

Several reasons proving that inoculation or transplanting the small pox, is a lawful practice, and that it has been blessed by God for the saving of many a life / by Increase Mather. Sentiments on the small pox inoculated. By Cotton Mather. Reprinted from the original folio single sheet printed at Boston in 1721 ; with an introduction by George Lyman Kittredge.

Contributors

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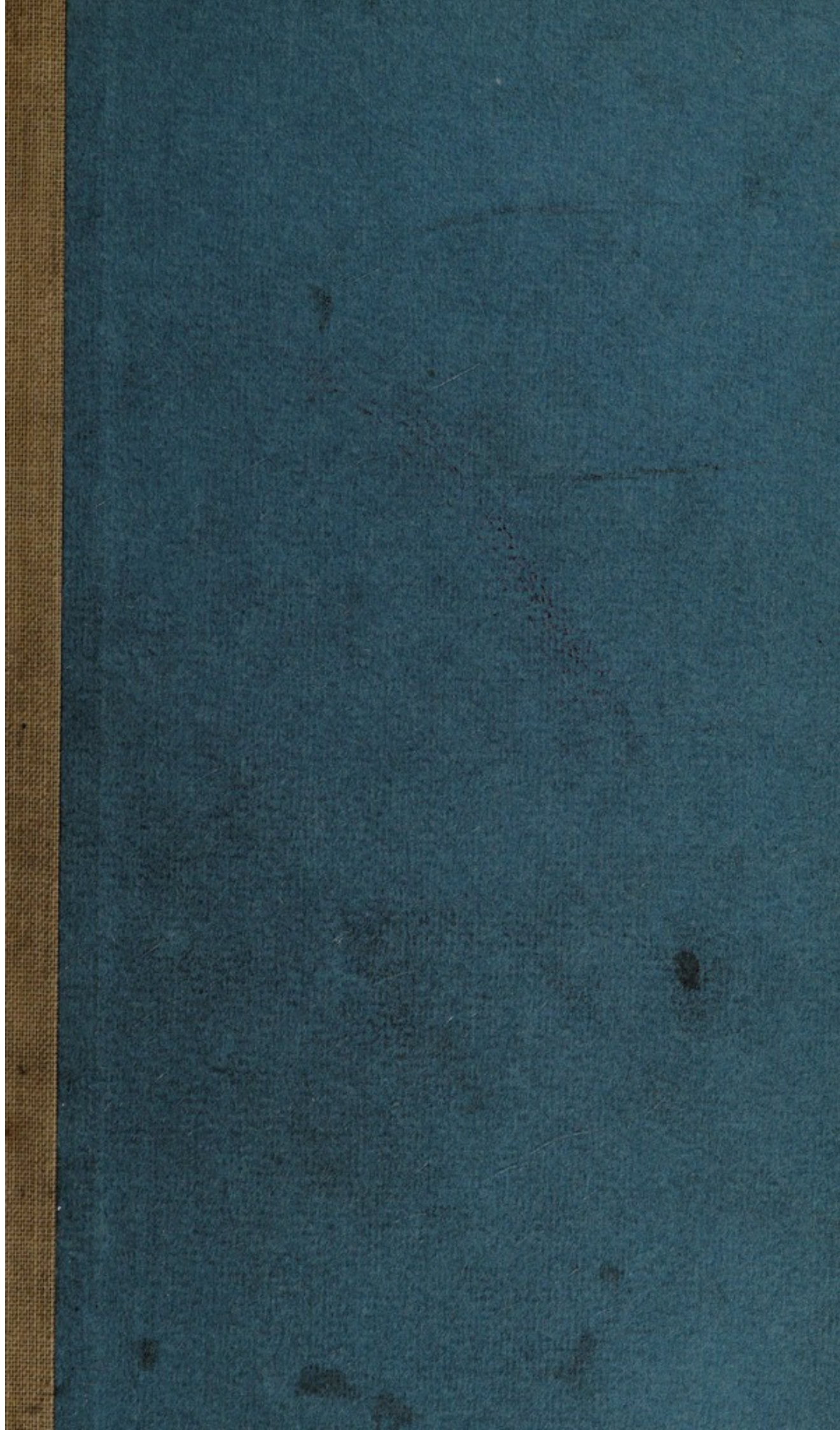
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Several Reasons
—
&c.

BY INCREASE MATHER

Sentiments on the Small Pox
Inoculated

BY COTTON MATHER



Several Reviews

&c.

BY INCREASE WATHER

Sentiments on the Small-Pox

Inoculated

BY COTTON MATHER

Several Reasons

Proving that Inoculating or Transplanting
the *Small Pox*, is a Lawful Practice, and
that it has been Blessed by GOD
for the Saving of many a Life.

By *INCREASE MATHER*

Sentiments on the Small Pox
Inoculated.

By *COTTON MATHER*

*Reprinted from the original folio single
sheet printed at Boston in 1721. With an
Introduction by George Lyman Kittredge*



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Secretal Reasons

Proving that Inoculation or Transplanting
the Small Pox is a lawful Practice and
that it has been blessed by GOD
for the saving of many a Life

By BENJAMIN WATKINS

Scoundrels on the Small Pox

Inoculated.

By COTTON MATHER

Reprinted from the original with
some additions in 1721. With an
Introduction by George Lyman Kneading

CLEVELAND

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1921



PRELIMINARY NOTE

THE folio single sheet, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 12\frac{1}{2}$ inches, printed on both sides and here reprinted in book form, was originally in the possession of the Rev. Thomas Foxcroft, 1697-1769. In recent years it was owned by Francis W. Fabyan, Esq., of Boston. It was sold, with his collection, at the American Art Galleries, February 17, 1920, and was then added to the Mather collection in the possession of William Gwinn Mather, Esq., of Cleveland, Ohio; by whose permission and subvention this new issue has been made.

It is one of two copies at present known, the other being in the British Museum. It is reprinted for the sake of the bit of Massachusetts and medical history it touches, and to afford a copy for the friends of this library and those few collectors who are interested in early Americana and early medicine.

Oliver Wendell Holmes speaks, in a worn passage, of Cotton Mather as a meddlesome pedant who "could touch nothing without making mischief, not even a quotation." Professor Kitredge, in his sketch, printed herewith, of the history of the introduction of inoculation for smallpox, has shown that during the epidemic in Boston in 1721 Cotton Mather's meddling was indeed to some purpose, not mischievous, but singularly beneficial.

T. J. H.

Librarian.

GWINN

Cleveland, September 20, 1920.



Introduction

THE epidemic of smallpox in Massachusetts (particularly in Boston) in 1721 and 1722 was made eternally noteworthy in the annals of preventive medicine—and, indeed, in the annals of science in general—by the employment on a large scale of the novel practice of variolous inoculation. The credit belongs equally to Cotton Mather, who gave the impulse and fought valiantly in defence and furtherance of the new method, and to Zabdiel Boylston, who had the courage to persevere in the face of every sort of opposition, both professional and popular.¹ In the war of pamphlets and newspaper arti-

1. On the whole subject see Dr. S. A. Green, *History of Medicine in Massachusetts*, Boston, 1881, pp. 58-69; Zabdiel Boylston, *Inoculator, and the Epidemic of Smallpox in Boston in 1721*, by Dr. Reginald H. Fitz (*Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin*, No. 247, September, 1911, XXII, 315 ff.); *The Historic Evolution of Variolation*, by Dr. Arnold C. Klebs (the same, No. 265, March, 1913, XXIV, 69 ff.); *Die Variolation im achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, also by Dr. Klebs (Giessen, 1914, *Zur historischen Biologie der Krankheitserreger*, VII); papers by G. L. Kittredge (*Cotton Mather's Election into the Royal Society*, *Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Publications*, XIV,

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cles which signalized this crisis in medical history, a distinguished part was played by the document now reprinted from one of the only two copies of the original known—a folio sheet, the joint work of Increase Mather and his son, issued in November, 1721, when the turmoil was at its height.¹

Cotton Mather had lived through two epidemics of this disease in Boston, in 1678 and 1702-1703. In 1706, on December 13, some of his parishioners presented him with a negro servant, whom he named Onesimus, after that "faithful and beloved brother," St. Paul's Colossian convert, the slave whom he sent back to Philemon. Mather's servant was a native African of the ancient tribe of the Garamantees in Fezzan, a region in Tripoli. One of the first questions asked of a domestic in those days

81 ff.; Further Notes on Cotton Mather and the Royal Society, the same, XIV, 281 ff.; Some Lost Works of Cotton Mather, Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings, XLV, 418 ff.; Cotton Mather's Scientific Communications to the Royal Society, American Antiquarian Society, Proceedings for April, 1916).

1. It is briefly described by Dr. Haven in his edition of Isaiah Thomas's History of Printing, II, 391, and reprinted (not with minute accuracy) in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1st Series, IX, 275-280. Cf. Massachusetts Historical Proceedings, XLV, 470-471; Dr. S. A. Green, History of Medicine in Massachusetts, p. 59. See further pp. 21 ff., below.

was "Have you had the smallpox?" and we may be sure that Mather would not long defer such an inquiry. Our first information on that point, however, comes from a communication to the Royal Society in the form of a letter addressed by Mather on July 12, 1716, to John Woodward, M.D., the distinguished English palæontologist, then Professor of Physic at Gresham College.

Mather had just read in the Philosophical Transactions for April-June, 1714,¹ an account of inoculation as practised in Constantinople, given in a letter to Woodward sent from that city in the preceding December by Dr. Emanuel Timonius (Timoni).² This report, Mather found, accorded with facts already known to him, and accordingly, in his letter of July 12, 1716, after summarizing the previous history of the disease in New England and commenting on the epidemic of measles in 1713, he wrote as follows:—

1. No. 339, XXIX, 72-82.

2. De La Motraye visited Timonius, "un de mes grands amis," in 1712, and conversed with him on the subject of inoculation. "Il tâchoit," La Motraye writes, "de faire revivre cette pratique qui étoit autrefois si fort en vogue dans toute la Grèce. . . . Il entendit avec satisfaction ce que j'avois observé [earlier in the same year] en Circassie à cet égard" (Voyages de S^r de La Motraye, Hague, 1727, II, 115; cf. II, 98-99).

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All that I shall now add, will be my Thanks to you, for communicating to the Public in D^r *Halley's* Transactions, y^e Account which you had from D^r *Timonius*, at *Constantinople*, y^e Method of obtaining and procuring y^e *Small-Pox*, by *Insition*; which I perceive also by some in my Neighbourhood lately come from thence, has been for some time successfully practised there. I am willing to confirm you, in a favourable Opinion, of D^r *Timonius's* Communication; And therefore, I do assure you, that many months before I mett with any Intimations of treating y^e *Small-Pox*, with y^e Method of Inoculation, any where in *Europe*; I had from a Servant of my own, an Account of its being practised in *Africa*. Enquiring of my Negro-man *Onesimus*, who is a pretty Intelligent Fellow, Whether he ever had y^e *Small-Pox*; he answered, both, *Yes*, and, *No*; and then told me, that he had undergone an Operation, which had given him something of y^e *Small-Pox*, & would forever præserve him from it; adding, That it was often used among y^e *Guramantese*, & whoever had y^e Courage to use it, was forever free from y^e fear of the Contagion. He described y^e Operation to me, and shew'd me in his Arm y^e Scar, which it had left upon him; and his Description of it, made it the same, that afterwards I found related unto you by your *Timonius*.

This cannot but expire, in a Wonder, and in a request, unto my D^r *Woodward*. How does it come to pass, that no more is done to bring this operation, into experiment & into Fashion—in *England*? When there are so many Thousands of People, that would give many Thousands of Pounds, to have y^e Danger

and Horror of this frightful Disease well over with y^m. I beseech you, syr, to move it, and save more Lives than D^r Sydenham. For my own part, if I should live to see y^e *Small-Pox* again enter into o^r City, I would immediately procure a Consult of o^r Physicians, to Introduce a Practice, which may be of so very happy a Tendency. But could we hear, that you have done it before us, how much would That embolden us!

In this same year (1716) there came out in the Philosophical Transactions¹ a further account of the Constantinopolitan practice, from the pen of Dr. Jacobus Pylarinus (Pylarini). This Mather had, of course, not yet seen, but it was soon called to his notice by Dr. William Douglass, and it strengthened his resolve to introduce the new method in Boston if the necessity should arise. It is important to observe that Mather knew of inoculation "many months" before he saw the letter of Timonius, and that his mind was made up some five years, at least, before the outbreak of smallpox in 1721. His conduct in that year, therefore, was not due to the freakish impulse of a vain and credulous man, intoxicated by recent scientific news from the mother country: it was the outcome of a deliberate plan, formed long before,

1. No. 347, XXIX, 393-399.

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and much pondered in the meanwhile. Clearly it was in the interval between his talk with Onesimus and the coming of smallpox in 1721 that he made those further inquiries among African negroes in Boston that loom so large in the later controversy. I quote from his unpublished medical treatise *The Angel of Bethesda*, but the passage appears almost word for word in a tract which he wrote, in collaboration with Zabdiel Boylston, in August or September, 1721:—

I have since mett with a considerable Number of these *Africans*, who all agree in One Story; That in their Countrey *grandy-many* dy of the *Small-Pox*: But now they learn This Way: People take Juice of *Small-Pox*; and *Cutty-skin*, and Putt in a Drop; then by 'nd by a little *Sicky, Sicky*: then very few little things like *Small-Pox*; and no body dy of it; and no body have *Small-Pox* any more. Thus in *Africa*, where the Poor Creatures dy of the *Small-Pox* like Rotten Sheep, a Merciful GOD has taught them an *Infallible Praeservative*. Tis a common Practice, and is attended with a *Constant Success*.¹

Similar testimony was given in 1721 by the Rev. Benjamin Colman. He records a "pleasing & informing *discourse*" with an African negro, inoculated in his native country, who said

1. MS., Chap. xx, p. 134 (American Antiquarian Society).

that "when the sickness got into five or six Houses, so that the People began to despair of being able to stop it, then all who had not had it went presently and receiv'd it in the way of Inoculation, . . . and that not one more died of it thro' the whole Town."¹ The contemporary opponents of inoculation never grew weary of poking fun at this kind of evidence,² but modern men of science have shown keen interest in the African testimony and have collected a considerable amount of it.³ Mather was, I believe, the first person to call the practice of inoculation in Africa to the notice of Europeans in any formal or public way.⁴

In April, 1721, the smallpox was brought to Boston in ships from the West Indies, and on May 26 Mather mentions it in his Diary and

1. *Some Observations on the New Method Of Receiving the Small-Pox by Ingrafting or Inoculating*, Boston, 1721, pp. 15-16.

2. See p. 23-25, below.

3. Klebs, *Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin*, XXIV, 70; *Die Variolation im achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, pp. 8-9.

4. Sir Hans Sloane appears to have heard of the African practice two or three years before Mather wrote (see *Philosophical Transactions*, XLIX, 516). The oft-cited report of Kassem Aga, the Tripolitan envoy to England, dates from 1728 (Scheuchzer, *Account of the Success of Inoculating the Small-Pox in Great Britain for the Years 1727 and 1728*, London, 1729; Woodville, *History of Inoculation of the Small-Pox in Great Britain*, London, 1796, I, 45-47).

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registers his purpose, formed so long before, to encounter it with the new preventive treatment:—"The grievous Calamity of the *Small-Pox* has now entered the Town. The Practice of conveying and suffering the *Small-Pox* by *Inoculation*, has never been used in *America*, nor indeed in our Nation. But how many Lives might be saved by it, if it were practised? I will procure a Consult of our Physicians, and lay the matter before them." He lost no time, but prepared an Address to the Physicians of Boston (dated June 6, 1721), which was circulated in written form. It was never printed as a whole, but most of it soon got into type in one way or another; and practically all the rest is preserved, for about a fortnight later he embodied the substance in a Little Treatise, never published, but still extant in Chapter xx of his manuscript work *The Angel of Bethesda*. The Address included an abstract of Timonius and Pylarinus, and closed with the following sentence: "Gentlemen, My request is, That you would meet for a *Consultation* upon this occasion, and so deliberate upon it [the operation], that whoever first begins the practice (*if you Approve it should be begun at all*) may have the countenance of his worthy Brethren to fortify him in it."

Boston had a population of about eleven thousand.¹ There were at least ten practising physicians in the town, as well as several apothecaries²—and the apothecaries appear to have prescribed remedies and given advice in addition to their proper business of dispensing drugs. The doctors held no such consultation as Mather requested,³ and only one of them, Zabdiel Boylston,⁴ had the courage to make the trial, though one of the others (Dr. White, apparently)⁵ “expressed his Good Will.”⁶ Boylston could not experiment upon himself, for he had already had the disease, but on the twenty-sixth of June he inoculated his six-year-old son Thomas and two of his negro slaves, a grown man and a little boy. By the fourth of July his anxiety about these cases was over, for success was assured. But the town was horri-

1. William Douglass to Cadwallader Colden, May 1, 1722 (Massachusetts Historical Collections, 4th Series, II, 169); the same, Summary, 1751, II, 396; Fitz, p. 316.

2. Douglass to Colden, February 20, 1721 (4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, II, 164); Fitz, pp. 316-317.

3. A Vindication of the Ministers, Boston, 1722, p. 8.

4. Mather's letter to Boylston accompanying the Address is dated June 24. It is printed in the Massachusetts Magazine, 1789, I, 778; see Fitz, p. 318.

5. Boylston, An Historical Account of the Small-Pox Inoculated in New England, London, 1726, p. 5.

6. Mather, The Angel of Bethesda, MS. (A. A. S.), p. 142.

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fied. The people, writes Mather in his Diary under date of July 16, "rave, rail, they blaspheme; they talk not only like Ideots but also like *Franticks*. And not only the Physician who began the Experiment, but I also am an Object of their Fury; their furious Obloquies and Invectives."

One of the doctors, a Frenchman named Lawrence Dalhonde, who had been a surgeon in the French service, declared before the Selectmen on July 21 that he had known of horrible *sequelae* from inoculation in Italy, Spain, and Flanders.¹ His accounts are now regarded as either mistaken or fictitious, but they met with instant acceptance then, and their official publication intensified the people's terror. They were embodied in a report from the Selectmen which gave too favorable an account of the state of the epidemic, and which also included a pronouncement from the "Physicians of Boston" declaring that "it appears by numerous Instances, That it [i.e. inoculation] has prov'd the Death of many Persons soon after the Operation, and brought Distempers upon many others which have in the End prov'd deadly to 'em." On July 31 a certificate of similar tenor signed by one John Forland

1. Boylston, *Historical Account*, pp. 58-61.

was published in the News-Letter "by Order and at the Desire and Direction of the Select Men." Forland testified that once in the Greek island of Milo, when he asked a physician "what he should do to escape the Small Pox," he was told that "there was a Project tryed amongst the Greeks, at an Island called Corfue, where they put something into the Flesh that Corrupted the Blood; but said he, if you should do it, you would never be a sound Man as long as you Live: And further said, that some that had practised that Project, lost the use of their Limbs, and that others swelled up and dyed sometime after, and that others had the Small Pox afterwards: This I was told by the Doctor; and that the Doctors would not put the said Project in Practice any more." Mather comments on this yarn in a strain of justifiable irony. Dalhonde's "notable testimony," he declares, "was corroborated with one or two more, which amounted to little more than this, That a Man in the *Mediterranean*, many Years ago, was told by *somebody*, that *somebody* told him, that *somebody* heard, that the Doctors in the *Archipelago* warned People against *Inoculation* of the *Small-Pox*, as a dangerous Practice."¹

1. An Account of the Method and Success of Inoculating the Small-Pox, in Boston in New-England, London, 1722, p. 12.

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The professional opposition was led by William Douglass, a fiery and opinionated Scot, the only Boston practitioner who could boast a medical degree. A letter from his pen, signed "W. Philanthropos," appeared in the News-Letter on July 24, attacking Boylston as "a certain *Cutter* for the *Stone*" and alleging that he had adopted "this far fetched and not well vouched Method" without "any serious thought." Douglass had first come to Boston from Bristol, England, late in 1715 or early in 1716, but had soon departed for the West Indies. He had returned, however, in 1718, and was now in good practice. His relations with Mather had so far been pleasant. Indeed, it was through him that Mather had got his first sight of the essays of Timoni and Pylarini. Even in his Philanthropos letter he ascribed Mather's action in addressing the physicians to "a Pious and Charitable design of doing good."

Mather stood by Boylston, and several of the ministers joined forces with Mather. A reply¹ to W. Philanthropos (signed by Increase and Cotton Mather, Benjamin Colman, Thomas Prince, John Webb, and William Cooper) was published in The Boston Gazette on July 31, from which it appears that inoculation was re-

1. Dated July 27, 1721.

garded by many pious persons as contrary to God's law. To these scruples we shall return presently. Meanwhile we may note that the medical objections, as they emerge in the debate, were twofold—concerning in part the danger to the community from the spread of infection and in part the danger to the inoculated person himself. If he did not immediately succumb, his system, it was thought, would be poisoned by the injection of corrupt matter. It was further alleged that inoculation brought on nothing like smallpox, but rather an eruptive fever which did not render one immune.¹ Finally, it was held by some that the operation would produce that most dreaded of all diseases—the plague.

Boylston went steadily on, and by September 7 he had inoculated thirty-five persons, with no deaths. In August or September he issued a little pamphlet, written for the most part by Mather: "Some Account of what is said of Inoculating or Transplanting the Small Pox. By the Learned Dr. Emanuel Timonius, and Jacobus Pylarinus. With some Remarks thereon. To which are added, A Few Quæries in Answer to the Scruples of many about the

1. Cf. Wagstaffe, *A Letter to Dr. Freind*, London, 1722, pp. 25-30.

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Lawfulness of this Method. Published by Zabdiel Boylstone."¹ The Quæries deserve our particular attention, for they point out one of the most stubborn obstacles with which the inoculators had to contend—the religious scruples of many earnest Christians. These were entertained not only by the ignorantly devout but by some of the older and more conservative ministers. Deliberately to "make one's self sick," even for the sake of avoiding a worse attack of the same disease, was thought to be a sin against God—a tempting of his Providence if not a direct "seeking to" the devil. This reminds one of the opinion widely current in England and elsewhere during the plague in the seventeenth century—that the disease was incurable, being a direct visitation of divine vengeance for the offences of the people, and that even to attempt its cure was therefore impious. Since Mather has long passed with many of us as an example of extreme superstition,—quite unjustly, as I believe,—it is instructive to find him on the present occasion opposing these notions by the rule of common sense and in the exercise of a rational system of piety.

The rage of the town continued. Boylston's

1. There are two forms of the title-page—in one the name is spelled *Boylstone*, in the other *Boylston*.

life is said to have been threatened. Mather "never saw the Devil so *let loose* upon any Occasion. A *lying Spirit* was *gone forth* at such a Rate, that there was no believing any Thing one heard." "The People who made the *loudest Cry*, . . . had a very *Satanic Fury* acting them. They were like the *possess'd People* in the Gospel, *exceeding fierce*."¹

Meantime the Boston doctors had organized a club called the Society of Physicians Anti-Inoculators, which was in existence as early as August, 1721. This body held its meetings at Richard Hall's Coffee House, which stood at the westerly corner of King (now State) Street and Crooked Lane (now Devonshire Street). That small portion of the site which was not taken into the roadway of Devonshire Street in 1872 is now covered by the southeasterly corner of the Devonshire Building.² Douglass was of course a leading spirit in the Society. Another was John Checkley, who kept a shop for the sale of drugs and notions, the Crown and Blue-Gate, opposite the Town House on

1. An Account of the Method and Success of Inoculating the Small-Pox, London, 1722, pp. 16, 17; cf. Diary, August 28, 1721.

2. Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Publications, XIV, 283-289, 400-408. The identification of the site of Hall's Coffee House is due to Mr. Samuel C. Clough.

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a part of the present site of the Sears Building, and who was dignified with the courtesy title of Doctor.

Checkley, who was a Non-Juror and an ardent High Churchman, had an old feud with Cotton Mather. In 1719 or 1720 he had issued an assault on Calvinism, entitled *Choice Dialogues between a Godly Minister, and an Honest Country-man*. Mather's nephew, Thomas Walter of Roxbury, had retorted in 1720 in *A Choice Dialogue Between John Faustus, A Conjuror and Jack Tory His Friend*, and this reply Checkley believed to be "the joint Labours of the grand Committee" of Congregational ministers. He also thought himself ill-used (as perhaps he was) by the Court of General Sessions in the matter of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and he ascribed his troubles to the hostility of the dominant party, among whom Mather was a distinguished figure.¹ As early as 1720 he had attempted to cast a shadow on Mather's title to style himself a Fellow of the Royal Society, and in the very month in which the smallpox broke out he wrote to England, begging Halley, the famous astronomer, to send him a cer-

1. See the Memoir in Dr. Edmund F. Slafter's *John Checkley, Prince Society*, 1897.

tificate as to "Mr Mathers being a Fellow or not a Fellow." Such a document, he protests, will "capacitate me to defend myself from these Sons of Strife, Schism & Sedition." It is clear, then, that the war against inoculation involved not merely medical conservatism and religious bigotry, but also English and Colonial politics and at least one personal quarrel. Mather, indeed, says as much in a letter to Jurin in 1723:¹ inoculation, he avers, has sometimes been made "a meer *Party-business*; . . . a *Jacobite*, or *High-flying Party* counting themselves bound in duty to their *Party*, to decry it; or perhaps, y^e *Party* disaffected unto such & such Persons of Public *Station* & *Merit*, under y^e Obligations of a *Party*, to decline it."² There is evidence that Hall's Coffee House was a political rendezvous, and this, perhaps, accounts for its suppression in 1724.

James Franklin's radical sheet, *The New-*

1. Cotton Mather to Dr. James Jurin, May 4, 1723 (unpublished), autograph draught (A. A. S.), p. 5.

2. Cf. William Cooper, *A Reply to the Objections made against taking the Small-Pox in the Way of Inoculation from Principles of Conscience*, Boston, 1721, p. 2:—"However some among us may appear against it out of party or prejudice, or make an *Engine* of it to serve Designs, not friendly to the Peace and true Interest of the Place, yet there are many who are *Conscientiously* averse to it, I believe."

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England Courant, on which Ben Franklin worked as an apprentice and of which he was for a time the ostensible proprietor, was the recognized organ of the Anti-Inoculators. It began its troublous career on August 7, 1721, when the controversy was in full swing. The town had already two weekly journals—the Boston News-Letter (established in 1704) and the Boston Gazette (established in 1719), but the Courant immediately signalized itself by liveliness and irresponsibility. The clergy regarded it as a scandalous and profane rag, published to destroy their influence and debauch the community. On August 28, the News-Letter printed a letter declaring that the Courant, "that Flagitious and Wicked Paper," is reported to be written by the "Practitioners of Physick in Boston, who exert themselves in discovering the evil of Inoculation and its Tendancies," and insinuating that their Society is comparable to the infamous Hellfire Club of London. Douglass replied in the next Gazette, under the signature of "W. Anti-Inoculator," protesting indignantly, as well he might, against the comparison, but significantly neglecting to deny the connection between the newspaper and the doctors. "The Society," he avers, "are only accountable for their own

pieces, and not for other Matters inserted by the Publishers of News-Papers."¹ Such a connection was again asserted in the Gazette of January 15, 1722, by Samuel Mather, Cotton's son, then a senior in Harvard College, who declares that "the main intention of this Vile Courant, is to Vilify and Abuse the best Men we have, and especially the Principal Ministers of Religion in the Country," and refers to Checkley as the "Head of the Club." On January 22 James Franklin replies: "That the *Courants* are carry'd on by a *Hell-Fire Club* with a *Nonjuror* at the Head of them, has been asserted by a certain Clergyman in his common Conversation, with as much Zeal as he ever discover'd in the Application of a Sermon on the most awakening Subject . . . As to Mr. C—y's being concern'd in it, I affirm, I know not of one Piece in the *Courants* of his writing; but am certain, that he has been charg'd with being the Author of many (wherein the Ministers were touch'd upon) which I know he was not; nor is he so much of a *Courant Christian* as to promote the Paper by being a Subscriber for it."

In the very month (August) in which we first hear of the Society of Physicians Anti-

1. The Boston Gazette, No. 93, August 28–September 4, 1721.

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Inoculators, Mather prepared another pamphlet (finished on September 7th), afterwards published in London by Jeremiah Dummer.¹ It was intended for English readers and had in view the dissemination in the mother country of correct views about inoculation and in particular of information about Boylston's experiment and its success. "The Town," Mather tells us in his Diary (August 24), "has become almost an Hell upon Earth, a City full of Lies, and Murders, and Blasphemies, as far as Wishes and Speeches can render it so; Satan seems to take a strange Possession of it, in the epidemic Rage, against that notable and powerful and Successful way of saving the Lives of People from the Dangers of the *Small-Pox*."

On October 30, 1721, Cotton Mather printed in the Gazette an anonymous article called "A Faithful Account of what has occur'd under the late Experiments of the *Small-Pox* managed and governed in the way of *Inoculation*. Published, partly to put a stop unto that unaccountable way of Lying, which fills the Town & Country on this occasion; and partly for the Information & Satisfaction of our Friends in other places." It serves as a supplement to the Boylston tract, and insists on the efficacy of the

1. See p. 55, below.

practice, and in particular on its safety. "The Operation within these four Months past has been undergone by more than Threescore Persons. Among which there have been *Old & Young; Strong and Weak; Male and Female; White and Black*; many serious and vertuous People; some the Children of Eminent Persons among us." The exact number, in fact, to the end of October, was fifty-six. There had been but one death, that of Mrs. Dixwell on the 24th of September.¹ She was, I think, Mary, daughter of John Prout and wife of John Dixwell, son of John the regicide.²

In November, probably on the 23d and certainly before the 27th, appeared the folio sheet reprinted in the present volume. This consists of two parts: (1) Increase Mather's Several Reasons Proving that Inoculation or Transplanting the Small Pox, is a Lawful Practice, dated November 20, 1721; and (2) Sentiments on the Small Pox Inoculated. The second part is anonymous, but it was immediately recognized as Cotton Mather's, and is proved to be

1. Boylston, *Historical Account*, 2d ed., Boston, 1730, p. 50.

2. See Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, II, 55; *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, XXXII, 93; *Boston Record Commissioners' Reports*, XXIV, 61, 97, 113, 143.

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his by an entry in his Diary on the 23rd (apparently the very day of issue):—"I join with my aged Father, in publishing some, SENTIMENTS ON THE SMALL-POX INOCULATED." The sheet was advertised in the Courant for November 27 as "Just publish'd" and as "Sold by J. Edwards," whose name appears in the imprint. The same number of the Courant contains a Reply to the Sentiments.

Increase Mather was in his eighty-third year.¹ He had stood with the champions of inoculation from the outset, and his name comes first in the list of the six Boston ministers who signed the defence of Boylston in the Gazette of July 31st.² Some degree of courage was required for the present performance, for only about ten days before (on November 14) a lighted hand-grenade was thrown into Cotton Mather's house through a window about three o'clock in the morning—fortunately to no effect, since the fuse fell out and there was no explosion. This outrage may have been the work of a private enemy; but it was referred at the time to the riotous forces opposed to inoculation, and threats were freely uttered that

1. Douglass refers to him as "the old *venerable* Dr. I. M. deservedly esteemed by all in this Country" (*Abuses and Scandals*, 1722, Introduction).

2. See p. 12, above.

a second attempt should "doe the Business more effectually." We need not suppose that Mather was exaggerating when he recorded his belief on November 24 that he was "in daily Hazard of Death from a Bloody People."¹

The Mathers' folio sheet called forth several replies. The "Sentiments" was parodied in a string of sarcastic syllogisms in the *Courant* for November 27: "Several Arguments, proving, That inoculating the Small Pox, is a lawful and successful Practice; and not only so, but a Duty. Made plain and familiar to the meanest Capacity, but withal, so strong as to convince all Gainsayers, but such as want a Purge of *Hellebore*"—the traditional remedy for lunatics. The anonymous opponent contends ironically that "A Method of preventing *Death*, which an *Army of Africans* have given us all the Assurance which a rational Mind can desire, that it is used in *Africa* with Success, is not only lawful, but a Duty." We recognize this as in part a quotation from the *Sentiments*. It alludes, of course, to the inquiries which Mather had made of sundry negroes after his talk with Onesimus.² In the Boylston tract Mather had described his negro witnesses more moderately as a "con-

1. See Diary, II, 657-661; News-Letter, Nov. 20, 1721.

2. See p. 6, above.

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siderable Number of *Africans* in this Town"¹—a phrase which reappears in his unpublished treatise *The Angel of Bethesda*.² Early in December (before the 11th)³ was issued an anonymous tract—"A Letter From one in the Country, to his Friend in the City: In Relation to their Distresses occasioned by the doubtful and prevailing Practice of Inoculation of the Small-Pox," addressed, it seems, to Dr. Francis Archibald. Here we read that "a certain *Clergy-man*" received testimony "*viva voce* from some scattered Members of the good people in *Guinea*."⁴ In the same month Douglass echoed Mather's words in mocking accents in his *Inoculation Consider'd*:⁵—"Their second Voucher is an Army of a Dozen or half a Score *Africans*, by others call'd Negroe Slaves . . . There is not a Race of Men on Earth more *False Lyars*."⁶ On New Year's Day, 1722,⁷ was published a pam-

1. P. 9.

2. Chap. xx, p. 134.

3. It is advertised in the *Courant* of December 11, 1721, as "Just Publish'd."

4. P. 2.

5. Dated at the end, December 20, 1721; published on January 13, 1722 (see Boylston's letter in the *Gazette* of January 15, 1722).

6. Pp. 6-7.

7. The date in the imprint is 1721. Advertised in the *Courant* of January 1 as "This Day published."

phlet entitled "The Imposition of Inoculation As a Duty Religiously Consider'd In a Letter to a Gentleman in the Country Inclined to admit it." This is adorned with a Latin motto "Aliquid Monstri semper profert Africa," ascribed to Pliny and, in fact, but slightly altered from a passage in his Natural History (viii. 17. 42), where, after speaking of strange creatures there produced, he adds: "Unde etiam vulgare Graeciae dictum semper aliquid novi Africam adferre." The nameless author calls inoculation "the *New Scheme* of those *Judicious people* call'd *Africans*"¹ and protests that "to bring Armies of *Africans*, and Troops of *Mahometans*, to prove it is lawful by their Success in it, is like their proving the Religion of *Mahomet*, as true Religion, because successfully propagated, and maintained by the Sword, and profest by vast Numbers, which fill whole Nations of the Eastern *World*."² The logic of this outburst needs no criticism. On the title-page of the copy of the tract in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, as noted by Mr. Julius H. Tuttle, occurs a note in an eighteenth-century hand, so faintly penned as to be easily overlooked:—"Said to be written by Master Grain-

1. P. 3.

2. P. 25.

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ger." The ascription is probable, for Samuel Grainger, who kept a private school in Boston from 1720 to 1734, was a zealous Church of England man and is likely to have taken sides with Checkley, Mather's eager opponent.¹

1. "Mr Samuel Granger late of London who came from thence into this Town wth Capt Brunton" was admitted an inhabitant by the Selectmen of Boston on January 25, 1719-20, and on the 27th was by the same authorities "admitted to keep School to teach writeing, Logick & Merchants Acco^{ts} (Selectmen's Minutes, Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, XIII, 65). On November 11, 1722, Governor Belcher wrote to the Bishop of London recommending for the "Bounty of the Society" for the Propagation of the Gospel "Mr Sam^l Granger who has been a Schoolmaster in this Town abt 13 Years, for Writing & Arithmetick." He praises him warmly: "I really think we have hardly ever had his Fellow, for writing so fine a Hand & for his facile Way of Instruction." "Mr Granger is the only Schoolmaster in this Town of the Ch^h of England and has been Ch^h Warden of the King's Chappel" (Belcher's Letters, MS., I, 549, M. H.S.; cf. 6 Massachusetts Historical Collections, VI, 488). Another letter from the Governor to the Bishop, February 25, 1733-4, shows that this application was granted and asks for a continuance of the Bounty in favor of Mr. Granger's eldest son, "who now Succeeds his Father in the School" (III, 52; cf. 6 Collections, VII, 457). The News-Letter, No. 1564, for Thursday, January 10-17, 1734, reports the death ("of an Apoplectick Fit" on "Friday last," January 11) of "the Ingenious and Learned Mr. *Samuel Granger*, Aged about 48 Years." A notice in The Weekly Rehearsal, No. 132, Boston, April 8, 1734, shows that "Mrs. Susannah Grainger" had been keeping the school since her husband's death. See also Sewall's Diary, March 8, 1719-20, III, 245; New England Historical and Genealogical Register, VI, 193; Foote, Annals of King's Chapel, I, 347, 390, 396; II, 587, 606. I owe this information about Grainger to Mr. Tuttle.

Another reply to the Mathers' broadsheet, was from the pen of John Williams. It came out, probably on December 4, 1721, from the press of James Franklin, and reached a second edition in the same month. Williams kept a "tobacco-cellar" in Boston and probably dispensed drugs as well. Like all the apothecaries of those times, he also gave medical advice; but for this he made no charge—contenting himself with the sums which his patients paid him for their draughts and simples.

Williams was a public character. He was nicknamed Mundungus—an old cant term for cheap and rank tobacco. Though almost illiterate, he loved to scribble, and had somehow learned the trick of reasoning in formal syllogisms. His fantastic spelling was the talk of the town. The local wits maintained that he had devised a new mode of human speech, well fitted to become the "universal language," like our Volapük and Esperanto, and proposed that he be appointed Professor of Mundungian in Harvard College. *Cidnys* was his way of writing *kidneys*; *physicians* ran off his pen in the form *fecicions*; *ears* became *yers*; *sympathy* became *sempeti*.¹ Somebody must have corrected his manuscript (was it Ben Franklin?), for his

1. Massachusetts Historical Proceedings, XLV, 471-472.

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reply to the Mathers is not composed in Mundungian. It is dedicated to the Selectmen and has a good old-fashioned title-page, tantamount to a table of contents:—"Several Arguments, proving, That Inoculating the Small Pox is not contained in the *Law of Physick*, either *Natural* or *Divine*, and therefore *Unlawful*. Together with A Reply to two short Pieces, one by the Rev. Dr. *Increase Mather*, and another by an *Anonymous* Author, Intituled, *Sentiments on the Small Pox Inoculated*. And also, A Short Answer to a late Letter in the *New-England Courant*."

It was easy enough for Mundungus to prove that inoculation was "not contained in the law of natural physic"—that is to say, that it was an innovation not yet assigned to a settled place in the hard-and-fast dogmas with which every new discovery in medicine had to contend in those days. One remembers the strife in the seventeenth century between the Regulars or Methodists, who stuck to Galen and the Four Humors as long as they could, and the Chemists or Philosophers by the Fire—a furious quarrel in which George Stirk, of the Harvard Class of 1646, had a distinguished and tumultuous share. It was a bitter pill for the old school to have to admit that medicine is an empiric art.

Nor must we be too hard on the conservatives. They had to resist the ignorant and often knavish quackery of all sorts of waifs and strays among the practitioners of medical folk-lore,—white witches, cunning men, strokers, exorcists, inspired healers, sham astrologers,—to a degree which modern physicians can hardly appreciate, harassed and thwarted though they continually are by similar forces in our own day. The irony of the situation in Boston, however, was that the conservatives should welcome the aid of such a person as Williams, “a sorry *Tabacconist*; who could hardly spell a Word of *English*, . . . and could not read his own Manuscript, but pray’d the Printer to find out y^e Meaning, & make English of it.”¹

Williams’s argument “with Respect to Natural Physick” is so brief and so characteristic that I may quote it entire:—

If Inoculating the Small Pox be not contained in the Rules of Natural Physick, then it is not lawful. But, Inoculating the Small Pox is not contained in the Rules of Natural Physick. Therefore, It is unlawful.

I shall prove it thus:—The Rules of Natural Physick are *Two*, and no more; which are *Sympathy* and *Antipathy*; and whatsoever is not reducible unto one of these, is not contained in the Rules of Natural Physick.

1. Cotton Mather, unpublished letter to Dr. James Jurin, May 4, 1723 (A. A. S. holograph draught, p. 14).

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Now Inoculating the Small Pox is not a *Sympathy* with, nor *Antipathy* unto a Wound or Disease already received, but making a Wound, in order to communicate a Disease, which is an Abuse unto that Text, Math. 9. 12. *They that are whole need not a Physician, but they that are sick*, and a horrid Violation of the Intent that our Lord said it for.

Most of the pamphlet is devoted to demonstrating that inoculation is also contrary to the law of God. This portion of the discourse is well peppered with proof-texts, and must have been quite maddening to the learned divines who saw their province invaded by so irresponsible an amateur in theology.

Increase Mather, in his *Several Reasons*, names two preachers who are on the right side:—"We hear that the Reverend and Learned Mr. *Solomon Stoddard* of *Northampton* concurs with us; so doth the Reverend Mr. *Wise* of *Ipswich*, and many other younger Divines, not only in *Boston*, but in the Country, joyn with their Fathers."¹ One of these was Thomas Walter (H. C. 1713) of Roxbury, Increase Mather's grandson. He had been inoculated at his Uncle Cotton's house in Boston by Zabdiel Boylston on October 31st,² and it was while he was there that the hand-grenade was

1. See p. 31, below.

2. Boylston, *Historical Account*, p. 20.

thrown in at the window. His father, the Rev. Nehemiah Walter (H. C. 1684), whose colleague he was in the Roxbury pastorate, also submitted to inoculation (November 27), but it did not "take."¹ It will be noticed that Increase Mather does not mention the Rev. Benjamin Colman. This was thought to be needless, since Colman had been a defender of Boylston from the outset. At the very moment when the folio sheet was issued, he was coming out with a notable book: *Some Observations on the New Method of Receiving the Small-Pox by Ingrafting or Inoculating*. The dedication to President Leverett of Harvard College is dated November 23, the very day on which the sheet was issued. Colman's book is temperately written, and must have had great weight with the serious-minded. It was reprinted in London and in Dublin in 1722, with an introduction by the Rev. Daniel Neal, author of the well-known *History of the Puritans*.²

1. The same, p. 27.

2. *A Narrative of the Method and Success of Inoculating the Small Pox in New England*. By Mr. Benj. Colman. With A Reply to The Objections made against it from Principles of Conscience. In a Letter from a Minister at Boston . . . To which is now prefixed, An Historical Introduction. By Daniel Neal, M. A. (London, 1722; Dublin, 1722).

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Mr. Colman's associate in the Brattle Street pastorate, the Rev. William Cooper (H. C. 1712), who had also signed the ministers' defence of Boylston, came out shortly before December 18 with a pamphlet in support of his elder colleague:—"A Letter to a Friend in the Country, Attempting a Solution of the Scruples & Objections of a Conscientious or Religious Nature, commonly made against the New Way of receiving the Small-Pox. By a Minister in Boston."¹ The tract was also republished in London and Dublin in 1722;² it reached a third edition in 1730 (Boston)³ and was translated into Dutch (Rotterdam, 1792). In the third edition Cooper acknowledged the authorship, which, however, was well-known at the time of first publication or shortly thereafter.

Mr. Cooper quotes Increase Mather's re-

1. This is dated at the end November 20, 1721. The *Courant* of December 18th speaks of it as "a late Pamphlet."

2. Appended to Colman's narrative in Neal's edition (see p. 31, note 2 above), pp. 37-48. The title in Neal is *A Reply to the Religious Scruples against Inoculating the Small-Pox, In a Letter to a Friend*.

3. *A Reply to The Objections made against taking the Small Pox in the Way of Inoculation from the Principles of Conscience. In a Letter to a Friend in the Country. By a Minister in Boston . . . The Third Impression.*—There is a preface signed W. Cooper and dated "Boston, March 4. 1729-30."

mark that the scrupulous "are (as a *very Reverend Person* has lately said of them) greatly to be commended and honour'd, in that they will not act against a doubting Conscience."¹ The consciences of the objectors were troubled by what seem to us preposterous scruples. "That it is not lawful for me to make my self sick when I am well." "Will you not wait God's Time?" "It is a going from God to Man." "The Small Pox is a Judgment of God, sent to punish and humble us for our Sins; and what shall we so evade it, and think to turn it away from us?" "This Method tends to take off the fears of this Distemper from the Minds of the People; and who knows of what Spiritual Advantage these fears might be to them?" "God has predetermin'd and fixed the Period of every ones life . . . ; so that if this time be come Inoculation will not save the Persons Life." "Suppose I should die in the way of Inoculation, would it not make a dying hour very dark to me, to think that I us'd means to bring it upon my self?" The tenth objection that Cooper mentions was "frequently in the Mouths of People"—"that [inoculation] is originally from the Devil."

The undaunted Mundungus replied, at the

1. P. 2.

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very end of December, in a twenty-page tract with another long title:—"An Answer To a Late Pamphlet, Intitled, A Letter to a Friend in the Country, attempting a Solution of the Scruples and Objections of a Conscientious or Religious Nature, commonly made against the new Way of receiving the Small Pox. By a Minister of Boston. Together with A Short History of the late Divisions among us in Affairs of State, and some Account of the first Cause of them . . . Boston: Printed and sold by J. Franklin, at his Printing-House in Queen-Street, over against Mr. Sheaf's School. 1722."¹ In his dedication to the Selectmen, Williams avers that Dr. Robert Richards, Member of the College of Physicians in London, told him before witnesses that the "second Act which Queen Anne signed" provided that "if any Doctor, Quack, or any other Person, shall do any thing that may spread" a mortal or contagious Disease, "they shall suffer Death," and he adds: "Now by this Time I hope it appears, that if any Person will be so hardy, as to go on in a Practice against Reason and Law, the Grand Jury will not be at a Loss to find a Bill against them." This sounds pretty savage, but

1. See advertisements in the *Courant*, Nos. 20-22, December 18, 25, 1721, and January 1, 1722.

it accords well enough with Williams's firm conviction that the devil had devised inoculation to destroy the bodies of Christians and ensnare their souls. Like the Gravedigger in *Hamlet*, he still disported himself in syllogistic reasoning:—"If *Inoculation of the Small Pox be not of God, then it is of the Devil. But, It is not of God. Therefore, It is of the Devil.*"¹ He even brings inoculation into connection with the witchcraft trials of 1692:—"I do seriously believe its a Delusion of the Devil; and there was never the like Delusion in New-England, since the Time of the Witchcraft at Salem, when so many innocent Persons lost their Lives, and afterwards some of them that were instrumental in taking their Lives away, made a Recantation."² This outburst is highly instructive. Cotton Mather had believed that the Salem witches were instigated by Satan.³ Williams now exonerates the witches, but he is in full accord with the witchfinders in that article of their creed that underlay the prosecutions—to wit, the powerful and incessant activity of a personal devil in the everyday life of men. In his view, the devil had deluded

1. P. 20.

2. P. 4.

3. It is worth noting that in *The Angel of Bethesda* (MS., p. 198) Mather scouts the popular notion that the nightmare is due to witchcraft.

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the prosecutors then, just as he was deluding the advocates of inoculation now. To the present-day critics of our ancestors, Satan is a mere figure of speech, an outworn personification. They forget that both sides, in those days, took the Bible literally and that, if the devil is once admitted as an agent in human affairs,—as both sides then held he must be admitted,—the position of the witchfinders was quite logical and that of their opponents (which we are prone to approve without scrutiny, because we approve of its practical results) was self-contradictory. All of which goes to show that—Heaven be praised for it!—men do not govern their actions by the rules of logical thinking.

The innuendo of Williams's allusion to witchcraft was certainly unfair to Mather. What Mundungus was doing and thinking in 1692 we do not know; but if he was then in Boston, the chances are that he shared the tragic delusion, which afflicted the community as a whole and not the ministers alone. We may note that there is a similar remark in an anonymous "Dialogue between the Clergyman and the Layman"¹ in the *Courant* of

1. This is the second of two related skits. The first—"*A Dialogue between a Clergyman and a Layman, concerning Inoculation. By an unknown Hand*"—may be read in the *Courant* of January 1-8, 1722, No. 23.

January 22. "I pray Sir," asks the Layman, "who have been instruments of Mischief and Trouble both in Church and State, from the Witchcraft to Inoculation?"

Williams tells a ludicrous story which enlivens the prevailing dulness of his pamphlet. A gentleman, calling at the house of a neighbor of the tobacconist's, left his horse standing at the door. Somebody anointed the saddle with tar, mistaking the animal for Dr. Boylston's. The owner remounted and rode home unsuspecting, and thus he spoiled his breeches. Williams argues, with apparent seriousness, that the ministers ought to pay for the breeches, since it was through their influence that the Doctor had so acted as to incur the trickster's enmity.¹ Another of his anecdotes deserves quoting as a specimen of town talk:—"A Master of a Vessel . . . says, That he saw a Doctor at Alexandria, for inoculating the Small Pox into Eight Persons, tryed before their Senate, and being found guilty, was sentenced to be mounted on an Ass, and at the Corner of every Street to be bastinado'd on his Feet, in his way to the Place of Execution, where a Scaffold being built, he was executed."²

1. Pp. 12-13.

2. P. [iv].

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On the thirteenth of January, 1722, Douglass issued his *Inoculation of the Small Pox As practised in Boston, Consider'd in a Letter to A— S— M.D. & F. R. S.*¹ This is the first tract which he printed on the subject, though from the outset his pen had been busy with letters to the press and his tongue had never been idle. "A— S—" was Alexander Stuart, a friend of Douglass's student days on the Continent, to whom he had already written on September 25, 1721, inquiring what the English doctors thought of "this rash practice," and describing Mather as "a certain credulous Preacher of this place." Dr. Stuart had read the letter at a session of the Royal Society on November 16. The tract now published was still more personal and abusive. Mather is styled "a certain Reverend Gentleman" of Boston, "a Man of *Whim* and *Credulity*," who thought the epidemic "a fit Opportunity to make Experiments on his Neighbours, (which in Vanity he might judge acceptable to the Royal Society)." The pamphlet was anonymous, but there was no real attempt made to conceal its authorship. Douglass echoes the taunt of Mundungus about witchcraft, and improves on it by a reference to the

1. Printed and sold by J. Franklin, . . . 1722.

Quakers:—"All *Countrys*, or Bodys Politick, (our own Mother Country not excepted) have been subject to *Infatuations*: These in this Country seem always to have proceeded from some of those who call themselves *Sons of Levi*. The *Persecution of the Quakers* about the Year 1658, the *hanging of those suspected of Witchcraft*, about the Year 1691, &c. and *Inoculation*, or *Self-procuring the Small Pox*, in the Year 1721."¹

Six days after the publication, Mather remarks in his Diary (January 19): "The villanous Abuses offered and multiplied, unto the Ministers of this Place, require something to be done, for their Vindication. I provide Materials for some agreeable Pens among our People, to prosecute this Design withal." Accordingly, about February 5, 1722, there appeared at Boston an anonymous pamphlet entitled "A Vindication of the *Ministers* of Boston, from the Abuses & Scandals, lately cast upon them, in Diverse Printed Papers. By Some of their People."² It is meant as a reply

1. Inoculation . . . Consider'd, Introduction. The Introduction purports to be written by the publisher ("A Copy of this following Letter casually coming to hand, I could not forbear publishing it at this juncture") and may be from the pen of James Franklin, who "printed and sold" the book.

2. It is dated January 30, 1721-2, at the end, and was

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to Mundungus and also to divers communications (by Douglass and others) that had come out in the weekly journals, particularly in James Franklin's New-England Courant. The author of the Vindication has not been discovered. It was ascribed to Colman by Douglass, but Colman declared that he himself did not know "in the least what Person or Persons were concern'd in writing it," and Douglass acknowledged his mistake.¹ In the Courant of February 12 James Franklin defends himself at some length against this same tract, which he assumes to have been composed by one of the preachers—by *which* one, he does not say. The Vindication contains a well-deserved tribute to Mather, which incidentally asserts his right (then daily challenged by the Anti-Inoculators) to wear the coveted decoration F. R. S.—"That *eminent Person*, the *Learned* Dr. COTTON MATHER, *Fellow of the Royal Society* (who to his *honour*) was the principal *Instrument*, in promoting this Method among us: (and who now disdains to draw his **generous Pen** for his own *Vindication*, against the many foolish **Pamphlets** that are pointed at

mentioned as "a Pamphlet lately publish'd, under Colour of vindicating the Ministers" in the Courant of February 5 as "lately publish'd."

1. New-England Courant, No. 32, March 5-12, 1722.

him; and who changes not his *Temper* for all their invidious Calumnies)."¹

But Mather had by no means sheathed his generous pen. On February 2 he had written in his Diary that "much good may be done, by making an Extract of Dr. Harris's Prælection, *De Inoculatione Variolarum*;² and publishing it here." Such an extract was immediately prepared, either by Cotton Mather or by his father, and was sent by the latter to the Boston Gazette, which printed it on February 5th.³ On the 7th this was reissued, with additions, as an eight-page tract:—"Some further Account from London, of the Small-Pox Inoculated. The Second Edition. With some Remarks on a late Scandalous Pamphlet Entituled, Inoculation of the Small Pox as practis'd in Boston, &c. By Increase Mather, D.D." The aged minister had lost none of his fire. The author of Inoculation Consider'd—"it is said it was written by one whose Name is Douglas,"—"deserves to be scourged out of

1. P. 7.

2. Walter Harris, *De Peste Dissertatio* habita Apr. 17, 1721, cui accessit *Descriptio Inoculationis Variolarum*, London, 1721.

3. Some further account of the *Small Pox Inoculated*. "This is a true Extract, from the Original now in my Hands. Increase Mather." Dated "Jan. 31. 1721."

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the Country." Douglass ascribed some of the strictures, it seems, to Cotton Mather, for in the *Courant* of February 12 he prints the following reply:—

To Dr. C. M.

Boston, Feb. 10.

SIR,

YOUR Remarks &c. in a little Pamphlet published, last Wednesday requires no other Answer but this, Ill Language and brutal Manners reflect only on those who are guilty of them.

Yours,

W. D.

However, Douglass was not to be let off so easily. There was such a castigation preparing for him as he had never dreamed of. "Something must be done towards the Suppressing and Rebuking of those wicked Pamphletts, that are continually published among us, to lessen and blacken the Ministers, and poison the People. Several Things of an exquisite Contrivance and Composure, are done for this Purpose. Tho my poor Hand is the Doer of them, they must pass thro other Hands, that I may not pass for the Author of them." Thus writes Mather in his *Diary* on February 25 and 26, 1722. The inference is irresistible. These entries must refer to what is the most exhila-

rating of all the controversial pieces that the quarrel elicited:—A Friendly Debate; or, A Dialogue between Academicus; and Sawny & Mundungus. The dedication is dated February 15, and the pamphlet was actually published on March 6. This latter date is fixed by an item in the *Courant* of Monday, March 12 (No. 32): "The same Day," viz. last Tuesday, "in the Afternoon came out a *Second Part of the Vindication of Dr. C. M. &c.* by way of dog-grel *Dialogue*. The Printer and Book-seller not having affixed their Names, occasion'd a Suspicion of *Lying* and *Libelling*." It is called "the second part" by this news-writer as being an addendum to the *Vindication of the Ministers*, already described.

Academicus was Isaac Greenwood, afterwards (1727-1738) first Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at Harvard, who dedicates the tract "To my very Worthy Physician, Mr. Zabdiel Boylston" "E musæo meo," i.e. "from my study," for Greenwood was then a resident graduate at Harvard College. *Sawny* was the Scotchman Douglass, and *Mundungus* we recognize as John Williams the tobacconist-philosopher.

Though anonymous, *A Friendly Debate* has always been ascribed to Greenwood, who

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probably acknowledged it. The nature of this clever and abusive skit accords well with Mather's description of what he had done as "of an exquisite Contrivance," and I have no hesitation, on the strength of the entries just quoted from his Diary, in ascribing the book in large part to his pen—though Greenwood may have done enough work on it to justify him in fathering it.¹

The dialogue is frankly abusive, but by no means destitute of good sense and humor. Douglass is represented as speaking in a broad Scots dialect and he gets no mercy at the hands of Academicus. In an appendix the author pays his respects to Williams, giving us—amongst other pertinent material—A Mundungian Vocabulary made up of the tobacconist-apothecary's eccentric distortions of English spelling.

By an odd coincidence all this appeared on the afternoon of the same day (March 6) on which, in the forenoon, Douglass issued his second pamphlet:—"The Abuses and Scan-

1. The Rusticus dialogue (see p. 45, below) ascribes A Friendly Debate to "Mr. I. G." Mather's "assistance" is suggested by a contributor to the *Courant*, No. 32, March 5-12, 1722: "It can be no other than the Performance of some Ill-bred School-Boy (a Chip of the old Block) with the Assistance of the Author perhaps of an *Essay to shake of a Viper*, because several of the Ingredients are to be found nowhere but in his *Musæum* or Shop."

dals Of some late Pamphlets In Favour of Inoculation of the Small Pox, Modestly obviated, and Inoculation further consider'd in a Letter to A— S— M. D. & F. R. S.”¹ On the 21st, as nearly as we can determine, Douglass issued his brief reply to Academicus:—“Postscript to Abuses, &c. obviated. Being a Short and Modest Answer to Matters of Fact maliciously misrepresented in a late Doggrel Dialogue.”²

Another reply to Academicus appeared anonymously from James Franklin's press on March 15th—A Friendly Debate; or, A Dialogue between Rusticus and Academicus.³ The dedication, mockingly addressed “To the Very Reverend and Learned Cotton Mather, Fellow of the Royal Society,” burlesquing “E Musæo Meo,” is dated “*From the South Side of my Haystack*, March 9, 1721, 2.” The sting of this dedication lies in part in the fact that the Anti-Inoculators, or some of them, with Checkley at their head, were at this time doing their best

1. Dated at the end February 15, 1721-2. See *Courant*, No. 31 (February 21-March 5), No. 32 (March 5-12).

2. The *Courant* of Monday, March 12-19, No. 33, advertises it as to be published “on Wednesday next”; No. 34, March 19-26, as “Just publish’d.”

3. The *Courant* of Monday, March 12, 1722, announces it for “Thursday next.” The *Courant* of March 19 speaks of it as “just publish’d” and contains a letter with regard to it from Samuel Mather.

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to discredit Mather's claim to be styled F. R. S.

Boylston had continued to inoculate, at frequent intervals, until February 24, 1722, but the inoculations in January and February were all in Cambridge and Charlestown. Then he ceased until May 11, when he inoculated six persons.¹ In the interim the disease had died out in the town. On February 26 the Selectmen inserted in the *Courant* an official statement that nobody was then known to have it. On the 14th of April, however, they found it necessary to contradict a report current "in the Country Towns, that the Small Pox is again very brief in the Town, many persons now sick of that Distemper, and several lately dead," and they certified "that the Report is false and groundless, there being but three Folks now known to have the Small-Pox."² Those inoculated in May were removed to Spectacle Island in the harbor, where they all recovered. Boylston was sent for by the Selectmen and promised in open Town meeting to inoculate no more in Boston without license and approbation of the authorities.³ Thus ended the

1. *Historical Account*, pp. 36-38.

2. *News-Letter*, No. 950, April 9-16, 1722.

3. Fitz, pp. 323-324; Boylston, *Historical Account*, p. 38; *Boston Town Records*, May 15, 1722 (*Record Commissioners' Reports*, VIII, 165); *Selectmen's Minutes*, May 15, 1722 (*Reports*, XIII, 97-98).

successful experiment. The Selectmen's notice to this effect may be found in the *Courant* for May 21. The same number contains a letter, obviously from Douglass's pen, commenting in a hostile spirit on these occurrences: "Last January *Inoculation* made a sort of *Exit*, like the Infatuation Thirty Years ago, after several had fallen Victims to the mistaken Notions of Dr. M—r and other learned Clerks concerning Witchcraft. But finding Inoculation in this Town, like the Serpents in Summer, beginning to crawl abroad again the last Week, it was in time, and effectually crushed in the Bud, by the *Justices, Select-Men*, and the *unanimous Vote* of a general Town-Meeting."

Here we note Douglass's malicious coupling of Inoculation with the Witchcraft Outbreak of 1692, and the innuendo that there were "several" victims in this instance as there had been in the former. According to the best evidence,—Boylston's own, which was never contradicted,—but six persons died out of a total of 280 inoculated in Boston and the immediate vicinity. Douglass later made an attempt to increase the number,¹ but could only bring forward a single additional case.²

1. A Dissertation concerning Inoculation of the Small-Pox, 1730, pp. 14-15.

2. The "Housekeeper to Mr. G—bs Apothecary inoc-

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Smallpox was raging in England throughout the whole period of the Boston epidemic, and before and after, and the experiment of inoculation was tried in the mother country before it was tried in Boston. In 1718 (March 18) Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, whose husband was ambassador to the Sublime Porte, had her six-year-old son inoculated at Para near Constantinople,¹ and in the previous year she had written to a friend in England, expressing her purpose to introduce the practice on her return, though she thought she should have "to war" with the doctors.² Accordingly, late in April or early in May, 1721, she had Charles Maitland, who had been surgeon to the Embassy, inoculate her four-year-old daughter.³ Soon after we hear that Dr. Keith, who had been present, tried the operation on his son. But, so far as I can discover, no further

ulated by himself." This case is also mentioned by Captain John Osborne in his statement appended to Jurin's Letter to the Learned Caleb Cotesworth, 1723, p. 20.

1. Letter to Wortley Montagu (Belgrade, March 23, 1718); Charles Maitland, *Account of Inoculating the Small-Pox*, 2d ed., London, 1723, pp. 7-8.

2. Letter to Sarah Chiswell (Adrianople, April 1, O. S., 1717).

3. Walter Harris, *De Peste Dissertatio habita Apr. 17, 1721, cui accessit Descriptio Inoculationis Variolarum*, London, 1721, p. 45; Maitland, as above, p. 9.

experiments took place until August, when the experiment was successfully tried on seven condemned criminals in Newgate who had volunteered in consideration of pardon.¹ By this time Boylston had inoculated at least eleven persons in Boston, and by the end of September this number had grown to fifty-eight.

1. Boyer's Political State for August 21, XXII, 196: "About the Beginning of this Month the Experiment of INOCULATING the SMALL POX . . . was try'd here on seven Condemn'd Criminals in *Newgate*, with Probability of Success." Cf. a letter, manifestly from Douglass, in the New-England Courant, No. 39 (April 23-30, 1722), quoting a letter from a Physician of London (probably Alexander Stuart) "bearing date February 13. 1721, 2," as follows:—"Inoculation of the Small Pox, after some Struggle and Opposition, *begins* to get Footing, &c.—I was witness (with a great many more of the Physicians of this place) to the Inoculation of Seven, by the King's Order, in Newgate, who all recovered." Douglass adds: "By all Accounts we find, that it is with the greatest Deliberation and Caution, they venture at this Practice." The News-Letter, No. 925, October 16-23, 1721 (A. A. S.), had already a similar report from London, dated June 17, 1721, as to two Newgate prisoners who had offered themselves for this purpose on condition of receiving a pardon. The Gazette of October 16-23, 1721, No. 100, refers to this experiment. See Fitz, p. 322. A full account of the Newgate inoculation, which took place on August 9, 1722 O. S. (August 20 N. S.) and was repeated three days later, is given by the Königsberg physician M. E. Boretius, an eyewitness, in his *Observationum Exoticarum Specimen Primum*, Königsberg, 1722 (reprinted in Haller, *Disputationes ad Morborum Historiam et Curationem Facientes*, Lausanne, 1758, Part IV, Tom. V, pp. 671 ff.). Cf. George Harris, *Life of Lord Chancellor Hardwick*, I, 116-117; Sir Hans Sloane, *Philosophical Transactions*, XLIX, 517.

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From this time the process gained steadily in England. Up to February 20, 1723, there had been inoculated in and about London 145 persons, and in all England (London included) 182.¹ With these figures we must contrast Boylston's record of 247 from June 26, 1721, to May 11, 1722.² Among the English patients were the Princesses Amelia and Caroline, who were successfully inoculated at St. James's by one of the Royal Surgeons on April 17, 1722.³ Such an example was decisive. Douglass writes, in 1730: "The *Royal Family* by their Example, have obviated the Suspicion, which made the practitioners here [in Boston] decline it formerly, I mean of its being Criminal."⁴

The opposition in England, though not so riotous, was quite as bitter as in Boston, and it

1. Jurin, A Letter To the Learned Caleb Cotesworth, M.D., London, 1723, p. 5.

2. Boylston, An Historical Account, 2d ed., Boston, 1730, p. 32.

3. Boyer's Political State for April, 1722, XXIII, 434. The Weekly Journal or Saturday's Post, London, May 12, 1722, has the following item:—"The young Princesses, who were inoculated for the Small-Pox on Tuesday last was three Weeks, have had it favourably, and are now look'd upon to be out of Danger." See also Sloane, Philosophical Transactions, XLIX, 518-519.

4. A Dissertation concerning Inoculation of the Small-Pox, 1730, pp. 25-26.

betrayed a like stubbornness in some physicians and a like blindness of bigotry in some clergymen. These considerations should weigh with those historians who are fond of insisting on the alleged pedantry and provincialism of the Massachusetts intellectuals in this period as contrasted with those of any earlier generation. Dr. William Wagstaffe, F. R. S., the famous wit, who was one of the physicians of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, in *A Letter to Dr. Freind; shewing The Danger and Uncertainty of Inoculating the Small Pox*, accepted Dalhonde's sensational stories¹ and quoted Douglass's letters with respect. This Letter was written in June, 1722, and thus followed by about two months the successful inoculation of the royal princesses. As for the scruples of conscience, no Boston utterance could outvie in passion or absurdity the discourse delivered at St. Andrew's, Holborn, by the Rev. Edmund Massey on July 8 in the same year, as to which the *New-England Courant* of September 24 reports (from London) that

1. London, 1722, pp. 35-37. The Letter is dated June 12, 1722. The extracts from Douglass are given in an appendix and are introduced by a complimentary remark:—"Since I finished this, I have had the perusal of some Letters, which Dr. *Alexander Stuart* has received from Dr. *William Douglass*, a Physician of the best Credit and Practice at *Boston* in *New England*."

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it was "an excellent Sermon, . . . shewing the Impiety of the modern Practice of inoculating the Small Pox."

"Let the *Atheist*," cried Massey, "and the *Scoffer*, the *Heathen* and *Unbeliever*, disclaim a Dependence upon Providence, dispute the Wisdom of God's Government, and deny Obedience to his Laws: Let them *Inoculate*, and be *Inoculated*, whose Hope is only in, and for *this Life*!"¹ In his eagerness to ascribe inoculation to a Satanic origin, he even maintained that the devil himself was the first inoculator when he "smote Job with sore boils from the sole of his foot unto his crown." Maitland, the surgeon who had performed the first inoculations in London, replied to both Wagstaffe and Massey in a tract, dedicated to Sir Hans Sloane, which is of special interest to us because it not only quotes extensively from Cotton Mather's letter of March 10, 1722, but appends the full text of that important document.²

Certain statements in the letter subjected

1. A Sermon against the Dangerous and sinful Practice of Inoculation, Boston, 1730, from the third London edition, p. 31.

2. Mr. Maitland's Account of Inoculating the Small Pox Vindicated, From Dr. Wagstaffe's Misrepresentations of that Practice, with some Remarks on Mr. Massey's Sermon, London, 1722. The dedication is signed "Charles Maitland."

Mather to further abuse from Douglass, though Maitland had thought them worthy of special notice.

Your Dr Leigh, in his *naturall History of Lancashire*, counts it an occurrence worth relating, that there where some Catts known to catch the Small Pox, & pass regularly thro' the state of it, & then to Dy,¹ Wee have had among us the very same Occurrence.

It was generally observ'd, & Complain'd, that the *Pidgeon Houses* of the City continued unfruitfull, & the Pidgeons did not Hatch or lay as they used to do, all the while that the *Small Pox* was in its Epidemical Progress. And it is very strongly affirm'd, that our Dunghill Fowl, felt much of the like effect upon them.²

Douglass cites these remarks in his Dissertation (1730),³ and again in his Summary (1751),⁴ as instances of Mather's credulity, asserting that it is contrary to medical science to believe that the lower animals are susceptible to human maladies. But here again, as so oft-

1. The Natural History of Lancashire, Cheshire, and the Peak, in Derbyshire . . . By Charles Leigh, Doctor of Physick, Oxford, 1677, Book II, p. 7. Dr. William Woodville in the latter part of the eighteenth century made unsuccessful attempts to inoculate dogs, rabbits, fowls, etc. (see his *History of Inoculation of the Small-Pox in Great Britain*, London, 1796, I, 3, note b).

2. Contemporary copy, Sloane MS. 3324, fol. 260 (British Museum).

3. P. 8.

4. II, 411.

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en, Mather shows himself in advance of his time in the general principle, whatever may be thought of these particular cats or of the liability of any cats to this particular disease.

Though the introduction of the practice into England preceded by about two months its introduction into Massachusetts, the activity of Boylston and Mather was independent of the London practice, of which they knew nothing until they were well under way. In fact, the Colonial experiments were watched with intense interest by the English physicians. Douglass was continually writing to his friend Dr. Stuart in opposition to the method and was unsparing in his scorn of Mather and Boylston. We have four such letters in whole or in part. His first letter (September 25, 1721) was read before the Royal Society on November 16, 1721, but has never been printed.¹ The other three were shown by Stuart to Wagstaffe, who appended large extracts to his diatribe just mentioned.²

The other side of the story was sedulously

1. Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Publications, XIV, 103.

2. Of these three letters the first two (dated December 20, 1721, and February 15, 1721-2) were printed by Douglass as *Inoculation . . . Consider'd* and *The Abuses and Scandals*. The third is known only from Wagstaffe's extract. See Massachusetts Historical Proceedings, XLV, 457.

brought to English attention by Cotton Mather. On August 17, 1721, when the experiment was well under way (Boylston having inoculated seventeen patients without losing one), Mather records an idea, as under consideration, of preparing a treatise to recommend inoculation, on the basis of his own "Notable Experience," in such a way that "it may be introduced into the English Nation, and a World of good may be done to the miserable Children of Men." The treatise was finished by September 7 and was sent to Jeremiah Dummer, then Agent for the Colony in England, who published it at London early in 1722 with a dedication to Sir Hans Sloane and the College of Physicians,¹ under the title of *An Account of the Method and Success of Inoculating the Small-Pox, in Boston, in New-England. In a Letter from a Gentleman there, to his Friend in London.* By Mather's request the author's name was withheld, but it was probably no secret in learned circles. Certain passages from the letter of 1716 to Woodward and from the Boylston tract are reproduced, and there are striking resemblances to various entries that we find in his Diary. The book exerted considerable influence in England,

1. Dated February 23, 1721 (i.e. 1722).

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where the American experiment was henceforth watched with vivid interest. Dr. Samuel Brady, Physician to the Garrison at Portsmouth, refers to it with respect in his reply to Wagstaffe,¹ and Daniel Neal quoted it several times in 1722 in his Historical Introduction and Notes to the London edition of the Rev. Benjamin Colman's Narrative.

Another paper from Mather's hand, drawn up in November, 1721, was communicated to the Royal Society by Henry Newman and printed in the Philosophical Transactions for January-March, 1722.² It was designed in the first instance for circulation in manuscript among the New England physicians, but a copy was sent to England as an additional report, supplementary to the Dummer tract. It is entitled *The way of proceeding in the Small Pox inoculated in New England*. It gives an account of Boylston's method of inoculation, which was in some respects an improvement upon that reported from the Orient.

1. *Some Remarks upon Dr. Wagstaffe's Letter, and Mr. Massey's Sermon against Inoculating the Small-Pox: with An Account of the Inoculation of several Children; and Some Reasons for the Safety and Security of that Practice. In Three Letters to a Friend. By Samuel Brady, M. D. London, 1722.*

2. No. 370, XXXII, 33-35.

Again, on March 10, Mather addressed a letter, entitled *Curiosa Variolarum*, to Dr. John Woodward. Jurin quotes it several times in his Letter to Cotesworth, included in the *Philosophical Transactions* for November and December, 1722 (and issued as a separate tract in 1723),¹ and it was printed in full in Mr. Maitland's *Account of Inoculating the Small Pox Vindicated* (London, 1722).² There is a contemporary copy among the Sloane Manuscripts in the British Museum (No. 3324, fol. 260). To the Letter to Cotesworth is appended a signed account of inoculation in Boston from the pen of Captain John Osborne³ which, as Jurin remarks, confirms Mather's statements and gives further details. Osborne sums up by saying: "There were in all at least 280 Persons

1. A Letter To the Learned Caleb Cotesworth, M. D., . . . Containing a Comparison Between the Mortality of the Natural Small Pox, and that Given by Inoculation, London, 1723.

2. Pp. 58-61. This publication of the letter in Maitland's tract has escaped the notice of Mather students. The tract itself is ascribed to Arbuthnot—I do not know why—by de la Condamine, *Histoire de l'Inoculation de la Petite Vérole* (Amsterdam, 1773), vol. I, part I, p. 10, note *b*: "Le Docteur Arbuthnot, sous le nom du Docteur Maitland, réfuta Wagstaffe en 1722." No author's name is given in the title-page, but Maitland signs the dedication to Sir Hans Sloane.

3. Osborne's statement was procured for Jurin by Dr. Nesbitt.

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inoculated, that I knew of, and I suppose there might be about 20 or 30 more." He and his wife were inoculated by Boylston on October 30, 1721.¹ The Plymouth (England) Weekly Journal or General Post for December 1-8, 1721, prints a pertinent item:—"We have receiv'd Letters from good Hands from Boston in New England, that during the Height of the Small-Pox in that Town, near Three Hundred persons had been inoculated for the same, every one of which had recovered."

Another communication from Mather to the Royal Society—The Case of the Small-Pox Inoculated; further Cleared. To Dr James Jurin—exists in a holograph draught among the Mather MSS. in the library of the American Antiquarian Society and in a signed copy in the archives of the Royal Society. It was finished on May 4, 1723, and possesses considerable interest, though it has never seen the light of print. The tribute to Douglass which it embodies is worth quoting:—"I shall say nothing about the too well known Morals of y^e Man. But if his Rapsodies have reached you, I shall be guilty of a Fault, & be wanting to the Truth, if I do not inform you & assure you, that there are many *Gross Falsities* in them;

1. Boylston, Historical Account, 1726, p. 20.

and scarce a Word that he sais, is to be relied upon."¹

English opinion was also influenced by the tracts of Colman and Cooper. These, as I have already noted, were reprinted in London and in Dublin in 1722, with a commendatory introduction by the Rev. Daniel Neal. We learn, too, that Jurin praised Cooper's little book in a letter to Henry Newman (not known to exist):—"One may, I think, in that little Tract, see the Philosopher and Physician, as well as the modest and humble Divine."²

Douglass was irritated at the stir which American inoculation made in England. He writes to the *Courant*, in May, 1722: "By the Accounts from *England*, we find the Inoculators of this Place, to ensnare our Mother Country, have sent home, and industriously had published, sundry false Communications concerning the Small Pox, and the Inoculation thereof."³ One of these was the Dummer tract, which he mentions.

The importance of Bostonian initiative in this matter is further emphasized by Boylston's

1. MS. draught, p. 15 (A. A. S.)

2. Ebenezer Turell, *The Life and Character of the Reverend Benjamin Colman*, Boston, 1749, p. 78, note.

3. Unsigned letter in the *New-England Courant*, No. 42, May 14-21, 1722.

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personal experience in the mother country. He sailed for England in December, 1724, having given due notice of his departure in a curious advertisement in the *Courant* of November 16:—

¶ Doctor Zabdiel Boylston being bound for London in Capt. Barlow,¹ who sails in about a Month's time, desires all Persons to whom he is indebted to bring in their Accounts and receive their Money; and also desires those that are indebted to him to pay their respective Debts, or that have any Accounts unsettled, to adjust the same. And if any Persons have any Bears Grease to sell, the said Boylston will give them 8s. per Gallon, for more or less.²

Boylston spent more than a year in England, where he was well received by the leading physicians. Since he had inoculated more persons than any English surgeon, it was only natural that, shortly before his return to Boston, he should have been "importuned by a great and worthy Physician"—Sir Hans Sloane, apparently,—to publish "an Account of [his] Practice." He also received a "Message from a superior Person" to the same effect. Probably this was the Princess of Wales, who had

1. Barlow "cleared out for London" on December 19 (*Courant*, No. 177, for December 16-21) or December 23 (*News-Letter*, No. 1091, for December 17-24).

2. See also the *Courant*, Nos. 173, 174 (November 16-23, 23-30, 1724).

been a patroness of inoculation from the outset.¹ Accordingly, in 1726, there was published *An Historical Account of the Small-Pox Inoculated in New-England, Upon all Sorts of Persons, Whites, Blacks, and of all Ages and Constitutions . . . Humbly dedicated to her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, by Zabdiel Boylston, Physician.*

Boylston gives a candid narrative of the whole affair, including a list of the persons inoculated (with names) and a brief report of symptoms and treatment. The total for Boston and vicinity is 286:—247 inoculated by Boylston, 11 by Dr. Thomas Robie of Roxbury,² 28 by Dr. Thompson of Cambridge. In six cases there was no result, "by Reason they had had it before," and there were six deaths. There were 5759 persons "who had the Small-Pox in the natural Way, out of which Number died 844." We may note that in England the mortality, as calculated by Jurin on the basis of about 18,000 cases, was nearly one in six,

1. See letters from Boylston to Sloane, 1726, in Sloane MS. 4048, fols. 238, 241 (British Museum); copies in Gay Transcripts, *Miscellaneous Papers*, Vol. II (Massachusetts Historical Society).

2. Some remarks by Robie on inoculation (from a letter dated Salem, June 4, 1723) were published in the *Philosophical Transactions* for March and April, 1724, No. 382, XXXIII, 67.

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and that the same authority found "the Hazard of Dying of Inoculation, to Persons who have this Operation perform'd upon them in perfect Health" to be "unquestionably less than one in fifty two."¹

Though inoculation began in Boston without any influence from the English practice, and progressed, as we have seen, so much more rapidly here than in the mother country, yet the Boston inoculators were prompt to use reports from England to further their cause. One bit of news precipitated a veritable tempest in a teapot. On the first day of January, 1722, the *Courant* printed an item which it had received from Increase Mather:—

From the London Mercury Sept. 16.

Great Numbers of Persons, in the City, and in the Suburbs, are under the Inoculation of the Small Pox. Among the rest, the eldest Son of a Noble Duke in Hanover-Square, had the Small Pox Inoculated on him.

Noble dukes were personages in those days, and the Anti-Inoculators were much excited. In the next number of the *Courant* a correspondent (probably Douglass) declared that the item had been shamefully garbled. "I have

1. Jurin, *An Account of the Success of Inoculating the Small-Pox in Great-Britain, for the Year 1726*, London, 1727, pp. 23-25.

perused that London News Paper," he wrote, "and do find that the former part, *viz. Great Numbers of Persons in the City and in the Suburbs are under the Inoculation of the Small Pox*, is an Addition of his own, and that the very material word *Incognito* is designedly omitted" at the end.¹ On February 5, however, James Franklin was forced to admit that the item was genuine, since the missing sentence did in fact occur in the Mercury on another page. The incident proves the fire and fury with which our ancestors debated their differences of opinion.

In 1730, when the smallpox was again prevalent in Boston, Boylston's book was reprinted there with corrections. By this time the practice had pretty well established itself, though there was still opposition enough to justify a local publisher in reprinting Massey's extraordinary sermon. Even Douglass, who issued a Dissertation on the subject in this year, felt obliged to admit that "this *Method*, to speak impartially, is a considerable improvement in *Physick*."² He finds that "the *Practitioners in Town do generally resolve to perform this Operation when required* [i.e., when requested], but with-

1. Cf. Douglass, Postscript to Abuses, &c. obviated, [1722,] p. 6.

2. A Dissertation concerning Inoculation of the Small-Pox, p. 9.

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out perswading or diswading."¹ Clearly the request was frequently made, for Dr. Nathanael Williams inoculated sixty-five patients in 1730, only one of whom died, as he tells us himself in his posthumously printed essay on *The Method and Practice of the Small-Pox* (Boston 1752).² Dr. Williams was one of the physicians who had opposed the practice in 1721, and in 1730 he "entered upon it with the utmost *Caution*."³ But Douglass was a good hater, and he could not forget the belaboring he had received from Mather and Mather's aides. Boylston he denounces as a quack, and asserts that his "accounts" of inoculation are "jejune, lame, suspected, and only in the nature of a Quack Bill" or poster.⁴ As for Cotton Mather, Douglass avers that he "set an undaunted Operator to work" that he "might have the honour of a Newfangled notion." His "foible," he tells us, was "credulity,"⁵ and he reiterated the offensive word "credulous" in 1751, when Mather had been dead for more than twenty years.⁶

1. P. 26.

2. P. 16.

3. P. 13.

4. *A Dissertation concerning Inoculation of the Small-Pox*, 1730, p. 10.

5. Pp. 2, 8.

6. Summary, 1751, II, 409.

Fortunately we have a strong contrast to the undying rancor of the doughty Douglass in the relations between Benjamin Franklin and Zabdiel Boylston. In 1736 Franklin lost his four-year-old son Francis by smallpox. A report was current that the boy died as the result of inoculation. This Franklin denies in a signed statement printed in his own newspaper, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of December 13, in which he expresses the belief that inoculation is "a safe and beneficial Practice," and adds: "I intended to have my child inoculated as soon as he should have recovered sufficient strength from a Flux with which he had been long afflicted." In his *Autobiography* he records his bitter regret that this was not done. His daughter Sally was inoculated in 1746.¹ In 1759 he published, in London, *Some Account Of the Success of Inoculation for the Small-Pox in England and America*, to which are appended Dr. William Heberden's directions for treatment. Franklin remarks:—"Notwithstanding the now uncontroverted success of Inoculation, it does not seem to make that progress among the common people in *America*, which at first was expected. *Scruples of con-*

1. Pepper, *The Medical Side of Benjamin Franklin*, Philadelphia, 1911, p. 15; cf. pp. 26, 27, 34-39.

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science weigh with many, concerning the *lawfulness* of the practice . . . These *scruples* a *sensible Clergy* may in time remove."¹ In 1783 Boylston's grandnephew, Ward Nicholas Boylston, was presented to Franklin in France, and he gives a most gratifying account of his interview with the great philosopher who, when a boy, had been a humble but active agent in the newspaper attacks on the pioneer inoculator. On hearing his name, Franklin said:—

"I shall ever revere the name of Boylston; Sir, are you of the family of Dr. Zabdiel Boylston of Boston?" to which I replied that he was my great uncle, "then, Sir, I must tell you I owe everything I now am to him. . . . When Dr. Boylston was in England, I was there reduced to the greatest distress, a youth without money, friends or counsel. I applied in my extreme distress to him, who supplied me with twenty guineas; and, relying on his judgment, I visited him as opportunities offered, and by his fatherly counsels and encouragements I was saved from the abyss of destruction which awaited me, and my future fortune was based upon his parental advice and timely assistance. Sir, I beg you will visit me as often as you find you have leisure while in Paris."²

In the history of preventive medicine, Zab-

1. P. 5.

2. New England Historical and Genealogical Register, XXXV, 150-151; Fitz, p. 325. Franklin does not mention Dr. Boylston in his Autobiography.

diel Boylston and Cotton Mather divide honors. Neither could have accomplished anything without the other, and their faithful and undaunted coöperation forms one of the most creditable episodes in our early annals.

G. L. KITTREDGE.

Cambridge,
August 11, 1920.

Several Reasons, &c.

Secretal Research, Co.

Several REASONS

Proving that Inoculating or Transplanting the *Small Pox*, is a Lawful Practice, and that it has been Bleffed by GOD for the Saving of many a Life.

By *Increase Mather*, D.D.

Exod. XX. 13. *Thou shalt not kill.*

Gal. I. 10. *Do I seek to please Men? if I please Men, I should not be a Servant of CHRIST.*

It has been Questioned, Whether *Inoculating* the *Small Pox* be a Lawful Practice. I incline to the Affirmative, for these Reasons.

I. **B**Ecaufe I have read, that in *Smyrna*, *Constantinople*, and other Places, Thousands of Lives have been saved by Inoculation, and not one of Thousands has miscarried by it. This is related by Wise & Learned Men who would not have imposed on the World a false Narrative. Which also has been published by the *Royal Society*; therefore a great Regard is due to it.

II. WE hear that several *Physicians* have Recommended the Practice hereof to His Majesty, as a Means to preserve the Lives of his Subjects, and that His Wise and Excellent Majesty King GEORGE, as also his *Royal Highness* the Prince have approved hereof, and that it is

now coming into practice in the Nation. In one of the Publick Prints are these Words, "*Inoculating the Small Pox is a safe and universally Useful Experiment.* Several Worthy Persons lately arrived from *England* inform us, that it is a successful Practice there: If Wise & Learned Men in *England*, declare their Approbation of this *Practice*, for us to declare our Disapprobation will not be for our Honour.

III. GOD has graciously owned the *Practice of Inoculation*, among us in *Boston*, where some Scores, yea above an hundred have been *Inoculated*, & not one miscarried; but they Bless GOD, for His discovering this Experiment to them. It has been objected, that one that was Inoculated, died, viz. Mrs. D——ll: but she had the *Small Pox*, in the common way before, & her Friends and nearest Relations declare that she received no hurt by *Inoculation*, but was by a fright put into Fits that caused her Death. It is then a wonderful Providence of GOD, that all that were *Inoculated* should have their Lives preserved; so that the Safety and Usefulness of this Experiment is confirmed to us by Ocular Demonstration: I confess I am afraid, that the Discouraging of this Practice, may cause many a Life to be lost, which for my own part, I should be loth to have any hand in, *because of the Sixth Commandment.*

IV. IT cannot be denied but that some Wise and Judicious Persons among us, approve of

Inoculation, both *Magistrates* and *Ministers*; Among Ministers I am One, who have been a poor Preacher of the Gospel in *Boston* above Threescore Years, and am the most Aged, Weak and unworthy Minister now in *New-England*. My Sentiments, and my Son's also, about this *Matter* are well known. Also we hear that the Reverend and Learned Mr. *Solomon Stoddard* of *Northampton* concurs with us; so doth the Reverend Mr. *Wise* of *Ipswich*, and many other younger Divines, not only in *Boston*, but in the Country, joyn with their Fathers. Furthermore, I have made some Enquiry, Whether there are many Persons of a Prophane Life and Conversation, that do Approve and Defend *Inoculation*, and I have been answered, that they know but of very few such. This is to me a weighty Consideration. But on the other hand, tho' there are some Worthy Persons, that are not clear about it; nevertheless, it cannot be denied, but that the known Children of the Wicked one, are generally fierce Enemies to Inoculation. It is a grave saying of Old *Seneca*, *Pessimi Argumentum Turba est*. For my part I should be ashamed to joyn with such Persons; *O my Soul come not thou into their Secret, unto their Assembly be not thou United*. I am far from reflecting upon all that are against *Inoculation*. I know there are very worthy Persons (with whom I desire to Live and Die) that are not clear in their Judgments for it, and they are

greatly to be commended and honoured in that they will not act against a doubting Conscience; yet it may be some of them might change their minds, if they would advise with those who are best able to afford them Scripture Light in this as well as in other Cases of Conscience.

Novemb. 20. 1721.

That the Cause may have Two Witnesfes, here are subjoyned the Sentiments of another, well known in our Churches, of which I declare my hearty Approbation.

Sentiments on the Small Pox Inoculated.

A most Successful, and Allowable Method of preventing Death, and many other grievous Miseries, by the Small Pox, is not only Lawful but a Duty, to be used by those who apprehend their Lives immediately endanger'd by the terrible Distemper.

But the Method of managing and governing the Small Pox in the way of Inoculation, is a most successful and allowable Method of preventing Death, and many other grievous Miseries by this dreadful Distemper. Therefore, 'tis not only Lawful, but also a Duty to make use of it. None but very foolish, and very wicked People will deny the Proposition in this Argument; The Assumption

is all that is disputed. But now, That this is a most Successful Method we have all the Evidence that Humane Reason can ask for.

Men of Honour, and Learning, and Incontestible Veracity, not one or two, but a considerable Number of them, agree in the Relation they give us, of its being used with constant Success in the Levant. It has been used upon vast Multitudes, even many Thousands, and for some Scores of Years: And when regularly used, it yet appears not, that ever one Person miscarried of it, or had the Small Pox after it. We have sufficient Proofs that it is a growing Practice in those Countries. If it had been unsuccessful, or been attended with bad Consequences, it must needs have been put out of Countenance, and have ceased long ago. Such Testimonies on the other side, as our People have been frightened withal, are not worth a Straw. No Man of sense that Considers them can lay weight upon them: Ask us not, why we say so!

And we have an Army of Africans among ourselves, who have themselves been under it, and given us all the Assurance, which a Rational Mind can desire, that it has long been used with the like Success in Africa. Yea, Behold, ye yourselves have seen it. The Operation has been performed on an Hundred & more, in the Town of Boston: And not one of them has miscarried: They have every one of them hitherto done well. They all give Thanks to our Merciful Redeemer for leading them into it. They would every one of them rather undergo it

again, and many times over, than suffer the Small Pox as People ordinarily suffer it in the common way of Infection. The Story of one Dying after it, is trump'd up with so much folly and falsehood, that it is unworthy to have any Answer given to it. In fine; Experience has declared, that there never was a more unfailing Remedy employed among the Children of Men.

That this is an Allowable Method, is plain; Because there can be no Objection brought against it, but what will also lie against the use of almost all the preventing Physick, that is used in the World. The Objector must maintain, That it is unlawful for a Man, who would preserve his Life and Health, to make himself Sick in a way that constantly tends to Preservation. But a very Familiar Case will so illustrate the Matter, as to put it beyond all Dispute. Suppose, There is a Bloody Flux prevailing in the Town where I live, which proves Mortal to a great part of them that have it; many more than Four Hundred perish by it in a Month. A Physician is Master of a Purge; which whosoever takes it, is in an ordinary way, delivered from the danger of that Mortal Distemper. An Artificial Purge seasonably taken saves him from Death by the Natural Purge, which he is exposed unto. Will any scruple the taking of this Artificial Purge? Surely, None but such as want a Purge of Hellebore. Here the Man makes Himself Sick, while He is well: and thinks that he is not the whole who has no need of a Physician, while he has the

Humours in him which render him obnoxious to a Deadly Sickness. He won't think it his Duty to stay till God send the Sickness in another way upon him; when it will be too late for him to seek relief; But he will give Thanks to GOD for teaching him, how to make himself Sick, in a way that will save his Life. He most properly takes GOD's Time to fall Sick: He does it seasonably, and in the Time when GOD has commanded him to do it.

Many Good People, who are sensible how weak their own Judgments are, will for a Case of Conscience be much assisted by the Judgments of the most able Divines in the Country. Now every Body knows how they concur in their approbation of this Practice.

The Design and the Spirit, (evidently of no good Original) with which the fierce opposition to this Practice is carried on will also go a great way towards determining of Good People in Favour of it. The Conclusion will be Victorious; That when People have their Lives endangered by the Small Pox hovering about them, they not only may use the Method of Inoculation, to save their Lives, but they even ought to do it, if they can. They keep not in good Terms with the Sixth Commandment, if they do it not.

INFERENCES.

I. **H**ence the Physicians may do well to beware, of going too far, and of taking wrong steps, for the frightening of People from this Practice, lest

they Unawares have more to answer for than Men of their Profession should be willing to.

II. *Hence, the Parents, and Masters, and Husbands and Wives, whose Relatives have beg'd as for their Lives, that they might have leave to save their Lives, by this Method, should not by their obstinate Violence hinder them from it, least on the Loss of their Lives they have sad matter of Reflection left unto them.*

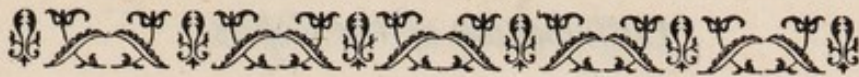
III. *Hence, a People will do well, not to be too hasty in Resolves, that should forbid their Neighbours, to do what God has made their Duty for the Preservation of their Lives in this Method; lest they do in Effect forbid Obedience to the Sixth Commandment. Especially, when the Bugbear of the Pestilential Consequences, is a Falshood, that has not the least shadow of Reason for it, and has the Experience of all the Countries under Heaven, where they use the Inoculation, to confute it. Nor has it ever been known of Later Ages, that the Plague ever began any where but in the East-Indies, from whence it has always been brought unto the Western World. And when the King, and Prince, and most Eminent Physicians in London and Dublin, and elsewhere, have declared their Approbation of it; it seems not much for our Honour, to declare that we disapprove it.*

IV. *Hence to Rave, and Rail with such bitter Execrations, as are too commonly used, against the Ministers, and other serious Christians, who favour this Practice, is a very crying Iniquity; and*

to call it a Work of the Devil, and a going to the Devil, is a shocking Blasphemy; and much more likely to bring the Plague among us, than the Practice, which they so ignorantly and maliciously do charge with such Imaginary Consequences.

FINIS.

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