Observations in defence of a Bill lately brought into Parliament, for erecting the Corporation of Surgeons of London into a College; and for granting and confirming to such College certain rights and privileges: including a sketch of the history of surgery in England / [Thomas Chevalier].

#### Contributors

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# OBSERVATIONS

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# DEFENCE OF A BILL

LATELY BROUCHT IN TO PARLIAMENT, OR ERECTING THE CORPORATION OF SURGEONS OF LONDON ANTO A COLLEGE .

FOR GRANTING AND CONFIRMING TO SUCH COLLEGE CERTAIN RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES 2

A 1118

HISTORY OF SURGERY IN ENGLAND.

# BY THOMAS CHEVALIER, A. M. A MEMBER OF THE CORPORATION.

Reprehendant homines quantum libuerit, modò attendant et perpendant quæ dicuntur. Appellatio fariè legitima fuerit (licet res fortaffe ea minùs indigebit) fi a primis cognationibus hominum ad fecundas provocetur, et ab ævo præfenti ad pofteros.

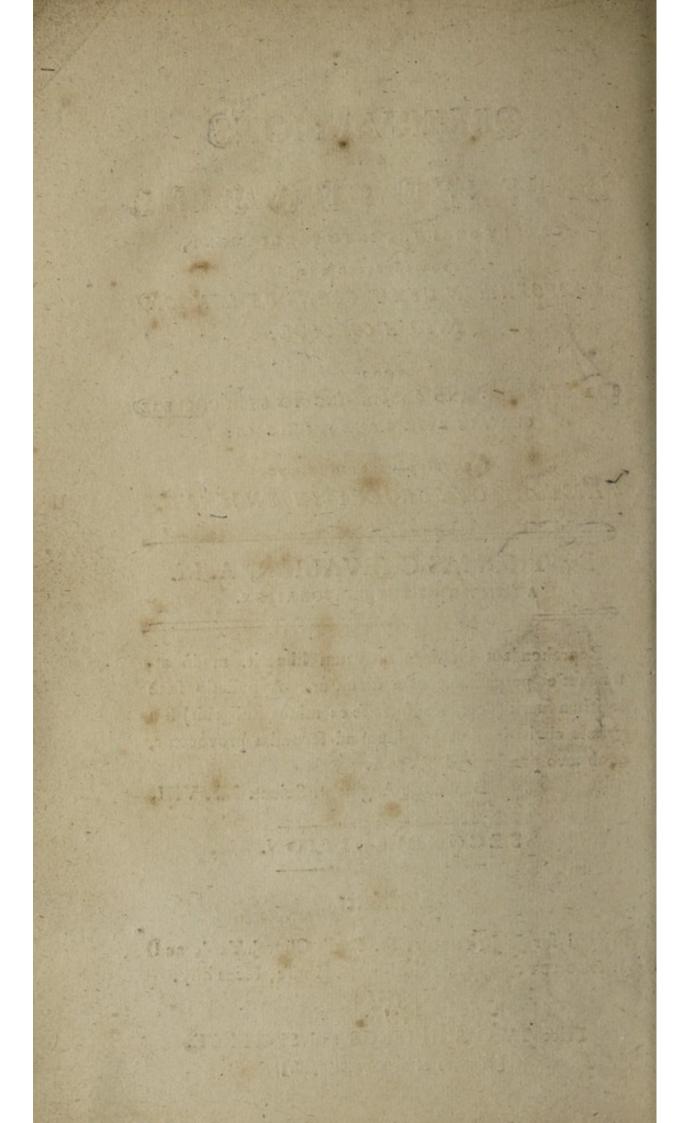
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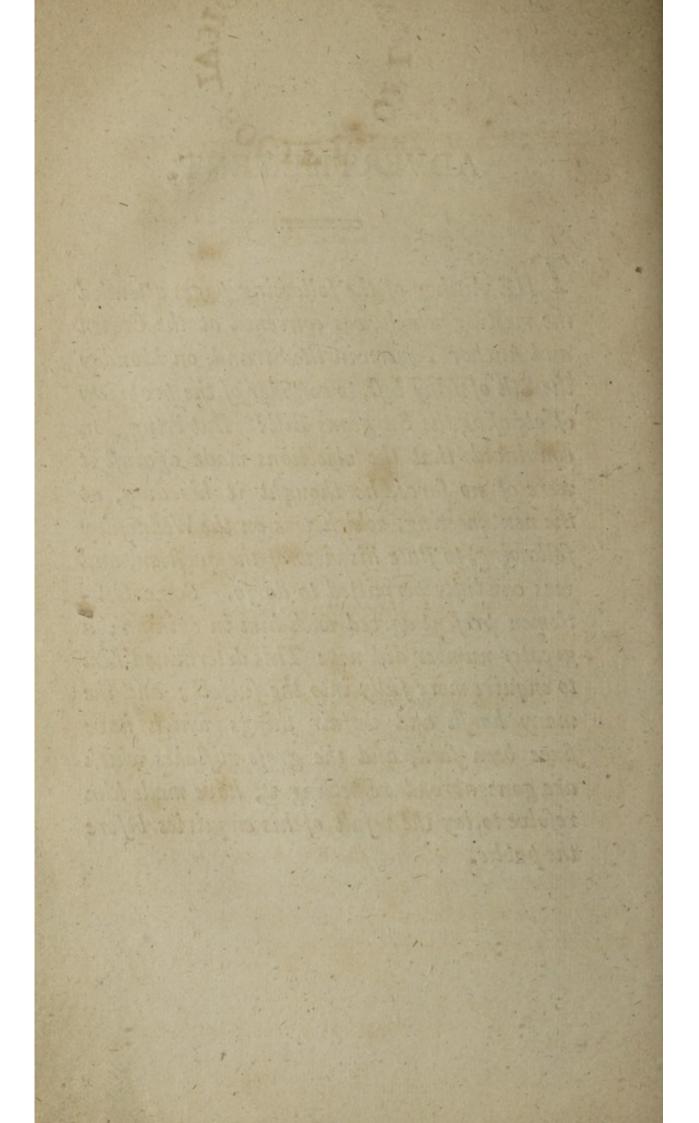
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I HE Author of the following pages attended the meeting which was convened at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand, on Monday the 8th of May last, to confider of the propriety of opposing the Surgeons Bill: But being foon convinced that the objections made against it were of no force, he thought it his duty, at the next meeting, which was on the Wednefday following, to flate his view of the question, and was candidly permitted to do fo. Some Gentlemen prefent agreed with him in opinion; a greater number did not: This determined him to enquire more fully into the fubject; and the many harsh and unfair things which have fince been faid, and the grofs miftakes which are gone abroad respecting it, have made him refolve to lay the refult of his enquiries before the public.



# OBSERVATIONS,

Bc.

# THE Bill which was brought into Parliament during the laft Seffion, for crecting the Corporation of Surgeons of London into a College, has been fo much mifreprefented by its opponents, that it is neceffary to flate to the Public the occafion of its introduction, and the purpofes it was intended to anfwer.

An Act was paffed in the eighteenth year of his late Majefty King George the Second, by which the Barbers and Surgeons of London were feparated into two diftinct Corporations. By a claufe in this Act, it was made neceffary to have the prefence of two Governors out of the three\*, at every meeting of the Court of Affiftants, in order to legalize the tranfactions of that meeting. At the Court held in rotation on the first Thurfday in July, 1796, for B the

\* The Mafter and the two Wardens are called Governors.

the purpole of electing officers for the enfuing year, not more than one Governor could poffibly attend. One had very fuddenly died: the other was paralytic, at a confiderable diftance from town; and an attempt to remove him was thought to be in the higheft degree dangerous and improper. The choice of officers therefore unavoidably took place without him; an illegal act was of neceffity committed, and a deficiency arofe in the Conflitution of the Company, which it was neceffary to fupply; and, if poffible, to prevent it from occurring in future.

At this time feveral other circumstances existed, which had led the Court of Affiftants to think of an application to Parliament for a new act. That of the 18th of George II. only empowered the Company to hold the yearly value of  $! \neq 200$ . in freehold property, without incurring the penalties of the flatute of Mortmain; a fum by no means equal to their annual expenditure. The hall which they occupied in the Old Bailey was in a very ruinous state; requiring, in the opinion of a furveyor, who had accurately examined it, near £ 2000. to put it in proper repair. It was moreover inconvenient, held on a leafe of which fiftyfive years only were unexpired; inhabited at an expence of £500. per annum, including the value of the money laid out in the building; which expence would have been greatly increafed by the repair :

repair, and the fum expended wholly loft to the company, unlefs they were to renew their leafe at an increafed rent, in confequence of their own improvements.

It was therefore thought advifable to feek for a more commodious houfe, in a more eligible fituation, and if poffible, a freehold. The houfe lately occupied by Mr. Baldwin in Lincoln's-inn-fields being fhortly after offered for fale, and poffeffing all thefe recommendations, it was purchafed, and vefted in truftees for the benefit of the Company, till the reftrictions they lay under with regard to the ftatute of Mortmain fhould be taken off.

Further, The act paffed in the 32d year of Henry VIII. (A. D. 1541) had inflicted a penalty of five pounds per month on all who practifed Surgery, without their licence and authority, within the City of London, and one mile thereof; and the patent of Charles I. given in the year 1629. had extended their jurifdiction to feven miles round London: But this article not having been formally inferted in the act of the 18th of George II. great doubts were entertained of the Company's power to profecute offenders. It was therefore neceffary to make this clear; and the increase of population in the vicinity of the metropolis, with the decreafe in the value of money, made it feem proper to extend the jurifdiction to ten miles, and to increase the B 2 penalty

penalty to ten pounds, in order to fulfil the purpofes originally intended by them.

Laftly, The Societies of Surgeons in Edinburgh and Dublin had both been incorporated as Colleges; a title certainly more fuitable to a fcientific body, who have no commercial intereft to fupport, than that of a Company, or Corporation. It was therefore natural to wifh that the Surgeons in London fhould enjoy an equal degree of rank with them; efpecially as they were a much older, and had been a more beneficial company to the public, than either of the former.

To thefe alterations in their favour it was thought the company had fome claim. For exclusive of the advancement made in chirurgical knowledge by many of its members, and the benefit refulting from thence to the public at large; the Court of Examiners had, ever fince the act of the 18th of George II. was paffed, examined, without any perfonal reward, all the army and navy Surgeons and Surgeons Mates, and had made a provision of eighty pounds per annum, out of the company's funds, for a courfe of lectures on Practical Surgery, to be given gratis to the gentlemen intended for those fervices\*.

## On

\* The trouble of examining Surgeons and their Mates for the army and navy fervices was at first but trifling, but On these grounds therefore a Petition was prefented to the House of Commons, on the 23d of February last, figned by a majority of the Court of Affistants, and on the 20th of March following\*, a bill was brought in, containing the following provisions for the more easy and regular transaction of business in future, and the greater respectability of the members of the corporation.

I. That the Corporation fhould be erected into a College; that the names of its officers fhould be changed, and inftead of Mafter, Wardens, Examiners, and Affiftants, be called Prefident, Vice Prefidents, Cenfors, and Council. But though the names were changed, the number, power, and duties of each, refpectively and together, were to remain exactly the fame.

# II.

but at length it has become very confiderable. In time of war the Examiners are obliged to meet every fortnight for that purpofe, let their profeffioual or other engagements be what they may; aud often examine from twenty to forty perfons-in an evening. A duty of no fmall inconvenience and fatigue; as it falls and muft fall, only on those who are at the head of the profession, and are in the most extensive practice.

\* I take these dates from the St. James's Chronicle of February the 25th and March the 21st.

- II. The fecond and principal article was, That bufinefs might in future be legally transacted in the prefence of ONE Prefident or Vice Prefident, and four Cenfors; and that if ever the Prefident and both the Vice Prefidents should happen to be dead at the fame time, the fenior furviving Cenfor might convene a Council for the election of others in their stead.
- III. That the College thus conflituted might be able to hold freehold property of the yearly value of one thousand pounds, (the fum allowed to the Colleges of Edinburgh and Dublin) without incurring any of the penalties of the ftatute of Mortmain.
- IV. That the jurifdiction of the Court of Examiners (or Cenfors) fhould be extended to ten miles round London, but with refpect to future fettlers only in the additional three miles; and that the penalty for practifing Surgery without their authority, fhould be increafed from five pounds per month, to ten.

There was alfo a claufe confirming the endowment for a courfe of chirurgical lectures; and directing those lectures to be given by one of the members of the Council: and another claufe which required required the candidates applying for examination, to be of the age of twenty-one years.

In every other refpect the Bill refembled the old Act.

It paffed through the Houfe of Commons, after undergoing fome amendments in its phrafeology, and was on the point of being read a third time in the Houfe of Lords, when a fudden and unexpected oppofition arofe from fome members of the company, which was conducted with great warmth and perfeverance, and at length occafioned it to be loft; at leaft till a future application can be made.

As, in the courfe of this oppofition, much has been faid, not only to mifreprefent and traduce the Bill itfelf, and thofe who petitioned for it, but alfo to procure a total overthrow of that Conflictution of the Company, which has fubfifted for more than half a century, with eminent advantage to the profeffion, and to the public at large; and to fubfitute in its flead a fpeculative and untried fcheme, dreffed up after the frippery of modern times; it is neceffary to difcufs the objections that have been flarted, that the public in general, and the Legiflature in particular, may have a moreample flatement of the cafe before them. But in order to do this with the greater advantage, and to fhow the propriety of our enjoying the honour that has been folicited, it will be proper to enter a little into the Hiftory of the Company, and briefly to confider what Surgery is, and what progrefs it has made. This is the more needful, becaufe a noble and very learned Lord, whofe great talents and able fervices have rendered him defervedly high in the public efteem, has not thought it beneath him to treat the profeffion at large with the moft pointed farcafm and contempt. I hope it will appear that his Lordfhip was miftaken on this occafion, and that his ridicule was both undeferved and mifapplied.

The former connection of the Surgeons Company with the Barbers, has afforded many perfons a plentiful fubject for derifion. I fhall therefore first endeavour to trace out the origin of that connection.

If every thing is to be defpifed which was fmall or obfcure in its beginning, perhaps we fhall not find much in human affairs to command our refpect. Arts and Arms, Legiflation and Commerce, have all emerged from rude and imperfect efforts; and every branch of Science has at fome period been polluted with weaknefs. inconfiftency, and folly. But it is the object of a Science, and not the flate of it, from which we are to effimate its importance. The latter depends on a variety of circumflances, which are fubject to great uncertainty. The Spirit of the times, and the patronage of the public muft concur with the genius and induftry of individuals, or few advances can be made in a profeffion like Surgery, which, however contemptible it may appear to those who do not underfland it, opens on every path of human enquiry, and calls for the close and perfevering reflection of a vigorous and comprehensive mind.

But the fpirit of the times, in this and the neighbouring countries, was long before it looked with a foftering eye on any part of medical Science. For many centuries Phyfic was almost entirely in the hands of the clergy, who by involving it in fuper-flition, found it a very profitable employ, and in many inftances an introduction to preferment\*. Surgery lay under greater difadvantages; a principal part of it, the care of the wounded and lame, being commonly entrusted to women, and ignorant pretenders<sup>‡</sup>. We are told indeed that when Galen came from Pergamos to Rome, near the clofe of the fecond century, he found it practifed there as a feparate branch of the medical art<sup>‡</sup>. C

\* See Rymer's Fædera, Tom. II. p. 1035-1036. Tom. X. p. 263, &c. + Pafquier, Recherches de la France, p. 862. ‡ Bernier, p. 2. c. iii. But this cuftom was foon loft in the convultions which overthrew that empire; and it is not till towards the middle of the twelfth century, that we find any traces, either in hiftory or romance, of its forming a diffinct profession in papal Europe\*.

It will be neceffary to trouble the Reader with a fhort detail of the circumftances by which this alteration was brought about; as it will enable him to account for the inconfiderable appearance of our early Profeffors.

When the Univerfity of Paris, the foundation of which had been laid by Charlemagnet, began to affume a more regular form under the reign of Louis the Seventh, a Faculty of Medicine was foon added to the former three of Divinity, Arts, and Decrees. In confequence of this fome able men began to fludy Hippocrates and Galen, whofe writings were alfo read in the public exercifes. The novelty of these Lectures occasioned many of the Clerical Phyficians to neglect their religious duties in order to attend them. This neglect foon grew to fuch an excefs, that in a Council held at Tours by Pope Alexander the Third, in 1163, the following mandate was iffued : Statuimus ut nulli omnino post votum religionis, et post factam in aliquo loco professionem AD PHYSICAM, legesve mundanas

\* Pafquier, p. 818. + Bulæi Hift. Univ. Par. Tom. I.

mundanas, permittatur exire. Si vero exierint, et ad claustrum fuum intra duorum mensium spatium non redierint, sicut excommunicati ab omnibus evitentur\*. This was afterwards repeated by Honorius III. about the year 12167.

In confequence of this reftriction, a few laymen were encouraged to apply to the fludy of phyfic; but as the Univerfity would not receive them without a vow of celibacy, most of them became priests when they had finished their fludies t.

The priefts being now forbidden to leave their cloifters, were for the most part confulted at home. The fervants or friends of the fick used to carry their urine and other excrements to them $\phi$ , with as good an account as they could give of the indifpofition; the Phyficians of courfe directed what medicines

### C 2

were

\* Pasquier ut supra. + Bulæi Hist. Univ. Par. Tom.

II. p. 575. <sup>+</sup> V. Recherches fur l'Origine, &c. de la Chirurgie en France-and Du Boulay, paffim.

§ In allusion to this custom Hugues de Berci, who lived, according to Moreri, about 1250, thus pays off the Phyficians, who began to affume the name of Phyfici and Fisciens at that time,

- " Fificiens font appellez,
- " Sans fy ne font ils point nommez;
- " De fy doit toute ordure naitre,
- " Et de fy Fifique doit eftre.
- " De fy Fifique me deffie,
- " Fol est qui en tel art se fie,
- " Ou il n' a rien qui n'y ait fy,
- " Donc fuis je fol fi je m'y fy.

Pafquier, p. 722.

were to be taken, and in cafe of external difeafes, what applications were to be employed. In the latter cafe, it was most usual for them to fend their own fervants, (who acted as their Barbers\*) to perform what was neceffary; for cold applications to the head, previoully fhaved, formed then a very principal remedy in many difeafes. Many of thefe men therefore become wholly employed in vifiting the fick for the Phyficians, in bleeding, and the . inferior operations of Surgery, all of which were confidered as too indelicate for the facred functiont, and in time obtained from hence a good degree of the confidence of the public; just as the fervants of apothecaries frequently do at this day. The capital operations, of which very few indeed were then performed, were commonly entrufted to the lay-fcholars of the Universities, who had fludied phyfic, but had not been permitted to become members of the Faculty, not having taken the vow of celibacy. These however were few; fo that the clergy occafionally intermeddled with this branch of practice, till at length, by two decrees, the first islued by Pope Boniface VIII. at the close of the thirteenth century, and the fecond by Pope Clement V. at Avignon, near the beginning of the

fourteenth

\* Pope Alexander III. had at this time revived the canon first issued by the Synod of Carthage, respecting Clerical Tonfure. Vide Hotomanni IIayavias, p. 27.

+ "L'Eglife n'abhorre rien tant que le fang," fays Palquier!! fourteenth, Surgery was formally feparated from Phyfic; the priefts were abfolutely forbidden to practife it; and the Univerfity of Paris, in confequence, refufed to admit any fludent into the Faculty of Medicine who did not abjure it.

It is evident that Surgery was diffinguished from Phyfic, long before Surgeons were diffinguished from Phyficians. After the Mandate of Pope Alexander III. it began to be cultivated with fome degree of attention at the famous fchool of Salernum, and perhaps at Naples and Montpellier. By one of the flatutes of the Emperor Frederick II. the founder of the academy at Vienna, the former fchool obtained the power of granting degrees in medicine about the middle of the thirteenth century; and one claufe in that ftatute particularly relates to Surgeons\*. concerning whom a better and more just opinion feems to have been there entertained, than at Paris. The Italian univerfities admitted lay fludents to equal privileges with the clerical; fome of them became phyficians of note, and the clergy left the performance of Surgical operations entirely

\* "Salubri etiam conflitutione fancimus, ut nullus "Chirurgicus ad practicam admittatur, nifi teftimoniales "literas afferat Magistrorum in Medicinali facultate le-"gentium, quod per annum faltem in ea parte Medicinæ "Ituduerit, quæ Chirurgiæ instruit Facultatem; et præfertim anatomiam humanorum corporum in Scholis didicerit, et fit in ea parte medicinæ perfectus, fine qua nec incifiones falubriter fieri poterunt, nec fracta fractura curari." Bulæi Hist. Univ. Par. Tom. III. p. 158. entirely to them, for the reafon before affigned, as we learn from Brunus and Lanfranc, the latter of whom was by birth a Milanefe. Several of thefe came over to France at different periods, where they practifed with confiderable fuccefs and reputation. However, that they did not confine themfelves entirely to Surgery, is exceedingly evident from their writings.

How far this regulation in the fchool, or Univerfity as we must now call it, of Salernum, might influence the minds of the French Surgeons to feek for an eftablishment, I cannot fay; but it was, in all probability, about this period that Louis IX. commonly called St. Louis, who had accuftomed himfelf to affift in dreffing the wounds of his foldiers, first incorporated the Surgeons of Paris. After the mandate of Pope Alexander had been repeated by Honorius III. the clerical phyficians more frequently gave advice in the churches; especially in the church of Nôtre Dame, where the Surgeons attended to receive their directions about fome of their patients, and to drefs the fores of fuch as came thither. At length St Louis, thinking the Surgeons deferving of more refpect, than merely to be confidered as the fcholars and underlings of the Phyficians, conftituted them into a College, or Confrairie, about the year 1268, in honour of St. Côfme and St. Damien; and in the church confecrated to

3

to those faints they for feveral centuries after were obliged to attend, the first Monday in every month, after divine fervice, to drefs the wounded and lame poor, gratis\*.

Thus then arole the two claffes of Surgeons in France. Those who had a regular, though a defective education, in the School of Phyfic, and occafionally practifed as Phyficians; and those who were originally employed as the fervants of the priefts, being in fact Barbers. Some of the latter on leaving their employers began to encroach on the former, and it appears that in the year 1301, there were twenty-fix of this defcription fettled in Paris. The former clafs had confiderably multiplied towards the time when Clement V. removed the papal See from Rome to Avignon, but as they were still comparatively few in number, the Barbers were of neceffity tolerated as inferior Practitioners. However in the year 1301, they were fummoned before the Procureur du Roy, at the Chatelet of Paris, and forbidden to practife till they had been examined by the Maitres Chirurgienst. This prohibition was of little avail. The Maitres Chirurgiens had no fpecific authority. The number of ignorant pretenders was daily increasing; till at length John Pitard, who had been Surgeon fucceffively to St. Louis,

\* Pafquier ut fupra, p. 862. Mem. de l'Acad. de Chir. Tom. IV. Introd. p. 2. + Pafquier, p. 874.

Louis, Philip the Brave, and Philip the Fair, obtained an edict from the latter in the year 1311; by which he was empowered to affemble with the Mafters in Surgery; to compel all practitioners in that art to appear before him, to be examined refpecting their qualifications; to grant licences to fuch as were of competent abilities, and to take them before the Provoft of Paris to be fworn. The Provoft being at the fame time authorized to punish all who dared to practife within the city and lieutenancy of Paris, without having first obtained this fanctio from John Pitard, or his fucceffors in office. This edict was repeated with fome flight alterations by King John in 1352, and again in 1355; and afterwards by Charles V. who while he was Regent had enrolled his own name among the lift of their members\*; and who finally determined in the year 1372, that the Surgery of the Barbers, for the future, fhould be confined to dreffing boils, bruifes, and open wounds which were not mortal, but might become fo without timely affiftancet.

During the whole of this period France was the principal feminary of English learning, and the fource of English customs. Still,

"Gallia caussidicos docuit facunda Britannos ."

Our

\* His fucceffor Louis XIII. did the fame in 1615: :he year after he was declared of age by the Regent.

One department in the University of Paris was called the English School, over which an English Procureur prefided, and was chiefly filled with fludents from this country\*. With regard to Chirurgical, or indeed medical knowledge, none that was worth the name could be obtained in England. All the Phyficians of any note came over from Italy or France; but most of them from Paris. And as to Surgeons, we hear fcarcely any thing of them till the middle of the fourteenth century, after the eftablishment of the French College under John Pitard. That they appeared no earlier; that when they did appear, their station was low, and their functions confined, was not owing to any thing imputable to them, or to the profession they followed; but to the want of an inftitution like that in Paris, to educate them regularly; and to the rapacious avarice of the Romifh Clergy, who were the Lawyers, the Phyficians, the Divines, the Treafurers, the Chancellors, and what not, fmuggling wealth and power on every fide.

That there were perfons here who followed Surgery as a feparate profession, foon after they existed in France, is however exceedingly probable. William the Breton, who wrote at the beginning of the thirteenth century, has marked the distinction in his Philippide, when speaking of the wound of D our

\* Pafquier, p. 845.

our Richard I. before the Chateau de Limofin in 1199, by an arrow that entered his fhoulder\*.

" Interea Regem circumftant undique mixtim;

" Apponunt Medici fomenta, SECANTQUE CHIRURGI

" Vulnus, ut inde trahant ferrum leviore perîclo."

Neverthelefs, after a long and tedious refearch, I have not been able to find that any Surgeon was ftatedly appointed to attend the King's perfon, before the year 1360, when Richard de Wy, was made Surgeon to Edward III<sup>+</sup>. From that time the appointment was regular, though the perfons who held it were frequently foreigners. About this period also lived John of Ardern, who practifed at Newark in Nottinghamfhire, and is the first mere Surgeon in England whofe writings have come down to us. He was a man of learning for the time in which he lived; and from feveral paffages in his writings, I think it highly probable he had fludied abroad. This was an advantage which few of his cotemporaries here poffeffed; although there can be little reafon to doubt that many of them came over from France with their patrons the priefls, to fettle in this ifland. But thefe were employed, as has been faid, in fubfervience to the clerical doctors, who took pretty good care that their fervants fhould not be wifer than themfelves.

\* Pafquier, p. 867. † MS. Sloan. 4581-133.

It

It was not till the reign of the fifth Henry, that the public mind in this country feems to have been awakened to the importance of the Surgical Profeffion, or the neceffity of placing fome controul over those who pretended to practife it. Indeed, for late as the third year of that monarch's reign, fo very few of this profeffion were to be found, that when he undertook the invafion of France with a great fleet and army, he only took one principal Surgeon, Thomas Morstede, and twelve affistants with him, on that expedition : He even gave fome of his own jewels in pledge for the payment of the falary which was allowed them. In the following year, for his fecond expedition, a warrant was iffued to the fame Thomas Morftede and one William Bredewardyn, to prefs as many Surgeons and their Inftrument Makers into the fervice, as they could any where find; "Ubicunque inveniri poterunt, " tam infra Civitatem nostram Londoniæ, quam " alibi\*." In the ninth year of the fame reign it was enacted by the Parliament, " That the Lords of "the King's Council for the time being," fhould have power to punish those who practifed Surgery without being approved by Mafters of that Art; but the number of good practitioners still continued fo fmall, that it was not poffible to put a ftop to the bad.

### D 2

However

\* See Henry's Hiftory of England, vol. X. Rymer's Fædera, Tom. IX. p. 237. 252. 363.

However, during the long reign of Henry VI. in whofe minority the Duke of Bedford acted as Regent in France, the number of Surgeons prodigioufly increafed. Several appeals were made to the ministers of this prince, from the Surgeons and Barbers in France, both at Paris and Bourdeaux\*, and they came over here with little referve. In the mean time copies of the writings of Albucafis, Avicenna, the Greek Phyficians, Guido de Gauliaco, Lanfranc, John of Ardern, and others, had multiplied, and were confequently more generally read. The Profession began to assume a more scientific appearance; and when Edward IV. afcended the throne, the London Practitioners began to think of applying for a patent of incorporation, that fhould place them on a footing with their brethren in Paris; and enable them to put a check on the crowd of ignorant and vile impoftors, who began now to pour in from all parts, and commit the most daring and impudent frauds, under the cloak of practifing Surgery+.

It can be no information to the Reader to obferve, that before this period our forefathers permitted

+ In this reign the office of Serjeant Surgeon was first instituted. See Rymer's Fæd. Tom. XIII. p. 374. It was probably first given to William Hobbys, with a falary of forty marks per annum. MS. Sloan, 4614-41.

<sup>\*</sup> Pafquier, p. 875. MS. Sloan, 4604-61, &c.

mitted their beards to grow. Shaving was an operation very rarely performed, and was actually confidered as the bufinefs of a Surgeon; being feldom needed except in cafe of fome accident which made it neceflary to remove the hair from the injured part; or of those difeases, in which, as has been before observed, confiderable relief was expected from fhaving the head, and making certain applications immediately to it. There is fufficient reafon to believe that prior to the reception of the Faculty of Medicine into the Univerfity of Paris, the Clerical Phyficians were frequently employed for this purpofe\*. Afterward it was left in the hands of those to whom other manual operations were committed, and there, it was fhortly confined to the lower clafs of them.

In England, however, there were no Surgeons for feveral centuries who did not practifeas Barbers, the King's Surgeon not excepted. In a patent iffued for the naturalization of Michael Belwell<sup>†</sup>, who was Surgeon to Henry VI. in 1443, he is ftiled, "Valettus et Sirurgicus nofter;" and the Capitis Rafura is expressly mentioned in the warrant iffued to Wareyn and Marchall, Surgeons to the fame monarch in 1454<sup>±</sup>, as a part of their duty.

### The

\* Pafquier, p. 874. + Rymer, Tom. XI. p. 18. ‡ Ibid. p. 347. The bufinefs of a Barber therefore in those days implied no degradation whatever. Rather the contrary under certain circumstances. The office of Barber at the Palace Gates was granted in 1447, as a mark of special favour to Robert Bolley, and Alexander Donour, fervants to the King's Ewry, with the right of retaining very exorbitant fees for the tonsfure of those who were created Knights of the Bath\*; this being a part of the ceremony performed at their installation. The fee to be given on this occasion by a Duke was ten pounds : A fum equal at least to twelve times as much at the prefent

period.

Under thefe circumftances, then, the Barbers of London, in the year 1461, petitioned King Edward IV. to be incorporated, As SURGEONS, into a City Company: and As SURGEONS, and in no other capacity, they obtained their charter from that Prince. And this incorporation, however trifling and ridiculous it may now appear, was the first ever established in Great Britain for the regulation of any part of the medical profession: BEING ERECTED FIFTY-NINE YEARS BEFORE THE COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS.

The charter itfelf appears to be framed very much after the plan of the edict iffued by Philip the Fair

\* Rymer, Tom. II. p. 182.

as it was afterwards amended by King John and King Charles V. After mentioning the number of ignorant and incompetent practitioners, who were daily flocking into the City of London, through whose want of skill "quamplurima et quasi infinita " mala diversis ligeis nostris evenerunt, quorum quidem " alii ea de caufa viam vniver se carnis funt ingressi, alii " autem eadem caufa tanguam infanabiles et incurabiles " funt ab omnibus derelicti, &c." it proceeds to ordain that two principal perfons of the community incorporated, with the affent of twelve, or eight perfons thereof at the leaft, might every year elect out of the community two Masters, or Governors, being the most expert in the Mystery of Surgery, who fhould have the overfight and government of all perfons of the fame profeffion within the City of London, both freemen and foreigners. That no perfon fhould be permitted to practife without their licence and authority, and "That they fhould and " might admit perfons able and fufficiently learned in the " faid mystery of Surgery, and approved of by them in " form, and no other perfons, nor in any other man-" ner," into the Company, and to the Liberties of the City. It alfo gave power to the Governors, to examine all inftruments and medicines ufed in Surgery; to punish unlicensed practitioners by fines, forfeitures, and imprisonments; and exempted all the members from being put on juries, inquests, &c.

I again

I again repeat, that in no part of this charter are the Barbers confidered under any other character than that of Surgeons; and that no reafon is any where affigned for their incorporation, but that they practifed as fuch.

It is admitted that while Surgeons were Barbers, Surgery, and indeed Medicine itfelf, must have been in a very barren condition. But if the general state of things at this period be confidered, little elfe was to be expected.

Impoverifhed and cramped on every fide by papal tyranny, England had fcarcely beheld the dawn of learned or commercial glory. Diftracted on the one hand by meretricious fchemes of conquest abroad, racked and trodden down on the other, by internal diffentions at home, the minds of men were not fufficiently tranquil to cultivate the peaceful arts. Robbery and murder were the difeafes they had chiefly to dread; order and peace were bleffings of which they knew little but the name. Few advances therefore could poffibly be made in liberal purfuits, when no public inflitution could be arranged to promote them. But had circumftances been otherwife, the communication of knowledge was still uncertain and flow. The art of printing, though indeed it was invented, was here unknown, and England was diftant from the repofitories of learning. Medicine,

it

fhamefully overlooked\*.

Not only was the general flate of things unfriendly to learning, but there were many circumflances which made Surgery then, a very different thing to what it is now. Except the larger pieces of ordnance, which were used in the attack of fortified places, fire arms were not yet employed in battle, either by fea or land. The principle dependance of the English armies was on their archers. The warriors alfo were defended by armour, and the wounds they received were lefs varied and complex than those which are now inflicted. Several difeafes which afterward appeared, and many remedies which have fince been difcovered. (among which the Bark, and almost all the Chemical compositions are to be included) were altogether unknown: For America was not then become the theatre of European avarice, nor had lawlefs love engendered that fatal poifon, which has fince overfpread fo many thoufands of her votaries with rottenness and misery. To this may be added that

\* Wood, the learned hiftorian of Oxford, confeffes he could fcarcely tell where the Schools of Medicine ftood at this period-" Schola ifta ubinam Steterint pa-"rum liquet." Hift. Univ. Oxon, Lib, II. p. 18.

ledge, was yet uncultivated. For though little fcruple was made of murdering an obnoxious rival, or of burning a reputed heretic alive, the diffection of a dead body was confidered as barbarous, and ignominious both to the perfon who performed it, and to the character of the deceafed.

What then could be looked for in fuch unpropitious times? Is it just to reproach any body of men with the character of their predeceffors in fo dark an age? Or might not the reproach be equally retorted on the other learned profeffions?

But to proceed-The Barbers charter was renewed by King Henry VII. in the year 1500, with only this alteration, that four Mafters were appointed inftead of two, who were fliled Magistri five Gubernatores mistere Barbitonforum et Sirurgicorum. Shortly after, in 1505, the Barbers and Surgeons of Edinburgh obtained a feal of Caufe from the Magistrates and Council of that City\*, by

\* As it will flow fomething of the flate of Surgery at that time, I will infert the following extract from the petition prefented to the Council on this occafion-" And alfe that every man that is to be made freeman " and Mafter amongst us, be examined and proved in " the poyntes following. That is to fay, That he knaw " anatomia, nature and complexions of every member " of humans body; and likewayes, that he knaw all the " vaines of the famen, that he may make phlibothmia " in due tyme. And alse that he knaw in guhilk mem-" bir the figne has dominatione for the tyme : for every " man

by which they were incorporated, and which was afterwards ratified by a charter from King James IV. dated October 13, 1506.

The charter of Henry VII. was confirmed by Henry VIII. in 1512, the third year of his reign, without undergoing any alteration whatever. The delivery of this latter was delineated by the pencil of Holbein, who has reprefented eighteen principal members of the Company attending the monarch on this occafion.

In the fame year an A& of Parliament was paffed, enacting that no perfon fhould be allowed to practife Phyfic or Surgery within London, or feven miles thereof, until he had been examined and approved by the Bifhop of London, and the Dean of St. Paul's, with four Phyficians for Phyfic, and for Surgery, with four perfons expert in that faculty: or beyond thefe limits, by the Bifhop of  $E_2$  the

" man aught to knaw the nature and fubflance of every " thing that he works in, or elfe he is negligent. And " that we may have ance in the year, a condemned man, " after he be dead, to make anatomia of, quhairthrow " wee may have experience ilk ane to inftruck others, " and we fhall doe fufferage for the faule. And that na " barbour, mafter, nor fervant within this burgh, haunt, " ufe, nor exerce this craft of furregiarie without he " be expert, and knaw perfittlie the things above " writin.——Item, That na mafter of the faid craft fhall " take ane apprentice or fervant man in tyme coming till " ufe the furregiane craft, without he can baith read and " wryte." the diocefe or his Vicar General, either of them calling to him fuch expert perfons in the faid faculty, as their difcretion fhould think convenient. The reafon for including Surgeons in this act, was probably not merely the limited jurifdiction of the Barbers Company, but becaufe Surgery was now become a more refpectable profession, and was thought to require the fupervisal of abler men.

The prudent reign of Henry VII. had produced a confiderable alteration in the flate of England, by increasing the population and independence of the towns; and of course the number of artifans in each. In this reign alfo the Venereal difeafe first made its appearance, and produced the most dreadful fymptoms. The neceffity for Surgeons therefore increafed, and a few arofe who confined themfelves entirely to that profession, having no connection whatever with the Barbers. It is faid however that when the act of 3 Henry VIII. was paffed, there were but ten of this defcription in the City of London\*; and it is certain there were not more than twelve two years afterwards; for by 5 Hen, VIII. c. vi. it is enacted, that the Surgeons, fo long as there fhall be no more than twelve of them within the city of London, shall be exempted from bearing of arms, and being put on watches and

\* Vid. Prefent State of Chirurgery, in a letter to Mr. Serjeant Bernard, by T. D.-Lond. 1703. and inquests. By the fame act, the like exemptions were granted to the Barber-Surgeons, in a distinct clause.

Meanwhile the cuftom of fhaving the beard came into general use. The Barbers of course multiplied, and became a more promiscuous class of men, many of whom could neither write nor read. Surgery on the other hand, was increasing in credit, and was publicly taught in feveral parts of Italy and France with ability and fuccefs. The art of printing, which was now well known, had been the means of multiplying copies of the most reputed writings, of diffufing the observations they contained, and facilitating the attainment of knowledge. The ufe of fmall fire arms, which began about this period to be employed in battle, opened a new field for Practical Surgery, and greatly increafed the number of regular Surgeons toward the latter end of this reign. An opportunity feems therefore to have been afforded of placing this branch of Medicine on a just and refpectable footing; but, unluckily, its true character was not yet fully underftood, either by its profeffors, or the public.

A most absurd and ridiculous act was therefore passed\*, which instead of keeping the Surgeons (who had formed themselves into a fociety) separate and

\* 32 Hen.VIII, c. xlii.

and diffinct from the Barbers, united the companies, though it feparated their professions. It first of all fets forth, that it was neceffary for these companies to be united, and made one body incorporate, " to the end THAT BY THEIR UNION AND OFTEN " ASSEMBLY TOGETHER the good and due order, exer-" cife, and knowledge of the faid Science or Faculty of " Surgery, SHOULD BE, AS WELL IN SPECULATION " AS IN PRACTICE, more perfect than it hath been ;" and then proceeds in the third claufe to enact, " that NO BARBER SHALL OCCUPY ANY THING " BELONGING TO SURGERY, drawing of teeth only " excepted :" So that those who did practife Surgery, were often to meet and affemble with those who did not, TO BE IMPROVED BOTH IN SPECULATION AND PRACTICE.

This act however allowed the company thus incorporated to take yearly four bodies of perfons put to death for felony, for the purpofe of diffection. It continued the appointment of four Governors, two of whom were to be Surgeons, and two Barbers, and extended their jurifdiction to one mile round London.

The Surgeons were thus fettled with an incumbrance which lafted them for more than two hundred years, and kept them in a ftate of inferiority, as impolitic, as it was ridiculous.

Phyfic was more fortunate-The juftly celebrated Linacre had fupplied in Italy, those defects in medical education which were fo flagrant in our own Univerfities; and being, on his return, appointed Phyfician to Henry VII. and retaining alfo the confidence of Henry VIII. was highly inftrumental in obtaining the Charter of September 23, 1518, by which the College of Phyficicans was eftablifhed, and which was confirmed by act of Parliament in 1522. From this period medicine began to emerge from empiricifm and neglect, and to affume its proper character. Its profeffors obtained a fuitable rank, and gained a just and honourable diffinction by paffing through a fit teft of their talents and learning, and thus being affociated with a body of men, who have long maintained an ample claim to the public refpect and confidence.

Liberal endowments were made to fupport this new inflitution; and, through the exertions of Linacre, arrangements were adopted in the Univerfities of Oxford and Cambridge for a more extensive and adequate plan of medical education. These arrangements fucceeded fo well, that in the year 1674, King Charles II. thought it right to fend an order to the College, defiring them to admit no perfon as a fellow, who had not graduated in one of those Universities: a measure, which, at an earlier period, would have been manifestly improper\*.

Had

\* MS. Sloan, 3299-44.

Had Surgery been equally fortunate, it might have made equal progrefs: But many circumftances concurred to keep it back, Not only the means of advancing it were ill underftood\*, but its true nature was mifconceived; and a narrow, illiberal fpirit of animofity and jealoufy, arofe between the Phyficians and Surgeons, which hurt both themfelves, and the Science they profeffed.

However fome exertions were made. The reign of Elizabeth, which commenced in 1558, was -fplendid, active, and favourable to learning in general. Confiderable additions had then been made to the flock of anatomical knowledge by Vefalius, Fallopius, and others. The art of engraving enabled them to diffeminate their difcoveries; and we have feveral Chirurgical treatifes, published in London between the years 1570 and 1590, which at least deferve the praise of diligent compilation. Rude and uncouth as the writings of Gale and Banefter now appear, yet when compared with the fragments which are left by writers half a century earliert, they fhow an evident advancement in the fcience, and give no mean idea of the talents, or industry of their authors.

The

\* In the year 1566, a bye-law was made by the united Company, "that no private anatomy fhould be diffected out of the hall, under the penalty of ten pounds."

+ Most of these are copies of John of Ardern, with a few extracts from foreign writers, and some receipts of their own nostrums.

The French Surgery, which had for fome time paft lain neglected, now revived under the juftly celebrated Ambrose Paré. This great man was originally one of the Barber-Surgeons in Paris\*, but was raifed by his fuperior talents and diligence, to the most diftinguished eminence of any Surgeon at that time in Europe. His writings are ftill valued. To fhow the effimation in which he was held, it will be fufficient to obferve, that when the bloody maffacre of the French Protestants (of whom he was one) commonly called the Bartholomew Maffacre, was on the point of being perpetrated, the king (Charles IX.) fent for him over night into his Wardrobe, and made him ftay there in fafety, without even preffing him to change his religion, till the favage emiffaries of that cowardly plot had executed their orderst.

Scotland alfo had the honour of producing a Surgeon of no mean account in the perfon of Peter Lowe, who was appointed by James VI. (our James I.) to examine and licenfe all Surgeons practifing in the weftern parts of that country. This monarch confirmed, in the year 1623, the charters, &c. which had been hitherto iffued in favour of the Barbers and Surgeons of Edinburgh.

# F

## During

\* Pafquier, p 877.

+ Mem. de Brantome, Tom. IV. p. 8, 9.

tions were frequently commenced by the College of Phyficians against members of the Surgeons Company for practifing physic; which they were confidered as doing, whenever they prescribed internal medicines, even in Chirurgical cafes. According to the doctrine then maintained, if a man had but a boil on his nofe, he must have a Surgeon to apply a plaister, a Physician to order him a purge, and an Apothecary to put it up-greatly to the relief of his pocket, and the good order of the profession. However, it must be mentioned that the College were authorifed by law to practife Surgery; and a Surgical Lecture had been founded there by Lord Lumley and Dr. Caldwall about the year 1582, which had been of great public utility\*; while Surgery was very imperfectly taught by the members of the Company at that time, either as individuals or as a body. The Surgeons not only then, but for a long time after, were very inattentive to that true foundation of good Surgical Practice, a knowledge of the theory of medicine: And this neglect led them to admit feveral, perhaps many, into their number, who were extremely ignorant in this refpect, and who were merely acquainted with the general anatomy of

\* It was at this lecture Harvey first made public his discovery of the circulation. Vid. Goodall's Epistle Dedicatory. Also the Life of Harvey prefixed to the College edition of his works. of the body, and the mechanical performance of fuch operations as were then in use.

Of late, and fince the diffinction between Surgeons and Phyficians has been taken, as it certainly ought to be, rather from the difeafes they treat, than from the part each of them take in the treatment, this opposition has been gradually wearing away, and is not likely to be revived: But at that time it grew to a very ferious height. The College fent a letter to the Surgeons Company, on the 12th of November, 1595\*, avowing their intention to proceed against all of them who should offend in this matter. They accordingly commenced a process fhortly after against one Jenkins, which was left to the decision of Sir John Popham, then Lord Chief Juffice, who determined it April 8, 1602, in favour of the College; declaring it as his opinion, "that no Sur-" geon, as a Surgeon, might practife Physic; no, not " for any difeafe, though it were the great pox-"+ And further, " That the Lord Chief Juffice could not " bail, or deliver the College prifoner, but was " obliged by law to deliver him up to the College " Cenfure." For this decifion his Lordfhip received a very flattering letter of thanks from the College.

## F 2

\* Goodall, p. 340.

+ Alfton, p. 115. Goodall, p. 344.

It

It was now high time for the Surgeons Company to look about them; for whatever Jenkins might be, and it is very clear what he was, this decifion went against the members of the Company at large, and degraded them into the fervility of the most dependent hirelings. But King James shortly after coming to the throne of England, they applied for a new Charter, and obtained it on the 30th of January, 1604.

This entrusted the examination of all who should practife Surgery within three miles of London to the Master and two of the affistants, being Surgeons, and admitted all who where approved by them, "ad exercicium, usum, et practicam misteræ five "artis prædictæ, omnibus necessaries et falubribus viis "et modis convenientibus, TAM INTERNIS QUAM EX-"TERNIS MEDICINIS, artem sive misteriam Chirur-"gicam concernentibus, fecundum experienciam, cogni-"cionem et scienciam eorundem," &c.

By this Charter the Court of Affiftants was firft appointed. They were to be twenty-fix in number, and to hold their office for life, unlefs fome reafonable ground fhould occur for their removal. It was not however determined that any fixed number of the Court of Affiftants fhould be Surgeons, and therefore the Maflers were directed, every year, before the expiration of their office, to choofe twelve perfons out of the Affiftants and commonalty, monalty, fix of whom were to be Surgeons, and fix Barbers; which twelve were to choofe the four new mafters for the enfuing year, out of the Court of Affiftants. A claufe was alfo inferted, prohibiting any perfon who was not a Surgeon and a member of the Company, from intermeddling with the diffection or embalming of any dead body within the jurifdiction now allowed.

From this time the College of Phyficians became lefs troublefome; though under the pretext that the charter had not been confirmed by Parliament, they fined fome members of the company for bad practice. And it is fufficiently evident that the practice of those whom they did fine was bad enough.

The charter was once more renewed by King Charles I. in the year 1629, who extended the jurifdiction to feven miles round London, and made the following alterations in the conflictution of the company.

Ten Examiners elected by and out of the Court of Affiftants were to continue in that office for life, unlefs fome reafonable caufe could be affigned for their removal—The Examiners were to be ftill confidered as a part of the Court of Affiftants notwithftanding their election to that office—The Court of Affiftants were to elect perfons out of their their own number (being Surgeons) to fupply vacancies in the Court of Examiners, and perfons out of the company at large to fupply vacancies in their own.

All candidates for admiffion into the Company were to be examined in the prefence of two of the Mafters, and four Examiners; and all Navy Surgeons, their Mates, their inftruments and medicine chefts, were to be examined by the mafters.

It was enjoined that all members of the Company, who might happen to be called to a perfon wounded, fo as to be in danger of lofing his life or a limb, fhould confult one or both of the two mafters, for the time being, who were Surgeons, refpecting the cafe, within twenty hours, on pain of forfeiting forty fhillings.

Every apppentice was to be prefented at a Court held in the common hall before one mafter at leaft; to be bound for no fhorter a term than feven years; not to be decrepid or deformed, or have any corrupt or peftilential difeafe, but to be found in body and limbs. If he was apprenticed to a Surgeon he was to underftand and read the Latin language; and all this under a penalty of twenty pounds.

A Lecture

A Lecture in Surgery was also *permitted* to be read once a week, or otherwife, at the difcretion of the master and affistants.

Respecting every perfon admitted to practife Surgery it is faid in the charter, " plenam potestatem " et authoritatem de cetero in perpetuum habeat et habebit, " facere, præparare, componere, applicare, ADMINI-" STRARE, et uti, OMNIBUS ET SINGULIS emplastris, " unguentis, COMPOSICIONIBUS, PHARMASIS, ET « ALIIS MEDICAMENTIS, ad artem Chirurgicam " spectantibus, quæ per tales homines aut eorum aliquos " tam expertos approbatos et admissos, ante hæc tempora " habitis, ufis, feu frequentatis, aut que per eos five fuc-" ceffores fuos, aut eorum aliquem in posterum existi-« mabuntur idonea, fana, et convenientia pro meliori et " cerciori recuperacione fanitatis paciencium fuorum in " cafibus Chirurgiæ; videlicet, in curacione Vulnerum, " Ulcerum, Fracturarum, Diflocacionum, Tumorum " præter et contra naturam, et aliarum externarum in-" firmitatum prout fibi melius fore videbitur expedire."

A few years before this charter was given, the immortal Harvey had published his discovery of the Circulation, and thus began that important revolution which has fince taken place both in the Theory and Practice of Medicine: But as this change was only to be brought about by a careful induction and arrangement of many particulars, and a feries of observations entirely new, it was not very very quick in its advances. Only a fmall progrefs was therefore made in Chirurgical knowledge for the following fifty years; when Mr. Richard Wifeman, Serjeant Surgeon to King Charles II. publifhed his eight treatifes, and first gave lustre to Surgery in England.

By this time a number of events had taken place, which greatlyfav oured the fuccefs of his exertions. Europe had affumed a new character: Science was rifing with refiftlefs fplendor to diffipate the clouds which had fo long obfcured her; and medicine, before a rude and almôft pathlefs defert, began to wear the appearance of cultivation, and to invite, nay to command, attention.

The writings of Lord Bacon had not only been the means of advancing fcience in general, by exploding the hopothetical fyftems received in his time, but had been peculiarly beneficial to medicine. With great accuracy and difcernment he pointed out its defects, and fhowed the neceffity of obferving his own rules in all future attempts to improve it. His obfervations on this fubject\* deferve the repeated perufal of every ftudent.

Taught by the doctrine of fo great a mafter, Sydenham applied himfelf to the obfervation of morbid

\* De Augment. Scient, Lib. IV. c. 2.

morbid phænomena, which he delineated with uncommon exactnefs, and careful attention to furrounding circumftances. Others followed the fame example, and much light was thrown on the nature and cure of internal difeafes.

Anatomy alfo was now in a high flate of cultivation, especially on feveral parts of the continent. The doctrine of the circulation was univerfally received; and the art of injecting the blood-veffels with coloured fluids, invented by De Graaf, and improved by Swammerdam and Ruyfch, enabled Anatomists not only better to diffect the different parts of the body, but also to demonstrate their ftructure with great minuteness, and to fubject them to the microfcope with eminent advantage. Chemistry had furnished many active and fuccessful remedies, both for external and internal use; and was fast emerging from the mystery and jargon in which it had been fo industriously obfcured. Literary Societies were inftituted in various parts of Europe; the genius of Newton was beginning to unfold; and the mechanical arts had made a rapid progrefs.

But what more immediately contributed to the improvement of Surgery about this period, was an alteration which was made by Louis XIV. in the principal establishment for teaching it in France; whose customs, both good and bad, have always had G a remarkable a remarkable influence over this country. A courfe of Chirurgical Lectures had been inflituted in the Jardin Royal at Paris in the year 1635, but it was ordained that the Lecturer fhould always be a Phyfician, and a member of the Faculty of Medicine in that Univerfity. This abfurd regulation continued till the year 1671, when his Majefty very judicioufly determined, that in future, the Lectures on Surgery and Anatomy fhould be read by a Surgeon : and fhortly after gave orders that bodies for diffection and the neceffary demonstrations, fhould be freely fupplied. Dionis was first appointed to this office, and the fuperior ability with which he filled it, incontestably proved the propriety of the alteration\*.

The abfurdity of having Surgery taught by one fet of men, while it is wholly practifed by another, feems almost too grofs to need pointing out. Such a plan was fearcely ever thought of in any other profeffion; and it is, at first view, rather furprifing it should ever have been adopted in this.

The fact is, that when Cardinal Etouteville, in the year 1452, abolifhed the law which obliged the Phyficians to celibacy, many of them, thinking there was more comfort to be found in a wife without a benefice, than could be expected in a benefice

\* Hift, de l'Acad. R. de Chirurgie, p. 27, et feq.

benefice without a wife, abandoned the priefthood, and were then permitted, of courfe, to vifit their patients themfelves at their own houfes. They now became jealous of the influence of the Surgeons, to whom they were before fo much indebted; and tried all the arts and manœuvres-that monkifh craft could devife, to opprefs and degrade them\*. Violent difputes therefore frequently arofe between them, in which the Phyficians, being members of the Univerfity, and therefore under clerical protection, generally prevailed. The Surgeons, very unwifely, inftead of endeavouring to act wholly independent, of them and the Univerfity too, were always trying to push themselves into the latter, under the denomination of a Fifth Faculty; and to make friends for this purpofe, of the very men who were defpifing and perfecuting them. They appealed to their honour, their good fenfe, and fo on; but as they could not appeal to their interest, they generally fruftrated their own intentions; and only gained the honour of being acknowledged as the fcholars and pupils of the Univerfity, and being admitted to receive apoftolical benediction from the fame lips as their High Mightineffes the Doctors. But they were not allowed to graduate there for a very confiderable G 2

\* In order to this they patronifed the Barbers fo far as to read the Lectures on Anatomy, and explain the Surgical Writers to them in the vernacular language; contrary to the univerfal practice of every School of Phyfic at that time in Europe. At another they tried to make the Bagnio-keepers fupplant the Surgeons. fiderable time after the firft reafon for prohibiting them was, in fact, done away. The Phyficians therefore having the nominal fuperiority of rank, were always pretending to be the only good and fit teachers of Surgery, and treated the Surgeons as their mere creatures and dependents\*.

It was impoffible that Surgery could profper much while this was the cafe. It was therefore highly proper fome alteration fhould be madet. At length it was made, as has just been defcribed; and

\* So proud were the Surgeons of being confidered even the Scholars of the Univerfity. that when charged by the Regent with having denied their relation to it, Philip Roger their representative faid, fo far from having done fo, "fi aviezmes fongé le dire, nous nous irions cou-"cher pour le défonger." Bulæi Hift. Univ. Par. tom. VI. p. 32.

+ " On devoit prévoir les malheurs de la division de la Theorie d'avec l'Art d'opérer. Fallope, et Marc Auréle Severin, en Italie, s'étoient déja plaints amérement de l'extinction de la race Hippocratique ; c'est ainsi qu'ils appelloient les grands Maitres de notre art, à qui la fciénce de l'économie animale et des defordres qui peuvent en troubler les fonctions, donnoit des principes fur l'administration des differens moyens de remédier à ces dérangemens. Ils sçavoient appliquer avec dextérité les fecours de la main dans les cas où ils les jugeoient convenables: mais ils n'empruntoient pas les lumieres d'autrui pour discerner cette nécessité ; ils se dirigeoient par celles qui font le fruit de l'étude et de l'experience iéunies. QUELLE HABILETE POURROIENT AVOIR DANS LA PRATIQUE D'UN ART, CEUX QUI FONT PROFESSION DE NE LE POINT EXERCER ?"

Hift. de l'Acad. R. de Chirurgie, p. 31, 32.

and from that period Surgery rapidly improved, and enabled its profeffors to add luftre to their country.

The wars which deluged the neighbouring continent with blood, during the ambitious reign of Louis XIV. made Surgery of greater importance to the public than ever. The increase of anatomical knowledge rendered its operations more fure, more exact, and more fuccessful. It rose, as it deferved, in general esteem; and as Paris was confidered the principal fource of those improvements which were every where visible, and every where beneficial, the demonstrations in the Jardin Royal were crouded with pupils from all parts of Europe; and in the year 1724, five public professions of the Theory and Practice of Surgery were appointed.

In no countries were the improvements alluded to (which it would require an ample volume to detail) more noticed and encouraged, than inGermany and Holland, where difting profefforfhips were appointed in the Universities, to teach this most ancient and useful branch of the healing art. The ardour and fuccess with which anatomy was cultivated in the Dutch Provinces, together with the diftinguished eminence of their engravers, enabled them in particular to avail themselves of the discoveries which were made, and to diffuse much useful ufeful and important information. About this period alfo, the celebrated Heifter, who was Profeffor of Surgery, firft in the Univerfity of Altorf, and afterwards in that of Helmftadt, rendered an important fervice to his brethren and to mankind, by publifhing his fyftem of Surgery. In compiling this able work, he carefully collected and arranged the obfervations of others, in his own and former times; and added to them whatever an excellent underftanding, and a large field of experience, had fuggefted to himfelf.

The part which England had borne in the troubles of the continent, and the difturbed flate of her own internal affairs, produced too much occafion for the more frequent employment of Surgeons in this country: Their number therefore was increafed, and a few attained to confiderable eminence, among whom Mr. Chefelden deferves principally to be mentioned. To him we are indebted for a confiderable improvement in feveral capital operations; and for inftructing our inftrument makers in an art, which has now attained to great perfection; the most important inftruments being imported from France before his time.

Still however many circumftances exifted which rendered it almost impossible for the Surgeons in England to keep pace with their brethren in France. There were at that time but two hospitals in London

don\* for the fick and lame; and the governors of thefe entirely refufed to allow the education of pupils in one, and would admit but nine at a time in the other. The rulers of the united company, a majority of them being Barbers, ftrenuoufly maintained the bye-lawt which fubjected every member who diffected a body out of the hall, without their permiffion, to a penalty of ten pounds; and rigouroufly profecuted all who difobeyed it. The members were amenable to the power of the Spiritual Court; they were liable to many heavy charges, often amounting to more than one hundred pounds before they had ferved all the offices of the company; the privileges they enjoyed depending principally on charters which had not yet been ratified by Parliament, were often called in queftion, and found infufficient to fcreen them from feveral troublefome and expensive offices in Weftminfter hall ; and, added to all this, the Phyficians and Surgeons were perpetually quarrelling, about the

\* St. Bartholomew's and St. Thomas's—Guy's was founded in the year 1722—St. George's about 1733 —The London Hofpital in 1740—The Middlefex in 1755—and the Westminster Infirmary in 1719.

+ Vid. page 32.

<sup>‡</sup> Almost all of these were abolished when the companies separated.

§ Gataker's Le Dran. p. 470.—Arnaud, Mem. de la Chirurgie, p. 821. the right of the latter to administer internal remedies to their patients\*.

#### None

\* A vast number of pamphlets were published in this difpute, which had found its way into Scotland, and occasioned the following clauses to be inferted in the Charter granted by William and Mary to the Surgeons there, July 17, 1695.

" Atque similiter, quum in memoriam revocamus in literis illis patentibus, a ferenifimo Rege Carolo Secundo, beatiflimæ memoriæ, conceffis, quibus Medici Edinburgenses in Collegium eriguntur, Chirurgorum et Chirurgorum-Pharmacopæorum Edinburgenfium privilegia farta et tecta feu integra, et indemnia Chirurgis ibidem refervantur et præftantur; atque cautum eft, et declaratum, quod non obstantibus prædictis literis patentibus, prædictos Chirurgos et Chirurgos-Pharmacopæos folos et omnino potestatem Edinburgi habere curandi omnium vulnerum genera, collisiones offium, fracturas et diflocationes, contusiones, tumores, ulcera et similia, ET OMNIA ACCIDENTIA AB ILLIS ORTA, quæ folius Chirurgiæ operationum sunt subjecta: at morbos omnes internæ originis medicis folis committendi funt (exceptis ut iupra excipitur.)

"Atque fi quæ inter Medicos et Chirurgos-Pharmacopæos lis aut controverfia de hifce rebus oriatur; ratum effe et judicatum volumus, prædictum Medicorum Collegium nullum haberi poteftatem erogandi mulctarum in Chirurgos aut Chirurgos-Pharmacopæos qui cives Edinburgenfes funt, fine confenfu præfecti vel prætoris alicujus ejus urbis; et in cafu abfentiæ vel detrectationis eorum, ad ftatos nostri Concilii Dominos appellationem utriufque fieri volumus.

" Nofque intelligentes prædictas literas patentes ita cauté conceptas, in fenfu et intentione ad effectum infra mentionatum, itaque nos volumus et declaramus, feientiam illarum literarum patentium, in favorem quorundam Medicorum None of these obstacles now existed in France, except the last; and that was daily diminishing. The abilities of Petit, Duverney, Garengeot, Felix, Mery, Le Dran, and others, made their way through all opposition, and supported the profession in its true character: and the interest of La Peyronie, Mareschal, and La Martiniere, procured it a liberal patronage from the throne, which at length issued in the establishment of the Royal Academy of Surgery at Paris, by Louis XV.in 1731.

The labours of this famous Society need no encomium: They are before the public in five quarto volumes, replete with proofs of the ability of their authors.

Neverthelefs much was left to be done; and it may be queftioned whether the laboursof Mr. Pott H alone

Medicorum Edinburgenfium, conceptarum, curam morborum omnium ab origine internorum, AD SOLOS MEDICOS privatim pertinere; at vero, morbos omnes et languores ab externa causa provenientes, ET EORUM ACCIDEN-TIA, SIVE MEDICAMENTIS INTERNE MINISTRATIS SIVE EXTERNE APPLICATIS CURENTUR, proprium esse et verum Chyrurgorum operationum subjecta, et ad Chyrurgos, et Chyrurgos-Pharmacopæos, tanquam negotii sui et artis PARTES NECESSARIAS ET NA-TURALES proprié pertinere. Et volumus et definimus hos veros, rectos et fixos, inter utramque artem futuros perpetuo limites; et ut omnes judices nostri atque subditi, hæc in commodum Chyrurgorum et Chyrurgorum-Pharmacopæorum CUM OMNI FAVORE, TAN-QUAM ADMITTI POTEST interpretentur." alone did not afterwards produce a more real, and a more perfect change in the practice of Surgery here, than the united efforts of the French academicians.

Be this as it may—The inftitution of this Academy was accompanied with feveral circumftances, which very much favoured the execution of its original defign. An edict was iffued in the year 1743, diffolving the connection which had fubfifted ever fince 1655\*, between the Surgeons of St. Côfme and the Barber Surgeons, and decreeing that the employment of the latter fhould entirely ceafe with the lives of thofe who then actually profeffed it. It was further ordained that no perfon fhould be admitted by the College of St. Côfme (which ftill retained the power of examining and licenfing practitioners) who had not previoufly graduated as Mafter of Arts.

I cannot quit this part of my fubject, without noticing the wifdom of the French Court, in keeping the civil capacity of the College of St. Côlme diftinct from the literary capacity of the Academy; although, when the definitive regulations of the latter were fettled, all the members of the one were confidered as nominal members of the other<sup>+</sup>. I mention

\* They were incorporated together at that period by Louis XIV.

+ Only feventy had any share in the management of the institution.

I mention this the rather, because it has been confidered as a capital defect in the bill which has given occasion to this pamphlet, that there was no provision contained in it, obliging the members of the company to affemble as a literary body, for the communication of their respective observations: For, not to mention that there are already feveral Societies of Phyficians and Surgeons formed for this express purpose, the end to be answered by fuch an affociation must be entirely distinct from that, on account of which the company is incorporated. The Surgeons Company is primarily and effentially a civil inftitution; appointed to protect the public from ignorant and unqualified practitioners; and therefore empowered to examine all who profess to be Surgeons, and to admit those who are found of competent abilities to the enjoyment of certain privileges, allowed them by the State, The other would be a private fociety, poffeffing no civil capacity, conftructed on different principles, and requiring regulations of a very different kind. It might be eligible, for aught I know, that the company fhould contain both these institutions within itself; but as they would by neceffity of nature, be really different, they ought to be kept formally diffinct\*.

### But

\* It would be a curious, and very useful undertaking, to investigate the principles of organization in small focieties: A subject certainly worthy of enquiry; but hitherto very little understood, or even confidered. But to return from this digreffion.—Surgery was now rapidly improving in England. Anatomy was taught in feveral parts of the City of London by profeffors of confiderable ability. Several new hofpitals had been erected, and in all of them the education of pupils was admitted. The good effects of thefe charitable inflitutions were every where vifible, by the ftriking recoveries of patients who were fent up to them from all parts of the country, in cafes formerly confidered as almost certainly fatal. The public mind was therefore disposed to think favourably of an art, by the perfection of which every one might look for relief, under a large and afflicting portion of the fufferings common to humanity.

Thefe circumstances, together with the rank the French Surgeons had obtained, could not but increase the defire of those in London to break off their connection with the Barbers, which was now become more irksome and degrading than ever. The right to freedom of the city by birth\* had introduced men of all employments into the company--not only Barbers, but Bagnio-keepers, Drapers, Carpenters---

- " Black Spirits and White,
- " Blue Spirits and Grey."

# Added

\* This right belonged to the children of the Barbers: But the Surgeons were admitted by examination only. Added to all this, the number of Surgeons in the livery was but one hundred and fourteen, while that of the Barbers was three times as great.

The feparation was therefore determined on. An application was made to Parliament in the eighteenth year of his late Majefty King George II. (A.D. 1745) and an act was paffed, making them two diffinct corporations, and confirming to the Surgeons all the privileges allowed in the Royal Charters given to the united company, fo far as they related to Surgery only.

The Hall, and all the property, except the amount of two legacies for Anatomical Lectures, which will hereafter be noticed, were left in poffeffion of the Barbers, who would confent to the feparation on no other terms. They even kept the anatomical preparations, and fome excellent paintings of the mufcles, as proofs of the dignity of their origin. The former, I underftand, are now difpofed of, or deftroyed; and the theatre which contained them has been pulled down: The latter ftill remain.

The government of the Surgeons Company, and the management of all their affairs, were vefted in the Court of Affiftants, who were to be twentyone in number, ten of whom were to be Examiners, and each to hold their refpective offices for life. They They were to elect members out of the company at large to fill up vacancies in their own number and perfons from among themfelves to fill vacancies in the Court of Examiners. They were alfo to choofe annually one principal Mafter or Governor, and two other Governors or Wardens; and nine members of the Court of Affiftants, with two of the Governors, formed a quorum for the tranfaction of bufinefs.

One of the first things to which the Court of Affistants applied themfelves after the paffing of this act, was the formation of new bye-laws; in doing which they paid an efpecial regard to the relief of the younger members, by abolishing many expensive offices, and leffening the admission fees: So that the freedom of the company, with all its privileges, was shortly to be obtained with lefs than one quarter of the expence it had formerly cost. No restraint was laid on any of the members to prohibit them from taking those steps by which they could either gain or communicate information; and a general spirit of exertion prefently diffused its form the information on the continent\*.

Thofe who were appointed to attend the different hofpitals which had been eftablished, not only attained from their situation a confiderable degree of publicity, which is always a spur to active minds, but

\* Gataker, ut supra.

but were put in poffeffion of an extensive field of obfervation and experience. This enabled them to bring received opinions to the teft on a large fcale; to correct many errors which had long prevailed, and efpecially to improve the method of operating, which had hitherto been very unfcientific, and encumbered with aukward and unneceffary inftruments. Among the names of those to whom England is most indebted for a fuccefsful application of their talents to this important fervice, that of Mr. Samuel Sharp, a pupil of Mr. Chefelden, and formerly Surgeon to Guy's Hospital, deferves a diffinguished place. To very acute talents for observation, he joined the art of appreciating with accuracy and fairness the opini-

preciating with accuracy and fairnefs the opininions of others; and was the first Englishman who published a complete and mothodical account of the operations of Surgery, in its improved state.

Such is the pain, and often the danger, attending fome of these operations, that ability and presence of mind to perform them well, is an acquisition of great value; and was peculiarly fo at that time, when they were only beginning to be conducted on the true principles of science, and to be directed by a knowledge of the structure and œconomy of the human frame. But this acquifition important and splendid as it may be, is far from being all that is necessfary for a Surgeon:—To investigate the nature of those difeases in which operations are needful, and to diffinguish them them from those which are conquerable by more gentle means; to ascertain the moment when the knife should be employed, and to determine under what circumstances, and with what medical treatment it may be used to the greatest advantage; to know precisely in what the operation itself should confist, what should be attempted before it, and what ought to follow after; this is the Surgeon's longest, and his hardest task.

To animate his brethren in this important duty, and to fet an example of it worthy their imitation, was the great and fuccefsful endeavoar of the late Mr. Pott. Born with a mind penetrating, ftrong, and comprehenfive, conceiving in very early life a predominant attachment to his profeffion, fparing no pains to become intimately acquainted with the principles on which it is built, and to avail himfelf of the obfervations of thofe who had ftudied it before him, he was enabled to mark with precifion what paffed under his own eye, and to reafon with accuracy from caufe to effect: Hence his judgment became prompt, becaufe it was informed; and firm, becaufe it was clear.

Mr. Pott therefore was eminently fitted to improve and to adorn the Science of Surgery. Not by the hafty fpirit of a daring and conceited innovator; but by an habit of patient attention to the operations of nature, and a careful deduction of her her laws from thence. This ftamped intrinfic value on all his writings; and enabled him to introduce a more rational and fuccefsful practice in many difficult cafes.

Cotemporary with Mr. Pott were many in England, who have done honour to their profession and to their country; and the benefit of whose labours is still descending to thousands, who know little of the fource from whence it is derived\*. The names of Sir Cæsar Hawkins and Mr. Bromsfeild are still in remembrance, and will go down with honour to posterity<sup>+</sup>.

I

\* "L'Anatomie que l'on étudie depuis quelque temps " avec tant de foin" (fays M. de Fontenelle, among many other excellent remarks, in his preface on the Labours of the Academy of Sciences) " n'a pû devenir plus exacte, " fans rendre la Chirurgie beaucoup plus fûre dans fes " operations. Les Chirurgiens la favent, mais ceux qui " profitent de leur art n'en favent rien. Et comment le " fauroient-ils ? Il faudroient qu'ils comparaffent l'an-" cienne Chirurgie avec la moderne. Ce feroit une " grande étude, et qui ne leur convient pas. L'operation a " réûfli ; c'en eft affés ; il n'importe gueres de favoir fi " dans une autre fiècle elle auroit réûfli de même-" le public ne jouit du fuccès qu'elle a eu, qu'avec une " efpece d'ingratitude."

## Eloges des Acad. Tom. I.

+ To Sir Cæfar Hawkins we owe the invention of the Cutting Gorget, by which the operation of Lithotomy has been rendered far lefs hazardous and painful; and at the fame time much more eafy to be performed.

It

It would be unjuft in this place, to omit paying a tribute of refpect to the extraordinary merit, and indefatigable exertions, of the late Mr. Hunter. Not only have the difcoveries made by his brother and himfelf in Anatomy and Phyfiology, thrown light on almost every part of the animal œconomy; but his careful investigation of those alterations in structure, which take place in parts under the influence of difease, has been of effential advantage both to the theory and practice of Surgery.

But while a few names are mentioned here (and a few only can be mentioned in fo fhort a fketch) let me not be thought infenfible to the merits of others who are not particularly fpecified. Many contributions have been made to the treafury of Chirurgical knowledge, from many different quarters, or it had never contained that ample fupply of relief which it now affords. " Sacrum scientiæ " flumen," fays an able and elegant writer\*, " quod « nunc mirum et pene immensum contemplamur " et veneramur, ex parvo et ignoto fonte deriva-" tum, labitur atque labetur per omne ævum : primo « exiguus rivus, incrementis quæ plurima, quamvis « lenta accipit, crefcit paulatim in ampliffimum « amnem, confluentibus nimirum undique imumeris « rivulis, quorum finguli cum tanti mole comparati, " nihil

\* Gregory, Confpect. Med, Theor. Tom. I. in pref. p. 60, 61. <sup>ss</sup> nihil fere ad ejus magnitudinem conferre videntur;
<sup>ss</sup> omnes vero, omnibus congeftis aquis, flumen
<sup>ss</sup> tandem efficiunt, quale jam fpectamus, vaftum,
<sup>ss</sup> amœnum, felicia quæ præterfluit arva irrigans
<sup>ss</sup> atque fœcundans."

It fhould be remembered that the benefit of thofe improvements in Surgery which have been made in this country, are by no means confined within our own borders. They have extended to foreign climes, and have attracted pupils hither from all parts of Europe: And what is of more importance for an Englifh Legiflature to confider, is, that they have reached the fifter kingdom, and all the immenfe colonies of this extensive empire. In all of thefe are to be found crouds of fufferers, from the cafualties of life and the ravages of war, receiving folace, relief, and reftoration, through the affiftance of men, who owe their ability to impart thefe bleffings, to the labours, the inftructions, and the example, of the Surgeons of London.

Who would have thought that England, the center of this favoured kingdom, where Surgery has been cultivated with fuch eminent advantage to mankind, fhould have been marked out as the precife fpot, where its profeffors must be held up to mockery and derifion?

Are the talents, the learning, the characters, of those great and able men who have just been enu-

merated

merated, fo foon forgotten?—Have they toiled fo hard to extend health and eafe to the beds of affliction, that after all, while their afhes are yet fcarce cold in their graves, the art they have honoured, enriched, and ennobled, fhould be treated with fcorn, where it looked for protection?—

But it is paft—It cannot be recalled—Surely it will not be repeated.

It is worthy of remark that the focieties of Surgeons in Edinburgh and Dublin have both been incorporated as Colleges without any hefitation; and that the latter in particular has received, (as it certainly well deferved to receive) a liberal fupply of money from government to carry its purpofes into effect; while the fociety in London, the parent of them both, and older by more than three centuries than the latter, has hitherto been confounded with trading companies, and unable to confer any degree of rank on its members, beyond that of ordinary artifans: And yet, without any affiftance from government, nay chiefly by their exertions as private individuals, they have wholly reformed the practice of Surgery, and have been the inftruments of as great, if not greater benefit to the public, than the members of any fimilar inflitution in Europe.

Their having been paffed over fo long, cannot be a reafon why they fhould ftill be neglected. They hope they have deferved the rank they folicit, before they afk for it; and do not requeft it merely as an inducement to future exertions. It is of greateft moment however in this latter view\*: For in order to keep up the vigour and perfection of any fcience, it must be permitted to hold out the ufual encouragements for men of talents and property to devote themfelves to it. Thefe encouragements are rank and fortune. The latter is given by the public, to fuch as are honoured with its confidence; but the former can only be given by the higher orders of the State, for they only have it to beftow.

#### The

\* This is not an affertion upon mere theory. It is decided by experience.—The advancement of Surgery in Scotland, fince the foundation of the College in Edinburgh is well known. But there were many favourable circumftances to concur with it. It is more ftriking in Dublin, where every thing was begun *de novo*, and where, it appears to me, the form of the inflitution is far more perfect.—"Since we have been formed into a "College" (fays a Surgeon of the first rank and eminence in that city, in a letter to me lately) "our profession has "improved most rapidly.—PREVIOUS TO THE YEAR "1780, it was not held in much effimation; nor, to speak "truly and fairly, did it deferve it : Now I may truly "venture to affert, that in every branch of our profession "we are not inferior to our neighbours."

It further proof is wanting, let any judicious and impartial perfon read the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Surgery at Paris, and by them decide whether I have over-rated this part of the argument.

The appeal from the members of a learned profession to the public for pecuniary recompense, can only be made by fuch acts as are the refult of the learning and ability they poffefs; and which, when they have been once performed, may often be imitated by others who are deftitute of the primary qualifications. It is only a very fmall part of the mass of mankind who are able to look. beyond the mere outward act; if that be performed, it is enough for them. Hence an ignorant empiric fometimes gains as much of their confidence as a man of found information; and an accidental cure ftrikes their minds as forcibly; and often more fo, than one conducted on the true principles of fcience; even where nothing but the true principles of fcience could avail.

But the appeal from a learned profeffion to the Legiflature for fuitable rank, goes on a very different principle. It it is an appeal *from* men of learning, to men of learning—who need not to be informed by what preparatory exercifes the mind is to be formed for the inveftigation of a particular fcience; who know from experience the gradations of knowledge by which they have been qualified for their own high flation, and can judge of thofe by which others muft be fitted for a profeffion equally difficult, though of lefs figure on the theatre of the world. The public fee the motions of the hand; but the Legiflature will fee the fprings which which move it, and the combination of powers which regulates their effect.

The influence of rank, whether civil or profeffional, on the mind, is not to be difputed. Is has indeed been faid, that rank and title are mere names—But they are the names of things. They may be mifapplied, or unworthily beftowed but they are good in themfelves; and he is an enemy to fociety; whofe weaknefs or wickednefs would impel him to abolifh them.

But if the Surgeons of London are to be denied this rank, already beftowed on their junior brethren; at leaft let the vitality of their company, which has not been loft by mifconduct, but by miffortune, or rather by the difpofals of Providence at leaft let this be reftored them: Let not the public, in thefe days, when inftruction waits in every ftreet—let not the public be again expofed to the unrefifted inroads of ignorant and unprincipled pretenders.

The calamities which it is the office of Surgery to relieve, are among the moft painful and diftreffing to which human nature is liable. They include the whole clafs of external difeafes, and all those effects of internal ones, which require manual operation. And however loathfome or difgufting fome of these may appear, let it be remembered they are are common to all mankind: to the high, and to the low; to the rich, and to the poor; to the feeble, the ftrong, and the proud. The patronage of Surgery, therefore, is a common caufe—It is that in which every individual is perfonally interefted: For on its perfection or decay, the enjoyment, the prolongation, or the lofs of his life, may depend.

I know very well there is a propenfity in all men to aggrandize their own profeffion—It is a natural infirmity. But this will furely be allowed—that whatever can call into action the beft and brighteft faculties of the human mind, without debafing its mora' worth—that profeffion, be it whatever it may, demands the refpect, and the recompense of society.

Whether or not Surgery will abide this teft, it needs only common fenfe to determine.

If, as has just been observed, Surgery includes the treatment of external diseases, and such effects of internal ones, as require manual operation, it is easy to perceive that it is built exactly on the same foundation, and requires the same degree of knowledge as Physic; of which it is unquestionably the most ancient and effential part. Indeed they were always blended in the practice of those famous men of old, several of whom were deified and adored by a people, ignorant, is is true, of religion, gion, but very well acquainted with the policy of nations.

However the whole of Medicine was then in a very rude and imperfect flate: Its fphere was narrow, and its effects were lefs evident. Now an important alteration has taken place, which has enlarged its fphere, and multiplied its effects beyond all comparison. It is therefore become neceffary that the two branches of it fhould be cultivated diffinctly in a large metropolis, where the profeffors of each can be fully employed, and fufficiently rewarded: And it is from the feparation of each that both have been improved.

Yet while they are feparated in practice, they cannot be in *theory*. Here they are alike: They only differ fomewhat in appearance and form;

\_\_\_\_\_" Facies non omnibus una, Non diverfa tamen, qualem debet effe fororum."

But I will not, by any observations of mine, preclude the reader from the pleasure of perusing the following admirable and judicious remarks on this subject.

" En envifageant avec la moindre attention " l'objet de ces deux arts" (La Medicine et la Chirurgie) " on voit qu'ils ne peuvent avoir qu'une K théorie <sup>44</sup> théorie commune. Les maladies externes qui
<sup>44</sup> font l'objet de la Chirurgie, font effentiellement
<sup>44</sup> les mêmes que les maladies internes qui font
<sup>44</sup> l'objet de la Médicine: Elles ne different en
<sup>44</sup> rien que par leur pofition. Ces objets ont la
<sup>44</sup> même importance, ils préfentent les mêmes
<sup>44</sup> indications, et les mêmes moyens de curation.

" Quoique la théorie de la Medicine et de la " Chirurgie soit le même, et qu'elle ne soit que " l'affemblage de toutes les regles et de tous les " préceptes qui apprennent à guérir, il ne s'enfuit " pas que le Médecin et le Chirurgien foient des " êtres que l'on puisse, ou que l'on doive confondre. " Un homme qu'on supposera pourvû de toutes « les connoiffances théoriques générales, mais en « qui on ne supposera rien de plus, ne sera ni s Chirurgien ni Médecin. Il faut pour former un " Médecin, outre l'acquisition de la sciénce qui " apprend à guérir, l'habileté d'appliquer les « regles de cette science aux maladies internes: " De même fi on veut faire un Chirurgien, il faut « qu'il acquierre l'habitude, la facilité, l'habileté " d'appliquer ces mêmes regles aux maladies ex-66 terieures.

" La fciénce ne donne pas cette habileté pour
" l'application des regles; elle dicte fimplement ces
" regles, et voilà tout. C'eft par l'exercice qu'on
" apprend à les appliquer, et par l'exercice fous un
" maître

maître inftruit dans la pratique. L'etude donne
la fciénce ; mais on ne peut acquérir l'art, ou l'habitude de l'application des regles, qu'en voyant et
revoyant les objets : c'eft une habitude des fens
qu'il faut acquérir ; et ce n'eft que par l'habitude
de ces mêmes fens qu'elle peut être acquife."\*

I beg leave to add that while there are peculiarities belonging to the fludy of Phyfic, which make it in fome refpects fuperior to Surgery; there are alfo peculiarities belonging to Surgery, which make it in other refpects fuperior to Phyfic.

A comparatively general knowledge of the anatomy of the human body may be fufficient for a Phyfician, (the Vifcera excepted, which he muft thoroughly and minutely underftand,) The reft it will be enough for him to have feen repeatedly diffected. But the hands of the Surgeon must be conftantly employed in this work: He ought to bear every part of this complicated machine, and all the relative fituations of each, as accurately in his mind, as the painter or the fculptor fhould its outline, and general proportions. For he is often to wound, in order that he may heal; and to employ his knife on a living body, endued with acute fenfation, generally under the influence of terror K 2 and

\* Encyclopédie, Tom. III. p. 351. Art. CHIRURGIE. (Edit. Genev. 1722.) and alarm, and where a fmall miltake may fometimes coft the patient his life.

Many of the difcoveries and improvements in Phyfic have been owing to mere accident, which firft taught men the virtues of drugs, and made those experiments for them, which otherwise they would hardly have thought of, or have had courage to attempt. But most of the improvements in Surgery, have originated in reasoning à priori, and from discoveries by anatomical investigation.

"Chirurgia quidem medicamenta atque viclûs rationem non omittit," (fays Celfus) "fed manu tamen plurimum præftat; estque ejus effectus inter omnes medicinæ partes EVIDENTISSIMUS."\*

But I will purfue this diffinction no further. Phyfic and Surgery have the fame origin and the fame end.—The human body is the fphere of their exertions; and whatever composes it, whatever can affect it, in matter, vitality, or mind, is the object of their refearches.

Here I might lay down my pen, confident of the fuccess of a second application to Parliament, were

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\* De Medicinâ, Lib. VII. in præfat.

it not for one unpleafing circumftance, which it is now of importance to confider.

When the Court of Affiftants of the Surgeons Company determined on an application to Parliament, not merely for a renovation of their powers, but alfo to be erected into a College, one confiderable difficulty prefented itfelf.

It has been cuftomary for Medical Colleges to confift of a very limited number of members, and to permit others to practife in the diffrict over which they prefide, under the denomination of Licentiates only. In this cafe the College is a little republic; all its members having votes, and being eligible to its offices in their turn. But as the term Licentiate implies fomewhat of inferiority, or at leaft is generally felt as doing fo, it feemed improper to admit it into the propofed College of Surgeons here.

The number of the Company's members had become very confiderable indeed, amounting to more than fixteen hundred, including those refident beyond the bills of mortality. But as the government had always been vested in the Court of Affistants, no confusion had arisen from this circumstance. The members however were all equally permitted to practife, and entitled to the fame immunities; and proper perfons were felected from among among them, to fill up vacancies in the Court of Affiftants, when they happened to occur.

As they had all hitherto been equal in privileges, and excepting the municipal diffinctions of the Court, equal alfo in rank, it would have appeared very hard and unjust to make an invidious distinction between them now, and would have afforded reafonable ground for complaint. It was therefore refolved, as the faireft, most honourable, and unexceptionable plan, to beg of Parliament, that all the members of the Company fhould be confidered as members of the College; but that the government of it, might be continued on the fame plan exactly as it had been before. Nobody could then be aggrieved; for the alteration would make no difference to any fingle individual, except denominating him the member of a College, inftead of the member of a Company\*.

Yet, ftrange to tell, this very circumftance has occafioned the moft violent and illiberal abufe to be poured upon the Court of Affiftants, from those very members, whose peace and respectability were thus honourably attempted to be preferved inviolate.

### The

\* Notwithstanding this, no idea has been more industriously propagated, nor more generally received, than that the principal intention of the bill was to degrade all the members of the company into the rank of *Licentiates*, the Court of Affistants only excepted. The bill has been reprefented as "rivetting "chains to bind and gall them and their pofterity"— "an iniquitous plan—luckily expofed in time to be "defeated, which will not be fuffered to difgrace "the legiflature---intended to convey arbitrary "powers"---againft which it is neceffary "to excite "the indignation and refiftance of every liberal "mind."—...The College propofed to be erected, has been called, "A lucrative jobbing affociation----"the proprietors and managers of which were to make "their fortunes, by receiving bribes to fecure the fuc--"ceffion into it---an oppreffive and unjuft mono-"poly---a profitution of names," &c. &c. &c.\*

Had all this been uttered in private converfation merely, it would not have been worth while to notice it from the prefs. But as it has been repeatedly circulated in print; as it has been brought into Parliament, and occafioned the bill to be loft; and as it has been fpread, with the most glaring exaggerations all over the kingdom---justice, honour, and decency require, that a proper answer should be given.

In

\* All thefe exprefiions are taken from a letter which was first circulated with the fignature of A. B. but afterwards reprinted, and fent round to the members of the House of Peers, figned by the Chairman of the Committee for conducting the opposition: A gentleman, whom I am perfuaded, in his private capacity, and not heated by controverly, would have loathed to fet his name to such a performance. In attempting this, however, I will not repeat the expreffions above quoted, nor extract others, equally exceptionable, from the different papers which have been diftributed; but fimply confine myfelf to the fum of the arguments brought forward, and let the *terms* in which many of them were conveyed, fink into the oblivion they merit.

In the first place, very heavy charges have been brought against the Court of Affistants, for having prefented a petition to Parliament for a new act, without first convening and confulting the members of the Corporation at large. The impropriety of this complaint, will, I think, be fufficiently evident, when it is confidered that the act of the 18th of George II. had for very good and neceffary reafons, as will prefently be shown, vested the whole rule and management of all the affairs of the company, in the Court of Affiftants, and in them only. Parliament, therefore, could know nothing of the company, or of the flate it was in, but from the Court of Affiftants. It had empowered them alone "to hold courts and affemblies, in order to treat " and confult about and concerning the rule, order, " STATE," (an expreffion particularly applying to the late circumftances) " and government of the faid " company or corporation;" and alfo, " to make, " ordain, &c. from time to time, fuch bye-laws, or-" dinances,

" dinances, rules and *conftitutions*, as to them fhall "feem requifite, profitable, and convenient for its " regulation, government, and advantage." Hence there is no inftance on record in which the members at large had ever been convened on any bufinefs whatever, but the alteration of the quarterage, which the 31ft bye-law had ordained, fhould never be increafed beyond the rate of ten fhillings per annum, without the confent of a majority of the whole court of the company\*.

It is a great miftake to call the members at large, the *conftituents* of the Court. On the contrary, the Court are, and the purpofes for which they are incorporated make it unavoidable that they fhould be, the conftituents of the members. The court derive their authority, not from a popular election, but immediately from the legiflative power. It is a truft committed to them for civil purpofes, and every member who enters the company, receives all L the

\* The members have only been convened three times fince the feparation from the Barbers. The first was July 3, 1746, when they were acquainted with the proceedings of the Court in confequence of the feparation, and invited to dine on a brace of Bucks, prefented by his Majesty to the Court of Examiners.—The fecond was August 12, 1766, when the quarterage was increased to fixteen sper annum on the members in general, and one pound twelve shillings on each member of the Court of Affishants.—The last was November 4, 1784, when it was reduced to ten shillings, at which it has ever fince continued. the privileges to which he then becomes entitled, through their hands, as delegates from government, and accordingly takes an oath to obey them in all lawful things.

Moreover it was not to be fuppofed that any of the members, having taken that oath, and entered into the company under the conftitution established by the old act, could have a reafonable objection to make against either of the proposed altera-None of them infringed in the fmalleft detions.\* gree on their privileges, or gave the Court of Affiftants the leaft additional power over them. The additional power had respect to none but future fettlers between the diftance of feven and ten miles round London. Indeed this could not be properly called an additional power; it was only an extenfion of the fame power to other objects; and could not be an injury, but on the contrary, must be a benefit to the members of the company at large, as it tended more effectually to prevent unqualified perfons from invading their privileges:

The neceffity of a further exemption from the operation of the ftatute of Mortmain was fufficiently clear. It was proved in evidence before the Houfe of Lords, that the certain and unavoidable expenditure of the company amounts to more than nine hundred

\* Vide p. 5, 6.

hundred pounds per annum. Its income, however, is very uncertain; depending almost entirely on the fees paid by perfons who receive the diploma. The quarterage of two fhillings and fixpence, paid by the members refident within the metropolis and feven miles round it, brings in but about 160l. or 170l. per annum; and Mr. Gunning had propofed to Mr. Chandler, to move, if the bill had paffed, that it might be entirely abolifhed. For if, the Company were once at liberty to employ the furplus of their receipts toward realizing an income equal to their expences, a way would be open to free its members of all flated contributions, and in time, to leffen the amount of the fees that are paid on admiffion, and form feveral eftablishments for the advancement of fcience, which it would be improper to attempt till this object be attained. For without it, the Company might by fo doing become again infolvent; its officers of courfe would be fettered and degraded in all their proceedings, and no inftitutions they could fet on foot would have that profpect of perpetuity, without which it would hardly be defirable to eftablish them.

That claufe in the act which appointed the Chirurgical Lectures to be given by the members of the council only, feems to have been very ill received; I apprehend, only becaufe it has not been rightly underftood. Let it be confidered that the L 2 lectures

lectures thus limited, were the Chirurgical Lectures alene. These were first instituted in the year 1790, on the fuggestion of Mr. Gunning, and are confined, as he has expressed it, " To those points " which tend only to real practice, and the eftablish-" ment of good 'principles," deduced from experience and well arranged facts. It must furely be eafy to perceive the neceffity of appointing fuch lectures to be given by perfons whole abilities are improved and matured by years and experience, and to take care they shall be given by no others. Lectures indeed on anatomy, and perhaps on phyfiology, and feveral other fubjects, may be given as well, and in fome inflances better, by younger perfons. Accordingly all fuch appointments were left open, that any member of competent abilities might be chosen from the body at large to fill them. But practical lectures are of too much importance, and demand habits of thinking too long and too firmly established, to be entrusted by a College to any but perfons of confiderable flanding in the profeffion. In what way this point could have been better fecured, or partiality to individuals more effectually prevented, than by the reftriction contained in the act, I am at prefent unable to conceive.

The time when thefe Lectures were appointed to be given—between the fifteenth day of May and the thirteenth day of June in every year, has been objected

the council only feetas to invelocen

objected to as inconvenient and improper\*. The reafon for fixing this time, was, that they might immediately fucceed the anatomical courfes, which generally terminate early in May. The principal object in view was to furnish the army and navy Surgeons and their Mates with a body of found practical instruction, free of expence, that there might be no plea in future for fending perfons into those important fervices, who are not properly qualified<sup>†</sup>. But if they were given before the anatomical lectures are over, they could not be thoroughly

\* Vid. " Obfervations on the Surgeons Bill," p. 4.

+ How important it is that fome regulation of this kind fhould be adopted, it can hardly be neceffary for me to flate. The deplorable ignorance and incompetence of many who have been employed as Surgeons Mates, in the naval, and in fome of the military departments, has been often remarked; and is owing in great meafure to there being no public means of inftruction provided for them by Government. The public are, in my opinion, greatly indebted to the Governors of the Company for attempting to remedy a part of this defect. Hitherto the Court of Examiners have been very painfully circumflanced. The fervices must be supplied with affistance of fome fort or other, and all they have been able to do. was to enquire into the abilities of fuch candidates as prefented themfelves, and to take care that those who were beft qualified, should be preferred to the highest flations. And it is well known, that even with this lax fyftem, the dearth of Hofpital mates has been fo great during the prefent war, that Government have been repeatedly obliged to advertife for them, and to offer very unufual falaries.

From this, and feveral other circumftances which might be named, arifes the neceffity of calling the naval and military Surgeons to a fecond examination, before they receive a diploma. thoroughly underflood; anatomical knowledge being an effential pre-requifite to improvement in Surgery. Still however, Anatomy is not Surgery— It was therefore thought neceffary that attendance on thefe lectures, or on fome others of a fimilar nature fhould be *required* of all who were fent into the army or navy, without any exception.—But if, on the one hand, they could not be attended gratis, it would be unjuft to infift on this, for many could not afford to pay for them; and if they were to be given in any other order than that meant to be fecured by this provifion, they would be, comparatively, of very little ufe\*.

But the most material objections to be confidered, are those which have been made against the principle on which this bill, and also the act of the 18th of George II. were framed, and which are pointed against the constitution of the Company in

\* The order in which the different branches of fcience fhould be attended to, feems very little regarded by the greater number of fludents who come up to town for inftruction. It is however one of the most important confiderations in medical education. How is the underflanding of a pupil to keep pace with the reafoning of a lecturer, who difcourfes on the pathology of a difeafe, or the best method of performing an operation, unlefs he be previously acquainted with the ftructure, relative fituation, and functions of those parts, to which the teacher refers?—Indeed, whatever be the fubject of enquiry, it will always be found that ORDER is the clue of knowledge. in toto. To commit the whole management of the Company's concerns to twenty-one perfons, appears to fome Gentlemen to partake too much of that ariftocracy, which has been of late fo fuccefsfully blown up with revolutionary gunpowder in feveral parts of Europe. To exorcife this frightful fiend from "the affairs of this extensive and increasing "corporation," various expedients have been fuggested: Expedients indeed fo various, that it is plain the fubject had been very imperfectly confidered by the parties who brought them forward.

One was, to make the officers of the Company annually elective; and then every body would have a chance of getting in fome time or other.

The annual election of the Prefident and Council of the Royal Society furnished a pretext for this proposal. But the cafe is not parallel. The Royal Society is a literary body merely, having no civil duty to discharge; but the Surgeons Company is, as has been already observed, primarily and effentially a civil institution; composed indeed of persons who are, or ought to be, literary men; but a civil institution notwithstanding—in which nothing can be of greater importance, than that those who are entrusted with the governing power, should be perfons of tried ability and INDEPENDENCE. But to adopt this alteration would produce a dependence of the most odious kind. It would be making the old dependent on the young—the experienced on the inexperienced. We should then have our heads on the ground, and our feet up in the air, tout nouveau.

Another plan was to let the prefent twenty-one remain as they are, but to unite with them twentyone more, chofen by the body at large, one third of whom fhould go out annually, and others be elected in their ftead. This reminds one of Julius Scaliger's division of all things into the *Res permanentes*, and the *Res fluentes*. But this device, pregnant with discord and confusion, met with little acceptance.

The laft (I think it was the laft) was to leave the prefent twenty-one as they are, but to conftitute an intermediate body of one hundred, either chofen by the reft, or being the fenior members, to whom all refolutions relating to pecuniary, and fome other affairs, fhould be referred for confirmation, before they were carried into effect.

But that any perfon, who properly underftands the nature of the inftitution, can ferioufly contend for the neceffity or propriety of fuch an alteration, is almost inconceivable. I am fully perfuaded if the noble and very learned peer, who coincided with with fomething like the latter plan, would condefcend to re-confider the fubject, he could not fail of being ftruck with its groß impropriety.

What can a governing body direct or do in any fociety, if they are not to be entrufted with the management of its funds? They must be fettered at every ftep. It was very judicioufly obferved (I think by Lord Loughborough) in the late debate, that to refuse them this, would be like telling a man he is at liberty to do whatever he thinks proper, while at the fame time you are tying his hands. The Court of Affiftants, or Council, or whatever they are to be called, never were, nor ever defired to be, invefted with power to employ the money entrusted to them, for any other than those public purpofes, for which they were originally appointed. The queftion is-Who fhould judge what is neceffary for those purposes? The Council themfelves, who are conftantly in the habit of fulfilling them, or a larger and more promifcuous body? Surely if twenty-one perfons of liberal education, who by their talents and years have at length arrived at the head of a learned profeffion, who are acquainted with the nature of public bufinefs, and for the most part independent in their circumftance's, are not to be trufted with the management of an expenditure amounting to about a thousand pounds a year, we must be in a desperate M cafe

( 82 )

pealing to a larger multitude, born, in all probability, with the fame infirmities as their progenitors and cotemporaries\*.

But after all, what is the property of the Corporation? Is it the common flock of a benefitclub, or a trading company ?- Certainly not-It is rather the revenue of a civil department which fupports itfelf. This revenue, it is true, is collected from those who are admitted to practife Surgery; becaufe they are the only perfons who reap any pecuniary advantages from that permiffion, and Government have not thought it right to burden the public, in order to exonerate them of the expences attending their own privileges. I can hardly believe a fingle member of the Company to have been fo inadvertent or mif-informed when he paid his admittance money, as to expect he fhould ever have any further power or controul over it. He paid it, after his qualifications had been afcertained by examination, as the price of a diploma, or legal testimonial of his abilities, in right of which he has the privilege of practifing Surgery in any part of his Majefty's dominions, and is exempted, as long as he fo practifes, " from all parifh, " ward,

\* It may be proper to remark in this place, that the controul of the expenditure and bye-laws, is not placed in the Court of Examiners, but in that of the Afliftants, a majority of whom are not Examiners. " ward, and leet offices, and from being put into, or " ferving upon, any jury or inqueft." The money paid for this diploma therefore ceafes to be his, in every fenfe of the word, as foon as he has paid it; and becomes a part of that revenue by which the inftitution is fupported, from whence he derives his grant.

The great plea for the neceffity of an alteration in the conflitution of the Company has been founded on a very able flatement, or review, of their affairs, which was drawn up and read to the Court of Affiftants by Mr. Gunning, when he quitted the office of Master in July 1790. In this statement feveral instances of neglect and mifmanagement were pointed out, and regulations proposed for preventing them in future. But as it was addreffed to the Court of Affiftants only, without the most distant idea of being ever made public, the errors which had been committed were fimply detailed, without being traced to their original caufes. Had this been the object in view, feveral circumftances would have been adduced to account for them, and to exculpate the Governors from a part of the blame they may appear to have deferved.

The mifmanagements alluded to, as far as they can respect the present subject, are reducible to three heads-Inattention to their minutes and accounts---- accounts-neglect in the conduct of their lecturesand unneceffary expences.

With regard to the *firft* head, the principal faults will be found to have arifen from informality in the arrangement of bufinefs; a fruitful fource of error and perplexity. It is very properly obferved by a fenfible writer, "Les dehors et la 'forme demandent les premiers foins, dans les 'forme demandent les premiers foins, dans les 'etabliffemens mêmes qu'on fait pour les progrès 'des fciences." But we must acquit the Governors of the Company of much apparent neglect on this article, if we confider the circumftances under which they began to exercife their functions.

When they were first feparated in the year 1745, from the Barbers Company, (where many unpropitious customs had long prevailed) they lay under almost every difadvantage it is possible to conceive. They found themselves with a public duty to difcharge, and were to hold courts and affemblies for that purpose; but they had neither a place to meet in, nor property to purchase one: For the hall, the lands, and the whole stock of the joint Company, except two specific fums which will prefently be mentioned\*, were given up to the Barbers, who, as is before observed, would confent

to

to the feparation on no other terms. In this flate Government gave them no affiftance\*; they had no endowments to fupport them; they were therefore obliged to borrow  $f_{4000}$  on bonds, to erect a Hall, and thus became encumbered with a heavy debt, that was not liquidated till the end of the year 1784. All this time the current expences were to be difcharged in their courfe, and in the year 1780, the clerk (Cruttenden) of whofe integrity no fufpicion had ever been entertained, (but who had been imprudently confided in) went off with eight or nine hundred pounds of their money.

In this long, unfettled, encumbered flate of things, which lasted near forty years, it is no wonder irregularities crept into the management of their minutes and accounts, which at length became habitual. It is with public bodies as it is with individuals: An embarraffed ftate of their finances often produces a degree of perplexity and concern about the prefent exigency, that renders cool and deliberate arrangement for the future leaft practicable when it is most needed. However it must be remembered the embarraffments of the Company did not originate in their irregularities, their irregularities arofe from their embarraffments, and those embarrassiments were unavoidable. It is much eafier to find out errors after they have been committed

\* Indeed it does not appear they ever afked for any; and their neglecting to do fo was perhaps as blameable as any thing that has fince been imputed to them. mitted than it is to forefee them at first; for it is often by their effects only that we discover them to be errors.

This infolvent flate of their affairs was, no doubt, one principal occafion of the carelefs and defultory manner in which the anatomical lectures were conducted; as it prevented them from making their hall a regular fchool of anatomy, which they might otherwife have done, when the feparation first took place.

Some lectures they were obliged to read. Five hundred guineas were given by Sir Edward Arris, at the latter part of the laft century, "for the ufe " of the public anatomy lectures on the mufcles;" and an annuity of fixteen pounds was bequeathed by Mr. John Gale, about the fame time, " for one " anatomy lecture to be given annually, by the " name of Gale's anatomy,"-making in the whole a provision of 41l. 10s. per annum.\* But this being all that could then be appropriated to that purpofe, and as they were without a fuitable collection of anatomical preparations, they made no attempt to enlarge their plan at that time, and foon afterward it was evidently too late. Several private fchools had been eftablished, which acquired and deferved great re-

\* Thefe are the only donations which have ever been given to the Company.

reputation. In thefe, not only the whole ftructure of the human body was explained, but the arts of diffecting and making anatomical preparations were taught, and attracted a great number of pupils. The teachers were enabled to form very large and interefting collections, which both made their lectures more inviting, and increafed their own repute with the public. Others were therefore roufed to follow the fame example, and met with a good fhare of fuccefs. Meanwhile the lectures at the hall fell, of courfe, into neglect, were ill-attended, and at length feemed hardly worth attending to, either by the Company, or the public.

That they have not more regularly given Chirurgical lectures, is an omiffion for which there is no fufficient excufe. Several of the members have indeed, at different periods, read lectures of this defcription; particularly Mr. Pott and Mr. Hunter; fo that no chafm in the fyftem of education has been the confequence of this neglect: But a neglect it is, and no proof can be given of the wifh of the prefent Governors to atone for it, more convincing, than their having folicited that a courfe of fuch lectures might be required by the propofed Act of Parliament, and thus made a condition of the College's exiftence.

As to the unneceffary expences, there is only one article which can be justly complained of namely, the dinners, which it must be confessed had been been made a great deal too coffly, between the year 1784, and the time when Mr. Gunning's flatement was drawn up.\* But of the £170 there faid to be faved in this article in one year, it must be recollected £80. were by abolishing the annual dinner of the whole Company, which cost the fund that fum, in addition to what was paid for the tickets. So that there were, at that time, private members who could fympathize with the governors in these extravagancies.

However they have been long fince retrenched, and are not very likely to be repeated.

The Court have been accufed of increasing their own fees.—The only alteration that has taken place in this refpect, is, making the allowance to each member of the Court of Affistants,<sup>†</sup> who is prefent punctually at the time appointed for meeting, half a guinea, inftead of half a crown, which was the fee at Barber's Hall. But as these meetings are only held four times in the year, unless fome extraordinary occasion occurs, and as each member of this Court pays an additional fum of twenty pounds to the general fund, on accepting his office, the

\* And only during that period.

+ The fees of the Examiners have never been changed.

the Company is not likely to be much impoverished by what is afterwards given for their fervices.

I will juft fay one word here, refpecting the purchafe of Mr. Baldwin's Houfe in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, which has been called extravagant, improvident, inconvenient, and fo forth. The motives for removing from the Old Bailey have already been stated\*: How far the choice of this houfe was advifable or not, let the following confiderations determine.

The fee fimple of thefe premifes was bought for £5500. But in order to afcertain the real expence (I ought to fay the real faving) to the Company, or rather to that revenue of which the Company's Court of Affiftants are the truftees, the following calculation muft be made.

The old Hall and premifes were held at an annual expence, for ground-rent and taxes, of - -  $\pounds 240$ Taxes of Mr. Baldwin's houfe, - 80 The annual faving in this article therefore, is  $\pounds 160$ 

N

Take

\* Page 2.

Take this at only twenty years purchafe,

the amount is -  $\pounds$  3200 Effimate of repairs wanted at the old hall, 2000 Price at which it fold, - 2100

Mr. Baldwin's houfe coft £5500 Alterations neceffary for a Library,

Theatre, &c. including a convenience near the Old Bailey, for the diffection of executed felons, - -

# Money faved— £1000\*

## And the eftate a freehold, inftead of a leafehold.

In one refpect only could this removal be confidered as unfortunate—namely, in having given offence to fome very refpectable gentlemen in the neighbourhood, who objected to diffection being carried on fo near them. In order to obviate this difficulty, a claufe was added to the act, ordering a receptacle to be built near the place of execution, for that purpofe.

In

£ 7300

800

£6300

\* Since the first edition of this Pamphlet was published, it has been suggested to me that I have estimated the alterations too low. However, supposing them to cost  $\pounds_{1500}$ , which is the highest calculation I have heard, there would still remain a balance of  $\pounds_{300}$  in favour of the purchase. In order that the particulars detailed in Mr. Gunning's flatement might be made to appear in a more unfavourable light, the opponents of the bill have carefully caft up and exhibited the whole amount of the fums received by the Company and its Officers, while that of the expenditure has been kept out of fight, except only in thofe articles which might furnifh matter for detraction, and ungenerous comment. I pafs over thofe effimates which were repeatedly circulated, but have been proved to be falfe\*, and fhall notice only thofe which are admitted to be true, but have not been fairly reprefented<sup>‡</sup>.

It has been flated in the moft formal manner, that fince the act of the 18th of George II. the Court have received for diplomas, quarterages, &c. the fum of eighty thousand pounds; and that of this money the Examiners have taken fixteen thousand pounds for their own private use; though they pretend to have examined all perfons offering themselves as candidates to be Surgeons or Surgeons Mates, in the Navy and Army, and in the fervice of the East India Company, without any recompence whatever<sup>±</sup>.

It must be confessed that eighty thousand pounds, and fixteen thousand pounds, are very-N 2 high

### \* In the papers before quoted.

† Obfervations on the Surgeons Bill. p. 3. ‡ Ibid.

high founding fums, and make an excellent figure in a Philippic : But if inftead of being viewed in the grofs, they are taken in detail, it will give a more just idea to the reader.

These eighty thousand pounds are the aggregate receipt of fifty-two years—But let the current expences of the establishment be averaged at  $\pounds 900$  per annum, which is the lowess they can be taken at, they will amount to  $\pounds 46800$ , and the account will stand nearly as follows;

Fifty-two years at £ 900, £	46800
Expence of erecting the old hall, -	4000
Purchafe of Mr. Baldwin's Houfe, -	5500
£ 10,000 flock in the 3 per Cents. bought	
at 75 on an average,	7500
Examiners' and Affistants' fees, -	16000
	and a strate -

## £79800

As to the £16000 which the Examiners and Affiftants have received in fees, this alfo is the aggregate of the receipts during fifty-two years. The Examiners are always ten in number, and fuppofing them to have received it all, it would only amount, on an average, to £30-15s. and a fraction, yearly to each. At first it was rather lefs, now it is rather more, but rarely amounts to £50 in the courfe of any one year. For this they are obliged to attend from fixteen teen to thirty times in the courfe of the year, and fit during the whole evening, let their other engagements be what they may. And when it is confidered that this obligation lies, and always must lie, on gentlemen of the highest rank in the profession, this compensation can hardly be thought too much.

The manner in which the Examiners are paid, is this—Each Examiner who is prefent in the Committee Room by the time appointed for meeting, receives half a guinea of the money paid for each diploma that is granted that evening. If no diploma be granted, he receives one half guinea only for his attendance. For the examination of Surgeons and Surgeons Mates for the Army and Navy, and the East India Company's fervice, (of whom in time of war from thirty to forty are fometimes examined in an evening) THEX receive nothing at all.

But as it is neceffary that those who receive permiffion to practife, should pay a quota of the expences by which the establishment is supported, through which they receive it, proportioned to the emolument they are likely to derive from that permission; it has been usual for those who receive the diploma, and settle in London, or within within feven miles thereof, to pay  $f_{27-10s}$ .\* Thofe who fettle beyond feven miles pay only kalf that fum, but engage to pay the other half, if they fhould remove to within that diftance. Army and Navy Surgeons, and thofe in the fervice of the Eaft India Company, pay three guineas, and all mates one guinea, for that purpofe. The Examiners meet once a month in time of peace, and twice a month in time of war. If any perfon cannot wait the regular meeting of the Court, an extraordinary one is fummoned, for which the perfon applying pays five guineas extra, which is divided among fuch of the Examiners as attend: but it is impoffible this can happen often.

It must be acknowledged that this mode of paying the Examiners is fomewhat exceptionable; although it is highly proper they fhould receive fome compensation for their trouble, and loss of time. But it is not easy to fay what method would be better. In the year 1790, a proposal was made by Mr. Gunning (then Master of the Company) to a noble Lord at that time in high office, for Government to allow a falary of four or five hundred pounds a year, to be divided between the members of the Court of Examiners.----As they examined for the Army and Navy fervices, it

\* And, except the quarterage, no additional contribution has ever been called for. it was thought reafonable to make fuch a requeft. If this had been acceded to, the fees they receive would have been abolifhed. But his Lordfhip thought it better they fhould continue to pay themfelves, as every allowance of this kind muft come through Parliament. Soon after this the war commenced, and it was thought an improper time to urge the matter further.

What then is there, in all thefe things, that calls for any effential change in the principle of the inflitution ?—Let it be remembered, that fo far as mifmanagements have been detected, the Court of Affiftants have been their own accufers, by admitting the free examination of their books and proceedings. The whole pretence for accufation refts on their conduct of their own bufinefs, in which the complainers had no right to intermeddle. All the reft is furmife. For with regard to their conduct toward the Company at large, not a fingle abufe of power has hitherto been difcovered; not one complaint has ever been exhibited.

Howbeit, Tyranny, Oppreffion, and Abufe, those portentous goblins which start from every bush and brake to terrify modern reformers by day, and haunt them like the night-mare in their stard fumbers, have not failed to employ their wizard spells on the present occasion: for though fifty-two years years have elapfed, in which they have not dared to fhew their frightful faces among us; the moft alarming apprehensions are now entertained, left they should at last jump up from the chasm in the Company, and grasp a whole army of Surgeons in their claws.

One of the Counfel against the bill thought he defcried these monsters peeping forth from that claufe in the act, which fubjected all who fhould practife or profess to practife Surgery, within ten miles of London, not having first obtained the licence of the College, to a penalty of ten pounds per month. His appalled imagination inftantly beheld an amazing fwarm, " who mi-" nister comfort to the afflicted, in various ways," Men-Surgeons and Women-Surgeons, Barber-Surgeons and Cobler-Surgeons, Surgeons who only understand some particular diseas, and Surgeons who underftand no difeafes at all, marked out as a facrifice to this peftilent contrivance! One would almost have imagined he had been retained as the express advocate of this empirical hoft. Surely, either the learned gentleman must have ventured a little-ultra crepidam, or his clients had been ftrangely forgetful, both of their own interest, and of the public good.

What manner of purpofe could it answer for any body of men to be incorporated, unless the priprivileges attached to that incorporation are protected from invalion, by fome kind of penalty? What inducement can there be for men of talents and liberal education to devote themfelves to fuch a profeffion as Surgery, if the practitioners in it are amenable to no teft of their abilities; and every impudent pretender, and every frontlefs fecret-monger, may commit his frauds with impunity\*?

The circumftances under which this penalty fhould be enforced, muft certainly be left to the difcretion of thofe, to whom the government of the College is entrusted. To inflict it indifcriminately would answer no end, nor could they be fo fooliss as to attempt it. Quacks there always will be, for there are always people who will be quacked: but it is necessfary to put them under fome fort of restraint, left too many murders should chance to be committed.

But the great object of affright and difmay feems to be the power of making bye-laws, which has always been vefted in the Court of Affiftants,

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and

\* I very much regret not having room to infert the very pointed and fenfible remarks of LE PALINGENE on this fubject—The learned reader will find them in his Poem, intituled Zodiacus Vitæ, page 93, of the Rotterdam edition of 1698—under the fign Leo. He may alfo turn to page 225, under the fign Capricorn, where the Poet feems to have met with a better class of men. and was to remain with them as the Council of the intended College. Not Briareus himfelf, with his fifty heads and hundred hands, ever inftilled half fo much terror into the befiegers of Olympus, as this wonder-working claufe has unhappily produced in the minds of fome panic-ftricken gentlemen.\*

However, most phantoms, it is faid, will vanish when they are fpoken to; and fo it fares with this: For the flighteft confideration will flow, that the power of making bye-laws is not that frightful, arbitrary power, which fome gentlemen imagine; but is perhaps more limited and defined than any other species of difcretional truft, being bounded on every fide by the specific objects of the fociety or inflitution. And no bye-laws relating to this Corporation or College, or whatever it is to be called, can be valid without the fanction of the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Chancellor, and the two Lord Chief Justices for the time being, or three of them at the least: Therefore no wanton, or illegal inconvenience, can ever be laid upon the members at large.

The power of the council, then, to make byelaws, is a civil truft, having only these three objects

\* Vide "Obfervations on the Surgeons Bill."

jects in view....The qualifications of practitioners... The fupport of the dignity and privileges of the profeffion, and the management of receipts and expences belonging to the inftitution. Beyond thefe, and what relates to thefe, they can have no power; and whatever is directed to thefe, must be, upon the whole, advantageous to the members at large; and cannot admit of any fubftantial grievance, which will not fpeedily correct itfelf.

The grand confideration therefore is this—Seeing the overfight of thefe objects (and they are very important ones) muft be entrufted fomewhere, to whom ought Government to commit it? Is it a matter of perfect indifference; or ought they to be careful that they veft it only in perfons of *tried* ability, and fecure it, if poffible, to a fucceffion of fuch?—But of this ability in the fucceffors alfo fomebody muft judge; and the queftion returns— To whom fhould Government commit the choice of thefe fucceffors?—For to whomfoever this choice is committed, in one fenfe every thing is committed.

Now it is contrary to all reafon and experience to fuppofe, that in numerous bodies of men, all are equally qualified to prefide; or, which is nearly the fame thing, to judge who fhould prefide. Ability to practife Surgery is one thing; Ability to fuperintend a College of Surgeons, is another:  $O_2$  The The latter requires a degree of profeffional experience, and knowledge of the world, which is not the lot of every man; and perhaps it will not be eafy to find a better way of making this point fecure, than by leaving the choice in queftion to thofe, who have been themfelves elected in like manner, and for like purpofes, and who are bound by an oath to difcharge the duties of their office, "without " favour or affection."

I apprehend twenty-one perfons of this defcription muft be fully competent to every neceffary purpofe. Not that there is any peculiar charm in this number; but it is the old one, and where bufinefs can be fafely tranfacted by a few, it is improper to commit it to more; not only becaufe it will be tranfacted with lefs confusion and diforder by a few, but becaufe it is more likely a few who are properly qualified, may always be found, than a greater number. It can do us no harm if more are qualified than are wanted to act; but it will do us a great deal, if more be appointed to act, than are properly qualified.

One principal plea for increasing the number of officers, has been this—That it would have a greater tendency to promote emulation among the members. I very much doubt the validity of this affertion: For the more the number of officers is increased, the lefs is the rank and importance of each. It feems more calculated to promote promote emulation, that a few only fhould be appointed, but whofe flations fhall be permanent and worth having, than to multiply them beyond what is neceffary for the transaction of bufinefs. I do not know how others may feel on the fubject, but it certainly appears to me, that an honourable diftinction, which fhall be really a diffinction, important and ufeful, referved for mature years, to laft for life, and to be conferred by men of high rank in the profeffion, in the name of their country, is most likely to excite the ambition of an ingenuous mind.

Let it alfo be confidered how important it is for every profeffional body to enfure a certain degree of rank at its head. Every teffimonial of ability, authorifing to practife, must come from thence to every member. As therefore the perfons are, who grant a teffimonial, fo is the value of the teffimonial itfelf. Every member of a College is degraded, if the officers at its head have not that *eftablifhed* perfonal and profeffional claim to refpect and confidence, which may be *increafed*, but cannot be *created*, by their official capacity.

It is very true that this reciprocal influence of perfonal and official dignity, is one of those fubjects, on which the new light has not yet condescended to fhine. But it is well worth the confideration of all who intermeddle in the formation of corporate bodies: They cannot long be maintained without

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it—This was a truth well known to our barbarous forefathers, and it may hereafter ftart up again as a new difcovery.

Of the bye-laws hitherto in force, one has been the fubject of very fevere animadverfion; namely, the eighth. By this it is ordained, "That no per-"fon practifing as an apothecary, or following any "other trade or occupation befides the profession "or bufiness of a Surgeon, shall be capable of being "chosen into the Court of Affistants; or if he fhould be one of the Court of Affistants, be eigible to the office of Master or Examiner."

It must readily be feen this law refers only to the *effices*, and not to the *fellowship* of the College, or Corporation. For to *the latter*, Practitioners in Pharmacy are equally admitted, with those who devote themfelves wholly to Surgery; and are equally protected in the enjoyment of whatever confidence the public may honour them with. The point therefore to be confidered, is---Whether there are any good reasons for confining *The Government of a College of Surgeons*, in the metropolis of a great kingdom, to those who are *Surgeons only*, and do not intermeddle with inferior branches of practice?

I apprehend if a fimilar queftion were afked, in relation to any other profession whatever, there would only one answer be given.

The circumstances must be very rare, that will make a departure from this rule admiffible; and if they fhould occur, those who superintend the byelaws will have full power to make the exception. But in proportion as those are admitted to the of. fices, who do not confine themfelves to Surgery, those who do must be excluded; a practice, which would at once be impolitic and abfurd: the profperity and improvement of the art depending immediately on those, who cultivate it feparately, and alone. For however neceffary it may be, that fome Surgeons in the military and naval departments, and in other fituations, fhould act in a twofold capacity, this is a neceffity arifing from contingent circumftances, and not at all from the nature of the profeffion.

It is very true, that confounding all diffinctions will fometimes wear the appearance of great liberality; but it is really no more than the appearance: For as Brutus once very feafonably obferved to his friend Cicero, " Nihil per fe amplum eft, nifi in quo " judicii ratio exftat."\*—Nothing can be truly great in itfelf, which is unfound in its principle.

To conclude—In petitioning Parliament for a new act, on the plan of the laft, the Surgeons Company have folicited for a redintegration of no other

\* In Cicer. Epist. ad Brut. Lib. fing .- Ep. 16.

other powers, than those under which their science has already flourished, beyond all former example.

They have afked for higher rank than they have hitherto poffeffed; becaufe it has been already beftowed on their brethren in Scotland and Ireland, whofe merits, great as they may be, cannot be fuperior to their own.

They have afked for a further exemption from the ftatute of Mortmain, that they may be enabled, in time, to make a permanent provision for their expenditure; because the fame exemption, to the fame amount, has already been granted to the Colleges of Edinburgh and Dublin.

They have afked for an addition of three miles to their jurifdiction, for the public good and fafety only; becaufe the means of inftruction are now fo much eafier of accefs, that it is doubly difgraceful practitioners fhould be fuffered, who are defitute of proper information.

They have requefted that meetings may in future be legally held in the prefence of one Prefident, or Vice-Prefident, inftead of two, in order that bufinefs may be transfacted with more certainty and eafe, and the late deficiency in their Conflicution be prevented in future.

This is the fum of their petition.——Should this be granted, (and furely it will not again be refufed) the prefent flate of their funds will permit them to exonerate their members from the further payment of quarterage; and they will be enabled to fet on foot an eftablifhment for Chirurgical Inftruction, greatly needed, and loudly called for, by every principle of policy, and national juffice.

FINIS.

