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LIPSCOMB'S
DISSERTATION

ON

The Failure and Mischiefz of

COW-POX,

&c. &c.

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A

DISSERTATION

ON THE

FAILURE AND MISCHIEFS

OF THE DISEASE CALLED THE

Cow-Pox:

IN WHICH

THE PRINCIPAL ARGUMENTS ADDUCED

IN FAVOUR

OF

VACCINATION

By Drs. Jenner, Pearson, Woodville, Lettsom, Thornton, & Adams,

ARE EXAMINED, AND CONFUTED.

BY GEORGE LIPSCOMB, SURGEON.

PROCUMBIT HUMI BOS!

VIRG.

LONDON:

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PREFACE.

THE vast body of evidence now before the Public of the occurrence of the Small-pox after Cow-pox, and of the mischievous, and even fatal consequences which have followed Vaccination, might seem to render all farther remarks unnecessary :— but, as the *Jennerian* Society still exists, and the friends of Vaccination continue to pursue the same course, and with nearly the same ardent zeal, which distinguished them in the earlier stages of the business, notwithstanding the evil tendency and consequences which have been so abundantly manifested ;—I have thought that it might be not altogether useless to expose the fallacy of the doctrines delivered by the *principal writers* in favour of Vaccination, in such a manner as to leave those Practitioners who may hereafter persist in so dangerous and ineffectual a practice totally without excuse ; at least until an entirely new theory can be substituted in the place of that which has been thus confuted.

The principal publications which are noticed in the following pages are those of Dr. Jenner; Mr. Henry Jenner; the late Dr. Woodville; Dr. Thornton; Dr. Lettfoam, and Dr. Adams. I hope that nothing illiberal or personal has escaped my pen:—its freedom is justified by the subject, which involves the common interests of the whole human race; and, although it was not my intention to write sarcastically, the reasoning and remarks which I have had occasionally to combat, have, I must confess, sometimes almost irresistibly excited ridicule; so that, as Juvenal said, “*difficile est satiram non scribere.*”

I have no desire to provoke further controversy; and certainly shall not condescend to reply to an anonymous opponent: but if any or either of the parties concerned should feel disposed to defend their former observations, or to animadvert on mine, I shall not shrink from an impartial investigation of the arguments which they may advance; nor will I attribute to myself so much sluggishness of invention, or barrenness of intellect, as entirely to disqualify me for doing justice

to the importance of the undertaking: but it shall be my endeavour to answer them with candour; and to treat them severally, *according to their own sense of good breeding.*

Besides the respectable Practitioners whose publications are noticed and examined in these pages, there are others who have *signalized* themselves on the subject of Cow-pox: but it not having been my fortune to discover either much originality or much importance in their remarks, I have abstained from any animadversions on them, not out of disrespect to the individuals concerned, but because, in subduing the arguments of the learned persons whose performances are particularized in the following Dissertation, I presume it will be seen that the foundation of all the reasoning by which others have attempted to support and defend the doctrines of Vaccination is also completely destroyed. I am more solicitous about truth than the reputation of any writer, or the glory of any name: I hope, therefore, it will not be expected that ceremony should disarm criticism in me; or that respect for splendid talents, or

distinguished ingenuity, can restrain deserved censure, when I know and feel that by a just application of it not only the interests of science may be promoted, but the *divine* work of preserving life and health: for “ Homines ad Deos nullâ re
 “ propriùs accedunt, quam salutem Hominibus
 “ dando.”

Frith-street, Dec. 4, }
 1805. }

G. L.

DISSERTATION,

&c. &c.

AT the commencement of the practice of Vaccination, it was truly said * that the Cow-pox was a subject not to be soon exhausted. It may however be doubted, whether the consideration of it has not been extended even beyond the limits which either its most zealous advocates, or its most determined opposers, had originally in their contemplation. The former flattered themselves, that their sanguine hopes would be immediately realized; and the latter, that a fair statement of reasonable objections was all that could be requisite to subvert the hypotheses of their antagonists. Both parties were disappointed: the hopes of the one were baffled by a vast variety of adverse events, which increased the scepticism of the doubtful;

* Dr. Pearson's "Statement" &c.

and of the other, by the influence of a sort of mental infatuation, which seemed to paralyse the faculties of those who might have been expected to investigate so important a subject with deep and serious attention. In the early stages of the controversy to which Vaccination gave rise, there were occasionally brought forward many new arguments, which seem not to have been thought of at the time of its original promulgation; and these arguments incessantly provoked fresh opposition, until the debates and discussions on both sides have been extended to an immeasurable length; and, like radii diverging from a common centre, when broken in their course, have crossed each other in every possible angle of obliquity. Thus a wide field has been opened alike to the friend of science and the lover of controversy: and whatever may be the fate of the original question, some good may be naturally expected from the various literary efforts which it has called forth; for so much collision must elicit at least a few sparks of celestial fire: and, although it is not every writer on this fashionable and hackneyed subject, who can justly claim a large portion of applause, there are few but may be said, either directly or indirectly, to have contributed to the service of the public, if not by controverting error themselves, by provoking opposition to it in others.

In a former publication *, it was my endeavour (and I hope not altogether without success) to express myself in a familiar and popular manner, in order that the comparative merit of Variolous and Vaccine Inoculation might be rendered perfectly intelligible to those who are unconnected with the medical profession; many of whom have been seduced into a mistaken confidence in the safety and security of the *Jennerian* practice, by artful sophistry, disguised under the veil of candour.

I shall pursue the same method in the following pages; but, although I think it my duty to expose the fallacy of the principal arguments which have been adduced by the friends and promoters of Vaccination, to confute unjustifiable opinions, and to subdue the inconclusive reasoning, which has been incautiously allowed to influence the minds of many well-meaning persons: I desire that I may be rightly understood, as not intending any personal disrespect to those on whose opinions, arguments, and reasoning, I am induced to animadvert.

There is not a practitioner in England who bears a more becoming respect for superior genius and learning than myself; nor one who entertains more candid and liberal sentiments towards his

* Inoculation for the Small-pox vindicated: and its superior Efficacy and Safety to the Practice of Vaccination clearly proved. 8vo. G. Robinson, 1805.

professional brethren: but the great interests of science are involved in this controversy; and silence and acquiescence, feeling as I do, would, in my mind, be criminal.

Vaccination was ushered in with, and has been supported by, doctrines which ought to be fairly examined: and among the *ever-varying* and *often contradictory* arguments which have accompanied the investigation of it, much sophistical reasoning, and much hypothetical subtilty, have been introduced, which have a manifest tendency to encourage a false and injurious mode of conducting physical discussions; and on that account, as well as the particular impropriety of their application in the present instance, demand a separate and distinct confutation.

The rank and station of those who have promulgated false doctrines respecting the Cow-pox, or any other topic connected with the science of medicine, ought not to shield them from public censure, much less from fair and liberal criticism: for there is no unbecoming presumption in opposing the opinions of distinguished persons, nor should any casual advantages of superior wealth or authority dare to bid defiance to rational investigation. So long as study, culture, and learning, shall not always be the inseparable companions of greatness; so long as industry, perseverance, and reflection, shall be able, sometimes to establish

fit and just laws of ratiocination ; so long as free-will be given to man, and he remain unenslaved by the yoke of fervile attachment to those who, by nature, are not more capable, and by education are not rendered wiser, than himself ; he will disdain the manacles which prejudice may forge, and the fetters which arrogance may often hold up, to scare and astound the unassuming modesty of real merit.

There are persons who become bigots to ancient fraud, who receive and cherish the dictates of the great with sacred reverence and awful submission ; indifferently whether they are repugnant to reason, or supported by truth. These are slaves in the labyrinth of error, often the objects of scorn, sometimes of pity, but never of imitation. It is not to such men that we are indebted for the arts which improve and harmonise the world ; for those rare discoveries in science which adorn and dignify our common nature ; for those happy refinements of civilization ; for those blessings of culture, of education, and of learning, which advance us in the scale of intellectual existence. But while we refuse a blind assent to the dogmas of authority, it would ill become the liberal and the ingenuous to withhold their sanction and applause from the meritorious and scientific exertions of industrious sagacity. We must admit arguments, and honour truth for their own sakes ; and not because of the sources from which they spring.

In the following pages the reader will be presented with abundant proof of genius perverted, and talents misapplied. He may be tempted to smile at the ridiculous misapplication of terms, and the puerile inconsistencies which have distinguished some of the writers on the subject of Vaccination; but he will feel unfeigned sorrow at the melancholy consequences which have resulted from such perversion of intellect, such ineffable obstinacy, and such unblushing effrontery, as he will be compelled to witness in the progress of this inquiry.

When genius and fancy escape from the cool guidance and prudent controul of sound judgement, they are too apt to rush into the inextricable mazes of error and absurdity.

When Dr. Jenner introduced to the public, in 1798, his first remarks on the Cow-pox, some objections were made to his account of that disease, in consequence of the obscurity in which its origin seemed to be involved; and the more considerate and prudent among practitioners thought it absolutely necessary to ascertain the nature of the Cow-pox matter, before they presumed to countenance a practice by which virus was to be introduced into the human species, evidently derived from an animal peculiarly liable to a variety of cutaneous and infectious diseases.

The account which Dr. Jenner collected during his residence in Gloucestershire, from persons who had been accustomed to notice the disease, was,

that it originated in the matter discharged from the heels of horses diseased with greafe: and, as the affection of the cows which was so frequently communicated to the hands of those who milked them, could almost always be traced up to that polluted source; there seemed to be no reason for doubting the truth or the accuracy of this account.

What might be the impression made on the minds of those who soon adopted the practice of Vaccination with unexampled alacrity, is not for me to say; but the origin of the Cow-pox afforded to me some objection to its being communicated to the human race. To say the least which can be said of its filthy and disgusting appearance, of its origin, symptoms, and consequences; of its being the result of great systematic irregularity, and of a complete depuration or corruption of the animal fluids; the circumstance of its being virulently contagious, not only among that species of animals in which it primarily appears, but of its being liable to infect other species* also, which

* “ It would appear that the infection which produces fever
 “ in one species of animal, is not capable of producing fever in
 “ another species: for it happened that when one side of a ship
 “ contained sheep, the other hogs, that if a fever broke out
 “ among the sheep, the hogs were not affected; that when
 “ fever broke out among the hogs, the sheep were not affected;
 “ nor were the crews at all affected.” Dr. G. Fordyce on Simple
 Fever, p. 113. Dis. the First.

established the most perfect conviction of the utmost possible degree of malignity, induced me, at first, *to doubt the safety* of the practice of inoculating such virus into the human species. Another consideration had also its influence;—but, as experience has since convinced myself and others, not more than its *due* influence;—I mean, that both the cow and the horse being liable to very frequent cutaneous affections, it was more than probable that some of those affections might be inserted at the same time with the Cow-pox virus. The admirers of the discovery did not deny that it sometimes happened to persons who had been inoculated for the Small-pox, to receive at the same time the seeds of scrophula: on the contrary, indeed, this very circumstance was brought forward as a powerful objection to Inoculation itself, in which practitioners had, at all events, the immense advantage of long experience, and an opportunity of exercising their judgement, in selecting persons free from disease for the choice of matter.

But the Cow-pox, necessarily connected with a morbid state of the fluids, and avowedly derived from “the most polluted source*,” could not be subjected to the judgement of the faculty, unless that judgement were exerted to reject it altogether.

* Inoculation for the Small-pox vindicated, &c. p. 25.

Practitioners knew the various symptoms and consequences of the Small-pox ; and even in the infancy, not indeed of medicine, but of rational practice, were satisfied that the artificial introduction of a disease, could only modify but not essentially alter its nature and principles. Experience had made them acquainted with the history of the Small-pox as it occurred naturally ; and common sense clearly pointed out the impossibility of the original and primitive quality and essence of the disease being changed, by any artificial mode of communicating its infection from one person to another.

But in Cow-pox the case was widely different ; its symptoms indeed were known, but its consequences could have been but seldom noticed. The circumstance so much insisted on, as a foundation for one of the arguments in its favour—that it appeared in the most robust * and healthy of the human species, afforded no just grounds for determining what might be the consequence of general or promiscuous Vaccination. It seemed reasonable to infer, that if any ill effects had been produced in such constitutions, they, in all probability, would appear with greater violence among persons who could not boast of such purity of blood, or whose habits of life were less

* Mr. Henry Jenner's " Address."

regular. Variolous Inoculation, by affecting the system generally, produced a modification of the specific contagion of Small-pox. Vaccination must, in like manner, produce a modification of the original morbid affection called Cow-pox.

If, with the former, other extraneous diseases might be conveyed into the person inoculated, by parity of reasoning, similar effects might be apprehended from the latter. It was stated that “no peculiar diseases *had been* noticed in those who had undergone the Cow-pox*.” This might encourage an experiment, but it was by no means sufficient to justify a conclusion.

Many peculiar diseases have arisen †, and have at length been noticed, as the evident and indubitable result of the Cow-pox infection.

It was stated that one single pustule ‡ was the only symptom § of this new disease; and that this pustule having gone through the several stages of inflammation ||, maturation, and exsiccation, unaccompanied by any important constitutional affection capable of disarranging the healthy func-

* Dr. Jenner’s Account, &c.

† See the list of melancholy cases in the publications of Dr. Moseley, Dr. Squirrell, and particularly Dr. Rowley.

‡ Dr. Jenner, Mr. Henry Jenner, &c. &c.

§ The true signification of the word *symptom* is undoubtedly an appearance.

|| Dr. Jenner.

tions of the body, was sufficient to secure the person in whom it had been produced, from the future influence of variolous contagion. The improbability of the doctrine made me a sceptic.

I could not bring my mind to conceive that a mere pimple on the arm * could prevent the occurrence of a disease which pervades even the minutest recesses of the body : and all the reasoning which my humble faculties qualified me to apply to the subject, only increased the difficulty of reconciling such an hypothesis to the ordinary and usual operations of nature, in the production and the cure of diseases ; and prepared me to expect that this statement would be contradicted by future experience ; and to anticipate the disappointment of those who inconsiderately and credulously believed it.

It seemed as ridiculous to suppose that this solitary pustule could bring about such a change in the constitution as should create insusceptibility of variolous contagion, without the occurrence of any perceptible symptom, as is the story of Don Quixotte's not knowing whether the relation which he had made to Sancho of his adventures in Montefino's cave, was *true* or *false*.

Thus doubting the *safety* and *efficacy* of Vaccination, I took the liberty of writing an admo-

* See the Remarks of that experienced physician Dr. Moseley, in his Treatise on Lues Bovilla, p. 111, 112.

nitory letter to the Editor of one of the public periodical works, to suggest great caution and deliberation in adopting experiments which I then *feared*, and have since *known*, to be fraught with uncertainty and danger; but whether the learned conductors of the Review presumed that due caution would be observed without any hints, or whether they supposed that “the flavour of the dish*” would be unpleasant to the taste, or was unworthy of public attention, I have never been able to learn; nor to obtain any acknowledgment of the reasons which occasioned that communication to be suppressed.

It is certain, that other complaints of a similar † kind have been made; but I would rather attribute my own disappointment to motives of tenderness and compassion, than to any illiberal prejudice on the part of men so distinguished by their literary and professional abilities. They perhaps did not know that the ardour which I feel when engaged in the pursuit or the defence of truth, would have

* Medical and Physical Journal, in a very good-humoured critique on the Author's first Edition of “Observations on Asthma.”

† Rogers's Examination of Evidence relative to Cow-pox, p. 37, in a letter from *John Birch*, Esq. Surgeon Extraordinary to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and Surgeon to St. Thomas's Hospital. A gentleman of acknowledged professional abilities; of great experience: and a consistent opposer of Vaccination from the time of its being first suggested.

enabled me to sustain all the severity and even the abuse which has been sometimes so unbecomingly directed against those who venture to oppose innovation. However, although I can not appeal to the *learned*, in order to prove that my opposition to Vaccination has been at least consistent, I could, if necessary, appeal to the great, whose suffrages have been perhaps more courted than even the countenance of men of science in the introduction of the *Jennerian* practice: for, in the early stage * of the business, having been applied to by a circular letter to endeavour to promote Vaccination by my “influence among the poor †,” I readily embraced so proper an opportunity of giving publicity to the doubts which I entertained on the subject; and declined, in the most respectful terms of regard for the interests of every benevolent institution, to encourage a practice which neither reason nor experience justified me in recommending to those who confided themselves to my professional care. The public, therefore, while

* I mention this circumstance to corroborate the fact, that Vaccination was not *uniformly* approved even in those parts of the country in which it was industriously reported to be encouraged by all medical practitioners.

† A printed Address, containing a very *erroneous* statement of the number of deaths from Inoculation, sanctioned by the names of a physician and several surgeons and apothecaries, and signed by M. Boulton, Esq. as President of the Birmingham Dispensary.

they appreciate the force of my remarks, will do me the justice to admit, that I have neither been intimidated by the danger of a contest with very unequal numbers, nor recently converted by hopes of fame or of advantage to that side of the question on which I have the satisfaction of observing many eminent and distinguished practitioners; and to which every day is now bringing an accession of numbers and of strength.

The arguments adduced in favour of Vaccination, were not very likely to diminish the scepticism which I have acknowledged.

The doubts suggested by some respecting the *origin* of the Cow-pox, were the result of unsuccessful experiments * to produce that disease in the human subject directly from the greasy heel of the horse: but no one who has been much engaged in physiological studies, or in the practice of medicine, will be surprised that many of these experiments were rendered inconclusive by the manner in which they were conducted.

Some persons † there were, who did produce a disease similar to the Cow-pox by matter taken from the greasy heels of horses; and thus the assertion of Dr. Jenner, which had been founded

* Dr. Woodville's Experiments.

† Mr. Rankin, of East-Bourn; Dr. Loy and Mr. Loy of Pickering in Yorkshire; Drs. Pearson and Woodville;—as mentioned in their "Statement of Facts relative to Cow-pox."

on the concurrent * testimony of farmers and others, was corroborated.

As to the visions of those who rambled into the wilds of possibility in search of causes, and in the vain hopes of discovering a purer source for a new and favourite disease, they were too contemptible † to have been suffered for a moment to engage the serious attention of the faculty: and it is really wonderful, with how great and unusual a degree of patience the public have submitted to drudge through that vast assemblage of crude and indigested theories which has been presented to them.

One of the first difficulties which occurred in prosecuting the experiment of Vaccination was, that *an eruption took place*. This, considering the nature of the disease as it arose in the Cow in consequence of becoming infected, might reason-

* Dr. Jenner's Treatise, &c.

† It may be thought beneath the dignity of the faculty to apply any reasoning to the pathology of a disease which belongs more properly to the province of Veterinarians, than to that of Physicians or Surgeons: but it must not be forgotten that Boerhaave obtained the title of Great by his varied and extensive knowledge of the sciences, rather than by his excellency as a physician. Every circumstance in the whole circle of the arts deserves the attention of philosophers; and while we find so many of the faculty eager to assimilate the diseases of brutes with the human constitution, our regard for the interests of suffering humanity should prompt us to drop all punctilio, and fairly to root out prejudices, and correct error by bold and candid investigation, even although it be not strictly conformable to the etiquette of the profession.

ably have been expected: but still it militated against the *Jennerian* doctrine; in which *it was written*, that no eruptions could be produced by Vaccination.

The facts, therefore, as well as the arguments on which Vaccination was to be established, began to be doubted.

It was contended that no mischievous consequences were to be apprehended from it; because it was *probable* that the virus of Cow-pox is often received into the human body “along with the “milk* of the Cow,” without producing inconvenience. This could amount to nothing, in the minds of those who know that the head of the rattle-snake † is made into broth, much used and esteemed by the Indians; and that no evil consequences follow the use of it: and that certain Inoculators‡ have inclosed variolous matter in articles of food, which has been thus received into the stomach without producing any of the symptoms of Small-pox.

That this species of argument has been extended to the wholesomeness of the flesh § of the Cow, may excite a degree of surprize in those who are

* Mr. Henry Jenner's Address to the Public on the Advantages, of Vaccine Inoculation.

† Fordyce on the Digestion of Food, p. 119.

‡ Sutton's Treatise on Inoculation.

§ Dr. Lettsom.

not aware of a total dereliction of all philosophical acumen *, by many who have written in favour of Vaccination: but what will posterity *say* when they shall peruse the fulsome adulation and hyperbolic praise which have inundated the writings of the Vaccinators? They will certainly think their ancestors mad.

The friends of Vaccination could not but perceive that there were persons who would enquire into the nature of the infection before they submitted to it, notwithstanding the blind infatuation of the inhabitants of the West-India settlements, who have been represented as totally regardless of the origin of the Cow-pox, so that they † experienced its advantages.

The Vaccinators ‡ found different species of greafe in the horse, and *squared their opinions* to the consequences which might be produced by them.

Thus one, who stands pre-eminently distinguished by his zeal and vehemence, and may be called “the Herald § of the mysteries” of Cow-pox, oc-

- * “ ’Tis hard to say, if greater want of skill
 “ Appear in writing, or in judging ill:
 “ But of the two, less dang’rous is th’ offence,
 “ To tire our patience than mislead our sense.”

† Medical Journal.

POPE.

‡ Mr. Grose and others.

§ “ Att what tyme the mysteries should begynne, Maister
 “ *Buckhorse* the Heralde came forth all yclad yn hawberke, and

asionally combated the opinions even of Dr. Jenner when it was thought that they might be converted into arguments against him.

When Dr. Jenner supposed it possible that the Cow-pox might have been originally in some way or other connected with the Small-pox, his idea was discouraged, because it militated against the fond hope of rendering Vaccination universal, as the means of *exterminating* the Small-pox; and might have a tendency to deter many persons from adopting the practice.

It was said that no instance of fatality * had occurred in consequence of Cow-pox: and many practitioners, as well as other persons, without giving themselves time to consider whether there had been sufficient experience of the fact to justify a dependence upon it as a general argument, implicitly assented to that gratuitous assertion.

The practice of Vaccination had not been long introduced before the fact was *disproved*; and the argument consequently abandoned.

The sanguine hopes of the safety and preventive

“ havyng a brave shielde on the wyche was engravenne Chi-
 “ mera, wythe other fancifulle devyces verie goodlie to beholde:
 “ and the sayde *Buckborse* recytedde in metre the order to be
 “ observedde yn the sayde mysteries.”

Innocente & Merrie Sportes. Imprynted att London,
 yn the yeere 1440.

* By Dr. Jenner and numerous other Vaccinators.

influence of Vaccination were not more remarkable than the versatility of argument employed to oppose every objection which was started, and to destroy every obstacle which arose to interrupt the *Jennerian* practice.

It was announced with confidence as an infallible preventive of Small-pox ; its safety and mildness, its harmless and inoffensive nature, were emblazoned in the most pleasing and attractive colours.

In order to make these advantages appear still greater, the beneficial effects of Variolous Inoculation were either altogether overlooked, or boldly denied. It was even said that that practice had always been detrimental to society ; and in defence of this wild and daring assertion, even the bills of mortality, those * incorrect remembrancers of fate, were resorted to.

I am aware that a very learned and respectable physician † has countenanced the idea that “ the proportional number of deaths from Small-pox ” has increased since the introduction of Inoculation : but this does not affect the argument which it was adduced to support ;—namely, that Inoculation is detrimental. For even if it should prove that the introduction of Inoculation had been the

* Dr. Moseley justly reprehends this mode of attempting to influence the public opinion in his Treatise on *Lues Bovilla*, p. 15.

† Dr. Heberden.

means of spreading more univerſally the Variolous contagion, it would only follow that greater numbers having the Small-pox naturally, *greater numbers* would die; not that *more in proportion* to thoſe who ſuffer it, would be cut off: for this could not happen on account of its more general prevalence, but muſt depend either on an increaſe of virulence in the diſeaſe, or of * miſmanagement in the courſe of it.

No one will contend that Inoculation has increaſed the virulence of the natural Small-pox, unleſs it be the Vaccinators; who have aſſerted, that the Cow-pox has been found capable of curing † deafneſs: and it would be equally abſurd to ſuppoſe, that it can have induced any train of reaſoning which has a tendency to encourage improper treatment of it.

I am not ignorant that Baron Dimſdale ſuppoſed the practice of Inoculation to have diffuſed the contagion of Small-pox ſo extenſively, as to increaſe the ſum of the natural danger of the infection. Ought not this however to be attributed rather to the manner in which Inoculation is

* See Dr. Mofeley's Treatiſe.

† I do not know whether this was one of the advantages which in the Oriental climes were obſerved to follow Vaccination: but it was ſaid that the human conſtitution was “ much improved” at Madras, by this delectable diſeaſe, ſo that Dr. Mier called it “ *the gift of heaven.*” In England the caſe was reverſed, for here children have become deaf in conſequence of the practice.

too frequently conducted ; to the want of care, of attention, and caution, so far as relates both to public institutions and private practice ; and might not this great and serious objection be effectually removed, by due attention on the part of practitioners, or even regulated by authority ?

Although so much stress has been laid by some of the friends of Vaccination on the propagation of Variolous infection, by the means before mentioned, one of its most strenuous * advocates admits, from the works of Dr. Heberden and Dr. Haygarth, that it is no difficult matter, by the use of even common precaution, to avoid Variolous contagion ; Dr. Heberden having shewn, that “ one who never had the small-pox might safely “ associate, and even lie in the same bed, with a “ Variolous patient for the two or three first days “ of the eruption, without receiving infection ;” and Dr. Haygarth having countenanced the same idea.

In short, it is too true that this circumstance, as well as every other fraught with danger † or diffi-

* Dr. Thornton's Facts decisive, p. 43, 203.

† The words of a friend of Vaccination apply remarkably well, with a very slight change of expression. “ The risk of en- “ grafting the disease of a morbid subject into a healthful per- “ son was exhibited with all its dismal attendants ; and the bias “ that magnified this presumptive danger from Inoculation, pre- “ vented the same individuals from observing the frequent and “ shocking effects arising from” *Cow-pox*. Lettsom's Medical Memoirs, p. 171.

culty, has been presented in the most alarming shape; while Vaccination has been extolled to the highest heavens with all the fulfomeness of hyperbole: and even its filthy origin, in that polluted source the grease of the horse's heel, conveniently overlooked, for the purpose of indulging in soft and pastoral celebrations of the healthy*, clean, sleek, useful Cow, whose milk supports the "rudy cheeks" of the dairy-maids, and whose flesh gives strength to the brawny sinews of the British peasantry.

It is not improbable that Inoculation may have spread contagion in situations to which it might not have extended, but for the introduction of that practice: but, surely, this is not irremediable; and to argue against Inoculation because of it, is to confound the *abuse* of the practice with the *use* of it.

But, without attempting to answer all the objections of persons who can not be supposed to have thought very deeply on any subject; if a judgement may be formed from what they have written and practised; it may not be altogether improper to refer to an author whose opinions will, perhaps, be the more regarded, because he has *lately* distinguished himself as an enthusiastic admirer of Vaccination. Dr. Lettsom, who was once a strenuous advocate for Variolous Inocula-

* Mr. Henry Jenner's Address, &c.

tion, and whose success in practice is said to have formed the basis of *all his medical opinions*, has declared, that he felt “genuine satisfaction in defending a practice which humanity dictates; which success authorises; and which true policy would promote:—by which a loathsome, and often fatal disease is passed through with little pain, and almost with certain * success:”—that Inoculation “is not the cause of propagating the Small-pox,” which rather depends on the “treatment of the natural Small-pox, and a less reserved intercourse” than formerly “with the community:” on the influx or accession of young persons from the country, and on the progressive increase of population in London, where the calculation had been made of the supposed increase of mortality from Small-pox, since the introduction of Inoculation.

Inoculation, therefore, Dr. Lettsom supposed to have been unjustly stigmatised; and its benign and salutary influences were so evident, that he strongly urged “the propriety of the practice as the means of saving the lives of our friends, our children, and our relations;” and highly conducive “to public good population and health.”

Shall the reader be told that this is the *same* Doctor Lettsom who, in a few years, abjured such

* Lettsom's Medical Memoirs.

wholesome advice, became an adept in the mysteries of Vaccination; or, to use the emphatical language of Dr. Moseley, *changed his Gods!* and still persists in the encouragement of this romantic scheme, in defiance of a thousand *proofs* of its inefficacy and danger?

Will he not lament the inconsistency of the best of men, the greatest authors, and the most eloquent orators? Will he not be tempted to compare the desertion of this learned physician, from the dictates of reason and sound judgement, to the hypothesis of novelty and error, with the famous Archbishop of Grenada mentioned in Gil Blas, who flattered himself into a belief, that the productions of dotage were even superior to the most elegant compositions of genius when in full maturity and vigour?

He must be told,—this is the same Dr. Lettsom who, a few years ago, acknowledged that, under the practice of Variolous Inoculation, it was “a rare thing to hear of a fatal case;” but who now talks of the *frequency* of deaths occasioned by it: who formerly declared that “it was not the cause of propagating the small-pox;” and now sounds an alarm of its “dangerous influence by spreading infection;” who has increased the weight and authority of his opinions by the meretricious ornaments of an imposing elegance of style, and decorated the temple which has been

erected to the new Goddesses * Vaccina, with the most flowery chaplets of fascinating language, and the richest, most luxuriant ornaments of rhetorical declamation. But more of this hereafter.

Of all the arguments in favour of Vaccination, the negative one, that it is not communicable by contagion, appears to me the best which its best friends have ever been able to advance in justification of their preferring it to Variolous Inoculation. But this advantage is more than paralleled by the secondary symptoms which occasionally follow Vaccination; and which, whether Vaccine or Scrophulous, or Pseudo-vaccine, or allied to the nature of the Grease (for which I rejoice that the idiom of our language has not furnished any descriptive term), are, in my humble opinion, even a more formidable objection to the *Jennerian* practice, than its uncertainty as a preventive of Small-pox.

As Variolous Inoculation is not usually introduced with that incautious ardour which so much accelerated the diffusion of Vaccination; as it does not intrude into families without their knowledge and concurrence,—not like the wind blowing “where it listeth,”—the danger of contagion being propagated in consequence of Inoculation is,

* See the Vignette to Lettsom's “Observations on the Cow-pox,” adorned with the Hindoo Symbols!

in reality, not * so great as on a superficial view of the subject might be supposed, or as, on a superficial consideration of it, has been † stated.

Before the public had had sufficient time to examine the nature of the Cow-pox, or had experienced those ill consequences from it which have since marred its fame, it was discovered that the original history of the disease was incorrect.

The first experiments made in the metropolis appear to have been conducted by Dr. Pearson ‡; and as I shall have occasion to examine some of the opinions derived from this distinguished § Physician, I take the present opportunity of noticing, in the most respectful terms, the candid and handsome manner in which this able advocate for Vaccination has expressed himself in his publications || on the subject.

Had the discussion of the great question, whether Vaccination ought or ought not to be preferred to Variolous Inoculation, been conducted

* See Dr. Heberden's and Dr. Haygarth's Publications.

† Medical and Physical Journal for September, 1805.

‡ Pearson's Statement.

§ "Micat inter omnes

"Julium sidus, velut inter ignes

"Luna minores."

|| With one exception. A paper, dated Sept. 24, 1805, in which Dr. Pearson has admitted the *insecurity* of the practice of Vaccination: but does not mention even one of the numerous facts, which must have come to his knowledge, of diseases having been produced by it.

by such men only as Dr. Pearson ; or had those champions, who have been proud to display a sort of Scythian valour in this controversy, made Dr. Pearson the rule of their conduct, and fashioned their mode of arguing by the pattern of his mild * and sensible manner ; the painful severity of animadversion would have given place to a far more pleasing and more useful task. To weigh and to appreciate would then have been the business of this dissertation, instead of sour and acrid criticism. It is, however, pleasing to reflect that there are some resting places in this dull and tedious journey : that a few patches of verdure and fertility occasionally gladden the sterile prospect, and refresh the jaded eye : that the resplendent beams of science are now and then seen darting through the gloom of prejudice, and gilding with their bright refulgence the clouds of dark distrust and palpable malignity.

Dr. Pearson was the first among the Vaccinators who acknowledged that Cow-pox does sometimes take place, without rendering the patient insusceptible of Variolous contagion. Dr. Pearson does not deny that instances of fatality have been known to occur in consequence of Vaccination : Dr. Pearson does not contend that small-pox *often* takes place twice in the same subject. That assertion

* See Pearson's Critical Examination of Mr. Goldson's second Pamphlet.

was left for others, who did not perceive that even such an argument, if it should be admitted by the world at large, would produce more injury than benefit to the cause of Vaccination. But Dr. Pearson has countenanced the favourite and prevailing doctrine of the preventive power of the Cow-pox; and it is on this principle that I am compelled to differ from him: because I can not consent that any experiments, however accurately or attentively conducted, to infect with Variolous matter persons who had been *recently* vaccinated, or who might have had the natural Cow-pox even a few years before, ought to be esteemed sufficient proofs of a *permanent* uninfusceptibility of the Small-pox in the human constitution.

Dr. Pearson has also lately declared that the history* of the Vaccine disease “was not for some years sufficiently investigated to afford *rules of secure practice:*” and yet it was long ago asserted, that nothing could be more simple and intelligible than the practice of Vaccination, which was committed to very inexperienced, and sometimes illiterate persons:—and these very persons have been again and again referred to, for the production of substantial evidence in support of the efficacy of the practice.

Surely an experiment which involved the happiness or misery of perhaps a thousand generations

* Dr. Pearson's Remarks, dated Sept. 24, 1805.

ought to have had *rules of at least secure practice*, before it was so ardently recommended and so generally introduced.

Dr. Pearson's remark is most just: no rules of secure practice have ever yet appeared; the *want* of such rules, the apparent *impossibility* of establishing them, gave rise to doubts for which the prudent opposers of the *Jennerian* experiment have been vehemently censured:—it is a remark which confirms the opinion I have always entertained of Dr. Pearson's candour and good sense; but it is the sentence of condemnation upon the *Jennerian* practice; and it must afford real pleasure to every consistent friend of science that it has been thus pronounced:—*magna est veritas; et prevalebit!*

It seems a little extraordinary, after Dr. Pearson's remark above mentioned, that he should have attributed the failure of Vaccination to the ignorance and inexperience of particular persons.—If there were no rules for the controul of their opinions, what blame can attach to a false prognostic? The ignorance complained of was, indeed, very general; there being perhaps *few* Vaccinators who have not, at some period or other, failed in producing uninfusceptibility of Small-pox: and I can not admit, that “a great proportion* of the ascertained failures were mistaken, either in the pa-

* Dr. Pearson's Remarks.

“ tients not having had the Cow-pox in the first instance, or the Small-pox in the second,” unless Dr. Pearson means to confine the reflection entirely to the Vaccinators; who, by their own confession, are in general, if not totally ignorant of the nature and appearance of Small-pox; at all events, very imperfectly acquainted with them;— else would they never have mistaken the Chicken-pox for the Small-pox, on the ninth or tenth day of the disease; else would they not lose one in three hundred of their inoculated patients.

If, then, the *science* of Vaccination were so ill understood, that those who practised it did not know whether they had produced the Cow-pox or not; with what chance of general benefit and general safety could it be recommended? If no fixed rules could be laid down, capable of establishing the certainty of the disease having been produced; with what propriety could Dr. Jenner claim a reward for the discovery of the means of introducing the Vaccine disease into the human body, when it could not be proved to have taken place?

In short, if all this unintelligibility be a concomitant of Vaccination; if only certain studious persons, of uncommon penetration and research, can practise it with certainty; even if it had been a preventive and a safe disease, it never could have been of general benefit:—a circumstance already noticed by those experienced physicians, Dr.

Moseley and Dr. Rowley, in their respective publications.

But Dr. Pearson is “persuaded that the subject of the Vaccine disorder is *now* sufficiently investigated for * *secure practice* ;” and affirms that, “in future, the occurrence of Small-pox after Vaccination will be imputable to the Inoculator’s being unqualified †, provided the patient be obedient to his directions.”

I would not speak lightly on so serious a subject ; but must observe, that this is very cold comfort for those who have been unfortunately *persuaded* into a belief that the same subject was completely understood (so far however as related to its security) when Dr. Jenner received a parliamentary reward, and his practice a parliamentary sanction. *Dr. Jenner was persuaded* that the disease was perfectly understood. *Dr. Pearson is now persuaded* : but there are many, very many, wise, considerate, and learned practitioners, who are not yet *persuaded*, and who will use their utmost endeavours to prevent the public *from being persuaded*, that the practice of Vaccination is at all justifiable, while innumerable dangers are every day produced by the diseases which follow it ; and while its most able advocates and defenders are compelled to admit that *a proportion of their*

* Dr. Pearson’s Remarks.

† Ibid.

vaccinated patients have caught the Small-pox, and to allow that it may be reasonably expected that many more will take it hereafter.

Let it be remembered, that the most solemn assurances were given to the public of the incontestible efficacy and infallibility of the Cow-pox: that it was on this very principle introduced and remunerated: that this principle is now *abandoned*; and that all the confidence which has been placed in the excellency of the discovery, and the safety of the consequent practice, has been rewarded by “a certain fearful looking for of” the most dreadful and afflicting scenes of wretchedness.

Let it be remembered that, notwithstanding this concession, the practice of Vaccination is still defended: that it glories in defeat, and seems to triumph in destruction. The public are now called upon to believe that, after seven years’ (or, according to Dr. Jenner, twenty-seven years’) investigation, and an uncertain and consequently most dangerous practice, spread far and wide with unexampled zeal; a discovery * has been made, by which that practice may, *in future*, be conducted with more *certainty*, unless the same ignorance, which has hitherto very generally prevailed among

* This discovery may require *seven* years more to ascertain its consequences; and after incalculable mischief in a million of families, its fate may be like that of the original doctrine of Dr. Jenner—it may be proved to have been founded in error.

Vaccinators, should still continue to prevent so desirable a consummation !

Let it be remembered, that not one word is said about the numerous instances of shocking and loathsome morbid affections which have been introduced by Vaccination into the human system; affections which were not known previously to that destructive and unjustifiable practice.

And when this consideration, which sophistry can not controvert, because it is sanctioned by almost innumerable living examples, be superadded to the acknowledged ambiguity of its appearance, and the acknowledged want of discrimination in those who practise it, I have too high an opinion of the good sense of my countrymen to suppose that they will continue to subject their children and families to such accumulated and multifarious dangers, when they know that Variolous Inoculation has never been productive of such distressing maladies as have already frequently resulted from the Cow-pox: that its laws are perfectly intelligible: that its most unfavourable symptoms are capable of being controlled by judicious management: that its treatment is simple: that its preventive power does not admit of any kind of doubt: and that there are many practitioners now living, who have conducted thousands of patients through the disease without the occurrence of a single instance of fatality.

These arguments, and this appeal, will not, I hope, be heard in vain.

It may be asked, by what reasoning on the appearance and nature of the Small-pox itself, could it have been determined *à priori* that having been once gone through, its future recurrence was impossible? But even admitting that experience and observation only, could establish this extraordinary fact, it has been so supported through a long series of time. Whereas the traditionary account of the Cow-pox, so far from filling up the same chasm in the argument which experience has so happily closed in the history of Small-pox, discourages the presumption of those who seem too hastily to have concluded, that because Vaccination sometimes prevented the infection of Small-pox, it must necessarily be a *permanent and infallible* security against its influence.

Dr. Jenner finding that “some of those who
“seemed to have undergone the Cow-pox, never-
“theless on Inoculation with the Small-pox felt
“its influence *just the same* as if no disease had
“been communicated to them from the Cow,”
was induced to enquire “among the medical
“practitioners in the country,” around him; who
ALL AGREED that the Cow-pox was not to be
relied on as “a *certain* preventive of the Small-
“pox.”

Thus the notion of the old women in Gloucef-

tershire, which has been often ridiculed by the Vaccinators, was confirmed by the opinion of those who had seen most, and were best acquainted with the subject.

It might have been thought, that at least some deference would be paid to this unanimity of opinion; and that it would have subdued the hypothetical reasoning of those who had contended that if Vaccination were a security “for a year*,” it “must be a security for life;” as well as the wretched arguments of those who pretended to *prove* the mildness of the Cow-pox, and the safety of Vaccination, from the considerations that the milk and flesh † of the cow are part of our most nutritious food; that her breath is sweet and salubrious; and that she is *in general* an healthy animal.

But the answer to Dr. Jenner’s enquiry does not seem to have made any great impression.

Ancient traditions, however obscured or contaminated by passing through the channels of ignorance and superstition, have usually, and almost always, their origin in some analogous fact. Thus it is probable that the farmers and practitioners in Gloucestershire had seen or heard of, as we ourselves have since often seen or heard of, cases in which the occurrence of Small-pox was not per-

* Certain medical gentlemen at Edinburgh.

† Mr. Henry Jenner, Dr. Lettsom, &c.

manently prevented by the Vaccine disease; and therefore, that however the faculty might be deceived into a belief in the security of Vaccination, the experiments of inoculating with variolous matter, or exposing their patients to the influence of the contagion naturally, were incomplete proofs of the facts which they were desirous to establish: namely, that as such Inoculation and such exposure have not been always found capable of producing infection, the persons thus subjected to its influence are *permanently* secure from the Small-pox.

If we reflect for a moment on the persons to whom the experiments of vaccinating, and the subsequent test of Inoculation, have been often committed, something more than a bare suspicion will arise that erroneous opinions have been propagated in consequence of their want of discernment. It is not denied that certain effects have been observed to follow Inoculation in those who were subjected to it, after Vaccination.

The arm became inflamed; a pustule was produced; shivering took place; pain in the head, back, and limbs; sickness and *fever*; the pustule in some instances dried up in a few days, and soon disappeared: in other instances, perfect maturation succeeded, and after having afforded virus for inoculating others (which on being used produced the Small-pox) completed all its stages.

Very numerous have been such instances even in the avowed history of Inoculation, as performed by Vaccinators themselves; who declared with unblushing assurance that such persons were thus *proved* to be unsusceptible of Small-pox:—it is obvious that such persons do not know the disease when they see it!

How many thousands of persons are there, who long before Vaccination was known, were secured from Variolous contagion by as mild febrile symptoms as those above described; and how often would the Small-pox prove uneruptive, or so very slight that no matter could be procured from the pustules after the early days of their appearance, can not perhaps be conceived by those who are so little acquainted with the precautions necessary for ensuring a mild and safe disease as the Vaccinators have appeared to be: but it is perfectly well known by such men as the Dimsdales and Suttons; and so well understood by many able and experienced practitioners of the present day, that I could make a safe appeal to them on the subject.

They would also concur in believing that the effects which I have just described were in truth *the Small-pox*; and that many of those persons who were put to the test by Inoculation have, in reality, gone through * the disease.

* It may be said, that the *mildness* of the Small-pox, in such cases, had been occasioned by the peculiar state into which the

Nor have I any doubt, that although the sagacity of the Vaccinators has not yet been able to infect their patients with the Small-pox, others, who understand the treatment of the Small-pox and the practice of Inoculation *better*, will neither have much difficulty in doing it, nor of conducting them in safety through the disease; notwithstanding the Vaccinators, according to their own statements, have been accustomed to lose so large a proportion of their patients while they practised Inoculation:—a circumstance too evidently dependent either on ignorance or carelessness.

If, then, the concurrent testimony that Variolous Inoculation is *an infallible* preventive of Small-pox had been fairly appreciated; the most correct accounts of its mortality investigated; the state of its practice, previously to the last thirty years, compared with its later and valuable improvements, and increasing safety; practitioners would have been inclined at least to pause, before they had relinquished that “well-tried* and well-understood practice,” in

system had been brought by Vaccination: but it must not be forgotten, that this had been done at the risk of producing a numerous train of evils paramount to any unfavourable symptoms which could have been rationally expected from the Inoculation for Small-pox; and if the Cow-pox, as *generally* practised, is no security against the Small-pox, for what purpose can it be added to the long list of human calamities?

* Inoculation for the Small-pox vindicated, p. 2.

favour of a new and uncertain experiment; even if they had flattered themselves into a disbelief of all those dangers and disasters which have sometimes actually happened, and must, therefore, be often rationally dreaded, from the influence of Cow-pox upon the system; until its nature and origin had been satisfactorily explained.

It has been asserted, that when Dr. Jenner published his first account of this disease the *two great truths*, the safety and efficacy of the practice, were “well KNOWN to him.” But however *persuaded* of the *safety* and *efficacy* of Vaccination on the grounds of his own experience, neither the one nor the other was at that time sufficiently proved to justify *conviction*; both of them have been since completely *disproved* on testimony the most authentic, and by facts the most indubitable: and Dr. Pearson himself has at length publicly confessed, after some years of experiment, during which the utmost uncertainty has prevailed, and the most dreadful mischiefs have been produced, that no rules *had been established for secure practice!*

Besides the circumstance which more immediately gave rise to Dr. Jenner’s inquiry before alluded to—namely, the inefficacy of the Cow-pox to produce security,—there was another, which operated not only as an objection to the *practice*, but as a stumbling-block in the way of Dr. Jenner’s *theory*, and the occasion of introducing great con-

fusion and discord into “ the regions of Vaccination *.” This was the appearance of eruptions: for the trivial contradiction made by a reverend Inoculator † and others, to the original statement, that Vaccination did not prevent the recurrence of the Cow-pox in the same subject, seemed to be entirely overlooked. I shall, however, beg leave to introduce in this place a few remarks on that subject. There are many cases in the Reports of Cow-pox of the recurrence of that disease in the same person. It was mentioned as an extraordinary circumstance, that not being a security against the action of its own specific virus, it yet was an infallible preventive of the Small-pox.

Nothing but experience could have justified such doctrine, because it was directly repugnant to all the rules of reasoning; and now facts were opposed to facts. Yet even this circumstance, which impeached the correctness of Dr. Jenner’s statement, and opened the great door of controversy, which the friends of Vaccination, numerous and powerful as they are, have not yet been able to shut, was completely disregarded.

The obvious inference to be deduced from it was overlooked: Dr. Jenner had seen the human

* Dr. Rowley’s pamphlet, p. 17.

† Rev. Robert Holt, of Fimmere, Bucks.

constitution affected by the virus of the Cow-pox a second time; Mr. Holt could not introduce it in persons who had lately gone through the disease. On what was this difference so likely to depend as on the influence of the primary affection continuing in the one instance, and having ceased in the other? It was well known that pforaic and other systematic affections indisposed the body for the reception of contagion of a different species, infomuch that it became an axiom in physiology that two distinct morbid actions could not be going on in the same part * at the same time. This theory, though perhaps not strictly true, remained uncontradicted until the zeal of certain *violent* Vaccinators inspired them with courage to attack even the most deeply rooted opinions of the schools, in order to establish their new doctrines and to introduce their new practice.

I am not perfectly satisfied that unlimited submission is due to their ingenious suggestions. It may be conceived that Mr. Hunter's opinion, properly understood, has not been controverted by facts. Thus, although the seeds or principles of two different diseases may be introduced *together* into the system, the action of one may commence instantaneously, and prevent, or retard, the effect of the other; which, when the first ceases to act,

* Mr. John Hunter.

may subsequently proceed to exert its influence in the body: so that the integrity of the original axiom may remain indisputable, unless it can be proved that the *progress of the two diseases be simultaneous*. The Vaccinators, indeed, have declared that Mr. Hunter's idea is completely destroyed by the occurrence of Small-pox and Cow-pox at the same time: but *they* have also asserted, that the virus of each disease unites with its fellow so untimely as to become one; and that thus what they term (perhaps not very intelligibly) an hybrid* affection, takes place; and as no efforts were made to invalidate the former notion until the introduction of Vaccination, the arguments which have been advanced *since* demand the more rigid scrutiny.

If, then, a systematic affection of a peculiar species be capable of rendering the body sometimes

* One absurdity produces another.—First, two diseases, specifically different, were brought into action at the same time, in the same body; then they were to be united into one: There can be no such thing as an hybrid disease: it is opposite to every law and rule of physiology and pathology. The great art of medicine is to direct appropriate remedies for contra-indications in diseases: but if any two diseases could unite and form a third of a certain specific nature, every other two or three, or four, or forty diseases might do the same, and the term symptom would no longer be of use in describing morbid affections; for every symptom would be a disease, and the science would be involved in inextricable confusion.

less susceptible of contagion than when existing in a state of perfect health, it was not unreasonable to suppose that the infectious matter of Cow-pox might indispose the system for the reception of the particular contagion of Small-pox: and farther, it is not unreasonable to suppose, that as the influences of such systematic affections are only temporary, and when they cease, the system recovers its susceptibility of the effect of contagion; so that the infectious matter of Cow-pox being regulated by the same laws may render those persons who have been inoculated with it, unsusceptible, for a time, of Variolous contagion; but that this temporary alteration may at length give place to a different state of the system, which shall then resume its susceptibility of that infection.

Analogy supports this reasoning; and it may be farther urged, that as the influence of every disease on the human body must depend on the peculiar condition of it at the time, so different circumstances may often contribute to extend or protract the preventive influence of Cow-pox, of Swine-pox, of Chicken-pox, of Pfora, and of other diseases*, in some instances, and to diminish or contract it in others.

Thus the seeming difference between the ac-

* Moseley on Lues Bovilla, p. 81.

count of Dr. Jenner and that of Mr. Holt * may be reconciled, without resorting to that apology for absurdity, which, instead of illustrating the nature of the disease, has denominated it “*ex-centric.*”

I must now return to the difficulties which began to interrupt the progress of Vaccination, notwithstanding the favourable description of that practice which had been sanctioned by Dr. Jenner’s pen.

Dr. Jenner felt these difficulties ; and, although his ardour “*was † damped,*” it was not extinguished : he soon published an account of two kinds of Cow-pox, one denominated true, and the other spurious ; of which the latter possessed “*no specific power of guarding the constitution*” from the Small-pox. On this communication being made to the public, many of Dr. Jenner’s admirers ‡ instantly concurred with him ; and being gifted with *second-sight*, saw the true and spurious kinds most distinctly marked by their respective characteristics. Some of them found that both true and spurious Cow-pox (as they were

* See also the Pamphlets of Mr. Fermor and Mr. Aiken ; and the communications to the Medical Journal, by Mr. Malim,

† Dr. Jenner’s second Pamphlet.

‡ Mr. Dunning, &c.

called) equally prevented Small-pox, at least for a season : these saw with Dr. Jenner's eyes, but overlooked the *principal objects* of his *vision*.—Like an old woman who, observing some of her grandchildren looking through a glass, desired to know what they saw :—they told her it was a bird's egg on the roof of a barn at a great distance :—the old woman wished to look through the glass also ; and having done so for some time, was asked whether she could distinguish the egg?—“ Yes,” said she, “ I see the *egg* plain enough ; but I “ can not see the *barn*.” True or false, genuine or spurious, is, however, of little importance in the scale of argument, since the multitude of failures in efficacy, and the destructive consequences which have occurred from the practice of Vaccination, have now marked its real * character.

It is remarkable that, notwithstanding an acquaintance of many † years with the Cow-pox,

* Among many *curious* remarks on the subject of Vaccination, it was said, by a writer in the Medical Journal, that the spurious Cow-pox was produced by *putrid matter*, although he acknowledged it to be a mild uncontagious disease. This learned person, I fear, had scarcely considered what he was writing, more attentively than another zealous Vaccinator, who conjectured that the death of a vaccinated patient was occasioned by the use of a lancet which, having been employed a few days before for a similar purpose, *had not been perhaps completely cleansed* from the tinge of blood which adhered to it !

† Dr. Jenner's Observations on Variola Vaccinæ.

Dr. Jenner did not utter a single sentence in his first publication respecting its duplicity: and it is equally extraordinary that as what he has been pleased to call "spurious Cow-pox" must have been often presented to his observation, he should have been a stranger to the eruptions which have been since transferred to that disease, although they originally appeared before it was known, or at least *acknowledged* to exist.

The fact that eruptions did appear, could not be denied: but it was boldly asserted, and obstinately maintained, that they were not the consequences of Vaccine matter in its genuine state.

After some time, however, fresh matter procured by Dr. Jenner himself, and made use of in situations not at all likely to have been exposed to Variolous contagion, was found capable of producing eruptions; and then, with an ill grace, the fact was *reluctantly admitted*.

Previously, this perplexing symptom had been attributed to the Variolous atmosphere of the Inoculation hospital, and sometimes attempts were made to trace the Vaccine matter used in different and remote parts of the country, to that source. Unfortunately, the breed was not well preserved: for it occasionally happened that, when forty or fifty persons had been vaccinated with matter derived from the same origin, some were affected

with eruptions, and some were free * from them ; and matter taken from the eruptive cases did not always produce eruptions, any more than virus selected from a single pustule, which, on the contrary, as was before observed, was frequently productive of a plentiful crop ; and even in persons who had not been exposed to the possible influence of Small-pox.

Dr. Jenner's intelligence, that there were two kinds of Cow-pox, was accompanied by the following elucidation :—“ That the virus of Cow-pox † was liable to undergo progressive changes ; that when it was applied to the human skin in its degenerated state, it would produce the ulcerative effects in as great a degree as when it was not decomposed, and sometimes *far greater* ; but, having lost its specific properties, it was incapable of producing that change upon the human frame which is requisite to render it unsusceptible of the Variolous contagion.” Hence, it was obvious, that all failures of Vaccination, to destroy susceptibility of Small-pox, were to be

* Mr. Holt having inoculated many persons with Vaccine matter, some of them passed through the disease mildly, others had eruptions ; but the matter from these, in several instances, produced the originally mild disease. Two persons had more than an hundred pustules each ; but eight children inoculated from them, had the disease in its mildest uneruptive form.

† Jenner on the Origin of Vaccine Inoculation.

placed to the account of the *spurious* disease; and that the only difference between the two species arose from the period at which virus was taken from the pustule.

It must be confessed that this account was not without its difficulties. If the virus taken late in the disease were capable of exciting the ulcerative or pustular action in even a *greater degree* than when taken earlier, how could its deficiency in preservative influence be accounted for, on any known principle of pathological reasoning? It was directly contradictory to the experiments which were made, in order to ascertain the origin of Cow-pox: for matter taken from the grease of the horse* was found incapable of infecting either the human system or the Cow, when the disease was only topical, and unaccompanied by “eruptions †” and general indisposition.”

Dr. Jenner appears to have entertained an opi-

* The greasy origin of the Cow-pox, notwithstanding all the experiments and observations of Dr. Jenner and the Vaccinators, is *still doubtful*: but it shall not be my fault if this important subject do not undergo a complete investigation: and I entreat the reader to bear in mind, that I strongly, very strongly, suspect that the discovery, to which my inquiries may probably lead, will infinitely strengthen the objections which the Public and many of the Faculty already feel, against the introduction of this *truly bestial* humour.

† Dr. Loy's Account of Experiments on the Origin of Cow-pox, in Duncan's Annals of Medicine for 1801.

nion that there was “ a * close analogy between
 “ the virus of Small-pox and of Cow-pox, since the
 “ former, when taken from the pustule in a far
 “ advanced stage of the disease, can not be relied
 “ on as effectual :” but neither does it *then* pro-
 duce so great local affection, nor by any means so
 great ulcerative or pustular action, which have
 been attributed to the secondary matter of Cow-
 pox : so that in the most important particular the
 similarity is wanting.

For some such reason, perhaps, for I am not
 aware of a better, it was hinted that the Cow-pox
 was only a modification of Small-pox † which,
 after passing through different animals in different
 disguises, had at length returned to mankind in a
 far milder and more “ lovely ‡” shape.

This opinion was, however, soon discouraged,
 because of its probable consequences to the prac-
 tice of Vaccination ; for, if cherished, it must in
 some degree have restrained the abuse which was

* Jenner On the Origin of Vaccine Inoculation.

† Dr. Woodville concurred with Dr. Jenner in this opinion.
 See Jenner’s “ Third Treatise,” and Aiken’s “ Concise View
 “ of the Cow-pox.”

‡ Such expressions as this are frequently to be met with in
 the writings of the Vaccinators. I hope I may be forgiven for
 embellishing my pages with any of their literary elegancies which
 I may have sufficient discernment to notice. See a Paper by
 Dr. Waterhouse of America ; another by Dr. Odier of Geneva,
 &c. &c.

preparing to be poured out against the Small-pox, both natural and artificial.

Considering that the true Cow-pox, and the affection which was denominated spurious, differed not at all in their nature, the distinction of names appeared to me very incorrect; and Dr. Pearson noticed the same circumstance, thinking “the impropriety of speech manifest*, and the use of the terms spurious matter and spurious Cow-pox in those who have, as well as those who have not had the Vaccine or Variola” incorrect; because they “imply a distinct and specific matter.”

But Dr. Pearson, who was not one of “the lovers of † incomprehensibility,” seemed desirous of rendering the knowledge of the disease, its nature, and effects, easy and intelligible; while many of those who have distinguished themselves on the subject, seem studiously to have affected a mysterious and inexplicable ‡ style.

The method of avoiding spurious Cow-pox was said to be a due attention to the period at which the virus was taken from the pustule; and “with every fresh instance of a spurious case” (or, in plain English, of the Small-pox taking place after Vaccination), we “heard of new instructions

* Dr. Pearson's Statement of Evidence, p. 68.

† The Sceptic.

‡ “Who talk of two sorts of Cow-pox, which never existed.” Moseley on Lues Bovilla, p. viii.

“and cautions * in taking the matter,” on which the success of the practice was said to depend.

But it must not be forgotten that, notwithstanding the “*analogy †*” which Dr. Jenner had discovered between the virus of Small-pox and that of Cow-pox; notwithstanding the reiterated cautions so zealously and eagerly re-echoed by the “ardent Vaccinators ‡, with eyes starting out of their heads;” when experiments were made with Variolous matter in Ireland §, to ascertain whether Vaccination had produced security against the Small-pox or not, the matter was taken from eruptions in a state of perfect maturation; and these experiments were called *judicious and satisfactory*, for they did not produce Small-pox.

From the period when eruptions appeared after Vaccination, the friends of that practice have been observed often to contradict themselves as well as each other.

“How easy,” exclaimed Dr. Jenner, “is the science of Vaccination!” While Dr. Niedt of Berlin, one of his professed devotees, complained

* Goldson’s Cases. Introduction, p. vii.

† Jenner on the Origin of Cow-pox.

‡ Cow-pox Inoculation no Security against Small-pox Infection, by W. Rowley, M. D. The work of a venerable and experienced Physician, eminently distinguished by his humanity, integrity, and skill.

§ By Dr. Barry.

of the extreme difficulty of distinguishing one species of eruption from another. All that was written on the subject did not elucidate it, in the smallest degree:—it was a subject on which, perhaps, no one had *thought clearly*; and on which, therefore, it was not to be expected * that he should express himself *distinctly*.

The criterion by which practitioners were to judge whether the “true Cow-pox” had taken place so as to render the constitution unsusceptible of Variolous contagion was said, and *positively* said, to be the occurrence of febrile symptoms, which were to succeed to the introduction of the “true matter only,” for the Cow-pox was not “in any respect similar † to the true;” and from “its analogy ‡ to the virus of Small-pox,” taken at a late period of the disease, *ought not* to have produced more than a local affection.

Afterwards, when it was discovered that matter become quite opaque, and, kept for a long time,

* “The mischief of publishing medicinal books, written on the authority of others, without the power of detecting their errors, is infinite.” Moseley on Climate, p. 130.

Many scribblers on the subject of Cow-pox, in the periodical prints, and even some who have written long Essays, would have done well to attend to the advice of HORACE—

“Sumite materiam vestris qui scribitis æquam

“Viribus.”

† Jenner’s Treatise.

‡ Ibid.

also produced febrile symptoms, as well as the fresh, recent, pellucid virus (which, by the bye, must necessarily be the case, if it did ever produce *as great a degree of ulcerative effect* as the latter), a new rule of judging was required: and this rule was found in the *Indentation*, which was solemnly declared to be an infallible proof of the real Cow-pox, and of its having secured the system from the future influence of Variolous contagion. *Indentation!* which has been so excellently and successfully ridiculed by Dr. Rowley*. *Indentation!* which, being the acknowledged, the boasted stamp† of genuine Cow-pox, has proved its fallibility by the numerous instances in which it has

* Rowley's Cow-Pox Inoculation no Security, &c. p. 16, 17, 35, 36.

† A gentleman lately informed me that *Indentation* was not regarded as the criterion of Cow-pox having completed its course, at *all the Cow-pox stations*: it may be so, for among the various doctrinal contradictions of these seminaries of error, it is extremely difficult to discover what opinions the Vaccinators themselves believe to be orthodox:—this I know, that *the want* of *Indentation* has been gladly and vehemently insisted on, as a sufficient proof of Vaccination having been imperfect; in many instances in which the Small-pox has taken place subsequently;—by gentlemen belonging to *most of the different Institutions*. I am sorry to add, that there have been instances also, in which *the Indentation*, notwithstanding *its evident appearance*, has been repeatedly denied.—This happened perhaps from the want of *King Pheron's eye-water*, recommended in Dr. Moseley's Treatise, p. 86.

still continued visible; while those who bore about them this magic seal, either suffered all the difficulties and dangers of the natural Small-pox, or had every symptom of that disease produced in its milder form by the practice of Inoculation.

I repeat,—it was *asserted* that where there was no Indentation from the Vaccine pustule, the disease was spurious; and yet the very men who thus *dreamed*, contended that the spurious Cow-pox was productive of the “ulcerative process in
“ as great a degree as the true disease*, or even
“ greater!”

Great reliance was placed on the experiments of persons not of the medical profession; and it must be confessed, that in this respect the writers in favour of Vaccination had unusual advantages: for, notwithstanding the reiterated intimations of Dr. Jenner, that Vaccination ought to be conducted with the utmost caution, every province swarmed with Vaccinators, and even the ladies in Lancashire, to use the *words* of a certain enthusiastic writer, inoculated “*in a mass.*”

Among other discoveries for which we are indebted to unmedical Vaccinators, was that of the occurrence of eruptions in consequence of Inoculation with Vaccine matter, in persons who were rendered by the disease unsusceptible of the Small-pox.

* Jenner On the Origin of Vaccine Inoculation.

These instances were so numerous and so well authenticated, and it was so impossible for any suspicion to arise about the contamination of the matter, that the fact of the Inoculation of *true* Cow-pox being capable of producing eruptions must be admitted, or the *spurious* disease acknowledged to be productive of the same specific effect as the real Cow-pox, which Dr. Jenner * had expressly denied.

Innumerable subterfuges were resorted to, rather than this strong hold should be abandoned, because it was a sort of rallying post for all zealous Vaccinators.

Some practitioners never "could meet with" eruptive cases, which *they* therefore thought, never could happen from pure, genuine matter.

Appeals were made to one gentleman † who had vaccinated great numbers. He met with no unsuccessful cases, no doubts arose in his mind; consequently he had not seen the "spurious disease." No eruptions took place in his practice; no dangerous symptoms occurred. After passing through the Cow-pox, his patients were inoculated with Variolous matter, and were unsusceptible of its influence, *then*, and according to the reasoning of the Vaccinators, ever would be so: in short,

* Essay on Variola Vaccinæ.

† Mr. Fermor of Tufmore.

health and fraternity was the chorus of his performance.

Even when *pustules exactly resembling* the Variolous, from matter of Cox-pox, uncontaminated, had appeared, and could not be denied; rather than the favourite doctrine should be relinquished, it was conjectured that they might have been occasioned by previous infection of the Small-pox.

In France it was at first stated, that many pustules * took place from Vaccination; afterwards, the eruption was said to be regulated by the number of punctures † or incisions made by the Vaccinator.

In America, where the practice of Vaccination was performed in a tailor-like manner by needle and thread, and although avowedly adopted from Dr. Jenner's suggestions, practised in the method ‡ most dissonant to his directions, it was *every thing* which its best friends could wish. Whether, in a country acknowledged to be half a century behind the rest of the world in the practice of Variolous Inoculation and in the treatment of Small-pox; where persons attacked by this disease are *humanely* separated from their friends, and carried into the middle of a wood for the *benefit of medical*

* Aubert's Rapport sur la Vaccine.

† Colon's Essay.

‡ Dr. Waterhouse's Prospect of exterminating Small Pox, &c.

attendance; where the bloody beacon of quarantine is thought consistent with reason and humanity; and where Inoculation is prohibited by law; the practitioners of medicine are to be depended on as competent judges at first sight of the benefit and security of Vaccination, may perhaps be determined by those who have been made acquainted with the manner in which the late President Washington departed from his earthly house!

In Geneva, eruptions were observed * in about two or three cases in a hundred; but this was *supposed* to be dependent on the epidemic Small-pox then prevailing, and which, *perhaps* partaking of the *eccentricity* ascribed to the Cow-pox, might only attack two or three in a hundred equally exposed to it!

In a few cases, however, there was a general eruption of a vesicular fluid, imagined to be genuine Cow-pox pustules: which is indeed *highly probable*; because persons inoculated from them † had the *true Cow-pox!*

In Germany ‡ it seems that some doubts were entertained, even by the encouragers of Vaccination, respecting its being a *permanent* security. But it was *recommended and prosecuted* at all hazards.

To return to our own country: so many eruptive

* By Dr. Odier.

† Ibid.

‡ Stromeyer.

cases occurred at Portsmouth, that Mr. Goldson * thought proper to publish an account of the general disappointment of the practitioners in that neighbourhood: for there not having appeared any grounds for suspicion originally, respecting the matter employed, and the appearance of eruptions being inconsistent with Dr. Jenner's account of the disease, some doubts began early to be entertained respecting the *security* of a practice of which the consequences seemed to have been incorrectly described.

Persons vaccinated at Portsmouth were therefore put to the test, as it was called, or exposed in various ways to the influence of Variolous contagion; and some of them were consequently infected, and had the Small-pox. Hence Mr. Goldson took occasion to recommend or propose to a society in London, "to † institute experiments to determine whether there be not a *limited* period to the preservative influence of Cow-pox."

It is really astonishing what a degree of vehemence was excited by this suggestion!

It produced one of the most violent pamphlets which ever issued from the British press. Truly indeed it might be said, that bold and positive assertion is too often substituted for argument, and clamour

* Goldson's "Cases, &c."

† Ibid.

for discussion; for in this, and some subsequent transactions of indiscreet * friends of Vaccination, it too plainly appeared that they had forgotten the excellent caution in the statutes of the London College of Physicians, of which they have been since reminded by Dr. Moseley:—" Si medici † in diversas
 " eant sententias, ita ut in eandem praxin inter se
 " consentire nequeant, *summâ* tamen *prudentiâ* et
 " *moderatione* sic se gerunt in artis præjudicium
 " non cedat." Instead of considering such good advice, infatuation expanded itself into fury, and zeal was turned into rage.

It is difficult to trace, and consequently to describe, the strange incoherence ‡ which now seemed to disjoin every thing like argument brought forward in defence of Vaccination.

The Portsmouth cases had been scarcely published, when, in spite of obstinacy, prejudice, and zeal, some of the best friends of the *Jennerian* practice were compelled to acknowledge that with all their judgement and precaution, other persons vaccinated *with genuine* matter, and having gone through the disease in the completest manner, were subsequently affected by the contagion of Small-pox.

* "Pessimum inimicorum genus laudentes." TACIT.

† Stat. Col. Reg. Med. Lond.

‡ To borrow part of a sentence from Cicero, "Nihil tam absurdum, quod non dictum sit ab aliquo" Vaccinatorum.

The spurious sort of Cow-pox had been discovered and described in vain.

The infallible safety of the practice of Vaccination had been long abandoned;—that indeed was a bantling strangled in its cradle: and here and there cases began to appear of serious and dangerous diseases subsequent to Cow-pox, and evidently occasioned by it.

Tumefactions; rough and filthy eruptions like mange; corroding ulcers; and impurity of the blood, producing blotches and other cutaneous affections, and sometimes a *copper*-coloured erysipelatous inflammation in children and others who had previously enjoyed a state of uninterrupted health and vigour, were among the consequences of Vaccination.

All these difficulties and obstacles following each other in rapid succession, might have been sufficient to intimidate the most valiant champions of Vaccination.

The very vitals of the practice were attacked; and it was threatened with destruction, root and branch.

One alone, of the originally long list of Cow-pox advantages remained undisputed——its not being communicable by effluvia; and even that had been almost gratuitously relinquished: for at one time it was contended *for*, and at another spoken against; once it was by no means con-

cluded that the disease was not infectious ; and it was afterwards said, that Dr. Jenner had proved that it was not contagious.

With all these disadvantages to encounter, it was surprising to see how readily the determined supporters * of Vaccination found excuses for every error, vindicated every inconsistency, and prepared to assail their antagonists with *offensive* arguments.

Vulgar report was eagerly resorted to, in order to countenance the idea of Cow-pox being a permanent security against Small-pox. But whenever persons in the lower classes of society were bold enough to enquire on what ground of reasoning or experience the permanent security or safety of Vaccination stood,—it was said that *great prejudices* existed and must be overcome.

Farmers had been known to declare, that they were sure they could never catch the Small-pox, after having had the Vaccine disease. Then, all the venerableness of tradition was held up to the admiring eyes of credulity ; and such reports were regarded with as much submission as the sentences of the Delphic oracles. But when there were found among them many who thought the Cow-pox only *a temporary security*,—such men were

* “ Its vehement advocates defend their post inch by inch !
 “ blaming one another for the misfortunes that have happened
 “ by their Vaccinating activity.”—Rowley on Cow Pox, p. 63.

full of illiterate prejudices, and such testimony was inadmissible.

Medical practitioners were heard to say, that it was useless to attempt to infect patients with Variolous matter who had previously gone through the Cow-pox; and doctrines so coincident with the feelings and wishes of the *Jennerians* were extolled as the perfection of human wisdom. But whenever doubts were entertained, or explanations called for; much more when unfavourable cases or counter-proofs were brought forward; neither learning nor experience * escaped the most contemptuous epithets: such doubts were absurd hypotheses, and such cases were cavilled at with all the casuistry of the most brow-beating civilian.

A sceptical † practitioner stated, that a patient who had been lately vaccinated with the same virus which had *not* produced insusceptibility of the Small-

* Mr. Stevenson of Kegworth, and Mr. Maddock of Nottingham, can witness this assertion.

Some of "the worshippers of the great Goddess" *Vaccina* of the *Jennerians*, descended to a style of the lowest vulgarity and the most virulent invective: being perhaps too sincere as well as too zealous to practise that elegant dissimulation which Pliny has recorded of Cæsar, the suavity of whose manner disguised reproof under the trappings of praise. "Ita reprehendit ut laudet." Plinii, lib. iii. epist. xii.

† Mr. Goldson of Portsmouth.

pox in others, had alternately slept in the same cradle with another child during the progress of that disease, without receiving infection:—this was denied to be a conclusive experiment. But when the very same mode of proof was on another occasion resorted to, by an avowed* friend of Vaccination, it was deemed perfectly satisfactory, and a striking instance of the efficacy of the Cow-pox.

Various and severe diseases were observed to follow Vaccination in constitutions which had been before perfectly healthy. Then,—Vaccination was not performed properly; the matter was not taken carefully; it was taken too early or too late; was kept too hot † or too cold; or, peradventure, was not Cow-pox matter at all. These secondary diseases were not the consequences of Vaccination! for Cows, whence the virus was taken, were healthy animals, afforded good milk and good beef, and from a source so good, no evil could be derived!

When eruptions were mentioned,—they could not be attributed to the Cow-pox: they must be Variolous. When matter taken from such pustules produced uneruptive Cow-pox,—it was an hybrid disease, or a *mule*. When, after immense alterca-

* Mr. Serjeant.

† See Observations on the Cow-pox, by R. Squirrell, M. D. A publication, the result of great practical experience, guided by great professional acumen.

tion, the true Cow-pox had at length been acknowledged capable of producing eruptions: by way of qualifying that concession, it was asserted, that such eruptions were so slightly painful or troublesome, and so soon dried up and disappeared, that they could not be considered as forming any reasonable objection to the mildness and safety of the *Jennerian* practice. But when the case of Mr. Jacobs of Bristol was brought forward in opposition to the original doctrine of infallible security, it was contended that the disease which he had suffered could not have been the Cow-pox; because, if he had had even two or three "true Cow-pox" pustules, he would have felt "so much indisposition that he would have recollected it as * long as he lived."

When constitutional affection took place in a greater degree than was compatible with the mild character which had been given of the Cow-pox, it was attributed to hard labour. When febrile symptoms accompanied the absorption of the virus in a young man—he had caught cold from having "imprudently left off a waistcoat."

In short, a ready excuse has always been at hand to palliate every unfavourable symptom, and to contradict every possible objection. The nature of such excuses is here explained.—

So eager were some of the Vaccinators to encourage the Cow-pox doctrine, that not only Dr.

* Mr. Henry Jenner's Address.

Jenner's instructions were disregarded, but every caution which found its way into the publications even of the friends of Vaccination was cavilled at*. Thus, when Mr. Fermor allowed that "where the well-being of man † is concerned, no precaution in reality can be too great"—this was supposed to be furnishing the enemy with weapons; and the maxim was said to be wrested from its true intent, and improperly made to serve as an excuse for not adopting the practice of Vaccination.

No errors have been perceived by the Vaccinators in the arguments, however wire-drawn, which were cited in favour of Vaccination; but they have been at all times ready to protest against those which may be employed on the opposite side.

The safety and security of Vaccination having been impeached, there were few subordinate particulars in which even Vaccinators could agree among themselves: there was however another ‡

* "Hoc tantum in rectum quod facit ipse putat."

† Fermor On Cow-pox.

‡ "Another, and another still, succeeds," at which the mind recoils with horror and detestation. Anonymous and incendiary letters have been sent to those who dare to write against Vaccination. To answer productions which might disgrace the foulest fiend of hell in his fiercest rage, is impossible. I will therefore, only add that in this righteous cause (an effort to diminish human woe) I humbly rely on the protection of Divine Providence, against the threats and machinations of "envy, hatred, malice and uncharitableness."

mode of supporting the *Jennerian* practice which deserves most serious consideration.

It has been already stated, that the accounts published of the mortality of the inoculated Small-pox have been very incorrect. They were discordant in numbers; but have all agreed in misrepresenting a safe and certain preventive of the Small-pox, as destroying *in general*, many more lives than are sacrificed even to the unskilfulness and ignorance of those *who least understand* that valuable practice.

In London*, in the country, before the Committee of Parliament, and even in the sanctuary †, erroneous notions and false calculations were promulgated.

* Mortality of inoculated Small-pox estimated by Dr. Pearson at 1 in 200: by another *Calculator* at 1 in 100. At Birmingham, at 1 in 250. By Dr. Bradley and Sir Walter Farquhar, at 1 in 300.

† See Sermons on this subject by several hands; and the "Address from a Country Minister to his Parishioners," written by the Rev. T. A. Warren, and published by the *Jennerian* Society, in which are the following remarkable words: "Some doubt the security of Vaccine Inoculation. They have fears that it is not, as they say, the right sort; and *some few* stories have been told of persons inoculated with the Cow-pox, who afterwards caught the Small-pox. Neighbours, *depend* upon it, that these stories are *in some degree or altogether untrue!*" Nothing ever equalled this, but the ribaldry and malicious falsehoods which lately appeared in the Monthly Magazine. This doughty champion has since *confessed*, that *some instances* of Small-pox after Cow-pox *have really appeared!*

Even this unjustifiable mode of recommending Vaccination, as it was insufficient to subdue *all reasoning*, was not enough to content the “enthusiastic promoters of * Vaccination.”

The dangers of Inoculation had been multiplied an hundred-fold; its security was next to be called in question.

It was said, that although *a few instances* might occur of Vaccination not proving a preventive, it was at least as certain as Variolous Inoculation. No sooner had the hint been dropped, than cases of Small-pox a second time were presented, not only of Small-pox after Inoculation, but even of natural Small-pox twice †.

Dr. Jenner himself exclaims, “why will ‡ not the faculty take pains to let the people know that THOUSANDS who were inoculated with Variolous matter, and were *supposed* to have had the Small-pox, have since caught the disease, and had it in good earnest?”

The reason perhaps was, because if the faculty

* Rowley's Cow-pox Inoculation no Security, p. 27.

† Medical and Physical Journal; and Edinburgh Practice of Physic, vol. 2, p. 75. Dr. Adams, in his “Answer to all Objections hitherto made against Cow-pox,” has mentioned a case of Small-pox a second time at Newbury; which he is pleased to parallel with the appearance of a *white negroe*, or a *cow with two heads*; but, I presume, since the publication of Dr. Rowley's list, that Dr. A. would find it difficult to match all the cases of Small-pox after Vaccination with such prodigies!

‡ Jenner's Letter.

had attempted to establish such an assertion, the public would not have believed it, unless supported by facts; which it would have been impossible to have produced.

It is not to be doubted that there may have been instances, perhaps many, in which inattention of the operator, or the idiosyncrasy of the patient, may have prevented the Variolous matter used in Inoculation from so acting in the system as to secure it permanently from the Small-pox: but will this prove any thing in favour of Vaccination?

Are those inconsiderate practitioners who with juvenile ardour so readily adopted a wild invention unexamined and unknown, likely to be more cautious than others in the mode of inoculating with Vaccine virus? Is that virus in every state, capable of guarding the constitution for a single hour against the contagion of Small-pox? Are there not circumstances of constitutional peculiarity, or of systematic disease, capable of diminishing or interrupting the supposed influence of "this most blest * preventive"? Has not the Doctor acknowledged the incaution, the rashness, even the ignorance, the *glaring bold faced ignorance*, of some among the faculty who have engaged in Vaccination? Will it be contended, that the village *curate* and the country *schoolmaster* are better qualified for similar undertakings? Has not great

* Cow-pox so named by the Rev. T. A. Warren!

folicitude been evinced to point out the uncertainty of the effectual power of Vaccine virus taken at a late period of the disease? Will any "golden rule" be laid down for the guide and governance of Vaccinators, which may not equally apply, and be equally applied, to those who inoculate for the Small-pox? Have not the prevalence of certain circumstances rendered Vaccination imperfect? And will it be denied, that the same reasoning holds good with regard to those instances of supposed failure of Variolous Inoculation to which Dr. Jenner has (I am sorry to say, *triumphantly*) alluded?

But the Small-pox Inoculation has passed the ordeal of experience;—has been purified by investigation;—has been established on the adamantine rock of truth!

Not even a single case well authenticated stands upon record of any person having had the Small-pox a second time*: nor is there a practitioner now living who can substantiate the contrary assertion.

Dr. Archer, a late eminent Physician at the head of the Small-pox Hospital, after having inoculated twenty thousand without losing †, one patient, was accustomed to challenge the production

* Rowley's Cow-pox Inoculation no Security. Moseley on Lues Boyilla. Squirrell on Cow-pox. Sutton and Dimsdale on Inoculation. Lipscomb's Vindication of Inoculation, &c.

† See Dr. Moseley's Treatise; and Mr. Sutton's Letter in the

of any instance in which Inoculation performed by himself had been inefficient: but Vaccination had not then been thought of, or many claimants would probably have rushed forward to share the forfeit of five hundred pounds, which the good old man publicly offered year after year.

Even if this mighty truth, the infallibility of Variolous Inoculation, did not exist to appal the Vaccinators, many of whom owe their own lives, "the lives of their wives, and the lives of their children," to the practice which they grossly calumniate; the admission of the contrary would not support their arguments in favour of Vaccination. So far from being productive of increased confidence in the security of the Cow-pox, it must have diminished the dependence of every rational person on its preventive power; for, if it had been true that the specific contagion of Small-pox itself could *not* prevent the recurrence of the disease, could there be any probability that a different modification of the same contagion, or a contagion specifically different from it (in which light soever Vaccinators may choose to consider the matter), was capable of producing such an effect?

Before any one had died in consequence of Vaccination, the exultation of those *who hoped* and

Gentleman's Mag. for Nov. 1805, in which the latter, after having inoculated more than 100,000 patients, defies the production of any case of Small-pox, a second time.

believed all things relative to its advantages, whether possible or impossible, and saw them all, whether *visible* or *invisible*, by anticipation, was unbounded. “Reason * was dethroned and trampled under foot; and the English language expired under the load of Cow-pox pæans.”

“The Cow-pox,” says Dr. Thornton, “never † destroys life! Glorious tidings! Happy annunciation!” Sufficiently so, it seems; to have wiped away the tears for the loss of a beloved child. But, alas! how vain the illusion! how futile the confidence! “Heu ‡ spes abreptas breves!” Others have to mourn the melancholy consequences of the practice here applauded with emphasis so striking, and pathos so energetic and affecting. Others can tell with what heart-rending disappointment they beheld the fair form of their lovely infants disfigured § and polluted; those eyes which beamed in native innocence, and raised

* See the exquisite ridicule with which Dr. Moseley has treated this part of the subject in his *Treatise on Lues Bovilla*, p. 12.

† Thornton’s Facts decisive in favour of Cow-pox.

‡ Horace.

§ “———The deep racking pang, the ghastly form,
“The lip pale quiv’ring and the beamless eye
“No more with ardour bright.”

THOMSON.

the tenderest emotions in a fond parent's heart, obscured in putrid night; those downy roseate cheeks roughened by horrid and disgusting scars; those little hands, whose playful activity was wont to afford so much amusement and delight, clasped in feverish and convulsive agony; and that pure breath which heretofore might rival the fragrance of the evening zephyr, or the breezy incense of the morning, now converted into streams of offensive exhalation! Yes, lovely infants, yours were sufferings which only required to be seen, and they would inevitably have subdued all the vast and vain boasting with which the discovery of Vaccination was ushered into the world!

Neither reasoning nor facts *, though occasionally opposed to the hypothesis of the Vaccinators, made any impression on their minds; but they still persisted in making the same premises the foundation of their arguments, which had been again and again disproved; and continued to draw the same conclusions which had been repeatedly contradicted.

Thus, Mr. Henry Jenner †, in an Essay evi-

* Besides the remarks of Dr. Moseley, cases adverse to the *Jennerian* doctrines were published by Mr. Goldson, Mr. Malim, and others.

† Address to the Public on the Advantages of Vaccine Inoculation.

dently designed to concentrate the principal arguments in favour of Cow-pox, determined,—*first*, that Vaccination does not excite a disposition to any new diseases,—although it is in fact often followed by serious and sometimes by fatal morbid affections, which clearly appear either to have been called into action by it, or introduced *with* it:—*secondly*, that it “improves the constitution,”—which never has been proved, and seems repugnant to all the rules of reasoning and experience:—*thirdly*, that the Cow-pox is never fatal;—although Dr. Woodville had at first, and many practitioners afterwards, declared the contrary:—*fourthly*, that no pustules “were observed,”—which having frequently occurred, ought to have been observed, and described by those who pretended to give the history of the Cow-pox; but who appear to have been ignorant of one of its most important symptoms.

In like manner Dr. Thornton's* conclusions were founded on data, of which experience and reflection have shewn many to be fallacious and inadmissible: on a belief of the infallible security of the Cow-pox, which has been *disproved*; on the idea of its never being fatal, which is *untrue*; on the doctrine that it would never be accompanied by danger, nor introduce morbid affections,

* Thornton's Facts decisive in favour of Cow-pox.

which have been found to follow it *frequently*, and to a dangerous and even destructive extent.

It seemed to be determined, that the natural horrors of the Small-pox should be even increased, for the purpose of introducing Vaccination with greater advantage.

There are few persons who could have succeeded better than Dr. M^cDonald and Dr. Thornton in painting the distressing scenes of human calamity: but the picture appears too highly coloured, when it is asserted, that “all the wars throughout the world* have never cut the thread of so many lives as that inexorable devourer of the human race,” the Small-pox †: and it is to be regretted that a writer, whose humanity breathes in every sentence, should have taken any opportunity of countenancing the savage practice of depopulating war.

The “most dreadful ‡ diseases are” said to be “called forth by Inoculation:” but, lest any apprehensions for the safety of persons vaccinated should entwine themselves in this remark on Variolous infection, the notion of inoculating or engrafting Scrophula is called “a vulgar error.”

* Thornton's Facts decisive, &c. p. 14.

† Dr. Thornton has confessed, that what he said on the subject of Small-pox was intended “as a foil to set forth the advantages” of Vaccination, p. 144.

‡ Ibid.

I must beg leave to differ from the learned author as to the force of his reasoning on this subject: for it does not appear to be either irrational or difficult to imagine that two distinct kinds of matter may be inserted at the same time—one capable of immediately affecting the system; the other liable to remain inactive (or, perhaps, liable to be restrained from action by the influence of the former) for a certain period, but afterwards powerful enough not only to affect the system universally, but even fatally: and I think this idea bears the impress of probability quite as strongly as the notion that when Scrophula follows Variolous Inoculation the seeds of it *must have existed previously*, latent in the system.

Among other cases which can be adduced in support of this opinion, one might be mentioned in the family of a late surgeon at Winchester, who, at different times, inoculated his three children. They all went through the Small-pox favourably:—the eldest and the youngest remained perfectly healthy afterwards; but the other, a fine little boy, in all appearance as free from scrophulous taint as his sisters, soon exhibited melancholy and decided symptoms of that horrible disease; which, rapidly advancing, affected many of the joints, and ultimately terminated a painful and melancholy existence.

There not having been even the remotest reason

to suspect an hereditary disposition to this disease in the parents or their respective ancestors; and this child, like the rest of the family, having never indicated such a constitution until after inoculation, it seemed not injudicious to suppose, that here Scrophula was engrafted at the time of Inoculation with the Variolous matter. Nor can I altogether agree with the same respectable Physician, that the truly learned and indefatigable Dr. Mead has succeeded in *confuting* this doctrine, even in the quotation * made from his works by Dr. Thornton; for it is only said that he “can hardly believe that the seed of one distemper should bring along with it mixed the procreative matter of another, of a nature quite different from it.” Now it is certainly not more difficult to believe the possibility of such an event, than that a distemper of a specific kind can, by its influence in the system, excite or arouse into action the latent sparks of another distemper, whose action, when once begun, shall be totally different from the former, as well as its nature; so that the original question remains just where Dr. Mead found it: and he himself cautions practitioners against taking Variolous matter indiscriminately, through an evident fear of some evil or unpleasant consequences being the result. Even at pre-

* Thornton's Facts decisive, &c.

sent it is not usual for discreet practitioners to be indifferent whether they take Variolous matter from a sound or an unsound *person*: although the *species of eruption* be of no real consequence. So much has been said by some writers on the wholesomeness* of the Cow's milk; the sweetness of her breath; the abundant nutritiveness of her flesh; and her freedom from diseases; that they appear to have thought these circumstances recommendatory even of contagion: but, if Dr. Thornton's opinion be well founded, all their eloquence was unnecessary.

It seems to be the notion of Dr. Jenner, that "it is not the identical matter inserted, which is absorbed into the constitution, but that † which is by some peculiar process in the animal economy generated by it." I will not attempt to puzzle the Doctor, by asking how he can prove

* Lettsom's Observations on the Cow-pox. Thornton's Facts, &c. Adams's Answer, &c.

† It might be difficult to conceive what use could be made of such an hypothesis: but the ingenuity of the Vaccinators turned every absurdity to account. In a case in which the progress of the Vaccine disease could not be denied; in which the indentation remained perfectly visible; and the child was acknowledged by the Vaccinator to have since had the natural Small-pox---the reason assigned for this "*accident*" was, that *too much of the matter in the Vaccine pustule* had been taken away for the purpose of Inoculation; and thus the susceptibility of Small-pox was to be accounted for! This is Cow-pox reasoning!

this assertion? although it might be expected that those persons to whose opinions great respect is attached, would neither lightly nor inconsiderately advance doubtful doctrines.

The basis of the idea is evidently the notion of spasm maintained by the late Dr. Cullen; a man who has been even more distinguished by obstinate perseverance in an ill-explained and worse-understood theory, than by the vigorous powers of an uncommonly active and capacious mind.

The school of Cullen, originally founded on fanciful hypothesis, and always at war with demonstration, either denied or neglected to regard the greatest of all modern discoveries, that of the lymphatics. The sensibility of the living fibre was supposed to be influenced by stimuli of different species in a different manner; and not discerning the fact of absorption, nor aware of the chemical decomposition of substances absorbed, and their recombination, every circumstance relative to the corporeal functions, in health and in disease, was referred to the effect of irritation.

Since the discovery of the lymphatics, it is become totally unnecessary to argue against the doctrine of spasm: it is only surprising that there are persons who still adhere to it.

It would excite ridicule even in a very child in physiological reasoning who had seen a single dis-

fection, if he should be asked what contraction could be excited by the millioneth part of a grain of matter insensible to the touch, the hearing, the taste, the smell, or the sight: but he might be able to conceive a possibility of effect from the chemical combination even of such a particle with the fluids of a living body; because he would recollect that the odoriferous parts of asparagus are found to pervade the circulating fluids, and to become greatly increased in poignancy by an intermixture with them: and he would also remember the penetrating and diffusive odour of musk, which, without losing any thing of its sensible weight, will perfume the atmosphere of a thousand apartments; the effect of turpentine applied to the skin; and of garlic, and many other substances, received into the stomach.

It does not necessarily follow that because infectious matter, as, for example, the virus of Small-pox or Cow-pox, be introduced under the skin, *it must be absorbed*; for, in some cases, experience teaches us that *it is not absorbed*: but, if any particles of a similar nature, generated in the part inoculated, by the process of fermentation, or in any other manner, be, at any time, taken up by the lymphatics and carried into the blood, no argument can possibly be advanced to justify the notion that the “identical matter” originally inserted may not likewise be absorbed; for that the

former happens in every instance of eruptive diseases will not, I presume, be denied.

While very able pens were employed in describing the miseries of the natural Small-pox with aggravated horror, and magnifying the dangers of Inoculation; eloquent declamations were heard in praise of Cow-pox; the most unreasonable* properties attributed to it, and the most fulsome compliments bestowed on the *immortal* † *Inventor* of Vaccination.

It may amuse the reader to refer to some of those passages with which the writings of the Vaccinators abound.

An eminent physician ‡ before quoted, distinguished by the benevolence of his disposition and the sedateness of his deportment, not only favoured the public and Dr. Jenner with some of the most brilliant sentiments on this subject which have at any time appeared in print, but pronounced before a learned § audience an oration even still more remarkable for its sublimity.

* It was said that the Cow-pox cured deafness, asthma, and numerous other disorders.

† Thus Dr. Jenner found an easy passage to Immortality, contrary to the idea of Seneca in the well-known proverb,—
“ Non ad adstra mollis a terris via.”

‡ Dr. John Coakley Lettsom, F.R.S. Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians, and Physician Extraordinary to the City of London Lying-in Hospital.

§ The Medical Society of London.

Not satisfied with applauding Dr. Jenner to the very stars *, this grave physician condescended to panegyrisé the Cow; and has exhibited a striking example of the most vivid fancy, as well as the most energetic style of composition, and the most fascinating and imposing eloquence. “Of all animals,” says Dr. Lettsom’s book, “the Cow is most congenial to the habits of man: its food is simple; its diseases are few; we are from infancy nourished by its milk, and its flesh constitutes a large portion of human aliment; and surely a particle of matter extracted from this *almost sacred animal*, can excite no disgust or rational idea of impurity.”

Here let us take breath, and reflect for a moment on the consequences of being seduced from the track of reason by the firen’s song. The same sentiment conveyed *in the vulgar tongue*, would not be likely to mislead any one: the blandishments of beauty are found capable of deceiving even philosophers. The domestic qualifications of vigilance and fidelity in the dog, do not exempt the canine species from that dreadful af-

* “When Herschel fixed the site of the Georgium Sidus in the great volume of the heavens,” (says Dr. Lettsom in an apostrophe to the Reviewers), “you raised the theme of ardent praise to this unrivalled astronomer; but what is the Georgium Sidus in competition with the *Jennerian* discovery?”

fection, *hydrophobia*. The matchless lustre of the serpent's scales covers the most deadly poison. Those virulent diseases, the grease and the glanders, are incidental to a noble animal whose "neck is clothed with thunder*", who rejoiceth in strength, "and the glory of whose nostrils is terrible." The horse, as well as the Cow, is fed by the herb of the field, and his drink is the limpid stream. But of what avail is this consideration in the eye of sound philosophy, when the morbid influences of contagion come in review before it?

When clinical experience shall have convinced the faculty in general, as it has already convinced many, that the Cow-evil, the Cow-mange, the rough and deep and tedious ulcerations, the decay even of bones, and the occurrence of gangrene and death, are sometimes the consequences of Vaccination; what compensation can be obtained by contemplating the sleek skin, or the fragrant breath, or the cleanly appearance of the animal from which these evils are derived?

Look at the numerous † instances which, since the introduction of the Cow-pox into the human

* Job, ch. 39. ver. 19, 20, 21.

† See 440 cases in which Cow-pox has either failed in producing unsusceptibility of Small-pox, or has been productive of shocking diseases or death, in Dr. Rowley's "Cow-pox Inoculation no Security against Small-pox."

race, have been produced of these formidable and distressing maladies: and it will be readily acknowledged, that even if the practice of Vaccination had been an infallible security against the Small-pox, its danger and the diseases * which follow it, would be sufficient to deter every considerate person from encouraging its introduction. The remark, then, which obviously follows is, that neither the age nor eloquence, neither the rank nor zeal, of others should shut our eyes or lull our senses into an *implicit confidence* in any theory, however plausibly or vehemently supported, while we ourselves pos-

* It is of comparatively little importance whether the horrid diseases which experience has shewn us after the Cow-pox, be the result of morbid action *excited* by the influence of that disease in the system, or specific affections introduced by the operation of Vaccinating.

The subject is very indelicate and disgusting, but I am compelled to notice particularly *one* disease which has been delineated in Dr. Rowley's pamphlet, and described under the title of the Ox-face. *Two instances* of this nature have come under my own observation among numerous cases of other morbid appearances, which were never seen in the human race before the unfortunate introduction of Vaccination. In both these instances, the deformity was greatly heightened by a degree of strabismus which seems to constitute a characteristic of this singular malady; and forms a feature so striking, that Virgil's expression "*taurino vultu*" would immediately occur to the classical observer, without even referring to the cause, or the descriptions which may have been given of the disease. But the Medical Journalists pronounce it to be *a common abscess!* Poor men! *they* are not very *classical!*

sefs the faculties of reasoning and judgement: because, with the best intentions in the world, men of warm imaginations are too apt to be misled by specious appearances, and to place an improper dependence on plausible hypotheses, merely because they wish them to be true.

Since so many unfortunate events have occurred to diminish the reputation of the Cow-pox, the eulogy pronounced on Dr. Jenner at the Medical Society (and afterwards published), in which Dr. Lettsom celebrates Vaccination with the most hyperbolical praise, has been less admired than before; and I would recommend it to be laid by on the same shelf with the elaborate production of his voluminous commentator, for the use of those *twelve millions of poor souls* who, saved by the *Jennerian* discovery, are to make their appearance* in the next century.

The ardour † with which Dr. Lettsom seems to

* Dr. Lettsom calculated that the “ Preservation by the Cow-pox would probably repeople these kingdoms every century, or give existence to *twelve millions of people.*”

Lettsom's Observations on Cow-Pox.

† I dare not often quote Reviewers, but shall for once take the liberty of detaching an excellent remark from its connection with others of a somewhat different description, in the London Medical Review for November 1801. Speaking of Dr. Lettsom's book, it is justly observed—“ Some parts of this little work are composed with a loftiness of style not very well suited to the simplicity of the subject. We can not help wish-

have been inspired, unfortunately obscured his reasoning in as great a degree as it influenced his calculations. Cool reflection is far better suited to argumentation and the mathematics, than those violent ebullitions of the mind which overleap the boundaries of composure and sobriety. Besides, real matter of fact seldom requires the adventitious aid of studied eloquence:—it pleads its own cause, and fights its own battles without borrowed weapons:

“ Non eget MAURIS jaculis* .”

— Dr. Lettsom came to the following conclusions—that the Cow-Pox prevents accession of the most fatal malady under heaven; which is sufficiently contradicted by numerous facts well known to all who do not wilfully shut their eyes and resist the testimony of their own senses:—that it never had been fatal, and that *he believed* it never would be so; which melancholy experience has proved to be a dangerous confidence, and a deceitful hope:—that it leaves no blemish, and conveys no constitutional disease; neither of which is true:—and that it is not infectious; which last qualification, the

“ ing that the respectable author had more uniformly avoided
 “ these rhetorical excursions which are chiefly applicable when
 “ an advocate is conscious that he must not confide in the un-
 “ biased reason of his judges, and desires to blind them by an
 “ impassioned appeal to their feelings.” Vol. vii. p. 307.

* HOR. lib. viii. Od. xii.

only real advantage, even in perspective, which belonged to it, is indeed valuable and important; because we are thus secure from the occurrence of the disease, unless we wilfully rush into the embraces of this “beautiful* stranger, the lovely “Vaccina!”

Notwithstanding all the praises which Dr. Lett-
som had lavished on the discovery of Vaccination,
echoed and re-echoed by Dr. Thornton and others;
notwithstanding it was said that thousands and
hundreds of thousands had been vaccinated; there
were certain zealous friends of Dr. Jenner who

* To prove the *infatuation* of the panegyrists of Vaccination (it is presumed that abundant proof of their *indiscretion* has been produced already), Dr. Waterhouse of America converted the term Cow-pox into Kine-pox, because it was thought to sound “*more delicate*” in transatlantic ears. Language was ransacked to describe the appearances of the Cow-pox pustule. It was said to resemble “*a flea bite, a crystal, a tamarind-stone, a pearl, a rose, a rose without a thorn!*” The vesicle was “*a gem of inestimable value;*” and its sweet contents, “*precious balm!*” Indeed it is pretty evident that many of these writers were “*lost,*” as Dr. Paterson has been pleased to express it, “*in admiration and gratitude,*” which may account for such phrenetic effusions. Dr. Thornton, after panegyrising Dr. Jenner’s publication, prophesied that it “*will live in the grateful remembrance of posterity until time shall be no more.*” If this be true, posterity must improve in gratitude marvelously, for they (and even those among them who have tasted largely of its efficacy) seem to have forgotten in less than a century the benevolence of Lady M. W. Montague, whose philanthropy, good sense, and noble example, have saved many thousands from destruction.

thought the discovery neither profecuted with sufficient ardour, nor estimated with becoming gratitude.

I should be sorry to say any thing disrespectful on such an occasion; but it might be asked, Where would the admirers of Dr. Jenner, who seem to have been tremblingly alive to every breath of public opinion, have desired that his name should be enregistered? or with what honours would they decorate him?

He has been celebrated as a very Apollo among physicians; whose penetrating genius, indefatigable perseverance, and unexampled liberality, had introduced the most useful and important discovery which ever graced the annals* of science. He has been hailed as the guardian † angel of France, the saviour of England, and the great benefactor ‡ of every near, and every remote people.

The enlightened genius of a neighbouring nation mingled his praises with the mighty deeds of her revolutionary patriots, and enrolled him in the brilliant catalogue of new heroes, philosophers, and saints. From the Severn to the Gambia; “from Indus to the Pole;” from the British Isles to the Kamfchatcan deserts; has his reputation been

* Mr. Henry Jenner’s Address, Dr. Adams’s Pamphlet, &c.

† Thornton’s Facts; and Lettsom’s Oration.

‡ “The universal benefactor of the human race.”

wafted by the breath of Fame; and her loud clarion* has diffeminated Vaccination to every different caft of countenance, and every varied fhade of complexion, from the fable tinge of the Serawoolli negroe, to the fair blooming beauties of European courts. Priests and poets, not content to celebrate the difcovery in eloquent orations and harmonious verfe, have refumed the character of prophets †, and predicted the future ‡ glories of Jenner's deathlefs name: and though laft, not leaft, in this refplendent enumeration, the king and parliament of Great Britain prefented the modern Æfculapius with *ten thousand pounds!* In fhort, I know not what has been withheld: for although, perhaps,

* “ Tartaream intendit vocem ; quâ protinus omne
 “ Contremuit nemus, et fylvæ intonuêre profundæ.
 “ Audiit et Triviæ longè lacus, audiit amnis
 “ Sulfureâ Nar albus aquâ, fontésque Velini.”

VIRG. ÆN. lib. vii.

† The learned are not to be informed that *Vates* fignifies both a prophet and a poet: perhaps becaufe prophecies were ufually delivered in verfe. Hence the fame word has been made alfo to denote a fwan,—whofe death fong, fo often celebrated by the poets, might be confidered as *prophetic* of an approaching end.

‡ “ Deus benigno numine profperet ;
 “ Et dum perennis gloria Laureæ
 “ Insignit Heroas Britannos,
 “ Civica te decoret Corona.”

Vide Carmen Alcaicum ad Edvardum Jenner, M. D. Auc-
 tore Chriftophero Anftey Arm.

incense has not been literally * burnt before him, nor the worship of Adramelech † restored, learned physicians and distinguished philosophers “ laid their hand on their mouth” when Jenner appeared, and sacrificed at the shrine of his renown the best faculties of their souls, their judgement, and comprehension.

Be content, then, mortal man, nor suffer thy aspiring thoughts to lead thee to the giddy height of proud ambition’s dangerous steep: for know, that even when thou shalt have surmounted every difficulty and passed every danger, nought but precipices and storms surround thee; and thou attainest the fatal summit only to be hurled from aloft into the gulph of oblivion, or the whirlpool of disappointment.

“ Sæpius ventis agitatur ingens

“ Pinus et celsæ graviore casu

“ Decidunt terres, feriuntque summos

“ Fulgura montes.”

HOR.

So vehement and so positive were the devotees of innovation, that in spite of the disadvantage of

* Dr. Moreau of Paris said, that “ if Dr. Jenner had lived “ in times when the most useful virtues were held in *due* esteem, “ altars would have been erected to him, and he would have been “ worshipped” !

† “ The Sepharvites burnt their children in fire to Ἀδραμέλεχ and Ἀνημελέχ, the Gods of Sepharvaim.” II. Kings, ch. 17, v. 31.

inexperience, and the unreal support of a weak and inconclusive theory, it was gravely asserted, that “ a man who had perused half what had “ been written on this subject by Dr. Jenner alone, “ and continued a sceptic, must be *slow* of faith, or “ dull of comprehension.”

On this “ uberrima fides” I will remark, that if the enthusiastic promoters of Vaccination had shewn a little more tendernefs for those whom they considered weaker brethren in the profession, it might have been more creditable to themselves. Perhaps it may be the fault of nature who has not kindly bestowed on all of *us* that intuitive penetration which at a single glance can discern all the great mysteries of so “ *eccentric*” a disease as the Cow-pox ; nor so firmly implanted in *us*, as in *them*, the religious rule of walking “ by *faith* and “ not by *sight*.”—Taking faith in the fullest extent, and the completest sense in which even that great champion of Vaccination, ROWLAND HILL could desire ; it is only “ the substance of things “ *hoped for*,” and “ the evidence of things not “ *seen*.” Why then should *rational* creatures prefer blind submission to visionary conceits, before deliberate and philosophical investigation ?

The same erroneous and illogical mode of argumentation which pervades the writings of the Vaccinators, and has led to false conclusions on every part of the subject under discussion, has also

given rise to the vain confidence and ridiculous boasting of *exterminating* the natural Small-pox by means of Vaccination.

There is nothing too absurd for the belief of minds of a certain description: but even the whimsies of * Paracelsus, and the juggling tricks of alchemy, never promised to their infatuated devotees and adepts a more impracticable, a more impossible † result.

To attempt to argue men out of a *favourite* creed is, at all times, a difficult task; but when that creed has no foundation in reason, nor even in probability, to combat it would be to fight a shadow, and the glory of the victory equal.

As several years have elapsed since *the promises and vows* of the Vaccinators were made to extirpate † Small-pox from among mankind, without affording even the smallest degree of probability

* Paracelsus and some of the Authors on Vaccination may not very improperly be mentioned together. As a writer, the former was so unequal, that in one page were seen discoveries indicating a wonderful superiority of genius and amazing penetration; and, in the next, the dialect of Bedlam. The latter have often deserved the censure, but seldom, if ever, the applause: theirs is frequently the dialect of Bedlam, but almost never the indication of great genius or deep research.

† Dr. Moseley's Publication, Dr. Rowley's, &c.

‡ Their premature exultation and anticipation of imaginary delight, reminds me of two great examples in modern history. Hugh Peters, who "rode *triumphing*" before king Charles, and,

that the object would * be accomplished, it may be presumed that, by this time, they are sensible what kind of spirit it was, which engendered the “*spes † incerta futuri*,” and “persuaded them to “prophecy one after this manner, and another “after that manner,” on the subject.

As to the recommendation which the *Jennerian* practice may have derived from the number or celebrity of its advocates, it must appear of small importance to those who remember that *numbers* neither constitute truth, nor justify false reasoning.

It has been pertly asked by the inconsiderate Vaccinators, on what grounds those who have written or spoken against the *Jennerian* doctrines

dazzled with the glimmering light of republicanism dimly gleaming through a murky horizon, thought he could descry its future meridian blaze, and sung “the song of old Simeon in English.” And in later times another of “Salvation’s singing birds;” who carolled the universal abolition of monarchy; because the demon of discord had snatched the sceptre from the king of France, and deluded the short-sighted politicians of that country into the vain hope of *everlasting* liberty: but “*exitus acta probat*.”

* It has been conjectured that, in fourteen years, “the Small-pox would be known only by name in this kingdom:” but, as opinions in favour of Cow-pox have been liable to frequent changes, perhaps by this time the idea of *extermination* may have given place to more rational opinions.

Mr. Dunning, indeed, was so very sanguine as to “have no hesitation in saying, that the Small-pox would be expelled before the expiration of five years from 1800.”

† Virg. *Æn.* lib. viii.

have presumed to dispute the opinions of the most eminent of their professional brethren ; as if there were neither wisdom nor integrity in any but themselves ? The answer is obvious : because error remains unchanged by the most general reception : because the history of mankind furnishes us with continual examples of infatuation and absurdity, leading captive the faculties of the most distinguished persons. But although the wisdom of every man who dare be convinced without reflection may be justly doubted ; the integrity is impeached of those only who persist in a pernicious practice after they have known its destructive influence.

If men of * science so readily depart from that calm, deliberate, philosophic caution, which looks at innovation with a scrutinising and suspicious eye, can it be at all surprising that the rash and the unreflecting join with ardour and alacrity in every hazardous enterprize and every chimerical project ?

Protestants of the present day are surprised that the doctrine of transubstantiation should have been

* Professor Wall of Oxford believed the “ efficacy of Vaccination ” *on the first day* he heard of the discovery. Early habits of respect for this learned and excellent physician, whom I regard as a brilliant ornament of the medical profession and of society, make me deeply regret the support of such a name to any doubtful or premature scheme on which the lives of our fellow creatures depend.

sanctioned by the authority of millions, through a long succession of ages not totally destitute of learning or philosophy.

The history of superstition, independent of the contents of Mosheim, Sozomen and Thomas Aquinas, presents abundant instances of absurdity, propagated with invincible ardour, and maintained with obstinacy, even to death. Nor am I more inclined to think favourably of the Cow-pox, after having seen the fatal consequences of it, its danger, and inefficacy, because a parliamentary reward has been obtained by the Discoverer.

The evidence brought before the House of Commons could not prove the *permanent efficacy* of a practice then in its infancy: for “time*, “and time alone, the guardian of truth,” could establish those facts which were boldly and prematurely assumed in defiance of reason, and without experience.

If the incorrect statement which was made by Dr. Bradley and Sir Walter Farquhar †, that one person in three hundred dies under Inoculation, at all influenced the Committee in their munificence, it can only be lamented that the wisdom of Parliament should have been again insulted as in

* Moseley On Lues Bovilla.

† See the Examination of the Physicians before the Committee of the honourable House of Commons.

the discovery of nitrous acid, and a pretended solvent for the stone; in each of which cases a greater * reward was given for an unjustifiable innovation in medical practice than was thought to be deserved by that most highly beneficial, and equally ingenious invention, the life-boat.

It does not unfrequently happen that those who are most violent in support of error, are the principal cause of its being detected and exposed: never, surely, was any axiom more capable of direct application than is this to the subject of Vaccination.

When men overleap the boundaries of all reason and moderation, and say, if Vaccination be a security against Small-pox *for ever so short a period*, it must be *for life*: that the infectious matter of an eruptive disease being inoculated by a *deep* incision

* Dr. Smith, (I believe) £. 5,000. Mrs. Stevens, £. 5,000. Dr. Jenner, £. 10,000. Mr. Greathead, for the Life-boat, £. 1,500.

The British senate must be supposed to have been fully persuaded of the destructive effects of hops, before the use of them was prohibited by legislative authority. There is no doubt of the purity of motive in this instance, as well as in the recent one of Cow-pox: but the fact is the same in both. The reasoning was erroneous. Experience has brought conviction respecting the former; it is every day accumulating to produce it respecting the latter.

The literary frauds of Macpherson and Ireland had their dupes and their defenders among the studious and the learned: but time and reflection have exposed the fallacy of the writers, and the fallibility of their admirers.

will produce pustules, which would not have been the case if it had been *more superficially* inserted: that because the breath of a cow is fragrant and her flesh nutritious, the virus generated in her body by morbid action can not be productive of mischievous consequences; and who persist in endangering the happiness and lives of their fellow creatures, in defiance of reason and facts:—shall such persons as these charge others with ignorance and blindness because they have not sufficient “*pliability* * of spirit” to excuse, nor sycophancy to pretend to admire such Gothic impenetrability of head and heart? Rise up, common sense, and hear! Reason, resume thy sceptre! Judge *them*, and justify *thy children*! And if the powers of language have not been fatally paralysed by its misapplication in praise of Cow-pox, and in the abuse of those who prudently oppose it, vouchsafe to us at least the words of reprobation, with which such conduct may be *everlastingly condemned*!

Dr. Adams who has lately written † in defence

* Sterne.

† Since these sheets were sent to the press, Dr. Adams has re-published his pamphlet, with the addition of a long story about Job, and the Devil, and a fanatical preacher, who formerly anathematized Inoculation, as some fanatical preachers have also done in later days.

After the hint affixed to my “Vindication of Inoculation” on the subject of Dr. Adams’s former performance, I had hoped

of Vaccination appears to have engaged the attention of a very learned and able* opponent; in whose hands, and to the poignant severity of whose inimitable satire, I would leave him, without

to have seen at least *something new* from the Doctor's pen. I did not indeed expect that *Dr. Adams* would appear in the armour of Achilles or with the port of Mars; but I could not suppose that the physician of the Small-pox and Inoculation Hospitals would have been content only to inform the public that "the Cow-pox is more easily understood than the Small-pox," and that *he thinks* the Small-pox may recur in the same person again and again:—a notion rather antiquated, as appears by Etmuller's quotation from Borellus respecting the old woman who having had the Small-pox seven times died of it the eighth, aged 118. If this be *physical argument* "throw physic to the dogs."

Surely we must not presume that Dr. Adams's second edition, of a pretended Answer, was merely designed to attract the eye of the public to a flattering title-page:—

" ——— spargere voces

" In vulgum *ambiguas!*"—

and yet the complexion of the pamphlet favours such an opinion which is not more creditable to the Doctor than to *his cause*.

It would become the Inoculation Hospital to set an example to the faculty of honest candour; and the ministers of that once sacred temple of science and humanity to take the lead in the abjuration of error. Instead of *clandestinely* disseminating the Cow-pox among poor unfortunate persons who apply at the Hospital *to be inoculated*, let them banish that abominable disease from these hallowed walls, for ever.

* Dr. Moseley.

a single remark in this place, if the erroneous conclusion to which Dr. Adams has been unfortunately led, had not given rise to an exhortation which every attentive observer, faithful to the cause of truth, is bound to resist and repel;—to relinquish Small-pox Inoculation—which has “nothing to plead * in its favour;” and adopt the practice of Vaccination, against which “nothing can be said.” Nothing to plead in its favour! when its security can not be controverted; when its safety can not be doubted; when its facility of being practised is most intelligible! Nothing to plead in its favour! when it has been proved with increasing benefit during a century, and its nature has become perfectly understood! Nothing to plead in its favour! when a noble institution to which Dr. Adams is no stranger; while it was devoted to the purpose for which it was originally intended, and before it had been prophaned by Vaccination and bovine worship, annually gave to thousands life and health.

To adopt the practice of Vaccination, “against which nothing can be said;” —while every day is increasing the black catalogue of its destructive influence; while every day is disclosing additional evidence of its insecurity, and adding proof to proof of the folly of those inconsiderate persons

* Adams's Answer, p. 30.

who have unfortunately adopted so pernicious an experiment! Nothing can be said! when the public mind has been satisfied with sound reasoning and invincible argument by the humane and liberal exertions of able, learned, and experienced practitioners, who have bade defiance equally to the insane ravings of prejudice and the scurrilous abuse of infatuated ignorance. But I forbear. Such arguments as those in the publication alluded to, can never subdue “*even * one* among the numerous and formidable objections which the cautious and the wise will continue to urge in the willing or unwilling ears of a deluded public.” — The questions of safety and security, as they respect Variolous Inoculation, were long ago satisfactorily determined: the same questions respecting Vaccination were *prematurely* answered in the most favourable manner; but have been *since* completely *negatived*, on the authority of evidence the most positive and irrefragable, and proofs the most solid and invincible.

The period is at length arrived when the temporary unsusceptibility in some instances produced by Vaccination has terminated. The prevalence of Small-pox epidemically has completely put to the test this fallacious experiment: a circumstance

* Inoculation for the Small-pox vindicated, p. 42.

which, to the lasting honour of Dr. Moseley, that able physician * first suggested.

While others were disgracing themselves by a blind submission to the influence of novelty, and suffering themselves to be imposed on, by the glittering tinsel of fashion and innovation, Dr. Moseley remained the firm friend of rational practice; *and stood alone*, even for years, † to resist a formidable phalanx of Vaccinators, with an independence

* Dr. Willich, in his "Lectures on Diet and Regimen," concurred with Dr. Moseley in thinking that the exposure of persons who had been vaccinated to the influence of Variolous effluvia was an insufficient proof of the security of Cow-pox against contagion, unless the Small-pox had at the time prevailed epidemically.

† Dr. Moseley's objections to the *Jennerian* doctrines were published in September 1798, only two months after the original suggestion of Dr. Jenner. Dr. Moseley proved, that "the Cow-pox *could not be a permanent* security against the Small-pox;" and justly remarked that it was then impossible to *foresee* "the consequences of introducing a bestial humour into the human frame." The Doctor has had many vehement opponents and *answerers*, of whom some scold and call names, and others threaten and rave; but it is pleasant to observe with what ease and composure he wards off all their blows, and with what distinguished skill continues to conduct the battle. He dazzles their astonished sight by the refulgent shield of wit; and while the justice of his cause, the force of his arguments, and the powers of his language, combine to form a complete panoply, the feeble darts of his weak assailants, like old Priam's javelin, scarcely reach the mark, or glance harmlessly against his impenetrable armour.

of spirit deserving universal praise and imitation, and with fortitude worthy the brave veteran of Chelsea.

“ Nor number nor example with him wrought
 “ To swerve from truth, or change his constant mind
 “ Though single.”

MILTON'S *Parad. Lost.*

At the very time while I am writing this paragraph, I am hearing and receiving intelligence from various parts of the country of well-authenticated failures of Cow-pox ;—failures which increase in number every day, and must ultimately destroy all the hopes of the Vaccinators and their exterminating projects: it may also excite a just compunction for that temerarious suggestion in which Dr. Thornton and Dr. Adams have heretofore concurred, respecting an application to parliament to prohibit Variolous Inoculation *; which would be an experiment in government as rash and perhaps more dangerous than that which these learned persons have lately sanctioned in the medical department: for, whatever short-sighted politicians may think of it; whatever “ sophists and † “ calculators” may promise to their unreflecting

* “ These *Jesburuns* would ride with irresistible fury over every barrier of decorum, and tread down the helpless adversary without mercy, did not some bold adventurer (to his own hindrance perhaps) sometimes step forth into the ring with the instrument of severer discipline.”

† Burke.

devotees, such an effort would be as dangerous, as “cruel*,” and as arbitrary, as compulsory Inoculation.” It would be a fatal blow to sacred liberty itself; to consign the inhabitants of the country to sufferings and death by act of parliament:—it would surpass the most arbitrary and unconstitutional efforts of the most tyrannical times:—it would be, to trample under foot the dearest interests of society; to stab them to the heart, and to abrogate its most valued rights; to enforce affliction by supreme authority; and to abolish even the celestial principle of mercy—the glorious ornament of kings—nay, more, the richest, most resplendent gem which glitters on the diadem of the **ALMIGHTY**.

Far more desirable and far more conducive would it be to the comfort of society, to have appealed to the *wisdom* and *authority* of parliament, if happily they might be *consistently exerted* in restraining those ebullitions of phrenetic zeal which have of late “blazed from the pulpit, thundered from the press,” and disturbed with tumultuous jargon the calmest recesses of tranquil science and sober reflection.

That cause must be bad indeed which depends on force for its support; and poor would be the triumph of authority over reason, if, in order to

* Thornton's Facts decisive, &c. p. 62.

convince men of the justness of a proposition, it should be enforced by fire and sword. Under such circumstances, too, Vaccination would lose the advantage of one of its highly-seasoned compliments: for eloquent applauders could no longer compare its introduction to the discreet and unobtrusive method by which the blessings of Christianity were primarily announced to the world: and I should be sorry to suppose that there are any even among the encouragers of the *Jennerian* practice who look to the *end* proposed without a becoming regard for the *means* employed.

Here I should have closed my remarks: but finding that a sort of challenge has been given to the faculty, and to the world, to produce a single person who is not a decided friend of Vaccination after having had any experience in the disease, I cheerfully take up the gauntlet; and, without waiting to select a second from among a firm and undaunted body of practitioners which I descry on every side, eager to support the noble cause of science and of truth, answer for myself and say—my own experience of the dreadful consequences of Vaccination;—the numerous proofs which I have had an opportunity of investigating;—the afflicting scenes which I have personally witnessed; not only prevent me from being a decided friend of Vaccination, but render me an open, constant, and consistent enemy to so unnecessary,

so injurious, so dangerous, so unwarrantable, so destructive, a practice:—in direct opposition to all the mighty names of those resplendent constellations in the medical hemisphere, whose malignant aspect has been so greatly dreaded, and so awfully described:—in direct opposition to all the flimsy and all the fulminating efforts of syco-phancy on the one hand, and arrogance on the other:—in direct opposition to “all the* laugh-able, and all the loathsome” effusions of distempered brains:—in direct opposition to all the pomp of declamatory eloquence, and all the pageantry of professional dignity; all the menaces of impotent disappointment, infuriate rage, or infatuated enthusiasm:—in a word, in direct opposition to the opinions, arguments, and clamour, of all the multitudinous host of Vaccinators, their adherents, and admirers.

From what has been said, it must appear very evident that the judgement which has been pronounced in favour of Vaccination *was premature*, and *is indefensible*: that the inoculated Cow-pox is sometimes a severe and dangerous disease, and sometimes even fatal: that it is productive of many horrid and loathsome symptoms, tedious, distressing, and destructive; unknown in the human constitution until the unfortunate and incau-

* Dr. Parr.

tious introduction of the *Jennerian* practice:—I therefore conclude, that the safe, excellent, and well-understood practice of Small-pox Inoculation, which always affords a permanent security against future contagion, is degraded even by a *comparison* with the Cow-pox, and that VACCINATION ought to be *immediately*, and *for ever*, ABANDONED.

G. L.

Dec. 5, 1805.

THE END.

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