *December*, that year, 700 patients in the house, and of those 200 came from infected ships, of whom above 20 were first seized with their ship-fever, after being some time in the hospital; having been received into it on account of other ailments. Thus for instance: — A seaman, belonging to the *Neptune*, was placed, for the cure of a hurt in one of his legs, in a clean surgery-ward. After continuing there 10 days, without having any other complaint, he, by stealth, procured some wine, so became drunk, riotous, and quarrelsome, and next day feverish. He was twice blooded for this fever, which was supposed to be inflammatory, and the effect of his debauch; but the third day, when brought into the fever-ward, I found his body spotted, and his fever of the same malignant kind, as that in his ship.

a cold, or sudden chill, or what the vulgar term an ague. But when, from such complaints, there is a just reason to apprehend an imminent fever, then is the time for the advice of the physician, as improper treatment, or the delay of a few hours, may produce effects beyond the power of medicine to remove.

To all who are supposed to be infected by fevers, during this state of *rigors*, a gentle vomit is immediately to be exhibited, before the fever be formed, and before the fulness or hardness of the pulse renders its operation dangerous. If the vomit be delayed too long, and especially if bleeding must precede it, the most certain and favourable opportunity of procuring safety for the patient is past.

The effects of this antidote are so well known in the hospital, and have been so fully ascertained by our repeated experience, that those who are employed in the fever-wards, as soon as taken sick, have immediate recourse thereto, and it seldom fails to prevent the illness, which was justly to be expected. I have found it equally serviceable in preventing relapses, when it is given immediately at the return of the shiverings. Let me add, that a loose stool or two should at
this

this time be procured, either by means of the emetic, or of clysters.

The vomit administered was generally very gentle, and seldom exceeded from six to ten grains of *Ipecacoanha*. The patient should afterwards, when put to bed, take a sweating and quieting draught, containing five grains of salt of hartshorn, and from fifteen to twenty drops of *Thebaic* tincture. — At other times we have given five grains of *Camphire* every four hours, with large draughts of vinegar-whey. Eight persons in ten got quite well by this treatment.

But if the head next morning be not altogether free from pain, or the fever is still to be apprehended, something more is to be done, which I shall mention, after premising, — That it must always be remembered, in cases of infection, to pursue the most quick and vigorous measures, as soon as possible: As in the first hours, and afterwards days, of this fever, less must be trusted to nature, than in any other distemper.

We think no confidence should be put, at this period of the disease, in *alexipharmic*, or sweating medicines; in the boasted specific antidotes *mithridate*, *treacle*, and the like, which,

I am of opinion, in cases of imminent danger, ought not to be used, till after proper evacuations.

But to proceed, if, as before mentioned, symptoms of a fever remain after the administration of the vomit, clysters, &c. or should the exhibition of an emetic have been altogether neglected, or unluckily delayed too long; or the patient injudiciously treated with sweating medicines, and bleeding, where the proof of infection is evident; recourse must speedily be had to blisters; these are to be applied to the back, if the head or limbs are affected; and to the breast, should the pain have seized that part.

I do not know a surer mark of a prevailing infectious fever, than that of twenty patients to whom it has been communicated, and who were blistered at night, sixteen will next morning be entirely free from heat, head-ach, pain, and fever. This is said, provided the source of their infection be not so highly poisonous, as was in the ship *Garland*, taken notice of in my former paper, or in other such violent contagions. Nor can we affirm, that such salutary effects would always be produced while the patient continued
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in an infected place, or within the sphere of its activity *.

How far those means would operate towards expelling the small-pox venom as soon as admitted, or, perhaps, in some other infectious fevers, that have not occurred in my practice, I do not know. But thus much I will venture to assert, — That, in the worst infections I ever

* Agreeable to the institutions of this hospital, all those who laboured under fevers of whatever kind, were separated from the other patients. They were kept remarkably neat and clean, having their linen often shifted, and even their beds once or twice a day, if requisite. None but the necessary attendants were permitted to enter into any of the fever-wards, which were usually fumigated every evening with gunpowder. When any person by having a flux, or otherwise, became offensive, he was removed to the greatest distance from others in the ward; and, near where he lay, the upper part of the window was kept open, and a pan of coals placed at his bed, in which the cascarilla bark was kept burning. None were permitted to use the bed-pan, or other utensils, which that person used.

When at any time the flux was prevalent, a ward was opened on purpose for the reception of men only in that disease. For the small-pox and measles, distinct wards and nurses were also set apart in the hospital; and no linen from those last wards were allowed to be washed in the common wash-house. So soon as a person was free from a flux, or the fever, he was sent into other wards appropriated to the reception of such recovering patients.

remarked,

remarked, the method prescribed has had better effects, than any manner of treatment recommended by the authors I have read on this subject, or any that I have had opportunities of trying myself. And in relapses, where I have had the most frequent cases for a fair trial, as also in the nurses, and other servants of the house, I have been fully satisfied of its beneficial effects.

Most of the men sent from the *Garland*, and some other infected ships, were blooded before they came into the hospital; but this operation is always dangerous, in proportion to the virulence of the taint. Fevers highly malignant will not bear bleeding; and though this operation be not so dangerous, nay sometimes necessary, in slight infections, where there is a fixed topical pain, with a full or hard pulse, yet it is to be remembered, that, after this evacuation, less benefit is afterwards to be expected from the vomit.

I cannot here omit further observing,—That much has been said against the promiscuous use of blisters, and their early application in fevers. In fevers truly inflammatory, and some other cases, I have known bad effects proceed from them. — But, what I have often reflected upon with astonishment, and has surprised the gentlemen who attended me, is,
that

that, very feldom in those ship-fevers, there was felt such a state of pulse, as forbid their use. What some mechanical writers in physic have advanced, concerning the theory of blistering applications, or their acting as *stimuli*, and so always raising and encreasing the fever, is not applicable to the most of those fevers of which we treat, where, according to the nurses phrase, the patient generally received a *cool* from the blister.

When the infection by these means hath been removed, in 24 or 36 hours after the operation of the blister, the intestinal canal should a second time be gently cleansed, by giving rhubarb, with a small quantity of *vitriolated* tartar.

These observations claim the more attention, as not being a few remarks made in private, or on any one particular fever, which might prove an exception to a general established principle in practice *. They are the
result

* I have often thought, that publishing only one or two singular or particular cases, does more harm than good. If the effects of the medicine, or method prescribed, are said to be salutary, one or two trials of them cannot be thought sufficient to convince us, that nature, and the constitution alone, could not have performed the cures without their assistance. But if the case is published
with

result of an attention to some thousand patients, whose cases are still preserved in the hospital.

with a view to represent the bad effects of any particular medicine, or of any established method of practice, that may have proved evidently hurtful in this particular instance, what is the just inference from thence? Only this certain truth, that all the maxims of physic are limited, and that there is in it no universal infallible method, or remedy. And for this, there is one at least very obvious reason to be assigned, which is the peculiar *idiosyncrasy*, or constitution of each individual person; in respect of which not only food, but medicines act relatively. Hence mercury, bark, opium, and all other remedies, operate differently in various habits. In some, rhubarb will produce intolerable gripes, and to others, a simple dose of manna will become an emetic. Some are surprisingly affected with the smell of a particular flower, and eating the most innocent things hurts others; thus cheese, onions, and shell-fish, will produce sometimes *nausea*, vomiting, and symptoms as if poison had been taken. But why should I seek to multiply proofs of a thing so universally known? The just conclusion then, upon the whole, is this; that good approved methods and medicines are not to be discarded from practice, because, in some few instances, we are told, that they produced unfavourable effects; and in such cases the calumny is often most unjustly heaped on the medicine, where part at least may be due to the temperament or *idiosyncrasy* of the patient, whose particular constitution it is the business of a judicious physician to learn, study, and know, as much as it is to acquire a perfect acquaintance with the *materia medica*; and, in his final result of judgment, to have taken both under due consideration.

But

But as the best proof of the efficacy of any method, is the success with which it is attended, I here give you an account of the mortality amongst the nurses, servants, and all other persons in the hospital (exclusive of the patients), from *June 1758. to January 1760.*

In the first six months only one nurse died, of whose case I kept no particular account. In the year 1759. there died two of the labourers, and two nurses. With regard to the two former, how they were at first treated I know not. One of them, upon being taken ill, went to his own house, and there died of a fever. And the other I did not see till the eleventh day, when I observed him to be covered with spots, even to the end of his fingers; he had been a very irregular, drunken man. Of the two nurses, the first was an old woman, who seemed to die purely of a decay of nature, without any just suspicion of another cause. The second died in the following manner, of an infection.

In the month of *April*, three months after the yellow fever had entirely ceased, two nurses, lodging in the same chamber, were seized with fevers, and both became yellow; one died, the other recovered. From a strict

examination it was discovered, that they had concealed some shirts and cloaths belonging to the infected men from *North America*. Those cloaths were taken from under their bed, and destroyed*.

Thus, in eighteen months, there died only five † persons from among above a hundred, who were severally, and some constantly, employed, during that time, in various offices about the sick.

This extraordinary preservation of such a number of attendants and residents in so large an hospital, compared with the mortality which we have heard of in other hospitals, in the ships, and at other places, can be ascribed only to these two causes.

The first was the speedy removal, and immediate purification, of the cloaths, bedding,

* A similar case to this occurred in three nurses, that attended the surgical patients, who were successively infected by lying in the same tainted bed; one of them, in whom an infection was not suspected, had a very bad petechial fever for near twenty days. From the other two the infection was speedily removed.

† There was another nurse taken ill in *November* 1759. but who did not die till the *January* following. The circumstance of her having been infected was somewhat doubtful.

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Ec. of every patient at his first admission; the smallest article of apparel, belonging to a person in a fever, not being permitted to remain with him in the ward, nor even in the hospital. For, as soon as received, he was directly stript, and all his cloaths, with their contagion, conveyed to the smoke-house, where the taint was effectually destroyed.

Another cause of preservation was the constant and early use of the proper means that have been prescribed. There are now several nurses in the hospital, who have been five, six, or even seven times infected, and thus successfully treated; and I have had often two or three of them taken ill in a week.

I am apt to think; that an infection, from whatever impure fountain it is derived, does first discover itself by affecting the stomach and intestines. It is uncommon to find a case of this sort, which does not begin with shiverings; commonly with a slight *nausea*, often a vomiting. This aguish state continues with some a shorter, with others a longer time; after which a pain is often felt to dart with violence into some one or other part of the body.

I attended three patients in the same ward, and all from the same ship, during their state

of *rigors*. In one the pain attacked the head, in another it seized the breast, and in the third it descended to the legs, so as to resemble a violent rheumatism.

We judge that a speedy and thorough cleansing of the whole alimentary tube, by the means of a vomit and clysters; or even, perhaps, by a gentle, natural, supervening looseness, washes away the poison. Whereas a severe flux indicates the mischief at this time to be fixed, and as it were in a manner concentrated in that canal; from whence it is still often successfully dislodged by an immediate emetic; or, if that should fail, a blister, applied without delay to the back, sometimes stops this looseness as effectually, as at other times it removes the head-ach, pain of the limbs, or breast.

In reflecting on this subject, I have frequently wished that it were tried, what effect the like method would produce in fevers, which are occasioned by the noxious vapours exhaling from the earth, and the offensive polluted air in unhealthy or marshy places.

In *England*, and in other parts of *Europe*, according to the temperature of the season, and the different pernicious qualities of the soil, the diseases thence arising are either
common

common agues, fluxes, or fevers, the latter being, for the most part, of a low and malignant nature. And there are many distant unhealthy parts of the world, where strangers are sure, upon their first arrival, to be attacked with distempers often fatal to them.

At *Senegal*, in the rivers *Gambia* and *St. Domingo*, on the coast of *Guinea*, at *Carpenter's River*, near the *Mosquito* shore in the *West-Indies*, and in many other places, I have been told, that almost all *European* strangers, at their first coming, lose their colour and appetite, becoming yellow, and troubled with sickness, or indigestion; and that gentle vomits are found very suitable to the constitution, and to the diseases in those climates.

The fever, with which they are soon afflicted, begins sometimes with a *delirium*, oftener with a vomiting; it will not bear bleeding, but blisters, camphire, and the bark, are the appropriated remedies for it, as well as for contagious fevers. If the patient, after the application of blisters, still continued bad, and was delirious, with a low pulse, some have empirically given from five to ten grains of *calomel* joined with camphire, which was said to remove the *delirium*.

*tirium**. This circumstance would not have been mentioned (being a practice we cannot recommend), if I had not been informed, by some judicious and authentic accounts lately sent me from the *East-Indies*, that mercury hath been experienced a most useful medicine in the *hepatitis*, after the inflammation had been somewhat abated by bleeding, and the neutral saline medicines. And to the use of the *mercurius alcalisatus*, many of our troops in that part of the world have owed their preservation, to whom, in that disease, it was freely administered.

We would, indeed, advise all those, who intend to pursue the practice of physic, for the benefit of mankind, to peruse the histories of such observations as have been made on the fevers of different countries, as also the ancient relations of this distemper, together with the many excellent accounts of it published in our own times. For to the publi-

* Doctor *Whytt*, professor of medicine, having desired me to try at *Hasslar* hospital, in fevers accompanied with *delirium*, restlessness, *tremors*, convulsions, and great agitation of the nervous system, with a sunk, or at least not full pulse, the effects of a fomentation of hot water by itself, or with a very little vinegar, applied to the legs and feet, by means of flannel cloths, renewed every five or ten minutes, I have often put this method in practice; and, when continued for some time, the patient commonly became calm, and fell into a sleep.

cation

cation of such writings, all improvements in the art of healing are entirely owing, notwithstanding the contempt of the ignorant, the envy of the malevolent, and the censure of defects, to which authors are exposed.

But knowledge in physic can never be attained otherwise, than by a series of observations; for which we must add to our own experience, that of men who lived before us, or who practise in different places, carefully separating experimental truths from *hypotheses*. By the help of this acquired knowledge of what from age to age, or in different countries, has, by the inspection of nature and diseases, been discovered or improved, the mind becomes stored with experimental truths and observations. And a physician, thus qualified, will be enabled to take a comprehensive and instructive view of the operations of nature, and of diseases under various shapes, and as influenced by the climate, seasons, weather, constitution, and medicines.

A judicious *synopsis* of the writings on fevers, in a chronological series, would be a valuable book. Treasures of useful knowledge might then be found in one volume, where, disengaged from conjecture, such naked truths should only appear, as are confirmed by observations and facts. We might
there

there contemplate, under one view, what advances have been made towards a more complete knowledge, and a more successful method of treating this malady, ever since the time of *Hippocrates*. This book would perhaps not comprise an abridgment of the works of above two hundred authors, whose observations would deserve a place in it. And although a very striking contrast would appear in the theoretical opinions of authors, yet a nearer resemblance, than perhaps is expected, might be found in the facts they relate. A better judgment might thence also be formed of the propriety of the peculiar denominations given to different fevers by the antient writers; and of the reasons why, in every age almost, the appellations of fevers have been changed; — whether also fevers are essentially different in different countries, varying likewise their nature at different periods of time. Conclusions drawn from partial facts, and an imperfect experience of things, would there be distinguished from more universal and better established truths. And, perhaps, the influence of a favourite opinion, or of a pre-conceived fancy on the writings of some, even of our best instructors, such as *Sydenham* and *Morton*, would more clearly be perceived.

Mangetus

Mangetus and *Bonetus* have greatly swelled the volumes of their collections of physical writings with hypotheses, many of which they might have permitted to have remained without a transcript in the original. — Dr. *Daniel le Clerc* has given us a complete *synopsis* * of all that the antient physicians knew, taught, and practised. If the learned Dr. *Friend* had executed as fully the remaining part of that plan, his history of physic would have been rendered still more valuable.

It is, indeed, very necessary for physicians to study the diseases of foreign countries, as they may occur in *England*, more especially to foreigners. Thus for example; in a *Negro*, a native of *Mexico*, I observed the *black vomit*; and have seen *West Indians* afflicted, when here, with the *dry belly-ach*. I lately visited a lady of distinction, who was distressed for two years with a sore mouth, and recurring purgings. During this time, she also consulted some of the most eminent physicians in *London*, as well as in the country. Some imagined it to be the scurvy, others a laxity of the bowels. After being at *Tunbridge*, *Bristol*, and other places, where she had the best advice, she died of the *apthoides chro-*

* *Histoire de la medecine.*

nica, a distemper hardly known in *England*, but endemial in the island of *Barbadoes*, where she was born.

But, to return from this digression. *Fevers* being of all diseases the most destructive to mankind, it is at least to be wished, that such a specific was found for continual fevers, as the *bark* is for intermittents. This is to be sought for, perhaps, in *antimony*.—But even when obtained, much, as at present, would still depend on timely and judicious evacuations, by bleeding, blistering, vomits, purges, &c. All, or either of which may do mischief when unskilfully advised, or when administered at improper seasons; whereas, with prudent care, such evacuations become the most certain means of relief hitherto known from this fatal distemper.

I have, in many hundred cases of fevers, tried different *antimonial* preparations, and am convinced, there is in some of them a powerful *febrifuge* virtue, even when they act as an alterative. Many *antimonial* medicines are however entirely divested of such a virtue, whilst some possess it in a smaller degree, as *vinum antimoniale*; and others in a more eminent degree, as *tartarum emeticum*.

Antimonials should be exhibited in small doses frequently repeated. I often add four or five grains of *camphire* to each dose, at other times *nitre* in like quantity. But, when much dependence is placed on nitre, it should be given by way of clyster, as well as by the mouth. When *antimony* ruffles or purges, it should be administered in boluses of *confectio cardiaca*, *electarium e scordio*, or even *philonium Londinense*; and, in cases of great lowness, with the addition of five grains of *sal cornu cervi*. The *contrayerva* and *Virginian snake-roots* have been much reputed for their alexipharmic qualities. Both roots are apt to be sandy. An infusion made of two drachms of each, for four or five hours, in a pint of boiling water, strained and freed from the dregs by standing, and taken to the quantity of two ounces every four or six hours, is a proper medicine for low fevers; to which, according to the judgment of the prescriber, and state of the pulse, may be occasionally added, either camphorated or distilled vinegar, and sometimes *Rhenish* wine.

In a former note * I observed, that medicines act variously in different habits, and always with an effect relative to, or as directed by, the constitution. On this subject I have

* See p. 71.

further to add,—that, in the corporeal frame, there is a wonderful faculty, which divests some sorts of poisons of their virulent and noxious quality, by means of their long use. And in the same manner many excellent medicines lose their smart, quick, or effectual operation, when the body is once become habituated to them. And this is oftener the case, when such medicines pass the stomach, without occasioning a sickness there, or when their daily use does not produce a loathing. If a person takes as much jalap as will purge, and every day repeats the same dose, he will, in all probability, find that quantity of jalap will, at length, by constant use, abate much of its purgative quality. Cream of tartar has, with some, very singular effects. At first it is laxative, till the person has taken it for some days, and then it acts as an astringent of the body, until the purgative quality is again restored, by increasing the dose. In physic we are very sensible, that some of the best remedies may, in like manner, by frequent use, become much diminished in their virtues, particularly antimony, opium, and the bark.

In acute diseases, for these reasons, all medicines of an important efficacy, when continued, ought gradually to be augmented in the dose, so as not without intention to ruffle
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the stomach or bowels. And, in the maladies of longer duration, prescriptions should, after a proper time, be prudently changed for others, new to the constitution of the patients.

Further, not only in hospitals, but in all private families, persons in fevers ought to be kept separate from others, and free from the idle visits of over-officious friends, and of all disturbance and noise. This ought to be done more particularly, with a view to the enjoyment of that tranquil and hopeful state of mind, which must co-operate with the mechanical salutary effects of medicines towards a recovery. I can affirm, that I have known many patients, who may be said properly to have been killed by the fatal shock or surprise given to them by an account of the death of a friend, or of one or more persons, who were afflicted in the same state that they imagined themselves to be in.

Those who neglect the *medicina mentis*, or a due attention to the passions of the mind in sickness, are inattentive to one of the most important aids towards the relief of it. For, if the most wholesome food does not nourish, when the desponding mind is oppressed with grief and fear, neither can it be expected, with a person under the influence of those afflictive

fictive passions, that the most appropriated medicines will produce their salutary effects.

But to proceed; as we have often in these papers made mention of *petechiæ*, it may, perhaps, be now proper to describe the appearances on the skin, that were meant by this term. Those black and purple spots, or *petechiæ*, which are observed at the fatal period of a malignant small-pox, I have not commonly met with in other fevers, though sometimes, where there was a bad fever, I have noted black and roundish smooth spots of blood, in the interstices of a small miliary eruption. But oftener the *petechiæ*, which we have remarked, were of a pale red, resembling a rash, appearing sometimes to the eye elevated, but commonly found to be flat by the touch. On the back, loins, and thighs, they appeared often of an irregular figure, and so numerous sometimes, that they seemed to streak the skin. In some patients, received from the ship *Garland*, (so often mentioned), the *petechiæ* were visible, without once disappearing, for five or six days. But their presence is generally more inconstant, and often not observed, unless carefully attended to, which happens on account of their frequent vanishing, and of their faint appearance at times, under the skin.

These

These appearances in malignant fevers are generally supposed not to have been taken notice of by the antients. But *Hippocrates* describes spots similar to them; and *Aetius* expressly says, that smooth spots, resembling flea-bites, appear on the skin in malignant fevers.

Some authors, from a supposition of the great dissolution of the blood in *petechial fevers*, and from another supposition, that blisters encrease the dissolution of that fluid still more, have forbid their application in such fevers. But the experience of the most eminent practitioners does not support those theoretical opinions *.

It is here to be remembered,—that the malignity in no common fever can be cha-

* *Riverius* treats of the petechial and pestilential fevers in the same chapter, where he says,

Ubi maxima est malignitas, unicum vesicatorium non sufficit, sed plura admovenda sunt; soleo ego in magna morbi sævitia, quinque locis admovere, cervici nimirum, utrique brachio, parti interiori inter cubitum et humerum, et utrique femori, parti etiam inferiori inter inguina et genua, *cum felici successu.*

Riverii opera, p. 541.

And *Etmüller*, treating of the same fevers, says, Si ulla est febris in qua vesicatoria conveniunt est imprimis petechialis. p. 365.

characterised

characterised by spots alone, unless such as have been described, be accompanied most commonly with a low, sunk pulse, and the patient be either comatose, delirious, or both, having his countenance either bloated, or flushed with a pale red.

I have seldom been able to form any prognostics of the fever from those spots, because of their extreme mutability in form, colour, and size. When a person was first brought into the hospital, there has often been observed numerous, smooth, black, and purple spots on the surface of the body, especially on the back and loins. After he was put to bed and refreshed, those spots were sometimes hardly discernible, and at other times they had turned red, and felt rough or scaly. Nay, so mutable at times was the nature of some spots, that I have remarked a glass of wine given to the patient, or a sudden alteration in the passions of his mind, had an effect to change their colour, and sometimes to occasion their disappearance, when a roughness was perceptible in their place.—And this naturally leads me to say somewhat concerning the prognostics in fevers.

We judge it to be experience only, joined to a natural medical sagacity, that can render a physician eminent, as many have been, by
their

their predictions in fevers ; because there is no permanent constancy, or invariable uniformity, in any one febrile symptom, on which alone such just predictions can be grounded. The pulse, in which so great confidence is to be placed, does sometimes, in fevers, point out but a small danger, even while the patient approaches near death. When felt in different places, physicians sometimes find it various, and in the same place often altered after an interval of an hour or two.

A just prognostic is therefore formed from a contemplation, in one view, of all the occurrences and symptoms about the sick, and by making a proper allowance for the greater degree of certainty and fallibility in each. Thus, the countenance of the patient, especially the eyes, the posture in which he lies, the manner in which he breathes, speaks, eats, drinks, or swallows ; the state of the pulse, of the tongue, of the urine, and of all the other excretions, compared with a review of what has passed, strikes the mind of the experienced and skilful practitioner with a quick incommunicable sense, and an idea of danger or security, arising from his natural and acquired habit of judging.

I never had an opportunity, at *Haslar* hospital, of seeing fevers rise to such a malign-

nant height as to produce *buboes* in the groin *, livid blotches, or mortifications. We have, tho' but seldom, observed, in very violent infections, a swelling of the *parotid glands*, which, for the most part, was unattended with a fever; notwithstanding that, such as were in this manner seized, commonly died. *Aphthæ* were also unfrequent symptoms. Amongst the worst signs and appearances of such contagious fevers as I have had occasion to treat, were a sunk, lifeless state of the eyes, in some a most offensive stench from the breath, and from the whole body, a noisome discharge from the blistered parts; sometimes spots on the body, at other times an universal yellowness.

I have remarked in a few instances, that some persons, who have once been infected, though they were speedily relieved by a vomit and blistering, yet afterwards became, for some time, sickly, and afflicted with irregular complaints. This happened chiefly in weak constitutions, to hysterical women; and in very malignant taints.

* In the beginning of this year, I had occasion to see, at *Winchester*, many of the *French* prisoners, who were infected with a fever of a very malignant kind, attended with buboes both in the groin and the arm-pits, and other pestilential symptoms. They were put under the care of Dr. *Welsh*, a skilful physician in that city.

And

And this leads me to take a view of the state in which the constitution is often left after a fever, when it has been violent, or of long continuance : a matter which ought to be well understood.

Many, especially women, and those of a delicate habit, and particularly during hot weather, are often reduced, by fevers, to an extreme degree of imbecility, accompanied with a frequent purging, proceeding from mere weakness. Too much care cannot be taken at first, to check this destructive waste of strength, not by vomits or purges, which, in such circumstances, prove hurtful, but by strengthners, by wine, by japonic tincture, toasted rhubarb, and a mixture of the thebaic and bark tinctures,

Others are, at this period, subject to a constant teasing cough, proceeding altogether from their weakness. I have opened several who died exhausted in this condition, and who, from their incessant cough and spitting, great weakness, frequent purgings, difficulty of breathing, and other symptoms, were supposed to have died of a consumption of the lungs. But I found those symptoms in such weak persons (where the case had not been *peripneumonic* or *pleuretic*) most commonly to have proceeded from the *serum* of the blood extra-

vasated into the *tela cellulosa* of the lower extremities, and into the cavities of the breast and belly.

It is not to be supposed, as the antients did, that the *œdematous*, or swelled legs, common to such people, are distended with phlegm, nor are they inflated with wind or air, but enlarged by water. When such swellings disappear, as is usual by lying in bed, or in an horizontal posture of the patient; this water is returned into the belly, and often into the breast, where it occasions, if in great quantity, an incessant cough and stitches.—I say, if in a great quantity, being persuaded, that a small quantity of water, especially if contained in the belly, gives little or no uneasiness. But generally in those persons there was a great deal of water found in both those cavities, and in the legs; so that such patients apparently died of an universal dropfical or watery habit.

It is an admirable observation made by the judicious *Sydenham*, that the best remedy for a cough, after a fever, is a rich nourishing wine: a cordial which, I think, should never be omitted at that period; to which we may add, a bitter of the bark, and every morning the use of warm milk, with a spoonful of some agreeable spirituous and diuretic water put into it.

Where

Where there was no flux, but a constant and wasting spitting, I have sometimes given a few grains of calomel and rhubarb with a good effect, by way of a gentle hydragogue purge.

But if this state of weakness becomes insuperable by milk of women, asses, or of cows, with the restorative aid of bark, wine, gentle exercise, and change of air, and by diuretic and hydragogue medicines; the scene of life is often closed with one of the most affecting spectacles of mortality. The habit and look of the patient bespeak a quick approach of death; and when the water, in form of phlegm, is spit up to the quantity of a pint or two daily, as I have frequently observed it, or evacuated by other too copious, constant, and unnatural drains, he becomes so wasted, as to bear the resemblance of a mere animated skeleton; tho' still fully possessed of every faculty of the senses, and of a sound mind. Such a person is apt, at this time, to become fondly tenacious of life, and to conceive the most eager expectations of it from every future change of weather, diet, or of medicine, that is mentioned, and from all such cases as his own, favourably represented to him. One good and refreshing sleep, obtained after a tedious watching in pain and anxiety; a shifting of the distress from one part to another of the body, where

where it is become more tolerable — a short respite from the cough — an abatement of the purging — the return of a longing and false appetite, with more calm spirits — all of these conspire to flatter him with pleasing, but delusive hopes, until the scene is closed, and the curtain drops, which separates this world from his view.

One would indeed be apt to judge from some books, as well as from the bills of quacks, that men would never die in or after a fever. But physic does not promise immortality. For some years past, I have every day visited an uncommon number of patients afflicted with the fever; and it may be believed, my attention was not wanting to their preservation. For this purpose, every method of relief, that I could devise, was attempted; and new objects almost every morning presented themselves to furnish further matter for experience and reflection. The hospital was liberally supplied with the best medicines, with wine, and every thing proper for the sick; and every method was made use of that could possibly contribute to their ease under affliction, or to their relief from it. Notwithstanding all which, fevers often proved fatal. And indeed we daily see even a very simple wound, ulcer, or tumor, will sometimes elude the whole art and power of surgery.

Let

Let us now pass on to remark the appearances after death, in such who have died of contagious fevers.—In the few I have opened, very large collections of *matter* were generally found in some of the cavities of the body. —In a man who died on the eleventh day of a yellow fever, whose body emitted no bad smell thirty-six hours after death, and was still yellow, I found all the bowels of the lower belly sound; the liver and spleen were remarkably so, as also the stomach and intestines. There was no suffusion of the gall either in the guts or stomach. The gall-bladder, of the natural size, contained the usual quantity of bile, somewhat thicker than common, and grumous*.

Upon examining further, his disease was found to have lain wholly on the left side, where, within the breast, was found near a quart of yellowish water, in which were many large flakes of yellowish crusts or *gluten*, appearing, by comparison, precisely the same with the thick pellicle, which had covered the blood taken from his arm. Portions of

* In others, who died in this yellow state, I have found the gall in its bladder of a thick roapy consistence, like pitch, but never saw the liver in the least affected. I at first, in several bodies, opened the head only, but afterwards judged, that all the cavities ought to be inspected.

these flakes bore, in several places, a resemblance to a membranous substance beginning to be converted into a purulent jelly. The *pleura*, both on its inside and outside, as also the exterior membrane of the lungs (which, in some parts, was greatly thickened) were covered with cakes of this crust, hanging in some places loosely, in others adhering more strongly; and all in different states of yellow or purulent corruption. The right cavity of the breast, and all the other parts of his body, were found intirely free from disease.

His complaints had been chiefly in his breast; and a small quantity of blood, taken from him two days before his death, was covered with an impenetrable, yellow, thick *gluten*; the red portion below it being quite loose.

I have also, in those fevers, seen the disease entirely confined to the heart and *pericardium*. In one, who died the tenth day of the fever, without having been yellow, a quantity of *pus*, and purulent crusts, were found mixed with the water of the *pericardium*. The heart, in different places, was excoriated, and, together with the inside of the *pericardium*, was lined with a thick membranous cake, of the same quality with that already mentioned on the lungs and *pleura*. In some places, this
cake

cake had a purulent, in others a jelly-like appearance, exactly resembling the size of the blood. His complaints had been a great oppression on the breast, and an extreme difficulty of breathing. In a third person, who died on the 13th day of the fever, above two quarts of *pus* and purulent jelly were found in the cavity of the belly. The source of such an extraordinary quantity of matter, was not from any preceding inflammation, or an imposthume, that we could discover; but from innumerable ulcerations on the caul, the surface of the guts, the *mesentery*, and *peritonæum*. Neither did those ulcerations (or excoriations, as they rather appeared in several places) seem the primary fountains of the matter, but to have been occasioned by its acrimony.

It would be altogether foreign from the purport and intention of these papers, to dilate on the speculative conclusions which might be drawn from the observations contained in them; I shall therefore, on that head, pray only for a very short indulgence. And it must first be premised, that the blood taken from persons in a fever, and even from persons in perfect health, though not so frequently, does, after standing in a clean vessel for a short time, commonly separate into three distinct portions; *viz.* the serum, or water of the blood, the red concreted mass,

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and a viscid pellicle, termed the size, which spreads itself on the top of the red concretion. Some time ago, when making experiments with the blood taken from persons in the scurvy, I was surprised to find it often covered with that fizy crust. This induced me to extend my experiments to large quantities of different blood, which I had opportunities of inspecting at once in so large an hospital. For which purpose I one morning ordered ten patients in the scurvy to be bled, taking two ounces from each. A larger quantity was taken, for its inspection, from two men in health. That day I had occasion to prescribe bleeding to a woman in labour, two hours before her delivery, to a girl of sixteen years of age afflicted with a lunacy proceeding from the *chlorosis*, to three patients in the rheumatism, and to a person labouring under an obstruction of the liver.

From a nice comparison, and an examination of the different blood, I found in all, that the more size there was on the top, and the thicker and more viscid this white pellicle shewed itself, the concretion below it was generally of a more loose coherence. This was not so observable, when only some slight streaks of white appeared on the top. But when much size had separated itself, the red mass became very soft at the bottom of the
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containing vessel; and less compact in its different parts, in proportion to their distance from the surface, towards which this whitish portion had ascended.

From this, and from other experiments *, it appears, that this crust or pellicle is the natural *gluten*, or cement of the blood, which becomes strongly disposed, in certain circumstances and diseases, to separate itself. And whereas the serum and red concretion are easily incorporated together, it will be found, that this glue, after its separation, becomes immiscible with either. We have, by gentle drying, converted it into a perfectly tough, elastic membrane; and by the means of a small portion of the red mass, being left adhering to it, into a substance resembling muscular flesh; and it is capable of undergoing various changes into corruption, in the same manner as either of these.

Now, I can see no reason why this *gluten*, in its morbid state, may not separate itself from the circulating blood, and be deposited in the cavities of the body, as readily as the serum does in dropsies; the former having always a less disposition than the latter to incorporate with the mass.

* See the analysis of the blood, by Dr. *Davies*.

In dissecting persons who died of fevers in *London* and *Minorca*, and where no infection was suspected, appearances similar to these have also fallen under the inspection of those accurate anatomists Drs. *Hunter* and *Cleghorn**. Hence it may be presumed very difficult to distinguish fevers that are produced by infection, from some others. I cannot however be induced to think, as those gentlemen seem to do, that these preternatural substances, which were found in the cavities of the body, are the consequence, but rather that they are the cause, of the inflammation and excoriations. I believe them to be at first diseased, extravasated *gluten*, and conjecture their different states greatly to depend upon the different times at which they were deposited.

I have remarked, in a variety of dead bodies, three different extravasations from the vessels; and these occurred in such as had died of the scurvy, the consumption, and in fevers. In the former of those diseases, red, coagulated blood is found extravasated in almost all parts of the body, not only into the *tela cellulosa*, but into the bellies of the muscles, particularly of the legs and thighs,

* See *Cleghorn* on the diseases of *Minorca*, p. 248.

which

which often become quite stuffed, and even distorted, with large grumous masses. The guts and mesentery are often spotted also with extravasations; and I have seen large *ecchymoses* on the stomach. Those appearances, at first sight, resembled so many distinct mortifications, and by this appearance some anatomists have been deceived; but, upon a nice examination, the texture of the parts is found to be sound and firm. There is likewise, in that disease, sometimes remarked an extravasation of water, chiefly collected, and always, when in the legs, confined to the *tela cellulosa*.

But whereas in the limbs of scorbutic persons, it is extremely difficult to make a good dissection, by reason of such quantities of extravasated blood, that every-where obstruct the operator; so, on the contrary, the lower extremities of those who have died consumptive, with swelled legs, are, of all other subjects, in the best state to afford a satisfactory view of the muscles. The water enclosed in their legs having insinuated itself, by passing in the *tela cellulosa*, into the spaces betwixt the muscles; the muscles are easily separated from each other, and their several origins and insertions may be distinctly traced, by means of their having been cleansed and washed by the water in the investing cellular membrane.

brane. Thus there are extravasations of three sorts; *viz.* first the grumous mass in the scurvy; and this I have often remarked where no serum was observed. Secondly, the serum alone in anasarcaous swellings. The third and last is what was taken notice of in those who died of fevers, being the *gluten* of the blood, accompanied for the most part with some serum, both of them altogether confined in the large cavities of the body.

I conjecture, that in those fevers there is always an ulcerous or purulent disposition in the blood, and that this glutinous part, or its cement, is greatly diseased. I have frequently seen it have a true purulent appearance soon after it was drawn off, when the patient seemed not very bad. And if the cause of infection be certain foreign atoms, or corpuscles, admitted within the body, and at length mixing with the blood, the glutinous part of that compounded fluid seems not only the most apt to retain such morbid particles, but is primarily affected, agreeable to the best theories that have been offered on contagious fevers. For if we reason, upon the opinion hitherto too commonly received, that contagion dissolves the blood, still the *gluten* must principally and chiefly be diseased.

And

And I further conjecture, that the mischief often lies within the breast; as also that the great and experienced benefit, derived from the very early application of blisters, flows from so many ulcerations and vents being timely provided for the complete discharge of those purulent and tainted particles; by which outlets, they and the infection are freely discharged from the body.

It is an observation of the best practical writers, that issues and setons are most excellent preservatives against receiving an infection, nay, even that of the plague itself. And indeed a suppuration and plentiful discharge from a proper ulcer, whether produced by nature or by art, seems to open a channel the best appropriated for an exit out of the body, to some of the most malignant poisons. Thus, the most hopeful crisis in the plague, and in most pestilential fevers, happens when nature excites tumors kindly suppurating in the groin, or arm-pits, by whose beneficial and plentiful discharges, the deadly poison is expelled from the constitution *.

I

* Let us take the definition of the pestilential fever from a very great physician :

Febris pestilentialis est acutissima, a miasmate venenato orta, ac nisi vigore motuum vitalium venenum per bubones

I have observed it to be among the most certain characteristics of the worst fevers, that the blisters either don't rise and fill, or discharge such yellow, greenish, foetid, and horribly offensive stuff, that even experienced nurses could give a pretty certain conjecture from them, of the different degrees of malignity in the fever. We have more than once endeavoured to conceal the bad state of some patients in the hospital ; but a discovery was always made of their condition in the wash-house, from the linen sent there stained with the discharges from the blistered parts. And, indeed, a careful inspection of the state and discharge from the blisters, together with their effects, furnishes us, in those maladies, with some of the most certain diagnostics of their nature, and prognostics of their event.

I cannot conclude this paper without further observing, — That infection, this dread-

bones et carbunculos cito propellatur, lethalis. Hoffman. med. rat. system. tom. iv. sect. 1. cap. 12. De febre pestilentiali.

There is a remarkable passage in *Galen* to this purpose :

Ex febre pestilenti omnes evasisse quibus exulcerationes in variis corporis partibus contigerant, evacuata nimirum per ea ulcera materia morbifica. Lib. 5. meth. med. cap. 12.

ful

ful source of disease, upon which we have laboured to throw some useful light in defence of mankind, against mortal and consuming maladies, is not confined to armies or fleets, in ships or in prisons; but it elsewhere, in places often unsuspected, exerts its malignant influences.

When a nurse, or when two or three persons in the same family, are seized with a similar fever, cold, fatigue, and grief, are solely blamed, or the like causes, which strongly dispose the constitution to receive and animate the taint. When such diseases attack (as I have known) a boarding-school of boys or girls, the fatal distress is often ascribed to causes which were not in the least accessory. Of this there was a late instance in a large neighbouring town, where a fever, in one of those schools, was judged not to proceed from infection, but from another cause, because it attacked young ladies of a certain age only. The truth was, it seized many of the young ladies in that house alone, and several died.

When spots are observed to rise above the surface of the skin, the fever by some may be supposed miliary, and free from any danger of being communicated. But, in contagious fevers, those raised spots are very common.

In the malignant fever before-mentioned, that prevailed among the *French* prisoners in *Winchester Castle*, and where the contagion was very mortal in the beginning of the year 1761. I remarked the spots were on moſt of the patients elevated, and of the miliary kind.

I have thus offered a few thoughts on a ſubject, which it is to be wiſhed was more univerſally ſtudied and known. The particles of contagion are for the moſt part of ſo ſubtile a nature, as ſeldom to fall under the inſpection of our ſenſes; hence in this, as in other ſubjects ſo abſtruſe, there is a large field open for diſſentions. Men indeed of the greateſt learning have frequently diſagreed in their opinions concerning the real or poſſible exiſtence of an infection from many diſtempers: of which the yellow fever in the *West-Indies* furniſhes a very ſtriking inſtance.

Not long ſince, this fever became an object of conſideration before the right honourable the lords commiſſioners of trade and plantation, where it was urged (among other reaſons for not removing the ſeat of the government and juſtice in the iſland of *Jamaica*, from *Spaniſh-town* to *Kingſton*), that there was danger from the *Greenwich* hoſpital, ſituated near *Kingſton*, of an infection from the yellow fever being frequently communicated to that town.

town. On this affair the opinion was taken of a physician, who had long practised in that island. And by him it was judicially and clearly given, that, from the yellow fever in that island, there was no infection. This was not only the opinion of that gentleman in the court, but is the belief, as I am informed, of the best practitioners in that island; as also of Dr. *John Eliot*, a skilful physician in *London*, of Mr. *Nasmyth* *, and many others, who have had opportunities of being well acquainted with the diseases of *Jamaica*.

On the other hand, our *American* colonies are under great apprehensions of the importation of a yellow fever, in goods and in ships, from the *West-Indies*, by which they have often suffered. Dr. *Linnen*, in his account of the yellow fever in one of your former volumes, supposes it to be infectious; others have also been of the like opinion.—And it is but a few years since, when a gentleman dying at *Barbadoes* of a yellow fever, his wearing apparel and linen, packed up in a chest, were sent to his friends at *Philadelphia*; where, upon opening the chest containing those tainted vestures, the family was taken ill; and the cloaths being unluckily hung abroad to be

* See his letter relating to the fevers of *Jamaica*, in the essay on the means of preserving seamen, p. 49.

aired, they presently diffused the contagion of this yellow fever over that town; by which the gentleman, who furnishes me with this relation, was an unhappy sufferer, and of which fever 200 persons died.

We can only reconcile the facts that may be produced on both sides of this question, in support of those opposite opinions, by supposing, that the yellow fever in the *West-Indies* is sometimes of a mild nature, and altogether free from infection, while that, at other times, it is of a different and highly infectious disposition, which naturally gives birth to this reflection,—That the vulgar appellations, or terms given to fevers, do sometimes disclose to us very little of their true nature and disposition. Thus much is certain, that from the same infection, I have known to proceed what might be termed, from outward appearances, the yellow, petechial, and miliary fevers, and while in a few the contagion assumed an intermitting form, and was mild, in others it raged with a constant fever.

Notwithstanding the difficulties that attend all inquiries into the nature and properties of infection, and the influence of various causes on its operations, yet there are, perhaps, but few subjects upon which the vulgar and inexperienced do so freely give a decisive judgment.

But

But it would seem, that in no point ought we to be more cautious, especially in admitting of the negative assertion, than in a decision often so highly interesting to the public or private safety, whether in a general, or domestic calamity by disease.

Thus many countries and cities, in all human probability, might have escaped the dreadful scourge of the pestilence, by taking the proper measures * on its first and most early appearance; if, on such-like occasions, the incredulity of a few had not been so great, as generally to deny a contagion to be in the plague itself at its first breaking forth. Their reasons were, because no marks of contagion were found on the dead bodies, because its progress was slow, because it raged at first chiefly among the poorer sort, and might be owing to poverty, to corrupted food, or unwholesome drink, and many other conjectural causes. That this proved their fatal mistake,

* Separating the sick from the suspected, though in health; and shutting both of them separately up (with their proper officers and the necessary attendants) from all others: carefully tracing out the imported or generated poison, wherever it is lodged, that the infectious atoms may be in all places effectually destroyed, by the judicious application of fires and smoke, are the most probable means of stopping a plague, or any other mortal contagion.

is well known to such as are conversant with the histories of the different plagues in *Europe*. And the like arguments are frequently and improperly used against the existence of any infection.

But the phænomena, even in the most manifest contagion, are often wonderfully mysterious, and altogether unaccountable. Thus the small-pox has been for some ages past, and continues still to be, the terror and destroyer of a great part of mankind. But from what origin, or how, was this poison first engendered? Many opinions have been given, on this matter, equally incapable of proof or refutation. And the original causes of this, as well as of several other contagions, continue still, perhaps, among the hidden secrets of nature; notwithstanding the many plausible conjectures concerning them. The real existence of an infection can only be ascertained by its visible effects, many of which are also inexplicable.

Thus the *Europeans* have carried the small-pox to almost all parts of the world, where their ships have opened a trade; though the mariners in those ships might not have been afflicted with it in that voyage. This venom has been conveyed, in an old blanket, to nations of *Indians*; some of whom it hath almost extirpated.

extirpated. It will lie concealed for a long time in contaminated vestures, so as to be carried in them from *England* to the *Cape of Good Hope*, and even to *China*. Now, in most countries into which it hath been once introduced, it seldom fails to make its appearance at an interval of some years, or oftener; except in such places where the same precautions are used against it, as against the plague.—By which precautions it hath been often effectually prevented, for many years, from coming among them, both in several inland towns of *England*, and in many colonies of *British America*. But though there are the most convincing proofs, that this disease is neither hereditary nor innate, and the highest degree of probability, that it can be propagated in no other manner at present, than by an infection; yet, during the utmost exertion of its force, endeavours used to give it to some persons, by their lying in the same apartment with the infected, and other methods of a free communication with them, do often prove ineffectual. And some of the constant attendants about the sick in this disease have never been infected.

What is still more wonderful, not only the small-pox and the plague, but other contagions, which I have known to rage in ships and in prisons, after exerting their utmost violence,

violence, will sometimes abate by degrees in their malignity, and at length stop. Have they exhausted themselves, or the subject? That they do not always exhaust the subject is plain from facts, and our experience of the thing. Thus, for example, although the infection of the small-pox was pent up entirely in the *Royal George* (as mentioned in my first paper) among eight hundred and eighty men; yet this contagion disappeared altogether at sea, and some months before the ship put into any harbour, after having destroyed four or five persons, and left near one hundred unattacked. It had unfortunately been introduced into that ship by a boy, who lodged in a house where the small-pox was.

The supposition, that contagion exhausts itself, may be perhaps admitted in some plagues; though at best it is an *hypothesis* attended with insuperable difficulties, and hardly of credit sufficient to determine a question of such importance as this.

Further, the specific nature and qualities of such poisons are likewise various from each other, and in many respects inscrutable. How far does each extend its proper sphere of activity?

tivity *? who will undertake to assign an irrefragable, or a plain reason, why the small-pox will infect persons but once during the period of their life; while the plague and other infections attack the constitution again and again? There are unquestionably certain limits prescribed to human researches, beyond which, though fancy may take its flight, and theory make wide excursions, all is conjecture, obscurity, or profound darkness.

* It has been remarked, in many ships, that the men have continued in perfect health, notwithstanding the *bilge-water* in the *hold* was very offensive, nay, highly poisonous. The following accident happened lately in the *Bay of Biscay*. In a ship of sixty guns, by the carpenter's neglecting to turn the cock that freshens the *bilge-water*, which had not been pumped out for some time, a large scum, as is usual, or a thick, tough film, was collected a-top of it. The first man, who went down to break this scum, in order to pump out the *bilge-water*, was immediately suffocated. The second suffered an instantaneous death in like manner. And three others, who successively attempted the same business, narrowly escaped with life; one of whom has never since perfectly recovered his health. Yet that ship was at all times, both before and after this accident, remarkably healthy.

Q

P O S T.

P O S T S C R I P T.

Haslar Hospital, Dec. 4, 1762.

SINCE these papers were read before the Society, and afterwards revised and enlarged, an unwearied attention to this subject, together with three years observations on fevers, in addition to those related in Paper Ist. have abundantly confirmed their contents.— And experimental facts, of the most public nature, still continue to enforce the truth of the practical doctrines contained in them.

Thus, for instance, in the *Royal Sovereign*, a guardship at *Spithead*, there has been an infection for two months past; and, since the 23d of *October* last, 97 of her people have been admitted into this hospital, of whom 83 were afflicted with the ship-fever. Of those four are dead, and all the rest are recovered, except such who were lately admitted, none of whom are this day in a dangerous condition. This fever hath been accompanied with no symptom that can be called malignant, unless a greenish or bloody discharge from the blistered parts, and that only in a few. With five persons the fever continued beyond the seventh day. The attack of it was generally

rally very sudden, and on some with frightful dreams during sleep.

Although one and the same infection, confined to that ship alone, be the sole cause of this fever; (as is plain by the healthful condition of the other ships now at *Spithead*, whose men are taken ill of it when sent into the *Royal Sovereign*) yet, after the malady has passed its first stage, accompanied with chills, sickness, head-ach, &c. the symptoms become so much diversified in different patients, that a practitioner, unexperienced in such matters, might be apt to judge some of them to labour under a nervous fever, others under a *peripneumony*, or bastard pleurisy. Some are costive, others have a constant purging.—Symptoms, almost common to them all, are a low, quick pulse, a constant heat and thirst, and a perceptible alteration in the eyes.—And it is more than probable, that were any persons, after having left this ship for some days, to be taken ill with this fever in a country town, the true nature of their illness might not be suspected, and therefore the proper means for their immediate relief might unfortunately be neglected. Of nine nurses, constantly attending those patients, only one has been infected, who immediately became well after taking a vomit.

For some years past, neither in this hospital, nor in this part of *England*, have fevers, altogether inflammatory, been very frequent. Some practitioners give the name of the bilious fever to that which in these parts has mostly prevailed. Now and then the malignant fore-throat has made its appearance.—Is not this last disease a plague, *sui generis*, imported, like some others, from the *Levant*, and which hath now spread itself over different parts of *Europe*, and of the *North American* colonies *? Dr. *Tournefort*, in his voyage to the *Levant*, observed it above 60 years ago in the island of *Milo*: “Where (he says) there
 “then raged a terrible distemper, not un-
 “common in the *Levant*; it carries off chil-
 “dren in twice twenty-four hours. It is a
 “carbuncle or plague-fore in the throat,
 “attended with a violent fever. This ma-
 “lady, which may be called the child’s
 “plague, is epidemical, though it spares adult
 “people. The best way to check the pro-
 “gress of it, is to vomit the child the mo-
 “ment he complains of a fore-throat, or
 “that he is perceived to grow heavy-headed.”
 An excellent advice, which cannot be made

* See extract of a letter from *Cadwallader Colden*, esq; concerning the throat distemper. Medical observations and inquiries, by a society of physicians in *London*. Vol. 1. p. 211.

too public, or too warmly inculcated, for the preservation of such families as are visited with this affliction.

That celebrated botanist and physician, whose works of erudition do honour to the *French* nation, in his first letter from *Constantinople* to the count *de Pontchartrain*, relates, in a few words, what appears to be the most judicious prescription, or best remedies, against the plague. — “ A vomit (says he) must
 “ precede other remedies, which is to be re-
 “ peated, according to occasion, without de-
 “ lay, the moment the head ails any thing,
 “ or the least loathing is felt. If the smallest
 “ spot appears on the body, it must imme-
 “ diately be cut and scarified, and an issue
 “ made with *lapis infernalis*, as soon as pos-
 “ sible, in that part where the strength of
 “ the poison chiefly discharges itself. Besides
 “ which, *treacle*, and other cordial medicines,
 “ may be administered.”

I have little further to add, in respect to the symptoms common to such fevers, as are eminently contagious. The spots have been already described. The yellow colour of the skin, which is now and then observed, continues sometimes but 24 hours, often for three or four days. When the blistered parts are covered with a tough jelly like leather,

leather, about an inch in thickness, and separable from the parts underneath, by means only of a gentle moisture oozing out from below it, this is a proof of a malignant, and highly dangerous fever. After the separation of that detached skin, a smaller, tough jelly is apt to rise. If in the flesh, under those substances, there are observed white or ruddy specks, a favourable expectation of a recovery may be conceived; but if those specks appear of a pale or dark colour, all hopes of life are vanished. The offensive smell, peculiar to patients labouring under such fevers, continues with some after death. A bleeding from the nose sometimes happens in the beginning of the disease, and is, for the most part, a salutary incident for the patient, but we have seldom or ever remarked it towards the close of life. A degree of deafness is most usual towards the end of the malady. The first observation I made on this symptom, was in a ward containing 20 patients labouring under a malignant fever, of whom six became deaf to a great degree; and of those, three recovered, and three died. But, upon a review of the cases of above four hundred patients who had this symptom, I find it cannot be reckoned to portend death; on the contrary, it hath been most usually remarked in recovering patients.

As

As the pulse, in those fevers, seldom indicates a general inflammatory state of blood, so the relief, obtained from blistering the parts chiefly affected, might lead us to conjecture, that there was seldom any particular inflammation, which would probably be increased by the irritation of the blister. There seems likewise no great reason to suppose any great tendency to a mortification; at least in some thousand patients, labouring under such fevers, to whom blisters were applied, I never remarked a mortification to ensue, but from the neglect of a proper care and treatment of the blistered parts, as would have happened in any other disease.

In Paper II. we have described a consumption, as accompanied, for the most part, with an emaciated state of the body and limbs; and, in a note to the postscript of the essay on preserving seamen, I have there mentioned a very common cause of it; to which, in order to procure more care and compassion for people in that last case, it must now be added,—That such patients as have been bruised, and are frequently spitting up blood, or, at other times, what resembles *matter* or *pus*, do often sink into death, not much wasted in the flesh; their looks and appearance not always bespeaking their dangerous condition.

As the pulse is throbbing, (which is
 rather a general inflammatory state of blood,
 to the relief of which, obtained from diluting the
 parts chiefly affected, might lead us to con-
 sider, that there was indeed any particular
 inflammation, which would probably be in-
 creased by the situation of the bladder. There
 being, however, no great reason to suppose any
 great tendency to a suppuration, as well in
 some of the patients, labouring under this
 fever, in whom blisters were applied, I never
 resorted to a more extensive one, but from
 the object of a proper care and treatment of
 the bladder, as would have happened
 in any other disease.

In Paper II. we have described a suppura-
 tion, as accompanied, for the most part, with
 an increased flow of the body and limbs; and
 in answer to the position of the case, on pre-
 senting it again, I have there considered a
 very common case of it, to which, in order
 to procure more ease and convenience for
 people in that last case, it is now to be ap-
 plied.—That suppuration has been produced,
 and are frequently, taking up blood, as
 other times, when suppuration was not
 likely to be formed, not much wasted in the
 vessel, which looks and appears as if it were
 perfectly healthy.

