

C.

I considered that by this mode of publication I could better obviate rising difficulties, contradict falsehoods, explain doubtful facts & enlighten obscure circumstances. Another consideration had its proper weight, and will have in the minds of those who ^{know} ^{although} that I have always preferred a good name to great riches, that I drank economy among ^{the} virtues. I could not afford any other mode of publication. I published a Treatise on Vaccination, containing a faithful history of the origin & progress of this new inoculation; therein I ~~had~~ exposed every thing I knew of the disease, ^{respecting my own & others cases, may I record faithfully} and withheld nothing, ^{for the benefit of my brethren; and} not even my own blunders. With long continued application & the labour of more than half year I composed a book for the use of medical men, yet there were not half a dozen copies of ~~it~~ sold in Boston to the physicians of it. It is true in the Southern States, individual physicians purchased the book by degrees merely to help the sale of it, or as they politely expressed it out of gratitude to the writer of it; nevertheless in Boston it was as Dr. expressed it an obscure book & seen a publication or signed of M. M. S. L. 7 Beside the labour this book cost me about 50 guineas, which to the honor of American patronage, was paid for in London, where they are almost as good judges of the worth of a medical book, as they are in Boston. On which occasion one of the greatest & best men in our land wrote me thus: "our country to its disgrace, is disposed to encourage a thousand foolish republications from Europe rather than encourage one useful work of our own growth." When I wrote in the newspapers, I wrote for parents, mothers as well as fathers; when I wrote my book, I published it for the use of physicians.

The medical men in the U.S. had not a very clear idea of the origin, nature & progress of vaccination. The innumerable letters, which I received from

and yet the medical society with an illiberality they ought to blush at say in their defamatory publication might the not in candor to state at the same time his own embarrassments arising from many spurious cures and his own patient's

from all parts of the union soliciting answers to their queries suf-
-ficiently convinced this. I was therefore led to collect & arrange these
-queries & answer them all in a general dissertation in the news-
-paper, ~~the substance of which was afterwards collected in a volume.~~ To
such communications I put my name, or the initials of my name. I
was often called upon by some of the most respectable practitioners in the
New England to notice certain errors & abuses in the practice of vacci-
-nation, when addressed by name in ^{on a subject of ~~great~~ ^{great} ~~importance~~ ^{history}} the public papers, I have answered
under the simple signature of W. It has not been a pleasant thing to me to
come forward so often with my name; I always did it with a degree of
dread, and I have escaped from ^{it with less} ~~more~~ ill consequences than I feared.
I always come forward in the newspaper with a degree of reluctance. To
-propose myself to the attacks of every anonymous, malicious scribbler
by no means suited ~~with~~ the peaceable & quiet habits of my life. Let a
man be occupied in ever so praise worthy & conscientious a life, the danger
of obliquity & slander is ten to one against him. I knew enough of
the world to be convinced that

"He who would free from malice pass his days
Must live obscure!" —

Upon mature reflection I am firmly in the opinion that making
my communications through the ordinary news papers expedited
the practice of vaccination several years; and has therefore saved the
-lives of hundreds if not thousands of lives. Beside, every one who is
acquainted with the U. S. knows that not only political, but moral philo-
-sophical, moral & religious communications are constantly made
through our newspapers; it is one of the few peculiar customs of our
country; — a country where for the number of inhabitants, there are ^{by far} more
news papers printed than in any other country on the face of the earth.

although

Although there were several of the leading physicians in this
quarter, who, by their conversation rather discouraged than en-
-couraged the ~~practice~~ attempt to substitute vaccination for the
small pox inoculation, it was not the case with all: some of
the most active members of the Council of the M. M. S. thought
it worth while to send to England for the vaccine virus, and
Mr. B. a distinguished apothecary of Boston, then in London,
was commissioned by a vote of the M. M. S. to purchase matter
for them.

I
in the autumn of 1800
I had written to all my medical correspondents
in Eng. for a fresh supply of the vaccine virus - to the vaccine Institute
to private gentlemen, and to gentlemen in trade in those sea
port towns which to hold commerce with this country, with a
general order to send it until I forbade it. by this step received
a great quantity from various hands early in the spring of
1801. A great portion of it failed, especially that on the glass-
-stoppers & between plates of glass; while that on cotton thread
succeeded. With more information I recommenced my inoculations
in March 1801, and rejoiced to find the distemper proving every
genuine characteristic; and from that time to the present, I kept
up the true disease ^{in my own cases} without ever breaking the chain of continuity.
I have asked no. from several practitioners at different times; but
when I did not chuse to risk rely on a single case of my own; but
I have never lost it since the time just mentioned. from this source
I supplied every part of the U. S. even to the Mississippi, and beyond
the U. S. Montreal, Quebec, Halifax; the West Indies, the western
Islands, and some of the tribes of Indians.

I had

Had not heard before this Spring, ^{until late in the winter} that the M. M. S. had sent to London for vaccine matter; I was then informed as a great secret, through a channel ^{of intelligence the late} w. Genl Sullivan used to say, he found by experience was always the best intelligence, that the Med Society intended, when their matter arrived to take the lead & direction of the business of vaccination into their own hands; their matter came within ten days or a fortnight after mine; but it failed in producing the disorder, as Dr Mend President of the M. S. told me. ^{at the following} anecdote will evince. Early this Spring (1801) I was met by Dr Mend ^{Pres} of the M. Med Society in one of the streets of Boston, who told me that the Mass. Med. Society had just imported some vaccine matter from London; and that they had distributed it among two or three of their members; and that it had failed in their hands; and that he was fearful, that what he himself had used would fail also; but of this he was not certain he spoke as if he had as much to fear as to hope ^{on} the matter. On hearing this, without saying a word of my intention to Dr Mend, I at once resolved to send a fresh supply of matter to the Medical Society, with a view to prevent their disappointment. I therefore on returning home, put up with great care vaccine matter of various ages. both recent matter, as well as some I had just received from England, and the next day I sent, to the Medical Society, accompanied with the following official letter to their President

[The superscription]

To Isaac Mend M.D. President of the M. M. S.

[See the printed letter in Centinel July 2 1805]

Who that reads this letter could imagine it to be a private one? Is there not every mark of its being written intentionally to them, through their President? What President of a Society having such a communication made to him would have dared to withhold it? What he did with the matter I sent to the Med. Society I know not but

but if this we are certain he communicated the letter to them, or to the Council, which consists of practitioners living in Boston for that part of the letter w^{ch} relates to visiting the town of Marblehead was acted upon; I named the Pres^t. D. Warren the Vice Pres^t and myself being appointed a committee to repair together to that town.

I beg of the reader to notice this letter & all its circumstances, as it has given origin to a series of ~~rumors~~ attacks on my character, by D. M. and the Council of the M. M. S. These gentlemen did not chuse to be under obligations to me for matter, nor to notice ~~my~~ the offer I made them: they therefore affected to say that it was a private letter to a private gentleman!

We shall ~~resume our~~ here insert a ^{history} narrative of the marblehead business, and then resume the thread of our narrative.

In consequence of my application to the Med. Society, as expressed in my letter to their President, ^{D. M.} they appointed him, & the Vice Pres^t. D. Warren and myself, a Committee to repair to Marblehead, to inquire into the facts & circumstances respecting the introduction of small pox instead of line pox & make report. The disaster at M. was similar to what took place at Geneva, & at several places in Eng^d particularly at Petworth, where the virus sent by D. Jenner to Lord Egremont did not succeed in communicating the true disease; and a second supply from another quarter gave a spurious one; and the small pox unfortunately followed; see the whole is related in Mr. Prings Treatise on Cow pox. To enquire into this disaster & explain it to the people was the ultimate design, as I supposed of this Committee.

~~D. M. & D. W.~~ We deliberately fixed on a certain day & hour when to depart from our respective dwellings on this mission. as my two

colleagues were liable to daily & mighty calls, it was agreed that I should start from my house in Cambridge at seven o'clock in the morning; but if either of the Boston gentlemen should be hindered by any urgent call, he, in that case should send a special messenger on or before seven o'clock; so as to prevent my setting out on a fruitless errand, nearly 20 miles distance. I, to be on the sure side, waited until a quarter of an hour after the precise time agreed on; and then set off in full confidence that nothing had hindered my colleagues. I had, with an intention, hereafter to be explained, vaccinated the man who drove me down. When I stopped at Malden-bridge, I requested the Tollman to tell D Mand, & D Warren, that I had passed on to the place of rendezvous, Newell's at Lynn. After waiting two or three hours at that tavern, a gentleman of note halted there, on his way to Boston; I explained to him my errand, and requested him to tell his family physician to hurry on, as I had been several hours waiting there for him and D Warren, and did not feel disposed to go further alone. When it came within two hours of sun-set, I gave up / relinquished the hope of seeing my medical brethren that day. I deliberated what on the proper step I should take. I was unwilling to return home; and did not feel disposed to proceed alone to Marblehead; as I had heard the common people were highly exasperated, and had uttered threatening speeches against me; whom they considered the first cause of their great calamity. It is well known that when the small pox, was spreading through the town, the house of one of their own physicians was threatened with

Destruction

destruction. My thoughts on the business was this; I conjectured that some urgent calls had hindered the gentlemen just on the point of their departure from Boston; and that they had of course sent out to my house at Cambridge to inform me, after my departure, and would therefore know that that had gone on; and thence I concluded, that it would naturally follow that they would come down to me the next morning: With this idea I wrote the following letter & gave it to the Inn-keep to give to D^s Hand and Warren, when they stopped there on the morrow, and set off that evening for Salem.

Newell Tavern 5 o'clock Thursday
April 30th —

Gentlemen!

I arrived at this place precisely at 9 o'clock and have been waiting here ever since: I have therefore concluded that you have been hindered by what none of us can slight or neglect. I have in consequence gone to Salem where I shall spend the night; and hope to be in Marblehead tomorrow by 10 o'clock; as I conjecture, that if you were hindered to day, you will come on tomorrow. If I have judged wrong & you should come on this evening, the business can be perfected by you two, as well, and perhaps better than by the presence of your steady friend

B. Waterhouse

P. S. I have enclosed the minutes of the enquiries which I meant to make.

copy of

To
D^s Hand
&
Warren
Present

Copy of the minutes of enquiry -

- 1st How many persons were inoculated for the Kine pock?
and how many of these resisted the small pox?
 - 2^d What were the general appearances in the arm; and
how long after inoculation did inflammation come on?
 3. Was the matter produced ^{yellow} like pus, or was it limpid
as water?
 - 4th Did the inoculation occasion a crusty scab, or did
it heal with a horny rim?
 - 5th What symptoms accompanied these appearances,
and at what time?
 - 6th Did the matter speedily corrode your lancets; and
did it tinge your thread yellow?
 - 7th Have you any reason to suppose that any of
your patients were infected with small pox pre-
-viously to the Kine pock inoculation?
 8. Had any of your Kine pock patients pustules?
 - 9th Did the sores produced by inoculation have in
its different stages have a resemblance to this
picture? [The painted engravings sent to me by Dr Jenner]
 - 10th Did it on the 8th day resemble this man's arm?*
- * The Coachman, I had inoculated for the purpose of the
comparison -

When

When at Salem I enquired of the physicians & other gentlemen there, what was the temper of mind of the common people at Marblehead; if I found it as reported, I intended to go back early in the morning to Lynn, there to meet Dr R. & Warren. But learning at Salem, that the leading people saw the whole affair, just indeed as it was, I went on without the least apprehension to Marblehead, where I arrived about ten o'clock.

Of the three practitioners at M. I conversed with Dr Story & Dr Drury, ~~the other practitioners not having been concerned in the business~~ only; I informed them, as I did several leading characters in the place, that the ^{Med} Medical Society had appointed them President, Vice President and myself to come down among them, to enquire into the cause ~~into~~ by which 40 of the inhabitants had taken the small pox, after having as they supposed gone through the king pox; I told them that Dr Rand & Dr Warren had been hindered the day before, but (I ventured to say) would certainly be down by 12 o'clock; in one hour's time this was known through the whole town. I had no difficulty in convincing the two practitioners that their cases were spurious; for I had inoculated the man who drove me down, nine days before, with the ex-pese designed to shew his posture to them, to the clergymen and other leading people of the place: they all pronounced it different from any inoculation they ever saw; I shewed them the painted representation sent me by Dr Jenner, displaying the appearances from the puncture to the process of scabbing. In ^a one word, I brought together all the facts we desired, ready to lay before my colleagues, so that they might when they came, have little else to do than to examine them in the aggregate, give dignity to the commission, and set down to the dinner prepared for them at two o'clock. But alas! two o'clock came and no Boston Doctors appeared! I confess I was chagrined! To ^{cut} make short of an unpleasant story, I tarried until five o'clock, and then set off home, not a little disconcerted.

Disconcerted on my own account as well as on account of those gentlemen whose attention I had excited in this business. I called at Newell's for the letter I had left the day before for Dr. Mandt Warner, and arrived at ^{home} Cambridge in the dark.

When I got home, what was my surprise, my astonishment, at finding that no message or letter had been sent by either of the gentlemen! To have quitted home on a special & deliberate arrangement, with a couple of gentlemen, on an appointment of the M. M. Society, of which one was President, and the other Vice President; to be absent two days, and nearly two nights;—not to mention the concentrated expense;—and to have found on returning home, that no one step had been taken, as was agreed, to give me information in case of hindrance, was sufficient to inspire a suspicion that I was deliberately left in the lurch. I bore it however without uttering a word of complaint because I believed that the great cause of vaccination required it. When in the course of last summer, I was compelled to publish this narrative, in order to resist the defamation of these very people, the public indignation was remarkably excited; ^{they} they saw it, and felt it; not that it was by any means the most reprehensible & shameful treatment I had experienced, far from it, but the story was in a small compass & every ^{one} man who read it understood it, and felt it accordingly; and many were the turns & thrusts to get rid of the odium this simple tale excited, ~~at~~ first ~~there was~~ effort to. In the course of 3, 4 or 5 days I accidentally met Dr. Warner who lamented my disappointment & chagrin; which was occasioned ^{as he said regarded him,} he said by an imperious case in his practice; he said however but little, for it was not his particular duty to inform me, but Dr. Rand, who was chairman of the committee. I never heard a word from Dr. Rand; it was ten days or a fortnight before I met him; I indeed saw him more than once in the same street, but he evidently appeared

to designedly to avoid me. We met however at length, very
unexpectedly on turning a corner; when I must do him the justice
to say that he shewed other tokens of being ashamed beside that of
confessing it; he however laid the blame on Dr Warren. They must
both of them been surprized that I bore these & similar things with
with an unruffled brow: they did not know that I had taken a deter-
-mination not to resent any insult, that of personal violence,
while vaccination was floating on the ever more able sea of
popular opinion: when it was fixed I meant to tell the public
my story. Dr Prand, and some of the younger part of the faculty drew
however an erroneous conclusion from this patient conduct: hence
my ~~character & conduct~~ were my exertions, every step I took was
to them fair game; a foot-ball for their diversion. If I had been
a candidate for the gubernatorial chair, they could hardly
have taken more liberties with my character, and the most
sordid construction was put on every action: my publications
were compared to the bombastical nonsense of hair dressers
advertisements, at length they however made one wretched
mistake; they believed that a man with such a meek & quiet
spirit would submit to any thing without daring ^{ever} to repel it.
Foolish men! did they it never once come into their minds, that
the meekest man upon earth, performed the the most
arduous, heroic task, that ever was achieved on the blood stained
theatre of human action?

When sorely galled by public censure it was said that
a blackman was dispatched to Cambridge to give ~~me~~ information
of my colleagues being hindered, but as he was dead, there was now
no living proof against my assertion. This blackman was well
known in my family; he perished in the water at the bottom of
Common in Boston; and if my information be just, was too honest to be
"knowingly"

we have made of one blood all nations of men and in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteasness is accepted of him
Two clauses in Acts - i. the words of St. Peter - 1. the words of Paul - 2. the words of X^{pus} & X^{pus} in the Chapter.

concerned in such a St. Owen fabrication as this. No gentlemen, notwithstanding what you have said in the newspapers, and what you have asserted in conversation, you must bear the inconvenience of being again told that you never sent a messenger to ^{me} ~~him~~ a Greek or; nor took any step to inform him me, or to make any apology for the omission, and yet you, with the rest of the council, published in the Newspaper, that "Dr. Waterhouse had information of the reasons which detained them, as soon as was practicable," which you both know was not true. I protest I had rather die an honest negro, than live a deceitful prevaricating whiteman, because I know that he that feareth God & worketh righteasness shall be accepted of him"

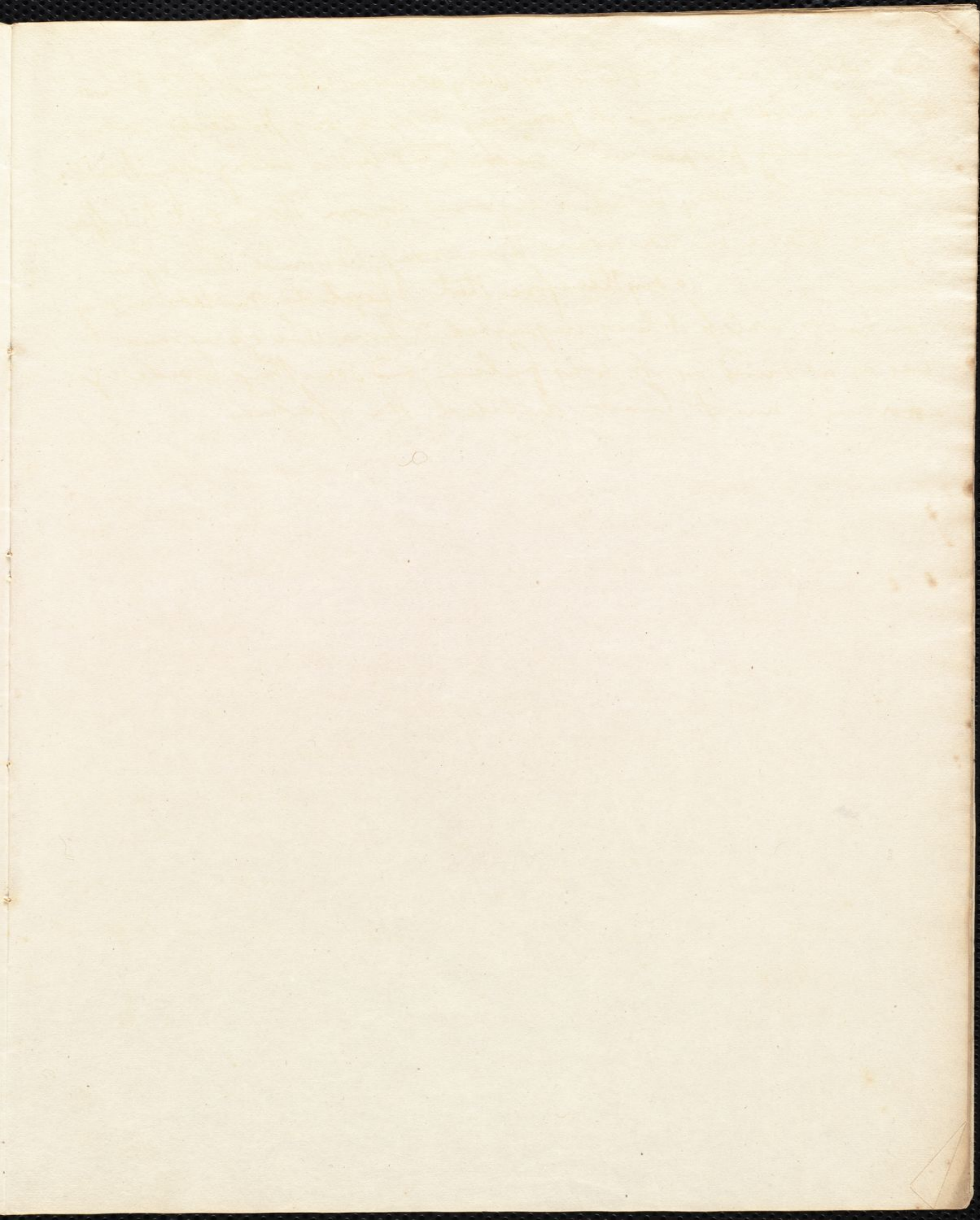
I have mentioned already that I never ^{attended more than four} met the Medical Society or five meetings, of the M. M. S. in my life. I found their time wasted in disputing ^{upon} topics very far distant from what I conceived to be their proper business viz the cultivation & diffusion of medical knowledge; for a number of years I scarcely knew that the Society had an existence; but when I sent them vaccine matter & wished to put myself under their direction & advice respecting the best mode of distributing matter they had got up again into considerable credit and influence.

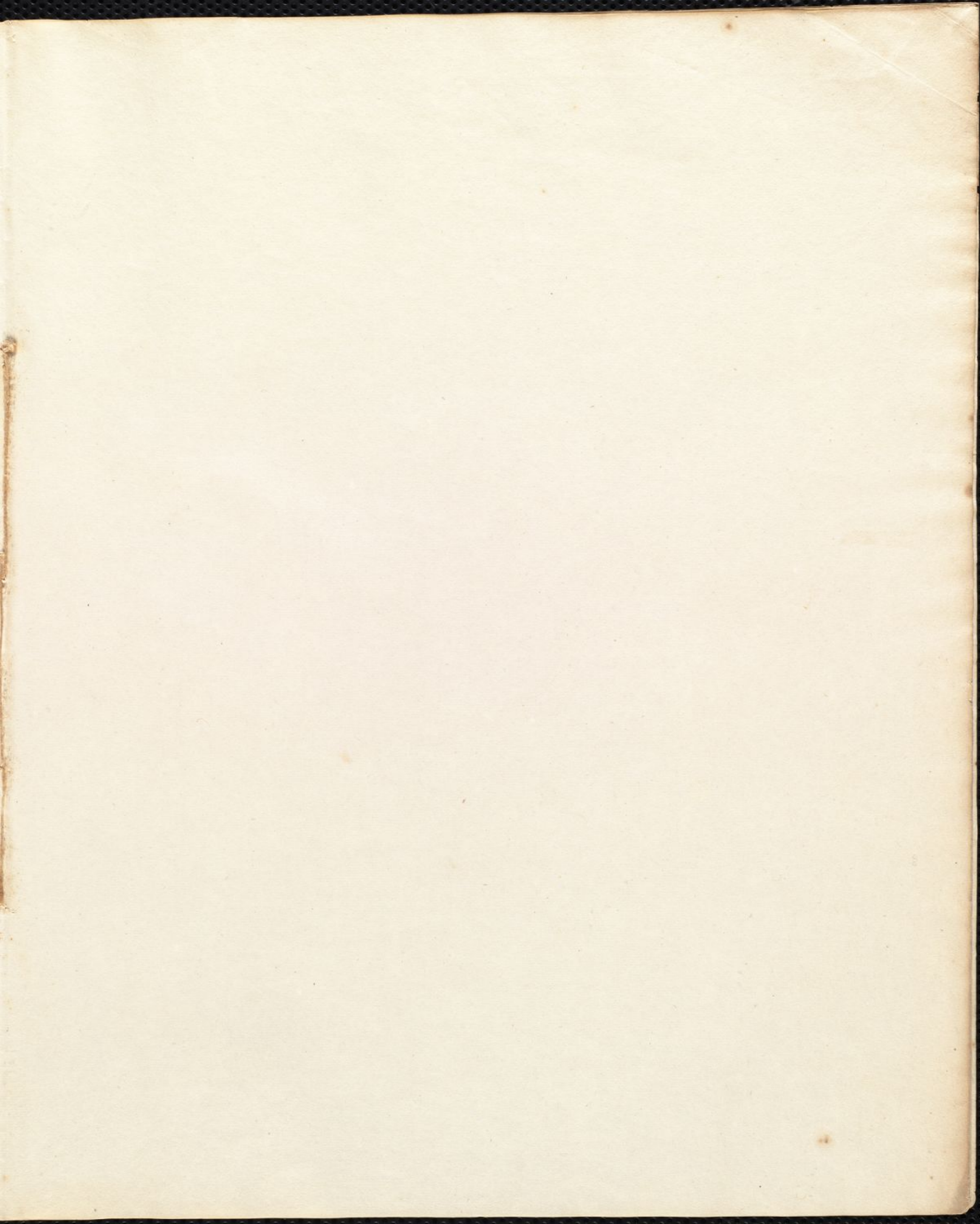
With more information

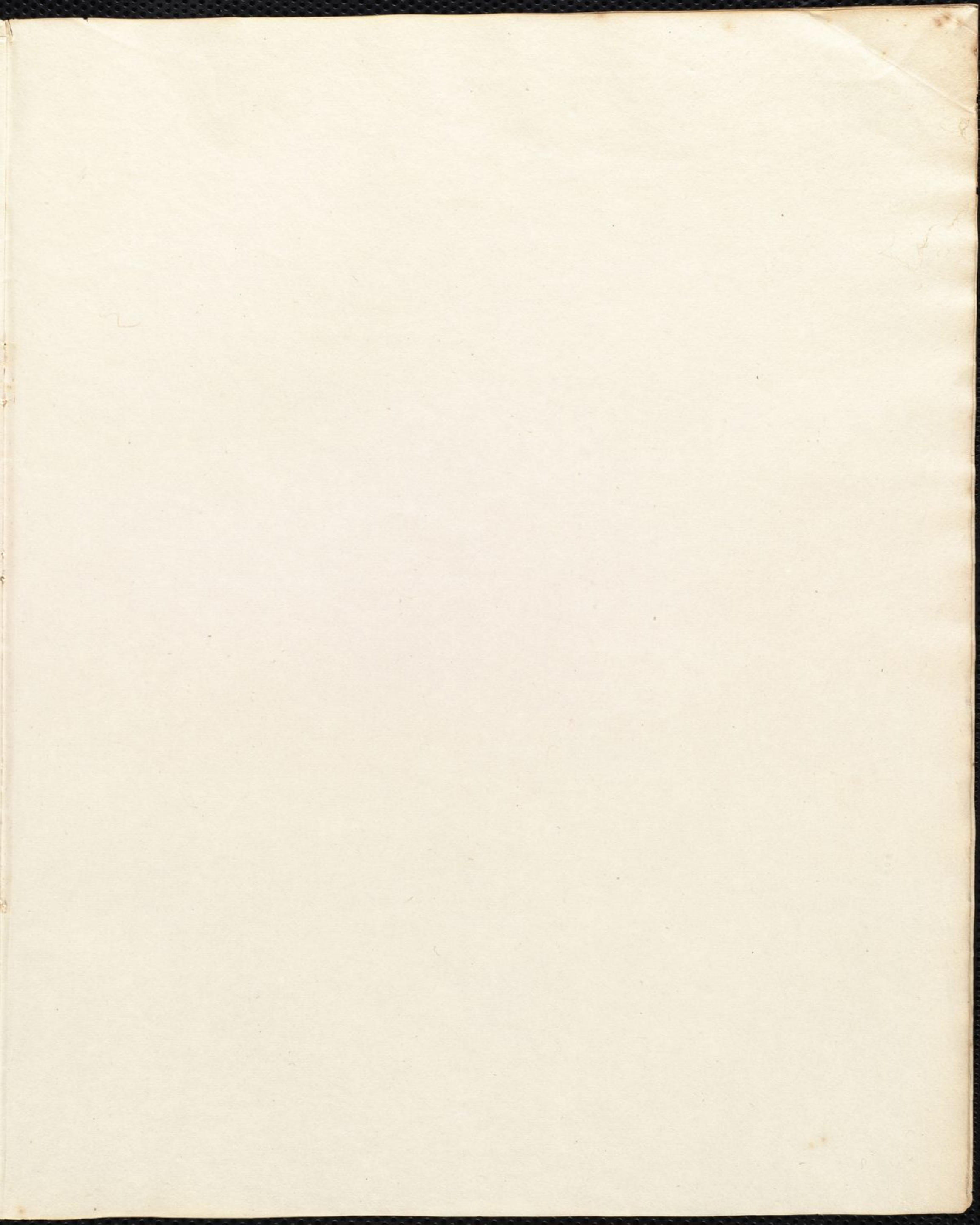
With more information and a fresh supply of ^{genuine} matter from England I re-
-commenced then my inoculations very early in the spring of 1801. Found
the distemper produced both local + constitutional proceeded like my first
cases in my own family, slowly, mildly + pleasantly. I now reinoculated
all the doubtful cases within my reach; but there are several still re-
-maining; that I never ^{and} some where the patient will not submit to it,
altho I have repeatedly offered requested it. Several of my patients ex-
-pressed surprise, that the distemper, which I now pronounced the
genuine prophylactic, was so much milder, both as it regarded
the local + constitutional symptoms, than the disease, they under-
-went the autumn before, which I had pronounced spurious. In the 14th
page of my Lectures history of the progress of the new inoculation in Ame-
-rica, I that in the autumn of 1800, the disease had assumed a face
with which I was not acquainted. I even recorded some of my ill
founded conjectures; and I added that endless were the conjectures
of a man while wandering through a perplexed path. I mentioned
some errors that were in my first publication; and after recording
several of my own blunders I desisted. I wish not to conceal my
"own perplexity at this period" - yet the Medical Society in their
publication of June 13th 1800 insinuate directly the contrary, and have
been highly offended that I changed them with illiberality!

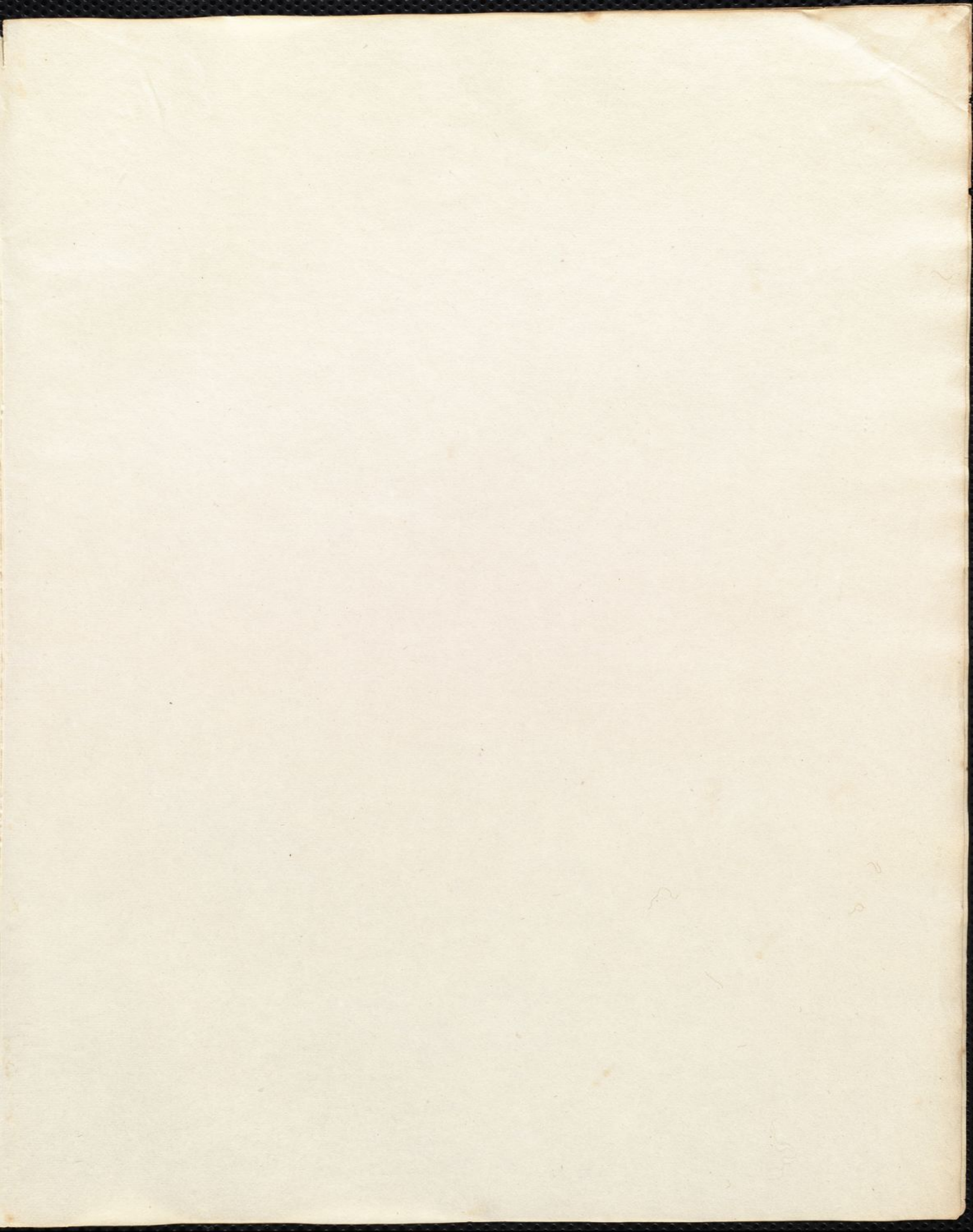
In the spring of 1801. numerous applications were made to me for the by
Practitioners in the country for regularly supplying them with matter;
or rather for me to agree to be the head of the business + they the agents,
for we may as well try to confine the winds as to restrain the matter
in our own hands; it is impossible in the very nature of things; the
very

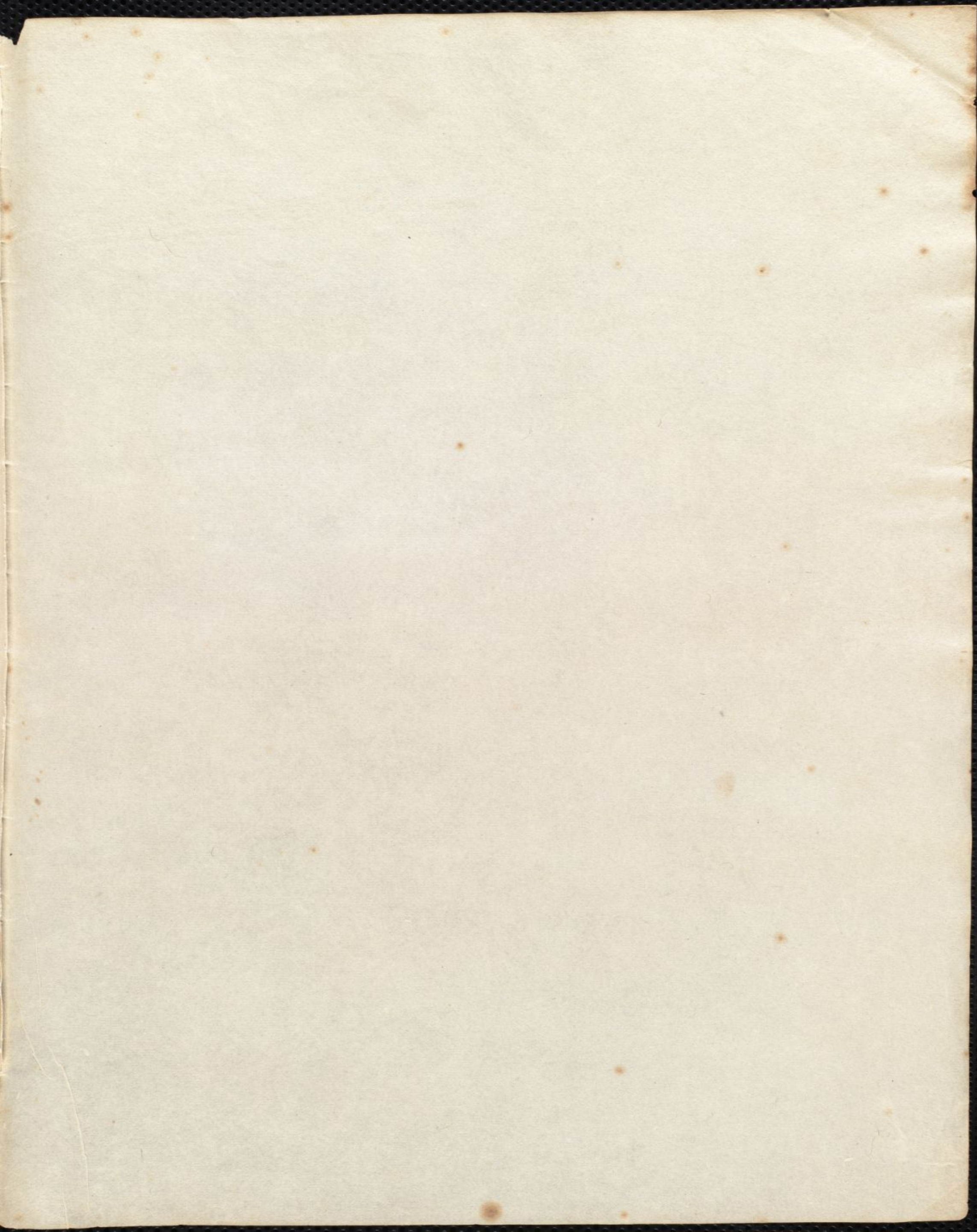
very supposition is absurd. The very persons who applied to me
that they could procure it from my numerous patients every
day. Country people were inoculated by me every day. I neither
enquired where they lived, or enjoined upon them not to suffer
any one to take matter from their arms, beyond that of a
general advice. To say therefore that I kept the matter in my
own hands unless it was imparted to those who gave me
was as absurd as it was false; and something beside ig-
norance must have dictated the assertion











HMS
C 16.4