

***Some account of Staffordshire
medical practitioners to 1851***

by

Richard Sylvanus Williams

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Staffordshire doctors in history consists of four parts of which Part 1 is *Some account of Staffordshire medical practitioners to 1851* [SDH1], Part 2 is *A gazetteer of Staffordshire medical practitioners to 1851* [SDH2], Part 3 is *A register of Staffordshire medical practitioners to 1851* [SDH3] and Part 4 is *A database of Staffordshire medical practitioners to 1851* [SDH4].

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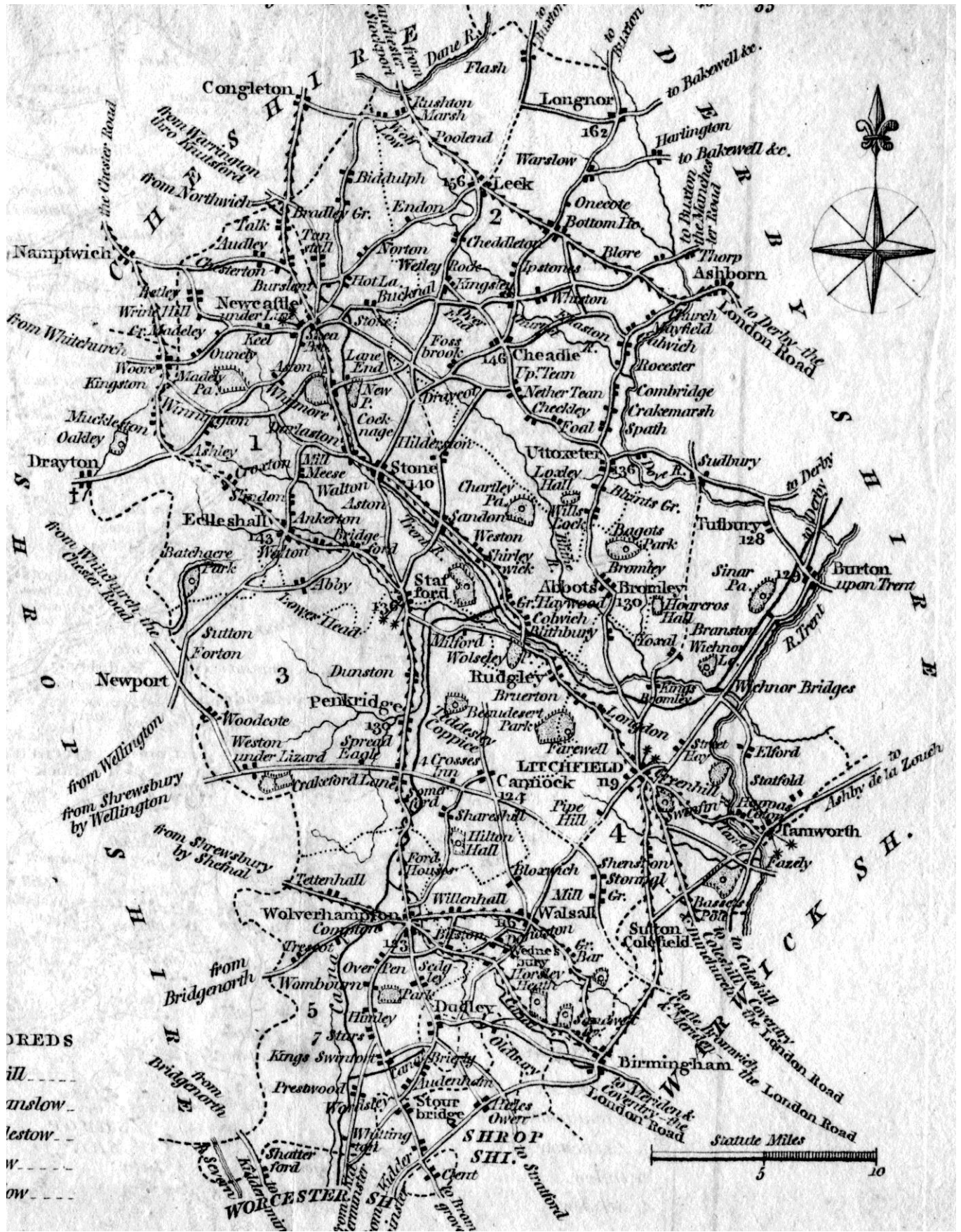
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STAFFORDSHIRE (1810)



George Alexander Cooke Topographical and statistical description of Staffordshire [1810]

A Introductory material

A1 Preface

By birth I am a Wulfrunian¹ and early in life I developed an interest in my family history. Unsurprisingly a good number of my ancestors were Staffordshire men and women. Later in life I spent many hours researching the landed gentry and clergy of Staffordshire. With the advent of the internet this research became much easier.

About 2017 I conceived a plan to prepare a study of a group of Staffordshire professional men based on the 1851 census and for some now forgotten reason chose the medical profession. In 2018 *A survey of Staffordshire medical practitioners in 1851* was published by the Dragonby Press and by the "Early Modern Practitioners" project online².

Seeking to expand the survey back in time I thought to consult any previous county studies on medical practitioners only to discover, to my surprise, that very little work seemed to have been undertaken. In 2011 Sally Irvine published her thesis *Surgeons and apothecaries in Suffolk: 1750-1830. City slickers and country bumpkins - exploring medical myths. Thesis submitted to the University of East Anglia ...* Here a list of about 150 books she had consulted does not include a county study. However she does mention an earlier (1976) unpublished thesis by Michael J. Muncaster *Medical services and the medical profession in Norfolk 1815-1911* (not seen by me) and also the series of *Suffolk Medical Biographies* prepared by David Van Zwanenberg and edited by E.E. Cockayne which are now available on the internet³. Irvine's thesis contains a wealth of material linking Suffolk with the development of medical practice throughout the country and provided me with many sources.

In this work I have concentrated mainly on presenting Staffordshire material in the hope that it will be of use to future writers who might place Staffordshire in a comparative or national context.

Finally I would beg the indulgence of the reader for within a work of this size there must be a wealth of errors of both commission and omission.

A2 Introduction

Staffordshire doctors in history consists of four parts of which Part 1 is this work *Some account of Staffordshire medical practitioners to 1851* [SDH1], Part 2 is *A gazetteer of Staffordshire medical practitioners to 1851* [SDH2]⁴, Part 3 is *A register of Staffordshire medical practitioners to 1851* [SDH3]⁵ and Part 4 is *A database of Staffordshire medical practitioners to 1851* [SDH4]⁶.

Eligible for inclusion and discussion in this work are all those men⁷ who, whilst living⁸ in Staffordshire⁹ up to 1851, practised¹⁰ medicine or who were educated, trained or apprenticed¹¹ to practice medicine¹². All these medical practitioners are herein styled *medics*. A total of 1,281 of these medics have been discovered of whom 15 practised prior to 1548 (see §C2). The remaining men form a *cohort*^x of 1,266 medics who were active been 1548 and 1851.

In this account of medical practitioners and their practice in Staffordshire a complex web of medical history has to be unravelled. In many different places throughout the county - over several centuries - medical roles including those of physician, surgeon and apothecary were performed primarily by men who, having been educated and trained, then practised often under the supervision and influence of regulatory bodies.

Most of the sections and sub-sections listed in the Contents (§A3) concern Staffordshire with some reference to national material which is also covered in Section Q.

Twenty cohort^x men¹³ have entries in the online *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Listed in order of birth they are: Dud Dudley ALIAS Tomlinson of Tipton physician c1599-1684, Phineas Fowke of Norton-under-Cannock M.D. 1639-1711, Sir John Floyer of Lichfield Knight M.D. 1649-1734, Richard Leigh of Wolverhampton M.D. c1650-1728, Richard Wilkes of Willenhall physician 1691-1760, Robert James of Lichfield M.D. 1703-1776, Richard Greene of Lichfield surgeon & apothecary 1716-1793, Erasmus Darwin of Lichfield M.B. 1731-1802, Bryan Higgins of Eccleshall M.D. c1740-1818, William Withering of Stafford M.D. 1742-1799, Thomas Bakewell of Stone mad-doctor 1761-1835, Richard Croft of Tutbury M.D. 1762-1818, Edward Bevan of Stoke-upon-Trent M.D. 1770-1860, Robert Taylor of Stoke-upon-Trent M.R.C.S. 1784-1844, Shirley Palmer of Tamworth M.D. 1786-1852, Joseph Barnard Davis of Stoke-upon-Trent M.D. 1801-1881, Joseph William Moss of Longdon M.B. 1803-1862, Charles Ferrers Palmer of Tamworth M.R.C.S. 1819-1900, Thomas Pretious Heslop of Tipton apprentice 1823-1885 and William Palmer of Rugeley M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1824-1856.

1 I was born Richard Anthony Hall Williams in 1949 and educated at Ely House Kindergarten, St Jude's Primary School, Wolverhampton Grammar School and Worcester Royal Grammar School. Later I studied at Nottingham and Exeter Universities.

2 <http://practitioners.exeter.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/Working-Paper-Richard-Sylvanus-Williams-1851.pdf>

3 suffolkmedicalbiographies.com

4 Here under 178 county locations are brief biographies of 1,281 medical practitioners.

5 Here are detailed documented biographies of 1,281 medical practitioners. Each biography attempts to include material regarding: date and birthplace; father's name, religion and occupation; education, apprenticeship or training; medical (and non-medical) qualification, career and achievements; marriage and children; date and place of death and burial; and, will or administration and wealth at death. These biographies must contain errors of both omission and commission. Some data is presented as approximate or probable (indicated by a single ?) whilst other data is presented as possible (indicated by a triple ???).

6 *A database of Staffordshire medical practitioners to 1851* [SDH4] has been compiled to assist the analysis of the cohort. Information from the Register [SDH3] has been entered into this database. Both certain and probable data are included whilst possible data has been excluded. That probable data has been included should be taken into consideration when any database material is analysed.

7 For the most part women were unable to access education or training and in the few cases where they did were generally unable to qualify.

8 Included are men who lived in the county but did not practice and those who were normally resident at the time of qualifying (usually L.S.A. or M.R.C.S.). Not included are men who had "second homes" in the county but whose main residence was out of the county.

9 Staffordshire is taken as the county as it existed in 1851 BUT including Broom and Clent and those parts of Burton-upon-Trent and Tamworth that lay in Warwickshire.

10 Or were qualified to practise

11 Excluded are men of Staffordshire birth who served a medical apprenticeship in another county and never practised or lived in the the county thereafter.

12 Physicians, surgeons (including barber-surgeons and chirurgions), apothecaries, general or medical practitioners, men-midwives and mad-doctors are all herein considered to have practised medicine but not barbers and chemists.

13 Marked [OB] in the Register [SDH3]

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B1 Topography, parishes, market towns and medicinal waters

B1.1 Topography; B1.2 Topographers; B1.3 Parishes; B1.4 Market towns (1722); B1.5 Medicinal waters

B1.1 Topography

Staffordshire, at the end of the period under investigation, is admirably summed up in the opening remarks in William White's *History, gazetteer and directory ...* published in 1851.

Staffordshire is an inland county, nearly in the centre of England, celebrated not only for its numerous and valuable mines of coal and ironstone, and for the extent and variety of its manufactures in iron, steel and other metals, and in china, earthenware and glass, but also for the fertility and diversity of its soil, and the number and elegance of the seats of its nobility and gentry. Nearly all its once extensive forests, heaths, and commons, are now enclosed; and its mines and manufactories are chiefly confined to a densely populated district, about 15 miles square at its southern extremity, around Wolverhampton and Walsall; and to the vicinity of the Potteries at its north-western angle; so that the greater portion of it forms a highly cultivated agricultural district, abounding in wood, water, and game; rich in picturesque and pastoral scenery; and free from the noise and bustle of trade and commerce; except such as are created by a few scattered cotton mills on the streams near Burton-upon-Trent, Fazeley, Cheadle, &c., by the large silk mills, &c., at Leek, by the extensive manufacture of boots and shoes at Stone and Stafford and by the traffic on the numerous canals and railways which intersect the county in every direction.

This highly interesting county is of an irregular oval figure, nearly 60 miles in length from north to south, and averaging from 25 to 30 miles in breadth from east to west. It lies betwixt 52 deg. 20 min. and 53 deg. 14 min. North Latitude, and 1 deg. 87 min. and 2 deg. 45 min. West Longitude, from the meridian of Greenwich; and is bounded by Derbyshire on the north-east, Cheshire on the northwest, Shropshire on the south-west, Worcestershire on the south, and Warwickshire on the south-east. Its territorial extent comprises about 750,000 acres of land, equal to 1184 square statute miles. Its population has considerably increased during the last 50 years, as we find that in 1801 it amounted only to 239,553, though it now comprises about 600,000 souls.

When compared with the other counties of England, Staffordshire ranks the seventh in population, and the seventeenth in agriculture; but in the magnitude and importance of its manufactures, it yields to none but Yorkshire and Lancashire. It contains 145 parishes, 350 townships, a number of old chapelries, many new church districts, and upwards of 1000 villages and hamlets. It has more than 260 benefices ... and is comprised in the Bishopric of Lichfield, in the arch-episcopal Province of Canterbury, and in the judicial Circuit of Oxford. It includes one City, (Lichfield, the See of its Bishop,) seven Parliamentary Boroughs, and 21 Market Towns ...

The City of Lichfield, with its precincts, forms a separate county, and the rest of Staffordshire is divided into five hundreds, viz. Cuttlestone, Offlow, Pirehill, Seisdon, and Totmonslow; each of which is subdivided into two divisions, with a chief constable for each.

B1.2 Topographers

Some early Staffordshire topographers are mentioned in the 1908 preface to the first volume of the Victoria History of the county. These include Sampson Erdeswick c1538-1603, Robert Plot 1640-1696, Stebbing Shaw 1762-1802, William Pitt 1749-1823 and William Salt 1808-1863. Some extracts from Plot's *The natural history of Stafford-shire* are given in §C1.1686. More information can be found in Simms (1894) and in §Z4.

PREFACE: STAFFORDSHIRE has from an early date attracted the attention of the topographer. In 1593 Sampson Erdeswicke began his *View and survey of Staffordshire*, which he left unfinished at his death in 1603. What became of the original manuscript of his work is unknown, but several copies exist, and although they were referred to by subsequent writers, none of them was printed till 1717 when Curll issued the *Survey*, together with a letter written in 1669 from Sir Simon Degge, setting out the condition of the county at that date. The next to interest himself in the county was Robert Plot, who settled in Oxford for a time after taking his degree, and in 1677 published *The natural history of Oxfordshire*. Upon the reputation he acquired from this volume he was invited by Walter Chetwynd of Ingestry to undertake a similar work for Staffordshire, and in 1686 *The Natural History of Staffordshire* was issued. Under the term natural history Plot included the archaeological remains of the county, and it is for the record of these that his work is most valuable. In the unfinished *History and Antiquities of Staffordshire*, published in 1798, the Rev. Stebbing Shaw made use of Erdeswicke's collections, and added much from the manuscript sources at the British Museum and elsewhere. He only completed his history up to the first part of the second volume and died in 1802. William Pitt published *A topographical history of Staffordshire* in 1817, which is largely based on the work of the earlier historians of the county, particularly that of Robert Plot. The history of Staffordshire, however, will always be associated with the name of William Salt, who, although not claiming to be an historian, yet collected the material upon which all future work on the topography of the county must be largely based. Shortly after his death in 1863 his collections were housed at Stafford and form a remarkable memorial of his industry. The work which he began is being continued and expanded by "The William Salt Archaeological Society," whose volumes have added much valuable material for the history of the county. [VCH I (1908) p xvii]

B1.3 Parishes

By about the year 1538 Staffordshire had become divided into 182 ecclesiastical parishes¹⁴ all of which lay in the diocese of Lichfield except Clent and Rowley Regis which were in the diocese of Worcester. Some parishes also included parts of neighbouring counties such as Burton-upon-Trent (partly in Derbyshire) and Harborne and Tamworth (both partly in Warwickshire). Some parishes had detached parts within neighbours. In addition there were some non-parochial areas. Most parishes consisted of several smaller townships, villages and hamlets.

¹⁴ About 1538 five types of parish existed under the charge of a cathedral, a college, a rector, a vicar or a parochial curate. In Staffordshire the 182 parishes were Lichfield Cathedral & Close [1], collegiate parishes (Burton-upon-Trent, Gnosall, Penkridge, Tamworth, Tettenhall and Wolverhampton) [6], rectories [44], vicarages [39] and parochial chapelries [92]. All six Colleges were dissolved about 1548 although Wolverhampton was quickly reformed. Gnosall became a parochial curacy whilst the four others were initially styled vicarages. Over time the status of several parishes changed. In 1868 most parochial chapelries became vicarages.

Lichfield consisted of four parishes (Cathedral, St Chad, St Mary & St Michael) whilst Stafford consisted of two (St Chad & St Mary).

For the purposes of this monograph the county has been divided into 178 locations being Lichfield (4 parishes), Stafford (2 parishes) and 176 single parishes. Parts of Staffordshire parishes lying in other counties are treated here as if they lay in Staffordshire. All the locations are listed in a chart at the start of the Gazetteer [SDH2].

B1.4 Market towns (1722)

In 1722 a list (below) of 16 Staffordshire market towns is given by W. Stow in *Remarks on London ... (1722)* p152-161. Burton-upon-Trent is not listed but may have had a market at that time. These are all included in the table of Centres of medical practice (§D1.3).

A List of all the Market Towns in England and Wales; with the Days of the Week whereon kept. Note, m. signifies Monday; t. Tuesday; w. Wednesday; th. Thursday; f. Friday; and s. Saturday. Those Places printed with English Letters [1], are Cities; those with Italic Letters [2], Shire Towns.

Breewood, Stafford. t. ... Bromley, Staff. t. ... Cheadle, Staff. s. ... Eccleshal, Staff. f. ... Leek, Staffordsh. w. ... Lichfield, Staff. t. f. [1, a city] ... Newcastle, Staff. m. ... Penkridge, Staff. t. ... Rugeby, Staff. t. ... Stafford, Staff. s. [2, a shire town] ... Stone, Staff. t. ... Tamworth, Staff. s. ... Tutbury, Staff. t. ... Utoxeter, Staff. w. ... Walsal, Staff. t. ... Wolverhampton, Staff. w.

B1.5 Medicinal waters

Plot (1686) mentions a variety of springs, waters and wells located in these parishes: Ashley (Willowbridge (or Willoughbridge) Park) (see §C1.1676), Biddulph (Knypersley Park), Blymhill (Elder Well), Brewood (Codsall Wood, together with a leper house §B5.3) (Horsebrook), Burslem, Butterton, Church Eaton (Shushions and St Ediths), Eccleshall (Eccleshall) (Broughton Park Pale), Gayton (Hartley Green), Hanbury (Draycott-in-the-Clay) (Needwood Forest), Horton (Grindlestone Edge), Ingestre (St Erasmus), Lichfield St Chad (Stitchbrook), Newcastle (Salters Well), Sandon & Gayton, Tatenhill, Willenhall & Wolverhampton (Bentley), Wolverhampton (Monmore Green) (a Spaw well) and Yoxall (Hoarcross). *Magna Britannia* (1738) adds: Leek (Beresford House Warm Well) (Blue Hill), Hints, Kingswinford (Pensnett) and Stowe (Chartley). The final (1776) extract adds no new locations.

[115] ... come we next to those of Medicinal use; that have, are, or may be taken inwardly, or applied outwardly, for the prevention or cure of divers distempers: such was anciently the water of the Well of St. Erasmus (to begin with the sulphureous oleagenous waters) in the grounds [Ingestre] of the Worshipful Walter Chetwynd Esq; which was of so great esteem formerly, that there was a Chappel built near it, and I think endowed by some of that ancient Family; where the offerings were so considerable that the Rector of Ingestre (in whose parish it is) yet pays at this day for the Dismes[sic] of them, more than for the profits of the whole parish beside, notwithstanding its Revenew with all other such Lands given to pious uses, were taken into the Kings hands at the Reformation, and the Chappel be now demolished, and all applications thither long since ceased. Though I doubt not but the water remains as good and might be as beneficial as ever it was; for notwithstanding it lyes now wholly neglected, and overgrown with weeds, yet the water is still clear, and so exactly of the colour of Sack, that compared with it (in the judgment of several Honourable persons that were at the tryal) they were indistinguishable to the Eye, which is its only Characteristic wherein it sensibly differs from other waters, it having no very eminent either smell or tast [119] Near Codsall-wood [Brewood] there is such another Sulphur well, but the Salt and Sulphur not so equally mixt in the water, for though the Sulphur have so sufficiently rebated the acidity of the Salt, as to render it wholly as unactive as an Alcali, so that it lathers well with Soap, will not turn milk, and gives a green tincture with Syrup of Violets; ... [120] The water of this well is much clearer then that at Ingestre, and yet is most certainly sated with sulphureous particles; for about 40 or 50 years since, some persons hereabout curious of knowing whence such waters should come, both dug and boared the ground near adjoining, and met with a sort of mineral Earth that crash't in the boaring (as some of them described it) like rotten wood; which being carried to London was found sulphureous, and I suppose must needs be the native sulphur, depauperated of its richest particles by the incisive atoms of the Salt, and left so spongy that (as some of them told me) it would swim on the water. This water was accounted in ancient times (when Leproses were frequent) a sovereign Remedy for such as were troubled with that foule distemper, for whose better accommodation, there was a house built near it, which retains to this day the name of the Leper-house; and is in use at present against Scabs and Itch, both in Man and Beast, purging both by Seige and urin, and not only raking the body within, but most effectually driving forth all ill humors; It also sometimes vomits according to the constitution of the Patient: They commonly drink about 3 quarts at a time, less scarce working; except by vomit, where it meets with weak stomacks. The Inhabitants hereabout brew their drink with this water, especially at that they call the Brimstone Alehouse; and boyle their meat with it; upon which 'tis observed, that none of them are ever troubled either with Scabs or Itch, or such like Cuticular diseases. [121] But the water that carrys with it the most rectified Sulphur is that of the well in Willowbridg Park [Ashley], it being hardly visible in the water it self, which appears (not like others) of a yellow, but a clear Chrystalline colour, only on the sides of the glasses, after they have been uled a while, one may perceive (with good attention) a bright oilyness, which is so volatile that upon distillation it came over before the water, as volatile Spirits do, and then (being embodied) was of a bright yellow: to which putting a few drops of solution of sublimat, it presently turned of a deep Sack-colour, whereby it seemed like the other waters (the Salt being rebated by the viscosity of the Sulphur) to have somewhat of a Lixiviat Salt with it; but so very weak, that it made this deep yellow instead of the Orange tauny precipitat. Upon which account it was too (that like the other Sulphur waters) it latherd well with Soap, would not turn milk, nor would the crude water with Syrup of Violets turn either of the red or green colour, though we know there is an acid in it, that puts on the Nature of an Alcali; Nor could I procure the leait signe of any Salt, though I evaporated divers Gallons of it away, so subtile are the Salt and sulphur, wherewith this water is impregnated. ... How extensive its sanative virtue may be, indeed is hard to determin, but I dare pronounce it proper, wherever the syrup of Diasulphur of the famous Dr. Willis has been so successfully administered; though if one might take an estimat from the many attested Cures it has done, it comes as near a Panacea as any Medicin in the World [123] Of which water there is so great plenty, that I computed no less than 60 springs of it, of a most uninterrupted profluence ... all riseing within the space of 10 yards square, in Willow-bridg Park, the Propriety of the right Honorable Digby Lord Gerard of Gerards Bromley, The Property I say of these Wells is in this Noble Lord, but at present they are held in joynture by His most accomplit Mother, the right Honorable Jane Lady Gerard Baroness Gerard of Gerards Bromley, by whose most exquisite sagacity and perspicacious insight into the most hidden recesses of Nature, the restorative virtues of these waters were first discovered; and at whose charitable expence, several of the Springs have been inclosed with squared stone, to preserve them pure and fit both for bathing and

drinking; and divers appartments built for lodging the poorer sort of diseased impotent people: So that 'tis hard to determine whether the World stands more indebted to this Honorable Lady's Philosophical, or Theological virtues? Whether to Her knowledge as first finder, or Her Piety, as founder of these Sanative Wells. [124] I say Sanative Wells, for (whatever some may talk) most certain it is that divers strange unaccountable Cures have been here performed; and more there might be, were these waters attended (as some others are) with a skillful Physitian, to prepare the body before hand, direct the use of the waters, and how to order the body after drinking or bathing: The success of using Medicinal waters depending much upon Method, as my Lord Bacon well observes it is with some other Medicines, which unadvisedly administer'd will doe no Cures, but orderly applyed, produce great ones ... [126] Beside these, there are other sulphur waters at many other places in this County, though not so clear and well concocted as these; being generally thick, of a blewish colour, and emitting unpleasant fetid odours, like the sulphur well at Knarsbrough in Yorkshire; because proceeding I suppose rather from a crude Bitumen, than a well digested sulphur: Such is that at Tatenhil on the high way side near the pound, which in the summer time (if undisturbed by fowle) has been observed to lay downe a sediment almost of all sorts of colours; and might possibly have the same use that other stinking spaws have, were it but kept clean. And so might that stinking water which crosses Watlingstreet way, not far from Horsebrook [Brewood], and another of this kind betwixt Willenhall and Bently [Wolverhampton], could it be kept from a mixture with other water. There is another of these in a watery Lane not far from Eccleshall, and I was told of another near Hartley green [Gayton], beside that, which also petrifies, between Sandon and Gayton mentioned §.113 of this Chapter. And there is another at Butterton in the parish of Mathfield by How-brook side, which like the Baths of Banca in Hungary will tinge silver of a blackish colour in an hours time: [127] There are other sulphur waters in this County that have a Vitriol joyned with them, whereof there is one in a ditch in the Park Meddow under Broughton Park pale [Eccleshall], and another at Monmoore green near Wolverhampton, both which will strike with Galls, of so deep a red, that they become after a while of a blewish, and at last almost of a blackish colour. And I was shew'd another at Grindlestone edge about a quarter of a mile Eastward of Horton Church, that though it turned red both with Galls and Oak-leaves, yet took Soap well enough, whence it plainly appear'd though it were impregnated with an Acid, yet its edges were so flattened by the viscosity of some sulphur, that it could not act its part upon Soap, as such. Nor indeed met I with any water purely Vitriolic, but only one in Needwood-Forrest, about a mile and South easterly from Hanbury, which with Oak-leaves or powder of Galls turned of a faint red like Champane wine, and seemed to be much like that at Astrop in Northamptonshire, and Worton in Oxfordshire, only scarce so strongly impregnated with the mineral. I was told (I must confess) of another at Burslem near Newcastle under Lyme, but finding upon tryal that it would not strike with Galls, though several that stood by, testified they had seen it do it, at another time; yet I choose to pass it by: [128] Hither also must be refer'd all milky waters, as holding somewhat of a Vitriol in them, whereof because at large in the Hist. of Oxfordsh. I shall only mind the Reader here that the water of the Well at Hampsted, the Seat of the right Worshipful Sr. John Wyrley Knight, whose most cordial furtherance of this work must by no means be forgotten, seems to be such an one; And so forthwith shall proceed next to the aluminous waters, which though they will not strike with Galls, yet will coagulate milk, will not take Soap, and with spirit of Urin, turn of a milky colour: of these the most remarkable are at Draycot in the Clay in the Parish of Hanbury, and near Hore-Cross [Yoxall] Westerly from the Hall, by a brook side in a ground call'd Broadfield, belonging to the Worshipful Robert Howard Esq;. The water of the Well at Hore-Cross Hall the Seat of the same most obligeing Gent. seems also of this kind, for though it will not turn milk, or strike with Galls, yet it takes not Soap, and discolours the meat reddish, that is boyled in it, both signes of an acid, though it seems not strong enough to compress the pores of milk; whence 'tis plain that the tryal of waters with Soap, is much more nice than with milk. The well water of the house of Mr. John Cumberlege now Mayor of Walsall, is also aluminous; and so is the fountain head of the Rivulet call'd Stichbrook [Lichfield St Chad] between Lichfield and Elmhurst; which is so apparently such, that the very Alum Nat may be seen sticking in the bank fide, whence the water issues. [129] Beside these, there are many other waters, not apparently (at least to sense) of any mineral virtue, that will not answer these Experiments, yet no doubt carry with them some more subtile steams whereby they performe unaccountable Cures: such is the water of the well near Gawton stone in Knypersley Park [Biddulph], which has some reputation for cure of the Kings-evill, and so has the Spring called Salters wall near Newcastle under Lyme; And such is the water of the three wells near Shuston house, and of St. Ediths well, both in the Parish of Church Eyton, of the two St. Modwen's wells, at Burton and Cannal, and all the Holy-wells in the Country; which the people still adorn at some certain times of the year, with green boughs and flowers, in grateful memory of the good they have formerly done. And amongst these must be reckon'd all sorts of Eye-waters, such as that of Elder well betwixt Blyhill and Brineton, and many others of the kind all over the Country. And so must the Spring in a narrow Lane about mid way betwixt Wolverhampton, and a house called Sea-wall, which was anciently of such repute that it still retains the name of the Spaw. Which are all the waters of note in this County; for as for the Colepit waters, especially those they call Canker'd waters, that kill all the fish wherever they fall into the Rivers, I hold them not worthy to have any place in this History ...

As to such waters as are not of common use but may be accounted medicinal only ... under these heads. 1. Waters mixed with bitumen or with a spirit of nitre prepared in the bowels of the earth with a natural chymistry are such as will not freeze in the hardest frosts but are tepid and warm: Such are the springs near Beresford-House called Warm-Well [Leek] because in frost and snow it will smook like a boiling-pot and another at Hynts of the like nature near Mr Floyer's house. 2. Salt-springs; of these there are divers in this county, some of a stronger brine as the brine-pits at Chertley [Stowe] which tho' they afford not salt in so great quantities as those at Upwich and Middlewich in Cheshire yet make as good white salt for all uses as any in England; others are of a weaker brine, as those of Epsom, Pensnet-Close [Kingswinford] and a sough issuing out of a coal-mine in Blewhill in the parish of Leeke which tinges the stones and earth it touches with a rusty colour. These last springs are the causes of petrification in some of their currents and therefore we put not petrifying waters under a different head and so shall proceed to 3. Sulphureous waters; which are most properly medicinal and are often taken inwardly or apply'd outwardly; such is the well of St Erasmus at Ingestre, another near Codsall Wood; but the water that carryeth with it the most rectify'd sulphur, is the well at Willough-Bridge Park which is hardly visible in the water itself but being put in a glass leaves a bright oyliness upon it and with sublimmate turns yellow. Of these sorts of springs there are no less than 60 in the said park in a little compass and as there has been many unaccountable cures done by them so there might be still if such as use them would first take the advice of some able physician to fit their bodies for them. There are other waters in this county not reducible to any of the former heads which do strange cures of which we can give no account from their nature as Salters-Well near Newcastle under Lime which has a reputation of curing the King's Evil; Elder-Well near Blimhill, a good water to cure sore eyes; and a well called the Spaw near Wolverhampton. [*Magna Britannia ... Vol V (1738) p113-4*]

There are in this county medicinal springs of various qualites; some impregnated with bitumen, some with salts, and others with sulphur. Of the bitumous kind is a warm spring at Beresford, south east of Leek, near the bank of the Dove, and another at Hints, near Tamworth. Of the saline kind, the strongest are the brine pits at Chatley, near Stafford, of the water of which as good white salt is made, as any in England. Among the springs of a weaker brine, there is one in Blue Hill, near Leek, which tinges the stones and earth it touches, with a rusty colour, and which galls will turn as black as ink. Of the sulphureous sort, is St. Erasmus's Well, at Ingestre, two miles north-east of Stafford, and another spring at Codsall, north-west of Wolverhampton.

There are also other medicinal waters in this county, not reducible to either of these classes, which are said to have performed great cures, at Salter's Well, near Newcastle under Line, which has the reputation of curing the king's evil; Elder Well, at Blimhill, near Penkridge, said to cure disorders of the eyes; and a well, called the Spaw, near Wolverhampton, which is reputed to have cured diseases of various kinds. [A new display of the beauties of England ... Third Edition Volume the Second (1776) p245]

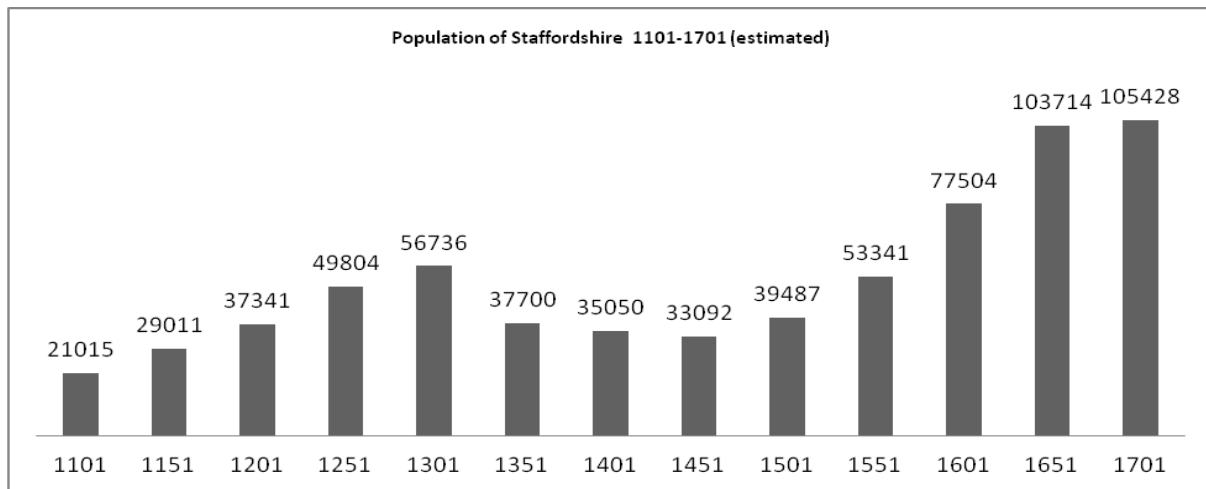
B2 Population estimates

B2.1 Introduction; B2.2 Population estimates (1101-1851); B2.3 Population - sources and methodology

B2.1 Introduction

The population of Staffordshire has been estimated for the period from 1101 to 1851. Details are given further below of the sources and methodology used. The two charts below show the *work estimated population* for 1101-1701 and 1701-1851. These estimates are only intended as a general guide.

B2.2 Population estimates (1101-1851)



The Domesday Survey of 1086 lists about 3,000 householders in the county and using a householder multiplier of x6 the population would be about 18,000. Thereafter the population appears to have risen steadily to about 57,000 until the "Black Death" of 1348-9 when as many as one third of the people may have died. Until about 1501 the population remained just under 40,000. For the next 150 years the population grew rapidly reaching nearly 104,000 by 1651 but for an unknown reason it then remained stable or even slightly declined towards the end of the century.

About 1532 a list of Families in the Archdeaconry of Stafford was compiled which was published¹⁵ in 1976. The editor describes the document as a "list of some 51,000 names (originally 55,000 if allowance if made for damage) arranged in family groups ... The standard family entry has, on average, 6.7 names and consists of the name of the head of the family, then the name or names of his wife of wives, followed by the christian names of all their children, living and dead". The work estimated population for 1532 is 48,076. This figure might shed some light on the percentage of dead mentioned in the list.

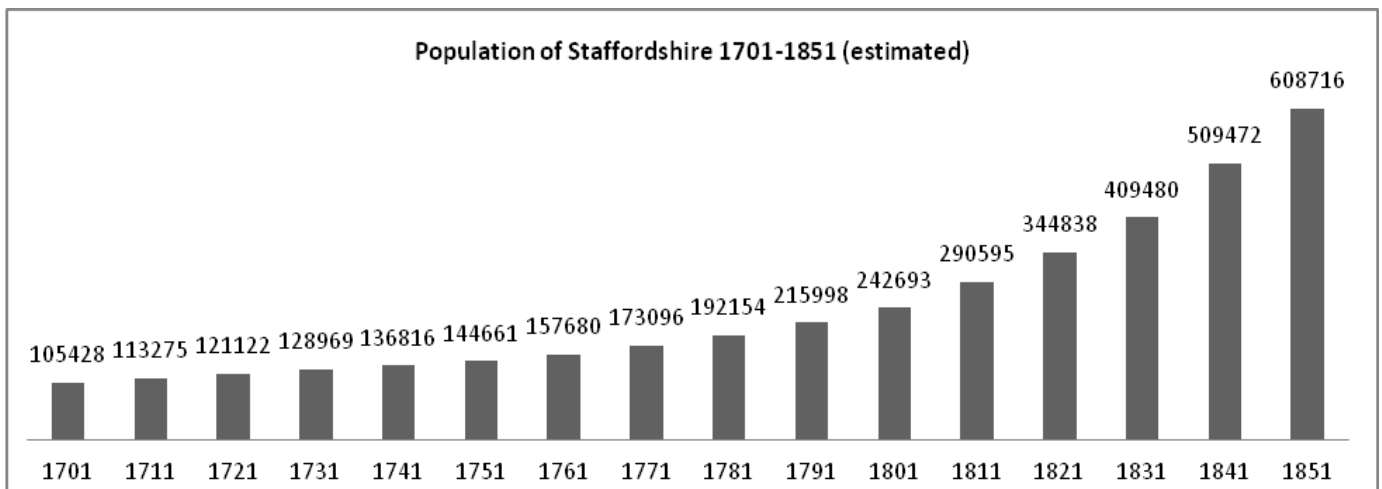
In 1563 the Lichfield Diocesan Returns counted households in the Archdeaconry of Stafford¹⁶. These figures have been adjusted to the actual county and suggest about 9,800 were counted. Using a householder multiplier of x6 this would give a population of 58,800. The work estimated population for 1563 is 59,150.

About 1665 the Hearth Tax Returns¹⁷ for the county suggest there were at least 20,628 households which using a householder multiplier of x6 would give a population of 123,768 or a multiplier of x5 a population of 103,140. The work estimated population for 1665 is only about 105,000 favouring the x5 multiplier.

¹⁵ Edited by Ann J. Kettle [SHC 1976]

¹⁶ Details of the returns have been published and are discussed by Walter Noble Landor and Commander Wedgwood. [SHC 1915, pages lxxvi to lxxvii] [Diocesan Returns of 1563 (BM Harl MS 594 p155 & p172)]

¹⁷ The Hearth Tax is also analysed and discussed by Noble and Wedgwood and was later published in SHC. [Hearth Tax Returns of c1665 (Exchequer K.R. Lay Subsidy, Staffs Bundle 256 Nos 31 & 35 and some others)]



B2.3 Population - sources and methodology

B2.3.1 1086-1701

The table shows all the relevant figures which are explained in the notes below.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Year	English population	Period of years	Population change	Population yearly change	Estimated English population	County % share	County population	Estimated county % share	Estimated county population
1086	1710000					1.060	18030		
1101					1910481			1.100	21015
1151					2578750			1.125	29011
1190	3100000	104	1390000	13365					
1201								1.150	37341
1220	3970000	30	870000	29000					
1250	4230000	30	260000	8667					
1251					3247019			1.175	49804
1290	4750000	40	520000	13000		1.190	56715		
1300	4730000	10	-20000	-2000					
1301					4728000			1.200	56736
1315	4690000	15	-40000	-2667					
1348	4810000	33	120000	3636					
1351	2600000	3	-2210000	-736667	2600000			1.450	37700
1377	2500000	26	-100000	-3846		1.630	40658		
1400	2080000	23	-420000	-18261					
1401					2061739			1.700	35050
1450	1900000	50	-180000	-3600					
1451					1896400			1.745	33092
1490	2140000	40	240000	6000					
1501					2206000			1.790	39487
1551					2906857			1.835	53341
1560	3020000	70	880000	12571					
1600	4110000	40	1090000	27250		1.880	77559		
1601					4122571			1.880	77504
1650	5310000	50	1200000	24000					
1651					5307800			1.954	103714
1700	5200000	50	-110000	-2200					
1701					5197800			2.028	105428

Column 1: Year

Column 2: English population. From Wikipedia and from an internet publication by Stephen Broadberry and others "British Economic Growth 1270-1870" (Table 18).

Column 3, 4 & 5: Period of years, population change and population yearly change. From figures in Column 2.

Column 6: Estimated English population every 50 years from 1101 to 1701 from the figures in Column 2 and Column 5.

Columns 7 & 8: The county percentage share of the English population and then the county population. From an internet publication Stephen Broadberry, M.S. Campbell and B.M. Campbell "English medieval population: reconciling time series and cross sectional evidence". Staffordshire appears to have a steady growth in the county share of the overall population.

Column 9: The estimated county percentage share of the English population every 50 years from 1101 to 1701. Calculated from 7 assuming a steady growth in the county share of the overall population with the exception of the figure for 1701 where the percentage share is reckoned by comparing the 1701 county population from Table 9 (below) with the estimated English population. The 2.028 figure is consistent with steady growth up to that year.

Column 10: The estimated county population. From columns 6 and 9. The figure for 1701 is from Table 9 (below).

B2.3.2 1701-1851

The sections and tables below demonstrate the sources and methodology for the period 1701-1851.

1700-1750-1801

Estimates of the population of Staffordshire in 1700, 1750 and 1801 are given in "Abstract of the answers and returns made pursuant to an Act, passed in [1801] intituled 'An act for taking an account of the population of Great Britain and the increase or diminution thereof'" (1802). They are shown in Table 2 below.

Population table 2: Abstract	
Year	Population
1700	117200
1750	160000
1801	247100

1761-1801

The population for ten year periods from 1761 is estimated by Tony Wrigley in "English county populations in the later eighteenth century" published on the internet. He weighs up the evidence from earlier research and interprets it in light of recent theories. His figures for Staffordshire are given in Table 3 with added ratios and increases.

Population table 3: Wrigley			
Year	Population	Old:New	Increase
1761	157680		
1771	173096	1.10	15416
1781	192154	1.11	19058
1791	215998	1.12	23844
1801	250282	1.16	34284

1751

It can be observed that the three earliest decadal ratios in Table 3 are declining by 0.01 and if the earliest figure for 1761 was consistent the ratio would be 1.09. On that basis the 1751 population would be 144661 (as below).

Population table 4: Wrigley extrapolated for 1751			
Year	Population	Old:New	Increase
1751	144661		
1761	157680	1.09	13019

1750

In the next table the 1750 population is estimated by a decrease of 1302 (being a tenth of the decadal increase from 1751 to 1761).

Population table 5: Wrigley extrapolated to 1750			
Year	Population	Old:New	Increase
1750	143359		
1751	144661		1302

1750 (Tables 2 & 5 compared)

It is now possible to directly compare the 1750 population from the Abstract (Table 2) with the Wrigley extrapolation (Table 5). The Wrigley extrapolation suggests the Abstract is overestimated by a ratio of 1.12.

Population table 6: 1750: Abstract compared to Wrigley			
Year	Abstract	Wrigley	Ratio
1750	160000	143359	1.12

1700

Using this same ratio to adjust the earlier 1700 population figure we arrive at a new estimate of 104643.

Population table 7: 1700: Abstract corrected to Wrigley			
Year	Abstract	Wrigley	Ratio
1700	117200	104643	1.12
1750	160000	143359	1.12

1700-1751

Between 1700 and 1751 the figures show a 51 year increase of 40018 which equates to a yearly increase of 785 (actually 784.7) and a decadal increase of 7847. There are no other figures available for this period.

Population table 8: Abstract corrected				
Year	Population	Increase	Yearly Increase	Decadal Increase
1700	104643			
1751	144661			
1700-1751		40018	785	7847

Using these figures it is possible to give the population of 1701 (1700 plus 785) and then the following years (by adding 7847).

Population table 9: Abstract corrected		
Year	Increase	Population
1701	10463+785	105428
1711	7847	113275
1721	7847	121122
1731	7847	128969
1741	7847	136816
1751	7847	144661

1801-1851

From 1801 annual government censuses were taken. The *Staffordshire Victoria County History* (VCH I p318-25) gives a detailed analysis of these censuses by parish or place. Here the county is considered as it existed subsequent to the *Act {7 & 8 Victoria c61}* (1844). The area of the county is then said to be 749,602 acres. Numerous notes explain various anomalies in the population count and the extent of places within the county. White in 1834 and 1851 records some other figures but it is unclear to which precise areas these apply.

Population table 10: 1801-1851 (VCH)		
Date	Year	Population
10 Mar	1801	242693
27 May	1811	290595
28 May	1821	344838
30 May	1831	409480
7 Jun	1841	509472
31 Mar	1851	608716

1701-1851 Final Estimates

It is now possible to present final estimates of the population of Staffordshire from 1701 to 1851 using Table 9 1701-1741 (Abstract corrected to Wrigley), Table 8 1751 (estimated from Wrigley), Table 3 1761-1791 (Wrigley) and Table 10 1801-1851 (VCH). The ratio of the decades is presented in the third column.

Population table 11: Population 1701-1851		
Year	Population	Old:New
1701	105428	
1711	113275	1.07
1721	121122	1.07
1731	128969	1.06
1741	136816	1.06
1751	144661	1.06
1761	157680	1.09
1771	173096	1.10
1781	192154	1.11
1791	215998	1.12
1801	242693	1.12
1811	290595	1.20
1821	344838	1.19
1831	409480	1.19
1841	509472	1.24
1851	608716	1.19

B3 Boroughs, guilds and parliamentary constituencies

B3.1 Introduction; B3.2 Boroughs and guilds; B3.3 Parliamentary constituencies

B3.1 Introduction

A succinct outline of the London guilds and their relationship to the City is given in the extract below taken from a book¹⁸ of 1887.

THE London Guilds or Livery Companies are the oldest Craft and Merchant Guilds in Europe. According to the Report of a Royal Commission that inquired into their condition in 1834, they were in their original constitutions not so much trading societies as trade societies, instituted for the purpose of protecting the consumer or the employer against the incompetency or fraud of the dealer or the artisan; and also for protecting the workman trained to his art, according to notions of early times, by preventing his being undersold in the labour market by an unlimited number of competitors. Further, the Companies acted as domestic tribunals - adjudicating, or rather arbitrating, between master and man and settling disputes. They were also in the nature of benefit societies, from which the workmen, in return for the contributions which they had made when in health and vigour to the common stock of the Guild, might be relieved in sickness or when disabled by the infirmities of old age. In all these respects they formed a model after which the Guilds throughout England and Scotland were formed. ... The London Companies were originally almost wholly Craft Guilds; and one of the most striking features in their history is the mastery which at a very early period they obtained in the municipality of the city. ... Two causes led to this mastery. They were invested with the sole right of conferring the freedom (in nearly all other places the granting of the freedom was vested in the governing body or municipality); and they early became possessed of great wealth, and, as a natural consequence, exercised a powerful influence among the general body of citizens. ... "England", says Brentano, "must be considered as the birthplace of Guilds, and London, perhaps, as their cradle. At least there is documentary evidence that the constitution of the city was based upon a Guild". ... It may be here noted that the name Livery Company was adopted in consequence of the members of the governing bodies wearing elaborate robes or livery, the members who were entitled to wear these robes coming to be known as liverymen. ... In the London Guilds there have always been three grades of membership - (1) simple membership, the possession of the freedom which makes a "freeman" or "freewoman"; (2) membership of what is called "the livery"; and (3) a place on the "court" or the governing body. The freedom of the Companies has been obtainable in two ways - (1) by apprenticeship; and (2) by patrimony, the latter mode accounting for the fact that so many of the freemen and liverymen of London are not bonafide craftsmen. A system of apprenticeship, however, was an essential element in the

¹⁸ Ebenezer Bain *Merchant and craft guilds A history of the Aberdeen Incorporated Trades* Aberdeen (1887) [Chapter III The London Guilds p18-25]

Guilds in their earlier history. All apprentices had to serve with a freeman for a period of seven years, at the end of which time they were admitted to the freedom of the Company. The "liverymen" are simply a superior grade of freemen, consisting (1) of craftsmen who are employers of labour, and (2) persons of some wealth and position who have joined the Companies by patrimony or by purchase, and who need not necessarily be craftsmen. ... freemen and the widows and orphans of freemen are entitled, in the case of poverty and in old age (1) to be received into the almshouses of the Companies which have almshouses: and (2) to pensions and casual relief out of the trust funds which have been left to the Companies for that purpose. ... The London Companies do not now pretend to be bodies of craftsmen. One of their leading members, Alderman Cotton, informed the Commission that for 400 years the larger number of the members did not pretend to have followed the crafts of their Companies

Boroughs¹⁹ were of three main types. Some might be styled *simple boroughs* in that they were settlements where burgesses and freemen held burgages by free tenure but did not develop a more complex municipal administration and become *municipal boroughs*. In addition there were *parliamentary boroughs*²⁰ which elected members of parliament. Some boroughs partook of various of these elements. In 1086 three Staffordshire boroughs are mentioned in the Domesday Survey: Stafford, Tamworth and Tutbury. A parliamentary report of 1835²¹ has reports on the municipal corporations of Lichfield, Newcastle, Stafford, Tamworth and Walsall. Burton-upon-Trent is also mentioned although not a corporation.

Guilds were also of three main types. Religious guilds (which were all to be dissolved on 25 Dec 1547 in the reign of Edward VI) were principally concerned with religious and social matters, merchant guilds with merchants and their commerce, and craft guilds with specific crafts, trades or industries. Guilds were primarily *mutual benefit societies* in that their members contributed to a common fund and cause from which they all might benefit. Their union or combination gave them greater strength.

Over time the principal citizens of boroughs - burgesses, freemen, merchants and craftsmen (amongst whom some medics) - became involved in both municipal administration and guild organisation. This sometimes led to an intimate and uncertain connection between municipality and guild. In 1235 Henry III constituted Newcastle a free borough and permitted the burgesses to form a merchant guild. Religious guilds at Lichfield and at Walsall played important roles in municipal affairs until 1547 when they were dissolved.

Merchant and craft guilds were also formed. These are recorded at Lichfield (1307), Stafford (1476), Walsall (1502) and Newcastle (1510). The Lichfield Guild of Barbers and Surgeons was incorporated in the reign of Edward IV (1461-1483) whilst in 1623 the style of the Lichfield Mercers' Company included apothecaries. In the remainder of the county no record of any specific guild of surgeons or apothecaries has been discovered and medics would have been members of other guilds.

B3.2 Boroughs and guilds

The table below summarises the boroughs and guilds and further account of them follows including information about the craft guilds of which scant record survives.²²

•Boroughs and guilds (Staffordshire)						
	Simple borough	Parliamentary borough	Municipal borough	Religious guild	Merchant guild	Craft guild
Abbots Bromley	1222	x	x	x	x	x
Alstonfield	x	x	x	....-1547	x	x
Alton	1239-1316	x	x	x	x	x
Betley	1299	x	x	x	x	x
Brewood	1280-1315	x	x	x	x	x
Burton-upon-Trent	1187-1851	x	x	x	x	x
Church Eaton	1275	x	x	x	x	x
Colton	1275-1361	x	x	x	x	x
Eccleshall	1199-1313	x	x	....-1547	x	x
Kinver	c1275	x	x	x	x	x
Leek	c1225	x	x	x	x	x
Lichfield	1159-1851	1311-1353 1548-1851	1835	1387-1547	x	1307
Newborough (1)	1141-1150	x	x	x	x	x
Newborough (2)	1262-1301	x	x	x	x	x
Newcastle	1173-1851	1354-1851	1835	x	1235	1510
Penkridge	c1290	x	x	....-1547	x	x
Stafford (Domesday)	1086-1851	1295-1851	1835	x	x	1476
Stoke-upon-Trent	x	1832-1851	x	x	x	x
Stone	1364-1536	x	x	x	x	x
Tamworth (Domesday)	1086-1851	1560-1851	1835	a1516-1547	x	x
Tutbury (Domesday)	1086-1199	x	x	x	x	x
Uttoxeter	1252	x	x	x	x	x
Walsall	1198-1851	1832-1851	1835	a1390-1547	x	1502
Wednesbury	x	x	x	....-1547	x	x
Wolverhampton	1263	1832-1851	[1849]	x	x	x

19 Reference has been made to M.W. Beresford and H.P.R. Finberg *English mediaeval boroughs A hand-list* (1973) .

20 See §B3.3

21 *Municipal corporations (England and Wales) - Appendix to the first report of the Commissioners Part III - Northern and north midland circuits* [House of Commons] (1835)

22 There are no merchant guild records held by Staffordshire and Stoke on Trent Archive Service. The records of the Lichfield craft guilds or borough companies (including butchers, chandlers, glove-makers, tailors, goldsmiths and pewterers) and those of the religious Guild of St Mary's are held at Staffordshire Record Office. These records date between the 14th and 19th centuries and are held under the reference number LD77. [SRO, internet]

Abbots Bromley was a simple borough created in 1222.

ABBOTS BROMLEY, 1222. Concedimus etiam ut habeant omnes libertates, etc, quas habent liberi burgenses de villa Lichfeldiae [Ballard & Tait (1923) p18 and see p45 63 70 123]

Alstonfield had a religious guild dissolved in 1547 but only noticed later.

Alstonfield: THE GUILD OF BLESSED MARY In 1567 a piece of pasture here worth 6/8 pa belonging to this Guild was discovered by Robt Hurleston and leased by the Crown to him for 21 years. [SHC 1915 p10]

Alton was a simple borough from 1239 to 1316.

(1239) "Pasturage agreement between burgesses of Alton and Croxden Abbey" [Beresford (1973) quoting SRO D593/A/2/23/1] (30 Jul 1316) Theobald De Verdun [IPM] ... [Alton] there is there a rent of assize of 40/0 from the Burgesses ... [SHC 1911 p334]

Betley was a simple borough in 1299.

(17 Sep 1299) Nicholas de Aldithele [Audley] [IPM] ... at Betteleye ... burgage tenants in the same vill [many burgages listed] [SHC 1908 p248-9]

Brewood was a simple borough about 1280 and until 1315.

(c1280) Bishop Roger Meuland c1280 granted 9 acres in Ackbury (Eskborrow) with a burgage in Brewood to Richard le Mason who in 1315 or 1316 conveyed the estate ... with the burgage ... [VCH V p36 quoting WSL S MS 201 (1) p89]

Burton-upon-Trent was a simple borough from about 1187 but does not appear to have then developed a municipal administration.

(1187-1197) "Abbot Nicholas made 'the first borough of Burton, that is the vill and the new street'. Successive abbots (1260-81 and 1281-1305) 'made boroughs' by extending burghality to streets" [Beresford (1973) quoting "Dugdale, Monasticon, III 48"]

(1197-1213) ... [Charter of William, Abbot of Burton] ... dominus rex concessit nobis facere unum burgum apud Burton ... [Ballard (1913) p42 and see p21 49 51]

(1835) BURTON-UPON-TRENT is not a corporate town. ... The manor was granted 37th Henry VIII [to an ancestor of the present owner] ... lord of the manor appoints a steward and a bailiff ... [*Municipal corporations report* (1835) p1785]

Church Eaton was a simple borough in 1275.

(20 Jun 1275) Adam de Brimton [Brimpton] [IPM] ... was seised in his demesne as of fee of the Manor of Eyton ... Also they say that the aforesaid Manor is free burgage ... [SHC 1911 p163]

Colton was a simple borough from 1275 to 1361.

(1275) Ingestre Deed all claim or right which I now have in a certain burgage in the vill of Colton ... [Frederick Perrott Parker *Some account of Colton and of the de Wasteneys family* (1879) p314]

(1361) From the Ingestre Deeds. Account roll of John de Caldewell, Steward of the De Wasteneys Colton property, from the eve of St. Michael, in 35th Ed. 3rd, to the same day in 36th Ed. 3rd inclusive (1362-3 A.D.) [recte 1361-2] He answers ... and for 16/7 rent of the burgesses (de redditu burgensium) for the same term ... [Frederick Perrott Parker *Some account of Colton and of the de Wasteneys family* (1879) p79]

Eccleshall was a simple borough from 1199 to 1313. It had two religious guilds dissolved in 1547.

(1199) "Represented as a manor and borough by its own jury at the eyre" [Beresford (1973) quoting PRO JI 1/800 m 3]

(1240-1) Queta clamacio Burgagii in ecclesale. Alan de Aspele quitclaims to Hugh [de Pateshull], Bishop of Cov. and Lich., a burgage with its appurtenances which he holds of the Bishop in his Manor of Eccleshale, lying lengthwise between the Bishop's fishpond and the road to Aylesdun, between the burgage held by Robert Mundsorel and Matilda ... [SHC 1924 p255]

(1298) "Survey gives 57³/₄ burgages" [Beresford (1973) quoting SRO D1734 J2268]

(1313) "Taxed as a borough" [Willard (1933) p434]

Eccleshall: Certified in 1548 that the inhabitants had established two guilds there, among themselves and without incorporation, called Our Lady's and S. Katherine's guilds, the service priests of which were maintained partly from the rent of certain lands etc. worth £3/2/2 net p.a., which had been bought for them, and partly from gatherings among the inhabitants. Sometimes there had been one and sometimes two of these priests, whose duties were to celebrate mass daily and also to teach poor men's children freely. They were removable at the will and pleasure of the Masters of the Guild. No plate or goods were returned in 1548, but in 1552 it was discovered that there were a pot & a pan belonging to them, also 32/0 in the hands of Hugh Wyldbloud & 12/4 in the hands of Rich Nowell. Circa 1550 the endowment is given as £3/1/6/8 net. [SHC 1915 p88-9]

Kinver was a simple borough in the late 13C.

(c1260-1300) Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Johannes filius Johannis filii Philippi dedi ... omnibus burgensibus meis de Kynefare quod habeant et teneant burgagia sua prout burgeses de Kidderminster ... [Ballard & Tait (1923) p49-50]

Leek was a simple borough in the early 13C.

(1209-1228) [Charter of Ranulf de Blundeville, Earl of Chester] Notum sit vobis me dedisse et concessisse ... liberis burgensibus meis manentibus in burgo meo de Lach [Ballard (1913) p22 and see p33 44 50 57 62 68 157 178 194 246]

(p1224) [Richard, Abbot of Dieulacres] [Leek] Et liceat cuilibet burgensi [burgagium suum] dare aut vendere ... voluntate domui nostro burgagium suum conferre voluerit [Ballard & Tait (1923) p86 and see p31 56 263]

Lichfield was a simple borough by 1159. Subsequently it developed a municipal administration. It was a parliamentary borough from 1311 to 1353 and after 1548. In 1387 two religious guilds²³ attached to Lichfield St Mary were amalgamated²⁴. The resulting guild played a significant part in the municipal government of the city²⁵. No contemporary evidence of craft guilds has been discovered before the mid 16C but a list of "trade companies" compiled in the 1650s and some other sources²⁶ suggest the guilds in the table below operated between the (very approximate) dates shown. The Lichfield Guild of Barbers and Surgeons were incorporated in the reign of Edward IV (1461-1483) whilst in 1623 the style of the Lichfield Mercers' Company included "Mercers, Grocers, Lynnen Drapers, Woollen Drapers, Silke men, Hosiers, Salters, Apothecaries and Haberdashers of small wares".²⁷ About 1600 freedom of a company "was open to the eldest son of a freeman, to an apprentice of seven years' standing, and to others who paid an entrance fee, normally £10. A widow who carried on her husband's trade was eligible for membership."²⁸

•Craft guilds (Lichfield)		
Trade	Open	Close
Saddlers	1307	1835
Vintners	1377	

23 VCH XIV p131-2 "Religious Guilds"

24 A.G. Rosser The Guild of St Mary and St John the Baptist ... in SHC 1988 p19-26

25 VCH XIV p73-87 "Town Government"

26 VCH XIV p132-4 "Craft Guilds"

27 VCH XIV p133; §X.1623

28 VCH XIV p133

Mercers (incl. apothecaries)	1394	1797
Masons	1413	
Shoemakers (Cordwainers)	1439	1870
Barbers & surgeons	1483	
Cooks	1483	
Clothworkers & weavers	1552	1835
Joiners	1571	
Cappers	1575	1708
Bakers	1576	1835
Tailors	1576	1880
Painters & stainers	1580	
Smiths	1601	1896
Butchers	1605	1865
Tanners	1625	1753
Carpenters		
Farriers		
Glaziers		

[1155-1159] Walterus ... Coventrensis Ecclesiae Episcopus [Walter Durdent Bisop of Coventry] [has invested his clerk with] ... duabus mansuris in Lichf: burgo & Cherchambro [*Monasticon Anglicanum III* p230 and see SHC 1924 p87]

(1199) Represented as a borough, vill, and liberty by its own jury at the eyre [Beresford (1973) quoting PRO JI 1/800 m3]

(25 Nov 1387) Licence, for £30 paid in the hanaper by [seven men from Lichfield] to form a fraternity and gild in Lichfeld of themselves and others who wish to be members in honour of St Mary the Virgin and St John the Baptist to meet yearly and choose a warden or master, to have a chaplain to celebrate divine service in St Mary's chapel, Lichfeld ... also for the good estate of the brethren and sisters and benefactors of the said fraternity and gild and others provided ... they do not hold any meetings ... against the king's peace ... By p.s. [*Calendar of Patent Rolls 1385-1389* p373 and see p380]

Lichfield: THE GUILD THERE This was commonly called The Guild of our Lady of Lichfield, sometimes The Guild of B. Mary and S. John the Baptist and more rarely The Guild of S. John the Baptist. It was the ancient corporation or governing body of the city, but was certified as a chantry in 1546 and 1548, as it maintained 4 priests, 1 deacon, 2 parish clerks and 2 children to sing and celebrate daily service within the parish church of our Lady. Its net annual revenue was £41/3/1½ or £41/4/0 of which £4/13/4 went to the poor, 3 priests had £5/13/4 each and the priest Morley, who was clerk of the guild, £6/6/8. In 1548 it was certified to have £4 in ready money, 21 oz. of partly gilt plate, ornaments worth 3/2 and household stuff in the guildhall worth 37/8. Pensions of £5/13/4 were granted to Mason, Harte and Feldhouse, which were still being paid in 1555. [SHC 1915 p171]

III. The City of Lichfield was anciently governed by a guild, at the head of which was a guild-master and four wardens, assisted by a council of 24 brethren. The corporation of the guild was first established in 1387, in the reign of King Richard II. and was confirmed by that king, who in the same year also granted to the guild a licence to purchase lands to the amount of £10 a year. The lands and houses belonging to the guild, according to a rental in 1548, produced annually £28/16/8. [*Municipal corporations report* (1835) p1925]

(1806) Under the authority of the charters granted to this city, the several fraternities and companies were formed, of Sadlers, gloves, whittawers, and bridle-makers; of mercers and apothecaries; of bakers; of tanners; of butchers and chandlers; of dyers, weavers, and cloth-workers; of taylors; of cappers; of corvisors and curriers; and of Smiths, goldsmiths, ironmongers, card-makers, pewterers, plumbers, cutlers, and spurriers. ... The Company of Mercers and Apothecaries have ceased to act; the Company of Cappers are extinct; but the rest continue to exercise their privileges, and, for their regulation, the Bailiffs and Brethren have a power, at their pleasure, of "making, ordaining, constituting, and appointing orders, constitutions, and ordinances, in writing, under the Common Seale of the said citie, &c." [Harwood (1806) p354-6]

(1835) The Incorporated Companies are seven in number: 1. Tailors; 2. Bakers; 3. Sadlers; 4. Butchers; 5. Smiths; 6. Cordwainers; 7. Weavers: in each of these several subordinate trades are comprehended. The freedom of the companies is acquired, 1st, by birth, which extends to the eldest sons freemen only; 2d, by servitude to a freeman within the city for seven years. The companies take fees on the admission to the freedom, but they are of trifling amount, and do not affect the trade of the city; the proceeds are either divided among the freemen, or expended in feasting. The companies do not exercise any power of compelling strangers setting up in trade to compound with them for the freedom. An attempt was made by them 12 or 13 years ago to assume such a power, and the sum demanded for the composition was £10. Many persons were induced to pay rather than litigate the point; but the demand was resisted in some instances, and ultimately abandoned. The companies have, however, claimed and exercised the right to admit as Compounders (though not upon compulsion) persons who were willing of their own accord to take up the freedom ... [*Municipal corporations report* (1835) p1927]

Newborough was a simple borough from 1141 to 1150 (perhaps located in Tutbury). However it might be identical with the borough of Agardsley²⁹ later also called Newborough which was a simple borough from 1262 to 1301.

(1141) ... omnem decimam denariorum de Novo Burgo quem pater meus accrescere fecit, et de hoc quod ego accrevi aut accrescere faciam [SHC 1962 p75 and see p65]

(c1150) ... quam habet in Novo Burgo nostro cum omnibus ad burgagium [SHC 1962 p78]

(1262) Agardsley [Robert de Ferrers Earl of Derby] me dedisse ... omnibus qui burgagia in libero burgo meo de Adgarsleg [Ballard & Tait (1923) p47 and see p23 47 57 77 113 118 124 129 179 266]

(1301) "101 burgages" [Beresford (1973) quoting PRO DL29/I/3 m 5]

Newcastle was a simple borough by 1173. In 1235 Henry III constituted it a free municipal borough and permitted the burgesses to form a merchant guild. A court case of 1280 (of which a short extract is given) details some of their privileges. From 1354 Newcastle was also a parliamentary borough. There was a craft guild of butchers in existence by 1510 and perhaps another of smiths in 1522. No further record of guilds has been discovered but it would appear that craftsmen were often freemen and burgesses and that their sons and time served apprentices also became freemen. Also that after 1781 time served apprentices of any inhabitant became freemen.

(1173) Pipe Roll ... £23/6/8 de assisa Burgi de Novo Castello [SHC 1880 p69]

(1203) "Represented as a borough by its own jury at the eyre" [Beresford (1973) quoting PRO JI 1/799 m 3]

(1235) Sept. 18. Feckenham. Grant to the burgesses of Newcastle-under-Lyme that the said town shall be a free borough, and that the said burgesses shall have a gild merchant therein, with all liberties and free customs thereto belonging, and that they shall go through all the land with all their merchandises buying and selling and trading in peace, freedom, and honour, quit of toll, pontage, passage, stallage and lastage and all other customs, saving the liberty of the city of London. [*Calendar of the Charter Rolls 1225-57* p213]

[1280] Staff. [Eleven men] were summoned by William de Pykestoke for taking and illegally detaining his chattels, viz., four ells de rayo assorsato of the value of 40d. per ell. The defendants appeared and admitted they had taken the cloth, and said they were burgesses of the town of Newcastle-under-Lyme, and that in that borough there was a merchant's guild by grant of King Henry the father of the King, with all liberties and customs pertaining to it, and it was the custom in the said borough appertaining to the guild that it was not lawful for anyone but the burgesses of the said borough to cut cloth (pannum scindere) nor to sell by the ell (per ulnas vendere), nor to keep a shop (schoppam tenere) unless he was in the guild of the said borough, and because the said William had kept a shop in the said town, and cut cloth and sold it by the ell

29 VCH II p349 in a footnote states "This later became known as Newborough. The Novus Burgus to which there are references as early as 1141 [SHC 1962 p75] seems to be an extension of the borough of Tutbury".

against the liberties of the said borough, they had taken the four ells in question, and they produced the charter of King Henry the King's father. William admitted he did not belong to the guild, ... nevertheless he and other burgesses of Stafford by reason of the liberties and customs they possess by the aforesaid charter, which was sued out (impetrata) on the 1st May, 7 John [1206], always after the grant of the said charter had freely cut their cloth in the said borough of Newcastle, and had sold by the ell wool and fleeces by small weight without having been received into the guild, until a year ago, when they were prevented by Thomas and the other defendants who had seized their chattels. [Banco Roll, Michaelmas 8-9 E I in SHC 1885(1) p11]

In that year [1510] the mayor and his brethren, with the consent of the great and small inquests, laid down certain rules for the guild which reflect the trading and devotional aspects of the fraternity. No butcher was to set up in trade without the consent of the guild and the payment of an appropriate fee. No meat was to be offered for sale except the butcher's own, and shops were not to be opened at the times of church services. Two wardens were to be appointed yearly. The guild was required to equip itself with a banner and also to provide a light before St. Mary's altar in the church of St. Giles. [VCH VIII p44-5 quoting "Pape Med Newcastle 189-90"]

in 1522 the mayor and his brethren, together with the great and small inquests, agreed to allow the smiths to maintain a light in the church as had been their former custom. [VCH VIII p45 quoting Pape Tudor and Stuart Newcastle p51 and p181]

(1835) The Burgesses are all those who have acquired the freedom of the borough. The Freedom is acquired by birth, by servitude, and by gift from the corporation. Every son of a freeman born within the borough, while his father is resident there, is entitled to his freedom. Freedom by Servitude is acquired by an apprenticeship for seven years, and service under it, to an inhabitant of the borough. Formerly it was held necessary that the servitude should be to a freeman; but in 1781, a practice was introduced — as a matter of indulgence, and not by virtue of any bye-law for that purpose — to admit to the freedom in respect of servitude with inhabitants generally, whether freemen or not; and that practice has subsisted ever since. [*Municipal corporations report* (1835) p1953]

Penkridge was a simple borough about 1290. It had a religious guild dissolved in 1547.

(c1290) Grant by Robert called le Walshe of Pencrych ... all his burgage, with buildings, garden and other appurtenances, in the township (villa) of Pencrich, ... Also he grants a parcel of land called le Helde, lying between the drain (ductum) and the said Burgage which he had by inheritance after the death of William le Walsche his father. William bought the Burgage from Thomas the Tailor (Cissore) and Thomas bought it of Sir Andrew Blund lord of Pencrij. To have and to hold to him, his heirs or assigns at a yearly rent of 2/0 to the chief lord of the fee for the Burgage and of 0/4 for the plot of ground called le Helden ...

Penkridge: THE TRINITY GUILD Discovered in 1552 that this guild was endowed with a messuage and lands at Whiston let to John Butler for 7/0; also with 15 kine and £20 in money. [SHC 1915 p206]

Stafford was a simple borough by 1086 and later developed a municipal administration. It was a parliamentary borough from 1295. No record has been discovered of a merchant guild but several craft guilds were in operation from 1476 to the early 18C as listed below. Those craftsmen who were also freemen were burgesses and passed their status on to their sons and their time served apprentices.

(1086) Stafford: XVIII burgenses are recorded at DFO Stafford and a further XVIII burg'ses at Stafford are recorded under DF203 Marston. The former group of burgesses held from the Crown, the latter from Earl Roger. The first group (it has been assumed) occupied 18 of the 128 inhabited dwellings and it is here assumed that the second group occupied 18 more of the 128 enumerated dwellings (of which Earl Roger had 24) rather than that they occupied an additional 18 dwellings.³⁰ [*Domesday Book*]

(1173) Pipe Roll ... £10 de assisa Burgi de Stafford [SHC 1880 p69]

(1199) "Represented as a borough and vill by its own jury at the eyre" [Beresford (1973) quoting PRO JI 1/800 m 3]

There does not appear to have been a guild merchant in the borough. ... Several craft and trade guilds existed. As already mentioned the shoemakers' guild of 1476 was still active in 1614. A butchers' company occurs in 1566, a company of 'innkeepers, bakers, etc.' in 1590, with a separate 'company and society of bakers' by 1693, a company of drapers and clothiers in 1609, a company of glovers in 1614-15, a company of saddlers in 1672, a company of cloth-workers, dyers, tailors, and bodice-makers in 1682, and a company of chandlers in 1701. The borough authorities exercised some control over the guilds. [VCH VI p216 quoting various sources]

(1835) The Burgesses are all those who have acquired the Freedom of the borough. The freedom is acquired, 1st, by birth, which extends to all the sons of a freeman born within the borough, or without, if the father was absent on the King's service; 2dly, by servitude, which must be by indentures of apprenticeship for seven years to a freeman. [*Municipal corporations report* (1835) p1785]

Stoke-upon-Trent became a parliamentary borough in 1832.

Stone was a simple borough from 1364 to 1536.

(1364) "Transfer of half a burgage" [Beresford (1973) quoting William Salt Library MS 264/38]

(1536) [Stone Priory] The following synopsis of the property of the Priory is taken from the "Valor Ecclesiasticus," temp. H. VIII. In Stone they held rents of assize from tenants, and rents of burgages and cottages, and perquisites of Court. Here the Canons evidently had a Manor Court. [SHC 1885(1) p3]

Tamworth was a simple borough by 1086 and later developed a municipal administration. It was a parliamentary borough from 1560. The religious guild of Tamworth St George was founded before 1516.

(1086) Tamworth lay half in Staffordshire and half in Warwickshire but is not surveyed by name in either county survey. A total of 22 Tamworth burgesses are recorded, twelve in Staffordshire and ten in Warwickshire. Under Staffordshire "VIII burg'ses in Tammuoerde" (four burgesses in Tamworth) are recorded as holding a share of 6 ploughs at DF33 Wigginton whilst found at DF54 Drayton Bassett are another group of eight: "VIII burg'ses in Tammuoerde huic M' p'tin & ibi opant' sic alij uill'i" (eight burgesses in Tamworth belong to this manor and work there like the other villeins). In Coleshill (Warwickshire) is recorded "& in Tameuoerde X burg'ses huic M' p'tin" (in Tamworth 10 burgesses belong to this manor).³¹ [*Domesday Book*]

(1199) "Represented as a borough and vill by its own jury at he eyre" [Beresford (1973) quoting PRO JI 1/800 m 3]

(1307) "Taxed as a borough" [Willard (1933) p107]

(c1538-1543) The Towne of Tamworth havinge a celebrate Market is of antient memory ... There is a Guild of St. George in Tamworth and to it beloned £5 Land per an. and of late one Johne Bailie gave other £5 Land unto it, and therewith is now erected a Grammer-Schoole [Leland's Itinerary III (1744) p116]

(1516) We have found very scanty memorial of the Holy Guild of St George, a very general religious confraternity in the town. The court rolls state that on the 18th of October 1516 John Lycett and Thomas Goldson were elected wardens of the guild. The wardens were, perhaps, also keepers of the light of their patron saint. The priest of St George in the Church was the chaplain. [Charles Ferrers Raymund Palmer The history of the town and castle of Tamworth ... (1745) p425]

The letters patent of the 3d Elizabeth [1560-1], after reciting "that the borough of Tamworth had been a very ancient mercate town, and that the inhabitants thereof, by the name of bailiffs and commonalty, had not only held it time out of mind of her royal progenitors in fee-farm by the rent of £5/16/0 a year, but had also enjoyed divers jurisdictions and privileges as well by prescription as by several charters, which charters they then suggested had either been burnt or lost, and implored her royal favour, that she would, for the better governing thereof, make it a corporation"; proceeds to incorporate the borough, and to appoint two bailiffs, one on the part of the borough lying in Staffordshire, the other for the part lying in Warwickshire, and 24 principal burgesses to be assistants to the bailiffs. ... There are no Freemen of this borough. [*Municipal corporations report* (1835) p2039]

³⁰ This extract is taken from the author's unpublished *Notes on a datafile for Domesday Staffordshire with some new and former analyses*.

³¹ This extract is taken from the author's unpublished *Notes on a datafile for Domesday Staffordshire with some new and former analyses*.

Tutbury was a simple borough by 1086 and in 1199.

(1086) HENRICUS de Ferreres ht' castelli' de TOTEBERIE. In burgo circa castelli' sunt .XLII. ho'es de mercato suo tant' uiuentes. & redd't cu' soro .IIII. lib' & X. solid'. In BURTONE [?] recte BURG TONE³²] h't dimid' hida'. in qua sed ej' castelli'. In qua T.R.E. erant .XII. car' Ibi sunt m' .IIII. car' in dn'io. Val' p' ann' .XX.III. solid'. [*Domesday Book*]

Henry de Ferrers has Tutbury Castle. In the borough around the castle are 42 men living only from their trade; they render with the market £4 10s. In the borough town he has 1/2 hide in which stands his castle. In which T.R.E. [1066] were 12 ploughs. Now 4 ploughs in demesne. Value per annum 24s.

(1199) "Represented as a borough, manor, and vill by its own jury at the eyre" [Beresford (1973) quoting PRO J1 1/800 m 3]

Uttoxeter was a simple borough in 1252.

(1252) [William de Ferrers Earl of Derby] Noveritis nos concessisse, etc pro nobis et heredibus nostris, omnibus burgensibus nostris de Uttokeshater quod habeant decetero liberum burgum et libera burgagia sua cum pertinenciis ... [Ballard & Tait (1923) p3 and see p56 74 117 135 141 264 287 325]

Walsall was a simple borough soon after 1198 and developed a municipal administration. Founded by 1390 the religious guild of St John the Baptist "In the course of the 15th century ... became closely involved in the government of the town".³³ By 1502 mercers (and clothiers), tailors, drapers, shearmen, weavers, coopers, and barbers were members of a college which was probably some sort of craft guild. All religious guilds were dissolved in 1547. In 1832 Walsall became a parliamentary borough.

(p1198) Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus Ruffus dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi omnibus burgensibus de Walsale et heredibus suis vel suis assignatis burgagia sua libera et quieta ab omni servicio consuetudine et demanda seculari mihi vel heredibus meis pertinenti ... [Ballard (1913) p43 and see p49 60 69 158 239]

(15 Dec 1390) Westminster. Licence ... to Robert Mareschal, chaplain, and his successors for celebrating masses in the church of Walsale for the fraternity of the gild of St John Baptist. By p.s. and for £20 paid in the hanaper. [*Calendar of Patent Rolls 1388-1392* p370]

Walsall: AT AN UNNAMED ALTAR Founded by the wardens, brethren and sisters of the fraternity or guild of S. John the Baptist of Walsall temp. Hen VIII; income £1/14/3; no plate or goods. [SHC 1915 p301]

In 1440 various laws were made "for the gode rule and governaunce of the towne of Walsall. I - First, we ordeyne and stablysshe ... after eny chosyng of eny Masters of the Gylde that these artcles shalbe rehersed in the counsell chamber ... [Charles Gross *The gild merchant Volume II* (1890) p248]

(10 Jun 1502) LETTERS of John Arundell, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, granted at the solicitation of William Marshall, mayor of Walsall, and William Parker and John Dudley, wardens or masters of the Arts of Clothiers and Tailors (artium Pannariorum et Scissorum), of Walsall, approving of and confirming certain Statutes and Ordinances for the government of their College. Dat. Lichfield, 10 June, 1502 [Richard Sims (Ed.) *Calendar of the deeds and documents ... Walsall* (1882) p26 Deed 83]

From 1502 St. Catherine's chapel was maintained out of the admission fees paid by members of the college of mercers, tailors, drapers, shearmen, weavers, coopers, and barbers [VCH XVII p228 quoting "W.T.C. I/83"] [Walsall Town Chest]

(1835) In the 15th century the crafts of the town formed themselves into a gild, at the head of which were three wardens, who exercised considerable control over the trade of the town. By an ordinance made in 1502, bearing the seal and sanction of the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, it is decreed that no man shall be free of the crafts, unless he have been prentice within the borough, or be born therein; and if any one work contrary to the ordinance, the warden shall warn him to leave, and if he will not leave, shall take a distress of him. There are now no common burgesses in this corporation. It appears probable that in this as in many other corporations, after the establishment of the gild, the burgess-right or freedom of the borough, which originally was annexed to inhabitancy and the payment of scot and lot, became identified with the freedom of the gild, was acquired by servitude and birth; and that on the dissolution of the gild, the burgess-right, to which (as this borough returned no Members to Parliament) no privileges remained attached, fell into disuse. [*Municipal corporations report* (1835)]

Wednesbury had a religious guild dissolved in 1547.

Wednesbury: Our Lady's Service: Certified in 1549 that the inhabitants had made a guild to maintain a priest to say or sing (mass) at Our Lady's altar, which had been endowed by ... [SHC 1915 p306]

Wolverhampton was a simple borough in 1263. Burgesses and burgages are also of record from 1581 onwards. However the town was only incorporated as a municipal borough in 1849. It was a parliamentary borough from 1832.

(1263) "The dean of W. grants his burgesses of W. privileges similar to those of Stafford" [Beresford (1973) quoting SRO D5936B I/26/6/34/I]

(1581) Another custom (now likewise discontinued) was the annual procession on the 9th of July (the eve of the great fair) of men in antique armour, preceded by musicians playing the Fair-tune, and followed by the steward of the deanry manor, the peace-officers, and many of the principal inhabitants. Tradition says, the ceremony originated at the time when Wolverhampton was a great emporium of wool, and resorted to by merchants of the staple from all parts of England. The necessity of an armed force to keep peace and order during the fair (which is said to have lasted fourteen days, but the charter says only eight,) is not improbable. The men (twenty in number) were furnished by the proprietors of the burgage-houses (one for each burgage), who had likewise, in rotation, the annual appointment of bailiff of the staff, whose office was to preside over and receive the tolls of the market. To gratify the curious, a list of the burgage-houses, whose proprietors appointed bailiffs from 1581 to 1600, inclusive, might have been here subjoined, but the pressure of other materials forbids it. This custom of walking the fair (as it was called), with the armed procession, &c. was first omitted about the year 1789. [Shaw (1801) p165]

B3.3 Parliamentary constituencies

From 1290 to 1547 up to six members represented Staffordshire in parliament. Two represented the county and two each the boroughs of Stafford (from 1295), Lichfield (from 1311 to 1353) and Newcastle (from 1354). In 1548 Lichfield was revived and in 1560 Tamworth received a charter. Therefore from 1548 to 1559 there were eight members and from 1560-1831 ten members. In 1832 the county constituency was divided into northern and southern divisions, with two members each, and three new borough constituencies were created with two members for Stoke-upon-Trent, two for Wolverhampton and one for Walsall. Thereafter Staffordshire was represented by 17 members.³⁴

•Parliamentary Constituencies (Staffordshire)							
Constituency	Start	End	Number of M.P.'s				
			1311-1353	1354-1547	1548-1559	1560-1831	1832-....
Staffordshire	1290	1832	2	2	2	2	
Staffordshire North	1832						2
Staffordshire South	1832						2
Stafford	1295		2	2	2	2	2

³² VCH IV p 48 footnote 7 suggests the original was "Burg" misread as "Burt". Alternatively the "g" may have been omitted. There is no record of a castle at Burton.

³³ VCH XVII p214

³⁴ Precise details of Parliamentary representation are given in various volumes of SHC.

Lichfield	1311	1353	2				
Lichfield (reformed)	1548				2	2	2
Newcastle	1354			2	2	2	2
Tamworth	1560					2	2
Stoke-upon-Trent	1832						2
Wolverhampton	1832						2
Walsall	1832						1
Total			6	6	8	10	17

B4 Poor Law unions

B4.1 Introduction; B4.2 Parish members; B4.3 White (1851)

B4.1 Introduction

Under *An act for the amendment and better administration of the laws relating to the poor in England and Wales* {4 & 5 William IV c76} (1834) parishes could be joined together into Poor Law unions. These unions were usually centred on a particular parish but some had two centres. They might and did cross county boundaries. Additionally unions might be divided into districts. Typically one or more workhouses³⁵ were made available to accommodate the paupers of each union.

Each union might appoint one or more Union Medical Officers (see §F3.2) who in some cases were assigned to a particular district. Men were also appointed as Union Workhouse Medical Officers (see §F3.3).

B4.2 Parish members

As discussed in §B1.3 the county has been considered to extend to 182 parishes. About 1851 they lay in the 27 unions outlined in the table below. Seventeen unions were centred in Staffordshire (of which six had parts in other counties) whilst the other ten were centred in neighbouring counties.

•Poor Law unions (27)			
Poor Law Union	Staffordshire Parishes	Centred on	Parts in [6]
Alstonfield	4	Staffs	
Ashbourne	7	Derbys	
Bromsgrove	1	Worcs	
Burton-upon-Trent	7	Staffs	Derbys
Cheadle	11	Staffs	
Congleton	1	Cheshire	
Dudley	3	Worcs	
Kidderminster	2	Worcs	
Kings Norton	1	Worcs	
Leek	10	Staffs	
Lichfield	21	Staffs	
Market Drayton	2	Salop	Cheshire
Newcastle	9	Staffs	
Newport	5	Salop	
Penkridge	13	Staffs	
Seisdon	10	Staffs	Salop
Shifnal	4	Salop	
Stafford	22	Staffs	
Stoke-upon-Trent	3	Staffs	
Stone	10	Staffs	
Stourbridge	1	Worcs	
Tamworth	8	Staffs	Derbys & Warwicks
Uttoxeter	11	Staffs	Derbys
Walsall	7	Staffs	
West Bromwich	3	Staffs	Worcs
Wolstanton & Burslem	3	Staffs	
Wolverhampton	3	Staffs	
Total parishes	182		

The 27 unions and their member parishes are listed below³⁶:

Alstonfield³⁷: Alstonfield, Butterton, Grindon, Wetton [4]

Ashbourne (Derbys): Blore Ray, Calton, Ellastone, Ilam, Mayfield, Okeover, Waterfall [7]

Bromsgrove (Worcs): Clent [1]

Burton-upon-Trent: Barton-under-Needwood, Burton-upon-Trent, Hanbury, Rolleston, Tatenhill, Tutbury, Wychnor [7]

³⁵ For mention of workhouses and poorhouses see §B4.3 and the Gazetteer [SDH2].

³⁶ It should be emphasised that the exact membership of each union varied over the years.

³⁷ Alstonfield and its members was earlier a "Poor Law Incorporation".

Cheadle: Alton, Bradley-in-the-Moors, Cauldon, Caverswall, Cheadle, Checkley, Cheddleton, Dilhorne, Draycott-in-the-Moors, Ipstones, Kingsley [11]

Congleton (Cheshire): Biddulph [1]

Dudley (Worcs): Rowley Regis, Sedgley, Tipton [3]

Kidderminster (Worcs): Arley, Broom [2]

Kings Norton (Worcs): Harborne [1]

Leek: Elkstone, Horton, Leek, Longnor, Meerbrook, Norton-in-the-Moors, Onecote, Rushton, Sheen, Warslow [10]

Lichfield: Alrewas, Armitage, Colton, Elford, Farewell, Hammerwich, Hamstall Ridware, Haselour, Kings Bromley, Lichfield Cathedral & Close, Lichfield St Chad, Lichfield St Mary, Lichfield St Michael, Longdon, Mavesyn Ridware, Pipe Ridware, Rugeley, Shenstone, Weeford, Whittington, Yoxall [21/18]

Market Drayton (Salop): Ashley, Muckleston [2]

Newcastle: Audley, Betley, Chapel Chorlton, Keele, Madeley, Maer, Newcastle, Talk-on-the-Hill, Whitmore [9]

Newport (Salop): Adbaston, Forton, Gnosall, High Offley, Norbury [5]

Penkridge (later Cannock): Acton Trussell, Bednall, Brewood, Bushbury, Cannock, Church Eaton, Coppenhall, Dunston, Lapley, Norton-under-Cannock, Penkridge, Shareshill, Stretton [13]

Seisdon: Bobbington, Codsall, Enville, Himley, Kinver, Pattingham, Penn, Tettenhall, Trysull, Wombourn [10]

Shifnal (Salop): Blymhill, Patshull, Sheriff Hales, Weston-under-Lizard [4]

Stafford: Baswich, Bradley, Castle Church, Colwich, Creswell, Ellenhall, Enson, Fradswell, Gayton, Haughton, Hopton, Ingestre, Marston, Ranton, Salt, Seighford, Stafford St Chad, Stafford St Mary, Stowe, Tixall, Weston-upon-Trent, Whitgreave [22/21]

Stoke-upon-Trent³⁸: Bagnall, Bucknall, Stoke-upon-Trent [3]

Stone: Barlaston, Chebsey, Eccleshall, Fulford, Milwich, Sandon, Standon, Stone, Swynnerton, Trentham [10]

Stourbridge (Worcs): Kingswinford [1]

Tamworth: Clifton Campville, Drayton Bassett, Edingale, Harlaston, Hints, Tamworth, Thorpe Constantine, Wigginton [8]

Uttoxeter: Abbots Bromley, Blithfield, Bramshall, Croxden, Gratwich, Kingstone, Leigh, Marchington, Newborough, Rocester, Uttoxeter [11]

Walsall: Aldridge, Bloxwich, Darlaston, Great Barr, Pelsall, Rushall, Walsall [7]

West Bromwich: Handsworth, Wednesbury, West Bromwich [3]

Wolstanton & Burslem: Burslem, Newchapel, Wolstanton [3]

Wolverhampton: Bilston, Willenhall, Wolverhampton [3]

B4.3 White (1851)

Here are descriptions of the Poor Law unions etc from William White *History, gazetteer, and directory of Staffordshire ...* (1851).

Alstonfield Poor Law Incorporation

(1851) all the parish [Alstonfield] is in Leek Union, except Alstonfield township, which was incorporated under Gilbert's Act [see §Q2.1782], with Butterton, Grindon and Wetton, for the support of their poor, about 34 years ago. These four incorporated townships have their Workhouse at Alstonfield, for about 50 paupers. Mr. Geo. White is clerk to the incorporated townships, and Thos. Brindley is master of the Workhouse. ... [White]

Burton-upon-Trent Poor Law Union

(1851) BURTON-UPON-TRENT UNION comprises the following 53 parishes and townships, of which 40 are in Derbyshire: Anslow, Ash, Barton-Blount, Barton-under-Needwood, Bearwardcote, Branstone, Bretley, Burnaston, Burton-upon-Trent, Burton-Extra, Castle-Gresley, Caton, Cauldwell, Church Broughton, Church Gresley, Coton-in-the-Elms, Dalbury-with-Lees, Drakelow, Dunstall, Egginton, Etwall, Findern, Foremark, Foston-and-Scropton, Hanbury, Hatton, Hoon, Hilton, Horninglow, Ingleby, Linton, Lullington, Marston-upon-Dove, Mickleover, Newton-Solney, Osleston-and-Thurvaston, Radbourn, Repton, Rolleston, Rosliston, Stanton-and-Newhall, Stapenhill, Stretton, Sutton-on-the-Hill, Swadlincote, Tatenhill, Trusley, Tutbury, Twyford-and-Stenson, Walton-on-Trent, Wichnor, Willington, and Winhill. These 53 parishes, &c., embrace an area of 133 square miles, and in 1841 had a population of 28,871 souls, of whom 15,703 were in Derbyshire. The expenditure of the Union, for the year ending Lady day, 1850, was £9,574, but this included £2,490 for county and police rates; and the sum actually expended on the poor was only £6,311. The UNION WORKHOUSE is a large and neat brick building, in Horninglow street, erected in 1838 at the cost of about £8,200, including the furniture, &c. It has room for more than 300 paupers. Mr. William Coxon is Union Clerk and Superintendent Registrar; the Rev. Peter French, chaplain; and Alexander and Mrs. Phillips are master and matron of the Workhouse. John Killingley and G. Smedley are the relieving officers; W. Wesley, registrar of marriages; and J. Killingley, W. Wright, H. Edwards and G. Smedley, registrars of births and deaths. [White]

Cheadle Poor Law Union

(1851) CHEADLE UNION comprises the 15 parishes, &c., of Alton, Bradley, Cheadle, Cauldon, Caverswall, Checkley, Cheddleton, Consall, Cotton, Denstone, Dilhorne, Draycott, Farley, Ipstones, and Kin[g]sley, which extend over an area of 86 square miles, and contained 14,473 inhabitants, in 1831; 17,841, in 1841; and 18,190, in 1851. [White]

Dudley Poor Law Union (Worcs)

³⁸ Stoke-upon-Trent was styled a "Poor Law Parish".

(1851) Tipton is in Dudley Union and County Court District. DUDLEY UNION comprises the four parishes of Dudley, Rowley-Regis, Sedgley, and Tipton, which extend over an area of 20 square miles, and had 80/128 inhabitants in 1841, but has now more than 100,000. The Board Room and principal Workhouse are at Dudley, in Worcestershire, but the Union uses also the two old Workhouses at Sedgley and Tipton, and the latter is appropriated for the reception of children. [White, under Tipton]

Leek Poor Law Union

(1851) LEEK UNION comprises all the extensive parish of Leek and most of that of Alstonfield, as well as Horton, Norton, and Sheen. The following is a list of its nineteen townships, &c., with their POPULATION in 1851:— Leek and Lowe, 8599; Leekfrith, 877; Bradnop, 447; Onecote, 438; Rudyard, 92; Heaton, 450; Rushton-Spencer, 355; Rushton James, 283; Endon, 658; Longsdon, 426; Stanley, 108; and Tittsworth, 606, in Leek parish; Warslow and Upper and Lower Elkstone, 715; Longnor, 561; Heathy lee, 578; Hollinsclough, 400; Quarndon, 665; and Fawfield head, 923, in Alstonfield parish; and the three parishes of Horton, 967; Sheen 395; and Norton-in-the-Moors, 3329. The total population of the Union in 1851 was only 21,827, though it comprises an area 82 square miles. The total expenditure of the 19 townships, &c., on their poor was £4551, in 1839; £5765, in 1849; and £5771, in 1850. The UNION WORKHOUSE is a large and handsome brick building, erected in 1838, at the cost of £6500, and having room for upwards of 250 paupers. It stands on a commanding eminence, about half a mile from the town, on three acres of land, which was given to Leek and Lowe by a late Earl of Macclesfield, towards the support of the workhouse of that township, built in 1768. [White]

Lichfield Poor Law Union

(1851) LICHFIELD UNION comprises all the parishes, townships, &c., of Lichfield, enumerated in the foregoing list, except the extra parochial places of the Friary, Freeford, and Haselour. It also includes Alrewas, Armitage-with-Handsacre, King's-Bromley, Colton, Elford, Farewell-and-Chorley, Fradswell, Longdon, Ogle-Hay, Orgreave, Pipe-Ridware, Hamstall-Ridware, Mavesyn-Ridware, Rugeley, Swinfen-and-Packington, Shenstone, Weeford, Whittington, and Yoxall. This Union comprises an area of 94 square miles, and in 1841 had 24,127 inhabitants, living in 4,862 houses, besides which there were 273 unoccupied houses, and 21 building, when the census was taken. The average annual expenditure of the 30 parishes, &c., on their poor, during the three years preceding the formation of the Union, was £7,978; but in 1838, it was only £5,940; in 1839, £5,679; and in 1850 about £5,400. [White]

Market Drayton Poor Law Union (Salop)

(1851) DRAYTON-IN-HALES is that part of the parish of Market-Drayton (in Shropshire) lying in Staffordshire, and comprising the three townships of ALMINGTON, BLORE-IN-TYRLEY, and HALES, which contain 6,200 acres and 750 inhabitants, and support their poor conjointly, under the name of the Tyrley Quarter, which is an extensive district of scattered houses in the union, and extending from 1 to 4 miles E. by N. of Market Drayton and from 7 to 11 miles W.N.W. of Eccleshall, ... Alington, which has a small village 2 miles E.N.E. of Drayton. ... Blore forms the east end of the parish ... Hales is the centre division, and has a small village on an abrupt declivity; ... [White, but note that Drayton-in-Hales seems to have been an alternative name for the whole of Market Drayton]

Newcastle Poor Law Union

(1851) NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYME UNION, formed under the new poor-law, comprises the seven parishes of Audley [includes Talk-on-the-Hill], Betley, Keele, Madeley, Maer, Newcastle-under-Lyme, and Whitmore, and the two townships of Balterley and Chorlton; which in 1841 had a population of 19,476 souls, consisting of 9,804 males and 9,672 females, living in 3,710 houses, besides which there were 171 unoccupied, and 15 building, when the census was taken. The WORKHOUSE is a large building in the Elizabethan style, built in 1838 and having about four acres of garden ground, &c. It has accommodation for 350 paupers, though it has seldom more than about 200. The original cost was £4300, but it has been enlarged by the addition of an infirmary, bakehouse, &c., at a further expense of £1200. The expenditure of the union in 1840 was £4348, and in 1850 upwards of £5000. [White]

Penkridge Poor Law Union

(1851) PENKRIDGE UNION comprises the 21 parishes and townships of Acton-with-Bednall, Brewood, Bushbury, Cannock, Cheslyn-Hay, Church-Eaton, Coppenhall, Dunston, Essington, Featherstone, Hatherton, Hilton, Huntington, Kinvaston, Lapley, Norton-Canes, Penkridge, Saredon, Sharesill, Stretton, and Great Wyrley. Its registration district comprises also the extra-parochial place called Teddesley Hay, and in 1841 contained 16,074 inhabitants, of whom 8,228 were males and 7,846 females, living in 3,142 houses, besides which there were 131 uninhabited houses, and ten building, when the census was taken in that year. The Union Workhouse is an old building at BREWOOD, but received such additions between 1838 and 1842 as have rendered it capable of accommodating 200 inmates. It has a well-proportioned board-room, and very comfortable hospital wards. ... The cost of relieving the poor was £3,719 in 1840; £4,363 in 1848 and £3,956 in 1850. The Union embraces an area of 94 square miles, ... [White p439]

Seisdon Poor Law Union

(1851) SEISDON UNION comprises the 13 parishes and townships of Bobbington, Codsall-and-Oaken, Enville, Himley, Kinfare, Pattingham, Upper Penn, Lower Penn, Tettenhall, Trysull-and-Seisdon, Wombourne, Woodford Grange, and Rudge. The latter is in Shropshire. This Union is in Wolverhampton and Seisdon Registration District, and comprises about 41,000 acres, and 12,263 souls. The "Union Workhouse is an old building, on the Upper Green, Tettenhall, and was enlarged in 1836. It has room for about 80, but has seldom more than from 50 to 60 inmates. The expenditure of the Union in the half-year ending Sept., 1850, was £2360/6/10½. [White p61]

Stafford Poor Law Union

(1851) STAFFORD UNION comprises the 20 parishes and townships of Berkswich (or Baswich,) Bradley, Brockton, Castle-Church, Colwich, Ellenhall, Fradswell, Gayton, Haughton, Hopton-and-Coton, Ingestre, Marston, Ranton, Salt-and-Enson, Seighford, Stafford [includes Creswell] (St. Mary and St. Chad) Stowe, Tixall, Weston-on-Trent, and Whitgreave; which embrace an area of 78 square miles, and had 20,293 inhabitants in 1841, ... Their total average annual expenditure on the poor during the three years preceding the formation of the Union in 1830, was £4,963. Their total expenditure in 1838 was £3,122; in 1840 £7,546; in 1846 £6,525; and in 1849 £6,864, ... The WORKHOUSE, in County road, is a neat brick building, which was erected in 1838, and has room for about 800 paupers. [White]

Stoke-upon-Trent Poor Law Parish

(1851) It forms of itself a Union and Registration District, under the new poor-law, and in 1841 had 47,925 inhabitants, living in 9,185 houses, besides which it had 735 uninhabited houses, and 60 in course of erection when the census was taken. It has now about 55,000 souls, though in 1801 it had only 16,414, and in 1831 only 37,229. ... (1851) The PARISH WORKHOUSE, at the Spittal, in Penkull, forms an extensive range of building, erected 1833, at the cost of £3,000, and afterwards enlarged, so that it has now accommodations for more than 600 paupers, but has seldom more than half that number. [White p223]

Stone Poor Law Union

(1851) STONE UNION, comprises the ten parishes of Barlaston, Chebsey, Cold-Norton, Eccleshall, Milwich, Sandon, Standon, Swinnerton, Stone [includes Fulford], and Trentham, which extend over an area of 119 square miles, and in 1841, had a population of 18,837 souls, consisting of 9,440 males, and 9,397 females, ... The expenditure of the ten parishes on the poor, and for county rates, registration fees, etc, was £6495/16/0 in the year ending Lady-day 1850. The Union Workhouse was built under the powers of an act of parliament, passed in the 22nd of George III., for the maintenance and employment of the paupers of Stone parish, under the control of a body of guardians and directors, who surrendered their charge, at the formation of the Union, to the New Poor-Law Commissioners. The Workhouse was purchased by the Union, and enlarged in 1839, so that it has now room for 300 inmates. [White]

Tamworth Poor Law Union

(1851) TAMWORTH UNION comprises the 24 parishes and townships of Amington-and-Stonedelph, Austrey, Bolehall-and-Glascote, Chilcote, Clifton-Campville, Croxall, Canwell, Drayton-Bassett, Edingale, Fazeley, Harlaston, Hints, Kingsbury, Middleton, Newton Regis, Statfold,

Sierscote, Shuttington. Seckington, Tamworth, Tamworth-Castle, Thorpe-Constantine, Wigginton, and Wilnecote. These 24 townships, &c., comprise an area of 29 square miles, and had 12,430 inhabitants in 1831, and 12,004 in 1841, of whom 5,924 were in Staffordshire, 6,638 in Warwickshire, and 342 in Derbyshire. Their total average annual expenditure on the poor during the three years preceding the formation of the Union was £6,449, but in 1838 it was only £3,997, and in 1840 £4,414. In 1850 the total expenditure was £6,545, including county rates, registration fees, salaries, &etc. The *Union Workhouse*, pleasantly situated at Ladybridge-bank, comprises two adjacent buildings in the same enclosure, one of which was built in 1837-8, and the other is the old Parish Workhouse, which was built by Thomas, Lord Viscount Weymouth, and Francis, Lord Middleton, who generously gave it to be used for the poor of the town, in 1750. This is larger and handsomer than the new part, and has the appearance of a comfortable and well-built hospital. The two buildings have room for about 120 paupers. [White]

Uttoxeter Poor Law Union

(1851) UTTOXETER UNION comprises 21 parishes and townships, viz., Sudbury, Somersall-Herbert, Boylestone, Cubley, Doveridge, and Marstone Montgomery, in Derbyshire; and Abbot's Bromley, Blithfield, Bromshall, Croxton, Draycott-in-the-Clay, Field, Gratwich, Kingston, Leigh, Marchington, Marchington-Woodlands, Newborough, Norbury, Rocester, and Uttoxeter, in Staffordshire. These 21 townships and parishes extend over an area of 63 square miles, and had 12,837 inhabitants in 1831, and 14,452 in 1841, of whom 2,780 were in, Derbyshire. The WORKHOUSE, on the Heath, more than half a mile from the town, was built in 1838-9, at the cost of £4000, on the site of the old parish workhouse, which was erected by the Enclosure Commissioners in 1789, when part of the poor's allotments were sold. It has room for 200, but has seldom more than 120 inmates. The expenditure of the Union, for the year ending Ladyday, 1851, was £5,537. [White p793]

Walsall Poor Law Union

(1851) WALSALL UNION extends over an area of 31 square miles, and comprises eight townships, of which the following is a list, with their population in 1851:— Aldridge, 1,172; Great Barr, 1,001; Bentley, 380; Darlaston, 10,591; Pelsall, 1,132; Rushall, 1946; Walsall Borough, 8,760; and Walsall Foreign, 18,056 [Walsall includes Bloxwich]. Their total population was 24,931, in 1831, 34,251, in 1841; and 43,038, in 1851. Their total average annual expenditure, during the three years preceding the formation of the Union, was £5297; but in 1841 it was £6251, and it has, in several subsequent years,, amounted to a much larger sum. The UNION WOKKHOUSE stands in Walsall Borough township, about quarter of a mile from the town, and is a spacious and handsome building, which was erected in 1838, at the cost of £7,600, and enlarged in 1842, so that it has now room for 450 paupers. [White p648]

West Bromwich Poor Law Union

(1851) WEST BROMWICH UNION comprises the parishes of West Bromwich, Wednesbury, and Handsworth, in this county; the townships of Oldbury and Warley (Salop) in Shropshire; and the township of Warley Wigorn, in Worcestershire. The six parishes, &c., had 52,596 inhabitants in 1841, and 69,718 in 1851, of whom 34,581 were in West Bromwich, 24,718 in Wednesbury, 11,641 in Oldbury, 7,880 in Handsworth and Perry Barr, 989 in Warley Wigorn, and 349 in Warley Salop. They extend over an area of 27 square miles; and their total average annual expenditure on the poor, during the three years preceding the formation of the Union, was only £6,584. The two old parish Workhouses at West Bromwich and Wednesbury, with some alterations and additions, serve for the whole Union, and the former has room for about 140, and the latter for about 110 paupers. The expenditure of the Union, on the poor and for county rates, registration fees, salaries, &c., for the year ending March 25th, 1851, was £20,230/2/11. [White p685]

Wolstanton & Burslem Poor Law Union

(1851) This parish [Wolstanton], and that of Burslem, form the WOLSTANTON AND BURSLEM UNION, for which a large Workhouse has been erected at Great Chell, at the cost of £6,200, with accommodation for 400 paupers, though it has seldom more than half that number. The total population of the union in 1841 was 32,669, and the average annual expenditure of the two parishes on their poor, during the three years preceding the formation of the Union, was £6,210; but in 1840 it was £6,432, and in 1841, £7449. [White]

Wolverhampton Poor Law Union

(1851) WOLVERHAMPTON UNION, formed in 1836, under the New Poor Law, comprises only the four populous townships of this parish, viz., Wolverhampton (12), Bilston (8), Wednesfield (2) and Willenhall (3) which comprise 11,500 acres, and had 68,426 inhabitants in 1841. The number of guardians elected for each township is denoted by the figures attached to their names. Their total average annual expenditure on the poor, during the three years preceding the formation of the Union, was [misprint]. In 1838, it was only £6,437; and in 1841, £7,504; but in 1849, the total expenditure was £16,238, including salaries, registration fees, county rates, and several thousand pounds expended in sanitary measures, during the prevalence of cholera, which swept away about 1,800 of the inhabitants of the four townships, in that year. The Union Workhouse is an extensive brick building, on the Bilston road, erected, in 1837, at the cost of about £10,000. It has room for about 600 inmates, but has seldom more than 400 or 450. ... Wolverhampton old Workhouse, at Horsleyfields, is now used as Barracks ... [White]

B5 Religious houses and religious hospitals

B5.1 Introduction; B5.2 Religious houses; B5.3 Religious hospitals

B5.1 Introduction

Some details are given below of the 23 religious houses and 12 hospitals which were founded in Staffordshire between 1004 and 1424. All the houses had closed by 1539 and the majority of hospitals by 1548. In these buildings some medical care must have been provided by both religious and lay persons. No specific mention of these people and their medical practice has been discovered.

B5.2 Religious houses (1004-1539)

Twenty-three religious houses were founded in Staffordshire between 1004 and 1344. By 1539 all had closed. The table below³⁹ gives an overview of them with the approximate dates of their foundation and closure together with their value in 1535. Any of them might have offered accommodation together with practical and medical assistance to visitors, travellers, pilgrims, the elderly, the ill and the infirm. Within the precincts of some houses was a hospital or infirmary under the control of a monk styled hospitaller or infirmarer. Monastic hospitals might have principally offered "hospitality" whilst monastic infirmaries might have concentrated on the care of the infirm and sick. However no clear distinction seems to have existed and in both buildings some medical care might have been available.

•Religious houses						
House	Parish	Order	Type	Foundation	Closure	Value 1535
Burton Abbey	Burton-upon-Trent	Benedictine	monks	1004	1539	£514
Lapley Priory	Lapley	Benedictine (Alien)	monks	1061	1415	
Tutbury Priory	Tutbury	Benedictine (Alien)	monks	1100	1538	£171
Calwich Priory	Ellastone	Augustinian	monks	1130	1532	

³⁹ The table is primarily based on information extracted from VCH III.

Stone Priory	Stone	Augustinian	monks	1138	1537	£131
Radmore Abbey	Cannock	Cistercian	monks	1139	1154	
Canwell Priory	Hints	Benedictine	monks	1140	1525	
Rocester Abbey	Rocester	Augustinian	monks	1146	1538	£112
Blithbury Priory	Mavesyn Ridware	Benedictine	nuns	1148	1300	
Farewell Priory	Farewell	Benedictine	nuns	1148	1527	
Brewood Priory	Brewood	Benedictine	nuns	1150	1538	£12
Ranton Priory	Ranton	Augustinian	monks	1150	1537	£103
Trentham Priory	Trentham	Augustinian	monks	1153	1537	£123
Saint Thomas Priory	Stafford	Augustinian	monks	1174	1538	£181
Croxden Abbey	Croxden	Cistercian	monks	1179	1538	£104
Sandwell Priory	West Bromwich	Benedictine	monks	1180	1525	
Dieulacres Abbey	Leek	Cistercian	monks	1214	1538	£243
Hulton Abbey	Burslem	Cistercian	monks	1219	1538	£88
Lichfield Friary	Lichfield	Franciscan	friars	1237	1538	
Keele Preceptory	Keele	Knight Templars	templars	1250	1308	
Stafford Friary	Stafford	Franciscan	friars	1274	1538	
Newcastle Friary	Newcastle	Dominican	friars	1277	1538	
Forebridge Friary	Castle Church	Augustinian	friars	1344	1538	

B5.3 Religious hospitals

In addition to the religious houses up to twelve independent religious hospitals⁴⁰ have been discovered in Staffordshire founded from 1148 to 1424. Unlike the monastic houses the principal purpose of these independent hospitals was often to accommodate the poor, the elderly, the infirm and the sick. Those principally providing for the poor and elderly might be styled almshouses. Some were specifically leper-houses. The table below gives an overview of them with the approximate dates of their foundation and closure together with their value in 1535. Most ceased to exist in the 16C but two, Lichfield St John and Lichfield Dr Milley, have survived to the present day. More detail is given further below.

•Religious hospitals					
Hospital	Parish	Function	Foundation	Closure	Value 1535
Lichfield St John	Lichfield	almshouse	1148	open	£47
Forebridge St John	Castle Church	almshouse	1208	1560	£11
Cannock St Mary	Cannock		1220	1230	
Tamworth St John	Tamworth		1227		
Freeford St Leonard	Lichfield	leper-house	1246	1496	
Radford	Baswich	leper-house	1255	1320	
Newcastle	Newcastle		1266	1551	
Tamworth St James	Tamworth	not charitable	1275	1548	£4
Forebridge St Leonard	Castle Church	almshouse	1387	1548	£5
Wolverhampton St Mary	Wolverhampton	almshouse	1392	1548	
Lichfield Dr Milley	Lichfield	almshouse	1424	open	
[?] Gunstone	Brewood	leper-house	1500		

Lichfield St John: Tradition suggests that Bishop Roger de Clinton 1129-1148 founded this hospital. Later about 1257 a hospital chantry was founded "for the support of the poor and sick inmates of the hospital and those who sought hospitality there". In 1496 it was joined by Freeford St Leonard. Afterwards and to this day it seems to have become an almshouse.⁴¹

Forebridge St John: Located in Castle Church (by Stafford) St John was founded before 1208 probably by a member of the Stafford family. It continued as an almshouse until 1560. An image of its seal is reproduced below⁴².



Cannock St Mary: Only certainly known to exist from 1220 to 1230.⁴³

Tamworth St John may have been a hospital around 1227.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ see Rotha Mary Clay *The mediaeval hospitals of England* (1909)

⁴¹ VCH III p279-89 for later history see Gazetteer [SDH2] under Lichfield

⁴² see Rotha Mary Clay *The mediaeval hospitals of England* (1909)

⁴³ VCH III p274

Freeford St Leonard: Possibly founded at Lichfield by a prebendary of Freeford mention is made of lepers here in 1246, 1257 and 1281. In 1496 it was united with Lichfield St John.⁴⁵

Radford: Located near Baswich it was a leper hospital founded before 1255 and likely closed before 1320.⁴⁶

Newcastle: A hospital or hospitals are found here between 1266 and 1551.⁴⁷

Tamworth St James: St James was built by Sir Philip Marmion shortly before 1275 and suppressed in 1548. It does not appear to have functioned as a charity.⁴⁸

Forebridge St Leonard: Located in Castle Church (by Stafford) St Leonard may have been founded by Ralph Stafford 1st Earl of Stafford 1301-1372. It was probably an almshouse and was suppressed in 1548.⁴⁹

The free chapel of S. Leonard by Forbridge, commonly called the Spittal chapel, within the parish of Our Lady of the Castle church and distant therefrom 1 mile, is certified in May 1548 to have been founded by Rauf earl of Stafford to maintain 1 priest & certain poor people there, but no poor people have been relieved "these 20 years past." [SHC 1915 p237]

Wolverhampton St Mary: St Mary was founded about 1392 by Clement Leveson and William Waterfall "for a chaplain and six poor people". It had been suppressed by 1548.⁵⁰

Lichfield Dr Milley: Founded in 1424 for the use of the poor the hospital became an almshouse for women and continues to this day.⁵¹

Gunstone: A leper house⁵², which might have been a hospital of some sort, is said to have existed near Gunstone and Codsall Wood (in Brewood) perhaps by 1500 and was still standing in the 1680s. In 1686 Robert Plot writes:

Near Codsall-wood there is ... [a] sulphur well This water was accounted in ancient times (when leprosy were frequent) a sovereign remedy for such as were troubled by that foule distemper for whose better accommodation there was a house built near it which retains to this day the name of the Leper-house; and it is in use at present against scabs and itch both in man and beast ... [Plot (1686) p101]

In 1548 the places in most need of hospital provision were commented on by the Chantry Commissioners⁵³ thus: "Where most nede is to have hospitalles for relief of the pore; Stafford, Walsall, Tamworth, Burton upon Trent"

B6 Booksellers and printers

B6.1 Introduction; B6.2 Chronological list of books to 1755; B6.3 Alphabetical list to 1755

B6.1 Introduction⁵⁴

Booksellers and printers were active in Staffordshire from 1658. They are found at Stafford (from 1658), Hamstall Ridware (1675), Lichfield (1680), Newcastle (1684), Burton-upon-Trent (1685), Tamworth (1685), Wolverhampton (1685), Uttoxeter (1687) and Stone (1694). Up to 1755 - 23 books have been discovered with a county connection and of these five are of medical interest⁵⁵. In 1687 and 1690 Michael Johnson of Lichfield printed the two volumes of Sir John Floyer's *Touch-stone of medicines* ... and in 1691 the extraordinary book by Richard Cromwell (or Cromwel) *The happy sinner* ... Johnson was the father of the lexicographer Samuel Johnson 1709-1784 [OB] and may also have sold patent medicines. In 1694 William Bateman of Stone apothecary published William Westmacott's book regarding Blurton-Spaw-Water and in 1750 ?Samuel Parsons of Newcastle reprinted a work regarding the death of a man at Kingswinford.

B6.2 Chronological list of books to 1755

Twenty-three books with a county connection.

- John Lineall⁵⁶ *Itur Mediteranium a true accompt given of the proceedings of the Right Honourable, Lord Glin, The Lord Chief Justice of England, and the Honourable Barron Hill, one of the Barrons for the Exchequer, in their Summer circuit in the counties of Berks, Oxford, Gloucester, Monmouth, Hereford, Worcester, Salope and Stafford* London: Printed for the Author ... and are to be sold by **John Felton in Stafford** (1658)

- John Lineall⁵⁷ *To his highness Richard, by God's providence the second Lord Protector of our Commonwealth Printed for John Lineall* [? sold by **John Felton in Stafford**] (1658)

44 VCH III p136 footnote "A 'house' in Tamworth dedicated to St John was inhabited by 'brethren' in 1227-8 and this too may have been a hospital."

45 VCH III p274-5

46 VCH III p289-90

47 VCH III p289

48 VCH III p294-6

49 VCH III p293-4

50 VCH III p296-7

51 VCH III p275-8 for later history see Gazetteer [SDH2] under Lichfield

52 VCH V p20 "a house for lepers seems to have been built near Gunstone presumably on or near the site of the present Leper House Farm".

53 A.F.Leach *English schools at the Reformation 1546-8 Part II* (1896) p210

54 This entire section is for guidance only and has drawn on Simms (1894) together with *A short-title catalogue ... of books printed ... in the English provincial towns ... up to ... 1700 compiled by E.A. Clough* (1969); Henry R. Plomer ... *A dictionary of the printers and booksellers ... from 1668 to 1725* Oxford (1922) and H. R. Plomer ... *A dictionary of the printers and booksellers ... from 1726 to 1775* Oxford (1932).

55 These five books are discussed further in §H2.

56 John Lineall (Minister of Castle Church) c1685-.... was possibly the father of John Lyneall (of Stafford) ?chirurgion e1611-.....

57 See footnote above. This work is said to be an acrostic poem on the words in the title-page . [and see Simms (1897)]

- Edward Powel, Master in Arts and chief School-Master in Stafford *The danger of the errors of the rulers. A sermon preached upon the tenth day of March 1661. At the assizes for Staffordshire held at Wolver-hampton* London, Printed for W. Gilberston, and are to be sold by **John Felton bookseller in Stafford** (1662)
- John Brinley Gent. *A discovery of the impostures of witches and astrologers* London, printed for John Wright ... and sold by **Edward Milward book-seller, in Leitchfield** (1680)
- Zachary Cawdrey Rector of Barthomly ... *The certainty of salvation to them who dye in the Lord: a sermon preached at the funeral of the Right Honourable, George Lord Delamer, at Boden, in the county-palatine of Chester, September the 9th, 1684* London: Printed for **Peter Gillworth, Book-seller in New-Castle, in Staffordshire**; and James Thurston, Book-seller in Nantwich (1684)
- George Plaxtone *The loyal speech of George Plaxtone, M.A. Minister of Sheriff-Hales in Shropshire; spoken at Shifnal, in the same county, upon the proclamation of his sacred Majesty, King James the Second ...* [? London, by J. Leake, for **Richard Grosvenor, in Wolverhampton**, to be sold by A. Jones [London]] (1685)
- Samuel Shaw, Master of the free-school in Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Leicester-shire *Grammatica anglo-romana: Or, a syncritical grammar, teaching english youth the latin tongue by few and easie rules, comparing english with latin. With a comment for the use of riper years; containing the elegancies, and explaining the difficult phrases and idioms, which ar peculiar to the latin. Fitted to the sense of the learned Oxford-commentators upon Lilly's Grammar* London, **printed for Michael Johnson, bookseller And to be sold at his shops in Litchfield and Uttoxiter in Stafford-shire**; and Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Leicetser-shire (1687)
- Sir John Floyer, of the City of Litchfield, Kt. M. D. of Queens-College, Oxford *ΦΑΡΜΑΚΟ-ΒΑΣΑΝΟΣ: [Pharmako-Basanos] Or, the touch-stone of medicines. Discovering the vertues of vegetables, minerals, & animals, by their tastes & smells. In two volumes [Volume one]* London, **printed for Michael Johnson, bookseller in Litchfield**: And are to be sold by Robert Clavel, at the Peacock in St Paul's church-yard (1687) OR London, printed by W.D. for Michael Johnson, bookseller in Litchfield: And are to be sold by Robert Clavel, and S. Smith at the Peacock and Feathers in St Paul's church-yard (1687) OR London, **printed for Michael Johnson, bookseller: And are to be Sold at his Shops at Litchfield and Uttoxiter, in Stafford-shire**; and Ashby-de-la-Zouch, in Leicester-shire (1687) [NOTE: The second volume appears to have been printed with the first volume in 1690, below]
- Sir John Floyer *ΦΑΡΜΑΚΟ-ΒΑΣΑΝΟΣ [Pharmako-Basanos] or, the touch-stone of medicines, &c. The second volume. Of the tastes and vertues of minerals* (1690) [see above]
- Lancelot Addison [Dean of Lichfield] *The primitive institution, or, A seasonable discourse of catechizing: Wherein is shewn, the antiquity, benefits and necessity thereof: together with its suitableness to heal the present distempers of this national church [Second Edition]* London: Printed for William Crook ... and **W. Baylie, in Litchfield** (1690)
- Richard Cromwel *The happy sinner: or, the penitent malefactor. being the prayers and last words of one Richard Cromwel (some time a souldier and chyrurgion in the late D. of Monmouth's army, and since of their present Majesties) who was executed at Leichfield for murder, on the 3d. day of July, 1691. Wherein are not only contained his prayers, (draun up by his own hand, which (with a little variation) may fitly be used by most christian people) but also his last speech, which is a very pious and godly exhortation to all christian people, to forsake sin and wickedness, and to turn to god, before he overtake them with his just judgments for their wickedness. And also, his legacy to his county, of choyce, physical, and chyrurgical receipts, viz. I. A balsome for wounds, bruises, pains, aches, stiches, and sprains. II. A very extraordinary receipt for the worms. III. Two severall receipts for that tormenting distemper, the wind collick. IV. A cure for all colds or coughs, new or old. V. A purge for the head, which cures those pains, and helps the eye-sight. VI. A general purge, carrying off all flegme, choller, melancholly, from all parts of the body thereby curing or preventing many diseases. VII. A most excellent plaister for all pains. And lastly, directions to make two severall waters for the eyes, with the last of which he cured a boy in Leichfield that had been blind three years. Together, with a strange and wonderful account of three ravens flying against the walls of his chamber, which he esteemed as sent by god to give him notice of his approaching death. Licensed and entred according to order.* London, printed for R. Clavell, at the Peacock in St. Pauls church yard, and are to be sold by **Mich. Johnson, bookseller in Leichfield** (1691)
- William Westmacott⁵⁸ *A short account of Blurton-Spaw-Water, with some plain directions, and necessary rules for the more efficacious drinking of it.* London: Printed for **William Bateman, apothecary in Stone, in Stafford-shire**, who is intrusted to take any observations from any ingenious or distemper'd persons, that make trials of this spaw. (1694) [? 4 pages] [At the end of the main text a letter from Sir John Floyer is printed concerning the chemical virtues of the Blurton water]
- John Floyer *The praeternatural state of animal humours described by their sensible qualities ...* London, printed by W. Downing, for **Michael Johnson**. And are to be Sold by Robert Clavel, Sam. Smith, and Benjamin Walford, in St. Paul's Church-Yard (1696)
- [John Walthoe] Books printed for **J. Walthoe**, in the Middle-Temple Cloysters, and **at his shop in Stafford** (1715)
- Sir John Floyer *The prophecies of the second book of Esdras amongst the Apocrypha, explained and vindicated from the objections made against them to which are added, a comment on the prophecies of Zachary and Micah with some observations concerning the prophecies of Daniel and Malachi likewise the state of the jews after the return of the two tribes, till the resurrection of the just. as also a description of the state of the Israelites of the ten tribes, after their return into their countrey* **Mich. Johnson, Lichfield** (1721)
- William Jervis, A.M. Rector of Standon in Staffordshire⁵⁹ *The duty of praying for princes: A sermon preached at St. Mary's in Stafford, on Tuesday, June 12, 1722. At the triennial-visitation of the Right Reverend Father in God, Edward, lord bishop of Coventry and Lichfield* London: Printed for **Richard Southall bookseller in Stafford**, and sold by Tho. Ward in the Inner-Temple-Lane (1722)
- William Baker *The credibility of mysteries in religion vindicated. In a sermon preach'd in the Cathedral church of Lichfield, on Sunday, July 21. 1728. By William Baker D. D. Fellow of St. John's College in Cambridge, and Chaplain to the Right Honourable George Earl of Cardigan. Publish'd at the Request of the Bailiffs and Aldermen of the City of Lichfield* Cambridge: printed for W. Thurlbourn Bookseller in Cambridge and sold by J. and J. Knapton, and Rob. Knaplock in St. Paul's Church-Yard London, and **Rich. Bayley, Bookseller in Lichfield**, 1729.
- *The Voyages and Adventures of Captain Robert Boyle [Liverpool. Printed by Adam Sadler] Wolverhampton. Reprinted by Geo. Wilson* (1744)
- Matthew Horbery *The preeminance of charity a sermon preached at the parish church of St. Chad, Salop, before the Trustees of the Salop Infirmary on Thursday October 1st 1747 by Matthew Horbery D.D. Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford and Chaplain to the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, sold for the benefit of charity by Messrs. Cotton, Durston and Lathrop in Shrewsbury Longman and Shewell, in London Fletcher in Oxford Parsons in Newcastle Staffordshire and Bailey in Lichfield* (1747)
- [James Illingworth] *A genuine account of the man, whose hands and legs rotted off, in the parish of King's-Swinford in Staffordshire; where he died, June 21, 1677. Carfeully collected by Ja. Illingworth B.D. ...* London, reprinted from the first edition in 1678 and sold by ... **Mr Parsons, Bookseller in Newcastle, Staffordshire** [1750]
- *The lama sabachthany: or cry of the son of god* **Wolverhampton, printed by Mary Wilson** (1755)

B6.3 Alphabetical list to 1755

William Bailey of Lichfield bookseller

(of Lichfield, Burton-upon-Trent, Tamworth and Wolverhampton⁶⁰) 1685; (of Lichfield) 1690

Richard Bailey of Lichfield bookseller

(of Lichfield) 1729 ?1747

William Bateman of Stone apothecary e1660-1705 (see the Register [SDH3])

⁵⁸ William Westmacott of Newcastle physician c1650-1721 (see Register [SDH3])

⁵⁹ William Jervis (Rector of Standon) 1694-1729 of whom it was said "He was a man of Great Learning Universall Charity Learned in Physick and practised it much to his poor neighbours & friends advantage being Commonly Termed The Friend Of Mankind, whose Study was to do good in his Lifetime and his death Lamented by most that knew him." [see Supplementary Register]

⁶⁰ "Lichfield, Burton-upon-Trent, Tamworth, Wolverhampton - William Bailey bookeller" is mentioned in a list of booksellers selling patent medicines in M. Bromfield *A brief account of that most reigning disease the scurvy with infallible directions for its cure. As also some useful discourse touching the certain and speedy cure of many other dangerous diseases* (1685) [see Notes & Queries Eleventh Series Volume XI (1915) p45]

(of Stone) 1694

John Felton of Stafford bookseller

(of Stafford) 1658 1662; (may have been living in Newport, Salop in 1679/80)

Peter Gillworth of Newcastle bookseller

(of Newcastle) 1684

Richard Grosvenor of Wolverhampton bookseller-?1691

(of Wolverhampton) 1685

Michael Johnson of Lichfield bookseller 1657-1731

(of Lichfield) 1687 1690 1691 1721; (of Uttoxeter) 1687 ?1690; (no place) 1696; (father of Samuel Johnson 1709-1784 [OB]); (assisted in business by his brother Andrew Johnson 1660-1729); (succeeded in business by his widow Sarah Johnson 1669-1759)

Edward Milward of Lichfield bookseller

(of Lichfield) 1680

Samuel Parsons of Newcastle bookseller e1697-?1766

(as "Samuel Parsons bookseller" father of children christened at Newcastle) 1727-1730; ("Mr Parsons bookseller" buried 28 May 1766 Newcastle); (Simms (1894) has "R Parsons of Newcastle bookseller" as a voter in 1734 and publisher and engraver of a map of Staffordshire of 1742); ("A new map of Staffordshire 1747, printed for Sam. Parsons, bookseller in Newcastle under Line. Dedicated to Lord Gower "); (of Newcastle) ?1747 ?1750

Richard Southall of Stafford bookseller

(of Stafford) 1722

George Unett of Wolverhampton bookseller-1714

(of Wolverhampton) ?1691-1714; (succeeded in business by his widow Ann Unett); (succeeded in business by his son Richard Unett-1739); (succeeded in business by his son's widow Sarah Unett-1767)

Richard Unett of Hamstall Ridware, Staffs bookseller 1623-1675

(his son Richard, aged 20, as son of Richard Unett bookseller, admitted sizar at St John, Cambridge) 2 Jun 1681 [Venn]

John Walthoe of Stafford bookseller

(of London) 1683-1748⁶¹; (of Stafford) 1715

George Wilson of Wolverhampton printer

(of Wolverhampton) 1744

Mary Wilson of Wolverhampton printer

(of Wolverhampton) 1755

C Staffordshire medical events

C1 Medical chronology

C1.1511 Bishop's licences to practise

In 1511 *An act concerning physicians and surgeons* {3 Henry VIII c11} (§Q2.1511) was passed which, reserving the privileges of Oxford and Cambridge Universities, required that physicians and surgeons be examined and approved before practising. The examiner for Staffordshire was the Bishop of Lichfield⁶² or his vicar-general. Once a man had been examined and approved by the examiner he was to be issued with appropriate letters testimonial. These letters testimonial became known as a "bishop's licence" and men might be said to have been "licensed to practise physic and/or surgery in the diocese of xxxxx" or "in the province of Canterbury or York". Subsequently, in theory, all physicians and surgeons, not qualified by Oxford or Cambridge University, should have held a bishop's licence.

Bishop's licences were also issued to practise midwifery but as far as has been discovered only to women. They are further discussed in §D5.2

In Aug 1642 the civil war commenced and by 1644 the offices of archbishop, bishop and the whole apparatus of diocesan government were abolished by parliament. This prevented the issuing of bishop's licences until the restoration when they again became available.

How the whole system of bishop's licences worked in practice is uncertain. In the Lichfield diocese very few licences have survived. A Derbyshire licence is mentioned in the extract below.

IPSTONES (Co.Staffs.) (V): papers relating to Stephen Clifford alias Gill claimant to the curacy of Ipstones: including licence to preach, licence to practice physic, licence to the cures of DENBY and WORMHILL (Co.Derby), petition and letters and testimonials. He claims to have been persecuted for twenty years. The authenticity of his credentials is suspect, 1671-1694 ... [SRO B Lichfield Diocesan Records; Ex D & C B/C Court Records]

The fourteen cohort^x men licences known to have been issued are listed in the table below. Four were listed for physic alone, four for physic and surgery and six for surgery alone. Seven of the licences were issued from Canterbury, five from Lichfield and two from Worcester. The men listed are discussed further in §D2.4 and §D3.2. It will be noticed that Dud Dudley was licensed by Worcester in 1660 and Canterbury in 1679.

•Bishop's licences to practise					
Name		Place	Year	Type	Place
Robert	Crips	nk	1590	surgery	Lichfield
William	Clarvetto	Lichfield	1636	surgery	Canterbury
Ambrose	Crowley	Rowley Regis	1660	surgery	Worcester
Dud	Dudley	Tipton	1660	physic	Worcester
Nicholas	Woolley	Newborough	1675	physic & surgery	Canterbury
Dud	Dudley	Tipton	1679	physic	Canterbury
Roger	Fowke	Brewood	1681	physic	Canterbury

⁶¹ John Walthoe, a London printer, ran a printing business "over against the Royal exchange in Cornhill, and in Richmond" from 1683 until his shop burned down in 1748. His son, also named John Walthoe, was involved in the business and was known to be involved in the printing the Daily Courant and the Corn Cutter's Journal between 1731 and 1741 [Internet]

⁶² In fact Clent and Rowley Regis were in the diocese of Worcester.

John	Parker	Lichfield	1685	physic & surgery	Canterbury
Haken Alexander	Fridrick	nk	1690	physic	Lichfield
William	Grosvenor	Leek	1697	physic & surgery	Lichfield
John	Sare	Walsall	1697	physic & surgery	Canterbury
Henry	Mainwaring	Audley	1701	surgery	Lichfield
Simon	Weston	Rugeley	1713	surgery	Canterbury
Peter	Callous	Talk-on-the-Hill	1723	surgery	Lichfield

C1.1642 Civil war legislation

In Aug 1642 the civil war commenced and by 1644 the offices of archbishop, bishop and the whole apparatus of diocesan government were abolished. This prevented the issuing of bishop's licences until the restoration.

C1.1645 Civil War - Lichfield - the royal garrison

At the start of the civil war the royalists occupied Lichfield Close but the parliamentary forces then took it from them. Between 29 and 31 May 1643 Prince Rupert besieged the Close and retook it for the Crown. The two extracts below are taken from a later novelisation⁶³ of the events of that period.

and looking round, he saw Sir Richard Dyott supporting in his arms the body of his son Michael. "God's will be done!" said the old knight, as he gazed with bitter grief in the face of his wounded son. "I fear my boy is hurt severely; lend a hand, Archbold, and unlace his helmet. Thanks, my good Henry; now help me to carry him down, and let us have Dr. Whittaker to see him. I am afraid he has got his death-wound; God help my dear boy!" Archbold and another comrade gave their aid to Sir Richard in carrying his wounded son down from the battlements, and conveying him to his lodgings. The surgeon soon arrived, and on examining his wound, shook his head, and expressed but small hope that his life could be saved. [p109]

One reverend gentleman, when deprived of his living by the commissioners, was heard to say, that since matters were come to that pass, he should be obliged to do that which he much doubted would cost many lives: whereupon he was complained of to the committee as being about to raise an insurrection, or commit some violent deed. However, when questioned as to what was the meaning of his mysterious words, he replied, that having now no other means of subsistence, it was his intention to turn physician. [p211-2]

In 1645 the Treasurer of the royal garrison at Lichfield Close paid Doctor Whittaker a week's pay of £1/5/0 and two chirurgeons each received £1. Mr Spooner for unspecified services and one Thorneton⁶⁴ "for curing wounded soldiers".⁶⁵

A true and perfect accompt... Jeffrey Glasier Treasurer of his Majesty's garrison at the Close in Lichfield... [2 Oct/29 Dec 1645]

[Item] to Mr Spooner the chirurgeon £1/0/0

Item, to Doctor Whittaker, one week's pay £1/5/0

[Item] to Thorneton, the chirurgeon, for the cure of soldiers wounded in service £1/0/0

C1.1660 Restoration of the anglican church

On 29 May 1660 Charles II returned to London and was restored to the throne. That same year the Church of England reappointed bishops and diocesan control was re-established. Once again men could be licensed to practise medicine and surgery.

C1.1662 Licence to eat flesh in time of sickness

On 5 Mar 1661.2 Hints parish register records the issue of a licence to "eat flesh in time of sickness". The statute mentioned might be the act of parliament of {5 Elizabeth c5} (1562/3) which contains the clause below.

(5 Mar 1661.2, Hints PR) Since it doth evidently appear unto me Thomas Brookes curate of this parish of Hints that Elizabeth Flyer wife of Richard Flyer Esq. hath need of licence to eat flesh by reason of her sickness which is notorious, I do therefore by the authority to me given by the statute on that behalf made, give licence to her the said Elizabeth to eat flesh during the time of her said sickness, - and permits to have it made redy and dressed in ye said Flyer's house at Hints for her. Witness my hand the 5th day of March 1662.

Provided also that all persons which by reason or notorious sickness, shall be enforced for recovery of health to eat flesh for the time of their sickness, shall be sufficiently licenced by the Bishop of the Diocess, or by the Parson, Vicar or Curate of the Parish were such person shall be sick, or of one of the next Parish adjoining, if the said Parson, Vicar, or Curate of his or their own Parish be willfull, or if there be no Curate within the same Parish. Which licence shall be made in writing signed with the hand of the Bishop of the Diocess, or of the Parson, Vicar, or Curate, and not endure longer than the time of the sickness. And that if the sickness shall continue above the space of eight dayes after such licence granted, then the licence shall be registred in the Church book, with the knowledge of one of the Churchwardens, and the party licenced shall give to the Curate four pence for the entry thereof, and that licence to endure no longer, but only the time of his, her, or their sickness.

C1.1669 Richard Bracegirdle of Wolverhampton apothecary 1612-1677 - a dispute

In 1669 Bruno Ryves (Dean of Wolverhampton College) c1596-1677 [OB] recorded a dispute between Richard Bracegirdle of Wolverhampton apothecary 1612-1677, evidently a royalist, and John Reynolds 1632-1683 [SCD] who had been Presbyterian minister of Wolverhampton.

At this time [1669] our Parson Dean Rive got this following advantage against me (As I had it from his own mouth). At Wolverhampton in Staffordshire where he was Dean, were abundant of Papists, and Violent Formalifts: Amongst whom was one Bragirdle an Apothecary, who in Conference with Mr. Reignolds (an able Preacher there silenced and turned out) by his bitter words tempted him into so much indiscretion as to say that "the Nonconformists were not so contemptible for Number and

63 Rev. W. Gresley, M.A. *The siege of Lichfield: A tale illustrative of the great rebellion* (1840)

64 Probably Richard Thornton of Lichfield chirurgeon c1610-1653

65 Harwood (1806) p45

Quality as he made them, that most of the people were of their mind, that Cromwel tho an Usurper had kept up England against the Dutch, &c. And that he marvelled that he would be so hot against private Meetings, when at Aston the Dean suffered them at the next door." With this advantage Brasgirdle writeth all this greatly aggravated to the Dean. The Dean hastens away with it to the King as if it were the discovery of a Treason. Mr. Reignolds is questioned, but the Justices of the Country to whom it was referred, upon hearing of the business found meer imprudence heightened to a Crime, and so released him:... [Richard Baxter *Reliquiae Baxterianae III* (1696) p48]

C1.1670 Medical recipe books of Elizabeth Okeover 1629-?1671⁶⁶

On 1 Sep 1670 Elizabeth Okeover, second daughter of Humphrey Okeover of Okeover Esquire c1609-1639, then living at Westminster wrote her will and in it bequeathed "my recate books and 2 or 3 other books which shee will choos" to her sister (probably Catherine 1627-1692, widow of Sir Robert Shirley of Ettington, Warwicks 4th Baronet 1629-1656).

(1 Sep 1670) Elizabeth Okeover... to be buried in the church of Okeover which if my brother Sir Rowland [forbid]... in Westminster Abby... Mrs Katherine Dolbin and Mrs Martha Colebrand... I doe give to my deare Syster my recate books and 2 or 3 other books which shee will choos... Memorandum 13 day of December 1670... [PCC, probate 10 Feb 1670.1]

Elizabeth might be the author "Coz: Eliz: Okeover" of a receipt found in a manuscript medical receipt book⁶⁷ now held by the Wellcome Library which is a folio bound in limp vellum and written in one elegant hand which frequently identifies the sources of its receipts. Elizabeth's oldest brother was Sir Rowland Okeover of Okeover Knight 1624-a1686 who succeeded his father in 1639 and, aged only about 19, married about 1643 Mercy Goodyere c1624-?1688 dau of Edmund Goodyere of Heythrop, Oxon Esquire c1599-..... Their first child was a daughter Elizabeth who was born 9 Oct 1644 at Heythrop and married about 1667 Wolstan Adderley of Wedington, Warwicks Esquire c1642-1689. Some time after her marriage Elizabeth Adderley began to make entries in another manuscript medical receipt book⁶⁸ which had formerly belonged to others. It too is now held by the Wellcome Library. This is a quarto bound in limp vellum with gold stamped covers and the remains of green silk ties and is written in a variety of hands. Curiously within it leaves 39 to 112 reproduce (nearly) verbatim pages 3 to 147 of the first mentioned manuscript book with the exception of pages 44 and 45 (presumably an oversight). Elizabeth was the author of the last major section of medical recipes together with a small group of cookery recipes (also towards the end of the book) and the index. She identifies herself as "Eliz. Okeover now Adderley" and ascribes various recipes to her father and mother and also to "Aunt E:O", "Aunt L:O", "Coz: Okeover" and "Unkle Rudyerd". "Aunt E:O" is doubtless her father's sister Elizabeth whilst "Aunt L:O" is likely Lettice (Corbyn) who married her father's younger brother Thomas Okeover of London woollen-draper 1626-..... "Unkle Rudyerd" was Thomas Rudyard of Rudyard in Leek c1628-.... who married her mother Mercy's younger sister Elizabeth Goodyere. Receipts mentioned in the original manuscript book include:

a "sweet oyntment"... "I gave it to a woman of Burton who went on chrutches two yeares together and useinge this a month was so well that shee flung them away" [and] "a most excellent balsome for wounds, aches or any swelling [that] hath done admirabel cures on sore breats when the chyurgeons had given them over"

C1.1676 Medicinal springs at Willowbridge (or Willoughbridge) in Ashley

Jane Gerard c1637-1703⁶⁹ (widow of Charles Gerard 4th Baron Gerard of Gerard's Bromley c1634-1667) is credited with developing the medicinal springs at nearby Willowbridge⁷⁰ in the years before 1676. That year her chaplain, Samuel Gilbert (Rector of Quatt, Salop) e1633-c1693⁷¹ (pictured below) published an account of the springs and the cures effected there:



66 This account draws heavily on an article by Richard Aspin "Illustrations from the Wellcome Library - Who was Elizabeth Okeover?" in *Medical History* 44 (2000) p531-40. The probability that both women practised medicine is there discussed.

67 Wellcome Library MS.7391

68 Wellcome Library MS.3712

69 In 1679 Jane Gerard remarried to Sir Edward Hungerford of Black Bourton, Oxon K.B. 1632-1711.

70 A small building of the period variously described as a "well house" or "bath house" survives. On 17 Nov 1966 described as a "well house" it was listed as a Grade II monument (No 1205549) and is recorded (with a photograph) on the English Heritage website. It is built of sandstone ashlar and square in plan. Each side has a moulded cornice and two openings with moulded surrounds. On the East side are two male heads possibly of the 18C. Dates on the building of 1690, 1701 and 1864 doubtless refer to later alterations. Pevsner (1974) p207 comments "Willoughbridge Wells... The bath house of about 1682 survives, square, open to the sides, and now roofless"

71 Gilbert was born about 1633. He claimed to have studied at Balliol College, Oxford. About 1663 he married Minerva Rea dau of John Rea of Kinlet, Salop gentleman c1608-?1681 [OB] by whom he had at least three sons and five daughters. He was ordained deacon in 1666 and priest in 1667 and served as Stipendiary Curate & Reader at Newport, Salop from about 1667. In 1672 he was instituted Rector of Quatt being replaced in office there by 1677. His father in law wrote his will that year and Gilbert and his family may then have moved to be with him at Kinlet where Rea had a business as a nursery gardener in which Gilbert had an interest. In 1677 Gilbert published *Fons Sanitatis*... which was an account of some healing springs at Willowbridge in Ashley, Staffs which were being developed by Jane (widow of Charles Gerard 4th Baron Gerard of Gerard's Bromley c1634-1667) to whom he served as Chaplain. (Rea had earlier planned the gardens at Gerards Bromley.) Within *Fons Sanitatis* are accounts of cures, some of which Gilbert attested, and a number of germane poems that he had penned. After his father-in-law's death Gilbert published *Florist's vade mecum* (1682 or 1683) adding a pen name *Phileremus*. This work also included poems. In some editions this work included a gardeners' almanack which stressed the importance of astrology to gardeners. It was re-published in 1693 and it is possible that Gilbert died shortly after. Some writers have suggested, without evidence, that Gilbert also practised as a physician. [see Supplementary Register]

FONS SANITATIS: Or the HEALING SPRING AT WILLOWBRIDGE IN In[sic] Stafford-shire. Found out by the Right Honourable the Lady JANE GERARD Baroness of BROMLEY. Published for the Common Good, By SAMUEL GILBERT, Chaplain to Her Honour, and Rector of Quatt. This WELL having been of Happy Consequence to all its Neighbouring Diseased Persons, and many Strangers, to whom Its Infant Fame hath (but yet) lisped its Virtues. With Allowance. LONDON, Printed for the Author, Anno Dom. 1676.

This small book of about 48 pages has some introductory matter and then 69⁷² numbered accounts of cures attested (some by Gilbert himself) under various headings. Below are printed extracts including details of the Staffordshire people mentioned. Others were from Shropshire and Cheshire. Gilbert included some germane poems. Some writers have suggested, without evidence, that Gilbert also practised as a physician.

The Epistle to the Reader... If the Noise of these Waters have not sounded in your Ears, the following Catalogue of some few of the many Cures done by it... 'tis found a Physitian, not inferiour to many that have taken their degree: And as as good a Chirurgion and Occulist, as those that have served an Apprenticeship... This Spring was first taken notice of and several experiments tryed with it, by the most Ingenious and true vertuose the Right Honourable Lady Jane Gerard, Baroness of Bromley, of Sandon in Stafford-shire, whose Charitable care and charge, in damming it out from the common Water, into which it delivered it self, (a large Pool through which the River Teme runs...) causing it to be divided into two large Baths; the one for Men, the other for Horses.... And building a fair four-square Stone Conduit at the head of the Springs to preserve water pure and clear for Drinking; Intending also to build a Row of Rooms for the conveniency of poor people to lodge in; and an Undressing Room for persons of High Ranks... This well is distant a quarter of a mile from Willowbridge Lodge... in the parish of Asheley... before we come to the Alphabetical account of the few of the many Cases it hath done since Spring was a twelvemonth... [complaints] aches, bitings, bloody flux, bruises, burns, collick, consumptions, contractions, relaxation of sinews, dropsies, king's-evil, french-pox, head scald, lameness, leprosie, fits of the mother, palsie, rickets, scurvy, soares, swelling, worms... The following --- were of Staffordshire people:

3 Mary Wood of Ridgley (aged 19); 6 Mrs Jane Reynolds of Mucklestone (aged 60); 7 Abraham Launder of Mucklestone; 8 Margery Russel of Offeley; 10 wife of Edward Hope of Mare; 16 Edward Snep of Mucklestone, Robert Cross of Winnington; 21 Margaret Tingle of Bloor; 22 Lawrence Key of Stoak upon Trent a ground Collier; 24 John Plimly of Madely (see below); 25 Mary Ratcliffe of Uttoxiter (middle age); 26 Mr Richard Nevill of Richards-Court near Stafford a lawyer; 28 two daughters of Mr Brassingtons of Karsey... April 1676 Attested by Charles Cotton; 43 Edmund Hulmes of Lickfryth; 44 Mrs Dorothy Cotton of Apen; 45 Richard Edwards a Black-smith in Mere-lane-end; 47 a son of Gorings, or Gollings of Callow-hill Esq; 48 Mrs Prudence Compton of Milwich gentlewoman; 51 wife of William Gratewood of Croxon; 52 a girl of about 17... Harding of Stondon; 54 Elizabeth wife of Peter Gilworth of Pencle near New-Castle under Line; 58 Mary Nevil of Charnes in Ecleshall (see below); 59 Henry Cotton of Woodseas in High-Ofly; 60 Dorothy the wife of Francis Moreton of Stafford; ; 64 Mary Charles of Bloor-heath (see below); 65 Mrs Jean Reynolds of Mucklestone; 67 Edward Bates of Bloor; 67[bis] Margaret Tingle of Bloor

24 John Plimly of Madely ("of middle age, cruelly Diseased with the Dropsie, his Belly swell'd bigger than a woman with child at her full time, and his Legs to the bigness of a reasonable mans middle...")

Was ever man delivered so from fear
Of Children many, as there's dayes ith' year:
His belly should contain, being grown so big'
'Twas past his power to see, or feel a leg

58 Mary Nevil of Charnes in Ecleshall ("her Legs being Scratched with a Bryer, fester'd near to a Grangreen for which she lay under the Chirurgions hands for two years, rather made worse by them...")

64 Mary Charles of Bloor-heath "having her Leg and Thigh swelled extreamly, that she was forced to be Carried for a twelvemonth upon all occasions. Refused both by Physitians and Chirurgions as past Cure; making use of this water by Drinking and Bathing hath thrown away her Crutches: and is perfectly Cured."

Later accounts read:

... [water] no less than 60 springs of it, of a most uninterrupted profluence... all rising within the space of 10 yards square, in Willow-bridg Park [near Gerards Bromley], the Proprietary of the right honourable Digby Lord Gerard... at present they are held in Joynture by his most accomplit Mother, the right Honourable Jane Lady Gerard Baroness Gerard of Gerards Bromley... several of the Springs have been inclosed with squared stone, to preserve them pure and fit for both bathing and drinking; and divers appartments built for lodging the poorer sort of diseased impotent people... her Piety, founder of these Sanative Wells. [Plot (1686) p103]

MAER... At Willow Bridge in the parish of Maer is a medicinal spring discovered by Lady Bromley; it was formerly celebrated for the great virtue of its waters in curing distempers. Samuel Gilbert, a physician of the seventeenth century, wrote a pamphlet to recommend the wells. [Thomas Moule *The English counties delineated... Volume II* (1837) p132]

(1851) WILLOWBRIDGE WELLS are on the north side of the parish, nearly two miles N of Ashley... The wells in the now enclosed park of Willowbridge were formerly in great celebrity for their medicinal virtues. Plot says, the water carries with it the most rectified sulphur of any in England, not being as usual of a yellow colour, but clear as crystal, and so abundant, that he computed not less than sixty copious springs of it rising within the space of ten yards square. These springs now supply a pond occupying about the eighth part of an acre, and having in it gold and silver fish. Baroness Gerard, who had a stately seat at Bromley, first discovered the restorative properties of this water, about the year 1650, and at her own expense constructed several baths, and erected divers appartments for lodging the poorer sort of diseased, impotent people." The old well-house still remains, but there are no baths. [White (1851)]

⁷² In fact there are 70 because two cases are numbered 67.

C1.1686 Plot's *The natural history of Stafford-shire*

In 1686 Robert Plot 1640-1696⁷³ published *The natural history of Stafford-shire* describing himself on the title page as "LL.D. Keeper of the Ashmolean Musaeum[sic] and Professor of Chymistry in the University of Oxford". His account mentions some medical matters including a description of medicinal waters (see §B1.5). A few other excerpts are given below which show that physicians, apothecaries and midwives were at work in the county. Only three of the cohort^x are mentioned in the book: §Sampson Birch of Stafford apothecary ?1632-?1713, John Cumberlege of Newcastle M.B. 1652-1720 and Sir John Floyer of Lichfield Knight M.D. 1649-1734⁷⁴.

... some of these Fenns and boggy places sending forth such noisom contagious smells, from crude sulphurs, and filling the Air with such unagreeable Salts, that the humors thereby if not absolutely poison'd are at least incorrigibly distemper'd, either by coagulat or thinning them too much, whence Scurvies, Coughs, Catarrhs &c. Others, says Varro, produce a sort of Animals, so small that they are invisible, and are suckt in through the mouth and nostrils, which cause grievous obstinate incurable diseases⁷⁵;... [p35]

... all which seems most evidently made out to be thus indeed by the Aerial Noctiluca of the Honourable Mr. Boyle, and by the solid Phosphorus of my ingenious Friend Frederick Slare M.D. made for the most part out of Urine, and might as well (He thinks) have been out of blood⁷⁶... [p36]

... before the birth of children, so many and so apparent are the usual symptoms commonly known by women... and when near their travel... could never be so mistaken, as I was told the wife of Samuel Ward of Mearton in this County really was: who after she had been marryed two years, was brought to bed of a daughter, both herself and her husband, so little knowing... that growing ill near the time of her labour, they sent for a Physician instead of a Midwife⁷⁷.... [p270]

More deservedly by much are the Monsters of defect, I have met with in this county, referr'd hither; such as that of Elizabeth the wife of John Bird of Whittington near Lichfield, who Anno 1679 was brought to bed of a child without upper lip, nose, or eyes; the hands turned upon the armes, and the feet upon the leggs, one of the heels extravagantly large, and a hole in the back without any backbone; it could not suck, but took milk and beer freely enough, whereby it lived 3 days, and then dyed. Which 'tis true was a birth imperfect and deformed enough..... yet not near so much as that of the wife of one Taylor of Great-Heywood, who in January 1684 as I received it in a Letter from my very good Friend Mr. Sampson Birch Alderman of Stafford⁷⁸, beside a perfect still-born child, was deliver'd of another monstrous body, made up of a large Cystis or bagg about the thickness of a Mans Scrotum, smooth on the out side, and somewhat reddish, fill'd with a liquid slimy matter, but not fetid: in the upper part whereof was around protuberant bone 3 inches and 1/2 in compass coverd with a thick fleshy Skin beset with short hairs, in which were placed 8 *dentes molares* in a circular form, having a small hole in the middle which led not farr: below these in another bone were placed 5 other teeth, also of the molar kind, four of them almost in a straight line, and the fift a little below the two uppermost, which in shape, whiteness, &c all so well resembled teeth, that they could not be thought to be any thing else. Out of the Skin of the Cystis a little below the uppermost bone, in which the eight teeth are set, grew a large lock of hair of a bright brown colour, whose end was intricate and intangled in a larger quantity fastened in the other end of the Cystis opposite to the eight teeth of a more yellowish colour: all which may be conceived well enough by the figure of it Tab. 25. [below] where it is exactly graven in its just magnitute. Now for a just account of this Embryo or preternatural body though it cannot be expected, yet I think I may pronounce without any great diffidence: (1) that it must come from an Egg that descended from the Ovarium through the Tube to the womb, as well as that of the perfect child; (2) that Nature in this birth at first intended Twinns; and (3) that the bony and fleshy parts, out of which grew the hair, and the two setts of teeth, were some rudiments design'd to form a head: but how dame Nature came thus to miscarry in her plastics, whether from some external violence which might break the Egg after it came into the womb? or whether the Egg itself at first was imperfect or subventaneous, out of which Nature being unable to form a perfect Foetus, made the best of what the matter could afford? as the learned Dr Tyson more probably thinks, who has written more at large of it; I shall not determin, but leave the Reader freely to use his owne judgment. [p271-2]



⁷³ Robert Plot was christened on 13 December 1640 in the village of Borden, Kent where his father Robert Plot c1606-1669 had a small estate known as Sutton Baron which he was later to inherit. He was educated at Wye and from 1658 at Magdalen and University Halls, Oxford where he gained his B.A. in 1661, M.A. in 1664, and both B.C.L. and D.C.L. (otherwise LL.D.) in 1671. He published *The Natural History of Oxford-shire* in 1677 and *The Natural History of Stafford-shire* in 1686. In 1683 he was elected the first Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum and a Professor of Chemistry at Oxford both positions being mentioned on the title page of his *Stafford-shire*. Later he became Historiographer Royal and held office as Mowbray Herald Extraordinary. He died "of the stone" on 30 April 1696 and was buried at Borden. By his wife, whom he married on 21 August 1690 at Canterbury, Rebecca Sherwood c1662-1713 2nd daughter of Ralph Sherwood of London citizen and grocer 1625-1706 he had two sons Robert and Ralph Sherwood Plot. [OB] [Erdeswick (1844)] [Simms (1894)]

⁷⁴ All mentioned below

⁷⁵ p35 quoting "M. Terentii Varronis de re Rustica Lib. I cap. 12"

⁷⁶ p36 Robert William Boyle F.R.S. 1627-1691 published *The aerial noctiluca* in 1680. Frederick Slare M.D. ?1647-1727 was a London based physician and a follower of Robert Boyle.

⁷⁷ p270 Doubtless Meretown in Forton since the Forton parish register records in 1669 "Samuel Ward and Alice Loxdale both of this parishe were married the 16th daye of July"; in 1673 "July 21. Sarah the Daughter of Samuel Ward and Alice his wife was baptised. 26. was Buried."; and finally in 1675 "Sept 27. Anne the daughter of Samuel Ward and Alice his wife was baptised. Alice the wife of Samuel Ward was buried."

⁷⁸ Sampson Birch of Stafford apothecary ?1632-?1713

... at little-Worley in the parish of Cannock, where I saw one Mary Eagle who could draw two quarts of milk from her breasts per diem... whereof she could have made two pounds of butter per week... She gave me some of the butter, which was made up fresh, without Salt, it needing none (as she told me) to preserve it, which she sold to some Apothecaries hearabout at a good rate, it being useful (as she said) in all sorts of swellings, Aches of the head, sore eyes, &c. but I believe it was so made only at their directions, for I found that [the butter] she gave me, to grow rancid in a while, and to stink at last.⁷⁹ [p285]

... George Holden a butcher of Walsall was long sick of a periodical asthma... of which at last dyeing, and his body being open'd, yet all his Viscera (the Lungs especially) were found well and sound... nor was there anything met with unusual in him (as the learned Dr Needham informed Dr Willis) but that many stones were found in his gall bladder⁸⁰. [p301]

In his book Plot includes a folding map of Staffordshire with details of the principal county seats and the coats of arms of their owners⁸¹. Of the 246 families seated in the county 11 were aristocratic. Next are 15 baronets and 6 knights. Following down the social scale are 65 persons classed as "esquires" though Plot does not venture a definition for the nice distinction between esquires and gentlemen of whom there were 145. Four persons are distinguished by their degrees:

John Cumberlege of Newcastle M.B. 1652-1720 is mentioned as "----- Cumberlege of Newcastle M.B." [ARMS: Barry of six ermine and sable on a canton or a fleur-de-lis gules].

Sir John Floyer of Lichfield Knight M.D. 1649-1734 is mentioned as "----- Floyer M.D." [ARMS: Sable a chevron argent between three arrows argent (on the chevron a crescent)]. He graduated M.D. in 1680 and that year he married Mary a daughter and coheir of Sir Henry Archbold of Lichfield. He was knighted in 1685. Plot dedicates Table 25 (273) (see above) to him. Here he is referred to as a Knight so that this engraving at least must date to 1685. "To the right Worsqll[sic] Sr JOHN FLOYER Kt & Dr of PHYSICK This 25 Tab. Representing a very Extra ordinary birth that happened in this County with all due respect is humbly offered by R.P.L.L.D." ARMS: Sable a chevron argent between three arrows points downward argent IMPALING Argent a lion rampant sable between three fleur-de-lis sable 2 & 1 [ARCHBOLD].

----- Lloyd of Lichfield M.L. [ARMS: Sable on a chevron argent between three..... heads erased argent a ?martlet] This gentleman possibly a ?licentiate of medicine has not been identified. However a "Doctor Koyd" was assessed on 5 hearths in Bore Street in the mid 17C and might be this man. A connection with John Lloyd of Forest, Camarthens Baronet who married Ann daughter of Matthew Smallwood (Dean of Lichfield) c1614-1683 seems likely although his family's arms are said to be "Gules a lion rampant argent within a bordure dancetty argent"

Matthew Smallwood D.D. (Dean of Lichfield) c1614-1683 [SCD] [ARMS: Checky sable and argent on a canton sable a sword in bend..... hilted.....] is the only individual⁸² named on Plot's map "M. Smallwood D.D. Deane of Lichfield". He was the son of James Smallwood of Middlewich, Cheshire. Elsewhere his arms are given as "Checky argent and sable on a canton sable a sword in bend argent hilted or" In 1631 he matriculated at Brasenose College, Oxford and was made D.D. in 1660. He was Dean of Lichfield from 1671 until his death. His (? only surviving) child Ann married John Lloyd of Forest, Camarthens Baronet.

C1.1729 James Clegg of Chapel-en-le-Frith, Derbys 1679-1755 - M.D., 1729

Clegg was the son of James Clegg of Shawfield (by Rochdale), Lancs clothier and Ann (Livesay). He was ordained as a nonconformist priest on 25 Aug 1703 and was made an M.D. of Aberdeen King's College in Oct 1729 (registered on 12 Dec). From 1708 he kept a diary which has been published by the Derbyshire Record Society⁸³. The diary has entries describing the process of his gaining an M.D. and later of some of his practice in Leek and other parts of north Staffordshire.

(11 Sep 1728) [Copy of a letter to Edmund Calamy] ... Sir for protection from a storm with which I am at present threatned by some bigotted enemies; the case is this: Soon after I came into this country I was advizd by that Learned and Worthy Gentleman Mr Samuel Bagshaw of Ford, (son to the Apostle of the Peak) to study Physick that I might be that way as well as the other serviceable to the poor in these parts many of whom he thought perishd for want of a little seasonable help. This I was also much pressd to and assisted in by Dr Adam Holland of Macclesfield, who freely gave me the best advice he could whilst he lived and left me all his manuscripts when he died. Some part of my time has been spent in this study for twenty years past, in which time I have been looking into the most famous Authors I could compass ancient and modern, but never adventurd to practise much except in ordinary cases and among the poorer sort, who have been very thankful and that has been most of my reward. Of late I have been calld into some Families of better note about us of different persuasions which has very much disturbd some Zealots for the churh who now threaten me with a prosecution in the Spiritual Court for practicing without a license, I am resolvd rather to desist than apply to that court, and yet would gladly be enabled to continue doing what I can for the good of my friends and nieghbours evry way. Some of my Brethren, as Mr Dixon of Bolton and **Mr Lawrence of Newcastle**⁸⁴ have procurd Diplomas for the degree of Dr from some of the universities in north Brittain. Some years ago I was advisd to apply for one to Glasgow and some friends who were then students there offerd me their interest and assistance but I then declind it chiefly on account of the cost, but now I am willing to strain to the utmost of my ability rather than fall into the hands of that greedy and merciless court. I know not any person in England that hath so great an interest in the universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow as your Father and I beg you will make use of your interest in him to prevail with him to direct and assist me in this affair, the state of my health and other circumstances will not permit me at present to undertake so long a journey at present and I doubt not but his interest can procure me such a favour without my personal appearance, but perhaps some Testimonial of my proficiency from some noted phsytians may be insisted on as to which and the fees I must pay I desire to be instructed by you, by the first opportunity, I have a Brother in Law who deals in Manchester wares and visits Glasgow and Edinburgh thrice evry year, and will do me all the service he can. ... (16 Jun 1729) calld on mr Culcheth at Macclesfield and took him with me to meet **Dr Lawrence** and some others from **Newcastle** (Oct 1729) Being this month created Doctor of Physick by a Diploma medicum from the University of Aberdeen in North Brittain, upon the Testimonials and recommendations of Dr. Nettleton of Halifax, Dr. Dixon of Bolton and Dr. Latham of Findern ... (16 Jun 1731) After dinner I set out for Leek to visit Mr Mills ill of a periodical Head Ake, prescribed to him and left him better Blessed be God. ... (31 Mar 1733) Calld to Leek to a child of Mr Mills ill of convulsions and of a Fever. ... (25 Jun 1733) I was calld to Wall Grange near Leek to a son of Mr Debank and a little daughter. I prescribed to them both and to a daughter of Dr Mills ... (10 Oct 1733) calld to a Daughter of Mr Mills of Leek in Staffordshire and Lodgd there ... (23 Jun 1735) I set out to see [a patient] Mrs Bourn of Leek and cane thither safe blessed be God in good time, visited her, suppd with Mr Mills and lodgd at Mr Worthingtons ... (20 Oct 1735) This day I set out for Leek, the road was in many places exceeding bad but I came thither in

⁷⁹ p285 The nearby Shareshill parish register records in 1673 "Mary Eagles daughter of John Eagles was baptised the 26 Day of June" and in 1675.6 "Elizabeth Eagle daughter of John Eagle was baptised the 9th day of March"

⁸⁰ p301 Plot quotes "Tho. Willis de morbis convulsivis cap. 12." Walsall parish register records the burial of a George Holden on 16 Apr 1666. It is unclear whether Needham actually performed the post-mortem. See Thomas Willis 1621-1675 [OB] and Walter Needham 1632-1692 [OB].

⁸¹ see Richard Sylvanus Williams *A Staffordshire armorial for 1680 the landed gentry with their seats and arms as given on Robert Plot's map (1680) and in The natural history of Stafford-shire (1686)* Dragonby Press. 2nd (2021)

⁸² All others are just indicated by a family surname or title.

⁸³ James Clegg *The diary of James Clegg of Chapel en le Frith 1708-1755 Edited by Vanessa S. Doe* [in three parts] 2 (1978), 3 (1979) & 5 (1981) Derbyshire Record Society [Pagination is continuous]

⁸⁴ Not identified. It is just possible that he was from Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

safety about 2 hours past noon. Visited Mr Daybanks Sons, found one in a hopeful way the other past recovery. Spent some time with Mr Charles potts and lodgd at Mr Worthingtons house. ... (21 Oct 1735) visited and prescribd to the boy but with little hope of success. Visited Mrs Mills calld to Mrs Davison ill of a cancer in the breast recommended her to Dr White. Spent part of the day at Mr Robinsons and the evening with Mr Worthington and Mr Wheelwright from Stone in Staffordshire. ... (22 Oct 1735) visited Mrs Robinson and Mrs Davidson, the older of Mr Debanks sons died this morning, the other continues hopeful. I visited a poor child besides and gave advise which I hope will be of good use ... (24 May 1737) I set out for Leek, prescribd to Mrs Bourn there and paid my rent to Mr Mills. ... (17 Jul 1737) ... Mr Bourn came for advice from Leek and dined with us ... (27 Mar 1738) ... Mr Tho: Mills of Leek came over for advice ... (3 Aug 1738) A messenger came to call me to Leek to Mrs Wardle of Boosaly ... (10 Jul 1742) ... a patient came for advice from Leek ... (23 Feb 1748.9) A messenger came to call me to Justice Mills of Leek. ... (27 Feb 1748.9) I set out for Leek, took son Middleton with me, we lost our way in a thick mist but got to Longnor about noon and dined there and about four a clock came to Leek, found Mr Mills but in a poor way but not so ill as I feard. Consulted with Dr Kay and agreed on a course of medicine Diet etc, he had a tolerable night. ...

C1.1765 Lunar Society of Birmingham

The Lunar Society of Birmingham⁸⁵ (1765-1813) evolved from the friendships and meetings of an informal group of intellectuals whose interests extended over many disciplines. Earlier meetings were held at Erasmus Darwin's home in Lichfield but later many were held at Matthew Boulton's home Soho House in Handsworth close to Birmingham. Thirteen men may be considered as principal members⁸⁶ and they all have entries in the *Oxford dictionary of national biography* [OB] which gives each a brief *descriptor*. These are appended below and give a good overview of the scope of the group's interests. About 1757 Matthew Boulton of Birmingham 1728-1809 *manufacturer and entrepreneur* and Erasmus Darwin of Lichfield M.D. 1731-1802 *physician and natural philosopher* became friends and regularly visited each other. They were joined in 1758 by John Whitehurst of Derby 1713-1788 *maker of clocks and scientific instruments and geologist*. In 1765 the group expanded to include William Small of Birmingham M.D. 1734-1775 *physician and natural philosopher* and Josiah Wedgwood of Etruria, Staffs 1730-1793 *master potter*. In the next year Richard Lovell Edgeworth of Ireland 1744-1817 *educational writer and engineer* and his friend Thomas Day of Lichfield 1748-1789 *author and political campaigner* joined. They were followed in 1767 by James Keir of Birmingham 1735-1820 *chemist and industrialist inventor*. In the same year Joseph Priestley 1733-1804 *theologian and natural philosopher* and James Watt of Birmingham 1736-1819 *engineer and scientist* were associated with the Society. The ten men above formed the nucleus of the group until the death of Small in 1775 when it took on a more formal aspect. William Withering of Stafford M.D. 1742-1799 *physician and botanist* moved to Birmingham in 1775 and joined. Other new members were, a quaker, Samuel Galton of Birmingham 1753-1832 *gun maker and local politician*, by 1781, and Jonathan Stokes of Stourbridge, Worcs M.D. c1755-1831 *physician [and botanist]* in 1783. After 1788 the Society went into a slow decline due to deaths, arguments and changes of residence. The library of the society was disposed of as late as 1813.

C1.1779 Medical registers of 1779, 1780 and 1783

The year 1779 saw an important innovation in the publication of *The medical register*. This was the first attempt to list all active medical practitioners in the whole of England, Wales and Scotland. Two further revised editions appeared in 1780 and 1783.

In §Y.1779 the medical registers are discussed and their Staffordshire sections are fully reproduced. The table below shows the numbers of county men listed in the various years.

•Medical registers 1779-1783 - count			
Style	1779	1780	1783
Physician	5	5	7
M.C.S.	2	2	2
"Surgeon and Apothecary"	21	19	18
"Surgeon and/or Apothecary"	37	40	50
Apothecary	0	0	1
Total	65	66	78

C1.1793 "Universal British directory"

Between 1793 and 1798 *The Universal British directory* (§Z4.2.3) was published. Medical men are listed in sections headed "Physic" and are styled - apothecary, chemist & druggist, druggist, M.D., M.D. physician, surgeon, surgeon & apothecary, surgeon & man-midwife and surgeon, apothecary & man-midwife. In addition are men styled - "licensed for the reception and cure of lunatics", "licensed to cure lunatics" and "practitioner in physic for the cure of lunatics". About 100 Staffordshire men and partnerships are mentioned and detailed entries appear in the Register [SDH3].

C1.1795 Staffordshire Advertiser

On Saturday 3 Jan 1795 the first issue of the *Staffordshire Advertiser*⁸⁷ was published and "given gratis". It featured the following advertisement.

(3 Jan 1795) SPILSBURY'S DROPS Health is so invaluable a blessing that we are surprized at the great and increasing Demand for SPILSBURY'S ANTISCORBUTIC DROPS: a medicine which during the period of twenty years, has effected the most complete Cures in a variety of Nervous, Rheumatic, and Scorbutic cases. As a purifier of the blood, a strengthener of the constitution, and an enlivener of the spirits, it

⁸⁵ So called because the meetings were often held at full moon when the extra light made evening travel easier. By later writers the society was sometimes called the "Lunar Circle".

⁸⁶ Many other men of importance were also involved in the group.

⁸⁷ The first Midland newspaper appears to be the *Birmingham Journal* (1732-1743) which preceded by five years the *Warwick and Staffordshire Journal* (1737-1743) initially published from London. These were followed by *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* (1741-....) and the *Staffordshire Advertiser* (1795-....) which were both published throughout the 19C. In the 19C the *Wolverhampton Chronicle and Staffordshire Gazette* claimed to be established in 1789 but it may in fact have been refounded in 1810. (see §Z4.2.5)

remains without a rival; and those who reside in the most distant parts of the universe have equally experienced its virtue with those who live in the metropolis; But if the good intention of the preparers should not be perverted by the public being deceived with a spurious sort, it is necessary to annex that the Original Drops are now in new moulded bottles with fluted corners, and the words *Francis Spilbury's Antiscorbutic Drops, by the King's Patent*, indented on each bottle - Price 5s. duty included. A supply of these excellent Drops are just received at J. DREWRY'S MEDICINE WAREHOUSE, STAFFORD - sold also by Mr. CHESTER, Newcastle; Mr. SMART, Wolverhampton; Mr. JACKSON, Lichfield; Mr. MILWARD, Walsall; Mr. BAKER, Tamworth; Mr DODSWORTH, Burton; Mr. BELCHER, Birmingham and by the general Venders of Patent Medicines throughout Great Britain. [STS:ADV]

C1.1797 Veterinary surgeon

Inserted here, as of general interest, is an early advertisement for a county veterinary surgeon.

(16 Dec 1797) Stafford, December ... James Walters jun. Chymist, druggist, and veterinarian surgeon, returns his thanks to the noblemen, gentlemen, farmers &c of Stafford, and its vicinity, for the encouragement they have already bestowed upon him, and hopes by a steady attention to business, to merit their future favours. He flatters himself that in the practice of farriery, his science in chymistry and materia medica --st give him a decided advantage over most practitioners. The success and practice of his ancestors at Checkley, is too well known to require any panegyric, in order to impress a more favourable opinion on the minds of the public in his behalf, but he trusts those persons who confer their favours upon him will be perfectly satisfied with his attention. N.B. Physicians prescriptions and all other compositions faithfully prepared. Medicines and advice for all diseases of horned cattle. [STS:ADV]

C1.1807 Ann Moore - the fasting woman of Tutbury

From about 1807 to 1813 Ann Moore of Tutbury pretended to an abstinence from food and drink and attracted the attention of the public who supported her with large charitable donations. Two investigations were carried out by local "gentlemen" amongst whom were several medics. The first, in September 1808, failed to spot her methods of cheating but a better organised scientific investigation in April 1813 exposed her. The 1818 committee included Sir Oswald Mosley of Rolleston 1st Baronet 1674-1751 and fourteen Staffordshire medics: John Adams of Burton-upon-Trent surgeon & apothecary ?1760-1829, John Allen of Tutbury surgeon & apothecary c1764-1830, John Allen of Tutbury surgeon & apothecary 1789-1828, George Alsop of Uttoxeter surgeon & apothecary ?1776-1847, William Birch of Barton-under-Needwood M.R.C.S. 1770-1836, Edward Foulkes Cleavin of Yoxall surgeon c1776-1859, Francis Goodall of Uttoxeter surgeon ?1753-1827, Benjamin Granger of Burton-upon-Trent M.R.C.S. 1783-1846, John Hawthorn of Uttoxeter surgeon 1772-1843, Trevor Jones of Lichfield M.D. ?1752-1832, William Allport Leedam of Burton-upon-Trent surgeon 1781-1863, John Rice of Eccleshall M.R.C.S. 1788-1843, John Spender of Burton-upon-Trent M.D. 1771-1847 and John Webster of Burton-upon-Trent surgeon and apothecary ?1780-1814. A full account is given in §Y.1807.

C1. 1807A Epilepsy of George Allen (a murderer)

In 1807 George Allen of Mayfield, Staffs was found guilty of the murder of three of his children. During the trial discussion took place as to whether the epileptic fits that Allen had been subject to might have caused him to act irrationally. Three medics gave evidence which did not support that view. The jury found him guilty of murder and he was later hanged at Stafford Gaol and his body dissected. The extracts below are from Anonymous *The trial of George Allen, of Upper Mayfield, who was executed at Stafford, on Monday March 30, 1807, for the wilful murder of his three children. Stafford. Printed by J. Drewry. (1807)*

George Allen, late of Upper Mayfield, in this County, was indicted for the Wilful Murder of his Son, William Allen, aged 6 years, there were two other indictments against the prisoner for the murder of two other of his Children, George and Hannah. ... **Mr. John Nicholson**⁸⁸, is an apprentice with **Mr. Christopher Arnold, a Surgeon**⁸⁹, he went to the prisoner's house on the 12th of January last, a little before 10 o'clock at night, the boy William (prisoner's son) was pointed out to him by Mr. Gallimore or Mr. Shaw, he examined, the wounds the boy had received, which were as follows: a large cut began at the back of the neck which extended nearly round it, to the ear on the opposite side, it was very deep, quite to the vertebre of the neck, the throat laid open very deep in the front, the cut was continued from the throat downwards, the breast was opened by the collar-bone being separated from the breastbone, and the ribs were also separated from it, the cut was thence carried on the bottom of the belly, the belly was also divided by a transverse line, cut across the opening downwards, and the intestines were pulled out and thrown upon the stairs. He had no doubt whatever but that these wounds occasioned the death of the child. ...His Lordship then asked Mr. Harris if the prisoner had had any fits since he was in prison. Mr. Harris said he believed he had had several, but he (Mr. Harris) never saw him in one; he once saw him just as he recovered from one, he seemed very quiet; the surgeon who attends the gaol had only seen prisoner when he passed him into the gaol, he examined him and certified that he had no infectious disorder, but never attended him on account of the fits - Mr. Harris told the surgeon of the fits. His Lordship then asked if there were any Medical Men in the court. **Mr. Henry Taylor**⁹⁰ was pointed out to him, and on being asked how long he had been in the profession, said, about 7 or 8 years, including his apprenticeship, he had seen several afflicted with epileptic fits; a person attacked, falls instantly, lies senseless for some time, after which he struggles violently, and foams at the mouth, his senses return and he seems unconscious of what has passed; repeated attacks of epilepsy are supposed to cause fatuity, (folly and foolishness) of which he had seen several instances, but not phrenzied madness; he could not suppose that a person could do such outrageous acts as those mentioned to be done by the prisoner, after a fit and before his senses could be restored; there was no partial deprivation of sense after a fit; epilepsy is understood to be a disease of the brain, produced by irritation. The Judge then asked Mr. Taylor whether in his judgment as a medical man, who had had frequent opportunities of seeing people in and recovering from epileptic fits, the conduct of the prisoner was such as would be that of a person recovering from a fit of that kind - Mr. Taylor replied, he thought not, he never saw any one act with that degree of violence which the prisoner had been described to have acted; nor any way outrageous, he would not say it was impossible to produce that effect. **Mr. Wm. Bentley Thompson**⁹¹ has been about 8 years in a medical capacity, and seen several in epileptic fits; the patient is generally taken suddenly and becomes quite inanimate, has no power of sense, but falls down, upon recovery his senses appear to return gradually, sometimes in five minutes, and sometimes in half an hour; after recovery, a patient is able to walk about, he appears sensible, but at first is weak; when he begins to recover, his senses return, previous to his having full possession of his bodily powers; he means that a person may be inanimate and senseless five minutes or half an hour, not that he would take that time in recovery, that is, he would not be partially restored and continue so during that period. He never knew a person while recovering, act extravagantly or irrationally. **Mr. Cornelius Cartwright**⁹² is a Surgeon, has been seated in business 2 or 3 years, has been in the whole about 10 years in the profession, he has seen many cases of epileptic patients. A person when attacked is instantaneously deprived of ali sense and voluntary motion, he falls down instantly, is convulsed, remains in convulsions some time, after which he frequently appears to fall asleep, and when he recovers, he seems as though he had just awoke; the recovery in all the cases he had seen was (as to the sense) as instantaneous as the deprivation, but the muscular strength returns

88 Not identified

89 Not identified

90 Henry Taylor of Stafford M.R.C.S. ?1786-1840

91 William Bentley Thompson of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S. 1786-1849

92 ? Cornelius Cartwright of Dudley, Worcs M.R.C.S. 1780-1867

by slow degrees, the patient yawns, complains of weakness, and usually enquires what has been the matter. Mr. Cartwright never knew an instance of insanity following epilepsy, fatuity frequently comes on after the fits have been frequent for a long time, he never knew one afflicted act extravagantly, irrationally or violently while recovering; if fatuity comes on, it is for life, not a temporary one. It was for the Jury to judge from the whole of the evidence, with what had been said by the surgeons, whether the prisoner was or not deprived of his senses and understanding; if they were of opinion that he was not competent to judge of what he was doing at the time, and was under an influence more powerful at the moment than reason, they would let the prisoner have the benefit of that opinion and acquit him, but if they considered him sane, if it was not satisfactorily proved to them that the prisoner was insane and incapable of distinguishing between right and wrong, he must be answerable for what he had done. The Jury consulted together about a quarter of an hour, and then returned a Verdict of GUILTY. On the morning of his execution (Monday March 30) ... he was launched into eternity; and his body was afterwards delivered to the Surgeons for dissection.

C1.1810 Catherine Mewis - "blind, but on a Sunday"



Pamphlets were published in Derby⁹³ (1810) and Birmingham⁹⁴ (1811) outlining the extraordinary case of Catharine Mewis daughter of William Mewis of Barton-under-Needwood shoe-maker and farm-worker and his wife Mary. Catharine's parents claimed that their daughter was blind every day except Sundays and provided some (apparently) plausible medical evidence. Two of the cohort^x are mentioned: William Birch of Barton-under-Needwood M.R.C.S. 1770-1836 and Rupert Chawner of Burton-upon-Trent M.D. 1750-1836. An article in the *Staffordshire Sentinel* of 11 Oct 1879 comments "This fraud... was detected and the villagers, much as they were inclined to believe in a miracle, found out that the child could see all the week round. And now among the graves to be seen in Barton churchyard is that of Catharine Mewis and her parents⁹⁵. The following account is taken from the Birmingham pamphlet (from which the image above is taken)

... I shall now present the reader with a Faithful Account of CATHARINE MEWIS, daughter of William and Mary Mewis, now residing at Barton-under-Needwood, in Staffordshire, who was born at Barton-under-Needwood, in the said county of Stafford, December 8th, in the year of our Lord, 1802.

The account given by her parents, and which was obtained for publication on the 23d of April, 1810, (a certificate of which can be produced) is as follows:— That their said daughter at the age of two years or thereabouts, was afflicted with a scarlet fever, which was then very prevalent in that neighbourhood; the effects of which fever caused the child to complain frequently of pain in her head and eyes, and that for the space of two years, viz. 1807-8, and the beginning of 1809, their said daughter Catharine would be blind alternately for a day or to, in the course of a week; and that from the 8th of April, 1809, to this day, their said daughter Catharine had been totally blind six days out of the seven, (except three days which were working days) and has only seen on a Sunday since the 8th day of April, 1809, and they can form no idea of the cause but from the effects of the fever above mentioned, and have had advice and medicines for their daughter Catharine, of and from the following Gentlemen of the Faculty. Mr. BIRCH, Surgeon, of Barton-under-Needwood [William Birch of Barton-under-Needwood M.R.C.S. 1770-1836]. Mr. NOBLE, Surgeon, Birmingham. Mr. CHALNER, Physician, Burton. [Rupert Chawner of Burton-upon-Trent M.D. 1750-1836] Mr. FOX, Physician, Derby. And the Parents of the child declare that after all the medicines they have given, her eye-sight is still the same, seeing only on a Sunday. It surely is one of the most miraculous wonders ever recorded or known — No doubt much conjecture and disputation concerning this remarkable circumstance, will rapidly spread. The parents of the Child have tried every thing that have offered to remove the complaint, and are still willing to try any experiment that is likely to render service, of which the above named Physicians and Surgeons, and Inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood are now living witnesses. One Surgeon's bill for medicines amounts to seven pounds five shillings and six-pence, beside the advice of Physicians that have not as yet made any charge. Can any person suppose that a child only 7 years of age would patiently submit to be blindfolded six days out of seven ? or that the parents of the child would be so cruel as to do it. Again, can it be supposed that the parents for several years would as it were drench their own child with medicines which are generally unpleasant, or be so presumptuous to persuade so young a child to play the hypocrite, without the fear of being detected. Again, if the parents had kept the child totally secluded from light by bandage, could not the most eminent of the Faculty detect the fallacy. The child has been seen by hundreds on a Sunday when she can see, as also in the week days when she is blind, and that on a Sunday she is never at rest, and appears as in a new world, and is searching and seeking for her playthings, &c, to while other days, when blind, she is quite helpless, dull, and heavy, may it not truly be said,

Behold this Child! a miracle we see,
A truth attested by the Faculty;
Six days she's blind, the seventh day has sight,
How pleas'd the Child to see the dawn of light.

⁹³ A faithful account of Catharine Mewis, of Barton-under-Needwood, Staffordshire, aged seven years, who for more than twelve months, has, and still continues, to be deprived of her eye sight, six days out of seven, and can only see on the Sabbath-day. Published by permission of her parents: Derby: G. Wilkins, Queen Street (1810)

⁹⁴ A faithful relation of Ann Moore of Tutbury, Staffordshire, who for nearly four years, has, and still continues, to live without any kind of food, to which are added, reflections and observations. Published by her request. The fourth edition. ALSO A faithful account of Catharine Mewis, of Barton-under-Needwood, Staffordshire, aged 8 years, who since April 8th 1809 has been deprived of her eye sight, six days out of seven, and can only see on the Sabbath-day. Published by permission of her parents: Birmingham: Printed and published by B. Peart and Co. 38 Bull Street (January 1811)

⁹⁵ Catharine was buried, aged 25, on 6 May 1828; Mary, aged 61, on 17 Apr 1831 and William, aged 81, on 19 Feb 1834.

Read and reflect! the Sabbath-day she sees,
 The laws of nature can't work things like these;
 Where nature's turn'd, it must be by that hand,
 That rules the stars, the ocean, and the land;
 That stills the wind, and calms the foaming flood,
 And governs all, by none to be withstood.

The writer of this narrative saw her on Thursday the 7th of December to 1809, and day following, and also on Saturday the 21st of April, 1810, and so she was then totally blind; but on Sunday the 22d of April, 1810, she could see as well as any other person, but her eyes seemed rather dull; On Monday morning the 23d, he saw her in bed fast asleep, with one hand over her eyes; when awaked by her mother, her eye-sight she found like "*Sampson's strength, was gone.*" She immediately put her hands against her eyes, and did not take them off till her bandage of green silk was put up, which was attempted on Sunday when she could see, but no persuasion whatever could prevail on her to have it on.

The parents of the child are hard working industrious people, and have reared up a large family of seven healthy children, some of whom are in respectable service; the father is a shoe-maker, beloved and respected by his employers; sometimes he works at husbandry, and his wife occasionally goes out to work in the most respectable families, and they both bear excellent characters; the child is often unwell when blind, and requires as much nursing and attendance as an infant: there is a neighbour's girl, who is excessively attached to the child, and is seldom from her in the day time. There is one circumstance truly remarkable, viz. that this girl who is Catharine's companion, is never afraid to go any where about the town in the night, (be it ever so dark) if Catharine is with her. Catharine goes to school when she is well, and can repeat hymns by heart, which she did in my hearing on Sunday the 22d of April, and also spelt a few words of the title of a book presented to her.

There will no doubt be many objections to this remarkable case. Some may consider it impossible, others may deem it all impostor whilst the greater number may suppose the child has been trained for the purpose of accumulating money; as Ann Moore, its reported has become rich since her living without food has been ascertained. To such the following question may be asked.

Are the assertions of the most eminent of the faculty to be discredited? Are the first families in the neighbourhood to be disbelieved? Are the majority of the inhabitants of a large district all so weak as to be duped by a child only 7 years of age, for twelve months and upwards

Was it ever known that a man and his wife, who live in the greatest harmony, bear the best of characters, should presume to play the sycophant, and, at the same time are willing to try any experiment that has or may be offered to render their child service, and whom we may reasonably suppose, are attached to their offspring equally as though they were ever so opulent.

In short, can any serious person for a moment think, that the parents who well know the great delight manifested by the child, even on the approach of Sunday, (which she well knows) would, or could, be so cruel as to prevent its seeing other days, if it were possible: nay, to their credit, they have done all they possibly can do, for the recovery of its sight.

The mother is under the necessity of keeping one daughter about eighteen years of age, at home, as her poor innocent and afflicted child is scarce ever from her, neither is she contented unless her mother is in the house.

It is with violence that the child permits the bandage to be taken off when she is blind, as she cannot suffer the least light to approach her eyes, and it has recently been proposed by a Physician, to have the child kept in a dark room for a certain time, unto which her parents are willing to submit, or to any other experiment that may be devised, so as not to endanger her life.

C1.1834 Poor Law unions (see §B4)

Under *An act for the amendment and better administration of the laws relating to the poor in England and Wales* {4 & 5 William IV c76} (1834) parishes could be joined together into Poor Law unions. These unions were usually centred on a particular parish but some had two centres. They might and did cross county boundaries. Additionally unions might be divided into districts. Typically one or more workhouses were made available to accommodate the paupers of each union. Each union might appoint one or more Union Medical Officers who in some cases were assigned to a particular district. Men were also appointed as Union Workhouse Medical Officers.

As discussed in §B1.3 the county has been considered to extend to 182 parishes. About 1851 they lay in 27 unions. Of these seventeen unions were centred in Staffordshire (of which six had parts in other counties) whilst the other ten were centred in neighbouring counties. The exact membership of each union varied over the years.

C1.1835 Francis Hicken Northen - letter of appreciation on his retirement

On 4 Jul 1835 the *Staffordshire Advertiser* published a letter of appreciation on the retirement of Francis Hicken Northen of Newcastle M.D. 1771-1861. It was signed by 48 local men said to be "PHYSICIANS and SURGEONS residing in the extensive district where you have so long and ably practised". Forty-one of these signatories were medics practising in Staffordshire (who are listed in the Register [SDH3]). Of the other seven men⁹⁶ (marked with an # in the list below) three were from nearby Market Drayton, Shropshire - one a "gentleman" and two medics. Another man was a veterinary surgeon and the other three were medics not known to be associated with the county.

TO DOCTOR FRANCIS HICKIN NORTHEN Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians in London and lately Senior Physician to the North Staffordshire Infirmary. Sir WE the undersigned PHYSICIANS and SURGEONS residing in the extensive district where you have so long and ably practised regret to learn that the impaired state of your health has determined you to retire from the more active duties of the profession. We cannot allow you to leave the neighbourhood without expressing the high sense we entertain of your private worth and professional ability assuring you that your undeviating course of honourable conduct has well sustained the dignity and respectability of the whole profession whilst your gentlemanly, courteous and considerate demeanour have excited the respect and esteem of the individual members. We sincerely hope that with renewed health your talents and experience may yet be in some degree available to the public and the profession. [signed] John Astbury, M.D.; Thomas Mackenzie, M.D. Physician to the North Staffordshire Infirmary; Thomas Davidson, M.D. Physician to the North Staffordshire Infirmary; George Wood, Surgeon to the North Staffordshire Infirmary; James Spark, Surgeon to the North

96 John Speed Frowd of Clevedon, Soms M.D. c1810-1862, Thomas Carr L.S.A. e1805-...., John Hopkins of Market Drayton, Salop M.R.C.S.,L.S.A., Nathaniel Williams of Market Drayton, Salop surgeon and apothecary c1778-1839, William Henry Bainbrigg F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. ?1805-1884, Richard Marigold Noneley of Market Drayton, Salop gentleman c1771-1839 and Joseph Kent of Burton-upon-Trent, Staffs veterinary surgeon c1786-.... (All noticed in the Supplementary Register)

Staffordshire Infirmary; Joshua Seddon, House Surgeon to the North Staffordshire Infirmary; #John Speed Frowd, M.D.; Edward Wilson, M.D.; Henry Crewe; Ambrose Astle; Richard Dudley; Charles Davenport; Daniel Ball; Joseph Walker; William Bolderson; John Warburton Berry; Thomas Broomhall; Edward Bourne; Samuel Goddard; Isaac Booth; William Bramwell; Dudley Wood; John Hancock; Alex. Mac Bean; Joseph Davis; J.B. Jardine, M.D.; Robt. Hayes; #Thos. Carr; Thos. Goddard; B. Boothroyd; John Warburton; William Dawes; E. Acworth, M.D.; Richard Harding; Robt. Garner; Richard Forster; J. Heeley; E. Daniel; Will. Masefield; John Fallows; Henry Duffort; #John Hopkins; #Nath. Williams ; #W.H. Bainbrige ; #R.M. Noneley ; Charles Short; #J. Kent; Richard Hughes.

C1.1841 Staffordshire medics recorded in the 1841 census

The table⁹⁷ (below) shows that at the time of the 1841 census Staffordshire had a population of 510,504. There were 14 physicians, 335 surgeons, apothecaries and students [349 medics], 2 dentists, 255 chemists and druggists, 21 midwives and 3 quack doctors - a total of 630 people recorded in medically related occupations. The right hand column records 208 qualified practitioners in the Medical Directories of 1851.

In §B2 the Staffordshire population⁹⁸ of 1841 is said to be 509,472 (fairly close to the figure of 510,504 above). In the same year this work identifies 30 physicians, 248 surgeons, apothecaries and 35 students. This total of 313 medical men is considerably lower⁹⁹ than the 349 in the above table.

The next table compares the Staffordshire figures for medics with those of the five surrounding counties (as given in the table above). The three "clients" columns record the number of people each medic would be serving based on a crude division of the population per medic. On these figures Warwickshire appears to have been particularly well served by physicians perhaps because of the importance of Birmingham as a medical centre and was also best served overall. Staffordshire was worse served overall. The *notional*¹⁰⁰ decline in numbers by 1851 was very even for Cheshire, Shropshire, Warwickshire and Worcestershire with greater declines for Staffordshire and Derbyshire.

COUNTIES.	Population—1841.	Physicians.	Surgeon, Apothecary and Student.	Aurist.	Oculist.	Copper and Dentist.	Dentist.	Chemist and Druggist.	Corn-cutter or Chiropodist.	Herbalist.	Leech Bleeder.	Medicine Vendor.	Midwife.	Quack Doctor.	Totals—Census.	Qualified Practitioners in the Medical Directories of 1851.
ENGLAND.																
Bedford ...	107,936	6	93	...	...	2	48	2	...	...	...	8	...	159	63	
Berks ...	161,147	5	160	...	3	...	92	2	...	...	...	7	...	299	93	
Bucks ...	155,983	4	94	...	...	1	44	...	...	...	...	5	...	148	67	
Cambridge ...	164,459	11	117	...	...	3	72	1	...	...	...	11	...	215	93	
Chester ...	395,660	14	291	...	4	...	249	...	2	...	...	17	...	577	204	
Cornwall ...	341,279	13	229	...	...	3	121	...	...	...	...	6	...	365	145	
Cumberland ...	178,038	18	134	...	...	2	120	...	...	...	...	4	...	278	82	
Derby ...	272,217	7	197	...	...	1	106	1	...	...	3	19	1	335	111	
Devon ...	533,460	46	551	1	...	...	361	...	2	...	5	11	...	977	394	
Dorset ...	175,043	10	128	...	...	1	55	...	...	...	...	4	...	198	92	
Durham ...	324,284	16	337	...	...	...	189	...	...	...	...	18	...	560	191	
Essex ...	344,979	17	294	1	...	6	154	...	...	...	...	9	1	482	185	
Gloucester ...	431,383	46	444	...	10	...	321	2	2	...	2	27	...	854	336	
Hereford ...	113,878	2	89	...	...	1	56	1	2	...	...	6	...	157	63	
Hertford ...	157,207	5	145	...	...	...	66	...	...	...	...	5	...	221	86	
Huntingdon ...	58,549	...	45	...	...	...	28	...	...	...	...	...	...	73	26	
Kent ...	548,337	44	638	...	...	9	333	...	...	...	...	19	1	1,044	320	
Lancaster ...	1,667,054	76	1,246	1	47	...	1,259	3	10	27	9	82	5	2,765	748	
Leicester ...	215,867	13	179	...	...	4	118	...	...	...	2	14	...	330	112	
Lincoln ...	362,602	16	309	...	...	4	327	...	3	...	1	6	1	664	209	
Middlesex ...	1,576,636	324	3,592	1	1	254	1,481	18	29	33	108	...	...	5,841	2,713	
Monmouth ...	134,355	6	99	...	...	2	71	1	...	...	...	9	...	188	60	
Norfolk ...	412,664	17	299	...	...	10	204	3	...	...	...	22	1	559	206	
Northampton ...	199,228	8	154	...	...	...	85	...	1	...	1	3	...	252	101	
Northumberland ...	250,278	17	258	...	...	4	183	...	1	...	...	21	...	484	169	
Nottingham ...	249,910	14	172	...	...	6	197	...	2	...	...	22	...	413	119	
Oxford ...	161,643	8	151	...	4	...	73	...	...	...	...	5	...	246	113	
Rutland ...	21,302	...	15	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	1	...	26	9	
Salop ...	239,048	9	217	...	...	...	147	...	...	...	1	6	...	380	149	
Somerset ...	435,982	33	445	...	...	19	229	2	2	3	...	22	3	758	272	
Southampton (Hampshire) ...	355,004	28	351	...	...	7	176	...	1	...	1	21	...	585	231	
Stafford ...	510,504	14	335	...	...	2	255	...	...	...	...	21	3	630	208	
Suffolk ...	315,073	7	278	...	...	2	133	3	...	...	1	11	...	435	172	
Surrey ...	582,678	49	1,004	1	...	38	443	2	3	...	21	31	...	1,592	137	
Sussex ...	299,753	34	308	...	...	9	168	2	1	...	...	9	...	581	218	
Warwick ...	401,715	31	355	...	24	...	320	2	4	14	1	23	...	774	258	
Westmoreland ...	56,454	3	57	1	...	...	26	1	...	...	...	1	...	89	35	
Wilts ...	258,733	9	177	...	...	1	94	1	3	...	...	11	...	296	121	
Worcester ...	233,336	13	173	...	...	3	175	1	1	...	...	9	...	375	123	
York, East Riding	194,936	4	206	...	...	3	199	...	...	...	6	5	...	425		
" City and Ainsty	38,321	6	69	...	...	1	77	...	...	...	2	4	...	159		
" North Riding	204,122	11	180	...	...	...	116	1	...	...	...	5	...	313		
" West Riding	1,154,101	56	805	1	1	...	643	1	3	6	4	22	2	1,552		781
TOTAL ENGLAND	14,995,138	1,070	15,420	4	5	334	114	9,629	50	78	47	96	670	18	27,574	9,815

⁹⁷ *Medical Times and Gazette* (6 Aug 1853) p151

⁹⁸ Population estimates can vary depending on how the extent of the county is computed.

⁹⁹ Not knowing the exact basis for the figures in the table it is hard to explain the inconsistency.

¹⁰⁰ This is only a notional decline - in the sense that it notates the figures given for 1851 in the medical directories. In fact in 1851 Staffordshire (for instance) was actually served by 38 physicians and 247 surgeons and apothecaries. This total of 285 is seven more than the 278 group in 1841 (above). The figure of 208 here listed in the 1851 medical directories has not been checked.

•Medics in practice in 1841 and 1851									
County	1841							1851 Medical Directory	% decrease since 1841
	Population	Physicians		Surgeons, apothecaries & students		All				All
		Total	Clients	Total	Clients	Total	Clients		
Cheshire	395660	14	28261	291	1360	305	1297	204	33%
Derbyshire	272217	7	38888	197	1382	204	1334	111	46%
Shropshire	239048	9	26561	217	1102	226	1058	149	34%
Staffordshire	510504	14	36465	335	1524	349	1463	208	40%
Warwickshire	401715	31	12959	355	1132	386	1041	258	33%
Worcestershire	233336	13	17949	173	1349	186	1254	123	34%

C1.1844 Medical bill proposed by Sir James Graham

In 1844 the Home Secretary, Sir James Robert George Graham 2nd Baronet 1792–1861 [OB], proposed a new medical bill. The OB comments " With personal sympathy for him among MPs scant, his controversial bills foundered, such as his measure to establish a central council to standardize qualifications for the medical profession (the British Medical Association accused him of seeking despotic control)." A letter appeared in *The Lancet* on 9 Oct 1844. In the following year many medical practitioners signed petitions against the proposed legislation.

(9 Oct 1844) THE QUACK'S BILL IN STAFFORDSHIRE To the Editor of the The Lancet. Sir, Being animated by the soul-stirring speeches which have lately appeared in your valuable columns, I wish to ask my medical brethren in Staffordshire why they linger in putting their shoulders to the wheel to annihilate Sir James Graham's "monster destruction bill" ? Is it because they have been so lately bespattered by the blushing honours of our liberal college, by the title of F.R.C.S.E. which, although it is not in accordance with the strict rules of stenography looks very much like farce; or is it because there are no "bone-setters", "worm-doctors", "midwives' midwifery" and mosquitos of the like sort to contend with? I do hope the "subordinates" will call a meeting at Stafford, for Staffordshire to oppose the bill and co-operate with their professional brethren in the vineyard of reform. I am, sir, yours, &c An Old Subscriber, Staffordshire October 9th, 1844 [The Lancet]

C2 Medics in practice before 1548

Religious and lay medics might have been in practice in the county before 1548 but the names of only 15 lay medics have been discovered. Of these six men were at Lichfield and five at Stafford doubtless reflecting their respective status as cathedral city and county town. The nature of their medical practice as physician, leech, surgeon or apothecary was at this early date quite uncertain (§Q1). Only one man, Stephen Hollinbury, is known to have continued in practice after 1548.

By 1548 a clear distinction has appeared between the physicians (§D2) who were largely educated and trained at universities or hospitals outside the county and the surgeons (§D3) and apothecaries (§D4) who could only have learned their trade by observation or through apprenticeship. Before 1548 medical regulation in London was first provided by the guilds and similar bodies. By 1365 apothecaries were regulated by the London Grocers' Company (Q5.2) which had roots back to the 12C. Surgeons were at first regulated by two bodies. The London Company of Barbers (§Q4.2) was founded prior to 1308 with members who worked both as barbers and surgeons whilst the London Guild of Surgeons (§Q4.3) had roots perhaps back to 1354. In 1540 they merged to form the Company of Barber-Surgeons (§Q4.4). Physicians came under regulation in 1518 when the Royal College of Physicians of London (§Q3.2) was founded. Outside London these bodies may have had some influence but did not have any actual control. In Staffordshire regulation can only have been exercised by the guilds and the municipal authorities.

•Lay medics in practice before 1548					
	Name	Place	Born	Active	Style
William	Medicus	Burton-upon-Trent	1159	1189-1197	physician
William	NK	Stafford	1246	1276	leech
John	Medicus	Stafford	1258	1288-1289	physician
Thomas	NK	Stafford	1258	1288	apothecary
Peter	le Surigien	County	1266	1296-1301	surgeon
William	of Southwell	Lichfield	1278	1308	physician
John	of Southwell	Lichfield	1283	1313	physician
Henry	Leech	Ellastone	1303	1333	leech
Robert	the Leech	Lichfield	1342	1372	leech
John	Leche	Lichfield	1413	1443	leech
William	Erkall	Burton-upon-Trent	1423	1453	leech
Thomas	Leche	Stafford	1454	1484	surgeon
Robert	Sale alias Plymun	Lichfield	1495	1525	surgeon
James	Marten	Lichfield	1503	1533	surgeon
Stephen	Hollinbury	Stafford	1521	1542-1576	apothecary

- William Medicus (of Burton-upon-Trent) e1159-....** **1189/97**
 (1189-90) Ratification by Richard de Stapenhill and Margaret his wife, and William his heir, of the grant of land which Stephen fil. Rogeri and Matilda his mother made in Stapenhill to the Abbey of Burton; "and all possession in the lands and assarts and other things which they now hold, to wit, in the first year of the coronation of Richard the king [1189-90], we now grant." Witnesses: William de la Warde; Ralph de Stapenhill; William Medicus; Herebert frater Abbatis; David de Chaldewalla; Robert fil. Hernald; Phylip frater Abbatis; Godfrey de Scobenh'; Richard de Bersicote; Ralph Pollard, and many others. [I.H. Jeayes (Ed.) "Descriptive catalogue of the charters and muniments belonging to the Marquis of Anglesey: Burton Abbey" in SHC 1937 p19-20]
- (1189/97) Grant by Richard de Riveriis in soul-alms for King Henry etc. to Nicholas, Abbot of Burton and the monks there of a saltpan and place of a saltpan which the said Abbot built in Wyche beyond the bridge with 12 leads and with the toll of the same saltpan free and quit all services and customs, and besides, the salt water from the ditch and conduit of the water, and a place on the island where the mill is situated to put timber sufficient for the saltpan. Witn.: William Mascherel; Roger the Abbot's chaplain; William Medicus; William Coffin, William Focherand, Geoffrey Vitulus [Veal], Robert de Praeres, etc. [I.H. Jeayes (Ed.) "Descriptive catalogue of the charters and muniments belonging to the Marquis of Anglesey: Burton Abbey" in SHC 1937 p20]
- William (of Stafford) leech e1246-....** **1276**
 Master William the leech occurs in the Stafford court rolls in 1276, [VCH VI p234 quoting SRO D641/1/4A/2&3]
- John Medicus (or John Le Leche) of Stafford e1258-....** **1288/9**
 and in 1288 John the physician of Stafford was involved in a dispute with Thomas the apothecary. [VCH VI p234 quoting SRO D(W)1721/1/1/f227]
 John Medicus of Stafford disputing with William de Draycote in the vill of Stretton, a quarrel arose between them; and John struck William with a sword on the head, so that he died on the third day; and John immediately fled to the Church of Stretton and acknowledged the deed, and abjured the Kingdom before the Coroner. His chattels were worth 37s. and a farthing, for which the Sheriff answers. And it was testified that the said John was now living in the town of Stafford. He is therefore to be apprehended, and as this took place in the daytime, and the vill of Stretton did not take him, it is in misericordia, and because the vill of Bradelegh had falsely valued the chattels before the Coroner, it is in misericordia. It was afterwards testified that Adam le Especer of Bermyngham was present when John Medicus killed William de Draycote, and had absented himself in consequence. The jury do not suspect him, and he may return if he pleases, but his chattels are confiscated for his flight; they are worth 15s. 6d, for which the Sheriff answers. William[sic, perhaps an error in the original or in the printed record] le Leche afterwards appeared, and being asked how he wished to acquit himself of the said death, stated the King had pardoned him for it, and he produced the King's Letters Patent, dated from Siliavetum in France, 21st July, 17 E. I. [1289], and which stated that: Whereas we have learned by inquisition that John le Leche, taken and detained in the prison of Leominstre for the death of William de Draycote, killed him in self defence, etc., and that, fearing death, he had fled to a church and abjured our land of England, we hereby pardon him the suit of our peace and the adjuring of our land for the said death, etc. And upon this proclamation being solemnly made, and nobody appearing to sue the said John, firm peace is conceded to him. m. 21, dorso. [G. Wrottesley: "Plea rolls of the reign of Edward I: Staffordshire assize roll 21 E. I. [1292-3]" in SHC 1885(1) p271]
- Thomas (of Stafford) apothecary e1258-....** **1288**
 and in 1288 John the physician of Stafford was involved in a dispute with Thomas the apothecary. [VCH VI p234 quoting SRO (W)1721/1/1/f227]
- Peter le Surigien (of ?Stafford) e1266-....** **1296/1301**
 (15 Nov 1296, Bury St Edmunds) Aubrey de Capeles, John Paynell, knight, and Master Peter le Surigien acknowledge that they owe to the king £21; to be levied, in default of payment, of their lands and chattels in cos. Warwick and Northampton. [*Calendar of Close Rolls 1288-1296* p519]
 (15 Jul 1301, Berwick-on-Tweed) Appointment of Robert de Staundon, Richard de Immere, and Master Peter le Surigien to enquire by jury of the county of Stafford what bailiffs or ministers have received bribes to stay at home from the 600 footmen selected in that county by Richard de Harleye and the said Richard de Immere to attach such persons The like of the following in the following counties: Robert de Stapleton, Richard de Immere, and Master Peter le Surigien with respect to the 900 footmen selected in the county of Salop ... [*Calendar of the Patent Rolls 1292-1301* p601] [and see *Rotulorum Originalium I* p116]
- William of Southwell (of Lichfield) medicus e1278-....** **1308**
 (made a grant of land in Lichfield) 1308 [VCH XIV quoting SRO 3764/50]
- John of Southwell (of Lichfield) medicus e1283-....** **1313**
 (recorded at Lichfield) 1313 [VCH XIV quoting WSL 55/92/52]
- Henry Leech of Ellastone leech e1303-....** **1332/3**
 (1332-3) Eclaston' [Ellaston] Henr' le Leche iij. s. [G. Wrottesley "The taxation of Staffordshire, temp. Ed. III.: The subsidy roll of A.D. 1332-1333." in SHC 1889 p113.] [He writes "This is the second Subsidy Roll of Staffordshire which is extant, and is the fullest and most complete of all, containing the taxation of several villis which were omitted in the Roll of A.D. 1327, printed in Vol. VII of these Collections. The Subsidy of 1332-33, like its predecessor, was granted by Parliament for the expenses of the Scotch war, and consisted of a tenth of all goods held on Michaelmas Day [29 Sep 1332], 6 E. III., in cities, boroughs, and ancient demesnes of the king, and a fifteenth of the same in counties, with some exceptions, which will be noted further on."]
- Robert of Lichfield leech e1342-....** **1372**
 "Robert the Leech (of Lichfield) recorded in 1372 [VCH XIV quoting LRO D40/XXIV f41]
- John Leche of Lichfield leech e1413-....** **1443**
 (1443) Staff. William Vernon, armiger, sued John Leche, of Lychefeld, leche, Thomas Bromley, of Lychefeld, coletter, William, son of John Faulkoner, of Stretay, scolar, and three others, for entering his free warren at Walle and taking hares and rabbits, pheasants and partridges. None of the defendants appeared, and the Sheriff was ordered to arrest and produce them on the Octaves of St. Hillary. m. 277, dorso. [George Wrottesley "Extracts from the Plea Rolls of the reign of Henry VI: De Banco. Mich. 22 H. VI [1443]" in SHC 1900 p166]
- William Erhall of Burton-upon-Trent leech e1423-....** **1453**
 William Erhall of Burton was described as a leech in 1453 [VCH IX apparently quoting SRO D 603/A/ADD/1492]
- Thomas Leche of Lichfield surgeon e1454-....** **1484**
 (1484) Staff. John, the Abbot of the monastery of St. Mary of Halesowen, sued William Pereson, of Lichefeld, laborer, and Thomas Leche, of Lichefeld, Surgeon, for breaking into his close and houses at Fulfen, Lichefeld, Curburgh, Elmehurst, and Stretchay, and so threatening his tenants that they had given up their tenancies. The defendants did not appear, and the Sheriff was ordered to arrest and produce them at five weeks from Easter Day. m. 47. [George Wrottesley "Extracts from the Plea Rolls: De Banco. Easter I R. III [1484]" in SHC 1903 p153]
- Robert Sale (alias Plymun) of Lichfield surgeon e1495-....** **1525**
 A surgeon named Robert Sale, otherwise Plymun', was living in Lichfield in the early 16th century. [VCH XIV quoting PRO SP 1/231 f98]
- James Marten of Lichfield surgeon e1503-....** **1533-1538**
 (1533-1538) Plaintiffs: James Martyn of Lichfield, surgeon. and Defendants: Robert Markham of Oxton, Notts. Fee and travelling charges for treating defendant's leg. [NA C 1/854/6]

C3 Epidemics

C3.1 Introduction

Little evidence has been discovered regarding epidemics in the county. After the "Black Death" of 1348 Staffordshire was visited by plague in 1564, 1593 1603 and 1646. A national epidemic of 1637 and the "Great Plague" of 1665 may not have affected the county to any great extent. At Trentham between 1728 and 1730 a spike of deaths due to fever is recorded in the parish register. In 1803 a national outbreak of influenza prompted the Medical Society of London to issue questionnaires which were answered by three county medics from Burslem, Lichfield and Burton-upon-Trent. Their replies contain some interesting observations. Finally there were cholera epidemics in 1832 and 1849 each of which resulted in up to 2,000 deaths. The area about Wolverhampton was badly affected with Bilston reporting 742 deaths in 1832 and 730 in 1849. A local clergyman wrote a detailed account of the Bilston epidemic of 1832 in which two of the local medics lost their lives.

C3.1348 "Black Death"

Bubonic plague or the "Black Death" infamously visited the British Isles in 1348 and the following years. This bacterial disease was spread by rats and rat fleas. Some sources (§B2) suggest that about one third of the country's population died as a result of this epidemic and there appears to be no evidence to suggest Staffordshire was not typical in its losses. However a different view is presented by J.F.D. Shrewsbury who in *A history of bubonic plague in the British Isles* (1971) writes:

Lunn affirms that the lay records taken in conjunction with the institutions in Staffordshire prove that the county was little affected by "The Great Pestilence", which is not surprising in view of its low density of population in 1348 and its large area of forest, of which Cannock Chase is now the vestigial remnant. He mentions that the prior of the small Benedictine house of Sandwell died in June 1349, supposedly of plague, and that only one monk was living there in 1361. Rees reports that at Great Wyrley the rent was reduced from £5 to £3 in consequence of the pestilence and the poverty of the tenants.¹⁰¹

On 1 Jul 1351 Edward III granted the following pardon:¹⁰²

Jul 1 [1351] Westminster. Pardon to Roger de Elmrugge of £8 yearly, as well for the past as the future, of the farm of £38 to be rendered yearly in the wardrobe for the keeping of the lands late of Laurence de Hastynges, earl of Pembroke, in Wyginton and Tomworth, co. Stafford ... as it appears by a petition of the said Roger that on account of the deadly pestilence lately in those parts the lands are so much deteriorated in value that he will not be able to answer the whole farm without too great a loss.

On 2 Jul 1361 Robert Stretton (Bishop of Lichfield) wrote to an official:¹⁰³

[2 Jul 1361] Letter directed to the official of the Archdeaconry of Coventry on account of the plague. The pestilence with which God is visiting the sins of the people has not yet come into this diocese, but many other parts of the kingdom are rendered empty by it. The official is therefore to enjoin all Rectors, Vicars, Parochial Chaplains, and others, both Religious and Secular, who celebrate the divine offices, that, in their masses and in the processions round their churches on Wednesdays and Fridays, they make humble and earnest prayer that God may be pleased to drive away the plague and defend his people from all adversities, The Bishop, by the mercy of God and trusting in the merits and prayers of the Blessed Virgin, Saints Peter and Paul, the glorious confessor S. Cedde, and all the saints, grants to all who with true contrition assist at the said processions and devoutly do other works of charity, an indulgence of 40 days from the penance enjoined on them. The parish clergy are also empowered to absolve their parishioners who are at the point of death from all their sins, even in cases reserved, if they confess and repent, and to enjoin salutary penances. This penitentiary licence to hold till Michaelmas next. Dated Heywode, vj. Non. Jul. 1361.

C3.1564 Plague (1564)

Lichfield is said to have been visited by the plague in 1564.

"In 1564, Lichfield was visited by the plague ..." [Harwood (1806) p304]

C3.1593 Plague (1593)

In 1593 there was a serious outbreak of plague at Lichfield. A report on 28 Nov in Alrewas parish register states that about 1,100 people had died. Burials at Lichfield appear to have tripled during the year but the excess of deaths may only have been about 200. A later report of plague at Alrewas may be due to a misreading of the original entry in the parish register which in the year 1592-4 only records about 20 burials each year.

(1593, Alrewas PR) This yeare in the summer time 1593 their was a great plague in England in divers cities and townes as in London their died in one weeck to the number of 2000 and in Lichfeeld their died to the number of xi hundred and odde and as at this time of wryting not cleane ceased being the 28 of November.

"In 1564, Lichfield was visited by the plague; and again in 1593 and 1594, when upwards of eleven hundred of the inhabitants died." [Harwood (1806) p304]

(1851) ALREWAS ... in 1593 the Plague carried off 200 at Alrewas, and more than 1,100 at Lichfield; ... [White (1851)]

¹⁰¹ Page 73 crediting J. Lunn *The Black Death in the Bishop's Registers* (unpublished thesis) and W. Rees "The Black Death in England and Wales" in *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 16 (1923) p29

¹⁰² *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Edward III IX* p105

¹⁰³ SHC 1905 p99

C3.1603 Plague (1603)

In 1603 there was an outbreak of the plague at Walsall.

The old register of St. Matthew's Church contains numerous entries of death from the plague, and shows that in the year 1603 the disease must have been very prevalent in the town. [Willmore (1887) p277-8]

C3.1637 Plague (1637)

In Jun 1637 the authorities at Walsall, recognising a national epidemic of plague, issued the following mandate:

TO THE CONSTABLE OF WALLSALL BURROWE. Whereas the infection of the plague is dispersed into divers parts of this kingdome, by reason whereof it is verie dangerous to permit strange passengers to stay or abide in our Towne these are therefore to require you that imedyatlly you appoint foure sufficient housekeepers to ward every day, ... [Willmore (1887) p277-8]

C3.1646 Plague (1646)

Plague is again reported in the county at Stafford, Lichfield and Tamworth. The figure of 821 deaths at Lichfield is not supported by evidence in the parish registers and is likely to be highly exaggerated.

[Plague] ... died in Lichfield; and in 1646, 821 died there from the same complaint. Tamworth also suffered very severely. [Willmore (1887) p277-8]

[Plague] ... and in 1646, at Newark, Stafford, and Totnes. [William Heberden junior *Observations on the increase and decrease of different diseases, and particularly of the plague* (1801) p80[sic]]

C3.1665 "Great Plague"

By May 1665 the last major outbreak of plague in England commenced at London and spread to other parts. Walsall parish register reported "1665, August 4th, Jonathan Dicken. Dyed of ye Plague." Shortly afterwards the town authorities issued a proclamation similar to that of 1637 (above)¹⁰⁴.

WALSALL, 26 AUG., 1665 AN ORDER OF THE MAYOR AND JUSTICES OF THE PEACE OF THE BURROUGH AND FFORREN OF WALSALL. Whereas wee apprehend the greate danger of the carriers going to and returning from London, having found by sad experience that for their owne private advantage, (having at present double and treble the pay for carriage that they had formerly), have not refused to bring down both persons and goods to their owne knowledge out of infected parishes and places, to the endangering not only of themselves and families, but of the whole towne and countrey.

In 1665 occurred the great plague, the last, as it was the most serious, outbreak of the disease in this country. It was mainly confined to London and its suburbs, where in one year alone no less than 68,526 persons died from the same disorder. [Willmore (1887) p277-8]

In 1665, every town within twenty miles of London was more or less infected, and most of the principal towns in England, besides some parts of Ireland. In 1391, it was most severely felt in Norfolk, and at York ; in 1643, it broke out at the siege of Reading; in 1645, it was at Leeds; and in 1646, at Newark, Stafford, and Totnes. About the same time it likewise occasioned a great mortality in Ireland. [William Heberden junior *Observations on the increase and decrease of different diseases, and particularly of the plague* (1801) p80[sic]

No figures have been discovered for plague deaths in Staffordshire during this period.

C3.1728-30 Fever at Trentham

At Trentham from 3 Apr 1722 to 19 Mar 1732, during the period that Jeffrey Williams c1671-1757 was Perpetual Curate, the parish register records the burials by name and date but also in separate columns "Their Quality", "Age", "Distemp. as far as known" and "place of Habitation". Amongst the *distempers*, or causes of death, are the following¹⁰⁵: accident, ague, apoplectic, asthma, cancer, child bearing, cholic, consumption, convulsion, dropsy, fever, king's evil, lunatic, measles, natural decay, pleurisy, quinsy, rheumatism, small-pox, suddenly, surfeit, ulcer, weakness, worm fever, worms.

In the table below the total number of burials each year (March-April) is shown together with the number and percentage that died from "fever" or "worm fever". It can be seen that there is a spike of deaths many caused by fever in the years 1728-30.¹⁰⁶

•Trentham burials 1722-1732			
Year	Total	Fever	%
1722-3	30	3	10%
1723-4	29	6	21%
1724-5	22	10	45%
1725-6	14	3	21%
1726-7	21	4	19%

¹⁰⁴ Willmore (1887) p277-8

¹⁰⁵ Modern spelling has been used. Other *distempers* are occasionally mentioned.

¹⁰⁶ J.A. Johnston "The impact of the epidemics of 1727-1730 in South West Worcestershire" in *Medical History* 15:3 (July 1971) p278-92 uses material from the Trentham printed parish register to place this fever outbreak in a larger context. Figures provided in Table 3 do not appear to correspond with the figures in the table above (taken from images of the actual parish register). In the row "Fever Deaths 1727-9 the percentage figures total 82 rather than (a required) 100.

1727-8	31	13	42%
1728-9	65	36	55%
1729-30	43	25	58%
1730-1	22	8	36%
1731-2	15	7	47%
Total	292	115	39%

C3.1803 Influenza

In May 1803 the Medical Society of London sent out a questionnaire¹⁰⁷ in the form of a circular letter to their corresponding members regarding a current widespread epidemic of influenza. Of the 57 replies, three were from Staffordshire medics: Gregory Hickman of Burslem surgeon 1766-1816, Trevor Jones of Lichfield M.D. ?1752-1832 and John Whateley of Burton-upon-Trent surgeon & apothecary ?1769-1808.

Hickman reported on 3 Jul 1803 that the outbreak commenced about the beginning of March reached its height in April and ended at the start of May. Of Burslem he comments "This place is the centre of that highly peopled district, the Staffordshire potteries, and I did not observe the disease to run through particular manufactories. ... Remarkably high ground, diversified with hill and dale, but very little wood. Air strongly impregnated with sulphuric, and sometimes, marine acids, from the vast quantity of burning fuel (The coal is loaded with pyrites); and the use of common salt in some branches of manufacture." He refers to a previous epidemic of 1782 and adds "This disease seems to have borne a strong analogy to that described by Sydenham as prevailing in 1675, which he called *epidemic cough &c.*"

Jones reported on 26 January 1804. He comments "Early last spring an epidemical catarrh, commonly called the Influenza, spread all over the midland counties ... And appeared in this neighbourhood about the tenth of March ... Was at its greatest height about the beginning of April, and Disappeared about the end of that month, or beginning of May". Of Lichfield he comments "Litchfield stands mostly in a valley, through which a brook runs; is built of brick upon a friable red rock; is subject to no particular disease, and is esteemed remarkably healthy. Upon a strict inquiry I made several years ago, it appeared, upon an average of ten years, that the deaths were one in forty-six. The water is excellent, conveyed from the neighbouring hills, by leaden pipes. He adds "I could not learn that there was much difference in the time of the Influenza appearing in Litchfield, and the neighbouring towns; but I believe that it began at Birmingham, S.S.W. of Litchfield first, and at Stafford after it had appeared in Litchfield."

Whateley reported on 10 Aug 1803 that the influenza had not spread to Burton-upon-Trent. His comments are here given in full. "There has appeared no disease in this town, or its vicinity, the last spring, that materially differed from the disorders usually prevalent at that season. The report of a contagious catarrh, or Influenza, existing in various parts of the kingdom, called forth my greatest attention; and about the end of April, I met with a few instances of catarrh, in which the febrile symptoms were for a day or two severe, especially the pain of the head and back, but there was not the least shadow of possibility for my supposing them to arise from human contagion; and the whole was probably merely accidental. The cases of pneumonia that came under my treatment, were perhaps fewer than usual, but I thought bleeding in them of less service, and my patients recovered slowly. For many months the scarlatina had been pretty prevalent with us, in the mildest form, and attacking chiefly female children: the instances of severe disease that occurred to me could all be traced to contagion received from places where it was more violent and fatal. The hooping cough and measles were both common the last spring, but uniformly favourable. Burton on Trent has a low but dry situation. The river runs rapidly in a northwardly direction upon a gravel bottom; by actual admeasurement it is only 90 feet above high water mark, and there is no stagnant water. On the east and west are high lands, but where the situation was more elevated, I have met with no greater tendency to complaints. From the geological form of the country, the prevailing winds will naturally seem from the northward."

C3.1832 Cholera (1832)¹⁰⁸

A table showing the major cholera epidemics in Great Britain of 1831 and 1832 is given in §Y.1832. Staffordshire suffered outbreaks in 1832 and again in 1849. The 1832 outbreak centred on the area about Wolverhampton where over 1,700 people died of whom 742 were living at Bilston. By contrast only one person is said to have died at Stafford. Below is a table summarising the number of deaths followed by some local reports.

The Bilston outbreak is described extensively by William Leigh in *An authentic narrative of the melancholy occurrences at Bilston ... during the awful visitation in that town by cholera, in the months of August and September, 1832 ...* (1833). A full account of the Bilston outbreak and the cholera hospital and cholera school which were built there is also to be found in §Y.1832.

•Cholera deaths in 1832 & 1849		
Place	1832	1849
Bilston	742	730
Darlaston	68	?
Newcastle	nk	234
Sedgley	290	?
Stafford	1	?0

¹⁰⁷ The questionnaire and the replies were printed in *Memoirs of the Medical Society of London ...* 6 (1805). A fuller account is given in appendix §Y.1803.

¹⁰⁸ Cholera is now understood to be an infection of the small intestine by strains of the bacterium *Vibrio cholerae*. It is often contracted from water or food contaminated by human faeces. Its symptoms range through none, mild and severe to fatal.

Tipton	404	?
Wednesbury	many	many
Wednesfield	0	55
Willenhall	8	310
Wolverhampton	193	720

On 6 Aug 1832 seven (or eight) medics were appointed members of the Bilston Board of Health for Cholera Outbreak (below). The five younger men were also employed to assist at £3/3/0 per day. Tragically two of them contracted cholera and died as a result. These men were: Edward Best of Bilston L.S.A. 1795-1859, Norris Best of Bilston surgeon 1780-1861, Richard Spooner Cooper of Bilston M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1808-1890 (assisted), Thomas Wright Dickinson of Bilston L.S.A. 1807-1859 (assisted), (and) Thomas Perry [possibly not a medic or might be Henry John Perry of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1804-1864], Frederic Charles Proctor of Bilston "surgeon" 1803-1832 (assisted & died), Randle Turton of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1807-1860 (assisted) and Thomas Marson Waterhouse of Sedgley L.S.A. 1799-1832 (assisted & died). Joseph Blunt M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1806-1849 was appointed Superintendent of the Cholera Hospital.

(Bilston) CHOLERA. The prosperity of Bilston received severe checks from the awful visitations of Asiatic cholera, in 1832 and 1849, which swept away nearly 1,500 of its inhabitants, during six or seven weeks in the two years. This dreadful malady made its first appearance in England at Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Sunderland, at the commencement of 1832, but did not approach the South Staffordshire mining district till June, nor did it assume, in this ill-fated town, its most malignant aspect till August 3rd, (in the latter part of the "wake week") when the work of death commenced, and, before the end of that month, carried off nearly 600 of the inhabitants. There were here no fewer than 3,568 cases, and 742 deaths, from August 3rd to Sept. 29th, when the last case occurred. At the same period, there were 277 deaths in Dudley, 290 in Sedgley, 404 in Tipton, and 193 in Wolverhampton. In the 12 parishes and townships of the mining district, this fearful epidemic swept away upwards of 2,300 inhabitants, and afflicted with serious illness about 10,000 more. In Bilston, whole streets were nearly depopulated; extensive manufactories were stopped by the mortality of the work people; coffins, which could not be made fast enough in the town, were imported in cart loads from Birmingham, and stood piled up in heaps in the yard of the hospital, awaiting the last breath of their future tenants. Of the resident medical practitioners, two were carried off by the disease; and of the survivors, one was attacked when on duty in the hospital, fell down on the floor, there bled himself, and whilst yet unable to rise, had to perform the same office for an attendant who fell prostrate by his side. Upwards of 400 were buried in St. Mary's churchyard, and about 300 in the Wesleyan chapel-yard, where the Rev. H. S. Fletcher and the Rev. J. Ham, were nearly constant in attendance on funerals. For the relief of Bilston, at this awful period, subscriptions were sent from all parts of the kingdom, to the amount of £8,536. This large sum afforded great relief to the sufferers, especially to the 131 widows, and 450 orphan children under twelve years of age, who were left destitute by cholera, The latter were not only provided with homes, but a school was built, at the cost of £400, and endowed with the interest of £2000, for their education. In 1847, this Cholera Orphan School, after all its objects had been educated, was sold, and the money, with the rest of the cholera fund, was divided amongst the Day and Sunday schools attached to the churches and chapels in the township. On October 16th, 1833, the Rev. Wm. Leigh, the late incumbent of Bilston, was presented by his brother magistrates at Stafford, with a silver epergne, and four dishes and covers, "as a token of their admiration of his unremitting exertions in the discharge of his duties, during the awfully pestilential visitation of cholera with which his chapelry was afflicted in 1832." [White (1851) p139-40]

(27 Aug 1832) [Bilston] ... Mr Blunt, surgeon, of this town and four of the students of our medical school are appointed to superintend the Cholera Hospital in that place ... [Aris's Birmingham Gazette]

On the 22nd, at the meeting of the Board of Health, the death of Frederick Charles Procter, one of the Surgeons, was announced [later Leigh says] The friends of Mr. Procter were anxious that his remains should lie by the grave of his wife, who had died about four years before. I could not comply, and assigned my reasons as gently and as tenderly as I knew how. The request was repeated, and at length became so urgent that I was compelled to be peremptory in my refusal. The consequence was that the body, (although Mr. Procter was a member of the Church of England), was interred in the burial ground belonging to the Wesleyan methodists. This gentleman was a widower, 29 years of age, in full health and vigour, and there is not the least doubt but that he fell a victim to his humane exertions amongst the poor, to none of whom he refused his services so long as his strength remained, whether they were likely to pay him or not. This is the more worthy of being recorded, because his circumstances were far from good; indeed he died insolvent, leaving behind him one child, an interesting little girl, seven years of age, without a single relation able to assist in supporting her. She has since found an asylum at Christ's Hospital, and is one of the scholars upon that establishment at Hertford, having been nominated thereto by Sir John Key, Bart., the late Lord Mayor of London. [Leigh (1833)]

(27 Aug 1832) [Bilston] ... Mr Blunt, surgeon, of this town and four of the students of our medical school are appointed to superintend the Cholera Hospital in that place, while the directions of the Dispensary for the relief of bowel complaints instituted there by Dr Macann is superintended by the resident members of the profession. The number of deaths from the 4th inst up to Saturday amount to 450 according to the population one in thirty of the inhabitants. Two surgeons, Mr. Proctor and Mr Waterhouse, we regret to hear, have fallen victims during the week, and a third professional man, Mr Cooper, has been compelled to leave the town after losing a sister by the dreadful malady [Aris's Birmingham Gazette]

(Darlston) ... at Darlston, with a population of 6,667, only 68 deaths within the same period. [Leigh (1833)]

(Sedgley) ... at Sedgley, containing a population of 20,577, there were but 290 deaths by Cholera, from the time it first made its appearance there till its departure [Leigh (1833)]

(Stafford) During the cholera epidemic of 1832 a Board of Health was set up for Stafford, but only one case was recorded in the town [VCH VI p234]

(Tipton) ... At the same period, there were 277 deaths in Dudley, 290 in Sedgley, 404 in Tipton, and 193 in Wolverhampton. [White (1851) p139-40]

(29 Aug 1832) On the 19th instant at Tipton, of cholera, aged 24, Sarah the beloved and accomplished wife of Mr Ledbrook. Since the death of Mr Allsop this lady had been continually tormented with a fear that her husband would fall a victim to the cholera. This induced a debilitated state of body and on Saturday evening at twelve she was attacked with the disease in a most formidable manner which resisted all the means employed for her recovery. [WTON:CHR]

(Wednesbury) suffered severely during the visitations of cholera in 1832 and 1849, owing to its total want of drainage, and to the inhabitants being often obliged to wash their houses, &c, with stagnant water. [White (1851) p671]

(Willenhall) 8 deaths [see Wolverhampton]

At Wolverhampton Edward Hayling Coleman M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1794-1871 assisted.

(Wolverhampton) In 1832, this town and neighbourhood suffered severely by the visitation of that dreadful malady, Asiatic Cholera, as will be seen at a subsequent page in the history of Bilston, where the disease was more fatal than at any other place in the kingdom. Another visitation of the same dreadful disease in the autumn of 1849, was more fatal in this large parish than that of 1832, when the deaths from cholera, in the four most populous townships, from August 3rd to October 1st, were, in Bilston 742, Wolverhampton 193, Willenhall 8, and Wednesfield 0; ... [White (1851) p70]

C3.1849 Cholera (1849)¹⁰⁹

An epidemic of cholera affected England and Wales from 1848 to 1850 and was prevalent in Staffordshire in 1849. In an article published in November 1849¹¹⁰ John Snow made some remarks regarding Bilston and Stafford which are printed below. As in 1832 the outbreak centred on the area about Wolverhampton where over 1,800 people died. Bilston was again hit hard and suffered 730 deaths. On this occasion 234 deaths were reported at Newcastle in the north west of the county. Below is a table summarising the number of deaths followed by some local reports.

•Cholera deaths in 1832 & 1849		
Place	1832	1849
Bilston	742	730
Darlaston	68	?
Newcastle	nk	234
Sedgley	290	?
Stafford	1	?0
Tipton	404	?
Wednesbury	many	many
Wednesfield	0	55
Willenhall	8	310
Wolverhampton	193	720

(Bilston) ... In the autumn of 1849, when many parts of England were again deeply afflicted with this direful disease, Bilston retained its title as "the epidemic centre" of the Midland coal-field, by distancing all its neighbours in the fatal race of death; no fewer than about 730 souls being snatched away here in little more than seven weeks. The awful scenes of 1832 were again repeated; people who had been walking about in apparent health in the morning, were often "buried darkly by dead of night;" the churches and chapels were crowded with gloomy and sobbing, congregations; and many of the shops were closed, the owners having left the town; and some of them carrying with them the germs of the disease, or finding them elsewhere, never returned, Upwards of £3,000 was subscribed for the relief of the sufferers, and a large sum was paid out of the poor-rates for the sanatory measures of the Board of Health. The Rev. H. S. Fletcher, and other ministers of the town, zealously discharged their duties during both visitations of cholera, and one of them says, in an interesting pamphlet on the melancholy subject, "The cost of the funerals and mourning (exclusive of the far heavier after expense of widows and orphans,) would have permanently drained, sewered, and watered every house that was visited;" and that "policy and pity both cry aloud for street and tenement reform, and demand the opening of those larger brick graves called entries, alleys, or back squares, where the poor are buried alive amid the gloom, damp, corruption, human scoriae, and every other attribute of the churchyard, except its sanctity and peace." [White (1851) p139-40]

The state of the water is often a means of the spread of cholera in mining districts, in addition to the more constant cause pointed out in the former part of this paper. In some places the mines divert the springs, and cause a great scarcity of water, thus limiting the means of personal cleanliness; in other places the people have to use water pumped out of the pits, which of course is liable to be contaminated by the faeces of the miners: this is the case to some extent in the neighbourhood of Bilston, in Staffordshire, as I learn from Dr. Ogier Ward, and also from the Health of Towns Report [Appendix Part 1 p35]. [A footnote reads: Since the above was written I have received, through the Rev. J. Wm. Owen, a note from Mr. Wm. M. Hancox, surgeon of Bilston, from which I likewise learn that the cholera first made its appearance there this year in a street parallel with the course of a brook which receives the refuse of the whole town; and that "in a small square of buildings consisting of about ten houses, ten persons died of the disease. Most of the inhabitants of this range of houses were in the habit of using water that filtered itself into wells from this stream." [John Snow, see above]

At Newcastle Augustus Frederick Gooday of Newcastle M.D. 1815-1873 and Edward Wilson of Newcastle M.D. 1803-1858 assisted.

(Newcastle) The town ought to be very salubrious, but it is so imperfectly drained, that 98 of the inhabitants died of fever in 1847, and 234 of cholera in 1849. This defect will shortly be remedied by a complete system of sewerage and other sanatory improvements, now in progress under the direction of the Town Council, who have lately been constituted the local Board of Health, for the sanatory improvement of the borough under the powers of the Public Health Act of 1848. [White (1851) p301]

109 Cholera is now understood to be an infection of the small intestine by strains of the bacterium *Vibrio cholerae*. It is often contracted from water or food contaminated by human faeces. Its symptoms range through none, mild and severe to fatal.

110 "On the pathology and mode of communication of cholera. Part 2" in *London Medical Gazette* (30 November 1849) p923-9

(15 Sep 1849) Newcastle. The Cholera. [long report] ... the Board of Guardians had obtained the old workhouse premises and had adapted them for the reception of patients ... This cholera hospital has proved very useful ... at the last meeting of the guardians Dr Gooday was appointed honorary physician ... [STS:ADV]

(3 Nov 1849) Newcastle. Newcastle Union. Guardians. ... disappearance of the cholera ... thanks ... Dr Wilson ... as superintendent of the medical staff ... Dr Gooday ... as honorary physician [STS:ADV]

(2 Nov 1850) NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE INFIRMARY Surgeon Robert Garner elected ... since he became a resident in the Potteries Mr Garner had for nine years been one of the parochial surgeons of Stoke, and during the late visitation of cholera, when two of the nurses died at the workhouse, he was unremitting in his attention to the patients ... [STS:ADV]

(Stafford) However injurious impure water must be to the health, there is no reason to suppose that it can assist in the spreading of cholera unless it contain the excretions of the patients. Stafford is an illustration of this. In that town, as I learn through the kindness of Dr. Harland, there is not a single sewer, and the liquid refuse from the houses runs down the channels on each side of the streets. It is common at the poorer houses to have holes dug in the ground to allow the waste and refuse water to run into. The town is built on a bed of sand, and water is everywhere found at 8 or 10 feet below the surface, and the whole of the inhabitants have pumps convenient to their dwellings. Dr. Harland, from whom I have these particulars, says he has no doubt that in many cases the refuse liquid must percolate through the sand and get into the pump water; and he has known some instances in which the filthy surface water was allowed to get into the wells. There has been scarcely a case of cholera at Stafford at any time, although the disease has been very prevalent at Bilston, and many other places in Staffordshire, both recently and seventeen years ago. As almost every house has its own well, it is evident that the water does not afford the means of disseminating the cholera in Stafford; but if the disease had been introduced to any extent by other means, the pollution of the wells would no doubt have rendered it more prevalent amongst the limited number of people using the water of such wells. [John Snow, see above]

(Wednesbury) suffered severely during the visitations of cholera in 1832 and 1849, owing to its total want of drainage, and to the inhabitants being often obliged to wash their houses, &c, with stagnant water. [White (1851) p671]

(Wednesfield) [see Wolverhampton]

At Willenhall Joseph Froysell L.R.C.P.E. c1806-1869, Jeremiah Hartill M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1804-1888 and Charles Oakley of Willenhall L.R.C.P.E. 1817-1875 assisted.

(Willenhall) Froysell Street. Named in honour of Doctor Joseph Froysell who, together with Doctors Hartill and Oakley, laboured tirelessly during the Cholera epidemic to relieve the suffering of the poor of the town. ... [Willenhall History Society Website]

(Willenhall) [and see Wolverhampton]

At Wolverhampton George Thompson Cooper 1816-1861 assisted and is said to have been House Surgeon at the Fever Hospital of which no other mention has been discovered.

(Wolverhampton) ... Another visitation of the same dreadful disease in the autumn of 1849, was more fatal in this large parish than that of 1832, when the deaths from cholera, in the four most populous townships, from August 3rd to October 1st, were, in Bilston 742, Wolverhampton 193, Willenhall 8, and Wednesfield 0; but during a similar period in 1849, the deaths in Bilston were about 730, in Wolverhampton 720, in Willenhall 310, and in Wednesfield 55. There was a similar mortality at the same periods in Hull, Plymouth, and some other towns, and as here, the disease was confined chiefly to those streets, alleys, and courts, which were destitute of proper sewers for draining the ground, and carrying off the filth. It is hoped that all such districts in this town and parish will shortly be cleansed, drained, and provided with an ample supply of pure water, under the sanitary control of the local Boards of Health, recently established. [White (1851) p70]

D Medical practice - roles

D1 Medic numbers and centres of medical practice

D1.2 Medic numbers 1101-1851; D1.3 Centres of medical practice from 1548 to 1757

D1.1 Introduction

At any given time the number of men practising medicine for financial gain in the county (or indeed anywhere) was limited by the number of patients who were able to afford their services. In §D1.2 the estimated numbers of men in practice from 1101 to 1851 are discussed in relation to their potential patient base. The county centres of medical practice from 1548 to 1757 are outlined in §D1.3.

D1.2 Medic numbers 1101-1851

The number of medics practising in the county at any period was limited by their *potential patient base*¹¹¹. Medics required an income and needed patients whose families could afford to pay for their treatment either directly or, later, through parish relief or other organisations such as Friendly societies.

This patient base can to some extent be estimated from the size of the general population. The table shows the population in different years (from §B2) with estimates of numbers of medics and the size of their patient base. From 1781 through to 1851 the number of *discovered* medics (in bold) is thought to reflect fairly accurately the number of *actual* medics. Accepting these figures their patient base varied between 1,773 and 2,218 or an average of 1,991. This patient base might be viewed as the minimum requirement for the practice of a medic to have been financially viable in the 1781-1851 period. From 1701 to 1771 the numbers of discovered medics are thought to underestimate their actual numbers. Accepting the premise that in this period also a 1,981 patient base was

¹¹¹ Hereafter just simply rendered "patient base". This figure refers to the number of patients who would of course belong to a much smaller number of households. Even by 1851 many households could not afford to pay for medical treatment and, as a percentage, their number must have considerably increased further back in time.

required *estimated* numbers of medics can be calculated (in italic). These *estimated* numbers nearly match or outnumber *discovered* numbers as might be expected.

Prior to 1548 it is likely that much medical practice in the county took place in its 23 religious houses (§B5.2), all closed by 1539, and 12 religious hospitals (§B5.3) which mostly closed in 1548 or shortly thereafter. Care would have been provided by their members both religious and lay. Parish clergy may have attended not only to their parishioners' spiritual well-being but also to their medical needs. However no specific mention of these men or their medical practice has been discovered.

Between 1101 and 1551 the *potential* number of lay medics active in the county is estimated (below) to have varied with the population from 11 in 1101 to 29 in 1301. After the "Black Death" (§C.1348) the population fell and medic numbers might have varied between 19 in 1351 to 27 in 1551. These figures are only offered in the absence of any alternative evidence. Before 1548 the names of only 15 lay medics have been discovered. Of these six men were at Lichfield and five at Stafford doubtless reflecting their respective status as cathedral city and county town. The nature of their medical practice as physician, leech, surgeon or apothecary was at this early date quite uncertain (§Q1). They are detailed in §C2. The estimated 27 medics practising in the county in 1551 might have included some clerics and others that had been ejected from the county's religious houses and hospitals (above). *If* there were 27 medics working in the ten main county centres of medical practice (see §D1.3) then there was an average of about three in each community in 1551 doubling to about five or six by 1711.

Before 1701 the numbers of *discovered* medics are very unlikely to reflect the actual numbers. However using the same 1,981 patient base a sequence of estimated numbers of medics from 1101-1651 is computed which must only be considered useful in the absence of any other data.

The percentage of *discovered* physicians amongst the medics declines from 14% in 1851 to 6% in 1781. The steady percentage increase from 1771 to 1701 probably only reflects the fact that physicians are easier to trace in the historical record than other medics.

•Medics numbers 1101-1851							
	Population	Discovered medics	Physicians	%Physicians	Estimated medics	Measured patient base	Estimated patient base
1101	21015	x			11		1991
1151	29011	x			15		1991
1201	37341	x			19		1991
1251	49804	x			25		1991
1301	56736	x			28		1991
1351	37700	x			19		1991
1401	35050	x			18		1991
1451	33092	x			17		1991
1501	39487	x			20		1991
1551	53341	x			27		1991
1601	77504	x			39		1991
1651	103714	x			52		1991
1701	105428	43	8	18%	53	2452	1991
1711	113275	54	9	17%	57	2098	1991
1721	121122	61	9	15%	61	1986	1991
1731	128969	59	8	14%	65	2186	1991
1741	136816	74	11	15%	69	1849	1991
1751	144661	73	8	11%	73	1982	1991
1761	157680	85	8	9%	79	1855	1991
1771	173096	87	6	7%	87	1990	1991
1781	192154	103	6	6%		1866	
1791	215998	102	7	7%		2118	
1801	242693	119	12	10%		2039	
1811	290595	131	15	11%		2218	
1821	344838	177	20	11%		1948	
1831	409480	231	25	11%		1773	
1841	509472	277	30	11%		1839	
1851	608716	286	39	14%		2128	
						Ave 1781-1851	1991

NOTE: In the table above the numbers of discovered medics and physicians are taken from Database [SDH4] c7-23.

D1.3 Centres of medical practice from 1548 to 1757

The table below lists the seventeen main centres of medicine of this period ranked by the number of medical apprenticeships served between 1710 and 1757 (columns 16 and 17). Read from the left the other columns give the year of the earliest record of (2) religious houses, (3) religious hospitals, (4) boroughs, (5) merchant guilds, (6) religious guilds and (7) craft guilds. Column 8 records market towns in 1722 (§B1.4). Columns 9-12 and 13-15 show by year the earliest discovered physicians, leeches, surgeons and apothecaries to 1548 and then after 1548.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
Place	Rel hse	Rel hpl	Bor	Parl bor	Mer gld	Rel gild	Craft gild	1722 Mkt	To 1548				After 1548			1710 1757 App	Rank
									Phys	Leech	Surg	Apot	Phys	Surg	Apot		
Wolverhampton	X	1392	1263	1832	X	X	X	Mkt	X	X	X	X	1709	1680	1633	20	1
Lichfield	1237	1148	1159	1311	X	1387	1307	Mkt	1308	1372	1525	X	1641	1611	1584	16	2
Stone	1138	X	1364	X	X	X	X	Mkt	X	X	X	X	1790	1701	1678	10	3
Walsall	X	X	1198	1832	X	1390	1502	Mkt	X	X	X	X	1697	1643	1689	9	4
Stafford	1174	X	1086	1295	X	X	1476	Mkt	1288	1276	1296	1288	1635	1693	1573	8	5
Newcastle	1277	1266	1173	1354	1235	X	1510	Mkt	X	X	X	X	1648	1711	1633	7	6=
Uttoxeter	X	X	1252	X	X	X	X	Mkt	X	X	X	X	1798	1620	1667	7	6=
Burton-upon-Trent	1004	X	1187	X	X	X	X	???	1189	1453	X	X	1697	1580	1676	4	8=
Leek	1214	X	1225	X	X	X	X	Mkt	X	X	X	X	1736	1658	1658	4	8=
Rugeley	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Mkt	X	X	X	X	X	1713	1711	3	10
Tamworth	X	1227	1086	1560	X	1516	X	Mkt	X	X	X	X	1694	1689	1685	2	11=
Betley	X	X	1299	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	1729	1713	2	11=
Bilston	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	1737	1737	2	11=
Cheadle	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Mkt	X	X	X	X	1797	1723	1723	2	11=
Penkridge	X	X	1290	X	X	1547	X	Mkt	X	X	X	X	1851	1742	1717	2	11=
Cannock	1139	1220	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	1751	1705	1	16=
Eccleshall	X	X	1199	X	X	1547	X	Mkt	X	X	X	X	1816	1744	1737	1	16=

In 1548 the places in most need of hospital provision were commented on by the Chantry Commissioners¹¹² thus:

"Where most nede is to have hospitalles for relief of the pore; Stafford, Walsall, Tamworth, Burton upon Trent"

In the absence of any other data it seems most probable that from 1548 to 1710 there were ten main centres of medicine. These were the four places with craft guilds - Lichfield, Stafford, Walsall and Newcastle; the two remaining places named by the Chantry Commissioners - Tamworth and Burton upon Trent; and, perhaps later in the period, Wolverhampton, Stone, Uttoxeter and Leek. All ten of these places were by 1364 municipal boroughs and most by 1722 market towns. The craft guilds were commenced at Lichfield before 1307, at Stafford before 1476, at Walsall before 1502 and at Newcastle before 1510. Additionally Newcastle had a merchant guild founded in 1235, and, Lichfield and Walsall had religious guilds both dissolved in 1547.

D2 Physicians and universities

D2.1 Introduction; D2.2 Universities and medical graduates (British); D2.3 Universities and medical graduates (European); D2.4 Bishop's licences (physicians); D2.5 Physicians' colleges; D2.6 Cohort physicians to 1700; D2.7 Unqualified physicians

D2.1 Introduction

From the early 13C into the early 17C the title "physician" might refer to any sort of medic and was probably synonymous with leech. However following on the legislation and regulation introduced in the 16C the title was more frequently used of a man who had graduated with a medical degree, or, had a bishop's licence to practise physic, or, was a member of a college of physicians. In contrast by the start of the 19C in America physician was apparently used as a title for any medic.¹¹³

Between 1421 and 1540 five regulatory items are found:

In 1421 a petition (§Q2.1421) was presented to parliament to regulate physicians throughout England. It brought about a response concerning both physicians and surgeons which granted powers to the King's Council who, in the event, do not seem to have exercised them. Here a clear distinction is drawn between physicians and surgeons. Physicians were to have studied medicine at a university and graduated with a medical degree whilst the surgeons were to have been trained by existing practitioners.

In 1511 *An act concerning physicians and surgeons* {3 Henry VIII c11} (§Q2.1511) was passed which, reserving the privileges of Oxford and Cambridge Universities, required that physicians and surgeons be examined and approved before practising. The examiner for those in London and seven miles around was the Bishop of London or the Dean of St Paul's whilst for the rest of the country he was the local diocesan bishop or his vicar-general. Once a man had been examined and approved by the examiner he was to be issued with appropriate letters testimonial. These letters testimonial became known as a "*bishop's licence*" and men might be said to have been "licensed to practise physic and/or surgery in the diocese of xxxxx" or "in the province of Canterbury or York". Subsequently, in theory, all physicians and surgeons, not qualified by Oxford or Cambridge University, should have held a bishop's licence.

On 23 Sep 1518 the Royal College of Physicians of London was founded by a royal charter (§Q2.1518) issued by Henry VIII. The charter is written in Latin and recites that the King has determined to found a "collegium

¹¹² A.F. Leach *English schools at the Reformation 1546-8 Part II* (1896) p210

¹¹³ and see §D1.1

perpetuum doctorum et gravium virorum qui medicinam in urbe nostra Londino et suburbiis, intraque septem millia passuum". This is later styled "unum corpus et communitas perpetua sive collegium perpetuum" and "collegii seu communitatis facultatis medicinae London". The charter thus limited the College to control over the practice of physicians in London and seven miles around.

This was followed in 1523 by *An act concerning the privileges and authority of physicians in London* (14 & 15 Henry VIII c5) (§Q2.1523). This mainly concerns London but in the last clause men wishing to practice as physicians outside London are required to pass an examination by the President and three Elects of the College of Physicians of London and to acquire confirmatory letters testimonial. Graduates of Oxford and Cambridge were specifically exempt. The act does not indicate whether men submitting to examination did in fact need to be graduates. This last clause does not appear to have been compatible with the rules concerning the granting of bishop's licences as outlined in the 1511 Act (above). However it does seem to have provided authority for the College of Physicians to create Extra Licentiates to practice outside London.

The physicians act {32 Henry VIII c40} of 1540 (§Q2.1540) contained a section, which allowed members of the Royal College of Physicians of London to practice all branches of physic (including surgery) in London and elsewhere in the realm.

By the mid 16C it was understood that in order to practice *legally* a physician needed to be both *qualified* and *licensed*.

It would appear that to be *qualified* a man must have first studied medicine at a university. Although in England both Oxford and Cambridge Universities awarded medical degrees they did not consistently offer courses in medicine. There were however many European universities where medicine could be studied and medical degrees obtained.

Once qualified a man could be *licensed* in three ways: (1) by graduating M.B. or M.D. from Oxford or Cambridge University¹¹⁴ (2) after 1511 by obtaining a bishop's licence to practise physic (3) after 1540 by membership of the College of Physicians (of London).

This jumble of regulation was not self-consistent and outside London it may have had only limited effect. However within London the College of Physicians held considerable power and influence.

About 1701 in a lawsuit at the Queen's Bench Division¹¹⁵ the Royal College of Physicians of London sued William Rose, a London apothecary, "for practising Physic for One Month, within Seven Miles of the City of London, without the Licence of the Plaintiffs" and wished him to pay a penalty of £5 per month. Rose was said to have "made up and administered proper medicines to [John Seal, Seale or Seals, a butcher]; but without any license from the faculty, and also without the direction of any physician, and without taking or demanding any fee for his advice". The College quoted from their Charter and after three hearings the Court found that Rose had been "practising Physic, within the said Charter" and should pay the penalty. However Rose brought "a writ of error returnable in Parliament" against the College. When the case was heard in the House of Lords on 17 Mar 1703¹¹⁶ the judgment was reversed. It should be noted that this court judgment simply found that Rose had *not been* "practising Physic, within the said Charter"¹¹⁶.

It is unclear why the original judgment was reversed. Because the facts of the case were not in dispute the reversal must have been based on a "point of law". Perhaps there was a belief that to practise physic "within the charter" was to "practise in return for payment". Rose of course was accepted to have practised "without taking or demanding any fee for his advice".

Subsequent to this case it was generally accepted that apothecaries might offer unpaid medical advice without fear of prosecution.

D2.2 Universities and medical graduates (British)

D2.2.1 Introduction; D2.2.2 Oxford University; D2.2.3 Cambridge University; D2.2.4 Durham University; D2.2.5 London University; D2.2.6 St Andrews University; D2.2.7 Glasgow University; D2.2.8 Aberdeen King's College; D2.2.9 Edinburgh University; D2.2.10 Aberdeen Marischal College; D2.2.11 Dublin University (Trinity College); D2.2.12 Queen's University of Ireland

D2.2.1 Introduction

Oxford and Cambridge were the only English universities until 1832 when they were joined by Durham. London University was founded four years later in 1836. After the passing of *The act of supremacy* {26 Henry VIII c1} in 1534 it is said that only anglicans could attend Oxford and Cambridge Universities and the same provision was attached to Durham. London University was secular from its foundation. Acts of parliament passed in 1854, 1856 and 1871 eventually permitted all non-anglicans to attend and graduate at Oxford, Cambridge and Durham.

An act to make further provision for the good government .. of the University of Oxford (aka The Oxford University Act) {17 & 18 Victoria c81} (7 Aug 1854) ... §43. From and after the first day of Michaelmas Term [1854] it shall not be necessary for any person upon matriculating in the University of Oxford to make or subscribe and declaration or to take any oath ... §44. ... it shall not be necessary for any person upon taking the degree of Bachelor of Arts, Law, Medicine or Music [etc]

An act to make further provision for the good government ... of the University of Cambridge ... (aka The Cambridge University Act) (19 & 20 Victoria c88) (29 Jul 1856) ... §45. From the First Day of Michaelmas Term [1856] no Person shall be required, upon matriculating, or upon taking, or to enable him to take, any Degree in Arts, Law, Medicine, or Music, in the said University, to take any Oath or to make any Declaration or Subscription whatever; ... §46. [similar] on obtaining any Exhibition, Scholarship, or other College Emolument available for the Assistance of an Undergraduate Student in his Academical Education,

114 If a man held a foreign medical degree which was incorporated at Oxford or Cambridge he was also licensed to practice.

115 A fuller account is given in §Q2.1704.

116 Two accounts of the case (unseen) were published in the same year: (1) *The Case of the College of Physicians London, wherein they are defendants, in a writ of error returnable in Parliament, brought by one William Rose an apothecary in London, on a judgment obtained against him by the College in Her Majesty's Court of Queen's Bench, for practising physick within seven miles of London without licence* [1704] [Text consists of three pages] and (2) *Observations upon the case of William Rose, an apothecary, as represented by him to the most honourable the House of Lords, upon his bringing the case before the said House by a writ of error, in order to have the judgment obtain'd against him by the College of Physicians, in the Queen's-Bench, reversed.* (1704)

An act to alter the law respecting religious tests in the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Durham, and in the halls and colleges of those universities. (aka *The Universities Tests Act*) {34 & 35 Victoria c26} (16 Jun 1871) ... Whereas it is expedient that the benefits of the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Durham, and of the colleges and halls now subsisting therein, as places of religion and learning, should be rendered freely accessible to the nation ... §3. Persons taking lay academical degrees or holding lay academical or collegiate offices not to be required to subscribe any formulary of faith, &c.

Scotland had five universities: Aberdeen King's, Aberdeen Marischal, Edinburgh, Glasgow and St Andrews. They all awarded M.D.s with Glasgow also offering a master's degree in surgery, or, Ch.M.¹¹⁷. These degrees could often be acquired at the age of 21 but at Aberdeen Marischal an applicant had to be 25.

Ireland had two universities. Dublin University, or Trinity College, was founded in 1592 and the Queen's University of Ireland (centred on Belfast, Cork and Galway) in 1845.

D2.2.2 Oxford University (c1100)

Oxford University was founded about 1100. About 1310 an Oxford man published *Rosa Anglica* said to be the earliest surviving medical textbook. After the reformation and until 1854 (see §D2.2.1) only anglicans were allowed to attend.. In 1546 Henry VIII established the Regius Professorship of Medicine. A botanic garden was opened in 1628. The Radcliffe Infirmary opened in Oxford in 1770. It is said that medicine was sporadically taught at Oxford from the 13C but lay dormant through the 19C. The current medical school was only established in 1946. It is unclear when Oxford first awarded degrees in medicine but evidently most men who were awarded degrees must have studied and trained elsewhere.

Two different medical degrees were awarded, M.B. and M.D. Also degrees from foreign universities could be incorporated *ad eundem gradum*¹¹⁸.

Seven of the cohort^x (named in the table and the list below) graduated at Oxford between 1674 and 1830. All were English anglicans and followed the same path. First, having been admitted to a college, they matriculated as members of the university and then (aged between 25 and 27) successively graduated B.A., M.A. and then M.B. However four of the seven men further graduated M.D. It remains unclear exactly what criteria originally distinguished an M.B. from an M.D. but the extract below shows those criteria in 1840. In practice any M.B. might be styled *by courtesy* M.D. as will be seen from the biographical notes in the list below.

[For a Bachelor's degree] In Medicine, all Students (besides undergoing the same examination appointed for Bachelors of Arts) are to be examined by the Regius Professor of that faculty and two Examiners, of the degree of Doctor in Medicine, who are to be appointed by the Vice-Chancellor, in the theory and practice of Medicine, in Anatomy, Physiology, and Pathology; in the Materia Medica, as well as in Chemistry and Botany, so far as they illustrate the science of Medicine, and in two at least of the following ancient Medical writers, Hippocrates, Aretseus, Galen, and Celsus. ... For a Doctor's degree in Medicine a dissertation upon some subject, to be approved by the Professor of Medicine, is to be publicly recited in the Schools, and a copy of it afterwards delivered to the Professor. [*Oxford University Calendar 1840* p112]

Oxford University									
Name		Place	Born	Age	Matric	BA	MA	MB	MD
John	Floyer	Lichfield	1649	25	1664	1668	1671	1674	1680
Henry	Pigot	Forton	1661	26	1677	1681	1684	1687	1692
Samuel	Swinfen	Lichfield	1679	27	1696	1699	1703	1706	1712
Brooke	Hector	Lichfield	1700	27	1717	1722	1724	1727	x
John	Smith	Uttoxeter	1771	27	1788	1792	1795	1798	x
Joseph William	Moss	Longdon	1803	26	1820	1825	1827	1829	x
Thomas Ogier	Ward	Wolverhampton	1803	27	1822	1827	1829	1830	1834

Sir John Floyer of Lichfield Knight M.D. 1649-1734

1674

Floyer was the son of a Staffordshire anglican gentleman. Aged 15 he matriculated from Queens College, Oxford on 10 Jun 1664 and from there graduated B.A. in 1668, M.A. on 23 Feb 1670.1, M.B. in 1674 and M.D., on 8 Jul 1680.

Henry Pigot of Forton M.D. c1661-1730

1687

Pigot was the son of a Lancashire anglican clergyman (who was born at Forton). He matriculated from Wadham College, Oxford on 27 Jun 1677 and there graduated B.A. in 1681, M.A. in 1684, M.B. in 1687 and M.D., 1692. From 1688 he was a Fellow of Wadham but when he married in 1694 moved to Newport, Salop

Samuel Swinfen of Lichfield M.D. 1679-1736

1706

Swinfen was the son of a Shropshire anglican draper. On 31 Mar 1696 he matriculated from Pembroke College, Oxford and from there graduated B.A. in 1699 and M.A. on 17 Mar 1702.3 before becoming Lecturer of grammar in 1705. From Oxford he further graduated M.B. in 1706 (and M.D. in 1712)

Brooke Hector of Lichfield M.B. 1700-1773

1727

Hector was the son of a Staffordshire anglican surgeon. He matriculated from Christ Church College at Oxford on 23 Aug 1717 and from there graduated B.A. in 1722, M.A. in 1724 and M.B. (*by courtesy* M.D.) in 1727. In 1735 his maternal half-uncle Jonathan Brooke M.D. 1690-1735, then of London, bequeathed his "nephew Brooke Hector of Litchfield doctor in physic all my books and my gold watch and ?caine".

John Smith of Uttoxeter M.B. 1771-1815

1798

Smith was the son of a Staffordshire anglican surgeon & apothecary. He matriculated from Brasenose College, Oxford on 17 Jul 1788 and from there graduated B.A. in 1792, M.A. in 1795 and M.B. (*by courtesy* M.D.) in 1798. ... On his 1814 marriage licence he styles himself "bachelor of physic" whilst a newspaper notice styles him "M.D.".

Joseph William Moss of Longdon M.B. 1803-1862

1829

117 Literally "Chirurgiae Magister"

118 This phrase may be translated as "to the same degree".

Moss was the son of a Worcestershire anglican M.R.C.S. He matriculated from Magdalen Hall, Oxford on 21 Mar 1820 and from there graduated B.A. in 1825, M.A. in 1827 and M.B. (*by courtesy* M.D.) in 1829. A newspaper report of his 1840 marriage styles him "M.D.".

Thomas Ogier Ward of Wolverhampton M.D. 1803-1879

1830

Ward was the son of a Staffordshire anglican clergyman. On 25 Jun 1822 he matriculated from Queen's College, Oxford and from there graduated B.A. in 1827, M.A. in 1829, M.B. in 1830 and M.D. in 1834. Between 1827 and 1831 he studied at Glasgow, London and trained at Paris.

D2.2.3 Cambridge University (1209)

Cambridge University was founded in 1209 and granted a royal charter in 1231. After the reformation and until 1856 (see §D2.2.1) only anglicans were allowed to attend. In 1540 Henry VIII endowed a chair of medicine. However very little medical education took place until as late as 1829 when the Senate introduced a new curriculum and examinations. For the next thirty or so years Cambridge achieved some recognition as a centre for medical education but this suddenly declined. It was only in 1976 that a proper medical course was restored. It is unclear when Cambridge first awarded degrees in medicine but evidently men who were awarded degrees before 1829 must have studied and trained elsewhere.

Two different medical degrees were awarded, M.D. and M.B. Degrees from foreign universities could be incorporated *ad eundem gradum*¹¹⁹. On occasion the Cambridge University Senate (in the presence of royalty) conferred degrees (M.D. and M.B.) and these were then styled *Comitia Regis* (abbreviated to *Com.Reg.*).

Fourteen of the cohort^x (named in the table and the list below) graduated at Cambridge between 1621 and 1808. Of these four were not members of the university. Clarvetto (probably) and Hewett were both incorporated M.D. from Padua in 1621 and 1627 whilst both James (M.D.) and Turton (M.B.) were conferred degrees in 1728. The other ten men had mostly been admitted to a college before they matriculated as members of the university. The two M.D.'s, Fowke and Webb, had previously graduated B.A. and M.A. and were respectively aged 29 and 32 on final graduation. Of the eight M.B.'s only one man, Congreve, had previously graduated (with a B.A.) and at graduation most were aged between 19 and 24. However Knight was 28 and Sedgwick was 35. It remains unclear exactly what criteria distinguish an M.B. from an M.D. In practice any M.B. might be styled *by courtesy* M.D. as will be seen from the biographical notes in the list below.

Cambridge University													
Name	Place	Born	Age	Adm	Matric	BA	MA	MB	MBcr	MD	MDcr	inc	
William	Clarvetto	Lichfield	1594	27	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1621
Anthony	Hewett	Lichfield	1600	37	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1637
Phineas	Fowke	Norton-under-Cannock	1639	29	1654	1655	1658	1661	x	x	1668	x	x
John	Cumberlege	Newcastle	1652	21	1669	1668	x	x	1673	x	x	x	x
Thomas	Congreve	Wolverhampton	1663	24	1681	1682	1686	x	1687	x	x	x	x
Joshua	Gerard	Tamworth	1670	23	1688	1688	x	x	1693	x	x	x	x
Henry	Leigh	Rushall	1678	19	1692	1693	x	x	1697	x	x	x	x
Raphael	Sedgwick	Penn	1679	35	1697	1699	x	x	1714	x	x	x	x
Robert	James	Lichfield	1703	25	x	x	x	x	x	x	1728	x	
John	Turton	Wolverhampton	1703	25	x	x	x	x	x	1728	x	x	x
Humphrey	Webb	Seighford	1701	32	1718	1718	1722	1725	x	x	1733	x	x
Edward	Vernon	Abbots Bromley	1723	24	1741	1742	x	x	1747	x	x	x	x
Erasmus	Darwin	Lichfield	1731	24	1750	nk	x	x	1757	x	x	x	x
Edward	Knight	Stafford	1780	28	1802	1806	x	x	1808	x	x	x	x

Phineas Fowke of Norton-under-Cannock M.D. 1639-1711 [OB]

1668

Fowke was the son of a Yorkshire anglican gentleman (who was born in Brewood). He was admitted at Queens' College, Cambridge on 21 Apr 1654 and matriculated pensioner in Easter 1655. From there he graduated B.A. in 1658, M.A. in 1661 and M.D. in 1668. In 1677 Fowke qualified Candidate, R.C.P. and in 1680 was elected F.R.C.P.

John Cumberlege of Newcastle M.B. 1652-1720

1673

Cumberlege was the son of a Staffordshire anglican innkeeper. ... Cumberlege was admitted sizar at Sidney College, Cambridge on 10 Apr 1669 and from there graduated M.B. (*by courtesy* M.D.) in 1673. ... By 1680 he was claiming to hold a coat of arms "Barry of six ermine and sable on a canton or a fleur-de-lis gules" and on his death his inventory lists "Sixteene Scutchions and Coats of Armes [valued at] £1/10/0". ... In his administration he is styled "Doctor of Physick", in his inventory "Phisitian" and in his burial record "Doctr."

Thomas Congreve of Wolverhampton M.B. 1663-1720

1687

Congreve was the son of a Staffordshire anglican yeoman. Educated at Newport, Salop he was admitted pensioner at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge on 28 Nov 1681 and matriculated in 1682. From there he graduated B.A. in 1686 and M.B. (*by courtesy* M.D.) in 1687. ... In his will he is styled "Doctor of Physick", in his inventory "batcheler in physick" and in his burial record "Med: Bac:".

Joshua Gerard of Tamworth M.B. c1670-1698

1693

Gerard was the son of a Cheshire anglican. He was educated at Tarvin, Cheshire and on 9 Jun 1688, aged 18, admitted pensioner at Christ's College, Cambridge. He matriculated the same year, was a scholar in 1689 and from there graduated M.B. (*by courtesy* M.D.) in 1693. ... In his will Gerard was styled "practicer in physick" whilst his burial records styles him "Doctor John[sic] Gerard".

Henry Leigh of Rushall M.B. 1678-1708

1697

Leigh was the son of a Staffordshire anglican gentleman. He was educated at Lichfield under Mr Shaw and at Sutton Coldfield under Mr Saunders. On 16 Jun 1692 he was admitted pensioner at Caius College, Cambridge where he was a scholar from 1692 to 1697, matriculated in 1693 and graduated M.B. (*by courtesy* M.D.) in 1697. ... His burial record styles him "Dr. of Physick".

Raphael Sedgwick of Penn M.B. 1679-1747

1714

Sedgwick was the son of a Staffordshire anglican gentleman. He was admitted sizar at St Catharine's College, Cambridge on 3 Jul 1697, matriculated in 1699 and from there graduated M.B. (*by courtesy* M.D.) in 1714. ... In his will he is styled "doctor of physick".

¹¹⁹ This phrase may be translated as "to the same degree".

Robert James of Lichfield M.D. 1703-1776 [OB]**1728**

James was the son of a Staffordshire anglican gentleman. He was educated at Lichfield Grammar School, ... and then matriculated from St John's College, Oxford on 10 Oct 1722 from where he graduated B.A. on 5 Jul 1726. He qualified Ext.L.R.C.P. in 1728 (L.R.C.P., 1765) and the same year on 8 May was conferred an M.D. by Cambridge University Senate.

John Turton of Wolverhampton M.B. c1703-1764**1728**

Turton was the son of a Staffordshire nonconformist ironmonger. He was admitted, aged 23, as a medical student at Leyden University on 19 Sep 1726. However he was conferred by Cambridge University Senate an M.B. (*by courtesy* M.D.) in 1728. ... In his will he is styled "Batchelor of Physic" but was also sometimes styled M.D.

Humphrey Webb of Seighford M.D. c1701-1755**1733**

Webb was the son of a Staffordshire man. He was educated at Stafford under Mr Dearle before being admitted pensioner at Trinity College, Cambridge on 28 Jun 1718. From here he graduated B.A. in 1722, M.A. in 1725 and M.D. in 1733.

Edward Vernon of Abbots Bromley M.B. 1723-1780**1747**

Vernon was the son of a Staffordshire anglican gentleman. He was educated at Brewood under Mr Budworth before he was admitted sizar at St John's College, Cambridge on 4 Nov 1741 and matriculated in 1742. On 6 Aug 1745 he was admitted as a medical student at Leyden. However in 1747 it was from Cambridge that he graduated M.B. (*by courtesy* M.D.). ... wrote his will in which he is styled "Bachelor of Physick" whereas his burial record styles him "M.D.".

Erasmus Darwin of Lichfield M.B. 1731-1802 [OB]**1755**

Darwin was the son of a Nottinghamshire anglican barrister. He was educated at Chesterfield, Derbys and on 30 Jun 1750 was admitted pensioner at St John's College, Cambridge where he held the Exeter scholarship and later, in 1755, graduated M.B. (*by courtesy* M.D.).

Edward Knight of Stafford M.B. 1780-1862**1808**

Knight was the son of a Staffordshire anglican clergyman. He was admitted pensioner at Emmanuel College, Cambridge on 30 Aug 1802 and matriculated in 1806. From there he graduated M.B. (*by courtesy* M.D.) in 1808 and was then appointed Physician to Staffordshire General Infirmary (at Stafford) and remained in that office and in general practice until he died at Stafford, aged 82, on 9 Jun 1862. Knight was sometime styled M.D.

D2.2.4 Durham University (1832)

In 1832 Durham University was founded by an act of parliament and incorporated by royal charter in 1837. Five medical degrees were conferred without examination before 1858 but not to any of the cohort α .

D2.2.5 London University (1836)

On 28 Nov 1836 London University¹²⁰ was created by a royal charter of William IV "during our Royal will and pleasure". William's death on 20 Jun 1837 necessitated a second royal charter which Queen Victoria issued on 5 Dec 1837. On foundation the university consisted of just two colleges University College (founded 1826) (see §Q5.4.1) and King's College (founded 1829) (see §Q5.4.2). The first degrees were awarded in 1839. Its medical degrees at first conferred no licence to practise but in 1854 graduates were licensed throughout the country except in London (and a seven mile radius). The university was secular and admitted men of any or no religious belief.

Many men studied at the two London colleges both before and after the foundation of the university and they are considered under those headings.

Only two of the cohort α graduated from London. Gooday was aged about 28 when he graduated M.D. about 1843 whilst Topham was aged 22 when he graduated M.B. in 1843 and aged 25 when he further graduated M.D. in 1846. Topham was in 1853 a Fellow of London University College.

London University						
Name		Place	Born	Nat.		Age
Augustus Frederick	Gooday	Newcastle	1815		1843	28
John	Topham	Wolverhampton	1821		1843	22

Augustus Frederick Gooday of Newcastle M.D. 1815-1873**?1843**

Gooday was the son of a Suffolk anglican "surveyor of taxes". He trained at Guy's Hospital before he qualified L.S.A. and M.R.C.S. in 1839. Next he became an East India Company Surgeon but left that office for health reasons. He likely graduated M.D. from London about 1843 and was elected Ext.L.R.C.P. in 1843.

John Topham of Wolverhampton M.D. 1821-1887**1843**

Topham was the son of a Worcestershire anglican clergyman. He studied at Worcester University College and probably trained in Paris. From London he graduated M.B. in 1843 and M.D. in 1846.

D2.2.6 St Andrews University (1414)

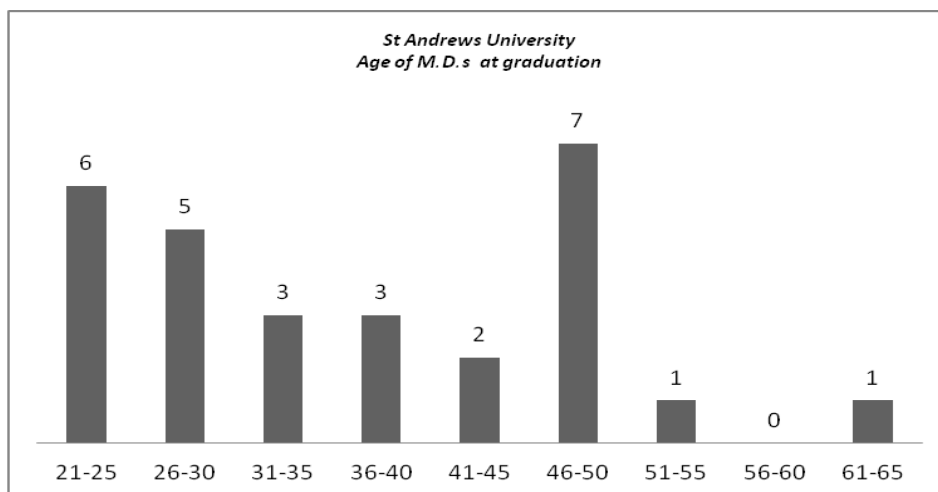
St Andrews University¹²¹ was founded in 1414 and courses in medicine were provided from that year although little is known about their content prior to 1722 when the first Professor of Medicine was appointed. Until 1873 all medical degrees from St Andrews were M.D.s. Those which were conferred from 1696 to 1825 generally did not involve an examination or attendance at the university. Candidates were expected to provide testimonials of their medical competence from fellow "physicians" and to pay a fee. From 1826 a university examination was specifically required. A (new) faculty of medicine had commenced in 1862 and its first medical degrees of M.B. and Ch.M. followed in 1873.

Between 1733 and 1853 twenty-eight of the cohort α became M.D. of whom only two were Scottish by birth. Five were *conferred* M.D. prior to 1825 whilst the other 23 might be said to have *graduated*. All the men had previously, or in the same year, acquired other medical qualifications. Notably Gill had previously graduated M.D. from Halle in 1851. Aged 21 in 1805 Johnson was the youngest M.D. whilst Thomson aged 23 in 1804 was the next

¹²⁰ London University is officially styled "The University of London" and (confusingly) University College was styled "London University" from its foundation in 1826 until in 1836 it became part of the new university and changed its name to University College.

¹²¹ see Ronald Gordon Cant *The University of St Andrews. A short history. New and revised editon* (1970)

youngest. Davis aged 61 in 1862 was by far the oldest. The range of ages at graduation is shown in the chart and table below.



St Andrews University							
Name	Place	Born	Nat.	MD	Age	Qualifications	
Jonathan Brooke	Stafford	1690		1733	43	surgeon	
James Proud Johnson	Stafford	1784		1805	21	surgeon	
John Dehane	Wolverhampton	1790		1817	27	M.R.C.S.	
Edward Bevan	Stoke-upon-Trent	1770		1818	48	surgeon & apothecary	
Henry Somerville	Stafford	1766		1820	54	surgeon	
Spencer Thomson	Clifton Campville	1817	S	1840	23	L.R.C.S.E., L.S.A.	
Edward Lloyd	Tamworth	1820		1844	24	M.R.C.S., L.S.A.	
Thomas Head	Stoke-upon-Trent	1799		1845	46	L.S.A., M.R.C.S.	
Joshua Seddon	Stoke-upon-Trent	1797		1845	48	L.S.A., M.R.C.S.	
Robert Alexander William Westley	Alstonfield	1821		1847	26	L.S.A., M.R.C.S.	
Alfred Gilbert Willington	Handsworth	1821		1847	26	M.R.C.S.	
John McNab Ballenden	Sedgley	1813	S	1850	37	surgeon	
William Gill	Wolverhampton	1805		1851	46	M.D., Halle	
Henry Watts	Bilston	1825		1852	27	L.S.A.	
Draper Mackinder	Barton-under-Needwood	1818		1853	35	M.R.C.S., L.S.A.	
John Maule Sutton	Stone	1829		1853	24	M.R.C.S., L.S.A.	
Henry Collins	Wolverhampton	1828		1856	28	M.R.C.S.	
Joseph Knight Barnett	Stafford	1832		1857	25	M.R.C.S.	
Henry Day	Stowe	1810		1858	48	L.S.A., M.R.C.S.	
Horatio Girdlestone	Stoke-upon-Trent	1820		1858	38	L.S.A., M.R.C.S.	
William Lynes	Wednesbury	1835		1859	24	L.S.A., M.R.C.S.	
Robert Lyons Campbell	Trysull	1817		1862	45	L.S.A., F.R.C.S.	
Joseph Barnard Davis	Stoke-upon-Trent	1801		1862	61	L.S.A., M.R.C.S.	
Thomas Mills	Sedgley	1825		1862	37	M.R.C.S.	
William Sanderson Wyman	Kinver	1831		1862	31	L.S.A., M.R.C.S.	
John Fenton	Stoke-upon-Trent	1817		1864	47	L.S.A., F.R.C.S.	
William Steventon	Uttoxeter	1829		1864	35	L.S.A., M.R.C.S.	
Thomas Underhill	Tipton	1824		1871	47	L.S.A., M.R.C.S.	

Jonathan Brooke of Stafford M.D. 1690-1735

1733

Brooke was the son of a Warwickshire anglican gentleman. ... Probably time served about 1711 he was practising as a surgeon at Stafford in 1723 when he took apprentice for 5 years at £80 John Caldwell 1705-.... He was admitted L.R.C.P. in 1731 and was conferred M.D. from St Andrews in 1733.

James Proud Johnson of Stafford apprentice 1784-1860

1805

Johnson was the son of a Staffordshire anglican baker and maternal grandson of a mad-doctor. He was apprenticed for 4 years at £80 to Francis Hughes of Stafford surgeon about 2 Jul 1800. Time served about 1804 he was conferred M.D. from St Andrews on 23 Sep 1805 ...

John Dehane of Wolverhampton M.D. 1790-1852

1817

Dehane was the son of a Yorkshire anglican clergyman. After he qualified M.R.C.S. in 1816 and was conferred M.D. from St Andrews in 1817 ...

Edward Bevan of Stoke-upon-Trent M.D. 1770-1860 [OB]

1818

Bevan was the son of a London man. ... About 23 Oct 1784 he was apprenticed for 7 years at £50 to Pryce Weaver of Hereford surgeon & apothecary and trained at St Bartholomew's Hospital. ... In 1818 he was conferred M.D. from St Andrews.

Henry Somerville of Stafford M.D. c1766-1830

1820

Somerville is of unknown parentage. He was apprenticed for 7 years at £105 to Robert Mynors of Birmingham, Warwicks surgeon about 29 Nov 1780. Time served about 1787 ... he was conferred M.D. from St Andrews in 1820 and elected Ext.L.R.C.P. in 1823 ...

Spencer Thomson of Clifton Campville M.D. c1817-1886

1840

Thomson was the son of a Midlothian Scottish artist. He studied at Edinburgh and London University College before he qualified L.R.C.S.E. in 1837 and L.S.A. in 1840. Also in 1840 he graduated M.D. from St Andrews.

Edward Lloyd of Tamworth M.D. 1820-1882 **1844**

Lloyd was the son of a Staffordshire anglican clergyman. He qualified M.R.C.S. in 1842 and L.S.A. in 1843 before he graduated M.D. from St Andrews in 1844.

Thomas Head of Stoke-upon-Trent M.D. 1799-1886 **1845**

Head was the son of a Northumberland anglican clergyman. He trained at St Bartholomew's Hospital before he qualified L.S.A. and M.R.C.S. in 1822. ... On 6 May 1845 whilst at Hanley he graduated M.D. from St Andrews and the following 5 Aug was elected F.R.C.P.E.

Joshua Seddon of Stoke-upon-Trent M.D. 1797-1862 **1845**

Seddon was the son of a London nonconformist. He trained at Guy's Hospital and St Thomas's Hospital before he qualified M.R.C.S. (F.R.C.S., 1844) and L.S.A. in 1819. ... Seddon graduated M.D. from St Andrews in 1845.

Robert Alexander William Westley of Alstonfield apprentice 1821-1894 **1847**

Westley was born abroad in the East Indies the son of a British anglican. ... He qualified L.S.A. and M.R.C.S. in 1847 and the same year graduated M.D. from St Andrews.

Alfred Gilbert Willington of Handsworth M.D. 1821-1901 **1847**

Willington was the son of a Warwickshire anglican farmer. In 1847 he both qualified M.R.C.S. and graduated M.D. from St Andrews.

John McNab Ballenden of Sedgley M.D. ?1813-1895 **1850**

Ballenden was probably the son of an Orkney Scottish man. His record of qualification as a surgeon is undiscovered but he was junior partner to Anthony Tamlyn 1783-1867 at Sedgley before 1840 in which year he was also a bankrupt. In 1847 he qualified L.F.P.S.G. and in 1850 he both qualified L.S.A. and graduated M.D. from St Andrews.

William Gill of Wolverhampton M.D. 1805-1854 **1851**

Gill was the son of a Nottinghamshire independent nonconformist commission-agent. He qualified M.R.C.S. and L.S.A. in 1829. ... He probably left Wolverhampton before 1843 in which year he graduated M.D. from Halle. In 1844 he was elected M.R.C.P. ... he further graduated M.D. from St Andrews in 1851

Henry Watts of Bilston M.D. c1825-1868 **1852**

Watts was the son of a London man. He trained at Charing Cross Hospital before he qualified L.S.A. in 1849. ... The following year 1852 he graduated M.D. from St Andrews.

Draper Mackinder of Barton-under-Needwood M.D. 1818-1912 **1853**

Mackinder was the son of a Lincolnshire anglican farmer. He trained at Glasgow, St Bartholomew's Hospital and Paris. ... In 1853 he graduated M.D. from St Andrews

John Maule Sutton of Stone M.D. 1829-1886 **1853**

Sutton was the son of a Kentish anglican surgeon. He studied at Birmingham Queen's College and trained at St Thomas's Hospital. He qualified M.S.A. in 1850, M.R.C.S. in 1851; then L.S.A. and L.M. in 1853. Subsequently he graduated M.D. from St Andrews on 1 Nov 1853

Henry Collins of Wolverhampton M.D. 1828-1914 **1856**

Collins was the son of a Middlesex anglican soldier. He studied at Dublin Richmond School, Edinburgh University, Glasgow University and Dublin Royal College of Surgeons of Ireland School before he qualified M.R.C.S. in 1849. ... He graduated M.D. from St Andrews in 1856 and was admitted L.R.C.P.E. in 1860.

Joseph Knight Barnett of Stafford apprentice c1832-1885 **1857**

Barnett was the son of a Staffordshire anglican solicitor. ... He trained in Aberdeen, Edinburgh, London and Paris. In 1855 he qualified M.R.C.S. and in 1857 he graduated M.D. from St Andrews.

Henry Day of Stowe M.D. c1810-1881 **1858**

Day was the son of a Surrey man. He trained at Guy's Hospital and at Paris. He qualified L.R.C.S.I. in 1829, L.R.C.S.E. in 1832, L.S.A. in 30 Jun 1835 and M.R.C.S. in 1842. ... He was elected Ext.L.R.C.P. in 1856 (M.R.C.P., 1860 and F.R.C.P., 1869) and graduated M.D. from St Andrews in 1858.

Horatio Girdlestone of Stoke-upon-Trent M.D. 1820-1894 **1858**

Girdlestone was the son of a Norfolk anglican clergyman. After he qualified L.S.A. in 1841 and M.R.C.S. in 1842 ... After he graduated M.D. from St Andrews in 1858

William Lynes of Wednesbury pupil 1835-1905 **1859**

Lynes was the son of a Warwickshire anglican ribbon-manufacturer. ... He trained at Guy's Hospital before he qualified L.S.A. and M.R.C.S. in 1857 and L.M. in 1858. He graduated M.D. from St Andrews in 1859.

Robert Lyons Campbell of Trysull M.D. c1817-1891 **1862**

Campbell was the son of a Surrey anglican gentleman. He studied at London King's College and trained at Westminster Hospital before he qualified L.S.A. in 1837 and M.R.C.S. in 1838 (F.R.C.S., 1861). ... In 1862 he graduated M.D. from St Andrews and also was admitted L.R.C.P.

Joseph Barnard Davis of Stoke-upon-Trent M.D. 1801-1881 [OB] **1862**

Davis was the son of a Yorkshire West Riding anglican woollen-draper and tailor. Prior to qualification he was a surgeon on a whaling ship in the Arctic seas. He was living in Lancashire when he qualified L.S.A. in 1823 ... He qualified M.R.C.S. in 1843 and graduated M.D. from St Andrews in 1862.

Thomas Mills of Sedgley M.D. c1825-1871 **1862**

Mills was probably the son of a Staffordshire anglican miner. ... Mills qualified M.R.C.S. in 1849 ... he graduated M.D. from St Andrews in 1862 and further qualified L.S.A. in 1864.

William Sanderson Wyman of Kinver medical assistant 1831-1902 **1862**

Wyman was the son of a Northamptonshire anglican M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. ... In 1862 he qualified L.S.A. and M.R.C.S. and the same year graduated M.D. from St Andrews.

John Fenton of Stoke-upon-Trent M.D. 1817-1877 **1864**

Fenton was the son of a Staffordshire anglican. He qualified L.S.A. in 1838 and M.R.C.S. in 1841 (F.R.C.S., 1857). ... He graduated M.D. from St Andrews in 1864 and was admitted L.R.C.P.E. in 1864.

William Steventon of Uttoxeter assistant 1829-1881**1864**

Steventon was the son of a Staffordshire anglican schoolmaster. ... He qualified L.S.A. and M.R.C.S. in 1853 ... Later he graduated M.D. from St Andrews in 1864

Thomas Underhill of Tipton M.D. 1824-1916**1871**

Underhill was the son of a Staffordshire anglican M.R.C.S. ... studied at Birmingham Queen's College before he qualified L.S.A. and M.R.C.S. in 1845. ... In 1859 he was admitted L.R.C.P.E. and then in 1871 graduated M.D. from St Andrews.

D2.2.7 Glasgow University (1451)

Glasgow University was founded by papal bull in 1451 and medicine was one of the four original faculties. However it is said that formal medical teaching only commenced in 1714 and that the current medical school was established in 1751. Glasgow men generally graduated M.D. but by the mid 19C could also graduate as Ch.M. (Master of Surgery) and after 1860 as M.B.¹²².

Only four of the cohort^x graduated M.D. from Glasgow between 1792 and 1846. Two were aged 24 and the others 28 and 29. Vernon also further graduated Ch.M. in 1856. Little was an Irish man.

Glasgow University						
Name	Place	Born	Nat.	MD	Age	
Thomas	Bree	Stafford	1768		1792	24
Shirley	Palmer	Tamworth	1786		1814	28
Robert	Little	Wolverhampton	1802	I	1826	24
Richard	Vernon	Audley	1817		1846	29

Thomas Bree of Stafford M.D. 1768-1828**1792**

Bree was the son of a Warwickshire anglican surgeon & apothecary. He studied at Edinburgh before he graduated M.D. from Glasgow in 1792.

Shirley Palmer of Tamworth M.D. 1786-1852 [OB]**1814**

Palmer was the son of a Warwickshire anglican attorney-at-law. He was educated at Coleshill Grammar School and Harrow School. He was apprenticed for 7 years at £150 to Thomas Salt & Simon Morgan of Lichfield surgeons about 15 Nov 1801 and trained at St Bartholomew's Hospital under John Abernethy. Time served about 1808 that year he qualified M.R.C.S. and graduated M.D. from Glasgow in 1814.

Robert Little of Wolverhampton M.D. c1802-1889**1826**

Little was the son of a (? co Down) Irish man. In 1826 he graduated M.D. from Glasgow where the same year he also qualified L.M.

Richard Vernon of Audley M.D. 1817-1914**1846**

Vernon was the son of a Cheshire Wesleyan methodist farmer. He trained at Birmingham Hospital. In 1846 he qualified L.S.A. and graduated M.D. from Glasgow. He probably practised at Audley all his working life. In 1856 he further graduated Ch.M. at Glasgow.

D2.2.8 Aberdeen King's College (1495)

Aberdeen King's College¹²³ was founded in 1495 when William Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen, petitioned Pope Alexander VI on behalf of James IV, King of Scots. Initially it was a roman catholic institution. Medicine was taught as early as the late 15th century. No formal medical school was established until about 1786 when a series of lectures were offered by Dr George French and Dr Livingston from which the modern medical school developed. In 1860 it merged with Aberdeen Marischal College to form Aberdeen University.

In 1729 James Clegg of Chapel-en-le-Frith in Derbyshire was made an M.D. In his diary (see §C1.1729) are some interesting entries regarding the process involved.

Eight of the cohort^x graduated M.D. from Aberdeen King's between 1789 and 1860. As the table below shows their ages ranged from 27 to 63. They all held medical qualifications prior to graduation. Seven of the men were English anglicans, the seventh was Irish.

The degree of M.D. [at King's] is conferred after examination in presence of the Senatus, according to regulations adopted in 1839. Since that period, the average annual number of medical degrees conferred, exclusive of a few honorary degrees, has been seven. For many years previously, no degrees at all had been conferred in medicine. The cost of a medical degree, including the £10 stamp, is £26/5/6. [*The New Statistical Account of Scotland: Aberdeen* (1845) p1159]

Aberdeen King's College						
Name	Place	Born	Nat.	MD	Age	
Edmund John	Barker	Stoke-upon-Trent	1818		1856	38
James	Bent	Newcastle	1741		1804	63
Richard	Croft	Tutbury	1762		1789	27
William	Hallam	Newcastle	1814		1855	41
Alfred	Hill	Stone	1826		1854	28
Edward	Jackson	West Bromwich	1807		1843	36
Michael	Ryan	Newcastle	1816	I	1848	32
Charles	Somerville	Bloxwich	1815		1860	45

Richard Croft of Tutbury M.D. 1762-1818 [OB]**?1789**

Croft was the son of a London anglican gentleman. He was educated at London and Derby. About 1776 he was apprenticed to his stepmother's brother Rupert Chawner (of Tutbury) surgeon. He then trained at St Bartholomew's Hospital before obtaining a London Barber-Surgeon's Company diploma. ... He was briefly at Oxford in 1788 but after he graduated M.D. from Aberdeen (?King's) on 27 Jul 1789 moved to London

¹²² A Glasgow University website (2020) stated "Commissioners appointed under the Universities (Scotland) Act drew up ordinances that in 1860 instituted the degrees of Bachelor of Medicine (MB) and Master of Surgery (CM). These were conferred after four years of study of a specified curriculum and a successful examination".

¹²³ For graduates see: Peter John Anderson (Ed.) *Officers and graduates of University and King's College Aberdeen MVD-MDCCCLX*. New Spalding Club. Aberdeen (1893)

where he practised as a man-midwife amongst the upper classes of society. ... He attended the Princess Charlotte who died in childbirth on 6 Nov 1817. Affected by this circumstance he committed suicide in London, aged 56, on 13 Feb 1818.

James Bent of Newcastle M.D. 1741-1812

1804

Bent was the son of a Lancashire anglican gentleman. His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. Perhaps time served about 1763 he practised as a surgeon and apothecary at Newcastle ... In 1802 he was a founding member of the Pottery Dispensary (at Stoke-upon-Trent) and at first practised there as a Surgeon but after he graduated M.D. from Aberdeen King's on 15 Nov 1804 practised as a Physician.

Edward Jackson of West Bromwich M.D. 1807-1889

1843

Jackson was the son of a Staffordshire anglican surgeon. He qualified L.S.A. in 1829 and M.R.C.S. in 1830 (F.R.C.S., 1845). ... In 1843 he graduated M.D. from Aberdeen King's.

Michael Ryan of Newcastle M.D. c1816-1899

1848

Ryan was the son of an Irish man. He trained at Dublin Meath Hospital and studied at Dublin Royal College of Surgeons of Ireland School before he qualified L.M., Dublin in 1839. Subsequently he qualified L.S.A. and M.R.C.S. (F.R.C.S., 1859) in 1841 and graduated M.D. from Aberdeen King's on 5 Aug 1848.

Alfred Hill of Stone apprentice 1826-1922

1854

Hill was the son of a Staffordshire anglican schoolmaster. ... He studied at Birmingham Queen's College before he qualified L.S.A. and M.R.C.S. in 1850. ... In 1854 he graduated M.D. from Aberdeen King's College.

William Hallam of Newcastle M.D. ?1814-1863

1855

Hallam was probably the son of a Staffordshire anglican draper. He qualified M.R.C.S. and L.S.A. in 1836 ... On 3 Aug 1855 he graduated M.D. from Aberdeen King's.

Edmund John Barker of Stoke-upon-Trent M.D. 1818-1888

1856

Barker was the son of a Staffordshire anglican agent. He studied at London University College before he qualified L.S.A. and M.R.C.S. in 1846. He appears to have commenced practice in Stoke-upon-Trent but after he graduated M.D. from Aberdeen King's on 17 Apr 1856 he moved to Cheshire ...

Charles Somerville of Bloxwich M.D. 1815-1868

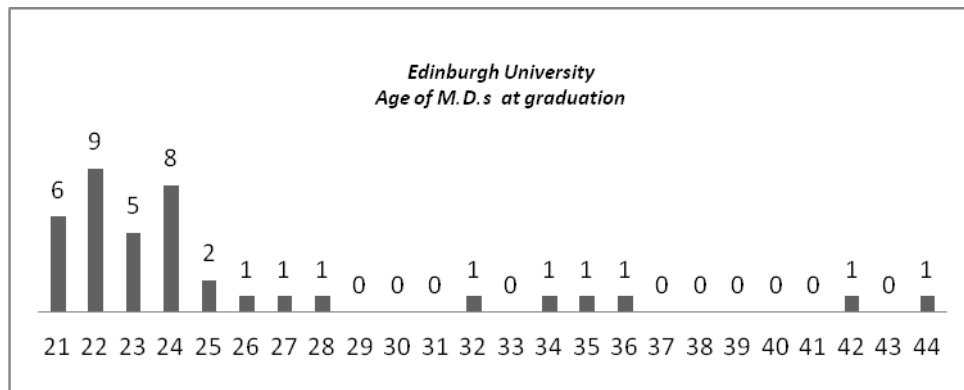
1860

Somerville was the son of a Staffordshire anglican physician. After he qualified L.S.A. in 1838 he practised in Bloxwich all his working life. ... Subsequently he was admitted Ext.L.R.C.P. in 1853 and M.R.C.S. in 1859 before he graduated M.D. from Aberdeen King's on 21 Apr 1860

D2.2.9 Edinburgh University (1582)

Edinburgh University was founded in 1582. A few medical degrees were awarded between 1705 and 1725 but it was after the foundation of the medical school in 1726 that M.D. degrees were regularly awarded. In order to graduate a student had to present a medical thesis. This was written in Latin before 1834 and afterwards in english.

Thirty-nine of the cohort graduated M.D. from Edinburgh between 1753 and 1848. Their ages at graduation are given in the chart and table below where it will be seen that 30 of the men were aged 21 to 25 whilst the remaining nine were between 26 and 44.



Eight of the men were of Scottish birth or heritage. About one third of the men already held a medical qualification on graduation and a few qualified further after graduation. Below all the men are listed in order of graduation first in a table and then in a list which gives the title of their thesis and some detail of their other qualifications.

Edinburgh University							
Name	Place	Born	Nat.	MD	Age	Qualifications	
Gilbert	Stuart	Wolverhampton	1729	S	1753	24	
John Marten	Butt	Lichfield	1738		1760	22	
Archibald	Campbell	Stafford	1738		1765	27	
William	Withering	Stafford	1742		1766	24	apothecary
Thomas	Fowler	Stafford	1736		1778	42	apothecary
George Hoggart	Toulmin	Wolverhampton	1754		1779	25	surgeon
Trevor	Jones	Lichfield	1752		1780	28	
John	Astbury	Barlaston	1757		1781	24	
Francis Hickin	Northen	Newcastle	1771		1793	22	
Edward	Bourne	Cheadle	1772		1794	22	surgeon
James Davenport	Hulme	Leek	1772		1798	26	
John	Robinson	Stoke-upon-Trent	1777		1800	23	
George	Dent	Stafford	1781		1802	21	

William	Greaves	Mayfield	1771		1805	34	
Francis Sacheverel	Darwin	Lichfield	1786		1807	21	
Henry Stephens	Belcombe	Newcastle	1790		1812	22	
Richard	Bent	Wolstanton	1778		1814	36	<i>lived abroad</i>
John Mitchell	Davidson	Stoke-upon-Trent	1797	S.her	1818	21	
William	Mannix	Wolverhampton	1797		1818	21	
James	Rankine	Stoke-upon-Trent	1799	S	1821	22	
Herbert	Taylor	Uttoxeter	1790		1822	32	
Charles	Holland	Penkridge	1801		1824	23	
Edward	Wilson	Newcastle	1803		1825	22	
John	Burton	Walsall	1805		1826	21	
Robert	Arrowsmith	Cannock	1793		1828	35	<i>surgeon</i>
George	Bagnall	West Bromwich	1806		1829	23	<i>later L.S.A.</i>
Edward	Acworth	Stoke-upon-Trent	1809		1831	22	
Peter	Bell	Wolverhampton	1807	S	1831	24	<i>L.R.C.S.E.</i>
James Bell	Jardine	Stoke-upon-Trent	1807	S	1831	24	<i>L.R.C.S.E.</i>
Benjamin Archer	Kent	Walsall	1808		1831	23	<i>apothecary later L.S.A.</i>
Samuel Glover	Bakewell	Stone	1810		1833	23	
John Warburton	Moseley	Norton-in-the-Moors	1809		1833	24	<i>M.R.C.S.</i>
Adam	Bell	Wolverhampton	1812	S	1834	22	<i>L.R.C.S.E.</i>
Thomas	Rowley	Lichfield	1790		1834	44	<i>M.R.C.S.</i>
Robert Wood	Thacker	Alstonfield	1810		1834	24	<i>L.S.A.</i>
James Muter	Turnbull	Wolverhampton	1818	S	1839	21	<i>L.R.C.S.E.</i>
George John	Wood	Newcastle	1816		1840	24	
Walter	Fergus	Stafford	1820	S.her	1842	22	
Thomas Pretious	Heslop	West Bromwich	1823		1848	25	<i>surgeon?</i>

Gilbert Stuart of Wolverhampton M.D. c1729-1780**1753**

Stuart was the son of a Scottish man. He graduated M.D. from Edinburgh in 1753 with the thesis "*De morbis ab aetatum mutationibus ex aetate oriundis*".

John Marten Butt of Lichfield M.D. 1738-1769**1760**

Butt was the son of a Staffordshire anglican apothecary. In 1760 he graduated M.D. from Edinburgh with the thesis "*De sanguinis separatione spontanea*".

Archibald Campbell of Stafford M.D. c1738-1805**1765**

Campbell was the son of a Wiltshire anglican physician. In 1765 he graduated M.D. from Edinburgh with the thesis "*De vermibus*" which was published the same year.

William Withering of Stafford M.D. 1742-1799**1766**

Withering was the son of a Shropshire anglican surgeon and apothecary. ... He was likely apprenticed to his father about 1756 and then in 1762 went to Edinburgh University. From there he graduated M.D. in 1766 with the thesis "*De angina gangraenosa*".

Thomas Fowler of Stafford M.D. 1736-1801**1778**

Fowler was the son of a Yorkshire West Riding man. Probably time served about 1757 he practised as an apothecary at York from 1760 until 1774 ... In 1774 he moved to Edinburgh to study. From there he graduated M.D. in 1778 with the thesis "*De variola*".

George Hoggart Toulmin of Wolverhampton M.D. 1754-1817**1779**

Toulmin was the son of a Surrey anglican sopamaker. He was apprenticed for 7 years at a premium of £21 to John Parkinson of Burton, Westmorland surgeon about 14 Nov 1771. He graduated M.D. from Edinburgh with the (published) thesis "*De cynanche tonsillari*" in 1779.

Trevor Jones of Lichfield M.D. ?1752-1832**1780**

Jones was probably the son of a Flintshire Welsh ?anglican. In 1780 he graduated M.D. from Edinburgh with the thesis "*De paralyti*".

John Astbury of Barlaston M.D. 1757-1847**1781**

Astbury was the son of a Staffordshire anglican clergyman ... In 1781 he graduated M.D. from Edinburgh with the thesis "*De morbis cutaneis*".

Francis Hickin Northen of Newcastle M.D. 1771-1861**1793**

Northen was the son of a Staffordshire anglican surgeon. In 1793 he graduated M.D. from Edinburgh with the thesis "*De ischuria vesicali*".

Edward Bourne of Cheadle M.D. 1772-1847**1794**

Bourne was the son of a Staffordshire anglican gentleman. He was apprenticed for 5 years at £50 to John Jefferys of Cheadle surgeon &c about 17 Aug 1787. In 1794 he graduated M.D. from Edinburgh with the thesis "*De plantorum irritabilate*".

James Davenport Hulme of Leek M.D. 1772-1848**1798**

Hulme was the son of a Staffordshire anglican farmer. ... In 1798 he graduated M.D. from Edinburgh with the thesis "*De diabete*".

John Robinson (of Newcastle) M.D. 1777-1837**1800**

Robinson was the son of a Lincolnshire anglican gentleman. He was a pupil of Edward Harrison of Horncastle, Lincs M.D. 1766-1838 who was a specialist in spinal disease. He graduated M.D. from Edinburgh on 24 Jun 1800 with the thesis "*De urinae secretionem suppressa*".

George Dent of Stafford M.D. 1781-1845**1802**

Dent was the son of a Berkshire anglican collector-of-excite. In 1802 he graduated M.D. from Edinburgh with the thesis "*De pneumonia*".

William Greaves of Mayfield M.D. 1771-1848**1805**

Greaves was the son of a Staffordshire anglican gentleman. His first wife died in 1804 and the next year he graduated M.D. from Edinburgh with the thesis "*De scarlatina*".

Francis Sacheverel Darwin of Lichfield M.D. 1786-1859**1807**

Darwin was the son of a Derbyshire anglican physician. He was admitted pensioner at Emmanuel College, Cambridge on 8 Apr 1807 only a few months before 12 Sep 1807 when he graduated M.D. from Edinburgh with the thesis "*De hydrothorace*".

- Henry Stephens Belcombe of Newcastle M.D. c1790-1856** **1812**
Belcombe was born abroad the son of a Yorkshire physician. ... On 24 Jun 1812 he graduated M.D. from Edinburgh with the thesis "*De febre hectica*"
- Richard Bent of Wolstanton M.D. 1778-1839** **1814**
Bent was the son of a Staffordshire anglican physician. He lived in the East Indies from 1796 to 1807 ... that year [1814] he graduated M.D. from Edinburgh with the thesis "*De podagra*".
- John Mitchell Davidson of Stoke-upon-Trent M.D. 1797-1843** **1818**
Davidson was the son of a Denbighshire Welsh independent nonconformist civil-engineer (of Scottish heritage). He was educated at Inverness Grammar School and trained at Guy's Hospital before 1818 when he graduated from Edinburgh with the thesis *De asthmate*.
- William Mannix of Wolverhampton M.D. c1797-1873** **1818**
Mannix was the illegitimate son of a co Cork Irish baronet. In 1818 he graduated M.D. from Edinburgh with the thesis "*De phthisi pulmonali*".
- James Rankine of Stoke-upon-Trent M.D. c1799-1865** **1821**
Rankine was the son of an Ayrshire Scottish man. He qualified L.R.C.S.E. and in 1821 graduated from Edinburgh with the thesis "*De foetu humano*".
- Herbert Taylor of Uttoxeter M.D. 1790-1876** **1822**
Taylor was the son of a Staffordshire anglican gentleman. In 1822 he graduated M.D. from Edinburgh with the thesis "*De cynanche tracheali inflammatoria*"
- Charles Holland of Penkridge M.D. 1801-1876** **1824**
Holland was the son of a Staffordshire anglican gentleman. In 1824 he graduated M.D., from Edinburgh with the thesis "*De absorptione*"
- Edward Wilson of Newcastle M.D. 1803-1858** **1825**
Wilson was the son of a Denbighshire Welsh anglican gentleman. He graduated M.D. from Edinburgh in 1825 with the thesis "*De scarlatina*".
- John Burton of Walsall M.D. c1805-1891** **1826**
Burton was the son of an American. By 1824 he had emigrated to Edinburgh from where in 1826 he graduated M.D. with the thesis "*De pneumonia*".
- Robert Arrowsmith of Cannock M.D. 1793-1848** **1828**
Arrowsmith was probably the son of a Warwickshire anglican. His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. Time served he was in practice as a surgeon (? & apothecary) at Cannock by 1821. He probably moved to Edinburgh in 1825 from where he graduated M.D. with the (published) thesis "*De infanticidio*" in 1828 and was about the same year President of the Royal Medical Society (of Edinburgh).
- George Bagnall of West Bromwich M.D. 1806-1875** **1829**
Bagnall was the son of a Staffordshire anglican iron-master. In 1829 he graduated M.D. from Edinburgh with the thesis "*De morbis haemeditariis*" and qualified L.S.A. in 1830.
- Edward Acworth (of Stoke-upon-Trent) M.D. ?1809-1874** **1831**
Acworth was the son of a Kentishman. In 1831 he graduated M.D. from Edinburgh with the thesis "*De somno*".
- Peter Bell of Wolverhampton M.D. 1807-1858** **1831**
Bell was the son of a Dumfriesshire Scottish man. Perhaps about 1829 he qualified L.R.C.S.E. and then graduated M.D. from Edinburgh in 1831 with the thesis "*De venarum inflammatione*".
- James Bell Jardine of Stoke-upon-Trent M.D. 1807-1888** **1831**
Jardine was the son of a Dumfriesshire Scottish man. He studied at London University College and trained in Paris before he qualified L.R.C.S.E. in 1827 and graduated M.D. from Edinburgh in 1831 with the thesis "*De scarlatina*".
- Benjamin Archer Kent of Walsall M.D. c1808-1864** **1831**
Kent was the son of a Berkshire nonconformist schoolmaster. He was apprenticed for 5 years to an Oxford apothecary in 1824. In 1831 he graduated M.D. from Edinburgh with the thesis "*De gangliis nervi sympathetici*" and in 1835 he qualified L.S.A.
- Samuel Glover Bakewell of Stone M.D. 1810-1865** **1833**
Glover was the son of a Staffordshire anglican mad-doctor. In 1833 he graduated M.D. from Edinburgh with the thesis "*On insanity*".
- John Warburton Moseley of Norton-in-the-Moors M.D. 1809-....** **1833**
Moseley was the son of a Staffordshire anglican. He qualified M.R.C.S. in 1832 and graduated M.D. from Edinburgh in 1833 with the thesis "*De contagione*".
- Adam Bell of Wolverhampton M.D. c1812-?1849** **1834**
Bell was the son of a Dumfriesshire Scottish man. He qualified L.R.C.S.E. about 1832 and in 1834 graduated M.D. from Edinburgh with the thesis "*De erysepilate*".
- Thomas Rowley of Lichfield M.D. 1790-1863** **1834**
Rowley was the son of a Staffordshire anglican surgeon & apothecary. He qualified M.R.C.S. in 1812 ... In 1834 he graduated M.D. from Edinburgh with the thesis "*On gout*".
- Robert Wood Thacker of Alstonfield M.D. 1810-1839** **1834**
Thacker was the son of a Leicestershire anglican gentleman. In 1834 he qualified L.S.A. and also graduated M.D. from Edinburgh with the thesis "*De pleuritide*".
- James Muter Turnbull of Wolverhampton M.D. 1818-1897** **1839**
Turnbull was the son of a Kirkcudbrightshire Scottish minister. In 1838 he qualified L.R.C.S.E., in 1839 he graduated M.D. from Edinburgh with the thesis "*On Animal Heat*" and in 1840 he qualified L.S.A.
- George John Wood of Newcastle M.D. 1816-1862** **1840**
Wood was the son of a Staffordshire anglican surgeon. In 1840 he graduated M.D. from Edinburgh with the thesis "*On hydrocele of the tunica vaginalis*".

Walter Fergus of Stafford M.D. c1820-1886**1842**

Fergus was the son of a Northumbrian presbyterian clergyman (of Scottish heritage). In 1842 he graduated M.D. from Edinburgh with the thesis "*On contributions to the vital statistics of English paupers*" and in 1843 qualified L.S.A. and M.R.C.S.

Thomas Pretious Heslop of West Bromwich apprentice 1823-1885 [OB]**1848**

Heslop was born abroad in Bermuda the son of an Irish anglican army officer. On census night 1841 he was an apprentice (surgeon) in the household of his great-uncle Thomas Underhill of Tipton M.R.C.S. 1791-1853. He studied at Trinity College, Dublin and trained at Dublin and Edinburgh before he graduated M.D. from Edinburgh in 1848 with the thesis "*On certain morbid conditions of the heart occurring during fever*".

D2.2.10 Aberdeen Marischal College (1593)

Aberdeen Marischal College was founded in 1593 by George Keith 5th Earl Marischal of Scotland as a protestant alternative to the earlier roman catholic Aberdeen King's College. In 1860 it merged with Aberdeen King's College to form Aberdeen University. Four of the cohort¹²⁴ graduated M.D. from Aberdeen Marischal between 1825 and 1853. The first man Kennedy was Scottish and had qualified L.R.C.S.E. before his graduation aged 27. The other three were English anglicans all previously qualified L.S.A. and M.R.C.S. before graduation aged 46, 54 and 35.

Aberdeen Marischal College						
Name		Place	Born	Nat.	MD	Age
Alexander Giles	Kennedy	Stafford	1798	S	1825	27
Thomas Taylor	Broomhall	Stone	1803		1849	46
Robert Cave	Browne	Tamworth	1799		1853	54
Samuel Palmer	Goddard	Stoke-upon-Trent	1818		1853	35

Alexander Giles Kennedy of Stafford M.D. ?1798-1832**1825**

Kennedy was probably the son of a Scottish man. He qualified L.R.C.S.E. about 1823 and had commenced practice at Uttoxeter by 1824 when he married a woman from nearby Kingstone. On 2 Dec 1825 he graduated M.D. from Aberdeen Marischal. In late 1829, perhaps in anticipation of his hospital office, he qualified Ext.L.R.C.P. and in 1830 moved from Uttoxeter to Stafford on appointment as a Physician at Staffordshire General Infirmary

Thomas Taylor Broomhall of Stone M.D. 1803-1888**1849**

Broomhall was the son of a Staffordshire anglican. ... He qualified L.S.A. and M.R.C.S. in 1826 ... On 25 Oct 1849 he graduated M.D. from Aberdeen Marischal.

Robert Cave Browne of Tamworth M.D. 1799-1866**1853**

Browne was a Leicestershire anglican clergyman. He qualified L.S.A. in 1819 and M.R.C.S. in 1820 ... He graduated M.D. from Aberdeen Marischal in 1853

Samuel Palmer Goddard of Stoke-upon-Trent M.D. 1818-1866**1853**

Goddard was the son of a Staffordshire anglican surgeon. He qualified L.M., Edinburgh in 1838, L.R.C.S.E. in 1840, L.S.A. in 1841 and M.R.C.S. in 10 Feb 1843. ... He graduated M.D. from Aberdeen Marischal in 1853.

D2.2.11 Dublin University (Trinity College) (1592)

Dublin University was founded by royal charter in 1592. Trinity College¹²⁴ has been its only constituent college from foundation. Dublin only admitted anglicans until 1793 in which year non-anglicans were admitted as students but until 1873 were prohibited from becoming scholars, fellows and professors. Two years earlier, in 1871, the roman catholic church banned their members from attending the university - a ban which was only lifted in 1970¹²⁵. By 1818 the "Complete School of Physic in Ireland, for the Instruction of Students in Medicine, Surgery, and Pharmacy" had been founded in connection with the university. It is described thus¹²⁶:

The several students in physic are matriculated in the University, for which they pay five shillings; but such students, unless they shall think proper, are not obliged to attend to the academical duties of the University. The several lecturers, when they have delivered one half of their courses, return to the senior lecturer of Trinity College a list of such pupils as shall have attended them during such part of their courses. There are six professorships. Those of Anatomy and Surgery, of Chemistry, and of Botany, are on the foundation of Trinity College, and are called the University professorships; those of the Institutes of Medicine, of the Practice of Medicine, and of Materia Medica and Pharmacy, are on Sir Patrick Dunn's foundation, and are named King's professorships. The students who do not graduate in Arts are permitted, at the end of three years from the date of their matriculation, to undergo an examination before the six professors of the school, in their respective departments, on producing to the Board of Trinity College certificates of diligent and regular attendance on Anatomy, Surgery, Chemistry, Botany, Institutes of Medicine, Practice of Medicine, Materia Medica and Pharmacy, the Clinical Lectures, and practice of Sir Patrick's Dunn's Hospital. They likewise write a Thesis in Latin.

The students who go through a collegiate course, on producing certificates of their strict attendance on the lectures of the professors in the School of Physic, on the Clinical Lectures, and the Hospital, are, three years after having graduated as Bachelor of Arts, admitted to an examination before the Regius Professor of Physic, and the Professors of Anatomy and Surgery, Chemistry, and Botany, in Trinity College. On being approved, and performing the usual academical exercises, they take the degree of Bachelor of Medicine. Upon sufficient standing, publishing a Thesis, passing a second examination before the University professors, and performing the necessary acts, the full degree of Doctor in Medicine is conferred. These rank with the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Medicine obtained in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

Only one cohort¹²⁴ man graduated from Dublin:

James Rawson of Lichfield M.D. c1800-1878**1831**

He qualified L.M. ("licensed man-midwife") at Dublin in 1825 and L.R.C.S.I. in 1831. The same year he graduated M.D. at Dublin Trinity.

D2.2.12 Queen's University of Ireland (1845)

¹²⁴ The terms Dublin University and Dublin Trinity College are practically synonymous and in this work Dublin University is preferred.

¹²⁵ *Alumni Dublinenses* (1935) lists students, graduates etc from 1593 to 1860.

¹²⁶ *The London Medical and Physical Journal* 40 (1818) p253-4

The Queen's University of Ireland was founded in 1845 particularly to encourage the higher education of roman catholics and presbyterians. The constituent colleges were at Belfast, Cork and Galway. None of the cohort¹²⁷ graduated from these institutions.

D2.3 Universities and medical graduates (European)

D2.3.1 Introduction; D2.3.2 Erlangen University (Germany) (1742); D2.3.3 Giessen University (Germany) (1607); D2.3.4 Halle University (Germany) (1694); D2.3.5 Heidelberg University (Germany) (1386); D2.3.6 Leyden University (Netherlands) (1575); D2.3.7 Louvain University (Belgium) (1425); D2.3.8 Padua University (Italy) (a1222); D2.3.9 Paris University (France) (1200); D2.3.10 Utrecht University (Netherlands) (1636)

D2.3.1 Introduction

There were in the period before 1851 at least 36 European universities offering medical courses. Below they are listed¹²⁷ with their modern country, the date medical courses commenced and their date of foundation (fdn).

Montpelier, France 1137 fdn1137; Bologna, Italy 1200 fdn1088; #Paris Sorbonne, France 1200 fdn1150; Siena, Italy 1245 fdn1240; Coimbra, Portugal 1290 fdn1290; Florence, Italy 1321 fdn1321; Perugia, Italy 1321 fdn1308; Pisa, Italy 1343 fdn1343; Prague, Czech Republic 1348 fdn1348; Krakow Jagiellonian, Poland 1364 fdn1364; Vienna, Austria 1365 fdn1365; #Heidelberg, Germany 1386 fdn1386; #Padua, Italy 1399 fdn1222; Leipzig, Germany 1409 fdn1409; Rostock, Germany 1419 fdn1419; Rome Sapienza, Italy 1431 fdn1303; Catania, Italy 1434 fdn1434; Turin, Italy 1436 fdn1404; Greifswald, Germany 1456 fdn1456; Freiburg, Germany 1457 fdn1457; Basel, Switzerland 1460 fdn1460; Tübingen, Germany 1477 fdn1477; Uppsala, Sweden 1477 fdn1477; Copenhagen, Denmark 1479 fdn1479; Genoa, Italy 1481 fdn1471; Madrid, Spain 1509 fdn1293; Pavia, Italy 1520 fdn1361; Zaragoza, Spain 1542 fdn1542; #Leyden, Netherlands 1578 fdn1575; Franeker, Netherlands 1585 fdn1585; Groningen, Netherlands 1614 fdn1614; #Utrecht, Netherlands 1636 fdn1636; #Halle, Germany 1694 fdn1694; #Giessen, Germany 1700 fdn1607; #Erlangen, Germany 1743 fdn1742; #Louvain, Belgium 1779 fdn1425

Twenty-four¹²⁸ of the cohort¹²⁸ graduated with medical degrees from nine of these universities (marked # above). As mentioned above the possession of a medical degree implied that a man was *qualified*. To practice *legally* he also needed to be licensed - (1) by graduating M.B. or M.D. from Oxford or Cambridge University (2) after 1511 by obtaining a bishop's licence to practise physic, or, (3) after 1540 by membership of the Royal College of Physicians (of London). Of the 24 graduates three appear never to have practised. Two had their degrees incorporated at Cambridge of whom one man also held a bishop's licence to practise. Others may have held bishop's licences but the relevant records have not been discovered and may have been lost. One man subsequently was admitted M.R.C.P., two Ext.L.R.C.P. and two L.R.C.P.E. All 24 men are listed in the table below with their subsequent "licences".

The graduates are shown in the chart beneath in order of university and graduation and further details are given in the lists below.

•European medical graduates							
Name		Place	Born	MD	Age	University	Licences etc
Edwin	Bishop	Wolverhampton	1817	1856	39	Erlangen	
William	Stuart	Stoke-upon-Trent	1812	1859	47	Erlangen	L.R.C.P.E., 1859
Halford Wotton	Hewitt	Lichfield	1805	1845	40	Giessen	L.R.C.P.E., 1859
John George	Brighton	Kinver	1816	1847	31	Giessen	? never practised
William	Gill	Wolverhampton	1805	1843	38	Halle	M.R.C.P., 1844; M.D., St Andrews, 1851
William Brodum	Dickinson	West Bromwich	1801	1835	34	Heidelberg	
John Thomas	Harland	Stafford	1812	1838	26	Heidelberg	Ext.L.R.C.P., 1838
George	Long	Newcastle	1628	1668	40	Leyden	
John	Tombes	Stafford	1663	1688	25	Leyden	
John	Warburton	Abbots Bromley	1667	1692	25	Leyden	
Robert	Key	Leek	1707	1736	29	Leyden	
William	Woodhouse	Lichfield	1710	1736	26	Leyden	Ext.L.R.C.P., 1742
Bryan	Higgins	Eccleshall	1738	1765	27	Leyden	
Henry	DeWint	Stone	1750	1777	27	Leyden	
Michael	Hutchinson	Wolverhampton	1762	1788	26	Leyden	
Parkinson	Oates	Alrewas	1818	1839	21	Leyden	
John	Underhill	Stafford	1753	1779	26	Louvain	
William	Clarvetto	Lichfield	1594	1619	25	Padua	inc. Cambridge; Bp.Lic., 1636
Anthony	Hewett	Lichfield	1600	1636	36	Padua	inc. Cambridge, 1637
William Moreton	Gilkes	Burton-upon-Trent	1676	1744	68	Padua	? never practised
George Walter	James	West Bromwich	1802	1847	45	Paris	
Samuel	Shaw	Tamworth	1666	1692	26	Utrecht	

¹²⁷ This list is for guidance only.

¹²⁸ This includes Bishop who claimed to be a graduate.

Joseph	Bridges	Burton-upon-Trent	1678	1697	19	Utrecht	? never practised
Arthur	Woolley	Barton-under-Needwood	1672	1703	31	Utrecht	

D2.3.2 Erlangen University (Germany) (1742)

Erlangen was founded in 1742 at Bayreuth by Frederick (Margrave of Brandenburg-Bayreuth) and moved to Erlangen in 1743. It was originally a protestant institution but over time became secular. There were originally four faculties: law, medicine, philosophy and protestant theology. In 1824 the first hospital was built. Bishop claimed to have graduated here in 1856 and if so was then aged 39. Stuart had previously qualified L.S.A. and M.R.C.S. and was aged 47 on his graduation in 1859.

Edwin Bishop of Wolverhampton apprentice 1817-1877

1856

Bishop was the son of a Worcestershire anglican gentleman. In 1841 he was an apprentice in the household of William Gill of Wolverhampton M.D. 1805-1854. He later claimed to have studied at the Hunterian School of Medicine and to have trained in Paris and at St Bartholomew's Hospital. He also claimed to have been awarded an M.D. at Erlangen in 1856. It is unclear whether he actually held any qualifications.

William Stuart of Stoke-upon-Trent M.D. 1812-1879

1859

Stuart was the son of a Kentish nonconformist administrator. He trained at Guy's Hospital before he qualified L.S.A. in 1834 and M.R.C.S. in 1836. ... In 1859 he both graduated M.D. from Erlangen and was admitted L.R.C.P.E.

D2.3.3 Giessen University (Germany) (1607)

Giessen was founded in 1607 in Hesse-Darmstadt. It was originally a Lutheran institution. In the 17C and 18C there were four faculties: law, medicine, philosophy and theology. Both two graduates of the cohort^x were anglican. Hewitt was first qualified L.S.A. and was aged 40 when he graduated in 1845. He was subsequently admitted L.R.C.P.E. Brighton first qualified M.R.C.S. and L.S.A., and was aged 31 on graduation in 1847. He ceased practice to become an anglican priest.

Halford Wotton Hewitt of Lichfield M.D. 1805-1893

1845

Hewitt was the son of a Lancashire anglican. After he qualified L.S.A. in 1826 he commenced practice at Lichfield ... He graduated M.D. from Giessen in 1845 and was admitted L.R.C.P.E. in 1859.

John George Brighton of Kinver M.D. 1816-1901

1847

Brighton was the son of a Worcestershire anglican. After he qualified M.R.C.S. in 1838 and L.S.A. in 1839 he commenced practice at Kinver. He graduated M.D. from Giessen in 1847 and is not known to have returned to Kinver. By 1849 he was an anglican theology student and was subsequently ordained deacon in 1851 and priest in 1852.

D2.3.4 Halle University (Germany) (1694)

Halle was founded in 1694 by Frederick (later King of Prussia) and on opening accommodated a Professor of Medicine. In 1843 Gill was the sole cohort^x graduate at the age of 38 having previously qualified M.R.C.S. and L.S.A. He was later elected M.R.C.P. and also further graduated M.D. from St Andrews.

William Gill of Wolverhampton M.D. 1805-1854

1843

Gill was the son of a Nottinghamshire independent nonconformist commission-agent. He qualified M.R.C.S. and L.S.A. in 1829. ... He probably left Wolverhampton before 1843 in which year he graduated M.D. from Halle. In 1844 he was elected M.R.C.P. ... he further graduated M.D. from St Andrews in 1851

D2.3.5 Heidelberg University (Germany) (1386)

Heidelberg was founded in 1386 by Rupert I on the instructions of Pope Urban VI as a roman catholic institution. As specified in the papal charter the university was modelled on Paris University and included four faculties: law, medicine, philosophy and theology. During the 16C it became a Calvinist institution. It was later taken over by the Jesuits. In 1803 the university was re-established as a state-owned institution by Karl Friedrich (Grand Duke of Baden). The two cohort^x medics who graduated here in 1835 and 1838 had both previously qualified L.S.A. and M.R.C.S. and were 34 and 26 years old.

William Brodum Dickinson of West Bromwich M.D. c1801-1866

1835

Dickinson was the son of a Londoner. After he qualified M.R.C.S. and L.S.A. in 1822 he practised in London until at least 1833 in which year he translated from the French, Rayer's *Treatise on diseases of the skin* ... On 8 Aug 1835 he graduated M.D. from Heidelberg. By 1841 he was practising at West Bromwich

John Thomas Harland of Stafford M.D. 1812-1881

1838

Harland was the son of a Derbyshire anglican surgeon. He studied at London University College and trained in Paris before he qualified L.S.A. in 1834 and M.R.C.S. in 1835. He graduated M.D. from Heidelberg on 30 Jul 1838 and on appointment as Physician to Staffordshire General Infirmary (at Stafford) later that year he did, as requested by the governors, further qualify Ext.L.R.C.P.

D2.3.6 Leyden University (Netherlands) (1575)

Leyden was founded in 1575 by William (Prince of Orange). The first medical student was admitted in 1578. He was an Englishman John James who was the second man to graduate M.D. from Leyden in 1582. The earliest medical teachers at Leyden, Peter Forest and Gerard de Bontius, had studied at Padua and following its example built a botanical garden and anatomical theatre at Leyden.

Nine of the cohort^x¹²⁹ graduated from Leyden between 1668 and 1839. Four were definitely born to anglican families and one was an Irish roman catholic. Many of the men had links to non-conformism. All wrote a medical thesis as part of their qualification. The earliest graduate was George Long who was about 40 when he graduated in

¹²⁹ Two books give details of Leyden medical students. Edward Peacock, F.S.A. *Index to English speaking students who have graduated at Leyden University MDCCCLXXXIII* (1883) and R.W. Innes-Smith, M.D. Edin. *English-speaking students of medicine at the University of Leyden* (1932)

1668 having earlier been a non-subscribing clergyman. The next seven men were all aged between 25 and 29 on graduation whilst the last man Parkinson Oates was only 21.

Four men were medical students at Leyden but graduated elsewhere: Samuel Shaw of Tamworth M.D. c1666-1730 (student, 1691) [M.D., Utrecht, 4 Jun 1692]; Samuel Stringer of Newcastle M.D. c1691-1759 (student, 1718) [M.D., -----, ?a1723]; John Turton of Wolverhampton M.B. c1703-1764 (student, 1726) [M.B., Com. Reg., Cambridge, 1728]; Edward Vernon of Abbots Bromley M.B. 1723-1780 (student, 1747 only) [M.B., Cambridge, 1747].

George Long of Newcastle M.D. c1628-1712

1668

Long was the son of a London anglican. He was admitted sizar at Trinity College, Cambridge on 2 Jun 1646 and was a Fellow until 1660. He was briefly Minister of Newcastle but did not subscribe to the Act of Uniformity and was thus ejected on 24 Aug 1662. He was admitted as a medical student at Leyden on 4 Jul 1668 and from there graduated M.D. on 12 Jul 1688 with the thesis "*De convulsione et motibus convulsivis*".

John Tombes of Stafford M.D. c1663-1721

1688

Tombes was the son of a Worcestershire gentleman. He matriculated from Christ Church, Oxford on 27 May 1680 but did not graduate. In 1683 he was a law student at Lincoln's Inn. He was admitted as a medical student at Leyden on 17 Apr 1685 and from there graduated M.D. on 29 May 1688 with the thesis "*De chlorosi sive foedis virginum coloribus*". Some time after graduation (say about 1700) Tombes moved to Stafford where he was living on 16 Jul 1721 when he made his will in which he established a charity supported by a charge on his estate at nearby Bridgeford (in Seighford). He was buried, aged about 58, on 21 Sep 1721 at Stafford St Mary. Tombes was the grandson of John Tombes (Vicar of Leominster, Herefs) 1602-1676 [OB] who was a nationally famous advocate and writer against infant baptism.

John Warburton of Abbots Bromley M.D. c1667-1717

1692

Warburton was the son of a Cheshire anglican gentleman. He was admitted as a medical student at Leyden on 8 Dec 1688 and re-admitted on 18 Oct 1691. From there he graduated M.D. on 5 May 1692 with the thesis "*De angina*". He was living at Coventry in 1700 when he married at Abbots Bromley a cousin from that village. Perhaps he moved there that year for the following year his wife was buried there. It was at Abbots Bromley that he was also buried, aged about 50, on 20 Sep 1717.

Robert Key of Leek M.D. ?1707-1761

1736

Key was probably the son of a Staffordshire anglican. He was admitted as a medical student at Leyden on 24 Sep 1734 and from there graduated M.D. with the thesis "*De haemoptysi*" on 3 Sep 1736. He likely commenced practice at Leek where he was still living in 1747. Later he may have moved to London ... William Key of Leek ?1704-....., probably Robert's brother, had converted to quaker by 1736 and Key himself may have converted about that year on his return from Leyden.

William Woodhouse of Lichfield M.D. 1710-1755

1736

Woodhouse was the son of a Nottinghamshire anglican physician. He matriculated from Merton College, Oxford on 14 May 1730. On 26 Sep 1735 he was admitted as a medical student at Leyden from where he graduated M.D. on 24 Sep 1736 with the thesis "*De fluore albo muliebri*". On 24 Dec 1742 he was elected Ext.L.R.C.P. He is said to have practised both at Leicester and at Lichfield where he died, aged 45, in Nov 1755.

Bryan Higgins of Eccleshall M.D. c1738-1818

1765

Higgins was the son of a co Sligo Irish roman catholic physician. He was admitted as a medical student at Leyden on 5 Oct 1765 and from there graduated M.D. on 12 Nov 1765 with the thesis "*Medicae inaugurales*". ... He retired to Walford in Eccleshall where in 1816 he committed some minor assaults being then described as "an eccentric old gentleman" and where he died, aged about 80, on 8 Nov 1818 with burial on 14 Nov at Standon.

Henry De Wint of Stone M.D. ?1750-1807

1777

De Wint was the son of an American of Dutch ancestry. He graduated M.A. at King's College, New York in 1771. On 14 Oct 1777 he was admitted as a medical student at Leyden and from there graduated M.D. on 6 Dec with the thesis "*De peripneumonia vera et notha*". By early 1779 he was practising at Cardiff, Glamorganshire but moved some time before 1783 to Hanley in Stoke-upon-Trent and soon after (say about 1790) to Stone where he practised for the rest of his life.

Michael Hutchinson of Wolverhampton M.D. c1762-1797

1788

Hutchinson was the son of a Yorkshire (? North Riding) man. He was apprenticed for 7 years at £105 to George Kennedy of Birmingham surgeon & apothecary about 28 Nov 1777. Possibly time served about 1784 he appears to have studied at Edinburgh before being admitted as a medical student at Leyden on 23 May 1788. From there he graduated M.D. on 7 Jun 1788 with the thesis "*De rheumatismo acuto*". He may have briefly practised at Birmingham but by 1791 was in practice at Wolverhampton where he died, aged about 35, on 22 Apr 1797 with burial on 25 Apr.

Parkinson Oates of Alrewas M.D. 1818-1885

1839

Oates was the son of a Yorkshire West Riding (?quaker) merchant. His birth was recorded by a local quaker meeting when his parents were said to be "not in membership" presumably indicating that they had been members previously. In 1821 he and three siblings (two older and one younger) were christened together as anglicans. Oates was admitted as a medical student at Leyden on 25 Sep 1839 and from there graduated M.D. on 8 Oct 1839 with the thesis "*De gastritide*". He commenced practice in London but about 1848 moved to Alrewas where he was living in 1851.

D2.3.7 Louvain University (Belgium) (1425)

Louvain was founded by a papal bull of 9 Dec 1425 and finally abolished in 1797. Throughout those years Latin was the sole language of instruction and all students were required to sign a declaration "Declarataio Fidei" of their roman catholic faith. Only one cohort^x medic graduated here about 1779.

John Underhill of Stafford M.B. c1753-1809

a1779

Underhill was of unknown (but likely roman catholic) parentage. He graduated M.B. from the roman catholic Louvain University before 1779 with the thesis "*De pleuritide*". In that year and until at least 1783 he was a Physician at Staffordshire General Infirmary (at Stafford). ... burial was at the roman catholic Wolverhampton St Peter & Paul on 9 Jan 1809.

D2.3.8 Padua University (Italy) (a1222)

Padua was founded in or before 1222 and by 1399 provided medical courses. From the 15C to 18C it was a centre for medical research and adopted the motto *Universa universis patavina libertas*¹³⁰. A botanical garden was established in 1545 and about 1595 an anatomical theatre was opened which allowed public observation of human medical dissections. There were three cohort^x graduates. Clarvetto (about 1619) was a native Italian. The other men were both anglicans. Hewett (1636) was a Cambridge man whilst Gilkes (1744) was a "mature student" having earlier practised as a surgeon & apothecary.

¹³⁰ This may be translated as *Paduan freedom is universal for everyone*.

William Clarvetto of Lichfield "M.D." c1594-1656**e1619**

Clarvetto was the son of an Italian. He claimed to have graduated M.A. (perhaps intending M.D.) from Padua (with possible incorporation at Cambridge) and to have practised surgery in Italy, France, Spain & Germany before arriving in England in 1619. In 1635 he was living at London, ... When he wrote his will, on 11 Nov 1656 (proved 23 Dec 1656) he styled himself "William Clarvetto of Lichfield doctor of physick" and at Lichfield he probably died, aged about 62.

Anthony Hewett of Lichfield M.D. c1600-p1680**1636**

Hewett is of unknown heritage. He matriculated at Christ's College, Cambridge in Jul 1617 and there graduated B.A. in 1621 and M.A. in 1624. On 7 Oct 1635 he was inscribed at Padua and from there graduated M.D. on 10 Apr 1636 with incorporation at Cambridge in 1637. He had settled in Lichfield by Mar 1641 and appears to have practised there until his death, aged about 80, probably in or shortly after 1680 when he wrote his will. ... In early life Hewett purchased a number of medical books in Padua and Paris which later formed part of that collection of books that Sir John Floyer of Lichfield Knight M.D. 1649-1734 donated to Queen's College, Oxford.

William Moreton Gilkes of Burton-upon-Trent M.D. e1676-a1746**1744**

Gilkes is of unknown parentage. His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. Probably time served about 1697 by 1707 he was living at Burton-upon-Trent where he probably practised as a surgeon & apothecary until about 1743 when he went to Padua and from there graduated M.D. in 1744. He may have been abroad when, before 1746, he died, probably aged about 70.

D2.3.9 Paris University (France) (1200)

Paris was founded in or after 1150 and formally recognised in 1200. The university had four faculties: law, medicine, philosophy and theology. The university was closed from 1793 to 1806. It was re-established on 1 May 1806 by Napoleon and by a decree of 17 Mar 1808 five distinct faculties were created: law, medicine, letters with humanities, sciences and theology. James was the only cohort^x medic who graduated from Paris. He had previously qualified M.R.C.S. and L.S.A. and was aged 45 on graduation in 1847.

George Walter James of West Bromwich M.D. 1802-1865**1847**

James was the son of a Warwickshire anglican land-agent ... He trained at St Bartholomew's Hospital before he qualified L.S.A. and M.R.C.S. in 1825. ... practised in Brittany before he graduated M.D. from Paris in 1847.

D2.3.10 Utrecht University (Netherlands) (1636)

Utrecht was founded on 26 Mar 1636 and on opening offered a medical course. Three of the cohort^x were graduates between 1692 and 1703 at the ages of 26, 19 and and 31 although there is some doubt as to the identification of Bridges the 19 year old.

Samuel Shaw of Tamworth M.D. c1666-1730**1692**

Shaw was the son of a Leicestershire anglican clergyman. He was admitted sizar at Emmanuel College, Cambridge on 16 May 1684 and admitted as a medical student at Leyden on 22 May 1691. However it was at Utrecht that he graduated M.D. with the thesis "*De ictero*" on 4 Jun 1692. He had settled at Tamworth by 1699 and was buried there, aged about 64, on 24 Apr 1730.

Joseph Bridges of Burton-upon-Trent M.D. ?1678-1698**1697**

Bridges was probably the son of a Staffordshire anglican apothecary. If so he was likely apprenticed to his father about 1692. He was inscribed at Utrecht in 1697 and graduated there the same year with the thesis "*De medicina promovenda*". Only nine months later he was buried, aged about 20, on 22 Feb 1697.8 at Burton-upon-Trent where he may briefly have practised. Francis Bridges (? his father) had an extensive book collection part of which may have belonged to Joseph who may have brought back some books from abroad. [The circumstance of Bridges graduating at the age of 19 seems quite remarkable and may cast some doubt on his correct identification.]

Arthur Woolley of Barton-under-Needwood M.D. e1672-1724**?1703**

Woolley was the son of a London silkman. He graduated M.D. from Utrecht probably in 1703. In 1724 when he wrote his will he was living at Barton-under-Needwood where he was buried, perhaps aged about 52, on 26 Dec 1724.

D2.4 Bishop's licences to practise physic

In 1511 *An act concerning physicians and surgeons* {3 Henry VIII c11} (§Q2.1511) was passed which, reserving the privileges of Oxford and Cambridge Universities, required that physicians and surgeons be examined and approved before practising. The examiner for Staffordshire was the Bishop of Lichfield¹³¹ or his vicar-general. Once a man had been examined and approved by the examiner he was to be issued with appropriate letters testimonial. These letters testimonial became known as a "bishop's licence" and men might be said to have been "licensed to practise physic and/or surgery in the diocese of xxxxx" or "in the province of Canterbury or York". Subsequently, in theory, all physicians and surgeons, not qualified by Oxford or Cambridge University, should have held a bishop's licence.

In Aug 1642 the civil war commenced and by 1644 the offices of archbishop, bishop and the whole apparatus of diocesan government were abolished by parliament. This prevented the issuing of bishop's licences until the restoration when they again became available.

How the whole system of bishop's licences worked in practice is uncertain. In the Lichfield diocese very few licences have survived.

Eight licences to practise physic issued to cohort^x men have been found. Four were for physic and surgery and four for physic alone. Five of the licences were issued from Canterbury, two from Lichfield and one from Worcester. Dud Dudley was licensed by Worcester in 1660 and Canterbury in 1679.

•Bishop's licences to practise physic					
Name	Place	Year	Type	Place	
Dud	Dudley	Tipton	1660	physic	Worcester
Nicholas	Woolley	Newborough	1675	physic & surgery	Canterbury
Dud	Dudley	Tipton	1679	physic	Canterbury
Roger	Fowke	Brewood	1681	physic	Canterbury

¹³¹ In fact Clent and Rowley Regis were in the diocese of Worcester.

John	Parker	Lichfield	1685	physic & surgery	Canterbury
Haken Alexander	Fridrick	nk	1690	physic	Lichfield
William	Grosvenor	Leek	1697	physic & surgery	Lichfield
John	Sare	Walsall	1697	physic & surgery	Canterbury

Fairly detailed records of the five Canterbury licences survive and are given below.

Nicholas Woolley of Newborough, Staffs licensed medic c1635-....

(3 Apr 1675) WOOLLEY (Nicholas), of Newborough, Staffs: Letters addressed to Gilbert Sheldon, archbishop of Canterbury, from Percivall Willoughby ('Willughby'), physician 'I did know one Mr Wooley dwelling at Newburrow, he did there a cure speedely beyond my expectation, & much practise he had there (I never heard but that he performed what he undertooke both in phisick & chirurgery, but being tied to attend constantly the Lady Egerton, I could not goe with him to visit his pacients, yet I believe that he did them good'..., dated Derby, 3 April 1675, endorsed for Mr. John Tompson secretary to the bishop of Canterbury at Lambeth, annotated with fiat of Kenelme Digby, surrogate, 13 May 1675. Letter from neighbours at Littleover supporting his request for a license, advising the archbishop that he is 'a very good phisition and chirurgion and doth much good in his country and hath very good fortune in his undertakeings and hath done very great cures to many weake people', 12 April 1675, with postscript: 'What good your Grace doth for this man doth good for the poor people of the country'; Licensed to practise medicine and surgery in the dioceses of Coventry and Lichfield and Lincoln, 13 May 1675 [Lambeth Palace Library VX 1A/10/85/1-2; VG 1/1, f.273v; Sheldon, f.256]

1675

Dud Dudley ALIAS Tomlinson of Tipton physician c1599-1684

(30 Jun 1679) Letters testimonial - 'being fully & sufficiently inform'd by Elias Ashmole, esq., and Dr. in physick that Dud Dudley is a person very well seen in philosophy and physick, and has for neer twenty years last passt by licence of the bishop of Worcester exercis'd himself in the practise of it with great success; and the sayd Dud Dudley desiring a farther testimoniall and approbation of his ability and fitness to enlarge his power to practice in the sayd faculty under the hands of some phisitions here in London, wee out of a certain assurance of the truth and reality of what a gent. of so great worth and knowledge as the sayd Dr. Ashmole is, has inform'd us concerning the aforesayd Dud Duley, have willingly subscrib'd this testimonial that we beleive him to be a person very well qualify'd to receive all due encouragement in order to enlarge his power of practising in the sayd profession of physick', signed by Edward Warner, royal physician, Thomas Allen, royal physician, Fellow of the College of Physicians, and W [William] Croune, Doctor of Medicine, Fellow of the College of Physicians; 30 Nov. 1678; commission, 3 June 1679, executed and returned, with subscription, by Thomas Janns, vicar of Sedgeley [Sedgley], Staffs., 30 June 1679 ... licence dated 30 Jul 1679 [Lambeth Palace Library VX 1A/10/126/1-3]

1679

Roger Fowke of Brewood physician 1645-?1697

(?1681) FOUK (FOUKE) (Roger), esq., of Gunstone Hall, Brewood, Staffs ... Commission, 20 Jan. 1680, executed and returned, with subscription, by Mathew Drakeford, 16 Feb. 1680. Letters testimonial signed by William Tonkes, vicar of Brewood, Staffs., Matthew Drakeford, curate of St. Chad and schoolmaster of Brewood free school, John Biddle, curate of Codsall, Staffs., various parishioners (male and female), J. Benthornburgh, Doctor of Medicine [Benjamin Thornborough of Seighford M.D. c1627-1690] and James [Gope], apothecary, 9 Feb. 1680 [Lambeth Palace Library VX 1A/10/148/1-3]

?1681

John Parker of Lichfield apothecary 1655-1711

(20 Dec 1684) PARKER (John), of St. Mary, Lichfield, Staffs: Commission, 20 Dec. 1684, executed and returned, with subscription, by Samuel Nichols, minister of Weeford, Staffs., 2 Jan. 1684.5; Letters testimonial signed by the Rev. Samuel Nichols, and the churchwardens of St. Mary, Lichfield, 2 Jan 1684.5; letters testimonial signed by Anthony Bruser, royal physician, and John Harberough, M.D., of London, 20 Jan. 1685; Licensed to practise medicine and surgery in the dioceses of Coventry and Lichfield, Hereford, Lincoln, Oxford and Worcester, 6 Feb 1684.5 [Lambeth Palace Library VX 1A/10/222/1-4]

1685

John Sare of Walsall physician c1667-....

(9 Nov 1697) SARE (John), of Walsall, Staffs: Letters testimonial signed by William Salmon, Doctor of Medicine, William Williams, Doctor of Medicine, John Sare, licensed medic and surgeon, and Peter Bluzee, [medical licentiate]. 9 Nov. 1697, annotated with fiat of John Cooke, surrogate, 10 Nov 1697; Licensed to practise medicine and surgery in the province of Canterbury, 10 Nov 1697 [Lambeth Palace Library VX 1A/10/301; VG 1/6 f145; Tenison 1 f113]

1697

D2.5 Physicians' colleges¹³²

D2.5.1 Introduction; D2.5.2 Royal College of Physicians of London (1518); D2.5.3 Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh (1681); D2.5.4 King and Queen's College of Physicians of Ireland (1692); D2.5.5 Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons in Glasgow (c1700)

D2.5.1 Introduction

Four bodies regulated British physicians - from London, Dublin, Edinburgh and Glasgow - the Royal College of Physicians of London (1518), the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh (1681), the King and Queen's College of Physicians of Ireland (1692) and the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons in Glasgow (c1700). Each body's main jurisdiction was confined to a specific area. In the case of London and Dublin this was up to seven miles from the centre. However each body had influence over the whole of their respective countries. Qualifications issued by all these bodies were recognised under *The medical act* (1858). These colleges often maintained that only men licensed by them could properly be called "physician" but this was contested by the universities who themselves maintained that only the holder of a medical degree could properly be styled "Doctor of Medicine" or even "Doctor".

D2.5.2 Royal College of Physicians of London (1518)

On 23 Sep 1518 the College of Physicians¹³³ of London was founded by a royal charter issued by Henry VIII (§Q2.1518). The charter limited the College to control over the practice of physicians in London and seven miles around. Some account of its history is given in §Q3.2.2.

Men might become *Collegers* by being admitted as a Candidate (C.R.C.P.), an Extra Licentiate (Ext.L.R.C.P.), a Licentiate (L.R.C.P.) or a Member (M.R.C.P.). A further accolade would be to be elected a Fellow (F.R.C.P.). It would appear that a Candidate was a junior form of Licentiate. An Extra Licentiate was licensed to practise outside

¹³² This whole subject is treated in greater detail in §Q3.2

¹³³ From the mid 17C the College has often been styled the Royal College of Physicians. A usage which was confirmed by The Royal College of Physicians of London Act (1960).

London whereas a (full) Licentiate was licensed to practise anywhere in the kingdom. Members apparently had a superior rank to Licentiates but lower than that of Fellows¹³⁴.

Between 1677 and 1872 only 25 of the cohort^x became Collegers and of these the great majority were only so associated after 1800. This suggests the College had little influence in Staffordshire prior to the 19C.

Phineas Fowke of Norton-under-Cannock M.D. 1639-1711, a Cambridge graduate, was the only cohort^x medic admitted C.R.C.P. and the only elected Fellow before 1869. The other four Fellows were elected between 1869 and 1872. Six men were admitted M.R.C.P. between 1844 and 1859. Of these Allan Webb 1808-1863 was the only non-graduate. Ten men were admitted L.R.C.P. between 1731 and 1859 and eleven men Ext.L.R.C.P. between 1728 and 1848. Robert James 1703-1776 who was successively Ext.L.R.C.P. and later L.R.C.P. is included in both these counts. Charles Ignatius Mason c1828-1876 was the only non-graduate in these last two categories.

When John Thomas Harland 1812-1881 (M.D., Heidelberg) was offered the post of physician at Staffordshire General Infirmary in 1838 it was thought advisable that he should obtain a licence from the Royal College of Physicians which he did.

(20 Oct 1838) STAFFORDSHIRE GENERAL INFIRMARY General Quarterly Board ... Dr Harland ... physician ... [his diploma was] a foreign one ... should obtain a license from the College of Physicians ... [STS:ADV]

•Royal College of Physicians - Collegers											
Given name	Surname	Main residence	Born	MD	Uni	CRCP	EXT. LRCP	LRCP	MRCP	FRCP	Notes
Phineas	Fowke	Norton-u-Cannock	1639	1668	Cambridge	1677				1680	
Jonathan	Brooke	Stafford	1690	1733	St Andrews			1731			
Robert	James	Lichfield	1703	1728	Cambridge		1728	1765			
William	Woodhouse	Lichfield	1710	1736	Leyden		1742				
Henry	Somerville	Stafford	1766	1820	St Andrews		1823				
Thomas	Bree	Stafford	1768	1792	Glasgow			1807			
Francis Hickin	Northen	Newcastle	1771	1793	Edinburgh			1811			
John	Robinson	Stoke-upon-Trent	1777	1800	Edinburgh		1807				
George	Dent	Stafford	1781	1802	Edinburgh			1810			
James Proud	Johnson	Stafford	1784	1805	St Andrews		1814				FRCPE
Alexander Giles	Kennedy	Stafford	1798	1825	Aber Maris		1829				LRCSE
Charles	Holland	Penkridge	1801	1824	Edinburgh			1828			
William	Gill	Wolverhampton	1805	1843	Halle				1844		
Allan	Webb	Tamworth	1808						1861		
Henry	Day	Stowe	1810	1858	St Andrews		1856		1860	1869	
John Thomas	Harland	Stafford	1812	1838	Heidelberg		1838				FRCPE
Augustus Fred.	Gooday	Newcastle	1815	1843	London		1843				
Charles	Somerville	Bloxwich	1815	1860	Aber Kings		1853				
Robert Lyons	Campbell	Trysull	1817	1862	St Andrews			1862			
James Muter	Turnbull	Wolverhampton	1818	1839	Edinburgh				1859	1873	
Edward	Lloyd	Tamworth	1820	1844	St Andrews			1846			
John	Topham	Wolverhampton	1821	1846	London		1848		1861	1880	MB Lond 1843
Thomas Pretious	Heslop	West Bromwich	1823	1848	Edinburgh				1859	1872	
Charles Ignatius	Mason	Stone	1828					1861			
John Maule	Sutton	Stone	1829	1853	St Andrews			1859			FRCPE
Totals		25				1	11	10	6	5	

D2.5.3 Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh (1681)

The Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh¹³⁵ was formed by a royal charter granted in 1681. The *Universities (Scotland) act 1858* resulted in several items from the College's charter becoming obsolete and they obtained a further charter on 31 October 1861.

From its foundation men might be admitted as a Licentiate (L.R.C.P.E.) or elected a Fellow (F.R.C.P.E.). On 20 Apr 1859 the College approved new "Regulations for the conferring of the License"¹³⁶. Younger men were to undergo an examination whilst on a temporary basis "exemption from examination applied only to practitioners of mature age". Subsequently some Licentiates are specifically said to have been admitted *by examination* and others may have been. After the 1861 charter most Fellows were first admitted as a Member (M.R.C.P.E.).¹³⁷

Twenty four of the cohort^x were "Collegers" between 1810 and 1873. None were born in Scotland. In fact all were born in England bar one - Thomas Webb who was Irish. Of the 24 only three were admitted before 1858. Johson was a Fellow in 1810 (aged 26), Moseley a Licentiate in 1833 (aged 24) and Head a Fellow in 1845 (aged 46). In 1858 Sutton was elected a Fellow (aged 29). In 1859 seven men were admitted Licentiates and another nine men in 1860 to be followed by four others in 1863, 1864, 1865 and 1873. The age range of these last 20 men varied between 30 and 61. Of the later licentiates only John Steward went on to become a Member and Fellow.

•Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh - Collegers

¹³⁴ Database [SDH4] c57-61

¹³⁵ See *Historical sketch and laws of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh from its institution to 1925* (1925) [RCPE] [NOTE: On pages 1-28 are lists of Fellows and some other office holders] and W.S. Craig *History of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh* (1976)

¹³⁶ Craig (1976) p448-9

¹³⁷ Database [SDH4] c62-4

Given name	Surname	Main residence	Born	LRCPE	Exam	Age	MRCPE	Age	FRCPE	Age	Notes
James Proud	Johnson	Stafford	1784						1810	26	<i>M.D., St Andrews, 1805</i>
John Warburton	Moseley	Norton-in-t-Moors	1809	1833		24					<i>M.D., Edinburgh, 1833</i>
Thomas	Head	Stoke-upon-Trent	1799						1845	46	<i>M.D., St Andrews, 1845</i>
John Maule	Sutton	Sutton	1829						1858	29	<i>M.D., St Andrews, 1853</i>
John	Hayes	Stone	1823	1859	Exam	36					
Halford Wotton	Hewitt	Lichfield	1805	1859	x	54					<i>M.D., Giessen, 1845</i>
John	Steward	Wolverhampton	1796	1859	Exam	63	1865	69	1868	72	
William	Stuart	Stoke-upon-Trent	1812	1859	x	47					<i>M.D., Erlangen, 1859</i>
Thomas	Underhill	Tipton	1824	1859	Exam	35					
Thomas John	Warburton	Betley	1825	1859	x	34					
Thomas	Webb	BartonNeedwood	1800	1859	Exam	59					
Henry	Collins	Wolverhampton	1828	1860	x	32					
Joseph	Froysell	Willenhall	1806	1860	Exam	54					
Frederick	Hawthorn	Uttoxeter	1812	1860	Exam	48					
Charles	Heaton	Leek	1816	1860	Exam	44					
John Theophilus	Heeley	Stone	1830	1860	x	30					
William	Hopkins	Handsworth	1828	1860	Exam	32					
Richard	King	Newcastle	1822	1860	Exam	38					
Charles	Oakley	Willenhall	1817	1860	Exam	43					
George Nicholson	Smith	Wolverhampton	1813	1860	Exam	47					
George	Swift	Eccleshall	1802	1863	x	61					
John	Fenton	Stoke-upon-Trent	1817	1864	x	47					
Frederick	Bradley	Tipton	1831	1865	x	34					
William Henry	Pope	Wolverhampton	1821	1873	Exam	52					
Totals			24	21			1		4		

D2.5.4 King and Queen's College of Physicians of Ireland (1692)

In 1654 John Stearne, a professor and registrar of Trinity College, Dublin, founded the Fraternity of Physicians of Trinity Hall in a building of that name given by Trinity College. Charles II issued a royal charter in 1667 and William and Mary issued another charter in 1692 as a result of which it became known as the King and Queen's College of Physicians of Ireland¹³⁸. The College was given the right of granting licences to practice within a radius of seven miles of the city of Dublin. Only one cohort^x medic was admitted as licentiate (L.K&Q.C.P.I.) by examination. This was Thomas Crean in 1859 (aged 32).¹³⁹

D2.5.5 Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons in Glasgow (c1700)

In 1599 the *Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons in Glasgow* (§Q4.5) was founded by a royal charter of 1599 but was only styled thus by the end of the 17C. In 1909 the name was prefixed "Royal" and in 1962 became the *Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow*. It is said that the Faculty offered a licence for *surgeons* from 1785¹⁴⁰ "which served as a basic medical qualification". Five cohort^x men qualified L.F.P.S.G. between 1845 and 1864¹⁴¹. The two Scottish (S) men, aged 26 and 34, appear to have had no previous qualifications whilst the three English (E) men, two aged 33 and one 39, were previously qualified. Ballenden later graduated M.D. from St Andrews whilst Smith and Bradley later qualified L.R.C.P.E. (and see D.3.4.1)

•Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons in Glasgow - Licentiates								
Name		Place	Born	Nat.	Year	Age	Earlier	Later
Charles Harwood	Greene	Brewood	1812	E	1845	33	LSA 1835	
John McNab	Ballenden	Sedgley	1813	S	1847	34		MD St Andrews 1850 etc
James Burn	Malcolm	Wolstanton	1826	S	1852	26		
George Nicholson	Smith	Wolverhampton	1813	E	1852	39	LSA 1836	LRCPE 1860
Frederick	Bradley	Tipton	1831	E	1864	33	MRCS 1858	LRCPE 1865

D2.6 Cohort physicians to 1700

D2.6.1 Introduction; D2.6.2 1549-1660; D2.6.3 1660-1700

D2.6.1 Introduction

All the cohort^x men practising before 1548 - including nine physicians and leeches - are discussed in §C2. Seven county physicians have been found from 1549 to 1660 (§D2.6.2) and another 15 from 1660 to 1700 (§D2.6.3).

D2.6.2 1549-1660

The names of only seven men who might have been physicians practising in Staffordshire before the Restoration of 1660 have been discovered. they are found in practice at Stafford (2, from perhaps 1635), at Lichfield (3, from 1641), at Newcastle (1, from perhaps 1648), and at Seighford (near Stafford) (1, from perhaps 1657).

¹³⁸ In 1890 Victoria issued a further royal charter after which it became known as the Royal College of Physicians of Ireland

¹³⁹ Database [SDH4] c65

¹⁴⁰ Apparently a double qualification in medicine and surgery, established with the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, was instituted in 1859 and was replaced by a triple qualification in 1884.

¹⁴¹ Database [SDH4] c69

Stafford (?1635)**Matthew Worswick of Stafford "physician" ?1606-1658****?1635-1658**

Worswick was probably the son of a Staffordshire anglican gentleman. In 1644 whilst living at Stafford he was attending a patient at Shrewsbury but in what capacity is not stated. If they are correctly identified his father was an Oxford graduate and his paternal grandfather a Stafford schoolmaster. It is then possible that Worswick practised as a physician at Stafford from about 1635. He was buried, aged about 52, on 30 Jul 1658 at Stafford St Mary. He was a Stafford alderman.

----- Bedle of Stafford M.D. c1613-....**?1643-....**

Bedle is of unknown parentage. He may have graduated M.D. from an undiscovered university about 1643. He practised at Stafford and may have been living there in 1663.

Lichfield (1641)**Anthony Hewett of Lichfield M.D. c1600-p1680****1641-p1680**

Hewett is of unknown heritage. He matriculated at Christ's College, Cambridge in Jul 1617 and there graduated B.A. in 1621 and M.A. in 1624. On 7 Oct 1635 he was inscribed at Padua and from there graduated M.D. on 10 Apr 1636 with incorporation at Cambridge in 1637. He had settled in Lichfield by Mar 1641 and appears to have practised there until his death, aged about 80, probably in or shortly after 1680 when he wrote his will. In 1649 his house in Bacon Street was burnt down. By 1665 he was living in a house with 16 hearths in the Cathedral Close. In early life Hewett purchased a number of medical books in Padua and Paris which later formed part of that collection of books that Sir John Floyer of Lichfield Knight M.D. 1649-1734 donated to Queen's College, Oxford.

----- Whittaker of Lichfield "M.D." c1613-....**?1643-....**

Whittaker is of unknown parentage. He may have graduated M.D. prior to 1643 and may have been physician to the Royalist army at the Siege of Lichfield. In 1645 styled "Doctor Whittaker" he did receive a payment of £1/5/0 for one week's pay.

William Clarvetto of Lichfield "M.D." c1594-1656**....-1656**

Clarvetto was the son of an Italian. He claimed to have graduated M.A. (perhaps intending M.D.) from Padua (with possible incorporation at Cambridge) and to have practised surgery in Italy, France, Spain & Germany before arriving in England in 1619. In 1635 he was living at London, in 1636 at Westminster, when he was licensed to practise surgery in the province of Canterbury, and in 1637 perhaps in Dorchester, Dorset. When he wrote his will, on 11 Nov 1656 (proved 23 Dec 1656) he styled himself "William Clarvetto of Lichfield doctor of physick" and at Lichfield he probably died, aged about 62.

Newcastle (?1648)**Robert Croxton of Newcastle physician ?1619-1675****?1648-1675**

No record of his training or study is discovered. He may have commenced practice at Newcastle by 1648 and as Town Clerk of Newcastle he took the oath of allegiance to Charles I on 1 Oct 1664. At Newcastle he was buried, aged about 56, on 7 Dec 1675. On his death the nonconformist William Westmacott physician c1650-1721 was invited to replace him in practice at Newcastle and did so until his death. However in 1677 Croxton's eldest daughter Ann married, as her 2nd husband, the anglican John Cumberlege M.B. 1652-1720 who thereafter also practised at Newcastle until his death (a year before Westmacott). Croxton's second daughter Letitia (probably named after her paternal grandmother) and other members of the family emigrated to the West Indies and settled on Barbados.

Seighford (?1657)**Benjamin Thornborough of Seighford M.D. c1627-1690****?1657-....**

Thornborough was the son of a Yorkshire West Riding man. He may have graduated M.D. from an undiscovered university about 1657. By 1663 he was in practice at Seighford where he was buried, aged about 63, on 19 Feb 1689.90.

D2.6.3 1660-1700

At the Restoration bishop's licences were again awarded having been abolished by the Parliamentarians. From the Restoration (1660) to the end of the century (1700) fifteen more physicians have been discovered practising in Staffordshire. They are found in practice at three of the places mentioned above - Stafford (2), Lichfield (1), Newcastle (2) - and also at Tipton (1, ?1660), Brewood (1, ?1670), Lichfield diocese (1, 1690), Tamworth (2, 1694), Leek (1, 1697), Walsall (1, 1697), Burton-upon-Trent (1, 1698), Rushall (1, 1699), and Norton-under-Cannock (1, 1700).

Stafford (?1635)**----- Fyge of Stafford physician c1602-?1673****1673**

Old "Dr Fyge" was succeeded in practice at Stafford about 1673 but it is unclear whether he had retired or died.

William Westmacott physician c1650-1721**1673**

Westmacott was the son of a Worcestershire presbyterian clergyman and probably remained in that church all his life. He wrote an autobiographical account of his life to 1701 which survives in manuscript. From birth he was in the care of Welsh speaking relatives but was likely living at Crophorne, Worcs about 1662 when his father was ejected as Minister there. The family moved within the county to Pershore and then to Defford (where a brother later held a small estate). Probably in 1668 he served about six months of an apprenticeship to an apothecary and chirurgeon at Bromsgrove, Worcs but then received training and studied all branches of medicine at Stratford-upon-Avon, Warwicks; Loughborough, Leics; Fairford, Glos; Faringdon, Berks; Bristol, Glos and finally Bath, Soms. In 1671 Westmacott probably came of age. The next year he moved to Shrewsbury and the following year to Stafford "ther to succeed old Dr Fyge [----- Fyge of Stafford physician c1602-?1673] in practice of physicke being solicited thereunto by Mr Thomas Giles the apothecary [Thomas Gyles of Stafford apothecary c1642-1688 (also a nonconformist)] & came thither in September 1673". His final move was in 1676 when he went to Newcastle where Robert Croxton ?1619-1675 had just died...Westmacott continued in practice at Newcastle and was buried there, aged about 71, on 29 Jan 1720.1.

Lichfield (1641)**Sir John Floyer of Lichfield Knight M.D. 1649-1734****1680-1734**

Floyer was the son of a Staffordshire anglican gentleman. Aged 15 he matriculated from Queens College, Oxford on 10 Jun 1664 and from there graduated B.A. in 1668, M.A. in 1671, M.B. in 1674 (M.D., 1680). After 1680 he probably practised all his working life at Lichfield. On 24 Jan 1684.5 he was knighted at Whitehall apparently for local political service. Floyer died, aged 85, on 31 Jan 1733.4 with burial on 1 Feb at Lichfield cathedral. Floyer suffered from asthma and this drove his interest in drinking from and bathing in natural springs. In 1700 he paid for the erection of a bath house, for men and women, at Abnalls in Burntwood. A practical man he assisted in the development of the first "pulse-watch". Floyer acquired a number of medical books including some which Anthony Hewett of Lichfield M.D. c1600-p1680 had purchased in Padua and Paris. He was a prolific writer on both medical and theological subjects. In later life he donated many of his books and also manuscripts of his own works to his *alma mater* Queen's College, Oxford. In 1712, aged 63, he is said to have recommended that the infant Samuel Johnson 1709-1784 [OB], aged 2, be taken to London to be touched for the scrofula by Queen Anne.

Newcastle (?1648)**George Long of Newcastle M.D. c1628-1712****1680s**

Long was the son of a London anglican. He was admitted sizar at Trinity College, Cambridge on 2 Jun 1646 and was a Fellow until 1660. He was briefly Minister of Newcastle but did not subscribe to the Act of Uniformity and was thus ejected on 24 Aug 1662. He was admitted as a medical student at Leyden on 4 Jul 1668 and from there graduated M.D. on 12 Jul 1688 with the thesis "*De convulsione et motibus convulsivis*". For the rest of his life he appears to have practised as a physician and served as a presbyterian clergyman at Birmingham, in Ireland and at Leicester, Newcastle (possibly in the 1680s) and latterly at Bristol, Glos where he died, aged about 84, on 26 Dec 1712.

John Cumberlege of Newcastle M.B. 1652-1720

1677-1720

Cumberlege was admitted sizar at Sidney College, Cambridge on 10 Apr 1669 and from there graduated M.B. (*by courtesy* M.D.) in 1673. In 1677 he probably commenced practice at Newcastle where that year he had married (as her 2nd husband) Ann Croxton the eldest daughter of Robert Croxton of Newcastle physician ?1619-1675. His wife's first husband was William Tatton of Newcastle gentleman-1675. In his inventory Tatton is said to have had debts due of more than £2,000 and Cumberlege doubtlessly benefited from this circumstance. By 1680 he was claiming to hold a coat of arms "Barry of six ermine and sable on a canton or a fleur-de-lis gules" and on his death his inventory lists "Sixteene Scutchions and Coats of Armes [valued at] £1/10/0". At Newcastle Cumberlege was buried, aged 68, on 27 Oct 1720. In his inventory, which included the sum of £10 for his books, his personalty was valued at £43/19/0. This was one of the lowest (cohort) valuations. In his administration Cumberlege is styled "Doctor of Physick", in his inventory "Phisitian" and in his burial record "Doctr."

Tipton (?1660)

Dud Dudley ALIAS Tomlinson of Tipton physician c1599-1684 [OB]

?1660-?1679

Dudley was the illegitimate son of a Worcestershire anglican nobleman. He claimed to have attended Balliol College, Oxford before, in 1619, returning to Worcestershire to manage some ironworks that belonged to his father. Here over many years he experimented in the manufacture of iron using pit coal. In 1665 he published *Dud Dudley's Metallum martis* which gives some account of those years. A royalist during the civil war he was promoted Colonel after the fall of Lichfield and General of Ordnance to Prince Maurice. In 1648 he was imprisoned in London but escaped the day before he was due to be shot. For the next two years he lived at Bristol under the name "Dr Hunt". At the Restoration he returned to the Midlands and, perhaps in 1660, was licensed to practise physic in the diocese of Worcester. By 1663 at the time of the heraldic visitation of Staffordshire he was living at Tipton in which district his possession of much property had previously been the subject of legal action in Chancery. His house there in 1666 was assessed on 4 hearths. He may have lived at Tipton, or nearby, at least until 1679 when the Vicar of the neighbouring parish of Sedgley supported his succesful application to be licensed to practise physic in the province of Canterbury (apparently in order to work in London). However Dudley died, aged about 85, in 1684 at Worcester with burial on 25 Oct 1684 at St Helen where his wife had been buried in 1675. [It is said that as an old man Dudley remarried and had a son].

Brewood (?1670)

Roger Fowke of Brewood physician 1645-?1697

?1670-1680

In 1670 he inherited from his father an estate at Gunstone in Brewood. From about that year he may have been in practice in the area and in 1680 was living at Gunstone Hall when he was licensed to practise physic in the province of Canterbury. Gunstone was probably sold shortly thereafter. From his mother's family he appears to have inherited property in Stepney, London and it is here that, later, he probably practised and was buried, aged 52, on 28 Nov 1697.

Lichfield diocese (1690)

Haken Alexander Fridrick physician c1660-....

1690-....

Haken is of unknown parentage. He was licensed to practise physic in the diocese of Lichfield about Mar 1690.

Tamworth (1694)

Joshua Gerard of Tamworth M.B. c1670-1698

1694-1698

Gerard was the son of a Cheshire anglican. He was educated at Tarvin, Cheshire and in 1688, aged 18, admitted pensioner at Christ's College, Cambridge from where he graduated M.B. in 1693. By 1694 he was in practice at Tamworth where he was buried, aged 28, on 19 Apr 1698. His son John was later apprenticed to a London citizen and barber surgeon.

Samuel Shaw of Tamworth M.D. c1666-1730

1699-1730

Shaw was the son of a Leicestershire anglican clergyman. He was admitted sizar at Emmanuel College, Cambridge on 16 May 1684 and admitted as a medical student at Leyden on 22 May 1691. However it was at Utrecht that he graduated M.D. on 4 Jun 1692. He had settled at Tamworth by 1699 and was buried there, aged about 64, on 24 Apr 1730. He was Master of Tamworth Grammar School from 1708 until his death and published three books regarding the instruction of children in Latin.

Leek (1697)

William Grosvenor of Leek physician c1668-1747

1697-1747

Grosvenor is of unknown parentage. In 1697 he was licensed to practise physic and surgery in the diocese of Lichfield with a certificate of fitness signed by the vicar of Leek. He was also sometimes styled mercer, grocer and gentleman. He probably practised all his working life at Leek where he was buried, aged about 79, on 17 Mar 1746.7. Grosvenor was later styled M.D. but no record has been found of his graduation.

Walsall (1697)

John Sare of Walsall physician c1667-....

1697-....

Sare is of unknown parentage. Then of Walsall he was licensed to practise physic and surgery in the province of Canterbury on 10 Nov 1697.

Burton-upon-Trent (1698)

Joseph Bridges of Burton-upon-Trent M.D. ?1678-1698

1698

Bridges was probably the son of a Staffordshire anglican apothecary. If so he was likely apprenticed to his father about 1692. He was inscribed at Utrecht in 1697 and graduated there the same year with the thesis "*De medicina promovenda*". Only nine months later he was buried, aged about 20, on 22 Feb 1697.8 at Burton-upon-Trent where he may briefly have practised. Francis Bridges (? his father) had an extensive book collection part of which may have belonged to Joseph who may have brought back some books from abroad.

Rushall (1699)

Henry Leigh of Rushall M.B. 1678-1708

?1699-1708

Leigh was the son of a Staffordshire anglican gentleman. He was educated at Lichfield under Mr Shaw and at Sutton Coldfield under Mr Saunders. On 16 Jun 1692 he was admitted pensioner at Caius College, Cambridge where he was a scholar from 1692 to 1697, matriculated in 1693 and graduated M.B. in 1697. He was a College Fellow from 1697 to 1699. Subsequently he may have practised at Rushall where he was buried, aged 30, on 6 Jun 1708.

Norton-under-Cannock (?1700)

Phineas Fowke of Norton-under-Cannock M.D. 1639-1711

?1700-1711

Fowke was the son of a Yorkshire anglican gentleman (who was born in Brewood). He was admitted at Queens' College, Cambridge on 21 Apr 1654 and matriculated pensioner in Easter 1655. From there he graduated B.A. in 1658, M.A. in 1661 and M.D. in 1668. On 23 Jan 1676.7 Fowke was admitted C.R.C.P. and on 12 Nov 1680 was elected F.R.C.P. Until 1684 Fowke was a Fellow of Queens' College but that year married and moved to Shrewsbury (where he was admitted as a capital burgess). In 1691 he inherited estates in Staffordshire and some time after (say about 1700) retired to Little Wyrley in Norton-under-Cannock where he died, aged 72, on 21 Jan 1710.1 with burial on 26 Jan at Brewood.

D2.7 Unqualified physicians

Very few unqualified medics have been discovered. Five cases of unqualified practice as a surgeon are given in §D3.5 and seven cases of unlicensed apothecaries in §D4.12. Only one man has been discovered practising as an unqualified physician.

William Newham of Newcastle "physician" ?1743-c1805 was the son of a Derbyshire anglican gentleman. He described himself professionally as "natural-bred" and although unqualified he was by 1771 living and practising as a physician at Nottingham whilst his elder son was apparently managing another practice at Derby. By 1797 he had moved to Newcastle where probably early that year he was accused of malpractice and was "arraigned before the Mayor and several of the apothecaries", imprisoned at Stafford but then released without charge. About Apr 1797 he was again arraigned before the Mayor and charged by Richard Rivers of Newcastle surgeon & apothecary c1751-1802 with being the instrumental cause of the death of a child. This case was not proceeded with. In 1800 his elder brother John Newham of Whittington, Derbys 1721-1800 died and then, when he succeeded to a small estate, he may have retired. He likely died, aged about 62, about 1805. A full account of his trials is given in §F13.1797.

D3 Surgeons

D3.1 Introduction; D3.2 Bishop's licences to practise surgery; D3.3 Surgeon's colleges

D3.1 Introduction

In mediaeval Latin the words *chirurgus* and *sirurgus* were used for chirurgion and surgeon. Chirurgion, in the form *cirurgian*, and surgeon are both found in use by the early 14C. By the end of the 18C the use of the word chirurgion was archaic. At all periods the two titles appear synonymous and might refer to a medic who practised surgery and also supplied medical advice.¹⁴²

It is said that surgery was largely undertaken by the clergy until the Council of Tours in 1263 when an edict was passed by Pope Alexander III forbidding this practice¹⁴³. It is also said that barbers assisted the clergy until 1263 and then took over the role of surgeon.

In London from about 1300 to 1540 two bodies were responsible for the organisation of surgeons and barbers - the London Company of Barbers (§Q4.2) which was incorporated in 1462 and the London Guild of Surgeons (§Q4.3) which was unincorporated. In 1540 *The Company of Barbers & Surgeons act* {32 Henry VIII c42} (Q2.1540a) was passed to unite the two companies as The London Company of Barber-Surgeons (§Q4.4).

Provincial surgeons might have followed the general methods of the the London Company of Barber-Surgeons but they were not subject to its control. There were also many provincial English companies and guilds¹⁴⁴ solely consisting of barbers and surgeons. Those known include Beverley, Bristol, Canterbury, Chester, Devizes, Dorchester, Durham, Exeter, Gloucester, Hereford, Hull, Ipswich, Lichfield, Lincoln, London, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Norwich, Oxford, Reading, Sandwich, St Albans, Salisbury, Shrewsbury, Southampton, Windsor, Worcester and York. Others may not have left any historical record.

In Staffordshire general merchant and craft guilds were also formed (§B3). These are recorded at Lichfield (1307), Stafford (1476), Walsall (1502) and Newcastle (1510). The Lichfield Guild of Barbers and Surgeons was incorporated in the reign of Edward IV (1461-1483) whilst in 1623 the style of the Lichfield Mercers' Company included apothecaries. In the remainder of the county no record of any specific guild of surgeons or apothecaries has been discovered and medics would have been members of other guilds.

A general description of all trades digested in alphabetical order ... was published anonymously in 1747 and includes descriptions of surgeons, barbers, apothecaries, chemists and druggists. Although the descriptions are clearly based on contemporary London practice they will no doubt to some extent reflect practice outside the capital. Below are the entries for surgeons and barbers.

SURGEONS, the XVIIth [in precedence as a City Company]

This profession is attended with more or less expence in proportion to the sum that is required with the apprentice, and the place he is to reside in. In large and populous cities the expence is greatest; as the apprentice, during his servitude, is expected to make a better appearance; and the Master enhances his demand, as the apprentice has better prospect of business from a multiplicity of acquaintance at the expiration of his time, and greater opportunities of improving his understanding and learning. There is no fixing the sum they take with an apprentice; for some have £50, others £100, and so on to £400 or £500 according to the reputation they are in. The expence an apprentice is at during the seven years, in furnishing himself with cloaths, washing, and pocket-money, may be about £200. To furnish him with instruments, medicines, and proper books, £100 more. This, I believe, is the common expence of a surgeon that sets out in the mid-way. For their incorporation, arms, &c. see the Barbers.

BARBERS the XVII [in precedence as a City Company]

Or barber-surgeons, (which is the term they were incorporated by) is a trade very much in use now-a-days; but within less than an hundred years past it was not so, when our grandsires did not think so much of ornamenting their heads with borrowed hair as multitudes now do. Their business, besides that of shaving, which is a very beneficial article, is making all sorts of perriwigs, or perukes, and other new-invented hair attires, both for men and womens heads, of which there is now greater variety than ever was known. Cutting and curling of heads of hair is another branch, to which some, employing themselves almost wholly, are therefore called hair-cutters. Some likewise prepare and curl the hair for their own use; but the major part of them do not. The chief qualifications in lads for this business are to be courteous, neat, and nimble, which will often recommend them to good masters without any money; though some give as far as £20. Their hours of working from six in the morning till eight at night. A common journeyman has from £10 to £20 a year, and his board; but a good hand at weaving and mounting perukes, or perriwigs (formerly, spelt perwick) has from six to twelve shillings per week. About £50 well laid out, will do for a middling beginner for himself, especially if he is beloved in his neighbourhood, and has a tolerable set of acquaintance. They were a company before the year 1430, incorporated in 1462, in the reign of King Edward IV and the reason of their being stiled barber-surgeons was, because formerly none practised surgery but themselves. Livery fine £10. Their hall is in Monkwell-street, near Cripplegate; and their court-day is on the first Tuesday in the month. They have a stand facing Creed-lane, in Ludgate-street, covered with cloth laced, in which they sit, dressed in their livery gowns, colours flying, and music playing, to attend the Lord Mayor, on his return from Westminster, on the day of his admission into his office. ARMS: The cross of St George charged with a lion of England, the first and fourth quarters, sable a chevron between three fleams argent; the second and third, party per pale, argent and vert, a rose gules, crowned with an imperial crown or. MOTTO: De praesentia dei: Of the foreknowledge of

¹⁴² see §Q1.4

¹⁴³ But see: Darrel W. Amundsen "Medieval canon law on medical and surgical practice by the clergy" in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 52:1 (Spring 1978) p22-44

¹⁴⁴ see Margaret Pelling: "Barber-Surgeons' Guilds and Ordinances in Early Modern British Towns" 2014 [published online]

god. In 1512, in the reign of King Henry VIII others having assumed the practice of surgery, they obtained a grant, that none, except duly qualified, should follow that profession. Then the barbers were restrained from performing any thing more in surgery than tooth-drawing, and the surgeons from shaving. In 1515, in the same king's reign, they were, as surgeons, exempted from all ward and parish-offices, as well as military services. In 1544, the practice of surgery, which before had been restricted, was laid entirely open for any one to follow as should chuse it. In 1746 [recte, 1745], the surgeons, being become populous, in great estimation, and most of them wealthy, began to claim the pre-eminence over their brethren the barbers, and wanted them to separate and withdraw themselves from their mansion: but they maintained their ancient privileges, kept their hall, and caused the surgeons to separate. Of whom more in their proper place.

D3.2 Bishop's licences to practise surgery

In 1511 *An act concerning physicians and surgeons* {3 Henry VIII c11} (§Q2.1511) was passed which, reserving the privileges of Oxford and Cambridge Universities, required that physicians and surgeons be examined and approved before practising. The examiner for Staffordshire was the Bishop of Lichfield or his vicar-general. Once a man had been examined and approved by the examiner he was to be issued with appropriate letters testimonial. These letters testimonial became known as a "bishop's licence" and men might be said to have been "licensed to practice physic and/or surgery in the diocese of xxxxx" or "in the province of Canterbury or York". Subsequently, in theory, all physicians and surgeons, not qualified by Oxford or Cambridge University, should have held a bishop's licence.

In Aug 1642 the civil war commenced and by 1644 the offices of archbishop, bishop and the whole apparatus of diocesan government were abolished by parliament. This prevented the issuing of bishop's licences until the restoration when they again became available.

How the whole system of bishop's licences worked in practice is uncertain. In the Lichfield diocese very few licences have survived.

Ten licences to practise surgery issued to cohort^x men have been found. Four were for physic and surgery and six for surgery alone. Five of the licences were issued from Canterbury, four from Lichfield and one from Worcester.

•Bishop's licences to practise surgery					
Name	Place	Year	Type	Place	
Robert Crips	nk	1590	surgery	Lichfield	
William Clarvetto	Lichfield	1636	surgery	Canterbury	
Ambrose Crowley	Rowley Regis	1660	surgery	Worcester	
Nicholas Woolley	Newborough	1675	physic & surgery	Canterbury	
John Parker	Lichfield	1685	physic & surgery	Canterbury	
William Grosvenor	Leek	1697	physic & surgery	Lichfield	
John Sare	Walsall	1697	physic & surgery	Canterbury	
Henry Mainwaring	Audley	1701	surgery	Lichfield	
Simon Weston	Rugeley	1713	surgery	Canterbury	
Peter Callous	Talk-on-the-Hill	1723	surgery	Lichfield	

Fairly detailed records of the five Canterbury licences survive and are given below.

William Clarvetto of Lichfield "M.D." c1594-1656

[228]

(30 Dec 1636) Upon a commendation of Anthony Ramsey Dr of Physic to the king to William Clarvetto of St Margaret's, Westminster gent. [licence] to practice surgery in province of Canterbury [603019/3]

Nicholas Woolley of Newborough, Staffs licensed medic e1635-....

1675

(3 Apr 1675) WOOLLEY (Nicholas), of Newborough, Staffs: Letters addressed to Gilbert Sheldon, archbishop of Canterbury, from Percivall Willoughby ('Willughby'), physician 'I did know one Mr Wooley dwelling at Newburrow, he did there a cure speedily beyond my expectation, & much practise he had there (I never heard but that he performed what he undertooke both in phisick & chirurgery, but being tied to attend constantly the Lady Egerton, I could not goe with him to visit his pacients, yet I believe that he did them good'..., dated Derby, 3 April 1675, endorsed for Mr. John Tompson secretary to the bishop of Canterbury at Lambeth, annotated with fiat of Kenelme Digby, surrogate, 13 May 1675. Letter from neighbours at Littleover supporting his request for a license, advising the archbishop that he is 'a very good phisition and chirurgion and doth much good in his country and hath very good fortune in his undertakeings and hath done very great cures to many weake people', 12 April 1675, with postscript: 'What good your Grace doth for this man doth good for the poor people of the country'; Licensed to practise medicine and surgery in the dioceses of Coventry and Lichfield and Lincoln, 13 May 1675 [Lambeth Palace Library VX 1A/10/85/1-2; VG 1/1, f.273v; Sheldon, f.256]

John Parker of Lichfield apothecary 1655-1711

1685

(20 Dec 1684) PARKER (John), of St. Mary, Lichfield, Staffs: Commission, 20 Dec. 1684, executed and returned, with subscription, by Samuel Nichols, minister of Weeford, Staffs., 2 Jan. 1684.5; Letters testimonial signed by the Rev. Samuel Nichols, and the churchwardens of St. Mary, Lichfield, 2 Jan 1684.5; letters testimonial signed by Anthony Bruser, royal physician, and John Harberough, M.D., of London, 20 Jan. 1685; Licensed to practise medicine and surgery in the dioceses of Coventry and Lichfield, Hereford, Lincoln, Oxford and Worcester, 6 Feb 1684.5 [Lambeth Palace Library VX 1A/10/222/1-4]

John Sare of Walsall physician e1667-....

1697

(9 Nov 1697) SARE (John), of Walsall, Staffs: Letters testimonial signed by William Salmon, Doctor of Medicine, William Williams, Doctor of Medicine, John Sare, licensed medic and surgeon, and Peter Bluzee, [medical licentiate]. 9 Nov. 1697, annotated with fiat of John Cooke, surrogate, 10 Nov 1697; Licensed to practise medicine and surgery in the province of Canterbury, 10 Nov 1697 [Lambeth Palace Library VX 1A/10/301; VG 1/6 f145; Tenison 1 f113]

Simon Weston of Rugeley surgeon 1690-1762

1713

(5 Jun 1713) WESTON (Simon), of Rugeley (Ridgly), Staffs: Letters testimonial signed by James Ferne and John Girle, [sen.], [surgeons], 5 June 1713, annotated with fiat of John Bettesworth, vicar general, 6 June, 1713; Licensed to practise surgery in the province of Canterbury, 6 June 1713 [Lambeth Palace Library VX 1A/10/460; VG 1/6, f.268; Tenison 2, f.302v]

D3.3 Surgeons' colleges

After 1700 four collegiate bodies regulated British surgeons. In order of their foundation they were the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons in Glasgow (c1700), the Royal College of Surgeons of England (1745) (which succeeded The London Company of Barber-Surgeons), the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh (1778) and the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland (1784). Qualifications issued by all these bodies were recognised under *The medical act* (1858). Each of these bodies and their cohort^x members are discussed below.

D3.3.1 Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons in Glasgow (c1700)

In 1599 the *Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons in Glasgow* (§Q4.5) was founded by a Royal Charter of 1599 but was only styled thus by the end of the 17C. In 1909 the name was prefixed "Royal" and in 1962 became the *Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow*. It is said that the Faculty offered a licence for *surgeons* from 1785¹⁴⁵ "which served as a basic medical qualification". Five cohort^x men qualified L.F.P.S.G. between 1845 and 1864. The two Scottish (S) men, aged 26 and 34, appear to have had no previous qualifications whilst the three English (E) men, two aged 33 and one 39, were previously qualified. Ballenden later graduated M.D. from St Andrews whilst Smith and Bradley later qualified L.R.C.P.E. (and see §D2.5.5)

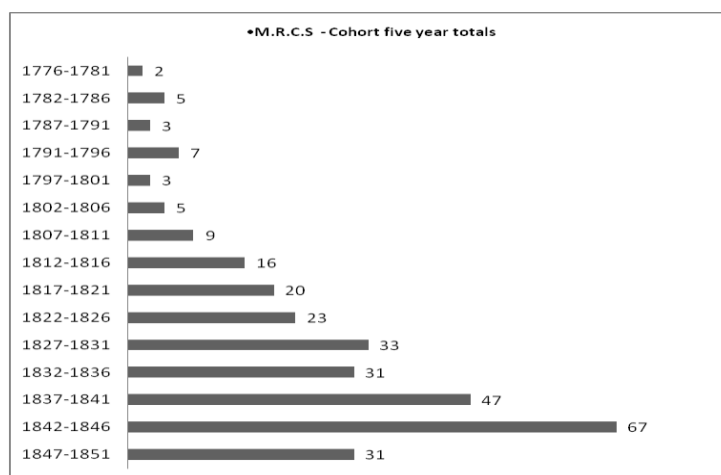
•Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons in Glasgow - Licentiatees								
Name		Place	Born	Nat.	Year	Age	Earlier	Later
Charles Harwood	Greene	Brewood	1812	E	1845	33	LSA 1835	
John McNab	Ballenden	Sedgley	1813	S	1847	34		MD St Andrews 1850 etc
James Burn	Malcolm	Wolstanton	1826	S	1852	26		
George Nicholson	Smith	Wolverhampton	1813	E	1852	39	LSA 1836	LRCPE 1860
Frederick	Bradley	Tipton	1831	E	1864	33	MRCs 1858	LRCPE 1865

D3.3.2 Royal College of Surgeons of England (1745)

On 2 May 1745 the King signed *An act for making the surgeons of London and the barbers of London two separate and distinct corporations* {18 George II c15} (§Q2.1745) which separated the surgeons from the barbers and formed the College of Surgeons of London (§Q4.6) who held their first meeting on 1 Jul 1745. A charter of 22 Mar 1800 created a successor organisation the Royal College of Surgeons of London whose inaugural meeting was held on 10 Apr 1800. On 14 Sep 1843 a further charter changed the college name to the Royal College of Surgeons of England and expanded their remit outside the city of London. Members of the College were styled M.C.S. from 1745 to 1800, M.R.C.S., London from 1800 to 1843 and M.R.C.S., England after 1843. In this work the latter members are all simply styled "M.R.C.S.".

A total of 333 of the cohort^x qualified M.C.S. or M.R.C.S. Between 1779 and 1811 34 men qualified M.C.S. or M.R.C.S. and of these about one third of their dates of qualification have been estimated.¹⁴⁶ From 1812 to 1851 a further 268 men qualified M.R.C.S. and their dates of qualification are mainly known. After 1851 a further 31 men qualified.

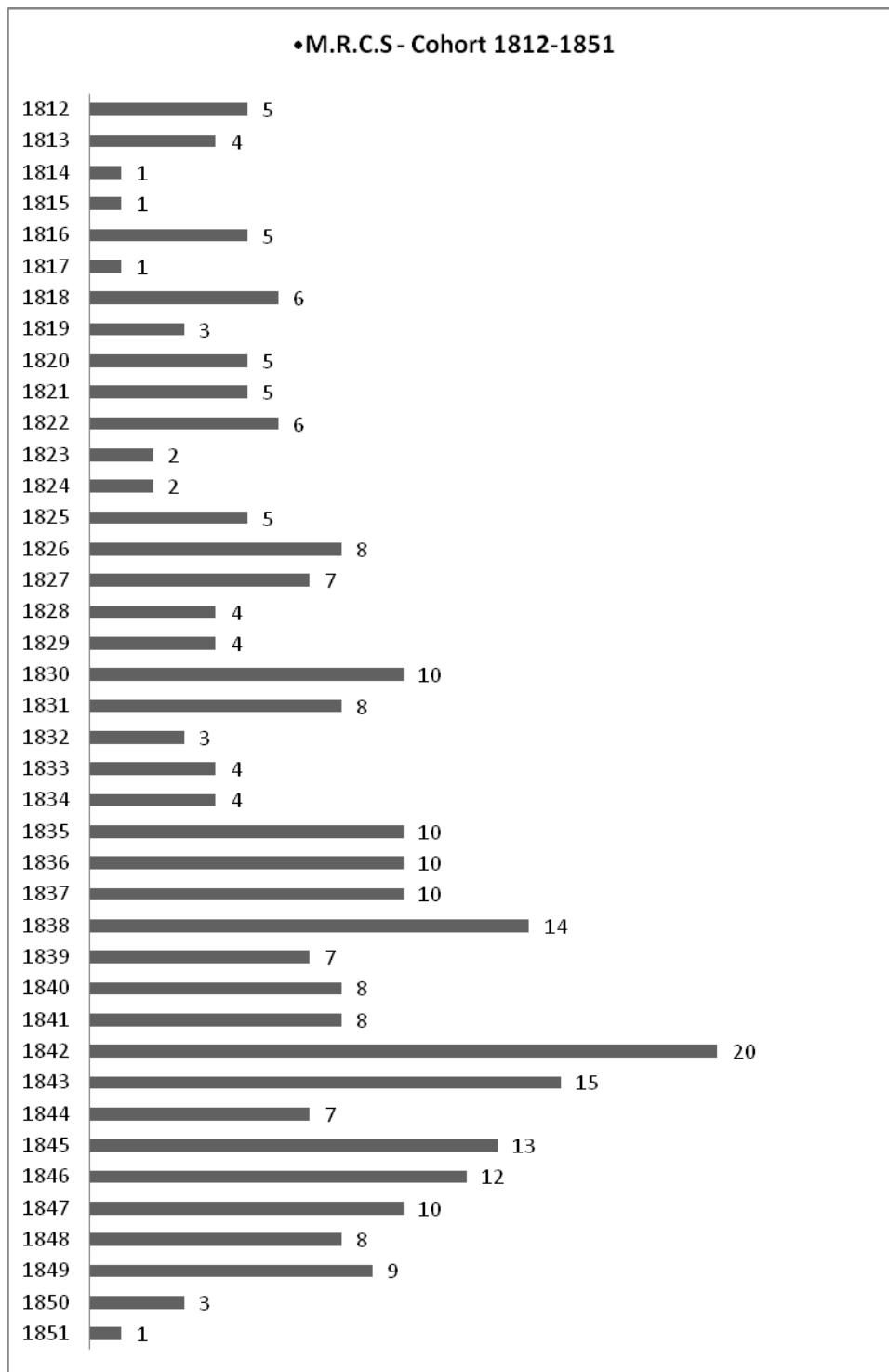
The first chart shows that between 1776-1806 the five year totals varied from 2 to 7. From 1807-1811 onwards there is generally a steady increase in numbers through to 1842-1846 (with a very slight decrease in 1832-1836). Five year totals do then rise overall from 9 to 67. However in 1847-1851 there is a large drop in numbers to 31.



In the second chart the 268 men who qualified M.R.C.S. between 1812 and 1851 are shown by year. These yearly numbers show a general increase over the years with an unusually large number (20) qualifying in 1842. From 1842 there is generally a steady decrease in numbers with unusually small numbers qualifying in 1850 (3) and 1851 (1).

¹⁴⁵ Apparently a double qualification in medicine and surgery, established with the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, was instituted in 1859 and was replaced by a triple qualification in 1884.

¹⁴⁶ See the discussion of their age at qualification (below)



An explanation of the fluctuations in different years might be explained by examining national figures but these have not been discovered.

Provision was made for expulsion from the college. In 1866 Robert Abercrombie 1825-1896 had his membership *erased* after removal by the council of the college. He later returned to London and worked as a medicine-vendor.

(1866) Robert Abercrombie, his qualification of member of the Royal College of Surgeons of England erased by order of the Executive Committee on the 2nd of February 1866 in consequence of his having been removed by the Council of the College from being a member. [The Lancet]

On 14 Sep 1843 the college received a further charter which provided for the creation of a higher status qualification - that of Fellow or F.R.C.S. Initially fellowship was of an honorary nature and 300 fellows were "elected" or "created by nomination" on 11 Dec 1843 and another 240 on (or about) 26 Aug 1844. Thereafter fellowship was only to be obtained by examination until in 1852 nominations were again considered for any member of twenty years standing as of 1843. Between 1843 and 1881 36 cohort* men became F.R.C.S. On both 11 Dec 1843 and 26 Aug 1844 five cohort* men were elected of whom Middlemore, aged 39, was the youngest and Woolrich, aged 73, the eldest. In fact Woolrich was ten years older than any other cohort* F.R.C.S. The next two men were F.R.C.S. by examination - they were Jackson in 1845 and Dampier in 1849. Dampier was then aged 28 and had been M.R.C.S. for only five years. He was the youngest cohort* member by eight years. Disregarding Dampier and Woolrich the general range of ages for Fellows was spread fairly evenly between 36 and 63 with 22 men in their forties. Their length of practice (between qualifying M.R.C.S. and F.R.C.S.) was between 11 and 41

years with 14 men in practice from 11 to 19 years and 16 from 21 to 28 years. All the cohort's F.R.C.S. were born in England except Ryan and Hawthorn who were Irish.

•Royal College of Surgeons - Fellows										
Name		Place	Born	Nat.	MRCS	Age	FRCS		Age	MRCS/FRCS
Robert	Hughes	Stafford	1802	E	1832	30	Hon	1843	41	11
Richard	Middlemore	Lichfield	1804	E	1827	23	Hon	1843	39	16
Richard	Hughes	Stafford	1796	E	1818	22	Hon	1843	47	25
John	Masfen	Stafford	1795	E	1818	23	Hon	1843	48	25
Stephen	Woolrich	Stafford	1770	E	1794	24	Hon	1843	73	49
Daniel	Ball	Burslem	1799	E	1825	26	Hon	1844	45	19
William	Birch	Barton-under-Needwood	1801	E	1823	22	Hon	1844	43	21
John	Fowke	Wolverhampton	1800	E	1821	21	Hon	1844	44	23
James	Spark	Newcastle	1798	E	1820	22	Hon	1844	46	24
Joshua	Seddon	Stoke-upon-Trent	1797	E	1819	22	Hon	1844	47	25
Edward	Jackson	West Bromwich	1807	E	1830	23	Ex	1845	38	15
Nathaniel John	Dampier	West Bromwich	1821	E	1844	23	Ex	1849	28	5
George	Webster	Lichfield	1809	E	1831	22		1852	43	21
Thomas	Ward	Stafford	1808	E	1831	23		1852	44	21
George	Edwardes	Wolverhampton	1808	E	1830	22		1852	44	22
Robert Shirley	Belcher	Burton-upon-Trent	1805	E	1829	24		1852	47	23
Edward Francis	Dehane	Wolverhampton	1804	E	1827	23		1852	48	25
Charles Allen	Chavasse	Harborne	1800	E	1822	22		1852	52	30
Samuel Mayer	Turner	Newcastle	1818	E	1839	21		1854	36	15
John	Vinall	Bilston	1817	E	1839	22		1854	37	15
David	Bolton	Bilston	1806	E	1839	33		1854	48	15
James	Wilkes	Stafford	1811	E	1835	24		1854	43	19
Henry	Bateman	Burton-upon-Trent	1806	E	1829	23		1855	49	26
Thomas William	Ransom	Darlaston	1814	E	1842	28		1857	43	15
John	Fenton	Stoke-upon-Trent	1817	E	1841	24		1857	40	16
Philip Henry	Harper	Bilston	1822	E	1845	23	Ex	1858	36	13
Stephen Shute	Alford	Stoke-upon-Trent	1821	E	1843	22		1858	37	15
Michael	Ryan	Newcastle	1816	I	1841	25		1859	43	18
Arthur Neville	Hawthorne	Eccleshall	1819	I	1840	21		1859	40	19
John	Steward	Wolverhampton	1796	E	1818	22	Ex	1859	63	41
Robert Lyons	Campbell	Trysull	1817	E	1838	21		1861	44	23
Allan	Webb	Tamworth	1808	E	1833	25		1861	53	28
George	Lowe	Burton-upon-Trent	1813	E	1837	24		1863	50	26
James	Nance	Eccleshall	1818	E	1840	22		1864	46	24
Robert	Garner	Stoke-upon-Trent	1808	E	1831	23		1864	56	33
Edward	Haddock	Wolstanton	1821	E	1842	21	Hon	1881	60	39

D3.3.3 Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh (1778)

The Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh (§Q4.7) was founded by royal charter in 1778. From 1817 those who held a diploma from the college were styled licentiates. Fifteen cohort's men qualified L.R.C.S.E. between 1817 and 1840. Nine were Scottish (S), 5 English (E) and one American (A). Their ages ranged from 20 to 25. Five of the men had previous qualifications or obtained one the same year. Eleven men subsequently graduated M.D. - seven at Edinburgh and four at other Scottish universities. Many of the men later obtained further qualifications. Only John Ritchie held the L.R.S.E. as his sole qualification.

•Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh - Licentiates								
Name		Place	Born	Nat.	Year	Age	Earlier	Later
Joseph	Heeley	Stone	1792	E	1817	25	LSA 1817	MRCS 1844
John	Ritchie	Checkley	1797	S	1818	21		
James	Rankine	Stoke-upon-Trent	1799	S	1820	21		MD Edinburgh 1821
Alexander Giles	Kennedy	Stafford	1798	S	1823	25		MD Aber Mar 1825 etc
John	Burton	Walsall	1804	A	1824	20		MD Edinburgh 1826
James Bell	Jardine	Stoke-upon-Trent	1807	S	1827	20		MD Edinburgh 1831
Peter	Bell	Wolverhampton	1807	S	1829	22		MD Edinburgh 1831
Henry	Day	Stowe	1809	E	1832	23	LRCSI 1829	MD St Andrews 1858 etc
John Warburton	Moseley	Norton-in-the-Moors	1809	E	1832	23	MRCS 1832	MD Edinburgh 1833 etc
Adam	Bell	Wolverhampton	1812	S	1833	21		MD Edinburgh 1834
Charles	Smith	Stone	1812	S	1833	21		LSA 1838
Spencer	Thomson	Clifton Campville	1816	S	1837	21		MD St Andrews 1840 etc
James Muter	Turnbull	Wolverhampton	1818	S	1838	20		MD Edinburgh 1839 etc
Charles Thomas	Davenport	Wolstanton	1818	E	1840	22	LM Edin 1840	MRCS 1841
Samuel Palmer	Goddard	Stoke-upon-Trent	1818	E	1840	22	LM Edin 1838	MD Aber Mar 1853 etc

Draper Mackinder of Barton-under-Needwood M.D. 1818-1912 was elected F.R.C.S.E. in 1857 having earlier trained at Glasgow and in 1853 graduated M.D. from St Andrews.

D3.3.4 Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland (1784)

The Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland (§Q4.8) was created by royal charter on 11 Feb 1784 and was open to both anglicans and roman catholics. From its inception the college granted three qualifications. The first was a licence which involved examination in anatomy and physiology, theory and practice of surgery and surgical pharmacy. Men applying for the licence must have served an apprenticeship. A second qualification was available for those wishing to become army surgeons or surgeon's mates (and from 1797 navy surgeons). A third was a diploma in midwifery. This was only open to graduate physicians and "regularly educated" surgeons. Five cohort* men qualified L.R.C.S.I. between 1829 and 1855 and three of these probably qualified L.M. in the same year. Day was English but the other men were Irish. Day and Rawson went on to graduate M.D. and Crean to qualify L.K&Q.C.P.I whilst Rose was only qualified L.R.C.S.I.

•Royal College of Surgeons of Ireland - Licentiates								
Name		Place	Born	Nat.	Year	Age	Earlier	Later
Henry	Day	Stowe	1809	E	1829	20		MD St Andrews 1858 etc
James	Rawson	Lichfield	1800	I	1831	31	LM 1825	MD Dublin 1831 etc
James	McMunn	Wolverhampton	1811	I	1832	21	LM ?1832	
Thomas	Crean	Brewood	1827	I	1845	18	LM 1845	LK&QCPI 1859 etc
Henry Joseph	Rose	Eccleshall	1833	I	1855	22		

D3.5 Unqualified surgeons

Prior to 1815 both surgeons and apothecaries might commonly be styled "qualified" if they had completed a medical apprenticeship. From 1 Aug 1815 under *The new apothecaries' act* trainee apothecaries had to acquire the Licence of the Society of Apothecaries (L.S.A.) and thus become licensed. Those that practised without a certificate might then be styled "unlicensed" or "unqualified".

After 1815 surgeons who had served an apprenticeship but did not hold a qualification issued by a College of Surgeons were also sometime styled "unqualified". There was no legal basis for this distinction but by 1845 the editors of the influential *London Medical Register* wrote:

The names of parties holding regular diplomas and qualifications to practise have been given as correctly as possible; and also the names of all other persons professing to be medical men and in actual practice.

And by 1855 its successor *London and Provincial Medical Directory* ...

carefully excludes every unqualified man from its register: it thus offers an instant means for discovering such irregular practitioners, and for bringing them to justice. ... and it anticipates a State Register, which in the opinion of every enlightened medical reformer is deemed the cornerstone upon which the fabric of medical legislation must be raised.

This publication has a Supplemental List (p468-88) of about 1,600 men "a list of persons practising the medical profession in the provinces, who have not made any return of the nature of their qualifications, in reply to repeated applications".

(12 Mar 1856) CHARGE OF FORGING A DIPLOMA On Monday last at the Public Office before C. Cartwright, P. Williams and R. Fereday Esqrs, Mr H.F. Hodgson was charged with having forged a diploma, thus making himself appear as a duly qualified surgeon. The college of surgeons were the prosecutors and were represented by Messrs Rawlins and Rowley of Birmingham. Mr Corser appeared for the defendant. The particulars of the case have recently appeared. The defendant acted as assistant to the late Mr Issachar Higgs surgeon of Cradley and after the death of that gentleman he took to his practice and succeeded him in his house. In his sitting-room what purported to be his diploma was hung up. It was numbered 25,921 and his name was twice written on it over erasures having apparently been substituted for some other name. Suspicions arising that this was Mr Higgs diploma artfully altered enquiry was made and it was found that Mr Higgs's diploma was numbered 2,592 that no such number as 25,921 has been issued by the College of Surgeons and that no diploma had ever been granted to Henry Frederic Hodgson the defendant. The diploma to Mr Higgs was granted 9th July 1850. That which Mr Hodgson passed off as his bore date in July 1855 when the examiners whose signatures were appended to it had ceased to be examiners. The defence was reserved and the prisoner was committed for trial at the Stafford assizes. [Worcester Chronicle]

It is only under *The medical act (1858)* that, from 1 Jan 1859, surgeons were *legally* deemed to be qualified if they held a qualification from one of the four colleges of surgeons (and otherwise unqualified). The colleges were: the Royal College of Surgeons of England, the College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow and the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland.

Only five surgeons have been discovered who, for different reasons, were said to be unqualified. Warburton (1804) does not appear to have served a proper apprenticeship, Hughes (1816) may have served an apprenticeship but before qualifying M.R.C.S. and L.S.A. was appointed Surgeon to the Staffordshire General Infirmary, Flint (1829) appears to have lied about his qualifications and was involved in a horrendous court case in 1848 (§F13.1848 & §Y.1848), Salter (1831) may not have served an apprenticeship and and Beard (1851) was described in his local parish register as a man who "Practices as a medical man but without a qualification".

Arnold Warburton of Newcastle "surgeon" 1767-?1822

Warburton was the son of a Cheshire anglican farmer. Not apparently having served a proper apprenticeship Warburton was "unqualified" as a surgeon. He started out life as a farmer but by 1804 having learned the rudiments of surgery from his brother-in-law and other "doctors" he commenced practice in Cheshire. He worked successively at Bowden, Stockport and Macclesfield and then in 1815 whilst continuing business at Macclesfield opened a surgery at Newcastle which he conducted until at least 1818. About 1811 he took apprentice his son John Warburton 1792-1878 who also assisted at Newcastle. In 1819 John was taken to court for having practised as an apothecary whilst unlicensed. His father with whom he claimed to have served his apprenticeship, was called as a witness and admitted to having no formal medical education or training.

1804

Primarily on this basis the jury "almost instantly" returned a verdict for the plaintiffs. Arnold Warburton was also to be prosecuted in a similar lawsuit for unlicensed practice at Newcastle but the "action discontinued, defendant having quitted his residence, and left practice".

Richard Hughes of Stafford F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1796-1861

1816

Hughes was the son of a Staffordshire anglican surgeon. He might have served an apprenticeship but whilst "unqualified" was controversially appointed Surgeon to the Staffordshire General Infirmary (at Stafford) in 1816. Here he practised all his working life but only qualified M.R.C.S. in 1818 (F.R.C.S., 1843) and L.S.A. in 1821.

(16 Nov 1816) To the Trustees of the Stafford General Infirmary ... Mr Richard Hughes being but little more than twenty; therefore he cannot be qualified to act as General Practitioner ... when I began to practice my profession in this place in 1812 ... Mr Richard Hughes was a Tyro in the Latin language at the Grammar School in this town ... Mr Richard Hughes had just entered upon his Anatomical Studies in London; the only place in England where Anatomy is successfully cultivated ... [STS:ADV]

(7 Dec 1816) General Infirmary ... Stafford ... unanimous appointment ... surgeon ... long services of my forefathers in this charity ... Richard Hughes [STS:ADV]

William Harding Flint of Longnor "surgeon" c1808-1856

1829

Although apparently "unqualified" he appears to have commenced practice at Longnor by 1829 when on his marriage he styled himself William Flint Harding. By 1838 when his children were christened at Longnor, and thereafter, he is styled William Harding Flint. Flint appears to have practised as a man-midwife from the start of his career. ... Although he claimed to be both M.R.C.S. and L.S.A. and was sometime Union Medical Officer for Bakewell, Derby he does not appear to have held those qualifications. In 1848 the court case - Crown *versus* William Harding Flint - was held at the Stafford Summer Assizes when Flint was indicted for killing and slaying Elizabeth Riley at Sheen on 29 Mar 1848. Full details of his trial are given in §F13.1848 and §Y.1848.

William Salter of Wolverhampton "surgeon" c1786-....

1831

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered and he was probably "unqualified". He practised in several counties prior to about 1831 when he moved to Wolverhampton where he was an assistant to a surgeon, apothecary and accoucheur [i.e. man-midwife] and afterwards practised on his own account. Here also perhaps about 1833 he was sometime junior partner to Michael Hordorn Peake surgeon c1781-.... conducting business as Peake & Co "surgeons and dentists" (§D6.3). He is said to have been sometime "parish surgeon of Wolverhampton" and "surgeon, apothecary and accoucheur". He probably left Wolverhampton about 1835 and practised elsewhere before being imprisoned in London as an insolvent debtor in 1837.

Joseph Downes Beard of Ashley surgeon 1826-1901

1851

Beard was the son of a Cheshire anglican surgeon. He may have served an apprenticeship with his father. When one of his daughters was christened at Ashley in 1851 the entry in the parish register notes that he "Practices as a medical man but without a qualification". Here the inference is that he was "unqualified".

D3.6 Cohort surgeons to 1700

D3.6.1 Introduction

All the cohort* men practising before 1548 - including four surgeons - are discussed in §C2. Twelve county surgeons have been found from 1549 to 1660 (§D3.6.2) and another 19 from 1660 to 1700 (§D3.6.3).

D3.6.2 1549-1660

The names of only 12 men who might have been surgeons practising in Staffordshire before the Restoration of 1660 have been discovered. They are found in practice at Burton-upon-Trent (2, from about 1570), in the diocese (1, 1590), at Lichfield (6, from about 1611), at Walsall (2, from about 1643) and at Leek (1, in 1658).

Burton-upon-Trent (c1570)

Jerome Horobin of Burton-upon-Trent surgeon 1549-1611

c1570-1611

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. Perhaps time served about 1570 he probably practised all his working life at •Burton-upon-Trent where he is said to have treated patients from Worcestershire and Yorkshire in the mid 1580s. He may also have been an innkeeper. He likely took apprentice his son •Thomas Horobin 1586-p1631 about 1600.

Thomas Horobin of Burton-upon-Trent surgeon 1586-p1631

c1607-p1631

Horobin was the son of a Staffordshire anglican surgeon. He was likely apprenticed to his father about 1600. Time served about 1607 he likely commenced practice at •Burton-upon-Trent where he was still living in 1631.

Lichfield diocese (1590)

Robert Crips surgeon c1560-....

1590

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. He was •licensed to practise surgery in the diocese of Lichfield on 30 Dec 1590.

Lichfield (?1611)

Richard Collier of Lichfield chirurgion c1581-1620

1611-1620

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. Perhaps by 1611 he was in practice at •Lichfield but apparently moved to •Uttoxeter shortly before he died, perhaps aged about 39, in Feb 1619.20. In his •inventory which included "Apothecaries potts & druggs £2" his •personalty was valued at £23/9/1.

----- **Cole of Lichfield, Staffs chirurgion c1588-....**

1618

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. He was in practice at •Lichfield as a chirurgion about 1618 when he witnessed an •operation at Gerards Bromley in Eccleshall.

----- **Spooner of Lichfield chirurgion c1605-....**

1645

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. In 1645 "Mr Spooner the chirurgion" was paid £1 by the Treasurer of the •Royal garrison at •Lichfield Close. He might be a kinsman of Lawrence Spooner of Curborough in Lichfield yeoman c1618-?1667.

Richard Thornton of Lichfield chirurgion c1610-1653

1645-1653

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. Possibly time served about 1631 he is probably the "Thornton chirurgion" who in 1645 was paid "for the cure of soldiers wounded in service" by the Treasurer of the •Royal garrison at •Lichfield Close. At •Lichfield about 1648 he took apprentice •George Dawes ?1634-?1656 and in his 1653 will made provision for Dawes to be re-apprenticed to his brother •Thomas Thornton c1612-.... or to be reimbursed his premium. He also bequeaths in his •will "all my books on Phisick and Chirurgery belonging to my profession of what nature or quality soever they bee" to his brother Thomas.

Thomas Thornton (? of Lichfield) chirurgion c1612-....

?1647-....

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. In his will of 1653 his brother •Richard Thornton of Lichfield chirurgion c1610-1653 makes provision for his apprentice George Dawes to be re-apprenticed to Thomas or to be reimbursed his premium. He also bequeaths Thomas "all my books on Phisick and Chirurgery". From these provisions it is assumed that Thomas was indeed a chirurgion and if so he might have been time served about 1633. It is not known where he practised but it may have been at •Lichfield.

Humphrey Bennet of Lichfield chirurgion e1610-1660

1652-1660

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. At •Lichfield he took apprentice •Arthur Shirrad ?1638-.... about 1652, •Richard Gladwin 1639-.... about 1653 and •Edmund Hector c1640-1709 about 1654. He was buried, perhaps aged about 50, on 21 Aug 1660 at Lichfield St Michael. In his •will he writes "to Humfry Bennet ... my godson my new case of instrumts with all my silver instrumts & razors tipt with silver ... give to Edmond Hector my apprentice my ???? case of instrumts (except my tipt razors with silver) to have them after his time of apprenticeship is expired ... Moreover my will & desire is that my executrix give to my two apprentices Arthur Shirrad and Richard Gladwin five shillings apiece & each of them two lancets ... Alsoe I give to the above named Humfry Bennet my godsonn two printed books of chirurgy called Woodall & Read with all my receipts of chirurgery".

Walsall (1643)

Henry Wood of Walsall barber chirurgion e1622-1668

1643-1668

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. Perhaps time served about 1643 he may have commenced practice at •Walsall and was a royalist during the civil war. In 1661 he was •Constable of Walsall and the next year a capital •burgess. Thereafter he was probably the town's official barber surgeon until he died, perhaps aged about 46, in 1668. He was succeeded in office by •George Turnpenny ?1630-1700. In his nuncupative will he mentions that his wife is pregnant.

George Turnpenny of Walsall barber chirurgion ?1630-1700

1651-1700

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. Possibly time served about 1651 he might have commenced practice at •Walsall where he was officially appointed barber chirurgion (? to the town) about 1669 in succession to •Henry Wood c1622-1668. He likely took apprentice his son •Zachary Turnpenny 1666-1695 about 1680 and another son •George Turnpenny 1669-1703 about 1683. About 1693 he took apprentice •William Hatton ?1679-?1700 (who was possibly his wife's nephew). At Walsall Turnpenny was buried, aged about 70, on 27 Jan 1669.1700. His •personalty was valued at £33/9/6. This was one of the •lowest (cohort) valuations. In 1695 when his son Zachary died George senior inherited some of his medical effects and on his death bequeathed them to his then apprentice William Hatton. Most of his other trade materials passed to his son George as his will shows "[to] son George Turnpenny my now dwelling house ... [and] all my chirurgery books with the presse they stand in and all the implements and instruments belonging the chirurgery trade (except the plaister box was my son Zachareys and such instruments as are therein which I give to my apprentice Wm Hatton[sic]) ... sonn George all my razors and instruments belonging to the barber trade ..." Turnpenny was at some time before 1676 •Mayor of Walsall

Leek (1658)

John Hulme of Leek chirurgion c1628-....

1658

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. In 1658 he was in practice at •Leek.

D3.6.3 1660-1700

At the Restoration bishop's licences were again awarded having been abolished by the Parliamentarians. From the Restoration (1660) to the end of the century (1700) 19 more surgeons have been discovered practising in Staffordshire. They are found in practice at the four places mentioned above - Burton-upon-Trent (2), Lichfield (7), Walsall (2) and Leek (2) - and also at Rowley Regis (1, from 1660), Audley (1, from the 1670s), Wolverhampton (3, from 1678) and Tamworth (1, from 1689).

Burton-upon-Trent (c1570)

Robert Cotton of Burton-upon-Trent surgeon e1620-1689

1666-1689

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. By 1666 he was practising at •Burton-upon-Trent. Cotton was a •roman catholic - in 1667 he was indicted for non-attendance at church and in 1680 was included in a list of Staffordshire roman catholics. •William Cotton e1650-.... was probably his son and if so likely apprenticed to his father about 1664.

William Cotton of Burton-upon-Trent surgeon e1650-....

e1671-1710

Cotton was probably the son of a Staffordshire •roman catholic surgeon. If so, he was likely apprenticed to his father about 1664. He is recorded in practice at •Burton-upon-Trent in 1707 and 1710 and remained a roman catholic.

Lichfield (?1611)

Richard Williams of Lichfield chirurgion e1627-....

1666-1677

Williams was the son of a London man. His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. By 1666 he was in practice at •Lichfield as a chirurgion and bonesetter but perhaps in 1677 returned to the London area.

Edmund Folkingham of Lichfield chirurgion c1628-1681

1649-1681

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. Possibly time served about 1649 by 1666 he was living at •Lichfield where he remained in practice until his burial, aged about 53, on 6 Jun 1681 at Lichfield St Chad. He inherited from his father a property "Seven Stars" at Uttoxeter which he devised (controversially) to his youngest son Benjamin Folkingham of London barber surgeon 1677-?1726.

Thomas Williamson of Lichfield chirurgion 1635-?1667

1656-1667

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. He may only have been aged 19 when in Jun 1654 he •married a woman who was then •carrying their first child born by the following Jan. Perhaps time served in 1656 he likely practised all his working life at •Lichfield where he was probably buried, aged 32, on 5 Aug 1667 at St Chad.

Edmund Hector of Lichfield chirurgion c1640-1709

1661-1709

He was apprenticed to •Humphrey Bennet of Lichfield chirurgion e1610-1660 about 1654 and was still his apprentice in 1660 when bequeathed by him a case of instruments. Probably time served in 1661 he commenced practice at •Lichfield where he lived for the rest of his life. Of his ten sons only two survived infancy and he probably took them both apprentice: •George Hector c1676-1743 about 1690 and •Benjamin Hector 1700-1773 about 1714. He was buried, aged about 69, on 8 Dec 1709 at Lichfield St Michael. •Henry Boylston of Lichfield apothecary 1679-1749 was a son-in-law and might have also been his apprentice. Hector was a Lichfield •member, •sheriff (1682), •junior bailiff (1685) and •senior bailiff (1690). In July 1690 Lichfield corporation expelled him as a member and senior bailiff but in November he was restored by the Crown. He was also a •warden of the Lichfield Conduit Lands.

John Mount of Lichfield surgeon e1653-1719

1674-1714

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. Perhaps time served about 1674 he was in practice in •Lichfield when he took apprentice for 5 years at £49 •Richard Lees 1696-?1732 in 1712 and for 7 years at £41/10/0 •Richard Lowe 1699-1760 in 1713. He was buried, probably aged about 66, on 19 Apr 1719 at Lichfield St Michael.

Richard Cromwell of Lichfield chirurgion e1645-1691

1689-1691

He served as a soldier and chirurgion in the army of the protestant James Scott 1st Duke of Monmouth 1649-1685 [CP] who was beheaded for treason (after attempting to overthrow his uncle James II). He then lived or travelled in Spain posing as a novitiate Dominican friar before returning to England to serve in the army of King William and Queen Mary after their accession in 1689. At Lichfield (where he appears to have practised as a chirurgion for a short period) he died - (presumably) hanged for murder - perhaps aged about 46, on 3 Jul 1691. His book *The happy sinner* ... was published in 1691 by the Lichfield publisher Michael Johnson (father of Samuel Johnson the lexicographer). It contains his last words and prayers together with several medical recipes including a water with which "he cured a boy in Leichfield that had been blind three years".

George Hector of Lichfield surgeon c1676-1743

1697-1743

Hector was the son of a Staffordshire anglican chirurgion. He was likely apprenticed to his father about 1690. In Oct 1696 at the age of 20 he married by licence. Time served about 1697 he probably commenced practice at Lichfield. In 1709 acting as a man-midwife he attended the birth of Samuel Johnson 1709-1784 [OB]. Hector was a Lichfield member, magistrate (1714), junior bailiff (1719) and - also a Lichfield land tax commissioner.

Walsall (1643)

George Turnpenny of Walsall barber chirurgion 1669-1703

1690-1703

He was likely apprenticed to his father about 1683. Time served about 1690 he doubtless practised all his life at Walsall where he was buried, aged 34, on 12 Mar 1702.3. His father bequeathed him "my now dwelling house ... [and] all my chirurgery books with the presse they stand in and all the implements and instruments belonging the chirurgery trade (except ...) ... all my razors and instruments belonging to the barber trade. Turnpenny's inventory included "In the shoppe one looking glasse gally potts bottles & cupboard & one chair 5/0" ... and "In the middle chamber one joined presse with some bookes & instrmnts in it and alsoe a box and some other instruments in it £2/0/0". His personality was valued at £10/17/0. This was one of the lowest (cohort) valuations. But as noted above he also inherited his father's house.

Richard Moseley of Walsall barber chirurgion 1669-1723

1690-1723

Moseley was the son of a Staffordshire anglican butcher. His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. Perhaps time served about 1690 he likely practised all his working life at Walsall where he was buried, aged 54, on 26 Mar 1723. In his will he bequeathed "to my nephew Thomas Mousley all my bookes and instruments wch I use in my calling". His personality was valued at £119 in an inventory which lists, "In the Shop Flannels .. Linnen Cloth & Cottons ... Muslins Gloves Ribbins Silks [£36] ... in his shop ... one table chairs and his instruments for chyrurgery ... £1/5/0". Perhaps another member of his household was a mercer. The family name Moseley is often rendered as Mous(e)ley but Richard signed his will "Richard Moseley".

Leek (1658)

Gervase Gent of Leek "surgeon & apothecary" c1630-1690

?1660-1690

He likely converted to quaker before 1660 ... Gent probably practised at Leek where he likely died but was buried in Jan 1690, perhaps aged about 60, at Basford Friends Burial Ground in Cheddleton. His inventory list "all druggs with the bottells 3/0 ... opium 1/0 ... one urinall & 3 glyter[sic] pipes 1/0 ... books £3 ... some instruments for chyrurgery 3/6" together with many other drugs, herbs and spices and on this basis he might be supposed to have been a surgeon and apothecary although in his will he styles himself "yeomon[sic]".

Thomas Beckett (? of Leek) surgeon e1657-....

1697

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. In 1697 he was a surgeon probably practising in the Leek district.

Rowley Regis (1660)

Ambrose Crowley of Rowley Regis surgeon e1635-....

1660

In 1660 as Ambrose Croles[sic] of Rowley Regis he was licensed to practise surgery in the diocese of Worcester. Rowley Regis then lay in that diocese. He might be identified with or a kinsman of Ambrose Crowley of Stourbridge, Worcs ironmonger 1635-1720 or of his father Ambrose Crowley of Rowley Regis nailer c1608-1680.

Audley (?1670s)

Samuel Kelsall of Audley chirurgion ?1633-1698

?1670s-1698

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. He probably lived all his life at Audley where he is said to have been a shoemaker before he began to practice as "a doctor and bonesetter" probably in the 1670s. In his will, made shortly before his death, Kelsall styled himself "chirurgion".

Wolverhampton (1678)

John Sharratt of Wolverhampton barber surgeon e1621-1685

1678-1685

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. At Wolverhampton he took apprentice Walter Grey chirurgion e1664-1713 about 1678 and was buried, aged about 64, on 19 Aug 1685. In his will he bequeathed to Grey "all the instruments and tools & vissills which are in my house and shop which belong to my trade and all things which belong unto the shop as linnens, salves and all other materials which belong to the shop and are usefull to my trade as barber-chyrurgion" with an option of accepting a legacy of £5 which was the value of this stock as given in his detailed inventory.

Walter Grey of Wolverhampton chirurgion e1664-1713

1685-1713

He was apprenticed to John Sharratt of Wolverhampton barber surgeon c1621-1685 about 1678 and by him was bequeathed "all the instruments and tools & vissills which are in my house and shop which belong to my trade and all things which belong unto the shop as linnens, salves and all other materials which belong to the shop and are usefull to my trade as barber-chyrurgion" which were valued at £5. Time served about 1685 Grey probably practised all his working life at Wolverhampton where he was buried, aged about 49, on 12 Nov 1713.

Zachary Turnpenny of Wolverhampton barber chirurgion 1666-1695

1687-1695

Turnpenny was the son of a Staffordshire anglican barber chirurgion. He was likely apprenticed to his father George Turnpenny of Walsall barber chirurgion ?1630-1700 about 1680 and time served about 1687 he probably practised all his working life at Wolverhampton where he took apprentice Thomas Garlick c1677-1737 about 1691 and was buried, aged 29, on 3 Feb 1694.5. He bequeathed Thomas Garlick "all my barbering instruments soever that now arte in my shop" and some other of his medical effects passed to his father. His inventory is very detailed and includes items connected with his trade valued at £4/0/5.

Tamworth (1689)

John Meacham of Tamworth barber chirurgion e1667-1718

1689-1718

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. Time served about 1689 he likely commenced practice at Tamworth where he was buried, aged about 51, on 19 Feb 1717.8. He likely took apprentice (? his son) John Meacham ?1699-1747 about 1713.

D4 Apothecaries

D4.1 Introduction; D4.2 Apothecaries before 1548; D4.3 Apothecaries 1548-1700; D4.4 Apothecaries 1701-1750; D4.5 Apothecaries 1751-1814; D4.6 Apothecaries 1815 on; D4.7 Cohort apothecaries to 1700; D4.8 Cohort apothecaries 1751-1814; D4.9 Cohort apothecaries 1815 on

D4.1 Introduction

In sections D4.2 to D4.6 some account is given of the apothecary from a national perspective whilst sections D4.7 to D4.9 deal with the cohort apothecaries.

D4.2 Apothecaries before 1548

In mediaeval Latin the words *pharmacopeus* and *pharmacopola* are used for apothecary. The term *apothecary* is found in use in the mid 14C and at all periods mostly referred to a medic who prepared and sold drugs for medicinal purposes usually from a shop premises and often supplied medical advice. It is claimed that about 1359 Ioannem Falcandum de Luca was the first apothecary in England to sell medicines and that Peter of Montpellier was apothecary to Edward III.

(1626) ... Primum in Anglia Pharmacopolam fuifle quendam Ioannem Falcandum de Luca anno 32 Eduardi 3 [1358/9] ... [[Clement Reyner] *De antiquitate Benedictorum in Anglias* [1626] p166-7]

(1727) ... In the Wardrobe-account of the Prince, in the thirty-second of Edward the Third [1358/9] 1360, we find his Apothecary was Peter of Montpellier: and the first Apothecary in England who sold any Medicines, if we may believe Reyner [Antiq. Benedict, in Anglia 167] was J. Falcand de Luca in 1357. [J. Freind M.D. *The history of physic ... Part II The Second Edition, Corrected* (1727) p292]

*The rolls of parliament {37 Edward III c23 & 24} (1363/4)*¹⁴⁷ show that as a result of some of the less ethical practices of the London Grocers' Company legislation was introduced to compel tradesmen to practice only one trade. This may have affected apothecaries (and possibly surgeons) in London but was unlikely to have affected the very few medics who practised outside London of whom many would have needed to practise more than one trade in order to make a living.

23. Item, pur ce q' grandes Meschiefs sont avenuz de novel, si bien a nostre Seignr le Roi, les Grantz, & Communes, come autres de la terre, de ce q' les Marchantz nomez Grossers engrossent toutes maneres de Marchandies vendables; & ceux as quex le Marchandie est, le pris levent sodeinement dedeinz la terre, mettanz a vente, p'r covyn & ordinance entre eux faite appelle Fraternite & Gilde de Marchant, & p'r leur conseil & assent mettont les autres Marchandises en repose tan qe au temps q' chierite ou defaute soit d'ycelles en la dite terre, & adonques p'r leur dit accorde les mettent a vente en la fourme avant ...

24. ENSEMENT est ordeine, q' Artificers, gentz de Mester, se tiegnent chescun a une Mestere quele il vorra eseire entre cy & la dit Feste de la Chandelure. Et soient esluz deux de chascun Mestere, a surveer q' nul use autre Mestere q' cele quele il ad eslu ...

23. That great mischiefs had newly arisen, as well to the king as to the great men and commons, from the merchants called grocers (grossers), who engrossed all manner of merchandize vendible, and who suddenly raised the prices of such merchandize within the realm ; putting to sale by covin, and by ordinances made amongst themselves, in their own society, which they call the fraternity and gild of merchants (frat'nite et gilde merchant), such merchandizes as were most dear, and keeping in store the others until times of dearth and scarcity.

24. That all artificers and people of mysteries shall each choose his own mystery before the next Candlemas; and that having so chosen it, he shall henceforth use no other ...

In 1540 *The physicians act {32 Henry VIII c40}*¹⁴⁸ was passed. The second section provided for the College of Physicians to inspect apothecaries' shops.

§2 Fellowship of Physicians in London to yearly elect four officers with powers to inspect apothecaries' stocks of drugs etc, to destroy defective material and to fine obstructive apothecaries £5. Officers who refuse to serve to be fined £2.

D4.3 Apothecaries 1548-1700

In London apothecaries were governed by the Society of Apothecaries (§Q5.3) which was founded by a royal charter of King James I, dated 6 December 1617, as a successor to the London Grocers' Company. Members of the company were styled freemen and they were normally admitted after serving a seven year apprenticeship to an existing member. Sons of existing members might be admitted "by patrimony" having effectively served an apprenticeship with their father. Other special concessions also existed. Freemen might work for a master and would then be known as journeymen; later they might become masters themselves. A higher rank was occupied by liverymen.

In England, outside London, various craft guilds and other similar bodies were formed in major towns and apothecaries were often members. They would be regulated by their guild and their apprentices, once time-served, would have to be approved in order to gain membership. Where guilds did not exist just serving an apprenticeship for its full term appears to have allowed a man to consider himself qualified.

D4.4 Apothecaries 1701-1750

About 1701 in a lawsuit "*Royal College of Physicians versus William Rose*" at the Queen's Bench Division¹⁴⁹ the College sued William Rose, a London apothecary, "for practising Physic for One Month, within Seven Miles of the City of London, without the Licence of the Plaintiffs" and wished him to pay a penalty of £5 per month. Rose was said to have "made up and administered proper medicines to [John Seal, Seale or Seals, a butcher]; but without any license from the faculty, and also without the direction of any physician, and without taking or demanding any fee for his advice". The College quoted from their Charter and after three hearings the Court found that Rose had been "practising Physic, within the said Charter" and should pay the penalty. However Rose brought "a writ of error

¹⁴⁷ *Rotuli Parliamentorum Volume the Second* [Parliament XXXVII Edward III, 1363-4] p277-8; English translation from William Herbert *The history of the twelve great Livery Companies of London* (1834) p30

¹⁴⁸ The whole act is printed in full in §Q2:1540.

¹⁴⁹ A fuller account is given in §Q2.1704.

returnable in Parliament" against the College. When the case was heard in the House of Lords on 17 Mar 1703.⁴ the judgment was reversed. It should be noted that this court judgment simply found that Rose had *not been "practising Physic, within the said Charter"*.

It is unclear why the original judgment was reversed. Because the facts of the case were not in dispute the reversal must have been based on a "point of law". Perhaps there was a belief that to practise physic "within the charter" was to "practise in return for payment". Rose of course was accepted to have practised "without taking or demanding any fee for his advice".

Subsequent to this case it was generally accepted that apothecaries might offer unpaid medical advice without fear of prosecution.

From an early period apothecaries were the subject of disparaging remarks by physicians and others. In 1724 an anonymous work was published *Pharmacopolae Justificati: Or, apothecaries vindicated from the imputation of ignorance. Wherein is shewn, that an academical education is no way necessary to qualify a man for the practice of physick*. An extract from the book (p26-7) illustrates the arguments:

Now let the apothecary be what the physician would have him thought, let him be entirely ignorant of science and languages, only let him have common sense, and he will be able to cure a disease, as well as one dignify'd with degrees, and perfect in all the parts of polite learning: for a man is not a better physician, for knowing more than his profession requires he should know.

There are yet two things remaining, frequently mentioned to the apothecary's prejudice; which, tho' they might have been inserted in a more proper place, I shall mention here: viz. that the apothecary's apprentice can have no benefit from observing the patient's case, and knowing what is prescrib'd, because he is ignorant of the doctor's intentions. Secondly, that the apothecaries procure to themselves the good opinion of others by imposing upon their ignorance.

As to the first of these, it is utterly false; for whatever the doctor's intention is, I believe I may venture to lay, that it will not alter the operation of the medicine. for instance a physician gives the bark, or any other remedy to remove an intermitting fever: now let his intention be to destroy that febrile matter inimical to nature, which, having first affected the patient with a sense of cold, afterwards produces a fermentation in the blood, &c. or let him design to subdue that venomous ferment, which by occasioning an extraordinary expansion of the spirits, produces a preternatural heat; or let it be to dissolve those viscid particles, which sticking in the extremities of the capillary arteries, by retarding the motion of the blood, produce a sense of cold, &c. let the fever be cur'd, and let the apothecary's apprentice, who prepares the medicine, observe the patient's case, and the medicine's effects; and I dare affirm, he will learn to cure an ague, tho' he has never heard of Sydenham, Morton, or Bellini, or once consider'd what occasion'd the disease, or how the medicine acted.

In 1738 Chambers gives a definition and description of apothecaries. His account is likely correct with regard to London where there were said to be upwards of 1,300 men in practice.

APOTHECARY, a person who professes the practice of pharmacy, or that part of physic which consists in the preparation and composition of medicines. ... The word is derived from the Greek [for] shop, the place where he exposes his medicines to sale ... Nich. Langius has a large volume expressly against the *apothecaries*, their quid pro quo's, ignorance in the materia medica, and suffering themselves to be so easily imposed on by foreign merchants, druggists, &c. who supply them with adulterated drugs, one sort for another, old effoete[sic] exhausted ones, for new ones just imported from the Levant, &c. ... The apothecaries in England are obliged to make up their medicines, according to the formula's prescribed in the college dispensatory. ... Their shops are subject to the visitation of the censors of the college; who are empowered to destroy such medicines as they think not good. ... Bartholin complains of the too great number of apothecaries in Denmark; though there were but three in Copenhagen, and four in all the kingdom beside: what would he have said of London, where there are said to be upwards of 1300? [E. Chambers *Cyclopaedia or, an universal dictionary of arts and sciences ... Vol I ... second edition* (1738)]

A general description of all trades digested in alphabetical order ... was published anonymously in 1747 and includes descriptions of surgeons, barbers, apothecaries, chemists and druggists. Although the descriptions are clearly based on contemporary London practice they will no doubt to some extent reflect practice outside the capital. Below are the entries for apothecaries, chemists and druggists.

APOTHECARIES, the LVIII [in precedency as a City Company]

This is a very great business, and has been in great vogue of late years, there being, as has been computed, upwards of a thousand in and about London. There are in this, and indeed in most trades, various degrees as to employ and extent. Some do little else but make up medicines according to the prescriptions of the Dispensatory (compiled by the College of Physicians for their direction) and those of particular physicians, besides visiting their patients. Others not only prepare almost all kinds of medicines, as well galenical as chemical, but likewise deal in drugs; with all which they supply their Brethren in Trade, and so become a sort of wholesale dealers, as well as apothecaries. Others again practise surgery, man-midwifery, and many times even officiate as physicians, especially in the country, and often become men of very large practice, and eminent in their way. There is also another branch many of them fall into, which is that of curing lunatics, &c. A youth, intended for this profession, should be a pretty good scholar, and have a tolerable knowledge in the latin tongue, at least, if not some in the greek, that he may be the better able, in due time, to see the opinions of the ancients for himself, who mostly wrote in those languages, as have also divers modern authors in the first of them: though, it must be owned, there are almost innumerable helps in our mother tongue. The sums given with lads, going apprentices to this business, are from £20 to £300 according to the reputation and station the masters are in: and if a boy is of an affable, acute disposition, genteel and well-behaved, it will be so much the better. They have no set hours for business; but I have observed they are not the earliest at it in the morning, yet attend pretty late at night: and an apprentice at first must expect to do the lower offices about the shop, though they generally keep serving-men, or boys, to go on errands, and do dirty Work. A journeyman has, according to his capacity, from £10 to £40 a year, and his board. For a person, who may be inclined to set up, £100 may do; but £200 I apprehend, will fit up a smart shop; besides which they ought to have somewhat handsome to support them till they get into a good set of patients. Their shops are liable to the visitation of certain persons, called censors, who are four fellows of the College, and have power to inspect whether the medicines they keep therein are good, and to destroy those which are not so. In London they are one of the City Companies, and were first incorporated with the Grocers in the Year 1606, in the reign of King James I but not alone till 1617: Livery-fine £16. Their Hall is in Black-Friars (where they have two fine laboratories, out of which all the surgeons chests are supplied with medicines for the use of the navy) and their court-day is on the first Tuesday of the month. They have also a handsome barge, in which, being finely ornamented, with colours flying and music playing, they attend the Lord-Mayor to Westminster, on the day of his installation, when he goes to be sworn into his high Office. ARMS. Azure, Apollo in his glory, holding in his left-hand a bow, in his right an arrow, bestriding the serpent Python. MOTTO. Opiferque per Orbem dicor: I am called for help throughout the world. They have a custom of going out two or three times a year a herbarising, or simpling, which is in order to initiate the young men into the knowledge of plants; and then they have also a feast.

CHEMISTS

This partly a science, as well as a very ancient art, even as old as Cain, the first son of Adam; and now a great trade also, though it was not so formerly. A youth that goes to learn this business should not only be a good scholar, but of a grave, studious disposition, for it is by no means fit for an airy giddy spark; and as the erecting a good laboratory[sic] is very expensive, and the articles they prepare numerous, many of them are costly too, a good fortune to set him up will be necessary; an hundred pounds or two which will be expended in putting him apprentice, if he goes to one eminent in his profession, which is now in greater vogue than ever among the practitioners in physic.

DRUGGISTS

These are great traders and shop-keepers, dealing in a vast number of articles, both foreign and domestic, for the use of apothecaries, chemists, dyers, colourmen &c to which some add those of coffee, teas and chocolate. They expect with an apprentice from £50 to £100, pay a journeyman from £20 to £30 a year besides his board: And not less than £500 or rather £1,000 will set one up in this business.

D4.5 Apothecaries 1751-1814

A book was published in 1773 *Free thoughts on apothecaries and empirics; shewing the necessity and utility of their regulation by parliament. Addressed to the Master, Wardens and Assistants of the Apothecaries Company. With an appeal to the impartial public, recommending a different mode of paying apothecaries*. This called for the national regulation of apothecaries and inspection of their shops. By this time the number of London apothecaries is said to have risen to 2,000 and it is suggested that there were 10,000 in the country (perhaps just intending England) of which 2,000 were in London. On these figures there might have been 8,000 provincial apothecaries practising in the forty or so (§Z3.4) traditional English counties - about 200 in each county. This work estimates there were about 82 apothecaries and surgeons in practice in Staffordshire in 1771 (§D1.2). Below are some extracts from the book:

But let the cause be what it may, Apothecaries have got physic principally into their own hands; this is evidently the case, especially in the country, where the Physician seldom visits any but such as are in opulent circumstances; the poor, alas, scarce ever! It is much the same in London, (allowance being made for those that are in the hospitals); so that Apothecaries have by far the greatest number of patients under their own care, This, I think a sufficient plea for the following pages; shewing that men intrusted with the lives of others, ought to be well qualified for such an important employment. [p5-6] ... There are no less computed to be in London than two thousand [apothecaries] as the ingenious Chambers informs us [in his Dictionary] [p30] ... As to the expence of these examnants [inspectors of shops] let the same sum be paid by these Apothecaries in the country, as is usual by those, whose shops are inspected in London. Surely if one does, the other has no cause to complain. If then these examnants [who were to act in pairs] were to receive six shillings from every shop, they would have a very genteel allowance. Suppose for instance, they only visited two places in a day, and in each of these, upon a medium, there are three Apothecaries; they would receive thirty-six shillings, which for each would produce upwards of £280 a year. This it must be granted, is no despicable income: but as they would be able, on an average, to visit more than six shops in a day, their salary would be much more considerable. If the company should think this allowance too great, let them fix a proper salary, and appropriate the collections for the use of the company. [p40-1] ... Though it would be a difficult matter to ascertain the just number of Apothecaries in the kingdom, yet, (allowance being made for the healthfulness of small places) we may reasonably suppose them to be proportionably numerous in the country as in London. Suppose then, on an average, they amount to ten thousand. What a destructive army, were they all assembled together! Now if they were compelled, by an Act of Parliament, to become members of the company, previous to their setting up in business, paying the usual sum on their being admitted, some thousands a year would arise for the benefit of the company ... [p55]

Three year later Adam Smith 1723-1790 [OB] writing in *An inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations* states (1776) states:

Apothecaries profit is become a bye-word, denoting something uncommonly extravagant. This great apparent profit, however, is frequently no more than the reasonable wages of labour. The skill of an apothecary is a much nicer and more delicate matter than that of any artificer whatever; and the trust which is reposed in him is of much greater importance. He is the physician of the poor in all cases, and of the rich when the distress or danger is not very great. His reward, therefore, ought to be suitable to his skill and his trust, and it arises generally from the price at which he sells his drugs. But the whole drugs which the best employed apothecary, in a large market town, will sell in a year, may not perhaps cost him above thirty or forty pounds. Though he should sell them, therefore, for three or four hundred, or at a thousand per cent. profit, this may frequently be no more than the reasonable wages of his labour charged, in the only way which he can charge them, upon the price of his drugs. The greater part of the apparent profit is real wages disguised in the garb of profit. [Smith (1776) I p137-8]

Taking the average cost of the drugs purchased at £35 a 300% profit would be £105 or a 1,000% profit £350. Smith's point is that the profit of £105 to £350 is really the apothecary's wage for prescribing to patients and often attending them in their homes.

Early in 1794 some London apothecaries formed a group which collected many accounts of provincial medical practice suggesting widespread irresponsible practice. These accounts were presented to a meeting of about 200 medics held later that year on 17 Jun (or Jul) at the Crown and Anchor in the Strand, London. At that meeting the General Pharmaceutical Association of Great Britain was founded with a view to remedying the situation. It would appear that the secretary of the new society then circulated many provincial towns informing them of the society's plans. Certainly at Gloucester a local committee was formed and it might be that other towns followed suit.

... early in the spring of last year, several respectable apothecaries formed themselves into a society. They ... entered into an extensive correspondence with respectable members of their own profession, in almost every part of England and Wales, ... And having collected a volume of facts ... on the 17th of June[sic], 1794, a general meeting of the apothecaries of this kingdom was held at the Crown and Anchor, in the Strand, at which about two hundred practitioners attended ... [Good (1795) p149-50]

Glocester, Aug 1, 1794. At a general meeting of the apothecaries and surgeons practising pharmacy in this city held at the Bell-Inn in consequence of letters received from the secretary of the General Pharmaceutical Association of Great Britain, the purpose of which recited their proposed plan ... unanimously agreed to by them, at their first meeting, on the 17th of July[sic] held at the Crown and Anchor, in the Strand, London ... [recites] "*We, the undersigned, surgeons and apothecaries united, under the title of the General Pharmaceutical Association of Great Britain, convinced of the great evils that accrue from the obrusion into our profession of ignorant and unskilful persons - and the composition of medical prescriptions in the shops of druggists, and more especially, from medical advice, pretended to be given in such shops, associate ourselves together, for the purpose of obtaining address against such evils, - and we pledge ourselves to each other, not to forfeit the purpose we aim at, if attainable, until we shall have carried such purpose into effect.*" ... Resolved ... form ourselves into a society, entitled, the Gloucester Medical Committee ... [Gloucester Journal, 4 Aug 1794]

The following year at the request of the Association John Mason Good 1764-1827 [OB] published a book with a long (and self explanatory title): John Mason Good, Fellow of the Medical Society of London, Member of the Corporation of Surgeons, and author of "Dissertation on the diseases of prisons and poor-houses" *The history of medicine, so far as it relates to the profession of the apothecary, from the earliest accounts to the present period: The origin of druggists, their gradual encroachments on compound pharmacy, and the evils to which the public are from thence exposed; as also from the unskilful practice of ignorant medicasters, and the means which have*

lately been devised to remedy these growing abuses. Published at the request of the Committee of the General Pharmaceutic[sic] Association of Great Britain. (1795). He writes:

Of all the branches of the medical profession, that of the apothecary, without doubt, is of most consequence to the health of the nation at large. In this city, where a physician attends one patient, an apothecary attends twenty; and, in the country, this proportion is more than doubled. "He is," says a celebrated writer [Adam Smith], "the physician to the poor at all times, and to the rich whenever the disease is without danger". In the line of mediocrity, physicians are seldom consulted, on account of the attendant expence. And huts, hovels, and cottages, which, throughout the whole country, but more especially in large manufacturing towns, inclose such infinite numbers of human beings, and feed, with perpetual pabulum, diseases of the most infectious and fatal tendency, compose almost exclusively the walk of the apothecary. To him is likewise allotted the care of nearly all prisons and poor-houses; he only has the opportunity of stifling contagion in its birth, and of preserving the nation from its deleterious effects. [p146-7]

And suggests the following regulations:

First, That the liberty to vend pharmaceutical preparations, compound physicians' prescriptions, &c. &c. should appertain to the apothecary alone. For as the apothecary necessarily attends patients without any emolument but what arises from the profits of the medicines he may vend, it will be folly to imagine that any person will subject himself to an expensive education, and a waste of time in apprenticeship, if men egregiously ignorant, can obtain, under any other appellation, the same advantages, and without the same labour, or that hazard unavoidably, and often fatally, accompanying an attendance upon the infected sick.

Secondly, That no young men be taken as apprentices who have not had an approved education.

Thirdly, That none be assistants without having been examined as to their competency for pharmaceutical compositions, &c, &c, &c.

Fourthly, That none be at liberty to settle until examined; nor any person entitled to an examination until he shall have faithfully served an apprenticeship of five years at the least.

Fifthly, That, to promote these purposes, a competent court be established, to consist of a certain number of members, who shall have full power to make such bye laws and regulations as may be thought most conducive to the welfare both of the public and the profession. [p199-200]

The Association presented a petition to parliament on 6 Feb 1795 and it was ordered "to lie on the table" indicating that it had been accepted but that no immediate action was to ensue.

(10 Feb 1795) On Monday [2 Feb] last a deputation from the Apothecaries of England and Wales entitling themselves the "General Pharmaceutical Association" waited on Mr Pitt, at his house in Downing-street, to state to him the regulations they wished to introduce into the profession; and were encouraged to prosecute their intentions, by presenting a petition to Parliament with all possible speed. [Chester Courant]

... a petition was immediately drawn up, and presented by Sir William Dolben, on the 6th of February last, and ordered to lie on the table [Good (1795) p197]

On 5 Jan 1796 another book regarding medical reform was published and one of the dedicatees was the "Pharmaceutical Association in London". No further mention of the association has been discovered.

(5 Jan 1796) This day is published ... (Dedicated to the Royal College of Physicians, the Corporation of Surgeons, and the Pharmaceutical Association in London) Hints on the proposed medical reform by a Member of the London Corporation of Surgeons [Manchester Mercury]

In 1799 William Charles Wells 1757-1817 [OB] writes:

I find many notices of an angel, or ten shillings, being the usual [physician's] fee to them, from 1665, to the beginning of the present century [1700] ... Many persons, therefore, who wished to receive benefit from medicine, but unable or unwilling to fee physicians so largely, and at the same time too proud to solicit their gratuitous aid, would naturally apply to those, who offered both advice and medicines at a cheap rate. This also seems the chief reason, and not the greater credulity of the people, why empirics formerly abounded here, more than in any other country in Europe. For, since the complete establishment of apothecaries, as medical practitioners, the number of empirics[sic] has been considerably lessened; the descriptions of men, who on account of cheapness used to resort to the latter, now applying to the former, for the cure of their complaints. The existence then of a lower order of practitioners of medicine appears necessary in this country; and the attempts of the college to destroy it were as absurd and unjust, as they were fruitless. [William Charles Wells M.D. F.R.S. A letter to the Right Hon. Lloyd Lord Kenyon ... (1799) p83 footnote]

On 9 Aug 1806 Edward Harrison 1759-1838 [OB] proposed *A plan for better regulating the practice of physic in its different branches*¹⁵⁰. This contained the following sections relating to apothecaries and chemists.

§3. That no person shall practise as an Apothecary until he shall have served an apprenticeship of five years to some regular apothecary, or surgeon practising as an apothecary; that he shall have studied the different branches of physic in some reputable school or schools during the space of at least one year, and shall have attained the age of twenty-one years.

§5. That no person shall follow the business of a retail Chemist or Druggist, unless he shall have served an apprenticeship of five years to that art

§6. That none of these restrictions be construed to affect persons at present regularly practising, in the different branches of medicine.

§8. That a register shall be kept of all medical practitioners in the United Kingdom, and every person in future entering upon the practice of any branch of the profession shall pay a fine on admission, the amount and disposition of which to be settled and specified hereafter.

About 1808 the Royal College of Physicians circulated outline proposals for *An act for the regulation of medicine*¹⁵¹. Medical practice throughout the whole country was to be regulated by the three Colleges (London, Dublin and Edinburgh). England was to be divided into 16 districts each under the control of a District Physician (on a salary not above £500). Licensed medics were to pay an annual fee of £2/2/0. Further detail is given below:

§14. That each and all of the several royal colleges shall nominate to the districts in their respective parts of the united kingdom, that is to say, the college of London to the districts in England, the college of Dublin to those in Ireland, and the college of Edinburgh to those in Scotland ...

§16. That each district physician shall reside within the district to which his college hath appointed him; that he shall have authority to call upon all physicians, practising within his district, to exhibit their diplomas and licences to practise; that he shall, either by himself or with his assessors, examine every surgeon, apothecary, chemist, druggist, or vender of medicine except such as have heretofore, by proper authorities and privileges, been permitted to practise), touching their qualifications and abilities in their several branches and professions; that he shall

¹⁵⁰ Edward Harrison *An address delivered to the Lincolnshire Benevolent Society ... in 1809* (1810) [p52-4] A longer extract is given in §Q2:1806.

¹⁵¹ Thomas Beddoes M.D. *A letter to ... Sir Joseph Banks ... on the causes and removal of the prevailing discontents, imperfections, and abuses, in medicine* (1808) [p133-6] A longer extract is given in §Q2:1808.

once in every year, or oftener if he thinks fit, examine in the day time such houses or shops as dispense medicines, and that he shall report to the quarter sessions, or to the judge at the summer assize, the result of his visitation.

§19. That the district physician shall be empowered to grant licences to all such surgeons, apothecaries, chemists, druggists and venders of medicine, as shall have been examined as aforesaid, settled within his limits, and who may not by proper authorities be otherwise privileged to act in their respective professions and occupations; that he shall exhibit to the clerk of the peace, or other proper officer, at the general quarter sessions, a list of such surgeons, apothecaries, chemists, druggists, and venders of medicine, with their respective residences, as appear to him qualified to act in their several branches, in order that the clerk, or other officer, may receive the payment of their annual licence from all such as, by especial authority and privilege, are not exempted therefrom; and that he shall transmit a similar list to the college of physicians.

§20. That each person shall pay for his annual licence two pounds two shillings, and one shilling to the clerk of the peace for registering and inserting a notification of the same in a list to be published after the summer assizes in the county news paper.

§22. That persons acting in any of the departments of medicine without licence or authority shall forfeit £30.

§25. That England be divided into sixteen districts.

§28. That for each district physician each royal college shall draw annually upon the receivers-general of the counties for a salary not exceeding £500.

On 9 Jul 1812 *An act for granting to His Majesty additional duties of excise in Great Britain on glass, hides, and tobacco and snuff* {52 George III c94} was passed¹⁵² which substantially increased the duty on glass (the glass tax). It would appear that the glass used for medicines was of the superior quality.

SCHEDULE: For every Hundred Weight of Flint Glass and of Phial Glass respectively which shall be made in Great Britain [Duty] £2/9/0 ... And in the making of Common Bottles, the same not being Phials, and of vessels made use of in Chemical laboratories, and of Garden Glasses, and of all other Vessels and Utensils made of Common Bottle Metal [Duty] 4/1

(11 Jul 1812) The *Apothecaries* are about to send in Petitions from all quarters, against the Glass Tax: and threaten, if the new Chancellor of the Exchequer refuse to prescribe an *emollient* for them on this occasion, at that after *blistering* him, they will pour all their *phials* of indignation on his financial head. [Statesman (London)]

(21 May 1813) The tax on glass had been imposed the same day with that on leather, but the results were very different. In the first three quarters the tax on leather produced £180,000 whilst that on glass produced only £2,089 in the same time [Kentish Gazette]

In the same month some London apothecaries met to discuss the excessive rise in the glass tax¹⁵³. They directed that a report be produced which was presented to a further meeting on 6 Nov 1812. In 1822 these men and others formed the Associated Apothecaries and Surgeon-Apothecaries of England and Wales (§H1.2.8).

The first general meeting of apothecaries was held on July 3, 1812, in consequence of a requisition signed by a number of gentlemen who had previously drawn together by a legislative enactment, which had raised the price of glass "excessively". A committee of twenty gentlemen was formed, and they were directed to draw up a report. ... This report was presented at a general meeting held on November 6th. It enumerates "the grievances ..." [including] remuneration remaining stationary for a century, though the expences of the apothecary have increased one hundred per cent. glass indeed even from eight shillings to forty-five shillings ...

In 1813 the question was raised as to whether regulation of apothecaries should just be provided by the London Society of Apothecaries or whether it should be national.

(1813) Who are the Apothecaries of Great Britain? Are they persons practising pharmacy only; or are they persons who join with the pharmaceutic art the practice of physic, surgery, and obstetrics? Those who practise pharmacy alone are few in number, compared with those who exercise all the branches of the profession. Every city, every town, and almost every village, in England and Wales, presents one or more of these general practitioners: but will they be legally designated by the term apothecary? If an act be procured purporting to regulate the charges, protect the rights, and define the privileges, of the apothecary only, will it extend beyond the Apothecaries' Company, and not leave the great body of useful practitioners unprotected in its rights, and uncertain of its privileges? We do not believe that the Committee at the Crown and Anchor, who solicit the attention of the Apothecaries of England and Wales to their "Report relative to the present state of Pharmacy" mean this restrictive effect; but it is essential that the bill to be founded on this Report should unequivocally remove the difficulties, which press upon the actual medical practitioners, and that these practitioners be satisfied that it will so operate. [*London Medical and Physical Journal* 29 (1813) p3]

Then in 1814 Robert Masters Kerrison 1776-1847 sums up the relationship of physician, surgeon and apothecary:

The Collegiate Physician will always retain the most distinguished rank in the medical profession. The Professor of Anatomy, being usually an Hospital-Surgeon, in the daily, or frequent habit of performing the great or difficult operations, must ever maintain a superior distinction in his line of practice. The remuneration for their services is proportioned to the estimation of their talents; it has always been, and must continue to be, great. Since, therefore, the Physician and the mere Surgeon can only be fed by a small proportion of community as often as their attendance may be necessary to restore health, or regulate it under protracted suffering, the alternative is, either to reduce their demand to the circumstances of the generality of patients, or to recognise and support a body of men, who are ready to give proof having acquired sufficient knowledge to enable them to do the duty of physicians, in ordinary cases, at a rate of charge better suited to the ability of their patients to bear. And these persons, the Surgeon-Apothecaries, are rather compensated by the multiplicity of practice, than by the expense to individuals; they have thus become the general practitioners throughout England and Wales: so that the health of, at least, nineteen of every twenty patients, is now regulated by them alone: but in cases of difficulty, doubt, or danger, they request the assistance of a physician, and, in surgical affairs, of an Hospital Surgeon. [Robert Masters Kerrison *An inquiry into the present state of the medical profession in England* ... (1814) p31-2]

D4.6 Apothecaries 1815 on

On 12 Jul 1815 was passed *An act for the better regulating the practice of apothecaries throughout England and Wales* (aka *The new apothecaries' act*) {55 George III c194} which came into force on 1 Aug 1815 and introduced a number of sweeping changes including the following provisions¹⁵⁴:

§2. Enacts, That so much of the Charter as directs that the Society might enter into any Shop or House of any Apothecary within seven miles of London, to search if any Medicines, &c. be wholesome; and so much of the Charter as directs that the said Society should have power to examine

¹⁵² Another act *An act to amend an act passed in the forty fourth year of His Majesty's reign, for granting stamp duties in Great Britain, so far as regards the duties granted on medicines and on licences for vending the same* (aka *The medicines stamp act*) {52 George III c150} (28 Jul 1812) seems to have only applied to men who were not medics.

¹⁵³ *Transactions of the Associated Apothecaries and Surgeon-Apothecaries of England and Wales I* (1823) Introductory Essay p vii-viii

¹⁵⁴ All sections of the act are outlined in §Q2:1815.

all persons in the profession within the limits prescribed, touching their skill, and to prohibit all those from the practice thereof, who should be found unskilful, and all the unwholesome Medicines, &c. to burn before the offenders' doors, and to impose fines, &c. shall be repealed.

§3. Enacts, That in lieu thereof, the Society, or any of the Assistants thereof, consisting of two persons at least, shall, at all seasonable and convenient times, in the day time, enter into any Shop of any Apothecary in England, or Wales, to search if any Medicines, &c. be wholesome, and to burn or destroy all such as shall be found unwholesome, and to report the names of such persons to the Society, who are to impose fines upon them, for the 1st offence £5, 2nd £10, 3rd, and every other offence £20.

§5. Imposes a penalty on Apothecaries wilfully refusing to prepare or sell any Medicines, or negligently mixing any medicinale compositions, as directed by any prescription of any Physician, signed with his initials; for the 1st offence £5, 2nd £10, 3rd, a Forfeiture of their Certificate. ...

§9. Enacts, That so far as regards the examination of Apothecaries and their Assistants, twelve persons, qualified as aforesaid, shall be chosen by the Society, who, or any seven of them, shall be called the Court of Examiners of the Society of Apothecaries, who are thereby authorized to examine all Apothecaries throughout England and Wales, and to grant or refuse Certificates; as they may deem expedient; and to meet once every week in the Hall of the Society, for the purpose of such Examination.

§14. Enacts, That after the first of August, 1815, no person (except persons already in practice) to practice as an Apothecary in any part of England or Wales, unless examined by the Court of Examiners, and a Certificate of Qualification obtained; and the Court of Examiners are empowered to examine all persons applying to them, to ascertain their skill and ability, and to reject or grant Certificates, as they may think proper. No person to be examined under twentyone years of age.

§15. No person to be examined unless he has served an Apprenticeship of five years to an Apothecary. Testimonials of a sufficient medical education, and of good moral conduct to be produced.

§16. Persons intending to qualify, to give notice to the Clerk of the Society, and the persons so intending to qualify, shall present themselves at the Meeting held by the Court of Examiners next succeeding, such notice to undergo the Examination.

§19. Ten pounds ten shillings to be paid for Certificates by every person intending to practice in or within ten miles of the City of London, and six pounds six shillings elsewhere. No person having obtained a Country Certificate shall practice in London, or within ten miles thereof, until the further sum of four pounds four shillings is paid, and a receipt for the same indorsed on the Certificate, two pounds two shillings to be paid by every Assistant.

§20. Penalty of twenty pounds on any person (except present Practitioners), acting as an Apothecary after said first of August without Certificate. Penalty of five pounds on any person (except such as are then acting as such, and excepting persons who have actually served an Apprenticeship as aforesaid) acting as an Assistant, without having obtained a Certificate.

§21. Apothecaries not to recover their Charges in a Court of Law, unless duly licensed.

§22. Persons being refused an Apothecary's Certificate, may apply again for the same, six months after the first examination. Assistants may apply again in three months after such refusal.

§23. Annual list of Apothecaries, qualified, with their addresses, to be published by the Apothecaries' Company.

§25. Penalties to be paid, one half to the Informer and the other to the Society.

After 1 Aug 1815, under §14 of the act, all intending apothecaries, had to obtain a "certificate of qualification" which was to become known as a licence. Holders of the licence were generally styled L.S.A. - Licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries¹⁵⁵. Only men aged at least 21 were eligible to be examined by the "Court of Examiners". Men had also to have served a five year apprenticeship with an apothecary (§15). Subsequently apothecaries might be styled "licensed" or "unlicensed". Unlicensed men in practice before 1 Aug 1815 were exempted from the provisions of the new act but others were open to prosecution for practising without a licence.

Some men were styled M.S.A. "Member of the Society of Apothecaries". One Samuel Merriman M.D. 1771-1853 is said to have become a member "by purchase" probably in the late 18C. Others became M.S.A. after 1815 but it is unclear what benefits accrued from membership.

(1853) [Obituary] Samuel Merriman Esq M.D. ... born on the 25th day of October 1771 ... Dr Merriman's legal right to practise medicine arose from his connection with the Society of Apothecaries, the admission to the membership of which he had purchased in early life ... in 1831 elected on the Court of Examiners ... [GM]

In 1844 the Society of Apothecaries published *A statement by the Society of Apothecaries on the subject of their administration of The apothecaries' act, with reference to some supposed features of Sir James Graham's promised measure of medical reform*. This booklet extends to some 44 pages and provides background information about the opinions of the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons, and others, with regard to medical regulation, both prior to and after the 1815 act. In particular it gives considerable detail regarding the types of study and training candidates were expected to complete at different periods, and also, the difficulties attendant on the prosecution of unlicensed practitioners (see below). In mind throughout the account is Graham's supposed new measure.

On page 16 of the booklet is a table recording the numbers of examinees for the licence arranged by twelve month periods. It commences with the year from 1 Aug 1815 (when the act came into force) to 31 Jul 1816 and continues to 31 Jan 1844 so that the final period 1843-4 is only of six months duration. These figures¹⁵⁶ are shown in the table and chart below - with a percentage pass rate added. Unfortunately the booklet makes no comment on the fluctuation in number of examinees and their pass rates nor does it state the form of the examination itself - for instance whether oral or written. It does state:

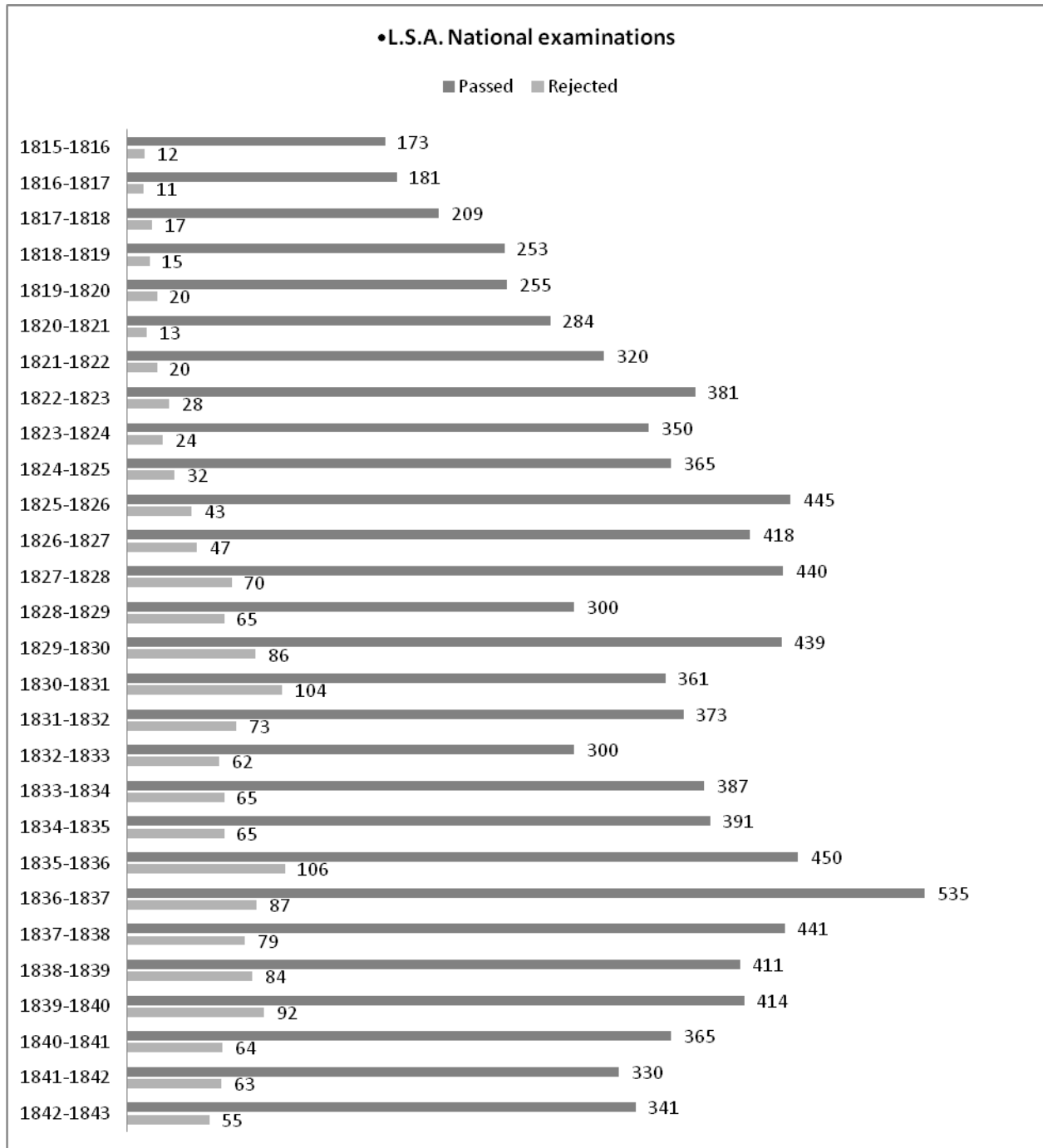
As some evidence of the extent to which the Regulations of the Court of Examiners influence the course of study pursued by those who are preparing themselves for the practice of the medical profession, it may be stated, that the number of students who registered at Apothecaries' Hall at the commencement of the winter session of 1843-4, as having entered to lectures at the metropolitan schools alone, in conformity with the Regulations of the Court, amounted to 1,031. Every student is required, at the commencement of each medical session, to register his tickets of admission to the lectures to be attended in that session; and at the close of the session to register his teacher's certificate of his having attended such lectures. The principal object of the registration is to insure the punctual attendance of the student on all the courses of lectures required by the Court. ... The following table exhibits the number of those who, having completed their education in conformity with the Regulations of the Court, have presented themselves for examination for the certificate, and have either succeeded in satisfying the Court of their competency to practise, or have been, for the time, remanded to their studies:

Examination of the statistics shows that in the first eleven years (1815-26) both the number of examinees and the number of passes steadily increased (bar a small excess jump in 1823-4) - so that examinees increased from 185

¹⁵⁵ The L.S.A. was sometimes styled L.A.S., L.C.A., L.A.C., or L.A.H. reflecting the style of the Society which was sometimes called the Society of Apothecaries (L.S.A.), the Apothecaries Society (L.A.S.), the Company of Apothecaries (L.C.A.), the Apothecaries Company (L.A.C.) & Apothecaries Hall (L.A.H.). Occasionally the prefix Worshipful was used and sometimes the phrase "of London" was added.

¹⁵⁶ The final six month period 1843-4 is excluded.

to 488 and passes from 173 to 445. Throughout this period the percentage pass rate varied only slightly between 91% and 94% with an average of 93%. In the second seventeen year period (1826-43) the percentage pass rate is noticeably lower at 84%. The first year it is 90% and in 1830-1 it is exceptionally low at 78%. However in most years it falls between 81% and 86%. Throughout this second period the number of examinees (362 to 622) and number of passes (300 to 535) fluctuates considerably but with no obvious pattern. Over the whole period from 1815 to 1843 there were 11,414 examinees of whom 1,502 were rejected and 9,912 passed - an average pass rate of 87%.



•L.S.A. - National examinations									
Period	Examined	Rejected	Passed	% Passed	Period	Examined	Rejected	Passed	% Passed
1815-1816	185	12	173	94%	1826-1827	465	47	418	90%
1816-1817	192	11	181	94%	1827-1828	510	70	440	86%
1817-1818	226	17	209	92%	1828-1829	365	65	300	82%
1818-1819	268	15	253	94%	1829-1830	525	86	439	84%
1819-1820	275	20	255	93%	1830-1831	465	104	361	78%
1820-1821	297	13	284	96%	1831-1832	446	73	373	84%
1821-1822	340	20	320	94%	1832-1833	362	62	300	83%
1822-1823	409	28	381	93%	1833-1834	452	65	387	86%
1823-1824	374	24	350	94%	1834-1835	456	65	391	86%
1824-1825	397	32	365	92%	1835-1836	556	106	450	81%
1825-1826	488	43	445	91%	1836-1837	622	87	535	86%
1815-1826					1837-1838	520	79	441	85%
Total	3451	235	3216	93%	1838-1839	495	84	411	83%
Average	314	21	292	93%	1839-1840	506	92	414	82%
					1840-1841	429	64	365	85%
					1841-1842	393	63	330	84%
					1842-1843	396	55	341	86%
					1826-1843				
					Total	7963	1267	6696	84%
					Average	468	75	394	84%

The *New apothecaries' act* makes provision for the prosecution of unlicensed apothecaries:

§7. Appoints the Master, Wardens, and Society of Apothecaries, to carry the Act into execution, and to enforce the provisions thereof.

§20. Penalty of twenty pounds on any person (except present Practitioners), acting as an Apothecary after said first of August without Certificate. Penalty of five pounds on any person (except such as are then acting as such, and excepting persons who have actually served an Apprenticeship as aforesaid) acting as an Assistant, without having obtained a Certificate.

§25. Penalties to be paid, one half to the Informer and the other to the Society.

As noted above the Society of Apothecaries in their 1844 publication made comment on the difficulties attendant on the prosecution of unlicensed practitioners. The following observations were made:

With regard to the penal provisions of the Apothecaries' Act, the machinery by which the law is to be put in force is so ill-adapted to the purpose ... The punishment being a penalty recoverable only by action of debt which must be tried at the assizes for the county in which the offence is committed; the number of witnesses required to establish a conclusive case,... ... the great expense necessarily attending the proceedings, and the difficulty, in most instances, of obtaining sufficient evidence to warrant the adoption of proceedings, all combine to put it out of the Society's power to institute frequent prosecutions. They have been able to do little more than make an example of an unqualified practitioner from time to time, and thus intimate to the public that the law was one which it was an offence to break. ... footnote: In proof the caution exercised by the Society in the selection of cases for prosecution, it may be mentioned, that out of the numerous actions for penalties instituted since the passing of the act, in one instance only have the Society been unsuccessful ... footnote: Six actions for penalties, which were tried within a comparatively recent period, were conducted at an average expence to the Society of £320 each ... in one of these actions ... there were two trials. [Society of Apothecaries (1844) p30-1]

Earlier in 1834 *An account of the number of prosecutions by the Society of Apothecaries, for penalties under act 55 Geo 3, c. 194, from the passing of the act to 31 July 1834* was published¹⁵⁷. In the main list are details of 98 prosecutions conducted by the Society which all appear to be for practising without a licence (except one, conducted, on their behalf, by "The King", for a conspiracy in which an examinee was personated at an examination). A further list is of six prosecutions mainly regarding fraudulent indentures. In most of the 97 prosecutions for practising without a licence neither the penalty (usually £20) nor the costs (quite varied) were recovered. Defendants sometimes absconded. In many cases they received a certificate after a second examination. In one case the "action not proceeded in; [defendant] proved to be in practice before 1815" and in one other the case was heard and "verdict for the defendant; costs paid to him £151/5/5".

D4.7 Cohort apothecaries to 1700

D4.7.1 Introduction

All the cohort^x men practising before 1548 - including two apothecaries - are discussed in §C2. Nine county apothecaries have been found from 1549 to 1660 (§D4.7.2) and another 22 from 1660 to 1700 (§D4.7.3).

There appear to have been no regulations governing apothecaries outside London until the *New apothecaries' act* was passed in 1815. However those apothecaries who had been apprenticed to men who were members of guilds or who worked in municipal towns might have been controlled to some extent by those authorities.

D4.7.2 1549-1660

¹⁵⁷ as Appendix No 12 in a Report from the Select Committee on Medical Education (1834) Part III p105-9

The names of only nine men who might have been apothecaries practising in Staffordshire before the Restoration of 1660 have been discovered. They are found in practice at Stafford (1, from perhaps 1573), at Lichfield (6, from perhaps 1584) and at Wolverhampton (2, from perhaps 1633).

Stafford (?1573)

Richard Hollinbury of Stafford apothecary c1552-....

?1573-....

... is probably a son or kinsman of Stephen Hollinbury of Stafford apothecary c1521-1576 to whom he might have been apprenticed about 1566. Perhaps time served about 1573 he appears to have practised at Stafford where in 1589 he was suing for a debt in the Borough Court.

Lichfield (?1584)

George Curitall of Lichfield apothecary c1553-....

?1584-1618

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. Perhaps time served about 1574 he was likely in practice at Lichfield by 1584 until after 1618. Curitall's wife might have been an aunt of Richard Drafgate of Lichfield apothecary c1584-1667 and Curitall might have taken Drafgate apprentice. Curitall was a Lichfield sheriff (1590), junior bailiff (1594) and senior bailiff (1599 and 1609).

Richard Drafgate of Lichfield apothecary c1584-1667

?1605-1657

Drafgate was the son of a Staffordshire anglican. His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered but he could have been apprenticed to George Curitall of Lichfield apothecary c1553-.... (who may have married one of Drafgate's aunts). Possibly time served about 1605 Drafgate was probably in practice at Lichfield by 1615 and here he was buried, aged about 83, on 23 Feb 1656.7 at St Michael. In 1648 he leased a property in Saddler Street, Lichfield to John Parker of Lichfield apothecary c1619-1655 and in 1655 was an appraiser of Parker's inventory. Drafgate was a Lichfield sheriff (1623), junior bailiff (1629), senior bailiff (1638, 1649 & 1656) and magistrate. He was said to be a prominent parliamentarian.

Thomas Cope of Lichfield apothecary c1574-1641

1623-1641

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. He married at Lichfield in 1623 and probably practised there until his burial, perhaps aged about 67, on 17 Mar 1641. About 1634 he took apprentice a nephew of his wife Henry Boylston c1620-1690 to whom he bequeathed "all the wares belonging to my trade which nowe are in my shopp ... together with the shelves chests and boxes in my shoppe or belonging to my trade ..." provided that Boylston marry his niece Elizabeth Cope (which he did).

Henry Boylston of Lichfield apothecary c1620-1690

1641-1690

He was apprenticed to Thomas Cope of Lichfield apothecary c1574-1641 about 1634. In his will Cope bequeaths Boylston, his wife's nephew, "*all the wares belonging to my trade which nowe are in my shopp ... together with the shelves chests and boxes in my shoppe or belonging to my trade ...*" provided that Boylston marry his niece Elizabeth Cope (which he did). Boylston practised all his working life at Lichfield where he was buried, aged about 70, on 8 Jan 1689.90 at St Michael. He likely took apprentice his son (by a second wife) George Boylston c1654-1694 about 1668. Boylston lived in Bird Street and was a Bailiff of Lichfield.

John Parker of Lichfield apothecary c1619-1655

1648-1655

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. Perhaps time served about 1640 in 1648 he leased from Richard Drafgate of Lichfield apothecary c1584-1667 a property in Saddler Street, Lichfield where he doubtless practised at the sign of the "naked boy" until he was buried, aged about 36, on 27 Feb 1654.5 at Lichfield St Mary. Parker's widow Joan appears to have continued his practice for in 1670 their son John Parker 1655-1711, who was probably born posthumous, was apprenticed to his mother.

Samuel Newbould of Lichfield apothecary 1636-1666

?1657-1666

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. Likely time served about 1657 he married at Lichfield in 1661 and was buried there, aged about 30, on 11 Jun 1666 at St Mary. His personalty was valued at £74 in an inventory of 25 Jun 1666 which is very detailed. Over a hundred items stocked in his shop (which alone total £27/3/0) are listed. One of the men taking the inventory was a fellow apothecary Henry Boylston of Lichfield c1620-1690.

Wolverhampton (?1633)

Richard Bracegirdle of Wolverhampton apothecary 1612-1677

?1633-1677

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. He appears to have practised all his working life at Wolverhampton where he died, aged 65, on 29 Mar 1677 with burial there on 31 Mar. An elaborate monument in his memory was erected by his son Henry Bracegirdle 1643-1703 who was sacrist of that church.

John Richardson of Wolverhampton apothecary c1613-1687

?1634-1687

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. Perhaps time served about 1634 he probably practised all his working life at Wolverhampton where he was buried, aged about 74, on 5 Apr 1687. Richardson likely took apprentice his son Francis Richardson 1652-1694 about 1666 and, if correctly identified, his son Thomas Richardson about 1669.

D4.7.3 1660-1700

From the Restoration (1660) to the end of the century (1700) 22 more apothecaries have been discovered practising in Staffordshire. They are found in practice at the three places mentioned above - Stafford (2), Lichfield (5), and Wolverhampton (4) - and also at Leek (2, ?1665), Uttoxeter (1, ?1673), Burton-upon-Trent (2, ?1676), Stone (2, 1678), Handsworth (1, 1680), Tamworth (1, ?1684), Newcastle (1, 1694), and Walsall (1, 1689).

About 1670 Thomas Gyles of Stafford apothecary c1642-1688 issued a halfpenny token bearing the apothecaries' arms and a Staffordshire knot with the inscription "THO GYLES APOTHECARY IN STAFFORD HIS HALF[E] PENY".

Stafford (?1573)

Sampson Birch of Stafford apothecary ?1632-?1713

1660-1713

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. By 1660 he was practising as an apothecary at Stafford. About 1677 he took apprentice Thomas Anson 1663-.... In 1684 he wrote letters concerning "an extra-ordinary birth in Staffordshire" to Robert Plot who discusses the matter in *The natural history of Stafford-shire* (1686). The poll-tax assessment for 1699 records Birch with his wife, two children, an unnamed apprentice and a servant living in the East Gate Ward. Birch was probably buried, aged about 81, on 14 Oct 1713 at Stafford St Mary. Birch was Mayor of Stafford in 1682 when he wrote a letter to a government official commenting on the nonconformity of his fellow apothecary Thomas Gyles apothecary c1642-1688.

Thomas Gyles of Stafford apothecary c1642-1688

?1664-1688

Gyles was the son of a Worcestershire anglican gentleman. About 1656 he was apprenticed at Worcester but there fell ill and returned to his widowed mother's home at Kidderminster, Worcs. Recovering from his illness he was re-apprenticed for seven years to John Allen of Kidderminster apothecary. Time served in about 1664, he probably practised all his working life at Stafford. Perhaps about 1670 he issued a halfpenny token bearing the apothecaries' arms and a Staffordshire knot with the inscription "THO GYLES APOTHECARY IN STAFFORD HIS HALF[E] PENY". In 1673 he solicited the presbyterian William Westmacott physician c1650-1721 to come to Stafford to practice. Gyles himself converted to presbyterian for in 1682 the Mayor of Stafford, Sampson Birch of Stafford apothecary ?1632-?1713, wrote a letter to a government official "enclosing information about Gyles and commenting on Gyles's nonconformity, conventicling and dispersing news tending to sedition;

instances his extolling and sending abroad that base libel called Lord Shaftesbury's speech". Gyles was buried, aged about 46, on 10 Aug 1688 at St Mary with burial requested in the chancel.

Lichfield (?1584)

George Boylston of Lichfield apothecary c1654-1694

c1675-1694

He was likely apprenticed to his father (Henry Boylston of Lichfield apothecary c1620-1690) about 1668. Probably time served about 1675 he appears to have practised all his working life at Lichfield where about 1688 he took apprentice both Thomas Allott c1674-.... and John Marten 1674-1745. He also likely took apprentice his son Henry Boylston 1679-1749 about 1693. Boylston was buried, aged about 40, on 2 Apr 1694 at St Michael. The following year 1695 at Bird Street, Lichfield his mother was head of a household which included three of his children (including Henry) and his two apprentices.

John Parker of Lichfield apothecary 1655-1711

c1676-711

He was probably born posthumous and was apprenticed for 9 years to his widowed mother (formerly wife of John Parker of Lichfield apothecary c1619-1655) in 1670 and then re-apprenticed in 1673 to Collings Woolrich. Probably time served about 1676 he likely practised all his working life at Lichfield. In 1685 he was licensed to practise physic and surgery in the province of Canterbury but appears to have continued in practice as an apothecary. Parker was buried, aged 56, on 8 Feb 1710.1 at St Mary. His personality was valued at £128/8/0. This included a sum of £70 for all the equipment and stock relating to his trade.

Thomas Roe of Lichfield apothecary c1652-1690

1688-1690

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. Possibly time served about 1673 by 1688 he was in practice at Lichfield where he was buried, aged about 38, on 23 Jan 1690 at St Mary.

John Spendelow of Lichfield apothecary ?1667-....

?1688-?1725

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. Perhaps time served about 1688 he was living in Lichfield in 1692 and probably practised there until about 1725 but may then have left.

Richard Burnes of Lichfield apothecary 1661-1733

1695-1733

Possibly time served about 1682 in 1695 he was living in Market Street, Lichfield and in his household was an apprentice Richard Hammond 1679-1739 later to become an apothecary. This is the only evidence that Burnes himself was an apothecary. Burnes was buried, aged 72, on 17 Oct 1733 at Lichfield St Michael. He was a Lichfield land tax commissioner.

Wolverhampton (?1633)

Edward Perry of Wolverhampton apothecary ?1638-1706

?1663-1706

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. By 1663 he was probably in practice at Wolverhampton where he was buried, aged about 68, on 22 Feb 1705.6. Burial was in the choir.

Francis Richardson of Wolverhampton apothecary 1652-1694

1673-1694

He was likely apprenticed to his father (John Richardson of Wolverhampton apothecary c1613-1687) about 1666. Time served about 1673 he probably practised all his working life at Wolverhampton where he was buried, aged 42, on 27 Nov 1694.

Robert Cooper of Wolverhampton apothecary c1659-1728

1689-1728

By 1689 he was in practice at Wolverhampton where he took apprentice for 7 years at £60 John Pardoe 1697-.... about 28 Jul 1712 and where he was buried, aged about 49, on 25 Mar 1728.

Edward Cole of Wolverhampton apothecary c1670-?1712

?1691-1712

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. He could have been in practice at Wolverhampton from about 1691 to 1712 where he may have been buried, aged about 42, as "Mr Edward Coles" on 11 Jul 1712. In 1734 he was described as "of Wolverhampton apothecary deceased".

Leek (?1665)

William Hulme of Leek apothecary 1637-1693

?1665-1693

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. Likely time served about 1658 by 1665 he was practising as an apothecary at Leek where he inherited property at Lower Tittesworth. He is also said to have been a surgeon. He was buried, aged 56, on 21 Oct 1693 at Leek. His inventory styles him "Doctor William Hulme of Tettesworth in the parish of Leek" and values his property, which includes "a parcell of books" but no medical items, at £20/16/0.

William Watson of Leek apothecary c1650-1689

....-1689

He was a grocer at Leek but his inventory included apothecary ware valued at £5 so it is likely that he also practised as an apothecary. He was buried, aged about 39, on 12 Jun 1689 at Leek.

Uttoxeter (?1673)

Nathaniel Bate of Uttoxeter apothecary c1646-?1704

?1673-?1696

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. Possibly time served in 1667 about 1673 he married a woman from Uttoxeter and probably practised there until about 1696 when he appears to have succeeded an elder brother to the family estate at West Broughton in Sudbury, Derbys. However he is said to have "sold all and died poor".

Burton-upon-Trent (?1676)

Francis Bridges of Burton-upon-Trent apothecary c1645-1717

?1676-1717

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered, Bridges may have been in practice at Burton-upon-Trent by 1676 and was buried there, aged about 72, on 17 Nov 1716. His personality was valued at £24/4/8. This was one of the lowest (cohort) valuations. His inventory included "A box of surgeons instruments 10/0 ... [and] in the back study one hundred and twenty bookes £3/10/0 ...". Joseph Bridges of Burton-upon-Trent M.D. ?1678-1698 was probably his first son and if so was likely apprenticed to his father about 1692. Part of his book collection may have belonged to Joseph who died soon after graduation at Utrecht in 1697 and may have brought back some books from abroad.

Thomas Toundrow of Burton-upon-Trent apothecary ?1665-1724

?1686-1724

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. Perhaps time served about 1686 he may have practised all his working life at Burton-upon-Trent where he was buried, aged about 59, on 1 Nov 1724. He likely took apprentice his son Thomas Toundrow 1698-1783 about 1712.

Stone (?1678)

William Sherrard of Stone apothecary c1648-1680

1678-1680

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. He was likely in practice at Stone by 1678 and here he was buried, aged about 32, on 31 May 1680. His wife of two years was then pregnant and shortly after gave birth to a posthumous son.

William Bateman of Stone apothecary c1660-1705

1694-1705

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. He was in practice at Stone by 1694 when he was the publisher of a medical book, or pamphlet, written by William Westmacott of Newcastle physician c1650-1721 regarding the medical use of the spa water at Blurton in the neighbouring parish of Trentham and was intending "to take any observations from any ingenious or distemper'd persons, that make trials of this spaw." About 1700 he took apprentice John Bailey of Uttoxeter apothecary ?1686-1759 and in his will ordered "that my apprentice John Bayley shall out

of the money arising upon the sale of my personal estate be placed with some able & honest apothecary to serve out the remaying time of his apprenticeship". At Stone Bateman was buried, aged about 45, on 17 Oct 1705. His personalty was valued at £264/13/11 in his inventory which included "Debts certaine & paid £86 [and] the totall of the shopp goods £136/3/10

Handsworth (1680)

Michael Stanley of Handsworth apothecary c1640-?1711

1680

Stanley was the son of a Staffordshire (? roman catholic) gentleman. His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. He was in practice at Handsworth in 1680 when he was included in a list of Staffordshire roman catholics. On the death of an elder brother in 1701 he appears to have been his heir and may then have inherited some family property. He was probably buried, aged about 61, on 4 Oct 1711 at Handsworth. In his inventory which included "about twenty bookes [at] £1/5/0" his personalty was valued at £12/7/0.

Tamworth (?1684)

Edward Bradgate of Tamworth apothecary ?1663-1711

?1684-1711

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. Time served about 1684 he probably practised at Tamworth all his working life and here he was buried, aged about 48, on 23 Mar 1710.1.

Newcastle (1694)

Thomas Spendelow of Newcastle apothecary c1660-1701

1694-1701

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. Perhaps time served about 1681 he lived and presumably practised at Newcastle from at least 1694 until his burial there, aged about 41, on 5 Dec 1701. In 1705 his widow Abigail remarried to John Swan of Newcastle apothecary c1675-1721 who may have succeeded to Spendelow's practice and likely took apprentice his stepson Peter Spendelow 1699-1732 about 1713. ... Spendelow was sometime Receiver-General of Staffordshire. ... He was also Mayor of Newcastle in 1698-9.

Walsall (?1689)

Richard Loe of Walsall apothecary ?1668-1711

?1689-1711

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. Likely time served about 1689 he probably practised all his working life at Walsall where he died, aged about 43, and was perhaps buried on 7 Nov 1711. His personalty was valued at £169/11/06 by an inventory.

D4.8 Cohort apothecaries 1751-1814

In 1773 (see §D4.5) it was suggested that there might have been 8,000 provincial apothecaries practising in the forty or so (§Z3.4) traditional English counties - about 200 in each county. This work estimates there were about 82 apothecaries and surgeons in practice in Staffordshire in 1771 (§D1.2).

On 17 Dec 1790 Erasmus Darwin of Lichfield M.B. 1731-1802 wrote a letter¹⁵⁸ to his son Robert Waring Darwin M.D. 1766-1848 who had a friend at Edinburgh wanting advice on his approach to establishing a medical practice. The letter is quoted in full since it touches on a number of matters some general and some local.

Dear Robert, I cannot give any letters of recommendation to Lichfield, as I am and have been from their infancy acquainted with all the apothecaries there; and as such letters must be directed to some of their patients, they would both feel and resent it. When Mr Mellor [Samuel Septimus Mellor of Lichfield surgeon 1765-1836] went to settle there from Derby I took no part about him. As to the prospect of success there, if the young man who is now at Edinburgh should take a degree (which I suppose is probable), he had better not settle in Lichfield. ... I should advise your friend to use at first all means to get acquainted with the people of all ranks. At first a parcel of blue and red glasses at the windows might gain part of the retail business on market days, and thus get acquaintance with that class of people. I remember Mr Green, of Lichfield [Richard Greene of Lichfield surgeon & apothecary 1716-1793], who is now growing very old, once told me his retail business, by means of his show-shop and many-coloured window, produced him £100 a year. Secondly, I remember a very foolish, garrulous apothecary at Cannock, who had great business without any knowlege or even art, except that he persuaded people he kept good drugs; and this he accomplished by only one stratagem, and that was by boring every person who was so unfortunate as to step into his shop with the goodness of his drugs. "Here's a fine piece of assafoetida, smell of this valerian, taste this album graecum. Dr Fungus [an imaginary name] says he never saw such a fine piece in his life." Thirdly, dining every market day at a farmers' ordinary would bring him some acquaintance, and I don't think a little impediment in his speech would at all injure him, but rather the contrary by attracting notice. Fourthly, card assemblies - I think at Lichfield surgeons are not admitted as they are here; - but they are to dancing assemblies; these therefore he should attend. Thus have I emptied my quiver of the arts of the Pharmacopol. Dr K——d, I think, supported his business by perpetual boasting, like a Charlatan; this does for a blackguard character, but ill suits a more polished or modest man. ... If the young man has any friends at Shrewsbury who could give him letters of introduction to the proctors, this would forward his getting acquaintance. For all the above purposes some money must at first be necessary, as he should appear well; which money cannot be better laid out, as it will pay the greatest of all interest by settling him well for life. Journeymen Apothecaries have not greater wages than many servants; and in this state they not only lose time, but are in a manner lowered in the estimation of the world, and less likely to succeed afterwards. I will certainly send to him, when first I go to Lichfield. I do not think his impediment of speech will injure him; I did not find it so in respect to myself. If he is not in such narrow circumstances but that he can appear well, and has the knowlege and sense you believe him to have, I dare say he will succeed anywhere. A letter of introduction from you to Miss Seward, mentioning his education, may be of service to him, and another from Mr Howard. Adieu, from, dear Robert, Yours most affectionately, E Darwin.

D4.9 Cohort apothecaries 1815 on

On 12 Jul 1815 was passed *An act for the better regulating the practice of apothecaries throughout England and Wales* (aka *The new apothecaries' act*) {55 George III c194} which came into force on 1 Aug 1815 and introduced a number of sweeping changes which are outlined in §D4.6.

The principal innovation was that all intending apothecaries, had to obtain a "certificate of qualification" which was to become known as a licence. Holders were styled L.S.A. - Licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries. Between 1815 and 1851 - 319 of the cohort¹⁵⁹ qualified L.S.A. The chart below shows the numbers that qualified each year.

The variation in the numbers of annual Staffordshire¹⁵⁹ cohort¹⁵⁹ licences might have been explained by variations in national numbers but a glance at the chart of L.S.A. National Examinations (§D4.6) shows there is no

¹⁵⁸ King-Hele (1981) p206-7

¹⁵⁹ Some cohort men may have qualified L.S.A. whilst resident outside the county.

correlation. This is corroborated by the table¹⁶⁰ below which shows that, in any given year between 1815 and 1843, the Staffordshire cohort^x licentiates formed anywhere between 1% and 5% of the national total. This considerable variation has no obvious explanation. During the whole of this period the average cohort^x share is 3% which would appear to be a proportionate share. For it can be argued that England consisted of 40 traditional counties (see §Z2.3) and on that basis the average county percentage share would be 2.5%.

•L.S.A. - National and Staffordshire licences							
Year	National number	Staffs number	Staffs % of whole	Year	National number	Staffs number	Staffs % of whole
1815	72	1	1%	1830	407	15	4%
1816	176	2	1%	1831	366	10	3%
1817	193	8	4%	1832	343	5	1%
1818	227	4	2%	1833	336	11	3%
1819	254	5	2%	1834	389	14	4%
1820	267	7	3%	1835	416	16	4%
1821	299	8	3%	1836	485	12	2%
1822	345	10	3%	1837	496	15	3%
1823	368	8	2%	1838	429	11	3%
1824	356	11	3%	1839	412	8	2%
1825	398	8	2%	1840	394	13	3%
1826	434	20	5%	1841	350	9	3%
1827	427	7	2%	1842	335	8	2%
1828	382	7	2%	1843	300	14	5%
1829	358	10	3%	Total	10013	277	3%

Three of the cohort^x were styled M.S.A. "Member of the Society of Apothecaries" (see §D4.6). These were Joshua Seddon 1797-1862 (L.S.A. and M.S.A. in 1819), Benjamin Bellin 1797-1868 (L.S.A. and M.S.A. in 1823) and John Maule Sutton 1829-1886 (M.S.A. in 1850 and L.S.A. in 1853).

D4.12 Unlicensed apothecaries

As discussed in §D4.6 *The new apothecaries' act* {55 George III c194} (12 Jul 1815) made provision for the prosecution of unlicensed apothecaries. These lawsuits had to take place in the relevant county Assize Court and were expensive to conduct. Nationally between 1815 and 1834 the Society conducted 97 prosecutions for unlicensed practice and one prosecution for a conspiracy in which an examinee was personated at an examination.

Of the 98 prosecutions five were against men practising in Staffordshire - John Warburton, Arnold Warburton and Thomas Fox in 1819, Joseph Fernyhough in 1826 and John Talbot Cartwright in 1834. The first two of these prosecutions appear to be the second and third national cases. The lawsuit against Fernyhough was unsuccessful - the only case nationally to fail after an actual trial. The single case for conspiracy in 1819 also involved a Staffordshire man - Thomas Fox.

Two other cohort^x medics are known to have been unlicensed - William Walker Bramwell and Charles William Alsop.

John Warburton of Betley L.S.A. 1792-1878

1819

On 15 Mar 1819 the lawsuit "Society of Apothecaries *versus* John Warburton" was heard at Stafford Lent Assizes when John Warburton of Betley [L.S.A.] 1792-1878 was prosecuted. The Society were said in court, by Warburton's lawyers, to be acting on behalf "of the apothecaries in the neighbourhood, who jealous of, and hurt by, the professional success of the defendant, wished to put an end to his practice by this action." The sum of £700 was sought in damages for 35 separate offences but in the event the Society reduced their claim to £20 for one specimen case. John Warburton admitted to practising as an apothecary but claimed to have been in practice before 1 Aug 1815 and to have served an apprenticeship with his father Arnold Warburton of Newcastle "surgeon" 1767-?1822. Arnold Warburton was called as a witness and admitted to having no formal medical education or training. Primarily on this basis the jury "almost instantly" returned a verdict for the plaintiffs with damages of £20. Both the penalty of £20 and the taxed costs of £266/10/0 were recovered¹⁶¹.

Arnold Warburton of Newcastle "surgeon" 1767-?1822

1819 (or 1820)

On 15 Mar 1819 the lawsuit "Society of Apothecaries *versus* Arnold Warburton" was proposed against Arnold Warburton of Newcastle "surgeon" 1767-?1822 for practising as an unlicensed apothecary contrary to §14 of *The new apothecaries' act* (1815). However the "action discontinued, defendant having quitted his residence, and left practice".

Thomas Fox of Burslem L.S.A. c1796-1824

1819

On 26 Oct 1820 a court case was held at the Court of King's Bench "Crown *versus* Thomas Bennett and Thomas Fox"¹⁶². Thomas Bennett of Macclesfield, Cheshire and Thomas Fox of Burslem L.S.A. c1796-1824 were prosecuted for a *conspiracy* to obtain the certificate of the Society of Apothecaries. Whilst training and studying in London Fox had formed a friendship with Bennett who had qualified L.S.A. on 27 Aug (or Sep) 1818 and tutored Fox. On 13 May 1819 Bennett fraudulently impersonated Fox at a Society of Apothecaries' examination and qualified L.S.A. obtaining in Fox's name a certificate. Fox then commenced practice at Burslem but on the discovery of the fraud surrendered his fake certificate. It was not disputed that Bennett had impersonated Fox but there was no definite evidence of a *conspiracy* and both men were found not guilty. A few months later on 4 Jan 1821 Fox (properly) qualified L.S.A. and continued in practice at Burslem.

Joseph Fernyhough of Yoxall surgeon & apothecary ?1797-1843

1826

On 17 Jul 1826 the lawsuit "Society of Apothecaries *versus* Joseph Fernyhough" was brought at the Stafford Michaelmas Assizes against Joseph Fernyhough of Yoxall surgeon & apothecary ?1797-1843. The lawsuit was unsuccessful and Fernyhough recovered his costs of £151/5/5 from the

¹⁶⁰ In this table the national figures (see §D4.6) have been converted to run January to December. For 1815 this is 5/12 of the year 1815-6; for 1816 - 7/12 of 1815-6 plus 5/12 of 1816-7; and so on. The total national pass number does not include 20 passes reckoned to have been in Jan 1844.

¹⁶¹ A full account is given in §Y.1819 and see also F13.1819.

¹⁶² see F13.1820

Society. In 1810 Fernyhough was apprenticed to James Heap of Wolverhampton druggist. Then in 1814/5 he was probably assistant to William Gaunt of Longdon surgeon & apothecary ?1775-1829. In May 1815 he claimed to have become junior partner to William James Sutton of Yoxall surgeon ?1773-1817 then said to be "addicted to liquor" and after his death assisted his widow in the practice. Probably the following year he commenced practice at Yoxall on his own account. To a modern observer it might appear that both parties to the dispute may have "embroidered" the truth.¹⁶³

John Talbot Cartwright of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1810-1872

1834

Early in 1834 the lawsuit "Society of Apothecaries *versus* John Talbot Cartwright" was brought against John Talbot Cartwright of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S. [L.S.A.] c1810-1872. This prosecution was successful and the Society recovered costs of £8¹⁶⁴. On 1 May 1834 he qualified L.S.A.

Charles William Alsop of Ipstones surgeon 1806-1872

1841

Alsop was the son of a Staffordshire anglican surgeon & apothecary. He may have served an apprenticeship with his father. At Ipstones he was in practice as a surgeon in 1841 and in 1851 claimed to be L.S.A. although apparently unlicensed.

William Walker Bramwell of Burslem surgeon c1807-1853

1835

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. He was in practice in the county by 1835 when he had taken one Meek (a kinsman of his wife) apprentice as a surgeon and apothecary. On 27 Jan 1835 Jones, acting as the trustee for Meek, brought a successful lawsuit against him at the Exchequer Court for practising as an unlicensed apothecary.. The court required the indentures to be cancelled and the apprentice fee of £100 to be returned. By 1841 he was living at Burslem where he was buried, aged 45, on 3 Apr 1853. (see §F13.1835)

D5 Midwives and men-midwives

D5.1 Introduction; D5.2 Midwives; D5.3 Men-midwives; D5.4 Men-midwives (secular licensing); D5.5 Cohort \times men-midwives (notes); D5.6 Cohort \times men-midwives (register)

D5.1 Introduction¹⁶⁵

From ancient times the practice of midwifery was mainly, perhaps exclusively, the province of women. However by the early 17C men are also found practising midwifery. In this work *midwife* is used to describe a woman who assisted other women at childbirth whilst *man-midwife* is used to describe a man who assisted women at childbirth.

Bishop's licences to practice physic and surgery were issued from 1511 (see §Q2.1511) and they were also later issued to practise midwifery but as far as has been discovered only to women. Other types of licence or qualification to practise midwifery seem only to have been available to men.

Sections below discuss midwives and their licensing (§D5.2) and men-midwives (§D5.3) and their licensing (§D5.4). Lastly in §D5.5&6 are some notes and a register of the cohort \times men-midwives.

D5.2 Midwives

Midwives are mentioned in the bible¹⁶⁶:

And the King of Egypt spake to the Hebrew midwives ... and he said. When ye do the office of a midwife, to the Hebrew women, and see them upon their stools; if it be a son, then ye shall kill him; but if it be a daughter, then she shall live. [Exodus Chapter 1 verses 15-16]

About 1303 midwives are mentioned in a manuscript composed by Robert Mannyng of Brunne-p1338 [OB]. At that early period they were permitted to christen babies.

Mydwyuës þat wyþ wymmen wone, | Alle þe poyntes, behoueþ hem kone; | Prestes shuld teche hem þe ordynaunce, | what þey shuld sey and do yn chaunce, | And examyne her what she couthe, | what she shuld do, and seye with mouþe | Y shal 3ow telle of a mydwyfe, | Þat loste a chylde, boþe soule & lyfe. | he tolde hyt yn hys sermoun, | And 3aue here ofte hys malysoun. | Pys mydwyfe, whan þe chylde was bore, | She helde hyt on here lappe before; | And whan she sawe þat hyt shulde deye, | She bygan, loudë for to crye, | And seyde, "God and seynt Ione | Crysten þe chylde, boþe flesshe and bone." | Pys mydwyffe noghte ellës seyde, | And yn þe cherche-3erde þey wulde hyt haue leyde, | As a-nouþer chylde shuld ha be | Þat hade receyuede þe solempte. | Þe prest askede þe mydwyffe, | "3yfe hyt were cristenede whan hyt hade lyffe, | And who hyt cristenede, and on what manere, | And what was seyde, þat any myghte here." | Þe mydwyffe seyde unto þe prest, | "Pys herde þey þat stode me nest, | Þat God almyghty and Seynt Ioun | 3yue þe chylde cristenom yn flesshe and boun." | Þan seyde þe preste, "God and seynt Iame | 3yue þe boþe sorow and shame, | And Crystys malysun haue þou for-þy, | And alle þe ouþer þat were þe by! | Yn euyl tymë were þou bore, | For yn þy defaute, a soule ys lore." | She was commaunded she shuld no more | Come eftesones þere chyldryn were bore. | Mydwyuës, y tolde thys tale for 3ow, | Þat 3yf 3e kunnat, lerneþ how | To sauë þat, God bo3t ful dere, | Þe poyntes of bapteme y rede 3ow lere; | Mydwyfe ys a perylus þyng | But she kunne þe poyntes of crystenying;

Licences to practise midwifery were issued by the church but it is undiscovered when and by whom the first licence was issued and under what authority. Cellier, below, states that Bishop Bonner "drew up the Form of the first License". Edward Bonner c1496-1569 [OB] was Bishop of London from 1539 to 1549 and again from 1553 to 1559. In 1547 Andrew Boorde c1490-1549 [OB], a particularly unconventional former monk and physician, published *A breviary of health*. The extract¹⁶⁷, below, seems to imply (use of should and ought) that in 1547 licences for midwifery were never or perhaps seldom issued.

"every midwife shuld be presented with honest women of great gravitie to the Byshoppe, and that they shulde testify for her that they do present shoulde be a sadde woman wise and discrete havynge experience, and worthy to have the office of a midwife. Than the Byshoppe with the counsell of a doctor of phisicke ought to examine her, and to instruct her in that thinge that she is ignoraunt ... and were [this done] in England there shulde nat be halfe so many women myscarry, nor so many children perished in every place in Englande as there be."

¹⁶³ A full account is given in §X1826. And see F13.1826

¹⁶⁴ And see F13.1834

¹⁶⁵ Herbert R. Spencer *The history of British midwifery from 1650 to 1800 ...* (1927) has been consulted.

¹⁶⁶ The original was, of course, in Hebrew.

¹⁶⁷ The original text is unseen and this quotation is taken from various later sources. In this extract the word "sadde" is used to mean experienced.

In 1567 a midwifery licence was issued by Matthew Parker (Archbishop of Canterbury) 1504-1575 [OB]. Eleanor Peade (or Eleonor Pead) is said to have been questioned by Parker her as to her knowledge of midwifery and also have been separately examined by eight women¹⁶⁸. She took the following oath¹⁶⁹:

I, Eleonor Pead, admitted to the office and occupation of a midwife, will faithfully and diligently exercise the said office according to such cunning and knowledge as God hath given me: and that I will be ready to help and aid as well poor as rich women being in labour and travail of child, and will always be ready both to poor and rich, in exercising and executing of my said office. Also, I will not permit or suffer that any woman being in labour or travail shall name any other to be the father of her child, than only he who is the right and true father thereof: and that I will not suffer any other body's child to be set, brought, or laid before any woman delivered of child in the place of her natural child, so far forth as I can know and understand. Also, I will not use any kind of sorcery or incantation in the time of the travail of any woman: and that I will not destroy the child born of any woman, nor cut, nor pull off the head thereof, or otherwise dismember or hurt the same, or suffer it to be so hurt or dismembered by any manner of ways or means. Also, that in the ministration of the sacrament of baptism in the time of necessity, I will use apt and the accustomed words of the same sacrament, that is to say, these words following, or the like in effect; *I christen thee in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost*, and none other profane words. And that in such time of necessity, in baptizing any infant born, and pouring water upon the head of the same infant, I will use pure and clean water, and not any rose or damask water, or water made of any confection or mixture: and that I will certify the curate of the parish church of every such baptizing.

This oath permitted a midwife to christen a baby "in the time of necessity". At Lichfield a baby was christened by a midwife in 1591.

(12 Oct 1591, Lichfield St Mary) 12. Margaret¹⁷⁰ Dawghter of walter henningham de Pyppehall baptized by the mydwyfe & as yett not browghte to the churche to be there examyned and testified by them that were there presente

From Feb 1644 to May 1660 the whole system of episcopacy and church government (doubtless including medical licensing) was abolished by the presbyterians (see §N1.7). Cellier, below, states that in the period from 1642 to 1660 only the London Company of Barber-Surgeons issued licences. Licensing by bishops continued after the restoration and it is perhaps from this period that men-midwives might have been licensed.

In 1687 Elizabeth Cellier [OB], a roman catholic convert, worked as a midwife among the catholic nobility in London. In 1687 she published *A scheme for the foundation of a Royal Hospital, and raising a revenue of five or six thouand pounds a year, by and for the maintenance of a corporation of skilful midwives, and such foundlings, or exposed children as shall be admitted therein. As it was proposed and addressed to his majesty King James II, by Mrs Elizabeth Cellier, in the month of June 1687* and the following year, as Elizabeth Celleor, *To Dr. ---- An Answer to his Queries, concerning the Colledg of Midwives* from which the extract below is taken.

Nor did the Bishops pretend to License Midwives till Bp. Bonner's time, who drew up the Form of the first License, which continued in full force till 1642, and then the Physicians and Chirurgions contending about it, it was adjudged a Chyrurgical Operation, and the Midwives were Licensed at Chirurgions-Hall, but not till they had passed three Examinations, before six skilful Midwives, and as many Chirurgions expert in the Art of Midwifery. Thus it continued until the Act of Uniformity passed, which sent the Midwives back to Doctors Commons, where they pay their Money, (take an Oath which is impossible for them to keep) and return home as skilful as they went thither. I make no Reflections on those learned Gentlemen the Licensers, but refer the curious for their further satisfaction, to the Yearly Bills of Mortality, from 42 to 62: Collections of which they may find at Clerks-Hall: Which if they please to compare with these of late Years, they will find there did not then happen the eight part of the Casualties, either to Women or Children, as do now.

I hope, Doctor, these Considerations will deter any of you from pretending to teach us Midwifery, especially such as confess they never delivered Women in their Lives, and being asked What they would do in such a Case? reply they have not yet studied it, but will when occasion serves; This is something to the purpose I must confess, Doctor: But I doubt it will not satisfy the Women of this Age, who are so sensible and impatient of their Pain, that few of them will be prevailed with to bear it, in Complement to the Doctor, while he fetches his Book, studies the Case, and teaches the Midwife to perform her work, which she hopes may be done before he comes.

I protest, Doctor, I have not Power enough with the Women to hope to prevail with them to be patient in this case, and I think if the Learnedst of you all should propose it whilst the Pains are on, he would come off with the same Applause which Phormio had, who having never seen a Battel in his Life, read a Military Lecture to Hannibal the Great.

But let this pass, Doctor, as I do the Discourses you have often made to me on this Subject, and I will tell you something worthy of your most serious Consideration: Which is, ... That in September last, our Gracious Sovereign was pleased to promise to unite the Midwives into a Corporation, by His Royal Charter, and also to found a Cradle-Hospital, to breed up exposed Children, to prevent the many Murders, and the Executions which attend them; which pious design will never want a suitable Return from God, who no doubt will fully reward his Care for preserving so many Innocents as would: otherwise be lost.

And I doubt not but one way will be by giving him a Prince by his Royal Consort, who like another Moses may become a Mighty Captain for the Nation; and lead to Battel the Soldiers wich the Hospital will preserve for him.

And now, Doctor, let me put you in mind, that tho you have often Laughed at me, and some Doctors have accounted me a Mad Woman these last four Years, for saying Her Majesty was full of Children, and that the Bath would assist her Breeding: 'Tis now proved so true, that I have come to hope my self may live to praise God, not only for a Prince of Wales, and a Duke of York, but for many other Royal Babes by Her; and if the over Officious will but he pleased to let them live, That a few years to see them Muster their little Soldiers: Which Joyful Sight, I believe, is the hearty Desire of all Loyal Subjects, of what Persuasion soever, as it is the daily and fervent Prayer of, Your Servant,

From my House in Arundel-street, near St. Clement's Church in the Strand. Jan. 16. 1687/8. ELIZABETH CELLEOR.

In 1752 the Edinburgh Incorporation of Surgeons granted its first licence to practise (female) midwifery as is described below:

In 1752, the Incorporation granted its licence for women to practise midwifery. Mrs Anna Ker, the first lady to receive the licence, in her petition for examination, states, that as the office of midwifery was of the greatest consequence to mankind and one of the most useful branches of surgery, it behoved everyone who intended to practise it to be previously instructed in the principles of the art, and not to follow the common method of women, of beginning practice without either study or experience. After being examined upon all the different sorts of births, natural, laborious, and preternatural, and on the methods of treating women after delivery and new-born children, the examiners (of whom Prof. R. Smith was one) said she was in every respect extremely well qualified to discharge the office of midwife and well deserved the favour of a licence, which was accordingly granted. [Creswell (1926) p167]

No mention has been found of Staffordshire midwives who were licensed or otherwise qualified.

¹⁶⁸ *Registrum Matthei Parker, Diocesis Cantuariensis, A.D. 1559-1575* (1928) [unseen]

¹⁶⁹ John Strype *Annals of the Reformation ... Vol I Part II* (1824) p243

¹⁷⁰ Margaret was the 2nd daughter of Sir Walter Heveningham Knight 1562-1636, sometime Sheriff of Staffordshire, who was buried at Lichfield Cathedral. [SLG]

D5.3 Men-midwives

At all periods men may also have practised midwifery. However the term man-midwife is only first found in use in 1625. Accoucheur is first found in English in 1741 (although in French in 1595) and obstetrician as late as 1812. All three terms appear to be synonymous and the midwifery role unambiguous.¹⁷¹

After the restoration in 1660 more men are found practising midwifery. In the following century several books were written regarding the development of new techniques and instruments, lying-in hospitals were opened and proper training in male midwifery commenced.

In 1665 one book on midwifery explains a method for extracting *dead* babies which had presented head first using a hook (or, crochet). Seven years later Hugh Chamberlen states that he and his family had been using an unspecified method of extracting such babies *alive* for a long time. In 1735 it was asserted that Chamberlen's method involved the use of forceps. By that year various types of forceps were in general use.¹⁷²

finde out the form how the Child is posited in the womb; if so be that the head lie forward, then fasten a hook to one of the Eyes of it, or to the roof the mouth ... when you have fastned your Instrument, draw it out very gently and tenderly, that you hurt not the woman [[P.C.] *Dr. Chamberlain's midwives practice: Or, a guide for women ...* (1665) p146]

... because[sic] my Father, Brothers, and my Self, [though none else in Europe as I know] have by Gods blessing, and our industry, attained to, and long practised a way to deliver a Women[sic] in this case without any prejudice to her or her Infant; though all others, (being reduced, for want of such an expedient, to imploy the common way) do, and must endanger, if not destroy one or both, by the use of these Crochets. By this manuall operation ... I will now take leave to offer an Apology for not publishing the secret I mention we have to extract Children without hooks, where other Artists use them, which is, that there being my Father and two Brothers living, that practise this Art, I cannot esteem it my own to dispose of, nor publish it without injury to them; and think I have not been unserviceable to my own Country, although I do but inform them that the forementioned three persons of our family, and my self, can serve them in these extremities, with greater safety than others. [*The accomplit midwife, treating of the diseases of women with child, and in child=bed ... Written in French by Francis Mauriceau. Translated, and enlarged with some marginal notes, by Hugh Chamberlen, M.D. and Physician in Ordinary to his Majesty* (1673) [... from my house in Prujeans-Court in the Old-Baily, London this 15th of May, 1672.] [The Translator to the Reader p a2]

But here I must observe, that as there are several different Sorts of Forceps, so they are far from being all equally proper; and great Regard is to be had to their Form. I once saw a Pair at a noted Instrument-Maker's, which I thought very faulty; and was shewn a Pair by a Brother Practitioner in the Country, which could not be used with either Success or Advantage; the Diameter of the Curve being too large, and its Bows too short. ... The chief Books on this Subject, extant in our Language, are Dr Chamberlen's Translation of Mauriceau, and the Translations of Dionis, Deventer, &c which I shall have occasion to mention hereafter; and shall only observe here, that the Secret mentioned by Dr Chamberlen, by which his Father, two Brothers, and himself saved such Children as presented with the Head, but could not be born by natural Pains, was, as is generally believed, if not past all Dispute, the Use of the Forceps, now well known to all the principal Men of the Profession ... [Edmund Chapman, surgeon *A treatise on the improvement of midwifery ... The second edition* (1735) p xxi and 6]

In 1739 Richard Manningham 1685-1759 [OB] established a lying-in "infirmiry", in a house adjacent to his own, probably the first such facility in Britain and the precursor of the lying-in hospitals which quickly followed. It is recorded¹⁷³:

Manningham taught midwifery, for a course fee of 20 guineas, using, as did many of his contemporaries, some kind of model of a pelvis and uterus. His main published work, of 1739 and 1740, was *Artis obstetricariae compendium*, which was translated into English in 1744; the original version was written in inelegant and incorrect Latin. ... Manningham's major contribution to midwifery was that of establishing, in 1739, for the first time in this country, lying-in beds for mothers; these were in a house next to his own, in Jermyn Street, not in the local parochial infirmiry, as was once believed. The idea of lying-in beds was current among some of Manningham's contemporaries in London but he was the first to put it into practice; one of his objectives was to teach midwives. His Abstract of midwifery for use in the lying-in infirmiry appeared in 1744; the institution closed a little later.

About 1740 William Smellie 1697-1763 [OB] set up practice in London and that year marks the start of the transformation of midwifery in Britain into an organised and scientifically based discipline. The following comments illustrate his methods¹⁷⁴:

Smellie began his career in London by setting himself up as a teacher, advertising the times and places of his teaching sessions and training methods at the cost of 3 guineas for a full course. Over the next ten years he taught over 900 male students and an unknown number of female ones. ... Having always kept exact records of his cases Smellie published in 1752 *A treatise of the theory and practice of midwifery*. ... He devised many modifications of the obstetric forceps and describes their methods of application. He describes in detail the various methods to be applied in dealing with abnormalities in the presentation of the foetus. This monumental work was translated into French, German, and Dutch languages and became a classic in obstetric literature. The book made Smellie the best-known name in midwifery in Britain so that 'no-one could discuss the subject without referring to his book'.

From 1745 following on Manningham's infirmiry a number of lying-in hospitals were opened in Britain and Ireland. Staffordshire did not have a dedicated lying-in hospital prior to 1851¹⁷⁵. The nearest was evidently that at Birmingham . The hospitals include¹⁷⁶: Dublin Lying-in-Hospital (later known as The Rotunda) (1745), British Lying-in Hospital (in Brownlow Street, London) (1749), City of London Lying-in Hospital for Married Women (in Aldersgate) (1750), London General Lying-in Hospital (from 1809 Queen Charlotte's) (1752), Westminster New Lying-in Hospital (in Westminster Bridge Road, Lambeth) (1765), Edinburgh Lying-in Hospital (from 1846 Edinburgh Royal Maternity Hospital) (1784), Manchester Lying-in Hospital (?1790), Belfast Lying-in Hospital

¹⁷¹ see §D5.3

¹⁷² The development and use of the forceps and similar instruments is very complex. A useful book is J.H. Aveling, M.D., F.S.A. *The Chamberlens and the midwifery forceps Memorials of the family and an essay on the invention of the instrument* (1882). Elsewhere an uncredited comment is made that " Among Catholics, the spread of man-midwifery may have been further encouraged by the use of a less arcane tool, the syringe."

¹⁷³ OB

¹⁷⁴ OB

¹⁷⁵ Nor has a record been found of one after that date.

¹⁷⁶ Dates in this section are for guidance only. See also Spencer (1927) p179-82

(1794), Cork Lying-in Hospital (1798), London Queen Adelaide's Lying-in Hospital (1828), Dublin: Coombe Lying-in Hospital (1829) and Birmingham Lying-in Hospital (1843),

In 1769 the Edinburgh Incorporation of Surgeons sought an opinion from counsel regarding the practice of (male) midwifery:

In 1769, when the Incorporation consulted Counsel upon some privileges contained in their Charter of 1694, which settled the boundaries between the physicians and surgeons, they touched upon the question of midwifery and requested an opinion as to whether the practice of that art did not belong exclusively to themselves, for according to the physicians' patent the latter were excluded from performing any sort of manual operation and consequently that of midwifery. In reply to this query, Mr Henry Dundas (to whom the questions were submitted) said:

I apprehend this query is the one of most importance to the Memorialists, and therefore should have wished it had been in my power to give them an answer to the question more agreeable to their wishes than I find myself at liberty to do. So far, I am of opinion that if midwifery did exclusively belong, either to the Physicians or the Surgeons, it does seem more naturally to belong to the art of the latter than that of the former. But my difficulty consists in this, that I do not see the grounds upon which to be of opinion that it falls under any exclusive privilege. If midwifery had been understood to fall under the exclusive right of any of the Societies, it was a matter of too general and notorious importance to escape a particular mention being made of it; but so far is this from being the case, I cannot discover any word which can be so tortured as to comprehend it, and indeed, if I am not mistaken, the history of the art renders it impossible that it should have been mentioned, for at the time that both the Societies were erected, midwifery was not practised and understood to be a male operation, and accordingly the uniform consuetude, which is the best interpreter of all writings, has uniformly explained this matter agreeable to the opinion which I now give, for it has never been claimed as exclusive right either of Physicians or Surgeons, but has been practised by any woman in the country who choosed to think herself qualified for it. For these reasons I am of opinion there is no room for entering into a discussion to settle the boundaries betwixt the Physicians and the Surgeons as to this point, because I do not think it falls under the exclusive privileges either of the one or of the other. Creswell (1926) p167-8

By the mid 18C many men were practising midwifery but the question of their status and more importantly their training and qualification was unresolved. The Society of Apothecaries are said to have introduced an examination for midwives in 1827¹⁷⁷ and it may be that all those who obtained an L.S.A. after that year had acquired a basic training in midwifery. As late as 1860 some special provisions were deemed unnecessary.

(30 Jun 1860) General Council of Medical Education and Registration ... [Moved] 4. That as midwifery forms a branch of the education and examination of every physician and surgeon, and is not mentioned in the body of the Medical Act, apart from the qualification of physician and surgeon, it is unnecessary and inexpedient that licences in midwifery should be especially registered ... [amendment] That the memorial of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, in regard to midwifery licences be referred to the committee to consider what amendments are required in the Medical Act [The Lancet]

D5.4 Men-midwives (secular licensing)

Secular¹⁷⁸ licences were of two sorts. The one sort *validated* existing practitioners of midwifery whilst the other sort *qualified* men to practice after they had trained and studied. The licence of the Royal College of Physicians of London appears to have been *validatory* whilst the remainder were *qualifications*.

D5.4.1 King and Queen's College of Physicians of Ireland (1692)

On its foundation in 1692 the college was given the right of granting licences in medicine and midwifery to practice within a radius of seven miles of the city of Dublin (see §Q3.4).

D5.4.2 Royal College of Physicians of London (1783)

On 6 Oct 1783 the College of Physicians resolved that licences be granted to practitioners in midwifery. Between 1783 and 1788 they apparently only issued nine licences with a tenth issued in 1800¹⁷⁹.

"1783, Octr. 6. The College having taken into consideration the Practice of Midwifery resolved that Licences be granted to Practitioners in Midwifery." [Annals, vol. xv, p. 35. quoted by Munk© under entry for Thomas Denman]

(6 Jan 1784) Since the original institution of the College of Physicians of London, a particular branch of medicine has sprung up, and gradually extended itself over the whole kingdom; which, although of high importance to the welfare of the community, has hitherto been unnoticed in the statutes of the College - The *art and science of midwifery*, or that branch of the practice of phsyic, which has for its object the superintendance of the art of parturition, and the treatment of the sex in consequence thereof, seems by its importance to have long demanded the attention of the College of Physicians. They have accordingly come to the resolution of granting their *diploma* to such persons, as shall appear on examination to be properly qualified to practice midwifery. Two gentlemen of great reputation in that branch have availed themselves of this new regulation, and were last week admitted of the College of Physicians, as *Licentiates in Midwifery*. [Leeds Intelligencer]

•Royal College of Physicians - Licences in midwifery							
Name	Born	Died	M.D.		Date		Age
Thomas Denman	1733	1815	1764	Aberdeen	22 Dec	1783	50
William Osborn	1736	1808	1777	St Andrews	22 Dec	1783	47
Charles Combe	1743	1817	1784	Glasgow	5 Apr	1784	41
Michael Underwood	1736	1820			5 Apr	1784	48
Thomas Savage	1724	1804	1753	Rheims	26 Jun	1786	62
John Cooper	nk	nk	1779	St Andrews	26 Jun	1786	nk
John Squire	1732	1816	1765	Aberdeen	30 Sep	1786	54
John Clarke	1758	1815			2 Apr	1787	29
Louis Poignand	1746	1820			30 Sep	1788	42
Robert Batty	1763	1849	1797	St Andrews	30 Sep	1800	37

¹⁷⁷ The Obstetrical Society of London in existence only from 1825-1828 is said to have influenced the Society of Apothecaries to introduce examinations in midwifery; the Royal College of Physicians to permit Licentiates practising midwifery to become Fellows; and The Royal College of Surgeons to allow Members who were accoucheurs to be examiners.

¹⁷⁸ Men might have received a bishop's licence to practise midwifery but no Lichfield licences have been discovered.

¹⁷⁹ The table has been mainly constructed from Munk©.

Most of the licences were issued to men who were graduate physicians and had been in practice for several years. Munk© styles all these men "LRCP" on account of their being "admitted by the College of Physicians a Licentiate in Midwifery" (or similar) except for Thomas Savage (see below) and the last man Robert Batty who is said to have been *additionally* admitted LRCP four years later (on 22 Dec 1804). It is then likely that initially the college saw these men as just another type of Licentiate but perhaps later Batty's situation was less clear and needed a further award. As far as can be ascertained all these men only practised midwifery in London and whatever the licentiate was precisely it was of the sort that *validated* their practice. Munk© gives this entry for Thomas Savage:

A native of Staffordshire, and a doctor of medicine of Rheims, of 5th June, 1753; was admitted a Licentiate of the College of Physicians 26th June, 1786. He enjoyed a large obstetric practice, and died at his house in Conduit-street, 14th March, 1804, in the eightieth year of his age.

The entry does not state that he was a licentiate *in midwifery* but this may possibly be inferred from his "obstetric practice". Savage is probably recorded as "R. Savage M D White Conduit Street" in *The medical register for the year 1783* (p14) and was probably a roman catholic since his death is recorded in the *Laity's Directory*.

(1804 Mar 14) Thomas Savage, M.D., Conduit Street, aged 80 [*Laity's Directory* - Obituaries {of roman catholics}]
 (20 Mar 1804, Westminster St Mary Paddington Green) Thomas Savage M.D. St George Hanover Square [buried]
 (6 Feb 1802) Westminster General Infirmary ... [candidates] must be a licentiate or licentiate in midwifery of the College of Physicians of London [Morning Post]

Dr. Alexander Underwood, who attended the Princess of Wales at the birth of the Princess Charlotte, outlived the other nine licentiates in midwifery. He died March 14, 1820, at the age of 84 [Munk©].

D5.4.3 Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland (1784)

The Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland was created by royal charter on 11 Feb 1784 and was open to both anglicans and roman catholics. In 1785 there was to be an election to fill three professorial chairs: in anatomy and physiology, in practice and operations of surgery and in midwifery. The first two appointments were made later that year but a professor of midwifery was not appointed until 1789. From its inception the college granted three qualifications of which one was a diploma in midwifery. This was only open to graduate physicians and "regularly educated" surgeons. However because the Royal College of Physicians of Ireland conferred their own licence in midwifery their fellows and licentiates were excluded¹⁸⁰.

Subsequently a number of men obtained licences in midwifery in Dublin and these are often linked to particular hospitals. It seems likely that the licences were issued by those hospitals on behalf of the College.

(8 Aug 1828) ... a graduate ... Licentiate of Midwifery of the King and Queen's Lying-in Hospital in Dublin ... [London Courier]
 (9 Jan 1836) ... Licentiate in Midwifery the Anglesey Lying-in Hospital [Leeds Mercury, Anglesey in Dublin]
 (24 May 1845) Edward Hodges ... Dublin Hospital, Licentiate in Midwifery [Northampton Mercury]
 (28 May 1847) Dr Faulks Ph.D M.D. Licentiate in Midwifery of Dublin [Liverpool Mercury]

D5.4.4 Edinburgh (1800)

Licences to practise midwifery were apparently being issued at Edinburgh in 1800 but under what authority is unclear. In 1819 a recently qualified man setting up business in Leeds was styled "Licentiate in Midwifery of the University of Edinburgh".

(1800) Carey, Joseph Knight M.D., L.R.C.S., and Licentiate in Midwifery, Edinburgh, 1800 ... [died] at his residence ... Limerick ... Aug 3, aged 78 [MD, 1855]
 (1818) Metcalfe, Thomas Thompson was L.S.A. Sept. 17 1818 [REG9840]
 (13 Dec 1819) A CARD. T.T. Metcalfe, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, and Licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries, London; Member of the Royal Medical Society, and Licentiate in Midwifery of the University of Edinburgh, &c begs respectfully to announce ... commenced the practice ... Bank, Commercial-street, Leeds, 12th Mo 3d, 1819. [Leeds Intelligencer]

D5.4.5 Glasgow (1826)

Robert Little (below) was styled "L.M. Glasg. 1826" but under what authority is unclear.

D5.4.6 Royal College of Surgeons of England (1852)

By charters of 1839 and 1852 it became possible for the Royal College of Surgeons to conduct examinations in midwifery¹⁸¹ which they did in Dec 1852. On 31 Jan 1853 it was reported that 31 members¹⁸² had obtained the diploma in midwifery.¹⁸³

D5.5 Cohort men-midwives (notes)

The first discovered Staffordshire man-midwife was George Hector of Lichfield surgeon c1677-1743 who was in practice at Lichfield when he attended the birth of Samuel Johnson 1709-1784 [OB].

¹⁸⁰ Widdess (1967) p13 43 45

¹⁸¹ Candidates had to attend two sessions of lectures on obstetrics and to have conducted 20 labours. [Cope (1959) p131-2]

¹⁸² It is not known if any were from Staffordshire.

¹⁸³ For a fuller account see Thomas R. Forbes "The Regulation of English Midwives in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries" in *Medical History* 15 (1971) p352-62.

(7 Sep 1709) Sept. 7, [September 18 under the Gregorian Calendar], 1709, I was born at Lichfield. My mother had a very difficult and dangerous labour, and was assisted by George Hector, a man-midwife of great reputation. I was born almost dead, and could not cry for some time. When he had me in his arms, he said, "Here is a brave boy." . . . [An account of the life of Dr. Samuel Johnson ... written by himself ... (1805) p9]

John Altree 1701-1751 was time served to an apothecary about 1723 when he commenced practice at Wolverhampton. In 1733 he is probably the "Mr Altery" who christened "in his mothers womb" a son, who was born dead, of a roman catholic gentleman Peter Giffard of Chillington in Brewood. By 1848 he had graduated M.D. and it was perhaps at Wolverhampton that he performed an unusual operation to remove a long dead foetus from a Birmingham woman.

(11 Mar 1732.3, Chillington Roman Catholic) On the 11th of march was Baptised in his mothers womb by mr Altery the man midwife john Gifford son to Peter Gifford esq & Hellena Roberts his wife The child was born dead.

(1748) ... A poor woman in Finland had long laboured under disorders consequent to a big belly ... M. Maunsey, physician to the Empress of Russia, had it open'd. The first opening did not succeed, a second was then attempted along the linea alba under the navel by which was extracted the entire body of a foetus which had lain there 15 years ... [A note reads] The like operation, in like circumstances, was successfully performed by Dr Altree now of Norfolk-street [London], late of Wolverhampton on a young woman of Birmingham whose case will soon be laid before the royal society. More another time] [GM 1748 p112]

In 1753 at Brewood an apothecary's shop complete with drugs and instruments for surgery and midwifery was available to let.

(25 Dec 1753) To be Lett and enter'd on immediately, A Well-accustom'd Apothecary's Shop, at Brewood: Also a Quantity of fresh Drugs, and Instruments proper for Surgery and Midwifry, to be sold. A good Tenant will meet with Encouragement, For Particulars, enquire of Thomas Rock in Brewood. [Aris's Birmingham Gazette quoted by Lane (1993)]

In his will of about 1781 John Dickinson of Bilston surgeon & apothecary c1738-1782 writes:

I give and bequeath all my fixtures in the shop and instruments belonging to my business of a surgeon and apothecary together with all my books appertaining to surgery physick and midwifery and all my stock of drugs unto my son William Dickinson ... placing and continuing my son William Dickinson ... convenient and usual time in some one or more of the London hospitals to be there instructed in the several arts of surgery physic and midwifery and attending all usual proper lectures ...

In 1784 John Fortescue of Rugeley c1751-1817 "surgeon, apothecary & midwife" took apprentice for 7 years at £40 Isaac Faulkner 1768-1856. This is the only Staffordshire medical apprenticeship discovered which mentions midwifery.

After he graduated M.D. at Aberdeen in 1789 Richard Croft of Tutbury M.D. 1762-1818 moved to London where he practised as a man-midwife amongst the upper classes of society. He attended the Princess Charlotte who died in childbirth on 6 Nov 1817. Affected by this circumstance he committed suicide in London, aged 56, on 13 Feb 1818.

Time served about 1785 William Simmons of Stone M.R.C.S. c1763-1830 appears to have practised at Stone until moving to Manchester about 1790. That year he was appointed a surgeon at Manchester Infirmary and was senior surgeon by 1798 when he wrote *Reflections on the propriety of performing the Caesarean operation ...*

About 1798 the following men were styled "surgeon & man-midwife" in *The Universal British directory*:

George Cope of Leek surgeon & apothecary 1744-1817, John Ford of Stoke-upon-Trent surgeon ?1764-...., Fielding Best Fynney of Leek surgeon & apothecary 1744-1805, William Jones of Burslem surgeon e1758-...., Joseph Boneal Lane of Stoke-upon-Trent surgeon 1762-1814, Henry Somerville of Stafford M.D. c1765-1830, Thomas Spencer of Tutbury surgeon ?1745-1821 and Edward Taylor of Wednesbury surgeon c1749-1810 "surgeon, apothecary & man-midwife"

The unfortunate death in 1839 of a Newcastle woman following childbirth was recorded in the *Staffordshire Advertiser*.

(26 Oct 1839) DEATH FROM HEMORRHAGE[sic] An inquest was held ... at Newcastle ... to enquire into the circumstances connected with the death of a fine healthy young woman Elizabeth Eaton aged 20 ... midwife directed a surgeon to be sent for. Mr. Rowland assistant to Messrs Dudley and Tait, arrived in a few moments ... verdict was recorded "Died from hemorrhage after delivery" ... Jury expressed a strong opinion on the impropriety and great danger attending the employment of ignorant women as midwives ... [STS:ADV]

In 1848 the •court case - Crown versus William Harding Flint - was held at the Stafford Summer Assizes when Flint was indicted for killing and slaying Elizabeth Riley at Sheen on 29 Mar 1848. Riley was in the final hours of a pregnancy and Flint's appalling treatment of her is described at the trial (§Y.1848).

About 1851 the Lichfield Dispensary was annually treating about 80 midwifery cases.

(1851) The DISPENSARY, in Boar street, for the relief of the sick and lame poor, was established many years ago, and relieves annually about 500 patients, besides about 80 midwifery cases. It is supported by donations and subscriptions, amounting to £10 per annum. Dr Rowley is the physician; Messrs. Allport and Morgan are the surgeons; Mr. R. Morris, dispenser; and Mr Geo. Stevens secretary. [White]

Perhaps surprisingly only 21 licensed midwives have been discovered¹⁸⁴ amongst the cohort. These are shown in the table below in which Thomas Crean appears twice since he was licensed in 1845 and again in 1859 by the King and Queen's College of Physicians of Ireland. Seven men were licensed at Dublin between 1825 and 1845. Three of the licences were issued by the Rotunda Lying-in Hospital. It may be that Dublin licences were issued by hospitals on behalf of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland (§D.4.4.3). In 1826 Robert Little was the only man licensed at Glasgow (§D.4.4.5) whilst three men were licensed at Edinburgh (§D.4.4.4) in 1838, 1840 and 1873. Eleven men were licensed from 1853 to 1873 probably by the Royal College of Surgeons of England (§D5.4.6).

•Licences in midwifery - cohort						
Name	Born	Place	Authority	Date	Age	
James	Rawson	1800	Dublin		1825	25
Robert Shirley	Belcher	1805	Dublin	Rotunda Lying-in Hospital	1826	21
Robert	Little	1802	Glasgow		1826	24
James	McMunn	1811	Dublin	Rotunda Lying-in Hospital	1832	21
Samuel Palmer	Goddard	1818	Edinburgh		1838	20
Arthur Neville	Hawthorne	1819	Dublin		1839	20
Michael	Ryan	1816	Dublin		1839	23
Charles Thomas	Davenport	1818	Edinburgh		1840	22
Edward	Cheshire	1822	Dublin		1842	20
Thomas	Crean	1827	Dublin	Rotunda Lying-in Hospital	1845	18
Henry Joseph	Stormont	1829	not known		1853	24
John Maule	Sutton	1829	not known		1853	24
John	Vinall	1817	not known		1853	36
William	Moxon	1833	not known		1854	21
William Joseph	Dawes	1831	not known		1855	24
Phineas John	Kendrick	1833	not known		1856	23
Edward Joseph	Marshall	1833	not known		1856	23
Daniel	Shelswell	1830	not known		1856	26
William	Lynes	1835	not known		1858	23
Thomas	Crean	1827	Dublin	K&Q.C.P.I. (2nd licence)	1859	32
Frederick	Bradley	1831	not known		1865	34
William Henry	Pope	1821	Edinburgh		1873	52

D5.6 Cohort men-midwives (register)

Below is a list of the cohort medics discovered to have practised midwifery.

George Hector of Lichfield surgeon c1677-1743

1709

He was in practice at Lichfield when, as a man-midwife, he attended the birth of Samuel Johnson 1709-1784 [OB].

(7 Sep 1709) Sept. 7, [September 18 under the Gregorian Calendar], 1709, I was born at Lichfield. My mother had a very difficult and dangerous labour, and was assisted by George Hector, a man-midwife of great reputation. I was born almost dead, and could not cry for some time. When he had me in his arms, he said, "Here is a brave boy." . . . [An account of the life of Dr. Samuel Johnson ... written by himself ... (1805) p9]

Jonathan Brooke of Stafford M.D. 1690-1735

?1731

He was admitted L.R.C.P. in 1731 and was conferred M.D. from St Andrews in 1733. Brooke is said to have practised as a man-midwife.

John Altree of Wolverhampton M.D. 1701-1751

1733

Time served about 1723 he commenced practice at Wolverhampton as a surgeon, apothecary and man-midwife. In 1733 he is probably the "Mr Altery" who baptised "in his mothers womb" a son, who was born dead, of a roman catholic gentleman Peter Giffard of Chillington in Brewood. About 1748 he graduated M.D. and moved to London ... It was perhaps at Wolverhampton that he performed an unusual operation to remove a long dead foetus from a Birmingham woman.

(11 Mar 1732.3, Chillington Roman Catholic) On the 11th of march was Baptised in his mothers womb by mr Altery the man midwife john Gifford son to Peter Gifford esq & Hellena Roberts his wife The child was born dead.

(1748) ... A poor woman in Finland had long laboured under disorders consequent to a big belly ... M. Maunsey, physician to the Empress of Russia, had it open'd. The first opening did not succeed, a second was then attempted along the linea alba under the navel by which was extracted the entire body of a foetus which had lain there 15 years ... [A note reads] The like operation, in like circumstances, was successfully performed by Dr Altree now of Norfolk-street [London], late of Wolverhampton on a young woman of Birmingham whose case will soon be laid before the royal society. More another time] [GM 1748 p112]

Henry Lightwood of Tutbury surgeon & apothecary 1718-1772

1751

In 1751 he attended an Anslow woman as a man-midwife.

John Dickinson of Bilston surgeon & apothecary c1738-1782

?1760

Dickinson likely also practised as a man-midwife for in his will he writes "*I give and bequeath all my fixtures in the shop and instruments belonging to my business of a surgeon and apothecary together with all my books appertaining to surgery physick and midwifery and all my stock of drugs unto my son William Dickinson ... placing and continuing my son William Dickinson ... convenient and usual time in some one or more of the London hospitals to be there instructed in the several arts of surgery physic and midwifery and attending all usual proper lectures ...*"

Howard Moreton of Cheadle surgeon & apothecary 1743-1795

1772

In 1772 Moreton was to be "surgeon physician and midwife [i.e. man-midwife]" to Cheadle Workhouse.

Tycho Gaunt of Wednesbury surgeon 1741-1814

1781

In 1779 he was living at Birmingham where about 1781 he was styled "surgeon and man-midwife" ...

- William Sharrocks of Lichfield surgeon c1749-....** **1783-1793**
He is said to to have lived and practised at Lichfield as a physician, surgeon and midwife [man-midwife] from 1783 until he emigrated to America in 1793.
- John Fortescue of Rugeley surgeon and apothecary c1751-1817** **1784**
He took apprentice ... as "surgeon, apothecary & midwife" for 7 years at £40 Isaac Faulkner 1768-1856 in 1784. ... His 1784 apprenticeship is the only discovered Staffordshire medical apprenticeship which mentions "midwife" [man-midwife].
- Richard Croft of Tutbury M.D. 1762-1818 [OB]** **1789**
after he graduated M.D. from Aberdeen (?King's) on 27 Jul 1789 moved to London. Here he practised as a man-midwife amongst the upper classes of society guided by his father-in-law Thomas Denman (one of the first men to obtain a licence in midwifery from the College of Physicians). He attended the Princess Charlotte who died in childbirth on 6 Nov 1817. Affected by this circumstance he died by suicide, aged 56, on 13 Feb 1818 in London.
- George Cope of Leek surgeon & apothecary 1744-1817** **1798**
About 1798 he was styled surgeon & man-midwife of Leek.
- John Ford of Stoke-upon-Trent surgeon ?1764-....** **1798**
Time served about 1787 he was about 1798 styled surgeon & man-midwife of Longton in Stoke-upon-Trent.
- Fielding Best Fynney of Leek surgeon & apothecary 1744-1805** **1798**
About 1798 he was styled surgeon & man-midwife of Leek.
- William Jones of Burslem surgeon c1758-....** **1798**
About 1798 he was styled surgeon & man-midwife of Burslem.
- Joseph Boneal Lane of Stoke-upon-Trent surgeon 1762-1814** **1798**
By 1790 he was in practice at Hanley in Stoke-upon-Trent where about 1798 he was styled surgeon & man-midwife ...
- Henry Somerville of Stafford M.D. c1765-1830** **1798**
Time served about 1787 around 1798 he was styled surgeon & man-midwife of Stafford.
- Thomas Spencer of Tutbury surgeon ?1745-1821** **1798**
About 1798 he was styled surgeon & man-midwife of Tutbury.
- Edward Taylor of Wednesbury surgeon c1749-1810** **1798**
About 1798 he was styled surgeon, apothecary & man-midwife of Wednesbury.
- William Simmons of Stone M.R.C.S. c1763-1830** **1798**
In 1785 (and then time served) he qualified M.C.S. and then appears to have commenced practice at Stone before moving to Manchester about 1790. That year he was appointed a surgeon at Manchester Infirmary and was senior surgeon and evidently a practising man-midwife by 1798 when he published *Reflections on the propriety of performing the Caesarean operation ...*
- Augustus Fowle Lewis of Penkridge surgeon c1754-1819** **1807**
By 1794 [he was] living at Preston in Penkridge where [he] practised for the rest of his life. In 1807 he inserted a notice in a local newspaper regarding his practice as a "surgeon and man-midwife" and mentions a new partnership there.
- (11 Apr 1807) Whereas a report has been circulated probably for interested purposes that Mr Lewis of Penkridge has declined the practice of a surgeon and man-midwife; he finds it an incumbent duty to himself and his friends having entered into a partnership with a gentleman of the town above-mentioned and that he still attends in every branch of the above professions notwithstanding his removal to a short distance from his former habitation. ... Preston Hill near Penkridge April 7 1807. [STS:ADV]
- William Birch of Barton-under-Needwood F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1801-1869** **1823**
He qualified L.S.A. in 1822 and M.R.C.S. in 1823. It is likely that he also qualified as a man-midwife for he was a Lecturer on Midwifery at St Bartholomew's Hospital and a Surgeon at Finsbury Midwifery Institution. ... In 1827 his medical paper "'History of two cases of laceration of the uterus during labour, after which one of the women survived nearly eight weeks, the other perfectly recovered.'" was published in *Medico-Chirurgical Transactions*.
- James Rawson of Lichfield M.D. c1800-1878** **1825**
He qualified L.M. ("licensed man-midwife") at Dublin in 1825 and L.R.C.S.I. in 1831. The same year he graduated M.D. at Dublin Trinity.
- William Salter of Wolverhampton "surgeon" c1786-....** **1831**
His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered and he was probably "unqualified". He practised in several counties prior to about 1831 when he moved to Wolverhampton where he was an assistant to a surgeon, apothecary and accoucheur [i.e. man-midwife] and afterwards practised on his own account.
- John Burton of Walsall M.D. c1805-1891** **1826**
By 1824 he had emigrated to Edinburgh from where in 1826 he graduated M.D. ... He was a Corresponding Member of the Edinburgh Obstetrical Society and thus likely to have practised as a man-midwife.
- Robert Shirley Belcher of Burton-upon-Trent F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1805-1895** **1826**
He studied at Dublin University before he qualified L.M. ("licensed man-midwife") at Dublin Rotunda Lying-in Hospital in 1826.
- Robert Little of Wolverhampton M.D. c1802-1889** **1826**
He graduated M.D. and qualified L.M. ("licensed man-midwife") at Glasgow in 1826 and L.S.A.D in 1827. He then moved to Belfast where he was Physician to Belfast Hospital, Proprietor of Belfast Lying-in Charity and Lecturer on Medicine and Midwifery at Belfast College.
- William Harding Flint of Longnor "surgeon" c1808-1856** **1827**
Although apparently "unqualified" he appears to have commenced practice at Longnor by 1829 when on his marriage he styled himself William Flint Harding. By 1838 when his children were christened at Longnor, and thereafter, he is styled William Harding Flint. Flint appears to have practised as a man-midwife from the start of his career. ... Although he claimed to be both M.R.C.S. and L.S.A. and was sometime Union Medical Officer for Bakewell, Derbys he does not appear to have held those qualifications. In 1848 the court case - *Crown versus William Harding Flint* - was held at the Stafford Summer Assizes when Flint was indicted for killing and slaying Elizabeth Riley at Sheen on 29 Mar 1848. Full details of his trial are given in §F13.1848 and §Y.1848.
- Samuel Hudson of Kingswinford L.S.A. 1804-1854** **1830**

After he qualified L.S.A. in 1825 he practised as a "surgeon, apothecary and midwife [man-midwife] in Birmingham where he was a declared bankrupt in 1830.

John Crewe of Newcastle surgeon & apothecary c1764-1831 **1831**

Crewe is probably the "man-midwife" of this name who worked at Etruria in Stoke-upon-Trent.

Unlike most other English manufacturers of his time, but probably influenced by the example of his friend and fellow-member of Birmingham's Lunar Society, Matthew Boulton (1728-1829), Wedgwood and Bentley established some medical provisions for their workmen at Etruria (Mantoux 1968, Posner 1971). For this private health scheme they engaged the services of a Newcastle-under-Lyme apothecary, James Bent (c. 1740-1812), who was assisted by his younger brother William Bent (1742-1820) [William Bent of Stonyfields", Newcastle, Staffs brewer ?1764-1820, another apothecary Bagnall-Beech, and later by a 'man-midwife' John Crewe (Bemrose, 1972). [Posner (1974)]

John Spencer Harrison of Alstonfield surgeon 1773-1831 **1831**

Harrison had probably practised as a man-midwife.

James McMunn of Wolverhampton L.R.C.S.I. c1811-1873 **1832**

At Dublin he qualified L.M. ("licensed man-midwife") at Dublin Rotunda Lying-in Hospital and L.R.C.S.I. about 1832.

Charles Hawthorn of Stafford L.S.A. 1798-1856 **1833**

He was living in Rugeley when he qualified L.S.A. in 1820 but by 1825 and until 1829 was living at Wolverhampton. About 1830 he moved back to Stafford where he was in practice (perhaps sometimes as a man-midwife) as junior partner to his brother John Hawthorn c1791-1837 as "surgeons, apothecaries and accoucheurs" until 1833.

John Hawthorn of Stafford M.R.C.S. c1791-1837 **1833**

He qualified M.R.C.S. about 1812 and then practised (perhaps sometimes as a man-midwife) all his working life at Stafford where he was senior partner successively to his younger brothers Francis Hawthorn 1793-1829 (in 1828) and Charles Hawthorn 1798-1856 as "surgeons, apothecaries and accoucheurs" (dissolved 1833).

George Walter James of Handsworth M.D. 1802-1865 **1833**

He trained at St Bartholomew's Hospital before he qualified L.S.A. and M.R.C.S. in 1825. He then commenced practice (perhaps sometimes as a man-midwife) at West Bromwich where he assisted during the cholera epidemic of 1832. Here he was junior partner to Thomas Wynter of West Bromwich surgeon 1785-1845 as "surgeons, apothecaries and accoucheurs" until Jan 1833.

Thomas Wynter of West Bromwich surgeon c1785-1845 **1833**

Time served about 1805 he was in practice (perhaps sometimes as a man-midwife) at West Bromwich by 1818 where from (about) 1825 to 1833 he was senior partner to George Walter James M.D. 1802-1865.

William Warham of Newcastle surgeon 1803-1885 **1834**

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. On the death of his uncle John Hadderton in 1825 he probably succeeded him in practice at Newcastle. In 1834 he moved house within the Iron Market and styling himself "surgeon, accoucheur [i.e. man-midwife], chymist and druggist" advertised for an assistant and an apprentice. About 1851 he retired

George Lowe of Burton-upon-Trent F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1813-1892 **1837**

he qualified in 1837 both M.R.C.S. (F.R.C.S., 1863) and L.S.A. ... Lowe was a Fellow of the Obstetrical Society of London and thus likely a practising man-midwife.

Samuel Palmer Goddard of Stoke-upon-Trent M.D. 1818-1866 **1838**

He qualified L.M. ("licensed man-midwife") at Edinburgh in 1838, He wrote "Case of Placentia Proena" in *The Lancet* (1845). He was a Fellow of the Obstetrical Society of London and a Freemason.

Arthur Neville Hawthorne of Eccleshall F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1819-1866 **1839**

He qualified L.M. ("licensed man-midwife") at Dublin about 1839 ... was a Fellow of the Obstetrical Society of London.

Michael Ryan of Newcastle M.D. c1816-1899 **1839**

He trained at Dublin Meath Hospital and studied at Dublin Royal College of Surgeons of Ireland School before he qualified L.M. ("licensed man-midwife") at Dublin in 1839. Subsequently he qualified L.S.A. and M.R.C.S. (F.R.C.S, 1859) in 1841 and graduated M.D. from Aberdeen King's in 1848. ... Ryan specialised in midwifery. He was, a Fellow of the Obstetrical Society of London and a Member of the Dublin Obstetrical Society. In 1864 his medical paper "On the successful use of the forceps in 1206 midwifery cases" was published in *Dublin Quarterly Journal of Medicine*. Eleven years later, evidently revised and enlarged, it was published as a book *On the successful use of the forceps in 2200 midwifery cases*.

Charles Thomas Davenport of Wolstanton M.R.C.S. 1818-1864 **1840**

He studied at Edinburgh University before he qualified L.R.C.S.E. and L.M. ("licensed man-midwife") at Edinburgh in 1840.

Edward Cheshire of Harborne M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1822-1890 **1842**

He qualified L.M. ("licensed man-midwife") at Dublin in 1842 ... on census night 1851 was living in Birmingham when he is styled "M.R.C.S. Dublin Surgeon Accoucheur".

William Bane Lycett of Kingswinford surgeon 1799-1875 **1843**

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. By 1841 he was in practice as a surgeon at Brierley Hill in Kingswinford. In 1843 as "late of Brierley-hill, Staffordshire, Surgeon and Man Midwife" he was imprisoned as an insolvent debtor (probably at Stafford).

Thomas Crean of Brewood L.K&Q.C.P.I., c1827-1875 **1845**

He studied at Dublin University before he qualified L.M. ("licensed man-midwife") at Dublin Rotunda Lying-in Hospital and L.R.C.S.I. in 1845 and practised there until 1847... Crean further qualified L.M.,K&Q.C.P.I. and L.K&Q.C.P.I. in 1859.

John Dickenson of Bilston surgeon c1798-1847 **1846**

By 1835 he was in practice as a surgeon at Bilston and later also practised as a man-midwife for here in 1846 at an inquest he was found guilty of manslaughter when he attended Hannah Hickman during childbirth. However at a court case (\$F13,1846) during the 1846 Stafford Spring Assizes he was found not guilty.

John Fowke of Wolverhampton F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1800-1851 **1848**

In 1848 he may have practised as a man-midwife when he became senior partner to (his brother) Thomas Henry Fowke 1804-1861 and Charles Underhill 1823-1851 as surgeons, apothecaries and accoucheurs.

Thomas Henry Fowke of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1804-1861 **1848**

In 1848 he may have practised as a man-midwife when he became mid partner to (his brother) John Fowke 1800-1851 and Charles Underhill 1823-1851 as surgeons, apothecaries and accoucheurs.

Charles Underhill of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1823-1851 **1848**

After he qualified L.S.A. and M.R.C.S. in 1848 he practised (perhaps sometimes as a man-midwife) at Wolverhampton where, the same year, he became junior partner to (the brothers) John Fowke 1800-1851 and Thomas Henry Fowke 1804-1861 as surgeons, apothecaries and accoucheurs.

Thomas William Ransom of Darlaston F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. ?1814-1868 **1850**

Probably in 1844 he moved to Darlaston where by 1850 and until 1854 he was in practice (perhaps sometimes as a man-midwife) as junior partner to Abel Rooker surgeon 1787-1867 as "surgeons, apothecaries and accoucheurs"

Abel Rooker of Darlaston surgeon 1787-1867 **1850**

practice at Darlaston and perhaps at the time of his marriage in 1811 converted to anglican. By 1850 and until 1854 he in practice (perhaps sometimes as a man-midwife) as senior partner at Darlaston to Thomas William Ransom ?1814-1868 as "surgeons, apothecaries and accoucheurs".

Peter Stanton of Kingswinford surgeon c1781-1858 **1851**

At the 1851 census he is styled "Surgeon and Man Midwife [man-midwife]".

Charles Edwin Kettle of Sedgley surgeon 1810-1859 **1851**

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. In 1835 he was in practice at Brierley Hill in Kingswinford but by 1837 had moved to Hall Green in Sedgley where on census night 1851 he is styled "surgeon accoucheur [i.e. man-midwife]".

James Nance of Eccleshall F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1818-1875 **1851**

on census night 1851 he is styled "M.R.C.S.Lond & L.S.A. Practising Surgeon, Apothecary and Accoucheur [i.e. man-midwife]".

Joseph Webster Browne of Sedgley surgeon 1804-1851 **1851**

He may have served an apprenticeship with his father. By 1836 he was probably in practice at Upper Gornal in Sedgley. Browne practised as a man-midwife for it is said that "returning home after an accouchment" he died of a heart attack, aged 47, on 30 May 1851.

(6 Jun 1851) SUDDEN DEATH On Friday last [30 May] as Mr Joseph Webster Brown[sic] surgeon of Gormall[sic] near Dudley son of the late Mr Richard Brown surgeon of Wimeswold was returning home after an accouchment ... at his own house was seized with an affection of the heart and [died]. [Nottingham Review]

Henry Joseph Stormont of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1829-1890 **1853**

He trained at Guy's Hospital before he qualified L.S.A. and M.R.C.S. in 1850 and L.M. ("licensed man-midwife") in 1853.

John Maule Sutton of Stone M.D. 1829-1886 **1853**

He qualified M.S.A. in 1850, M.R.C.S. in 1851; then L.S.A. and L.M. ("licensed man-midwife") in 1853. He wrote several medical papers including "Infant mortality in England". He was a Fellow of the Obstetrical Society of London.

John Vinall of Bilston F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1817-1889 **1853**

He trained at University College Hospital before he qualified M.R.C.S. in 1839 (F.R.C.S., 1854), L.S.A. in 1852 and L.M. ("licensed man-midwife") in 1853.

William Moxon of Stafford apprentice 1833-1906 **1854**

After he qualified L.M. ("licensed man-midwife"), L.S.A. and M.R.C.S. in 1854 he practised at Northampton where he died, aged 73, on 15 Jan 1906. His effects were valued at £48,042/19/1

William Joseph Dawes of Stoke-upon-Trent apprentice 1831-.... **1855**

He qualified M.R.C.S. in 1854 and L.M. ("licensed man-midwife") and L.S.A. in 1855.

Phineas John Kendrick of Tipton medical pupil 1833-1882 **1856**

He studied at Birmingham Queen's College before he qualified L.M. ("licensed man-midwife") and M.R.C.S. in 1856 and L.S.A. in 1857.

Edward Joseph Marshall of Walsall apprentice c1833-1862 **1856**

In 1856 he qualified L.M. ("licensed man-midwife") at L.S.A. and M.R.C.S.

Daniel Shelswell of Wolverhampton medical assistant c1830-1864 **1856**

He qualified L.M. ("licensed man-midwife"), L.S.A. and M.R.C.S. in 1856.

William Lynes of Wednesbury pupil 1835-1905 **1858**

he qualified L.S.A. and M.R.C.S. in 1857 and L.M. ("licensed man-midwife") in 1858.

Philip Henry Harper of Bilston F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1822-1883 **1860**

In 1860 Harper wrote two medical papers "The more fequent use of the forceps as a means of lessening both maternal and foetal mortality" and "Successful ovariotomy". He was a Member of the Obstetrical Society of London ... Harper evidently practised as a man-midwife but it is not known if he was licensed.

William Hallam of Newcastle M.D. ?1814-1863 **1863**

Hallam was sometime Surgeon Accoucheur to the Newcastle Relief and Lying-in Charity. Hallam evidently practised as a man-midwife but it is not known if he was licensed.

Frederick Bradley of Tipton apprentice 1831-1884 **1865**

He qualified M.R.C.S. in 1858 and commenced practice in Tipton. He was admitted L.F.P.S.G. in 1864 and L.R.C.P.E. in 1865 and further qualified L.M. ("licensed man-midwife") in 1865.

William Henry Pope of Wolverhampton L.R.C.P.E. ?1821-1890 **1873**

In 1873 he further qualified L.M. ("licensed man-midwife") and was admitted L.R.C.P.E.

D6 Mad-doctors and madhouses

D6.1 Introduction; D6.2 County mad-doctors, madhouses and lunatic asylums; D6.3 Samuel Proud's Madhouse, Bilston; D6.4 John Thurstan's Madhouse, Bilston; D6.5 Joseph Proud's Madhouse, Bilston; D6.6 John Chadwick's Madhouse, Grindon; D6.7 George Chadwick's Madhouse, Lichfield; D6.8 John Chadwick's Madhouse, Abbots Bromley; D6.9 Spring Vale Lunatic Asylum, Stone; D6.10 Tamworth Lunatic Asylum; D6.11 Lichfield Lunatic Asylum; D6.12 Staffordshire Lunatic Asylum, Stafford; D6.13 Oulton Retreat Lunatic Asylum, Stone; D6.14 Great Barr House Lunatic Asylum, Great Barr; D6.15 Coton Hill Lunatic Asylum, Stafford; D6.16 Mad-doctors and madhouses (county miscellany)

D6.1 Introduction

Prior to 1600 there was little or no specialist care of the insane. This is made clear by Rotha Mary Clay in *The mediaeval hospitals of England* (1909). She devoted Chapter III to *Hospitals for the insane*. Her account is here quoted in full.

"Hospitals ... to maintain men and women who had lost their wits and memory" (Rolls of Parliament, 1414).

Little is known regarding the extent and treatment of insanity during the Middle Ages. Persons "vexed with a demon" were taken to holy places in the hope that the "fiends" might be cast out. An early thirteenth-century window at Canterbury shows a poor maniac dragged by his friends to the health-giving shrine of St. Thomas. He is tied with ropes, and they belabour him with blows from birch-rods. In the second scene he appears in his right mind, returning thanks, all instruments of discipline cast away. Even in the sixteenth century we read of pilgrimage by lunatics, especially to certain holy wells.

Formerly, all needy people were admitted into the hospital, mental invalids being herded together with those weak or diseased in body. From the chronicle of St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, we learn that in the twelfth century mad people were constantly received as well as the deaf, dumb, blind, palsied and crippled. One young man lost "his resonable wyttys" on his journey to London. He wandered about running, not knowing whither he went. Arriving in London, he was brought to the hospital and "ther yn shorte space his witte was recoueryd".. Another patient was taken with the "fallynge euill" [epilepsy], which is described as a sickness hindering the operation of the senses. It would seem that persons subject to fits were sometimes placed in a lazar-house, for at St. Bartholomew's, Rochester (1342), was one patient "struck with the epilepsy disease".

The public did not make itself responsible for the custody of the lunatic, whose own people were required to guard him and others from harm. One of the "Customs of Bristol" (1344) orders that the goods and chattels of demented men be delivered to their friends until they come to a good state of mind (*ad bonam memoriam*). The sad condition of "lunatick lollers" is described by Langland, who speaks compassionately of this class of wanderers.

In London, the question of making special provision for the insane came to the front about this time, for in 1369 one Denton intended to found a hospital "for poor priests and others, men and women, who in that city suddenly fell into a frenzy (*in frenesim*) and lost their memory", but his plan was not carried out. Stow mentions that the earliest asylum for distraught and lunatic persons was near Charing Cross, "but it was said, that some time a king of England, not liking such a kind of people to remain so near his palace, caused them to be removed farther off, to Bethlem without Bishopsgate".

St. Mary of Bethlehem was the most famous refuge for the mentally disordered. In 1403 there were confined six men deprived of reason (*mente capti*), and three other sick, one of whom was a paralytic patient who had been lying in the hospital for over two years. The good work done in the institution was fully recognized. A bequest was made in 1419 to the sick and insane of St. Mary de Bedlam. A Patent Roll entry of 1437 speaks of "the succour of demented lunatics" and others, and of the necessity of cutting down these works of piety unless speedy help were forthcoming. The then town clerk, John Carpenter, recalled this need and remembered in his will (1441) "the poor madmen of Bethlehem". Another citizen, Stephen Forster, desired his executors to lay out ten pounds in food and clothing for the poor people "detained" there. Gregory, citizen and mayor, describes in his Historical Collections (about 1451) this asylum and its work of mercy, and it is satisfactory to hear that some were there restored to a sound mind: "*A chyrche of Owre Lady that ys namyde Bedlam. And yn that place ben founde many men that ben fallyn owte of hyr wytte. And fulle honestly they ben kepte in that place; and sum ben restoryde unto hyr witte and helthe a-gayne. And sum ben a-bydyng there yn for evyr, for they ben falle soo moche owte of hem selfe that hyt ys uncureabylle unto man*". Probably the utterly incurable were doomed to those iron chains, manacles and stocks mentioned in the inventory of 1398 and quoted at the visitation of 1403: "*Item, vj cheynes de Iren, com vj lokkes. Item iij peir manycles de Iren. ij peir stokkys*". [1 Char. Com. Rep., xxxii. vi. 472].

In other parts of the country it was customary to receive persons suffering from attacks of mania into general infirmaries. At Holy Trinity, Salisbury, not only were sick persons and women in childbirth received, but mad people were to be taken care of (*furiosi custodiantur donec sensum adipiscantur*). This was at the close of the fourteenth century. In the petition for the reformation of hospitals (1414) it is stated that they exist partly to maintain those who had lost their wits and memory (*hors de leur sennes et memoire*). Many almshouse-statutes, however, prohibited their admission. A regulation concerning an endowed bed in St. John's, Coventry (1444), declared that a candidate must be "not mad, quarrelsome, leprous, infected". At Ewelme "no wood man" (crazy person) must be received; and an inmate becoming "madd, or woode" was to be removed from the Croydon almshouse.

Such disused lazar-houses as were inhabitable might well have been utilized as places of confinement. This, indeed, was done at Holloway near Bath. At what period the lepers vacated St. Mary Magdalene's is not known, but it was probably appropriated to the use of lunatics by Prior Cantlow, who rebuilt the chapel about 1489. At the close of the sixteenth century, St. James', Chichester, was occupied by a sad collection of hopeless cripples, among whom were found two idiots. A hundred years later the bishop reported that this hospital was of small revenue and "hath only one poor person, but she a miserable idiot, in it".

Bethlehem Hospital was rescued by the Lord Mayor and citizens at the Dissolution of religious houses and continued its charitable work. In 1560 Queen Elizabeth issued on behalf of this house an appeal of which a facsimile may be seen in Bewes' Church Briefs. "Sume be straught from there wyttes," it declares, "thuse be kepte and mayntend in the Hospital of our Ladye of Beddelem untyle God caule them to his marcy or to ther wyttes agayne".

By the 17C the first private asylums appear. Their proprietors generally made a charge for accommodating and, in some cases, detaining patients. Examples are found¹⁸⁵ at Box, Wiltshire about 1615, at Glastonbury, Somerset in 1656, in Suffolk in 1661, in the city of London in 1673, at Guildford, Surrey in 1700 and at Lambeth, Surrey in 1705. Some of the proprietors of the early asylums had a medical training but, since the business was unregulated, anyone might conduct an asylum.

Private lunatic asylums were called madhouses by the later 17C and the term mad-doctor was used in a play about 1702 but with the meaning according to the OED of "a physician who treats mental diseases". By 1765 it was also being used to refer to the proprietor of a madhouse (see §D1.8).

In 1774 *An act for regulating madhouses* {14 George III c49} was passed. This was the first time that regulation of the business was attempted. Precise provisions varied for (1) that area seven miles around London and Westminster with the whole of Middlesex, "the metropolitan area", and (2) the rest of England and Wales with Berwick-on-Tweed. Below is given an extract from the preamble together with some summaries, as given in the act, with further summary in () where called for.

[Preamble] Whereas many great and dangerous abuses frequently arise from the present state of houses kept for the reception of lunaticks, for want of regulations with respect to the persons keeping such houses, the admission of patients into them, and the visitation by proper persons of the said houses and patients; And whereas the law, as it now stands, is insufficient for preventing or discovering such abuses; ... enacted ... That from and after the twentieth day of November, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four, if any person or persons, in that part of Great Britain called England, the dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed, shall, upon any pretence whatsoever, conceal, harbour, entertain, or confine, in any house or place, kept for the reception of lunaticks, more than one lunatick, at any one time, without having such licence for that purpose, as is herein-after directed, (except such lunaticks as are committed by the lord high chancellor of Great Britain, or lord keeper, or commissioners for the custody of the great seal for the time being), every such person shall, for every such offence, forfeit and pay the sum of five hundred pounds.

[XXII-XXVI] [England, Wales & Berwick-on-Tweed, excluding the metropolitan area]

¹⁸⁵ Parry-Jones (1972) p8-9 (with detailed references)

[XXII] No more than one lunatic to be kept in any house except in such as are licensed.

[XXIII] Justices to grant licences at general quarter sessions; and receive for every house not exceeding 10 lunatics £10 and for above that number £15. (Licences not to exceed one year.) (Two justices of the peace and one physician appointed to visit houses.)

[XXIV] Justices at visitations to make minutes of the conditions of houses; which minutes are to be entered, by way of report, by the clerk; and a copy sent to the secretary (of the commissioners).

[XXV] Keepers refusing admittance to the justices and physicians to forfeit their licence.

[XXVII] If a keeper do not give notice (to the secretary) of the receipt of a lunatic within 14 days he shall forfeit £100. (excepting pauper lunatics sent by parish officers) (to have an order in writing, under the hand or seal, of some physician, surgeon, or apothecary, that lunatics are proper to be received).

[XXVIII] No licence to be granted to any person without recognizance in £100 with sureties.

[XXIX] The chancellor to order the ... justices to inspect licensed houses, and to make report; they may also send for and inspect registers and examine parties ...

[XXX] Not to extend to publick hospitals

[XXXI] Proceedings to be justified in course of common law. [Writ of Habeas Corpus not to be hindered].

[XXXII] ... Penalties and forfeitures ... (in the name of the clerk of peace for the county ... when recovered, half to informer and half to defray expenses).

[XXXV] Continuance of this act (for five years, and to the end of the next session of parliament).

In 1808 *An act for the better care and maintenance of lunatics, being paupers or criminals in England* (48 George III c96) was passed. This became known as the *County Asylums Act* and also as *Wynn's Act*. Extracts from three of the clauses are given below.

[I.] WHEREAS the practice of confining such lunatics, and other insane persons, as are chargeable to their respective parishes, in gaols, houses of correction, poor houses, and houses of industry, is highly dangerous and inconvenient; And whereas it is expedient that further provision should be made for the care and maintenance of such persons, and for the erecting proper houses for their reception, ... it shall and may be lawful for the justices of the peace in and for every county within England and Wales, at their respective general quarter sessions of the peace, ... to direct notice to be given in some public newspaper or newspapers, circulated in or near such county, of their intention of taking into consideration, at their next general quarter or general annual sessions, the expediency and propriety of providing a lunatic asylum, or house for the reception of lunatics, and other insane persons, within the said county, or of appointing a committee of magistrates to treat with any one or more of the adjacent counties to unite for that purpose.

XVI. And be it further enacted, that the said visiting justices, as well in the choice of ground and of situation, as in determining upon the plans for building, or for purchasing and altering buildings for such lunatic asylum, shall, as far as conveniently may be, fix upon an airy and healthy situation, with a good supply of water, and which may afford a probability of the vicinity of constant medical assistance, and pursue such measures, and adopt such plans as shall provide separate and distinct wards for male and female lunatics, and also for the convalescents and incurables, and also separate and distinct day rooms and airing grounds for the male and female convalescents, and dry and airy cells for the lunatics of every description.

XVII. And be it further enacted, that so soon as any lunatic asylum, so erected as aforesaid, shall be declared by the visiting justices to be completed ... [JPs] are hereby authorized and directed to issue warrants upon the application of the overseers of the poor of any parish situated within such county, or district of counties, for the conveyance of any lunatic, insane person, or dangerous idiot, who may be chargeable to such parish to such asylum, there to be safely kept until he or she shall be duly discharged as hereinafter directed; and at the time of such issuing such warrant, every such justice shall also make an order upon the overseers of the poor of the parish, to which such lunatic, insane person, or dangerous idiot shall belong, to pay such weekly sum to the treasurer of such asylum, as shall from time to time be fixed upon by the visiting justices as a fit rate for the maintenance, medicine, clothing, and care of such persons.

D6.2 Mad-doctors, madhouses and lunatic asylums

Eleven madhouses or lunatic asylums have been discovered in Staffordshire which commenced between 1720 and 1839 with a further two opened in 1853 and 1854. They are summarised in the table below and then described in order of their foundation.

•Madhouses and lunatic asylums												
Name	Place	Start	End	Inmates								
				1819			1841			1851		
				M	F	M+F	M	F	M+F	M	F	M+F
Samuel Proud's Madhouse	Bilston	1720	1819	16	5	21						
John Thurstan's Madhouse	Bilston	1752	1758									
Joseph Proud's Madhouse	Bilston	1756	1781									
John Chadwick's Madhouse	Grindon	1760	1765									
George Chadwick's Madhouse	Lichfield	1774	1814									
John Chadwick's Madhouse	Abbots Bromley	1778	1808									
Spring Vale Lunatic Asylum	Stone	1808	1839	10	7	17						
Tamworth Lunatic Asylum	Tamworth	1815	1894				0	4	4	0	5	5
Lichfield Lunatic Asylum	Lichfield	1817	1856	7	1	8	13	17	30	22	22	44
Staffordshire Lunatic Asylum	Stafford	1818		30	24	54						
Oulton Retreat Lunatic Asylum	Stone	1839	1853				22	11	33	12	7	19
Great Barr House Lunatic Asylum	Great Barr	1853										
Coton Hill Lunatic Asylum	Stafford	1854										

D6.3 Samuel Proud's Madhouse, Bilston (c1720-p1819)

In 1756 Joseph Proud stated that his father Samuel Proud 1689-1767 had kept a house for lunatics "for upwards of fifty years". Samuel was, in 1706, only aged 17 and it seems more likely that the madhouse was opened about 1720 when he was of slightly more mature years. Certainly the madhouse was operational in 1749. About 1765 a small oval patch box was produced with a transfer print said to be an image of the "madhouse".



On Samuel's death in 1767 the madhouse seems to have passed to his eldest son, another Samuel Proud 1724-1787, and then in turn, to his eldest son also Samuel Proud 1759-1828 who had been apprenticed to a Birmingham surgeon and apothecary in 1778. The madhouse is recorded¹⁸⁶ as having 21 patients (16 male and 5 female) in 1819 but likely closed shortly thereafter.

Proprietor

Samuel Proud of Bilston mad-doctor 1689-1767	c1720-1767
Samuel Proud of Bilston mad-doctor 1724-1787	1767-1787
Samuel Proud of Bilston surgeon 1759-1828	1787-p1819

Samuel Proud mad-doctor 1689-1767

c1720-1767

Perhaps about 1720, although not medically qualified, he opened a madhouse in Bilston which business he probably conducted for the rest of his life. He was buried, aged 78, on 21 Feb 1767 at Bilston. His oldest son Samuel Proud 1724-1787 (below) continued his father's business whilst his 2nd son Joseph Proud 1727-1791 opened a rival institution.

Samuel Proud mad-doctor 1724-1787

1767-1787

(1st son of Samuel Proud of Bilston mad-doctor 1689-1767, above) He was not medically qualified but had doubtless assisted his father at his Bilston madhouse and on his death in 1767 succeeded him as proprietor of the business which he conducted for the rest of his life. He was buried, aged 63, on 12 Mar 1787 at Bilston and was in turn succeeded as madhouse proprietor by his first son Samuel Proud 1759-1828 (below).

Samuel Proud surgeon 1759-1828

1787-p1819

(1st son of Samuel Proud of Bilston mad-doctor 1724-1787, above) He was apprenticed for 3 years at £80 to John Freer of Birmingham surgeon & apothecary about 7 May 1778. Time served about 1781 he probably assisted at his father's Bilston madhouse and on his death in 1787 succeeded him as proprietor continuing in business until at least 1819. He died, aged 69, on 7 Jan 1828 with burial on 15 Jan at Bilston..

Patients

Year	Male	Female	Total
1819	16	5	21

The elder Proud was said to be a cordwainer by trade, and was frequently lampooned by medical men for setting up as a curer of mental diseases, but ... [Lawley (1893)]

(22 Oct 1749) Mary the wife of Caleb Smith shall be taken under the care of Mr Samuel Proud to be cured of her disorder. The Parish agrees to pay 10/6 in hand and 5/0 per week for the first quarter. [Cope (1980) p43, quoting a local record]

(2 Aug 1756) Joseph Proud ... the experience he has had by assisting his father, Samuel Proud, who, for upwards of fifty years, had kept a house for lunatics, and is well known in most parts of this kingdom, for the many and great cures he has perform'd in that disorder ... [Aris's Birmingham Gazette quoted by Lane (2001) p101 and Cope (1980) p43, original not seen]

(26 Oct 1758) Samuel Proud, yeoman of Bilston in the parish of Wolverhampton, Staffordshire: commission and inquisition of lunacy, into his state of mind and his property. [NA C 211/19/P70]

(16 Feb 1761) Death of John Guisandarffer. He was a Swiss ... [Earl of Dartmouth's] valet .. But being for some years before his death, afflicted with Epilectick fits, they so greatly impaired his senses that he was obliged to be confined in a House kept for the reception of lunaticks viz: He was put under the care of Mr. Samuel Proud of Bilston, where he died. [Observations of the Rev. Edward Best from his burials register {of Bilston}]

(1761) Eloped from Samuel Proud of Bilston ... the 3rd Jan last ... Sarah Cramp of Long Warren [Leics] who was confined as a lunatic, and had when she went away a lock and chain upon one leg: She is a lusty strong-built woman, about 40 years of age, and had on a brown linsey jerkin (or short gown) and petticoat and a man's old hat ... Whoever will secure the said lunatic ... thankfully rewarded ... [General Evening Post]

... a number of small oval boxes with a transfer print of the "madhouse" were made with the words Sam Proud [immediately below the house] ... above are the words "A Trifle from BILSTON" ... These boxes were patch boxes and had a steel mirror inside. ... must have been produced in the Beckett workshop [about 1765] [Cope (1980) p45] [The image is from an uncredited internet source].

(6 Aug 1808) "Saturday, August 6th, 1808. I took a walk with Mr John Marlow to Darlaston, Bilston, Wednesbury and Bromwich, and this same day a friend, Mr Henry Pitt, Surgeon, hanged himself at Proud's Madhouse – a dreadful deed! The only supposed inducement to the horrid fact was the love of money although he was very rich. May God have mercy on him and protect us. [Internet blackcountrybugle]

D6.4 John Thurstan's Madhouse, Bilston (1752-1758)

In 1752 John Thurstan 1713-1755 advertised the opening of a madhouse at Bilston. Thurstan was probably born at Shareshill a few miles north of Bilston and apprenticed at Newcastle. By 1743 he was in practice at Bilston where he was employed by the Workhouse. He only conducted the business for a few years before he died in 1755. On his death the madhouse business appears to have passed to his apprentice John Vernon of Bilston surgeon & apothecary 1733-1758. Vernon was a son of John Vernon of Abbots Bromley c1693-1756 and younger brother of Edward Vernon of Abbots Bromley M.B. 1723-1780. On Vernon's death the business probably closed.

Proprietor

John Thurstan of Bilston surgeon & apothecary 1713-1755	1752-1755
John Vernon of Bilston surgeon & apothecary 1733-1758	1755-1758

John Thurstan surgeon & apothecary ?1715-1755**1737-1755**

Time served about 1737 he might have commenced practice at Bilston where in 1743 he was employed by the Workhouse. About 1747 he took apprentice John Vernon 1733-1758 (below) and then in Mar 1755 (only a few months before his death) for 5 years at £40 John Dickinson c1738-1782. In 1752 he announced the opening of a madhouse at Bilston which business he only conducted for a short time before he was buried, aged about 40, on 11 Sep 1755 at Bilston.

John Vernon surgeon & apothecary 1733-1758**1755-1758**

He was apprenticed to John Thurstan of Bilston surgeon & apothecary 1713-1755 (above) about 1747. Time served about 1754 he probably assisted his master at his Bilston madhouse and when he died in 1755 Vernon succeeded him in the business probably as the proprietor. After Vernon was buried, aged 25, on 22 Oct 1758 at Bilston the madhouse was probably closed.

(3 Aug 1752 & 30 Apr 1753) John Thurstan ... to acquaint the country that, at Bilston, will be fitted up immediately for the reception of lunatics a proper house ... [Cope (1980) p43, quoting Aris's Birmingham Gazette]

(Sep 1755) Mr John Vernon apprentice to Mr John Thurstan surgeon and apothecary at Bilston, took over the house and patients on Thurstan's death [Cope (1980) p43, but no source quoted]

(1755) When John Thurstan, surgeon-apothecary of Bilston, died in 1756 [recte 1755], 'the whole care and management' of his lunatics came under the care of John Vernon, his former apprentice and journeyman, who was also a local surgeon's brother and a physician's nephew. Inmates were often from a wide catchment area, so that, for example Vernon advertised his Staffordshire Asylum in Worcestershire. [Lane (2001) p101, but no source quoted]

D6.5 Joseph Proud's Madhouse, Bilston (1756-p1781)

Joseph Proud 1727-1791, second son of Samuel Proud 1689-1767, advertised his madhouse in 1756. A few years later he appears to have moved into larger premises. This might be the house "opposite the church" which was to be let in 1792.

Proprietor

Joseph Proud of Bilston mad-doctor 1727-1791

1756-p1781

Joseph Proud mad-doctor 1727-1791**1756-1791**

(2nd son of Samuel Proud of Bilston mad-doctor 1689-1767) On his marriage in 1756 he was styled "of Wolverhampton toymaker". Later that year he opened his own madhouse in Bilston and continued that business for some time after 1781. He died, aged 64, on 21 Aug 1791 with burial on 24 Aug at Bilston. In a contemporary directory he is styled "practitioner in physic for the cure of lunatics"

(2 Aug 1756) Joseph Proud ... taken a large and convenient house ... in a retired and airy situation, with a garden walled round, for the safety and privacy of his patients, with a cold bath upon the premises, which in many cases is very necessary in that dreadful malady; the experience he has had by assisting his father, Samuel Proud, who, for upwards of fifty years, had kept a house for lunatics, and is well known in most parts of this kingdom, for the many and great cures he has perform'd in that disorder, has qualified him to treat that malady, in all its various appearances, with propriety and judgment: All persons who are committed to his care may depend upon being treated with the greatest humanity and care. [Aris's Birmingham Gazette quoted by Lane (2001) 101 and Cope (1980) 43, original not seen]

(?1761) ... begs to acquaint the public that he has taken a more commodious house than he had before, for the reception of lunatics ... [Cope (1980) p43, original not seen]

(of Bilston keeper of lunaticks) 1781 [Cope (1980) 44, quoting J. Freeman *Bilston Almanack Sketches* (1908) p31]

(24 Aug 1791) On Sunday last [21 Aug], at an advanced age, Mr Joseph Proud of Bilston, who for many years conducted one of the houses for the reception of lunaticks in that place. [Cope (1980) p44, quoting WTON:CHR]

(6 Jun 1792) [premises of Joseph Proud to be let] ... A convenient complete house situated in Bilston opposite the church with parlours, kitchen, chambers, garrets, out offices, walled garden, cold baths and every convenience. [Cope (1980) p44, quoting WTON:CHR]

D6.6 John Chadwick's Madhouse, Grindon (c1760-c1765)

John Chadwick c1702-1770 is of unknown parentage. He was not medically qualified. Early in life he was placed in charge of a sister with mental health problems who is said to have been cured by an itinerant physician. This physician became a friend of Chadwick and gave him some instruction in mental illness and medicine. About 1760 Chadwick opened a madhouse at Grindon moving it a few years later (perhaps about 1765) to Ashbourne, Derby where he died. He was buried, aged about 68, on 8 Apr 1770 at Grindon.

Proprietor

John Chadwick mad-doctor c1702-1770

c1760-c1765

Chadwick's grandson Thomas Bakewell (junior) in an introduction to a lecture delivered at Liverpool, probably about 1822¹⁸⁷, wrote:

My grandfather, by the mother's side, [John Chadwick] was left at an early age [c1725] with the charge of a beloved sister in a state of mental derangement. No pains or expenses were spared for her recovery. She was for twelve months at a madhouse in England, and afterwards at a celebrated madhouse in Scotland for another year, without any abatement of her disease. About this time my grandfather heard of an itinerant doctor, who professed to cure madness, and who, it is said, recovered all whose cause he undertook. He was a reputed conjuror, for as lunatics in those days were all thought to be demoniacs, it was believed they could only be cured by demoniacal agency. My grandfather, however, found him to be a very learned, and, as he thought, a very good man. Upon, being introduced to his sister, he pronounced it a bad case, from the length of time the disease had been in the habit, but from the health of body, and youth of the patient, for she was then under nineteen years of age, not altogether hopeless. He was constant in his attendance, for full twelve months, before there was any material change. She, however, perfectly recovered; was afterwards married to the man of her early choice; lived thirty six years in the married state, and many years a widow, and never had a relapse. In consequence of this event, a mutual feeling of friendship took place betwixt my grandfather and the old gentleman who had been the happy means of his sister's restoration. He became an inmate occasionally at my grandfather's during the remainder of his life; my grandfather became his pupil, and he took great pains to instruct him. The account he gave of himself was, that in his younger days he had been in regular practice as a physician; that he had been visited by insanity, and upon his recovery had determined to make that disease his sole study and practice; that he had resolved to travel in search of patients; and that he had followed this course upwards of fifty years. Upon his death [c1760] my grandfather opened his house for the reception of insane patients.

¹⁸⁷ "Memoir of Mr. Thomas Bakewell, keeper of Spring Vale Asylum, near Stone, Staffordshire" in *Imperial Magazine Volume 8* (1826) p401-15 p513-9

John Chadwick had a daughter and two sons. The daughter Mary married Thomas Bakewell of Kingstone skinner c1732-1816 and had a son Thomas Bakewell (junior), who was the writer of the above passage. The two sons were a namesake John Chadwick (junior) and George Chadwick. Chadwick senior died in 1770 and his son John continued the business at Ashbourne but later moved it back to Staffordshire at Abbots Bromley (below). By 1774 the other son George had opened a madhouse in Lombard Street, Lichfield (below). That it was John Chadwick who succeeded to his father's business suggests he might have been the older brother.¹⁸⁸

Whatever their relative age the two brothers were engaged in a vituperative exchange in local newspapers, partly reproduced below. John's first newspaper advertisement has not been found but below is George's reply to it.

(6 May 1774) Whereas my brother John Chadwick of Ashborne (manifestly for his own private advantage and in order to prejudice and injure me, George Chadwick of the City of Lichfield, in my profession) hath lately published a false and malicious advertisement in the Birmingham paper by which my said brother would induce the world to believe that he was the only person to whom my late father, John Chadwick deceased, entrusted his secret of making up and administering certain medicines for the cure of insanity, melancholy, and nervous complaints: I shall leave the world to judge of the cruelty and inhumanity of such an advertisement by a brother; but in vindication of character and business, I must contradict the fallacy thereof and beg leave to acquaint the public, that I constantly lived with my father to the time of his death, and from about 7 years of age continually assisted and was entrusted by him in making up and administering all medicines and compositions whatsoever and in visiting, attending, and taking care of his patients, afflicted with the above, or any other disorders; nor was there any recipe, medicine, or secret of which my father possessed, that I was not entrusted with as is universally known to all the country in and about Grindon and Ashborne where my father resided. [Derby Mercury]

John Chadwick responded in the same paper a week later (13 May):

(13 May 1774) Whereas my brother George Chadwick (with an intent to persuade the world that he was possessed of the secret of making up certain medicines for the cure of insanity, melancholy, and nervous complaints, of which I am the only proprietor, and which were communicated to me by my father John Chadwick) ... [counters brother's assertion] I beg leave to lay before them a short shistory of my said brother's life; when he was about 11 years of age, he went to live with ... he has lived as a menial servant .. [gives names and addresses of employees over 22 years ending] ... Rev. Mr. Richard Watkin of Clifton Canvel ... with whom he lived when my father died in 1770. ... Ashborne, 16th May 1774. John Chadwick. [Derby Mercury]

D6.7 George Chadwick's Madhouse, Lichfield (1774-1814)

As appears from his newspaper announcement, given in full above, George Chadwick c1737-1818, son of John Chadwick e1702-1770, had opened a madhouse in Lombard Street by May 1774. Chadwick does not appear to have been medically qualified but was apparently sometimes styled physician (see below). His madhouse had moved the following the year to St John Street where it operated until 1814.

<i>Proprietor</i>				
George Chadwick of Lichfield mad-doctor c1737-1818				
1774-1814				
<i>Patients</i>				
Year	Male	Female	Total	
1778			[10]	
1779	7	1	8	
1788			14	
1808			23	
1814			9	

(6 May 1774) N.B. I George Chadwick have lately taken and fitted up a genteel house in Lombard-street, Lichfield, where is a pleasure garden and other conveniences, for the reception of persons afflicted with insanity, melancholy, and all nervous and scorbutic complaints ... [Derby Mercury]

(1817-1828) Reports on LICHFIELD Lunatic Asylums, with lists of patients. Kept by George Chadwick, 1779-1813; Thomas Rowley, 1817-25; and Samuel Heighway, 1827-28 [LRO D25/3/3]

In the Victoria County History¹⁸⁹ for Lichfield it is stated that:

About 1775 George Chadwick, a physician, appears to have begun using his house in St. John Street for the reception of lunatics. In 1778 he was licensed by quarter sessions to receive up to 10 patients there. Erasmus Darwin and a justice inspected the house in 1779 and found conditions good; there were eight patients, drawn from Staffordshire, Worcestershire, and Leicestershire and including one woman. In 1787 Chadwick was charging an entrance fee of 1 guinea, £17 for the first year, and £14 for the second year if the patient was not troublesome. Although the annual licence continued to be for 10 patients, there were 14 by 1788, and in addition Chadwick's wife was then confined to her room as a lunatic. A peak of 23 patients was reached in 1808. In 1811 the inspectors reported that patients in close confinement were kept in dirty conditions with insufficient straw; Chadwick protested that the inspection was made on a Saturday morning a few hours before the rooms were due to be cleaned. Although more favourable reports followed, numbers dropped to 9 in 1814, and that year the licence was not renewed.

D6.8 John Chadwick's Madhouse, Abbots Bromley (a1778-1808)

After his father's death in 1770 John Chadwick c1736-1797, son of John Chadwick e1702-1770, continued to manage the family madhouse at Ashbourne, Derbys. He moved the business to Abbots Bromley probably before 1778¹⁹⁰. When he died in 1797 the business passed to his nephew Thomas Bakewell 1761-1835 who appears to have remained at Abbots Bromley until 1808 when he opened a new asylum at Spring Vale in Stone (below).

<i>Proprietor</i>	
John Chadwick of Abbots Bromley mad-doctor c1736-1797	a1778-1797

¹⁸⁸ John Chadwick was probably born in 1735 or 1736 (said to be aged 61 when he was buried in 1797) whilst George may have been born in 1733 or 1734 (said to be aged 84 when he was buried in 1818). However John's newspaper account suggests that in 1770 George was aged 33 or less (calculated by adding his age of 11, commencing service, to his 22 years of service) which gives a date of birth of 1737.

¹⁸⁹ VCH XIV quoting source material

¹⁹⁰ His wife Elizabeth was buried at Abbots Bromley on 5 Feb 1778.

Bakewell wrote:

Some of my most happy infant days were spent in this [his grandfather's] house [at Grindon], and in the company of the patients; and the earliest impressions that my memory retains, were occasioned by what I saw and heard there. I recollect cases of insanity as perfectly, to my thinking, as if they were but yesterday, although it is at least fifty six years since. Mental diseases have been very interesting to me during the whole of my life; for when a youth I was about three years an assistant to my uncle [John Chadwick of Abbots Bromley, Staffs surgeon & apothecary c1736-1797], who had succeeded to his father in the profession of curing insanity. About thirty years ago, the same uncle sent for me, he being then on his death bed, and made an earnest request that I would take charge of the few patients which a long sickness had left him, and that I would devote the remainder of my days entirely to the care and the cure of the insane, he of course giving me all the instruction in his power. He also exhorted me at the same time, in the most feeling manner, to adhere strictly to the path of honour and humanity, in all my conduct towards my patients; representing to me how much good I might live to do. Since that period I have never been without insane patients; and for about fourteen years [1808-1822] I have kept a regular licensed asylum¹⁹¹; and during that time, I have almost constantly, from morning till night, and not unfrequently from night till morning, been in the company of the insane. [Bakewell (1826)]

John Chadwick mad-doctor c1736-1797**1778-1797**

After his father's death in 1770 he continued to manage the family madhouse at Ashbourne, Derbys but had likely moved the business by 1778 to Abbots Bromley. Here his wife was buried that year and he was buried, aged 61, on 27 Apr 1797.

Thomas Bakewell mad-doctor 1761-1835**1797-1808**

On the death of his uncle John Chadwick in 1797 he became proprietor of Chadwick's madhouse at Abbots Bromley until 1808.

D6.9 Spring Vale Lunatic Asylum, Stone (1808-1839)

Thomas Bakewell 1761-1835, who had previously managed the Abbots Bromley Madhouse in succession to his uncle John Chadwick, announced that Spring Vale Asylum (at Stone) was to be opened on 28 November 1808. This new venture appears to have been undertaken in partnership with his younger brother James Bakewell 1765-1835 but in April 1810 that partnership was dissolved. On Thomas's death in 1835 the asylum passed to his widow, his third wife, Sarah Bakewell (née Glover) c1787-1873. Samuel Glover Bakewell M.D. 1810-1865, the oldest son of Thomas by Sarah, graduated M.D. at Edinburgh in 1833 with a thesis "On Insanity". Shortly thereafter he became resident superintendent at Spring Vale. By 1839 Spring Vale must have closed when Sarah Bakewell opened a new asylum at Oulton.

Joint Proprietor

Thomas Bakewell of Stone mad-doctor 1761-1835	1808-1810
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James Bakewell of Stone mad-doctor ?1765-1826	1808-1810
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Proprietor

Thomas Bakewell of Stone mad-doctor 1761-1835	1810-1835
Sarah Bakewell (née Glover) c1787-1873	1835-1839

Superintendent

Samuel Glover Bakewell of Stone M.D. 1810-1865	?1833-1839
--	------------

Patients¹⁹²

Year	Male	Female	Total
1819	16	5	21

(5 Nov 1808 & 26 Nov 1808) INSANITY Thomas Bakewell, successor to his uncle Mr John Chadwick of Abbot's Bromley and author of the Domestic Guide in cases of Insanity begs leave to inform the friends of the afflicted, that his asylum at Spring Vale will be ready on the 28th instant for a small number of patients. Thomas Bakewell solemnly pledges himself to use every means his knowledge can suggest for the speedy recovery of those committed to his care, with the occasional aid of professional gentlemen eminent for their abilities, and that he will administer to them every comfort and consolation humanity can dictate, it being his determination to devote his time and attention to his patients, and leave nothing to the care of servants either in medical or moral measure. In his system of management no chains will be used, nor any severities whatever exercised, and while proper social amusements are provided for each, no patient, not absolutely incurable, will be kept in the company of others who are in the same state. The superior advantages of the house in point of convenience and situation, being warmed in all its parts, without the possibility of danger from fire, and the male and female parts being each furnished with a complete set of baths are too obvious to need any comment. The most profound sercecy observed. Inspectors: Sir Thomas Fletcher, John Sparrow Esq. Magistrates; Dr. Astbury, physician [STS:ADV]

(14 Apr 1810) ... partnership carried on by Thomas Bakewell and James Bakewell at the Spring Vale Lunatic Asylum ... dissolved ... 5 April 1810. [STS:ADV]

(22 Oct 1836) [Visitors of houses for the reception of insane persons] ... and Thomas Mackenzie Doctor of Medicine ... house kept by Mr Samuel Glover Bakewell at Spring Vale ... [STS:ADV]

D6.10 Tamworth Lunatic Asylum (1815-?1894)

Robert Woody surgeon 1770-1823 was House Surgeon at Salop Infirmary from 1792 to 1800 but had moved to Tamworth by 1803. He is said to have rented the Moat House (in Lichfield Street) from 1815 and to have licensed it as a madhouse or private lunatic asylum. After his death his widow Alice Woody c1790-1863 became the principal Proprietor perhaps in partnership about 1835 with her older son Robert Isham Woody 1812-1887 and then later with her younger son John Francis Woody of Tamworth M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1814-1894 who, on her death, succeeded as sole Proprietor. The business may have been closed for a period about 1830.

Proprietor

Robert Woody of Tamworth surgeon 1770-1823	1815-1823
Alice Woody c1790-1863	1823-1863
John Francis Woody of Tamworth M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1814-1894	1863-?1894

Robert Woody of Tamworth M.R.C.S. 1770-1823**1815-1823**

¹⁹¹ The "regular licensed asylum" he had kept for 14 years was Spring Vale Asylum which opened in 1808.

¹⁹² House of Commons Report quoted in Burroughs (1820)

He was apprenticed for 7 years at £50 to John Wilmot of Essex Street in The Strand, London surgeon about 21 Nov 1783 and would have been time served about 1790. He also qualified M.R.C.S. before 1812. Woody was House Surgeon at Salop Infirmary from 1792 to 1800 and then moved, by 1803, to Tamworth ... Woody is said to have rented the Moat House (in Lichfield Street) from 1815 and to have licensed it as a madhouse or private lunatic asylum [Tamworth Lunatic Asylum]. He died at Bootle, Lancs but was buried, aged 53, on 13 Aug 1823 at Tamworth.

Alice Woody of Tamworth mad-doctor c1790-1863

1823-1863

Woody was the daughter of John Harding and married on 27 Jun 1811 at Tamworth Robert Woody of Tamworth M.R.C.S. 1770-1823. On her husband's death she became principal Proprietor of Tamworth Lunatic Asylum perhaps in partnership about 1835 with her older son Robert Isham Woody 1812-1887 and then later with her younger son John Francis Woody of Tamworth M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1814-1894 who, on her death, succeeded as sole Proprietor.

John Francis Woody of Tamworth M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1814-1894

1863-?1894

(younger son of Robert Woody of Tamworth M.R.C.S. 1770-1823, above) He trained at London St George's Hospital and studied at London King's College before he qualified L.S.A. in 1838 and M.R.C.S. in 1839. He probably practised all his working life at Tamworth and may have been in partnership with his mother at Tamworth Lunatic Asylum (Moat House) before succeeding to the business on her death in 1863. He died, aged 80, on 14 May 1894 at the Moat House. His estate was valued at £696/11/9.

Medical Visitor

James Rawson of Lichfield M.D. c1800-1878

(1836)-(1855)

Patients

Year	Male	Female	Total
1841		4	4
1851		5	5
1861		3	3

(Woody & Tompson, Lichfield Street (& lunatic asylum) Moat house) 1828 [Pigot]

(1830) There is no Lunatic Asylum established in the Town of Tamworth, nor in the Parish of Tamworth, to my knowledge. Mrs. Margaret[sic, ? for Alice] Woody kept an asylum for lunatics some time ago, but she has given it up long since. I have no returns to make under the provisions of 9 Geo. IV. c. 40. (signed) Thomas Willington [ACCOUNTS AND PAPERS ... (1830)]

(1834) [Tamworth] The moat-house on the north bank of the Tame, Mr. Hamel states, "was built about the time of Elizabeth, by the Comberfords, now the residence of Wm. Tongue, Esq. The Moat-house has since been in the possession of the families of Fox, Boothby, Littleton, Wolferstan, and Abney. In 1767, it was purchased by the Marquess Townshend, and inhabited by John Willington, Esq., subsequently by the late marquess. At his death, it passed into the hands of Robert Woody, M.D. and was fitted up for the reception of insane patients. Under the auspices of Mrs. Woody, it still affords to the unfortunate victim of insanity, a retired and most eligible place of refuge. [William West *Picturesque views and description of cities ...* (1834)]

(22 Oct 1836) [Visitors of houses for the reception of insane persons] ... James Rawson Doctor of Medicine ... house kept by Robert Isham Woody at Tamworth [STS:ADV]

In 1841 the census return [HO 107/981/2] for "Mrs Woody's private lunatic asylum, Parish of Tamworth" lists Alice Woody [aged] 50, "Proprietor"; Robert Woody, 25, "----?", Maria Woody, 20, "----?", with 5 female staff. In addition are 4 patients (all female).

In 1851 the census return [HO 107/2013] for "Moat House, Lichfield Street, Tamworth" lists Alice Woody [aged] 60, "Proprietor Moat house Asylum"; Mary A. Woody, 30; John F. Woody, ?35 [entry deleted with a note "returned also in Book 376----"]; with 6 female staff. In addition are five "Insane" (all female) whose names are given as initials.

From 1815 to 1821, Dr Robert Woody was renting the Moat House, and he licensed the house as an asylum. In 1821, John Robins, a London auctioneer, claimed Tamworth Castle and the Moat House in lengthy legal proceedings over debts owed to him by the 2nd Marquis. When Robins bought the Moat House from the 3rd Lord Townshend in 1821, the right of fishing in the Moat was mentioned once again in the sale. Robins almost immediately sold the Moat House to Alice Woody and her son Dr Robert Woody. [Internet, unsourced]

(1854) Moat House, Tamworth ... Woody, Mrs [MD]

[later censuses]

(his widow, Alice Woody, b c1791 Bury, Lancs, head, of Lichfield Street, Tamworth "Proprietor of lunatic asylum", with sister Mary Grey, 3 female patients & 7 servants) 1861 C

[John Francis Woody]

(b c1815 Tamworth, of Lichfield Street, Tamworth, "General Practitioner M.R.C.S. ??? & L.A.C. London" unmarried, with brother Robert I, aunt Mary Grey, Eliza A Jones "ladies companion", two female lunatics & 5 servants) 1871 C

(b c1816 Tamworth, of "The Moat House", Lichfield Street, Tamworth "Proprietor of Asylum", unmarried with brother Robert I. Woody "retired calico bleacher", sister Margaret H. Hollins, brother-in-law Edward Hollins "retired cotton manufacturer", nephew Edward Hollins "retired cotton manufacturer", a matron, 6 servants, a female patient and a male patient) 1881 C

(b c1815 Tamworth, of "Moat House "Private Asylum" Lichfield Street, Tamworth "????? Asylum Proprietor Medical attendt?" unmarried with Edward Hollins "b c1827 Tamworth M.R.C.S. registered", 5 female patients & 9 servants) 1891 C

D6.11 Lichfield Lunatic Asylum (1817-1856)

In July 1817 Thomas Rowley 1790-1863 was granted a licence for a madhouse on St John Street, Lichfield adjoining that of George Chadwick. In 1818 the business was transferred to Sandfields House where it became known as "Lichfield Lunatic Asylum". After an adverse inspection in 1846 Rowley sold the business, perhaps directly to Henry Lynch¹⁹³ M.D., an Irishman, who purchased the business in 1854. It closed in 1856¹⁹⁴.

Proprietor

Thomas Rowley of Lichfield M.D. 1790-1863

1817-?1854

Henry Lynch M.D. c1816-....

1854-....

Superintendent

Samuel Heighway

1827-1836

Samuel Smith

1841

James Griffiths

1848-1851

Medical Visitor

James Rawson of Lichfield M.D. c1800-1878

(1834)-(1855)

Surgeon

Halford Wotton Hewitt of Lichfield M.D. 1805-1893

(1855)

193 Henry Lynch M.D. c1816-....: (L.M., Dublin Lying-in-Hospital) 1838; (M.R.C.S.) 1838; (Surgeon, Newbridge Dispensary); (L.S.A.) 1847; (of 9 Lower Gloucester Street, Dublin) 1854 [MR]; (M.D., Aberdeen, Kings College & University) 1854; (Proprietor, Sandfield House Lunatic Asylum) 1855 [MR]; (of 26 Wellington Street, Leeds) 1860 [MR]; (b c1816 Ireland, of 26 Wellington Street, Leeds) 1861 C

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Patients ¹⁹⁵			
Year	Male	Female	Total
1817			8
1819	7	1	8
1827			13
1841	13	17	30
1846			44
1851	22	22	44

In July 1817 a licence for an asylum in a house adjoining George Chadwick's was granted to Thomas Rowley, a surgeon living in St. John Street. He had already received a criminal lunatic in January, and in July he had seven other patients, several of whom had been inmates of Chadwick's asylum. [VCH]

(1817-1828) Reports on LICHFIELD Lunatic Asylums, with lists of patients. Kept by George Chadwick, 1779-1813; Thomas Rowley, 1817-25; and Samuel Heighway, 1827-28 [LRO D25/3/3]

In 1820 two pauper lunatics were admitted from the workhouse in St. Mary's parish and another from Derbyshire; the St. Mary's vestry agreed in 1822 to allow Rowley 9/0 a week for each pauper from the parish. [VCH]

(1826-1836) Although he continued to own the asylum, by 1826 it was run by Samuel Heighway, who had 13 patients in 1827 and was still superintendent in 1836. [VCH]

(1834) The Lunatic Asylum, pleasantly situated at Sandfield, about 1 mile S. of Lichfield, is a well conducted institution, belonging to Dr. Rowley, of Freeford Cottage. It was commenced in 1818. Mr. Samuel Heighway is the superintendent. [White]

(18 Oct 1834 & 31 Oct 1835) [various men and] James Rawson Doctor of Physic were appointed Visitors of the house kept by Samuel Heighway for the reception of insane persons situate at Sandfield in the parish of Saint Michael [STS:ADV]

In 1841 the census return [HO 107/1008/4] for "Lunatic Asylum, Parish of St Michael, Lichfield" lists Samuel Smith, [aged] 35, superintendent; Jane Brown, 40, matron; Rebecca Brown, 17, house maid; Joseph Walker, 30, agricultural labourer and Charles Brown, 25, printer servant. In addition are 30 patients (13 male and 17 female) whose names are given. They are additionally classified as, for instance, idiot, independent, labourer, servant etc. [NOTE: The column "Whether born in the county" is answered yes or no for the three staff and for Joseph Walker and Charles Brown (who are not stated to be patients and may have been visitors or lodgers). In the case of the patients a dash (-) has first been inserted and then overwritten with N, No or Yes. VCH Lichfield counts Walker and Brown as patients and thus gives a total of 32 patients.]

(Feb-Apr 1846) No particular mention of Sandfield Asylum in the County of Stafford, occurs in the Report of 1844, except that it is stated (p. 73,) that a Patient had escaped from it, and had not since been heard of. The premises, however, are inconvenient, and the rooms and yards appropriated to the Paupers very confined. On visiting the Asylum in February and April, 1846, various defects were observed by the Commissioners, and commented on, with a view to their removal; similar remarks had been made by the Visiting Justices, but apparently without much effect. The outer dormitories, for the Paupers, especially were noted as being cold, damp, and uncomfortable. On again visiting the Asylum on the 17th of December last, the Commissioners found the place in a very unsatisfactory state. After adverting, in their report, to the want of space in the yards (which are exceedingly small and unfit for the purposes of exercise, and are moreover surrounded by high buildings), they state, amongst other things, that they observed no tables in any of the Paupers' sitting-rooms (where, however, they dine and take their meals): that the bed clothes were quite insufficient during that inclement season; that in the various beds which they uncovered they found only one rug and a blanket for the upper covering, many of the blankets being old and several consisting of fragments only: that a Patient in bed complained of being starved with cold: that the Patients of both classes, with scarcely an exception, were unemployed; and that they (the Commissioners) saw no book nor any means of amusement provided for them. Upon hearing this report read at the weekly board, we directed a letter to be addressed to the Proprietor of the Asylum, intimating that unless the defects noticed in the last report were forthwith remedied, we should think it our duty to recommend that his licence should not be renewed. This establishment is by no means well adapted to the accommodation of Insane Patients. [Further report of the Commissioners in Lunacy to the Lord Chancellor ... (1847)]

By 1846 there were 44 patients, 38 of them paupers. [VCH]

(c1844) One of the most disgusting places I visited was an asylum near Lichfield the master of which boasted of having the patronage of the authorities at Lichfield and neighbouring parishes. The house was in a state of filth, and the buildings generally unfit for occupation. The patients were barely clothed, fastened and manacled as was usual at that time. [Robert Gardiner Hill, F.S.A. *Lunacy: its past and present* (1870) p6]

(30 Jan 1847) GENERAL LUNATIC ASYLUM, STAFFORD Wanted ... as head attendant upon the private patients ... active middle-aged female ... also as assistant attendant a steady man ... [STS:ADV]

(28 Oct 1848) LUNATIC ASYLUM, LICHFIELD ... [various men and] James Rawson of Lichfield Doctor of Physic were appointed Visitors of the Lunatic Asylum at Sandfield in the said city kept by James Griffiths [STS:ADV]

(1851) The LUNATIC ASYLUM, pleasantly situated at Sandfield about 1 mile S. of the city, is licensed for the reception of 45 patients, and is a commodious house, with beautiful grounds. It was established in 1818, and belongs to Dr. Rowley, but is now leased to Mr. James Griffiths, the present superintendent. [White]

In 1851 the census return¹⁹⁶ for "Asylum (lunatic)", St Michael, Lichfield" lists ?Jas Griffiths, [aged] 37, proprietor of asylum, his wife ?Eliz.,36, and his brother John Griffiths, 24. In addition are 44 patients (22 of each sex) whose names are given together with their original occupations and places of birth.¹⁹⁷

(1854) Sandfield near Lichfield ... Griffith, Jas [MD]

(28 Oct 1854) City and County of Lichfield ... General Quarter Sessions (21 Oct) ... [four named J.P.s] and James Rawson Doctor of Physic appointed Visitors of the Lunatic Asylum at Sandfield, Lichfield, kept by Mr James Griffiths ... [STS:ADV]

(28 Oct 1854) Sandfield House Lunatic Asylum near Lichfield. Doctor H. Lynch, resident proprietor. There are at present vacancies for two or three first and second-class patients in the above asylum where they will treated with every kindness and attention, both morally and physically. Terms. First class, from £80 pa upwards, Second-class £50 per annum. [STS:ADV]

D6.12 Staffordshire Lunatic Asylum, Stafford (1818-....)

The Staffordshire Lunatic Asylum was situated on the north-east side of Stafford near the county Gaol. It opened on 1 Oct 1818.

Physician		
Edward Knight of Stafford M.B. 1780-1862		1818-1862
House Surgeon, Apothecary & Superintendent		
John Garrett of Stafford surgeon ?1798-1841		1818-1841
James Wilkes of Stafford M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1811-1894		1841-1855
Matron		
----- Garrett		1818-1838
Patients		

¹⁹⁵ House of Commons Report quoted in Burroughs (1820)

¹⁹⁶ HO 107/2014

¹⁹⁷ The census images displayed on Ancestry© were too faint to read accurately.

Year	Male	Female	Total
1819	30	24	54

(28 Jan 1803) Letter from William Cary to Staffordshire General Infirmary offering "£50 towards erecting a building for the reception of lunatics" [Williams (1992) p27]

(c1803) Bequest from Isaac Hawkins ... £3,000 worth of consols ... "estimate for a plan for erecting a building for the reception of lunatics on ground adjoining the infirmary" [Williams (1992) p27]

(29 Oct 1808) NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN That the Justices of the Peace for the County of Stafford will at the next General Quarter Sessions to be held at Stafford on Thursday the 12th day of January next, take into consideration the expediency and propriety of providing a Lunatic asylum or House for the reception of Lunatics and other Insane Persons within the said County pursuant to an Act passed for the better care and maintenance of lunatics being paupers and criminals in England. HINCKLEY Clerk of the Peace, 17th Oct 1808. [STS:ADV]

(8 Apr 1809) County of Stafford General Infirmary. Weekly Board. Friday, March 31st 1809. ... Trustees ... will ... appoint a Committee to treat with ... the Committee of the Justices of the Peace ... other persons as may be willing to become contributors for the erection and establishment of a Lunatic Asylum ... pursuant to the Act ... W. Keen, Chairman. [STS:ADV]

(25 Jan 1812) County of Stafford General Infirmary. Quarterly General Board. Jan 17th 1812. An agreement ... between the Committees of the Justices of the Peace ... and Trustees of the General Infirmary appointed to treat for the uniting the County ... establishing a lunatic asylum ... [further meeting] ... take into consideration ... the propriety of entering into a subscription for extending the benefit of the Asylum to persons, who being objects of charity, do not come immediately within the provisions of the Act ... [STS:ADV]

(5 Feb 1814) ... It was ordered that towards the erecting the general Lunatic Asylum intended to be built ... the sum of five thousand pounds be borrowed on mortgage of the county rates ... plan and specifications of the building ... [contracts sought] 1st, for the brick and stone work. 2nd, for the carpenters' and joiners' work. 3rd, for the slaters' work. [STS:ADV]

(1816) .. Trustees of Staffordshire General Infirmary ... paid £2,000 to the "Treasurer of the Lunatic Asylum, being the Charity's contribution to the erection of a building" [Williams (1992) p27]

(31 Jan 1818) General Lunatic Asylum ... Persons desirous of obtaining the undermentioned appointments are requested to transmit testimonials ... Physician; House Surgeon, Apothecary, & Superintendent united; Matron. The House Surgeon &c must be a Member of the College of Surgeons. His salary will be £200 per ann. and that of the Matron £40 with board, lodging &c for both. Stafford. 16th January 1818.

(9 Apr 1818) On Thursday last [2 Apr], Dr. Edward Knight was unanimously elected Physician to the Staffordshire Lunatic Asylum. Dr J.P. Johnson of Shrewsbury was the unsuccessful candidate. [Worcester Journal]

(22 Aug 1818) ... Classes of patient (1) Lunatics of a superior rank, who shall contribute to the general charges of care and maintenance according to their pecuniary abilities (2) Lunatics not actually paupers, supported partly by their friends, and partly out of the subscription funds ... (3) Pauper lunatics (4) Vagrant lunatics (5) Criminal lunatics (6) Dangerous Idiots [3-6 committed to the asylum under the authority of the several statutes] [STS:ADV]

(26 Sep 1818) STAFFORDSHIRE General Lunatic Asylum ... this important institution is now complete and will be opened for the reception of Patients on the 1st day of October next ... One Hundred and Twenty patients ... Officers Appointed ... Physician: Doctor Knight of Stafford ... Surgeon and Superintendent: Mr Garrett from Bethlem Hospital ... Matron: Mrs Garrett ...

(24 Dec 1818) [Letter from an officer of Staffordshire General Lunatic Asylum regarding] ... insinuations ... in a letter signed Hermsprong in the Lichfield Mercury of the 18th inst ... [states] ... 2nd. No patient whatever has attempted to suspend himself by the neck ... 3rd. No disgusting instrument for forcing food up the nostrils of patients refusing to eat has been adopted by the surgeon ... [STS:ADV]

(1819) A return of the number of lunatics confined in the different gaols, hospitals, and lunatic asylums ... [male, female and total patients] ... Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, May 4, 1819. Stafford General Lunatic Asylum 54 patients (30 male & 24 female); Stafford Asylum 4 patients (1 male & 3 female). [Burrows (1820)]

(1820) The Stafford Asylum was built for 120 patients and was opened, October, 1818. As yet it contains only 65. ... And it already is discovered, that the Stafford Asylum is too large by one half. These facts evince much inconsiderateness; and ought to admonish those who are disposed to promote such institutions to decide with more caution. The secret spring of these inconsistencies, it is much to be feared, is to be traced to that jobbing spirit, which so often sacrifices public good to private advantage. In short, of all the pauper lunatic asylums erected, I cannot hear of more than two or three, where the design and the object when completed, have proved commensurate. [Burrows (1820)]

(6 Oct 1841) special general meeting ... Stafford County Lunatic Asylum ... appoint a successor to Mr Garrett in the offices of House Surgeon and Superintendent ... [further detail given] [Mr Wilkes, Birmingham appointed] [WTON:CHR]

(1851) STAFFORDSHIRE GENERAL LUNATIC ASYLUM, which in a few years will be appropriated solely to the reception of pauper lunatics, is an immense establishment, pleasantly situated near the county Gaol, on the north-east side of the town, in the township of Hopton and Coton. It is a large, handsome, and lofty brick building, which was originally 368 feet in length, and was commenced in 1814, and finished in 1818, at the cost of £33,500 including the cost of 40 acres of land attached to it; but in 1849-50, it was considerably enlarged, at the expense of the county, by the erection of additional wings, so that it is now 585 feet in length, and has accommodations for about 430 patients, though it had previously room for only about 250, of whom about 200 were paupers, and the rest first and second class patients. The entire institution has been remodelled and adapted to the improved system of treatment now generally employed in asylums for those afflicted with that worst of human maladies - insanity. The long galleries and numerous apartments are spacious and well ventilated, and the patients are classed according to their various degrees of mental affliction, and have the benefit of warm and cold baths, and of every rational amusement, either in the house or in the spacious gardens and pleasure grounds, through which runs a small stream of water. By an order of sessions, made in, 1814, the county united, under the powers of an act of the 48th of George III., with the Trustees of the General Infirmary, and certain Subscribers and Donors, for the erection of a "mixed asylum" for three classes of patients, viz., Class I. consisting of persons of superior rank, who contribute to the charge of maintenance, according to their pecuniary abilities; Class II., persons of limited circumstances, whose payments are assisted out of the charity funds, and the excess of payment imposed on the affluent; and Class III., consisting of paupers sent by the County Magistrates, and for whom the weekly sum of 7/0 each is paid by their respective parishes, for maintenance, clothing, &c. An extension of the charitable part of the asylum having for some years been urgently required, and recent acts of Parliament having made it imperative on the Committee of Visitors to provide considerable additional accommodation for the pauper lunatics of the county, they determined a few years ago to erect a separate asylum for the patients of classes 1 and 2, under the name of the INSTITUTION FOR THE INSANE OF STAFFORDSHIRE AND THE ADJACENT COUNTIES. This building will be delightfully situated at Coton hill, upon 30 acres of land, purchased for its site and pleasure grounds in 1849, at the cost of £6,000. The land is already planted and enclosed, and the foundations of the building are prepared, and it is hoped that the structure will be finished and opened for the reception of 100 patients in 1852, on a plan capable of enlargement at a future period. The cost of the new building will be more than £20,000, to be raised by donations and subscriptions. It will have a long and handsome front, in the mixed style of some of the finest specimens of our old manor-houses of the Tudor period, and will have a detached chapel in the decorated style. The site is about half a mile from the existing Asylum, which has always about 250 patients, of whom 200 are paupers, and the rest private patients, of the classes 1 and 2. Since the opening of the asylum more than 400 patients of the class between the rich and the poor have been assisted out of the charitable fund of the institution, without which most of them would have fallen into the rank of paupers. After paying £6,000 for the above-named 30 acres of land, there were still belonging to the subscription fund £7,230 three-per-cent. stock, and it is hoped that the wealthy and charitable inhabitants of the country will not suffer this fund to be exhausted in erecting the new building. After the completion of the new institution, the present asylum will be devoted solely to pauper lunatics, and the Subscribers' share in the property will be sold to the County Magistrates. Earl Talbot is president; the Earl of Harrowby, vice-president; the Rev. Thos. Harrison is chaplain; Dr. Knight is the physician; Mr. Jas. Wilkes, the resident medical officer; and Mrs. Turner, matron. [White p340-1]

Staffordshire County Asylum (Stafford). Administrative records go back to 1812; A County /Subscription Hospital; Opened 1.10.1818; Architect: Joseph Potter. Early form, later adapted to corridor; Accommodation for 120, but only 65 patients in 1820. Superintendent 1841 to 1855: James Wilkes Reported in 1842 that an improved system of warming and ventilation had been introduced. Previously, dysentery had been prevalent, but no cases had occurred since. (1844 Report p.17); 1.1.1844 245 patients. 183 pauper and 62 private; 1851 Subscribers' representative Thomas Salt; 1854 Coton Hill opened; 1864 Burntwood opened; 1879 Extended [Internet unsourced]

D6.13 Oulton Retreat Lunatic Asylum, Stone (1839-1853)

In 1839 Sarah Bakewell c1787-1873, previously proprietor of Spring Vale Asylum (above), opened a new asylum, Oulton Retreat¹⁹⁸, in "Oulton House", Oulton in Stone. It is stated to have been conducted in a most humane style. In 1853 the business was moved to Church Stretton (Salop).

Proprietor

Sarah Bakewell c1787-1873

1839-1853

Superintendent

Samuel Glover Bakewell of Stone M.D. 1810-1865
John Maule Sutton of Stone M.D. 1829-1886
Joseph Heeley of Stone M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1792-1865

1839-1851
1851-?1852
c1852-1853

Consulting Physician

Edward Wilson of Newcastle M.D. 1803-1858

....-?1853

Patients

Year	Male	Female	Total
1841	22	11	33
1851	12	7	19

In 1841 the census return [HO 107/995/10] for a licensed mad-house at Stone called "Oulton Retreat for the reception of lunatics" lists Sarah Bakewell [aged] 55, "Proprietor of the ----"; Samuel Glover Bakewell, 30, "Superintendent of the same"; Marianne, Harriet, William, Emma, Edward, Eliza, Charlotte & Frederick Bakewell; two male attendants & one other male staff; two female attendants & five other female staff; and a ?lodger. In addition are 33 patients (22 male and 11 female) whose names and occupations are given

(1846) OULTON RETREAT, near STONE, STAFFORDSHIRE, Conducted by SAMUEL GLOVER BAKEWELL, M.D, (Son of the late Mr. Thomas Bakewell, of Spring Vale, near Stone.) This Establishment, which was removed from Spring Vale in the year 1839, is spoken of in the following flattering terms by the Commissioners in Lunacy, and the Visitors appointed by the Magistrates of the County.

First Report, September 12, 1842: The undersigned Metropolitan Commissioners have been much gratified by visiting Dr. Bakewell's Licensed Lunatic Asylum, called Oulton Retreat, and have been especially struck with the handsome exterior of the mansion, and the beauty of the grounds and situation. The Commissioners were well satisfied with the healthy appearance of the patients. The sleeping apartments are most comfortable and well furnished, and the security and convenience of the patients have been carefully consulted in all the arrangements.

Last Report, December 9, 1845: The house and its different apartments are clean and well ventilated, and in good order. The gardens and airing grounds are extensive and cheerful, and the Patients are in the habit of taking a good deal of walking exercise in them. The Patients are supplied with Books and Newspapers, and other means of in-door amusement. The Ladies work at their needle. A considerable number join the family party at dinner. Prayers are read regularly to the Patients every day.

Report of Visitors appointed by the Magistrates of the County, Jan. 28, 1846: We have carefully examined both the House and the Patients. The former we found in a very clean and satisfactory state, and the latter appear healthy and comfortable. "It is pleasing in this Establishment to witness the mixing of the family with the female patients, which, in our opinion, must conduce very much to the comfort as well as the improvement of the inmates. "Dr. Bakewell devotes his whole time to the Superintendence of the Establishment, and the Ladies are under the immediate care of Mrs. Bakewell and her daughters. The terms will be found moderate. [The Lancet]

(1851) OULTON RETREAT, a large and well-conducted private Lunatic Asylum, belonging to Mrs. Sarah Bakewell, and under the superintendence of Samuel Glover Bakewell, M.D., late of Spring Vale, where his father established an asylum in 1808. This Retreat, for patients of the higher and middle classes, was formerly called Oulton House, and is a large and handsome mansion, with a park-like lawn of considerable extent, commanding extensive and pleasing prospects. The Metropolitan Commissioners in Lunacy have spoken in high praise of this asylum, and Dr. Bakewell's successful mode of treatment. [White]

In 1851 the census return [HO 107/2000] for "Oulton Retreat", lists Sarah Bakewell, 64, "Proprietress of asylum and farmer of 83 acres 13 labourers"; with 6 children: Mary Ann, Harriet, Eliza, Charlotte, Edward & Fredric Bakewell; and 11 servants (4 male and 7 female). In addition are 19 "lunatics" (12 male & 7 female) whose names (as initials) and occupations are given. [John Maule Sutton was probably normally resident but presumably on a visit on census night]

(1854) Oulton Retreat, near Stone ... Bakewell, Mrs [MD]

D6.14 Great Barr House Lunatic Asylum, Great Barr (1853-....)

Great Barr House Lunatic Asylum was licenced about Jul 1853. It was conducted by a widow Amelia Moore.

(28 Jul 1853) New licences have been granted to the following houses ... Great Barr House in the county of Stafford to Mrs Amelia Moore widow [Morning Post]

(1854) Barr House, Great Barr, near Birmingham Moore, Mrs [MD, Lunatic Asylums]

D6.15 Coton Hill Lunatic Asylum, Stafford (1854-....)

The Coton Hill Lunatic Asylum opened in 1854 as an extension to Staffordshire Lunatic Asylum. Originally it was to accommodate private patients.

Physician

Edward Knight of Stafford M.B. 1780-1862

(1855)

The Coton Hill Institution for the Insane at Stafford for Private Patients of the Middle and Upper Classes. A Registered Hospital. Opened 1854 ... 1854 Nineteen officers moved to Coton Hill from the Military Lunatic Asylum at Yarmouth on the recommendation of the Lunacy Commission ... 1881 Census: John Dale Hewson, MD Superintendent 66 male patients include nine from the army (if one includes "Hospital Assistant Her Majesty's Service") - Four over 70 - Six of the officers on "half-pay" - the other two "retired" . 74 female patients. Total 140. ... Coton Hill Theatre

"In 1890 a theatre and recreation room was erected, where concerts and dramatic performances are frequently given ... 1896: Coton Hill Institution: Robert William Hewson, Superintendent; Rev. James Henry Theodosius, Chaplain; John Jackson, Clerk and Steward; Miss Ada Bailey, Ladies' Matron. ... The Postgraduate Medical Centre Library at Staffordshire General Hospital is in the converted Chapel of Coton Hill. Coton Hill remained until 1976 when, apart from the chapel and the lodges, it was demolished and the new District General Hospital was built on the site. [Internet, unsourced]

D6.16 Mad-doctors and madhouses (county miscellany)

About 1666 William Hodgetts of Sedgley is said to have boarded several lunatics whose burials are recorded in the parish register. Whilst about 1792 Joseph Perry of Bilston was licensed to cure lunatics.

¹⁹⁸ The first lunatic asylum to be called a "retreat" was likely York Retreat founded by the quaker William Tuke in 1796.

William Hodgetts of Sedgley "mad-doctor" c1626-....**c1666**

(1666, Hearth Tax) Sedgley Constablewick, William Hodgettes, gentleman, three hearths [A footnote states "The local doctor. The register records the burial of several lunatics boarded by him".] [SHC 1923 p92]

Joseph Perry of Bilston mad-doctor c1752-....**c1792**

(Perry Joseph licensed to cure lunatics Bilston) c1792 [UBD II]

In 1820 George Man Burrows published *An inquiry into certain errors relative to insanity ...* In a preface he thanks a long list of people who contributed information including two Staffordshire men: Mr Proud, surgeon, Wolverhampton, and Mr Garrett, Superintendent of the Stafford Asylum ... He quotes the following figures from a parliamentary report of 1819 on numbers of lunatics.

A return of the number of lunatics confined in the different gaols, hospitals, and lunatic asylums ... [male, female and total patients] ... Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, May 4, 1819.

Stafford General Lunatic Asylum	30	24	54
Stafford Asylum [NOT IDENTIFIED]	1	3	4

A return of the number of houses in each county .. licensed for the reception of lunatics; the names of the persons to whom the licenses are granted; [male, female and total patients] ... Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, May 4, 1819.

[Staffordshire]	Licensee	M	F	Tot
1 at Lichfield	Thomas Rowley	7	1	8
1 at Spring Vale near Stone	Thomas Bakewell	10	7	17
1 at Bilston	Samuel Proud	16	5	21

The total numbers of lunatics accommodated in Staffordshire Poor Law union workhouses are available for 1845/6. The workhouses were visited, under the provisions of *The lunacy act* {8 & 9 Victoria c100 s111}, between the 4th of August 1845 and the 4th of August 1846. Below is given the number of lunatics found in each at the time of the visit together with the numbers stated in the parliamentary return of 1846.

•Poor Law union workhouse lunatics			
Workhouse	1845-6	1846	Change
Burton-upon-Trent	20	24	4
Cheadle	10	10	0
Leek	6	5	-1
Lichfield	18	14	-4
Newcastle-under-Lyme	5	7	2
Penkridge	5	13	8
Stafford	14	16	2
Stoke-upon-Trent	22	14	-8
Stone	14	11	-3
Walsall	24	23	-1
West Bromwich [1845-6 11+3]	14	15	1
Wolstanton & Burslem	14	7	-7
Wolverhampton	20	13	-7
Total	186	172	-14

D7 Aurists, dentists and oculists

D7.1 Introduction; D7.2 Aurists; D7.3 Dentists; D7.4 Oculists

D7.1 Introduction

Some medics specialised in the care of ears, teeth and eyes. These aurists, dentists and oculists did sometimes travel the country in search of patients and were generally found living in the larger cities. Robert Masters Kerrison commented in 1814:

... the practitioners of Medicine and Surgery in London, and the cities, or large towns of England and Wales. There are a few, who confine themselves to particular departments of Surgery, and are called, Oculists, Cuppers, and Dentists; and even some are self-named Aurists, and Chiropedists; but these artificial subdivisions have obtained, rather from convenience than necessity: they can only exist in large towns, and the latter are unknown out of the metropolis. [Robert Masters Kerrison *An inquiry into the present state of the medical profession in England ...* (1814) p31-2]

Only five of the cohort^x were involved in dentistry (§D7.3). Four others were involved in eye and ear care (§D7.4).

D7.2 Aurists

In 1676 E. Coles in his *An English dictionary* defines an aurist as "that is skill'd in the ears". However it seems that the term was not much used until the later 18C. Most aurists appear to have also practised as oculists and are discussed in (§D7.4) below.

D7.3 Dentists

Early books on dentistry include *Artzney buchlein wider allerlei kranckeyten und gebrechen der tzeen* (1530) published in Leipzig; Charles Allen's *The operator for the teeth, shewing how to preserve the teeth and gums from all the accidents they are subject to* (1685) published in York with a second edition the following year

from Dublin; Pierre Fauchard, Chirurgien Dentiste a Paris *Le chirurgien dentiste, ou traite' des dents* (1728) and F.B. Spilsbury, Surgeon, &c *Every lady and gentleman their own dentist ...* (1791).

Doubtless most early surgeons and apothecaries could and did extract teeth. From the mid 18C there appear to have been practitioners in dentistry who travelled the country. Originally styled "operators of the teeth" they were now termed "dentists" after the French style.¹⁹⁹

(15 Sep 1759) Dentist figures it now in our newspapers, and may do well enough for a French puffer; but we fancy Rutter is content with being called a tooth-drawer [OED, quoting Edinburgh Journal]

(10 Nov 1763) FOY, DENTIST and Operator for the Teeth, who has for many years practised at London, Bristol and Bath, with the highest success ... [Bath Chronicle]

(14 Mar 1795) TWYFORD, DENTIST (near the George Inn), Lichfield ... has been at Birmingham for some time, receiving instructions from Mr Bott (son of Mr Bott of Nottingham) whose reputation in this art is so well established ... [STS:ADV]

(10 Aug 1805) MR. BEW, SURGEON DENTIST, from London and Edinburgh, respectfully informs the inhabitants of Newcastle and the Potteries ... his stay here will terminate with the Wakes ... [STS:ADV]

Twyford (above) may have settled at Lichfield. Only five of the cohort^x have been discovered who are specifically mentioned as dentists but doubtless there were many others.

Isaac Booth of Burslem surgeon c1782-1867 **1828**
In 1828 he was also practising as a dentist.

John Spencer Harrison of Alstonfield surgeon 1773-1831 **1831**
In Apr 1831 an auction was held of his effects which included "tooth instruments" ... Harrison had probably also practised as a dentist ...

George Bury of Handsworth M.R.C.S. c1811-1877 **1846**
he was styled "surgeon-dentist" when a declared bankrupt in 1846.

Michael Hordorn Peake of Wolverhampton surgeon e1781-.... **1833**
about 1833, senior partner to William Salter surgeon e1786-.... conducting business as Peake & Co "surgeons and dentists".

William Salter of Wolverhampton "surgeon" e1786-.... **1833**
about 1833 he was sometime junior partner to Michael Hordorn Peake surgeon e1781-.... conducting business as Peake & Co "surgeons and dentists".

D7.4 Oculists

Men attempting medical care of the eyes, perhaps due to infection, disease or aging, would usually be styled *oculist* whilst men who prescribed for and manufactured spectacles would be styled *optician*²⁰⁰. No precise distinction could have been maintained. Perhaps from the 1820s oculists might also be described as *ophthalmologists*.

Men who attempted medical care of the ears were styled *aurist* (§D7.2) and often the two specialities were combined. Between 1768 and 1775 Dr Raynes of London "aurist and oculist" was in practice in London but had been in Newcastle-upon-Tyne previously whilst in 1811 a Mr Ellery, similarly styled, had moved from Edinburgh to London. Both oculists and opticians may have travelled the country in search of patients as did Dr. Bardwell Shappee, "occulist, and practitioner in physick, surgery, and man-midwifry" in 1755 when he was particularly active in Staffordshire.

(1615) Wherefore, those whom we call Oculists, that is, such as professe and intend the cure of the eies; ... [Helkiah Crooke *Microcosmographia: A description of the body of man* (1615) p538]

(23 Sep 1738) FOR GENERAL BENEFIT - DEMAINE MIDDLESELL, Optician in London to his late Majesty, and approv'd of by the Royal Society. Makes, grinds, and sells, all manner of optick-glasses; viz: telescopes; microscopes; reading-glasses, of all sorts; burning-glasses, both concave and convex; prisms; spectacles to be fix'd upon the temples; also all other sorts of spectacles, after a new method, making the focus of the glass upon the frame, it being approved of by all the learned in opticks, as the exactest way of fitting different eyes; likewise glasses for short-sighted persons, and couched eyes: He also grinds stone as fine as glass. - All, or any of which things, may be had, either by wholesale, or retail at reasonable rates, at his house in the *New Buildings* without Pilgrim-street Gate, Newcastle upon Tyne. N.B. Beware of buying any of the abovesaid goods from any itinerant *Jew*, or other strolling persons, they being neither the makers, nor masters in the optical science; but have all their glasses false ground, which is very prejudicial to the eyes. [Newcastle Courant]

(5 Feb 1743) [Deaths] Mr Saunders, optician and telescope-maker in Wood-street [Ipswich Journal]

(13 Feb 1753) MOYER ANDREWS The famous optician from the city of Bristol, who grinds all manner of optick glasses, is come to this town, and is at the Old Boar's Head, at the Hide's-Cross in Manchester ... Of whom may be had very good spectacles and reading glasses ... He has also found out a new method of making rock chrysal spectacles, which for preserving the sight far exceed all other, and are more especially useful, for the doing any sort of fine work by candle-light ... He waits upon Gentlemen or Ladies at their Houses ... His stay will be but short [Manchester Mercury]

(14 Feb 1755) This is to give notice that the noted Dr. Bardwell Shappee, occulist, and practitioner in physick, surgery, and man-midwifry, ... he is the wonder of the age ... He cured 57 at Newcastle in Staffordshire; 74 at Uttoxeter, and is now come to the Talbot Inn at Ashbourne ... he intends this spring and summer to be at Leek, Derby, Burton upon Trent, and to winter in Nottingham [Derby Mercury]

(30 Jan 1768) Dr Raynes, aurist and occulist, from his house in Panton-square, London, ... all persons who are desirous to consult him in any distemper in the eye or ear ... since his residence in Newcastle [-upon-Tyne]... [Newcastle Courant]

(8 May 1775) Dr Raynes, oculist and aurist, ... removed from Upper John Street to his house at No. 80 in Portland-street ... London [Reading Mercury]

¹⁹⁹ This whole subject is comprehensively covered in Christine Hillman *Brass plate and brazen impudence. Dental practice in the provinces 1755-1855* Liverpool (1991) which refers to advertisements in *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* of 26 Dec 1757 and 12 Feb 1759 which mention Mr Foy "Travelling around the West Midlands, [when] he included Stafford and Wolverhampton on his itineraries".

²⁰⁰ From an early period opticians were men who were expert in optics and could make lenses for use as eye-glasses but also for telescopes, microscopes and other equipment. It must have been necessary to conduct eye tests in order to grind eye-glasses of the right sort and this is still a principal role of a modern dispensing optician.

(11 Oct 1800) THE DEAF RESTORED By the celebrated Dr Taylor's medicine, which never fails to cure deafness, whether it proceeds from violent colds in the head, old age, excessive noise, hard wax sticking in the cavity of the ears, or from any other cause, except an original imperfection in the structure of the ear, in which case the complaint unhappily admits of no cure, and the unfortunate person is not only deaf, but generally dumb for life. The proprietor (who is no quack doctor) does not think it necessary to enlarge on the merits of his medicine. Suffice it to say that ONE BOTTLE WILL IN GENERAL CURE THE MOST OBSTINATE DEAFNESS; and that it is composed of ingredients so perfectly innocent, that there is no possibility of its doing the least injury to the ear. The advertiser is aware that that tender organ ought not to be tampered with; and that, like the eye, it requires a very delicate touch. Sold at 8s. 6d. a bottle, duty included, by J. Drewry, Stafford, general agent for the sale of medicine. Sold also by Smith and Chetter, Newcastle; Mott, Hanley; Richard's, Uttoxeter; Lowe, Leek; Barnes, Cheadle; Dawkin, Eccleshall, Dodsworth, Burton; &c. &c. Of whom may be had, the Doctor's infallible mixture for weak eyes, the application of which will go far to render SPECTACLES USELESS. Notwithstanding the diseases of the eye are more difficult to cure than any other, almost every old woman pretends to be possessed of a remedy for them; and many impudent Empirics have, at different times, puffed off their nostrums, consisting chiefly of eye-waters and ointments, which nineteen times out of twenty put out more eyes than they cure; and the consequence is, that almost all thinking men reject (and not without reason) every preparation for the eye which is offered thro' the medium of the public prints. Notwithstanding the disadvantage which the Doctor labours under in this respect, his desire to be useful to his fellow-men has conquered the false delicacy of being ashamed to be numbered among *Quacks*; and, he now, after many years study, and acquaintance with the structure of the eye, and the nature of vision, offers to the public his mixture for strengthening and curing weak eyes, which produces the following effects, viz. - It cures slight inflammations - prevents blindness - restores weak and watery eyes - and is so particularly salutary in strengthening the visual faculty, that persons who have been used to spectacles a few years may, by the use of this mixture, be enabled to read small print without them. Sold at 3s. 6d. the pint bottle, with proper directions. [STS:ADV]

(8 Aug 1801) [Died] On Friday the 24th ult. at Wolverhampton, aged 40, Mr Robert Benn, optician and factor [STS:ADV]

(28 Sep 1811) Diseases of the Eye and Ear MR ELLERY Oculist and aurist, from Edinburgh ... fixed his residence at No 10 Westminster Road [London] ... [Star]

(1822) The Medical School of Vienna ... Dr George Joseph Beer has been for more than thirty years employed in the practice of this department of surgery. He was for many years extraordinary professor only, but in the year 1815, a chair of Practical Ophthalmology was founded in the university, which has since been filled by this learned and enthusiastic man [The Journal of Foreign Medical Science and Literature (1822) p197]

(19 Feb 1831) IMPROVEMENT OF SIGHT - Mr Morris, the optician, intends leaving Newcastle on Monday evening next - See advt. [STS:ADV]

(20 Apr 1831) On the 13th instant, deeply regretted by her family and friends, Mary, the wife of Mr Thomas Bird, optician, of Darlington Street [WTON:CHR]

Only five of the cohort^a have been discovered who were particularly involved in the medical care of eyes and ears. Henry Lilley Smith, who had been apprenticed in Walsall, established a small eye and ear hospital at Southam, Warwicks in 1818. John Steward was, in 1834, a founder and consulting surgeon of Wolverhampton Eye and Ear Infirmary. Matthew Findley Kilpatrick announced his intention to specialise in these subjects in 1839. In the 1850s Richard Sandford had been Surgeon-Oculist at the British Hospital in Jerusalem. Finally Richard Middlemore, who had been apprenticed in Lichfield, had an eminent career in Birmingham as an ophthalmologist

Henry Lilley Smith of Walsall apprentice 1788-1859

1818

After he qualified M.R.C.S. in 1810 he practised at Southam, Warwicks where he was buried, aged 71, on 12 Apr 1859. At Southam he established a small eye and ear hospital in 1818

John Steward of Wolverhampton F.R.C.P.E. 1796-1880

1834

Steward practised in London before moving to Staffordshire about 1827 where he lived briefly at Great Haywood in Colwich and then at Stafford from about 1829 to 1833. At Stafford in 1831 he was a declared bankrupt. By 1834 he had settled at Wolverhampton in which year he was a founder and consulting surgeon of Wolverhampton Eye and Ear Infirmary.

Matthew Findley Kilpatrick of Abbots Bromley "surgeon" c1794-1852

1839

By 1839 he was in practice as a "Surgeon, Oculist and Aurist" at Uttoxeter. In 1841 he was living at Rocester and in 1851 at Abbots Bromley

(7 Dec 1839) M.F. Kilpatrick, Surgeon, Oculist and Aurist, begs respectfully to intimate to the public that in future he intends to devote his attention principally to diseases of the eye and ear and may be consulted every Wednesday at Mr. Everard's, Church Gates, Uttoxeter, from eleven to three o'clock. Uttoxeter, 2nd December 1839 [STS:ADV]

Richard Sandford of Wolverhampton apprentice 1819-1859

?1850

After he qualified L.S.A. and M.R.C.S. in 1846 he went to Palestine and held various offices including that of Surgeon and Surgeon-Oculist at the British Hospital in Jerusalem. By 1853 he had returned to Wolverhampton

Richard Middlemore of Lichfield apprentice 1804-1891

1850s

... apprenticed to Charles Chawner of Lichfield L.S.A. 1791-1857 about 1820. He trained at St Bartholomew's Hospital before he qualified M.R.C.S. in 1827 (F.R.C.S., 1841). Subsequently he had an eminent career in Birmingham as an ophthalmologist.

D8 Homoeopaths

The practice of treating disease using drugs in minute quantities which if used in larger quantities on healthy patients would cause similar symptoms to those being treated is a common form of homoeopathy. Well into the 19C such practices were considered by many to have no scientific basis. The first of the two excerpts from Staffordshire newspapers reflects a change in these views. No record has been found of homoeopathic practice in the county but Edward Acworth (of Stoke-upon-Trent) M.D. ?1809-1874 is said to have become a keen homoeopathist after he left the county about 1840 - his obituary appeared in the *British Journal of Homoeopathy*.

(19 Oct 1839) [In a book review] We remember the time - and it is no longer since than the death of the lamented Malibran - when it required the utmost exertion of Christian charity to believe that homoeopathists were anything better than sheer imposters: but we are now compelled to aver ... an entire revolution has been effected in our sentiments on the subject ... reformed homoeopathy is not the despicable figment of absurdity which has hitherto been supposed, but the lucid explication of a principle of almost universal application in the treatment of disease. [Staffordshire Gazette]

(25 Dec 1858) "Homoeopathy is another favourite dodge with the ignorant for shuffling off diseases, and cheating death and the undertaker" [a quote from a recent lecture] [Walsall Free Press]

E Medical apprenticeship, hospital training and medical school placements

E1 Medical apprenticeship

E1.1 Introduction; E1.2 General apprenticeship in the 16C and 17C; E1.3 Medical apprenticeship in the 16C and 17C; E1.4 Medical apprenticeship from 1700; E1.5 County advertisements for medical apprentices etc

E1.1 Introduction

The general history and development of apprenticeship is beyond the scope of this work but §E1.2 briefly summarises the situation in the 16C and 17C whilst §E1.3 summarises the county situation in the same period. In Staffordshire the first mention of apprenticeships in a medical context is to be found in 1623 in the laws of the Lichfield Mercers' Company (§E1.3.2). Sections §E1.4-9 present information regarding apprenticeships after 1700 with particular reference to the statistics obtained from the apprenticeship registers of 1710-1811 (§E2). Topics include apprenticeship numbers, places, premiums, terms and re-apprenticeships. A final section (§E1.5) gives some examples of county advertisements for apprentices.

E1.2 General apprenticeship in the 16C and 17C

During the 16C and 17C the general apprenticeship system - which provided the only means for many workmen, including surgeons and apothecaries to *qualify* - was under development. Masters might often be members of guilds and also involved in municipal administration. Guilds, municipal government and the apprenticeship system seem to have become connected in an intimate and uncertain fashion (see §B3.1).

From an early period both in London and the counties the system of apprenticeship was not well regulated and an attempt was now made to improve matters. *An act containing divers orders for artificers, labourers, servants of husbandry, and apprentices (aka The statute of artificers and apprentices)* {5 Elizabeth I c4} was passed in 1564. This is a long act and a careful reading will render much useful information on apprenticeship in general. In section 3 (below) is a list of those trades to which it is intended to apply and it will be noticed that no medical trades are mentioned by name.

[§1] Although there remain and stand in force presently a great number of acts and statutes concerning the retaining, departing, wages and orders of apprentices, servants and labourers as well in husbandry as in divers other arts, mysteries and occupations, yet partly for the imperfection and contrariety that is found, and doth appear in sundry of the said laws, and for the variety and number of them, ...

[§3] ... in any of the sciences, crafts, mysteries, or arts of clothiers, woollen cloth weavers, tuckers, fullers, clothworkers, sheremen, dyers, hosiers, tailors, shoemakers, tanners, pewterers, bakers, brewers, glovers, cutlers, smiths, farriers, curriers, sadlers, spurriers, turners, cappers, hatmakers, or feltmakers, bowyers, fletchers, arrowheadmakers, butchers, cooks or millers.

Once an apprenticeship had been completed a man was *time-served* and at most times and in most places he would then have been considered *qualified*. However if he was also accepted as a member of a guild this was an extra level of qualification.

E1.3 Medical apprenticeship in the 16C and 17C

E1.3.1 Introduction; E1.3.2 Lichfield Mercers' Company

E1.3.1 Introduction

From 1548 to 1710 there were probably ten main centres of medical practice in the county (§D1.3). These were the four places with craft guilds - Lichfield, Stafford, Walsall and Newcastle - together with Tamworth and Burton upon Trent; and, perhaps later in the period, Wolverhampton, Stone, Uttoxeter and Leek. All ten of these places were by 1364 municipal boroughs and most by 1722 market towns. The craft guilds were commenced at Lichfield before 1307, at Stafford before 1476, at Walsall before 1502 and at Newcastle before 1510.

An estimate of numbers of medics from 1551 to 1711 is given in the table below (see §D1.2).

•Medic numbers 1551-1711				
	Population	Discovered medics	Physicians	Estimated medics
1551	53341	x		27
1601	77504	x		39
1651	103714	x		52
1701	105428	44	8	53
1711	113275	54	9	57

The estimated 27 medics practising in the county in 1551 might have included a number of clerics and others that had been ejected from the county's religious houses and hospitals which nearly all closed by the end of 1548.

If there were 27 medics working in the ten main county medical centres then there was an average of about three in each community in 1551 doubling to about five or six by 1711. Surgeons and apothecaries in such small numbers would doubtless have found it impossible to form their own *dedicated* guilds or other organisations. However they could and did become members of more general craft guilds. So we find by 1483 there was a Lichfield Guild of Barbers and Surgeons and by 1623 the members of the Lichfield Mercers' Company included the apothecaries.

In this period the apprenticeship system - which provided the only means for surgeons and apothecaries to *qualify* - was also developing. It might be that in the mid 16C apprenticeships could only be served under men who were members of craft guilds. However by the mid 18C Wolverhampton, which perhaps never had any craft guilds, was the major centre for medical apprenticeship. Evidence is lacking to show how medical apprenticeship developed in relation to the craft guilds and municipal government.

Within the county the first mention of apprenticeships in a medical context is in the 1623 laws of the Lichfield Mercers' Company (§E1.3.2). These laws increased the apprenticeship term at Lichfield from 7 to 9 years. Two 17C apprentices were:

(1653) Richard Thornton of Lichfield chirurgion c1610-1653 took apprentice George Dawes ?1634-?1656 about 1648 and in his 1653 will made provision for Dawes to be re-apprenticed to his brother +Thomas Thornton c1612-.... or to be reimbursed his premium.

(1670) John Parker of Lichfield apothecary 1655-1711 was apprenticed for 9 years to his widowed mother in 1670 and then re-apprenticed in 1673 to Collings Woolrich.

E1.3.2 Lichfield Mercers' Company

On 24 May 1623 James I in a charter to the bailiffs and corporation of Lichfield granted them powers to regulate "all and singuler the Cittizens, officers and ministers, Trades and Tradesmen, Fraternities and severall Companies or Societies of any Misterie or occupacon whatsoever". Thus it was on 17 Jul 1623 that the Lichfield Mercers' Company was formed with laws under 16 headings²⁰¹. These laws provide the first detailed county information on masters and their apprentices.

Many of the laws concern apprenticeship²⁰². In 1623 the normal term of apprenticeship (at Lichfield) was seven years and 16 apprentices appear to have been serving their apprenticeships when the laws were drawn up (§16). Their apprenticeship term was to remain seven years - but new apprentices were to serve nine years (§11). All new indentures were to be entered into a book and a fee of 1/0 paid. The following section (§12) applies to servants taken apprentice to whom some special laws applied. §13 prevents apprenticeships being shortened and provides, in the event of the death of a master, for an apprenticeship to be transferred to another master with adequate financial compensation. §5 ensured confidentiality. When an apprentice was time-served he still needed to be "approved" by the company in order to become a member. (§6).

[§1] First, wee ordeyne and order that the Mercers, Grossers, Woollen Drapers, Lynnen Drapers, Silkmen, Hosiers, Salters, **Apothecaries** and Haberdashers of small Wares which now are Freemen of the said Trades within the said Cittie or hereafter shall be Freemen, and hath or shall have served seaven yeares apprentishipp vnto any Freeman of any of the said Trades within the said Cittie of Lichfeild, or shall compound for his Freedome in manner following, shall from henceforth be a Brotherhood or Companie called by the name of the Master, Wardens and Company of Mercers of the Cittie of Lichfeild.

[§5] Item, it is ordeyned and ordered that everie one of the said Companie shall conceale and keepe the Counsells of the said Companie (which are to be concealed and kept) and not disclose the same to any other not being of the said Companie: ...

[§6] Item, it is ordeyned and ordered that no prson that shall herafter serue his Apprentishipp seaven yeares to any of the aforesaid trades in the said Cittie shalbe a Freeman of the said Companie or admitted to keepe open shopp or vse his trade in the said Cittie before he shall haue first binn approved by the Master and Wardens or the major part of the said Companie for his due service and apprentishipp; and vpon their approbacon shall take his Corporall Oath before the Bayliffs of this Cittie, or one of them, well and faithfullie to prforme and keepe all and everie of these ordinances and orders; and shall haue subscribed his name for the prformance of these Ordinancs.

[§11] Item, it is ordeyned and ordered that no prson being free and belonging to this Companie shall receiue or take into his service any prson or prsons to be bound as an Apprentice and to be instructed in any of the said Misteries or Trades belonging to the said Companie vnder the tearme of nyne yeares fullie to be compleat, and everie Master that taketh an Apprentice shall cause the Indentures of the said Apprentice to be read and sealed in the presence of the Master or Wardens for the tyme being, and there to pay vnto the said Wardens for entering the same into their booke, twelve pence. And whosoeuer shall take or bynd any Apprentice contrarie to this ordinance shall forfeit and paie for every Apprentice so taken and bound, five poundes to the vse of the said Companie.

[§12] Item, it is ordeyned and ordered that what prson soever of this Companie which shall take a servant to be an Apprentice, he shall cause him to be bound and his Indentures to be sealed in manner and forme before menconed within one moneth or six weekes at the farthest after his coming vnto him, or else he shall forfeit and paie to the vse of the said Companie for everie moneth that he so keepeth him longer vnbound, contrarie to this Ordinance, six shillings eight pence [6/8].

[§13] Item, it is ordeyned and ordered that whatsoever prson being a Freeman of this Companie which shall take any Apprentice according to the Ordinance aforesaid, and shall suffer any such his Apprentice to depart from him vnder any pretence and collour whatsoever before he haue fullie accomplished the tearme of nyne yeares ... shall forfeit and paie for everie Apprentice which shall soe depart from him contrarie to this ordinance five poundes to the vse of the said Companie. --- And it is also ordeyned and ordered that if the Master of any Apprentice of this Companie happen to die before his Apprentice hath served out his yeares, then the said Apprentice or Apprentices shalbe putt over at the discrecon of the Master of the said Companie: ... And that the executors or administrators of such Master as shall so die shall pay to such prson or prsons to whome such Apprentice or Apprenticers shalbe so putt over so much of such summe or summes of money which such Master that soe dieth hath received or is to receive with such Apprentice ...

[§16] .. And it is further ordained and ordered that George Dawes sonne of Thomas Dawes of this Cittie, deceased, [and 15 other sons] ... nor any of them, shall not be hindred or debarred by any of these ordinances or orders; but that they and euerie of them shall and may sett vpp and vse any of the Trades of this Cittie or Companies within this Cittie, so as they haue served seaven yeares apprentishipp to the said Trade respectiuelie ...

E1.4 Medical apprenticeship from 1700

E1.4.1 Introduction; E1.4.2 Medical apprenticeship numbers; E1.4.3 Medical apprenticeship places; E1.4.4 Medical apprenticeship premiums; E1.4.5 Medical apprenticeship terms; E1.4.6 Medical apprenticeship terms by premium; E1.4.7 Re-apprenticeship (medical); E1.4.8 Master-apprentice relations (medical); E1.4.9 Some unusual apprenticeships (medical)

E1.4.1 Introduction

In a typical apprenticeship a master would take a boy apprentice at a stated premium for a stated term of years. Normally the apprenticeship would not be completed before the boy was aged 21 and in law an adult. The boy was normally bound to his master by indentures which set out their relationship in a legal document. From 1 May

²⁰¹ These are printed in full in "The laws of the Mercers Company of Lichfield" [1623] *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society New Series* 7 (1893) p109-25 and *Staffordshire historical monographs* 1 (2020).

²⁰² Other sections concerned: (§2-§4) annual election of a Master and two Wardens and their accounts etc; (§7-§9) penalties for trading when not a freeman and right to seize goods for debt etc; (§10) penalties for using false weights; (§14) milliners, pedlers and petty chapmen; (§15) unwholesome groceries.

1710 until about Jan 1811 a duty was imposed on premiums paid for apprenticeship indentures (see §E2.2) excepting those of a public or charitable nature. Duty was liable at the rate of 6d in the pound on premiums of £50 and under - and at 1/0 in the pound over £50. Records of many of the apprenticeship duties were kept by the Inland Revenue Board of Stamps (see §E2.3).

E1.4.2 Medical apprenticeship numbers

Overall apprenticeship numbers are impossible to calculate with precision because there is scant record of parental apprenticeships and only an incomplete record of indentured apprenticeships.

However it is possible to present some *hypothetical* numbers based on the available evidence. Between 1711 and 1851 about 979²⁰³ cohort* medics have been discovered who did serve an apprenticeship. Of these some might have been served outside the county but this reduction in number might be balanced by other undiscovered medics.

These 979 apprenticeships were probably distributed over time in the same percentage as available masterships (men who *might* have taken apprentices). In the table below the number²⁰⁴ of recorded masterships is given for every tenth year from 1711 to 1841 with their percentage share of the whole. That percentage share is then used to distribute the 979 apprenticeships by *decade*. For comparison the number of probable indentured apprenticeships is also given (from below).

•Apprenticeships - 1711-1841 - decadal						
Masterships 1711-1841			Apprenticeships 1711-1841			
Year	Number	%	Decade	%	Hypothetical	Indentured
1711	45	0.03	1711	0.03	31	27
1721	51	0.04	1721	0.04	35	40
1731	50	0.03	1731	0.03	34	47
1741	62	0.04	1741	0.04	42	40
1751	64	0.04	1751	0.04	44	32
1761	74	0.05	1761	0.05	50	34
1771	79	0.05	1771	0.05	54	36
1781	93	0.06	1781	0.06	63	38
1791	92	0.06	1791	0.06	63	38
1801	105	0.07	1801	0.07	72	21
1811	114	0.08	1811	0.08	78	
1821	156	0.11	1821	0.11	106	
1831	205	0.14	1831	0.14	140	
1841	247	0.17	1841	0.17	168	
Total	1437	1.00			979	

In the period 1710-1809 a total of 270²⁰⁵ surviving Staffordshire medical apprenticeships have been discovered²⁰⁶. These are apprenticeships which were served in Staffordshire by men born in the county or elsewhere²⁰⁷. These are shown by decade in the chart below together with the correction factor for lost months (see §E2.3) and the resulting corrected number. The 83 "lost" apprenticeships bring the total of county apprenticeships to 353. Under recording might be expected in the first decade as the new system came into effect and also towards the end of its use²⁰⁸. Otherwise numbers of apprentices are remarkably uniform at 32-40 per decade but with a noticeable rise to 47 in the 1730s.

•Apprenticeships - indentured - decadal			
Decade	Surviving number	Correction factor for lost months	Corrected number
1710-9	26	1.03	27
1720-9	22	1.82	40
1730-9	9	5.22	47
1740-9	19	2.11	40
1750-9	30	1.08	32
1760-9	34	1	34
1770-9	36	1	36
1780-9	38	1	38
1790-9	38	1	38
1800-9	18	1.14	21
	270		353

²⁰³ This estimate is based on the total number of men in the Database [SDH4] (1,266) less the physicians (who would not normally take apprentices) (162) and any remaining men born before 1697 (who would have been apprenticed before 1711) (125). 162 + 125 = 287. 1266-287 = 979.

²⁰⁴ Taken from the Database [SDH4]

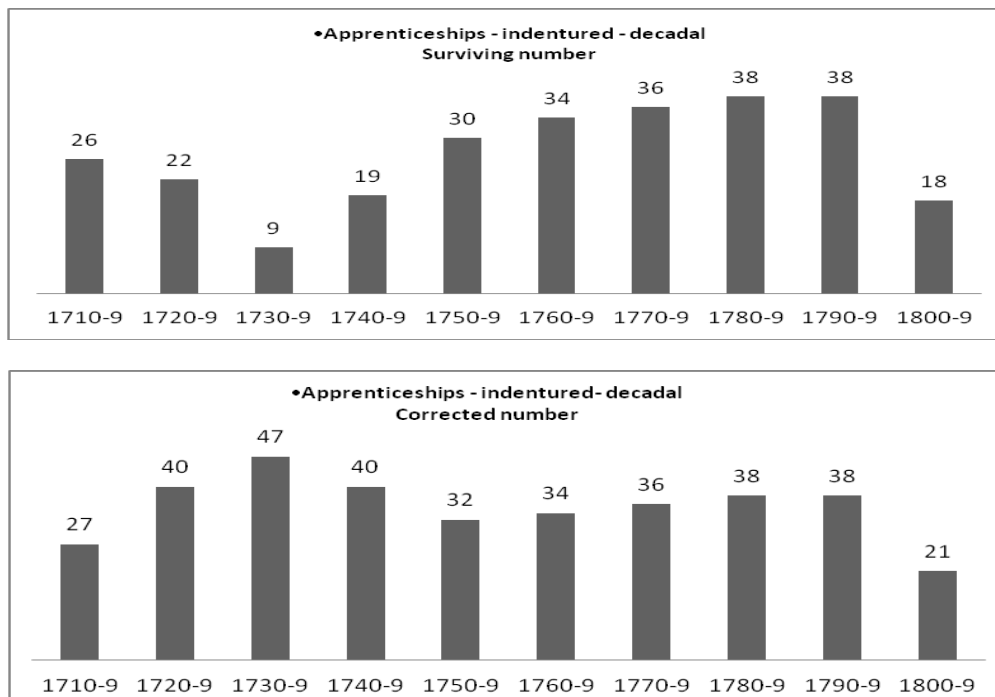
²⁰⁵ Of the 270 apprenticeships 16 were to two-man partnerships so that there was a total of 286 masterships.

²⁰⁶ A Database [SDH4] has been created of each relevant apprenticeship record using all of the above resources. Information has been copied from the most easily available source. Time has not permitted complete cross-checking. It must be emphasised that only sight of the original image will definitely verify any given entry. Dates are given in the data file under "Start", "Indenture", "Duty", "Registration", "Wallis (1988)" and "Year". The latter date is the earliest year discovered and is the year used for analysis of the data.

²⁰⁷ Not included are apprenticeships served outside the county either by men born in the county, or, by men who later practised in the county.

²⁰⁸ The last recorded county medical apprenticeship was in 1806.

The figures are also shown in the two tables below:



E1.4.3 Medical apprenticeship places

From 1548 to 1710 there were ten main centres of medical practice in the county (§D1.3). These were the four places with craft guilds - Lichfield, Stafford, Walsall and Newcastle - together with Tamworth and Burton upon Trent; and, perhaps later in the period, Wolverhampton, Stone, Uttoxeter and Leek.

As stated above 270 Staffordshire apprenticeships have actually been identified between 1710 and 1806. These apprenticeships were served in 26 different places: Wolverhampton (43), Lichfield (35), Newcastle (26), Walsall (25), Stafford (22), Uttoxeter (22), Stone (17), Tamworth (13), Burton-upon-Trent (10), Leek (10), Cheadle (9), Rugeley (7), Cannock (6), Wednesbury (5), Bilston (4), Betley (2), Eccleshall (2), Kinver (2), Penkridge (2), Tutbury (2), Abbots Bromley (1), Clent (1), Colwich (1), Stoke-upon-Trent (1), West Bromwich (1) and Wolstanton (1). They are shown in the table and charts below.

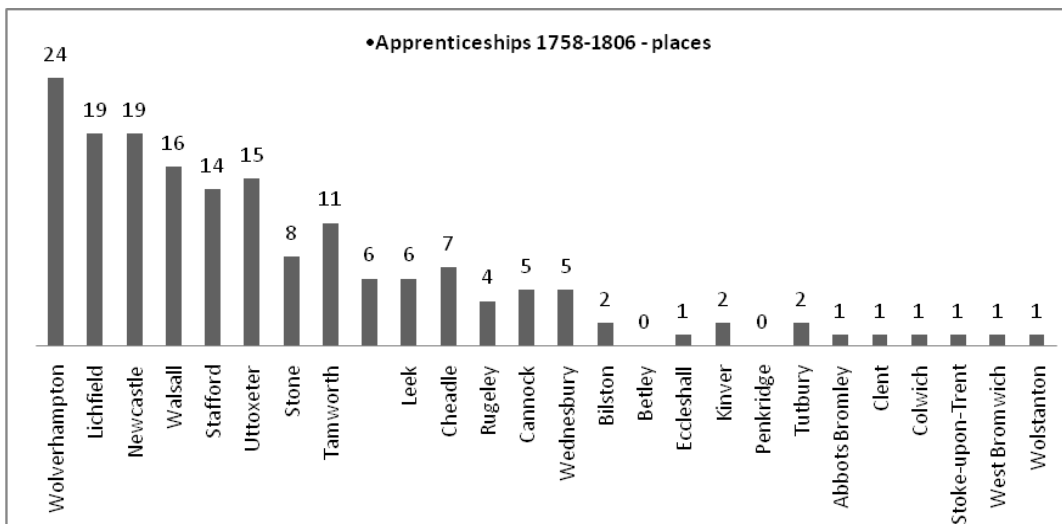
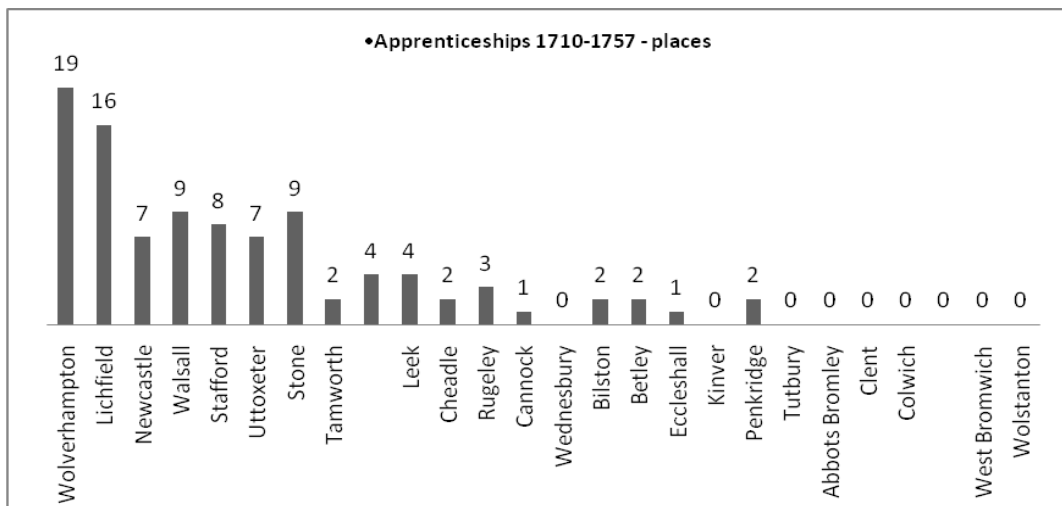
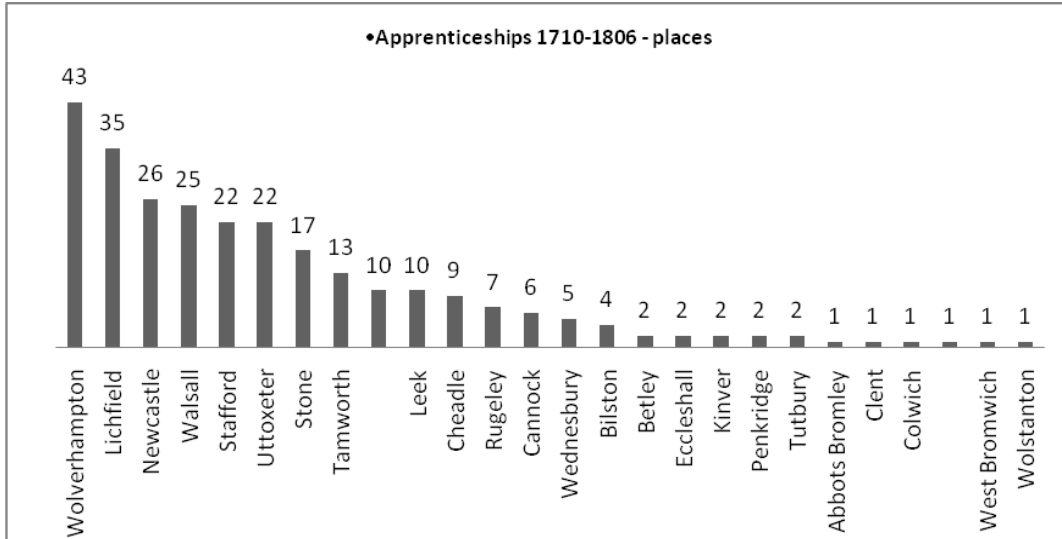
The table gives the places an overall ranking and splits their figures into two periods 1710-1757 and 1758-1806 with their percentage shares. The charts follow.

Wolverhampton was, numerically, the top place for apprenticeship throughout the period and maintained its relative rank in both periods²⁰⁹. Lichfield was second in the earlier period but in the later period tied with Newcastle. Over time the share of both Wolverhampton and Lichfield declined slightly with Newcastle, Uttoxeter and Tamworth acquiring a greater share. Of the remaining top ten places Walsall, Stafford, Burton-upon-Trent and Leek recorded little or no change in their overall share in the two periods. Cheadle in eleventh place tripled its small share.

•Apprenticeships - 1710-1806 - places							
Place	Overall rank	1710-1806		1710-1757		1758-1806	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Wolverhampton	1	43	16%	19	19%	24	14%
Lichfield	2	35	13%	16	16%	19	11%
Newcastle	3	26	10%	7	7%	19	11%
Walsall	4	25	9%	9	9%	16	9%
Stafford	5=	22	8%	8	8%	14	8%
Uttoxeter	5=	22	8%	7	7%	15	9%
Stone	7	17	6%	9	9%	8	5%
Tamworth	8	13	5%	2	2%	11	6%
Burton-upon-Trent	9=	10	4%	4	4%	6	3%
Leek	9=	10	4%	4	4%	6	3%
Cheadle	11	9	3%	2	2%	7	4%
Rugeley	12	7	3%	3	3%	4	2%
Cannock	13	6	2%	1	1%	5	3%
Wednesbury	14	5	2%	0	0%	5	3%
Bilston	15	4	1%	2	2%	2	1%
Betley	16=	2	1%	2	2%	0	0%
Eccleshall	16=	2	1%	1	1%	1	1%

²⁰⁹ Although the percentage rankings reflect topographical changes in the two periods the overall numbers do not, because as discussed above, the earlier record is incomplete.

Kinver	16=	2	1%	0	0%	2	1%
Penkridge	16=	2	1%	2	2%	0	0%
Tutbury	16=	2	1%	0	0%	2	1%
Abbots Bromley	21=	1	0%	0	0%	1	1%
Clent	21=	1	0%	0	0%	1	1%
Colwich	21=	1	0%	0	0%	1	1%
Stoke-upon-Trent	21=	1	0%	0	0%	1	1%
West Bromwich	21=	1	0%	0	0%	1	1%
Wolstanton	21=	1	0%	0	0%	1	1%
TOTAL		270		98		172	



E1.4.4 Medical apprenticeship premiums

In two cases among the 270 Staffordshire apprenticeships the premiums were not stated. Of the remaining 268 the premium varied between £4 and £300. These are all shown in the table below.

•Apprenticeships - premiums										
Premium	No	..	Premium	No	..	Premium	No	..	Premium	No
£4-25			£28-50			£52-100			£105-300	
4	1		30	12		52	1		105	20
4/4/0	1		31	2		52/10/0	1		110	1
5	3		31/10/2000	1		55	1		120	2
10	3		35	3		60	13		126	1
10/10/0	2		37	1		63	10		130	1
15	2		40	35		70	9		140	2
16	1		41/10/0	1		73	4		150	3
20	10		42	3		73/10/0	1		157	1
21	6		45	7		75	1		157/10/0	1
25	4		47	2		76	1		300	1
			47/10/0	1		80	13			
			48	1		84	4			
			49	5		90	6			
			50	36		100	27			
	33			110			92			33
268										
<i>2 premiums not stated</i>										

As stated above duty was liable at the rate of 6d in the pound on premiums of £50 and under and at 1/0 in the pound over £50. The duty was to be paid by the master and an examination of some of the premiums seems to suggest that in some cases the master was trying to recover the duty by an increase in what might be called the basic premium. So £4/4/0 would easily recover the 2/0 owed on a £4 premium and £10/10/0 the 5/0 owed. For some of the larger premiums the figures exactly coincide²¹⁰ so that £63 would recover £3 owed on £60, £73/10/0 recover £3/10/0 owed on £70, £105 recover £5 owed on £100 and £157/10/0 recover £7/10/0 owed on £150.

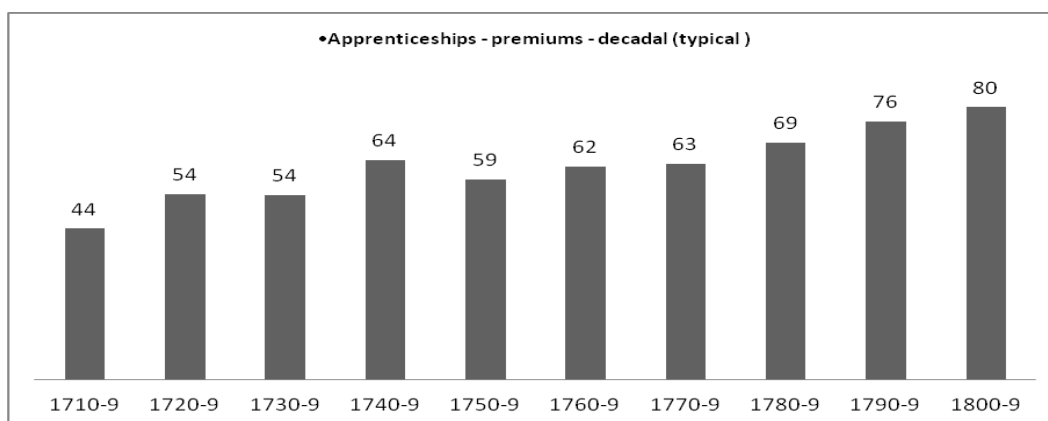
A simple comparison of the 268 premiums by decade shows the average premiums paid were:

•Apprenticeships - premiums - decadal (all)			
Decade	No	Total £	Average £
1710-1719	26	1062.50	40.87
1720-1729	22	1049.00	47.68
1730-1739	9	487.00	54.11
1740-1749	19	1222.00	64.32
1750-1759	30	1703.50	60.06
1760-1769	33	1952.00	59.15
1770-1779	35	2102.20	60.06
1780-1789	38	2516.00	66.21
1790-1799	38	3097.00	81.50
1800-1809	18	1436.00	79.78
Total	268	16627.20	62.04

However this is an average for *all* the premiums. In order to discover a *typical* premium one might disregard the 13 lowest premiums (say under £20) and also the one highest (say over £157/10/0). The next table and chart show the remaining 254 typical premiums.

•Apprenticeships - premiums - decadal (typical)			
Decade	No	Total £	Average £
1710-1719	23	1016.50	44.20
1720-1729	19	1030.00	54.21
1730-1739	9	487.00	54.11
1740-1749	19	1222.00	64.32
1750-1759	29	1698.50	58.57
1760-1769	31	1931.50	62.31
1770-1779	33	2087.50	63.26
1780-1789	36	2501.00	69.47
1790-1799	37	2797.00	75.59
1800-1809	18	1436.00	79.78
Total	254	16207.00	64.06

²¹⁰ In fact duty was also charged on the new increment. So that the master would pay an additional 5/0 on the increase of £5 from £100 to £105.



The chart shows, with the exception of 1740-9, a steady increase in typical premiums over the 110 year period. When compared against the general rise in the value of the pound (see §Z2) the relative value of an apprenticeship premium seems very stable. However the high inflation about 1801 said to be due to the Napoleonic wars is not reflected here.

Premiums below £20 and above £157/10/0 are here considered atypical. There were 13 cases where the premium paid was under £20. Six of these apprenticeships were to masters who were barber surgeons. In 1716 when William Warrillow took apprentice James Robinson the premium of £5 was later increased by £28 when board was added. This suggests that many of the low premiums may not have included board. In cases where master and apprentice were kinsmen board may have been freely given.

•Apprenticeships - premiums - under £20								
Year	Master		Place	Style	Term	Premium	Apprentice	
1711	John	Ryley	Newcastle	barber surgeon & perriwigmaker	7	16	Joseph	Smith
1716	William	Warrillow	Stone	barber surgeon	7	15	Joseph	Warrillow
1718	Walter	Hopkins	Wolverhampton	barber surgeon	7	15	William	Jeffries
1722	Samuel	Bradshaw	Cheadle	barber surgeon	7	4	Henry	Bradshaw
1722	John	Meacham	Tamworth	surgeon	7	5	Thomas	Hartwell
1723	Richard	Cox	Wolverhampton	barber surgeon	5	10	Edward	Tyrer
1757	William	Kirk	Penkridge	surgeon barber &c	7	5	William	Biggs
1765	John	Watkins	Walsall	surgeon & apothecary	7	10	Thomas	Stafford
1766	John	Bridgen	Rugeley	surgeon &c	7	10.5	Henry	Goodall
1771	John	Reeve	Kinver	surgeon & apothecary	7	10.5	William	Francis
1775	Fielding Best	Fynney	Leek	surgeon	6	4.2	William	Bagnall
1780	Fielding Best	Fynney	Leek	surgeon	7	5	William	Kidd
1786	Richard	Peale	Wednesbury	surgeon &c	7	10	Henry	Bird

(1711) John Royley of Newcastle barber surgeon e1681-1727 as "John Ryley of Newcastle barber surgeon & perriwigmaker" took apprentice for 7 years at £16 + Joseph Smith 1696-.... in 1711.

(1716) William Warrillow of Stone barber surgeon ?1680-1730 took apprentice for 7 years at £15 + Joseph Warrillow 1703-.... in 1716.

(1718) Walter Hopkins of Wolverhampton barber surgeon ?1694-?1767 took apprentice for 7 years at £15 + William Jeffries c1704-.... about 28 Nov 1718. Such a low premium may not have included board.

(1722) Samuel Bradshaw of Cheadle barber surgeon took apprentice for 7 years at £4 Henry Bradshaw of Cheadle apprentice c1708-?1795 in 1722. Such a low premium may not have included board perhaps because he was a kinsman of his apprentice.

(1722) John Meacham of Tamworth surgeon ?1699-1747 took apprentice for 7 years at £5 + Thomas Hartwell 1707-1789 in 1722. Such a low premium may not have included board.

(1723) John Mills of Wolverhampton baker took apprentice Edward Tyrer e1707-... in 1721. Tyrer was re-apprenticed for 5 years at £10 to +Richard Cox of Wolverhampton barber surgeon in 1723. Such a low premium may not have included board.

(1757) William Kirk of Penkridge barber surgeon 1724-.... as "surgeon barber &c of Penkridge" took apprentice for 7 years at £5 + William Biggs ?1744-.... in 1757. Such a low premium may not have included board.

(1765) John Watkins of Walsall apothecary e1725-.... took apprentice for 7 years at £10 + Thomas Stafford e1751-.... Such a low premium may not have included board.

(1766) John Bridgen of Uttoxeter surgeon e1738-?1786 took apprentice for 7 years at £10/10/0 + Henry Goodall c1752-.... Such a low premium may not have included board.

(1771) John Reeve of Kinver surgeon & apothecary c1731-1799 there took apprentice for 7 years at £10/10/0 + William Francis ?1757-.... in 1771. Such a low premium may not have included board.

(1775) Fielding Best Fynney of Leek surgeon & apothecary 1744-1805 took apprentice for 6 years at £4/4/0 + William Bagnall c1760-.... in 1775. Such a low premium may not have included board.

(1780) Fielding Best Fynney of Leek surgeon & apothecary 1744-1805 took apprentice for 7 years at £5 + William Kidd of Alstonfield surgeon 1758-1816 in 1780. Such a low premium may not have included board.

(1786) Richard Peale of Wednesbury surgeon & apothecary ?1757-1787 took apprentice for 7 years at £10 + Henry Bird ?1773-.... Such a low premium may not have included board. Peale died a few months later ... Bird was probably re-apprenticed.

One particularly high Staffordshire premium of £300 might be an error in the official record.

(1793) James Bent of Newcastle M.D. 1741-1812 took apprentice for 5 years at £300 + George Wood c1776-1846. However this is not a typical Staffordshire premium being nearly double the next highest and it is possible that it an error in the record.

The 1716 premium for James Robinson was paid in two parts. The first was of £5 whilst the second was of £28. The register records "Board for the 7 yrs val. pr Commrs at 4 pounds pr annum £5 being given in money ...". Might this have been an attempt to avoid payment of duty on the premium?

(1716) William Warrillow of Stone barber surgeon ?1680-1730 took apprentice for 7 years at £33 James Robinson (who was subsequently styled "barber") in 1716. Unusually the premium was paid in two instalments perhaps due to an attempt to avoid payment of duty. The first was of £5 and the second of £28 with a note "Board for the 7 yrs val. pr Commrs at 4 pounds pr annum £5 being given in money ...".

E1.4.5 Medical apprenticeship terms

In the period 1710-1809 270 county apprenticeships were served. The table below shows the number of apprentice years served for each term and their total of 1655.75 years. This permits the average term for all 270 apprenticeships to be calculated at 6.13 years. Most apprenticeships were of 5, 6 or 7 years but a few were of shorter duration and three of 8 years.

•Apprenticeships - terms		
Term in years & months	No	Total
3	3	9.00
3y 6m	1	3.50
4	11	44.00
4y 9m	1	4.75
5	78	390.00
6	30	180.00
6y 6m	1	6.50
7	142	994.00
8	3	24.00
Total	270	1655.75
Average term		6.13

The table below shows the 16 apprenticeship terms of under five years with their average premiums. Brief details of all 16 are given in the list that follows²¹¹.

•Apprenticeships - terms and premiums					
Term in years & months	No	£ ns	No	£ Total	£ average
3	3		3	190.00	63
3y 6m	1		1	73.50	74
4	11		11	481.00	44
4y 9m	1		1	30.00	30

Of the 16 terms at least two (1766 and 1794) involved apprentices who had previously been apprenticed for longer terms but their master had either died or fallen ill. Of the other 14 the birth year of eight of the apprentices is known enabling their age at apprenticeship to be calculated (below). This varied between 16 and 19.

•Apprenticeships - terms under 5 years - with age of apprentice							
Name	Place	Born	Age	Term	£	Year	
James Proud	Johnson	Stafford	1784	16	4	80	1800
James	Adams	Walsall	1742	17	4	20	1759
John	Dorrington	Cannock	1763	17	4	40	1780
Ralph	Poole	Stoke-upon-Trent	1761	17	4	40	1778
William	Brittain	Betley	1695	18	4	20	1713
George Augustus Stuckley	Byng	Uttoxeter	1758	18	4	30	1776
James	Gregory	Stafford	1778	18	4	105	1796
John	Nickins	Walsall	1693	19	4	25	1712

(1712) John Kent of Wolverhampton apothecary 1682-?1737 took apprentice for 4 years at £25 +John Nickins apothecary 1693-1732 in 1712 [Nickins was then aged 19]

(1713) Thomas Morrey of Betley apothecary took apprentice for 4 years at £20 William Brittain of Betley apothecary 1695-1721 about 20 Jan 1712.3. [Brittain was then aged 18]

(1736) Moses Morris of Rugeley apothecary 1705-1742 took apprentice for 3 years at £120 Thomas Crosby c1718-... about 8 Oct 1736 [Morris and Crosby were both quakers. Crosby was then aged ??]

(1759) Brooke Crutchley of Stafford surgeon 1716-1777 took apprentice for 4 years at £20 James Adams of Walsall surgeon ?1742-?1820 about 10 Aug 1759. [Adams was then probably aged 17]

(1766) George Davison of Newcastle apothecary e1705-1766 took apprentice for 7 years at £52/10/0 Bagnall Beech of Newcastle surgeon ?1750-?1816 in 1764. When his master died in 1766 Beech was re-apprenticed for 3 years at £40 to +James Bent of Newcastle surgeon & apothecary about 14 Aug 1766. [Beech was then aged 16]

(1771) Thomas Salt of Lichfield surgeon & apothecary 1737-1817 took apprentice for 4 years at £60 +Francis Holmes e1754-.... in 1771. [Holmes was then aged ??]

211 (1712) Henry White of Ashby-de-la-Zouche, Leics chirurgion took apprentice for 1 year 6 months at £60 John Webb of Harlaston apprentice ?1692-.... about 10 May 1712. The brief duration of the apprenticeship was doubtless because the man was 20 years of age. Since this is not a Staffordshire apprenticeship John Webb's details can be found in the Supplementary Register.

- (1776) John Bridgen of Uttoxeter surgeon e1738-?1786 took apprentice for 4 years at £30 +George Augustus Stuckley Byng 1758-1777 in 1776. Byng died during the apprenticeship. [Byng was then aged 18]
- (1778) John Proctor of Stoke-upon-Trent surgeon & apothecary e1754-.... took apprentice for 4 years at £40 +Ralph Poole 1761-?1831 in 1778. [Poole was then aged 17]
- (1780) John Greene of Brewood surgeon & apothecary 1741-1811 took apprentice for 4 years at £40 +John Dorrington 1763-1798 in 1780. [Dorrington was then aged 17]
- (1783) Thomas Jefferys of Stone surgeon &c 1729-?1789 took apprentice for 4 years at £21 +John Ford ?1764-.... about 26 Jul 1783. [Ford was then aged 19]
- (1794) Baily Madely of Uttoxeter surgeon 1768-1797 took apprentice for 5 years at £20 +William Barker e1777-.... in 1793. Madely may soon after have fallen ill for Barker was re-apprenticed for 3 years 6 months at £73/10/0 to +Joseph Goodwin of Cheadle surgeon &c about 2 Nov 1794. (Madely was buried, aged 29, on 10 Mar 1797 at Uttoxeter.) [Barker was then aged ??]
- (1796) William Fieldhouse of Stafford surgeon & apothecary 1749-1803 took apprentice for 4 years at £105 his nephew +James Gregory 1778-.... in 1796. [Gregory was then aged 18]
- (1800) Francis Hughes of Stafford surgeon 1769-1837 took apprentice for 4 years at £80 James Proud Johnson 1784-1860 in 1800. [Johnson was then aged 16]
- (1803) George Mayer & Robert Bentley of Newcastle surgeons took apprentice for 4 years at £40 John Poole ?1789-?1834 [Poole was then probably aged 14]
- (1804) George Mayer of Newcastle surgeon & apothecary 1769-1818 took apprentice for 3 years at £30 Edward Jones e1786-....about 26 Nov 1804. [Jones was then aged ??]
- (1804) John Spender of Burton-upon-Trent surgeon & apothecary 1742-1820 took apprentice for 4 years 9 months at £30 +James W. Simpson e1788-.... in 1804. [Spender was then aged ??]

Between 1710 and 1809 only three county apprenticeships have been found for a term of above seven years and these were all for eight years. Earlier at Lichfield in 1623 (see §E1.3.2) the apprenticeship term was increased from 7 to 9 years and as late as 1670 that term was still in use.

- (1670) John Parker of Lichfield apothecary 1655-1711 was apprenticed for 9 years to his widowed mother in 1670 and then re-apprenticed in 1673 to Collings Woolrich.
- (1714) Edward Nicholls of Stone apothecary e1684-1751 he took apprentice for 8 years at £40 +James Mayo c1701-.... about 30 Nov 1714.
- (1729) Thomas Toundrow of Burton-upon-Trent apothecary took apprentice for 8 years at £63 William Cotton of Lichfield surgeon & apothecary 1715-1796 about 2 Apr 1729.
- (1760) Thomas Hillman of Newcastle apothecary 1707-?1764 took apprentice for 8 years at £40 +William Garner (or Garnett) ?1747-?1813 about 27 Feb 1760.

Within the county the first mention of apprenticeships in a medical context is in the 1623 laws of the Lichfield Mercers' Company (§E1.3.2). These laws increased the apprenticeship term at Lichfield from 7 to 9 years. An early apprenticeship was in 1653.

- (1653) Richard Thornton of Lichfield chirurgeon c1610-1653 took apprentice George Dawes ?1634-?1656 about 1648 and in his 1653 will made provision for Dawes to be re-apprenticed to his brother +Thomas Thornton c1612-.... or to be reimbursed his premium.

E1.4.6 Medical apprenticeship terms by premium

In the period 1710-1809 the premium paid for 268 apprenticeships has been discovered. The table below displays all these terms with, for each, the total value and average of the premiums paid. Those 16 apprenticeships with terms of less than five years and the three with more than seven may be considered atypical as perhaps is the one with a term of 6½ years.

•Apprenticeships - terms and premiums					
Term in years & months	No	£ ns	No	£ Total	£ average
3	3		3	190.00	63
3y 6m	1		1	73.50	74
4	11		11	481.00	44
4y 9m	1		1	30.00	30
5	78	1	77	6092.00	79
6	30		30	1956.20	65
6y 6m	1		1	40.00	40
7	142	1	141	7621.50	54
8	3		3	143.00	48
Total	270	2	268	16627.20	62

Of the remaining 248 *typical* terms the average premium decreases from £79 at 5 years to £65 at 6 years and £54 at 7 years. This appears counter-intuitive. For instance, the cost of board would be greater over a longer term. However this might be balanced by the productivity of an older apprentice.

E1.4.7 Re-apprenticeship (medical)

Between 1653 and 1803 up to sixteen cohort^x apprentices were re-apprenticed for a variety of reasons. In the majority of cases (nine) the cause was the death of the master and in one case the illness of the master. In his 1653 will Richard Thornton provided for his apprentice to be reapprenticed or to be reimbursed his premium. In 1723 Edward Tyrer who had been apprenticed to a baker was re-apprenticed to a barber surgeon. In 1759 George Davison who was likely first apprenticed to his father - a barber surgeon was, at the age of 25, (apparently) re-apprenticed presumably to gain qualification as an apothecary. In two cases the reason for re-apprenticeship is undiscovered.

- (1653) Richard Thornton of Lichfield chirurgeon c1610-1653 took apprentice George Dawes ?1634-?1656 about 1648 and in his 1653 will made provision for Dawes to be re-apprenticed to his brother +Thomas Thornton c1612-.... or to be reimbursed his premium.

(1673) John Parker of Lichfield apothecary 1655-1711 was apprenticed for 9 years to his widowed mother in 1670 and then re-apprenticed in 1673 to Collings Woolrich.

(1694) Henry Boylston of Lichfield apothecary 1679-1749 was likely apprenticed to his father about 1693. After his father's death in 1694 he might have been re-apprenticed perhaps to his future father-in-law +Edmund Hector of Lichfield c1640-1709.

(1715) Peter Walley of Stafford apothecary e1650-1715 took apprentice for 7 years at £40 Robert Abnet 1697-1733 in 1712. When Walley died in 1715 Abnet was probably re-apprenticed.

(1723) John Mills of Wolverhampton baker took apprentice Edward Tyrer e1707-... in 1721. Tyrer was re-apprenticed for 5 years at £10 to +Richard Cox of Wolverhampton barber surgeon in 1723. Such a low premium may not have included board.

(1732) Peter Spendelow of Newcastle apothecary 1699-1732 took apprentice for seven years at £60 +Richard Proudman 1712-1735. When his master died in 1732 Proudman was probably re-apprenticed.

(1732) John Nickins of Walsall apothecary 1693-1732 took apprentice for 7 years at £50 +Thomas Simcox 1715-1744 in 1730. When his master died in 1732 Simcox may have been re-apprenticed

(1755) John Thurstan of Bilston apothecary ?1715-1755 took apprentice for 5 years at £40 John Dickinson of Bilston surgeon & apothecary c1738-1782 about 5 Mar 1755. After Thurstan died Dickinson must have been re-apprenticed

(1759) George Davison of Newcastle apothecary e1705-1766 took apprentice for 7 years at £40 +John Lowndes 1734-1765 (who was likely first apprenticed to his father - a barber surgeon) in 1759. Lowndes who was then aged 25 was re-apprenticed presumably to gain qualification as an apothecary and died during the apprenticeship. [NOTE: It is possible that another man of the same name was the 1759 apprentice.]

(1761) Nathaniel Bradshaw of Wolverhampton surgeon 1727-1767 took apprentice for 6 years at £100 Benjamin Murgatroyd apprentice c1745-.... about 4 Jan 1761. Murgatroyd may have been re-apprenticed for 5 years at £70 to Walter Stubbs of Wolverhampton surgeon about 27 Jan 1764.

(1766) George Davison of Newcastle apothecary e1705-1766 took apprentice for 7 years at £52/10/0 Bagnall Beech of Newcastle surgeon ?1750-?1816 in 1764. When his master died in 1766 Beech was re-apprenticed for 3 years at £40 to +James Bent of Newcastle surgeon & apothecary about 14 Aug 1766. [Beech was then aged 16]

(1770) Humphrey Field of Wednesbury surgeon e1727-1770 took apprentice for 5 years at £21, a namesake, probably Humphrey Perrott Field 1748-1810, about 11 May 1767. Field was re-apprenticed for 5 years at £31 to John Greene of Cannock surgeon about 26 Jul 1767.

(1785) John Tonks of Penkridge surgeon & apothecary e1755-1785 took apprentice for 7 years at £49 +John Nixon e1770-..... in 1784. When his master died in 1785 Nixon was re-apprenticed for 7 years at £40 to +Walter Stubbs of Wolverhampton surgeon about 24 Oct 1785.

(1786) Richard Peale of Wednesbury surgeon & apothecary ?1757-1787 took apprentice for 7 years at £10 +Henry Bird ?1773-.... in Apr 1786 Such a low premium may not have included board. Peale died a few months later ... Bird was probably re-apprenticed.

(1794) Baily Madely of Uttoxeter surgeon 1768-1797 took apprentice for 5 years at £20 +William Barker e1777-.... in 1793. Madely may soon after have fallen ill for Barker was re-apprenticed for 3 years 6 months at £73/10/0 to +Joseph Goodwin of Cheadle surgeon & c about 2 Nov 1794. (Madely was buried, aged 29, on 10 Mar 1797 at Uttoxeter.) [Barker was then aged ??]

(1803) Richard Forster of Stone surgeon c1762-1837 took apprentice for 5 years at £100 +William Flamank Blick 1783-1838 in 1801. For an undiscovered reason Blick was re-apprenticed for 3 years at £75 to Messrs Loveday & Grover of Hammersmith, Middx apothecaries & c about 24 Jan 1803.

E1.4.8 Master-apprentice relations (medical)

Parental apprenticeships did not attract duty because there was no premium - and perhaps no indenture. For this reason they are not found in the apprenticeship registers of 1710 to 1811 (§E2.1). In the majority of cases a boy was apprenticed to his father but occasionally to his mother (probably only if she was a widow).

(1670) John Parker of Lichfield apothecary 1655-1711 was apprenticed for 9 years to his widowed mother in 1670 and then re-apprenticed in 1673 to Collings Woolrich.

It is unclear what the position was if a man took apprentice his step-son.

(c1713) John Swan of Newcastle apothecary c1675-1721 married in 1705 the widow of Thomas Spendelow of Newcastle apothecary c1660-1701 and may have succeeded to his practice. He likely took apprentice his stepson +Peter Spendelow 1699-1732 about 1713.

Occasionally a boy was not apprenticed to his father but to another medic.

(1796) Samuel Stubbs of Wolverhampton surgeon 1759-1809 took apprentice for 5 years at £100 +Joseph Moss 1779-1837 in 1796. Moss who was the son of a surgeon was, unusually, not apprenticed to him.

In 1789 Francis Hawthorn took apprentice for 7 years at £20 his younger brother John. Duty was paid on the premium.

Francis Hawthorn of Stafford surgeon 1766-1808

1789

Time served about 1785 he commenced practice at Colwich where he took apprentice for 7 years at £20 his younger brother John Hawthorn surgeon 1772-1843 in 1789.

Sometimes an apprentice died during the course of his apprenticeship but it is not known whether his parent (or other sponsor) could recover part of the premium. Other apprentices might decide not to complete their apprenticeship for some other reason.

(1721) Thomas Bradshaw of Wolverhampton apothecary ?1691-?1756 took apprentice for 7 years at £50 John Simcox of Wolverhampton 1706-1737 in 1721. About October that year Simcox's elder brother Sheldon Simcox died and he apparently succeeded to the small family estate at nearby Billbrook. It is then likely he did not complete his apprenticeship.

(1800) Richard Bird of Tamworth surgeon & apothecary c1754-1836 took apprentice for 6 years at £63 James Pickard c1784-.... about 11 Feb 1800. Pickard may not have completed his apprenticeship for when he married in 1813 he was a grocer and draper at Tamworth.

E1.4.9 Some unusual apprenticeships (medical)

In 1720 William Smith of London citizen and barber surgeon bequeathed an annual payment of £5 to apprentice a poor boy from Upper Stonnall (in Shenstone) as a barber.

(12 Aug 1720) William Smith citizen and barber surgeon of London [mentions many relatives and land transactions] ... unto the Minister of the parish of Overstoner ... annual sum of five pounds ... put out to apprentice one poor boy son of some poor inhabitant of Overstoner ... be put apprentice to a barber ... [Will (PCC) 12 Aug 1720/15 Sep 1721]

(1851) William Smith, a barber surgeon and citizen of London, left a yearly rent-charge of £5, out of his farm in this parish, for apprenticing a poor boy of Stonnall every year to the profession of a barber, but the objects of this charity are now put out to various trades. [White]

Most apprenticeships were to surgeons and/or apothecaries but in one case a master was also styled *midwife*.

(1784) John Fortescue of Rugeley surgeon and apothecary c1751-1817 took apprentice ... as "surgeon, apothecary & midwife" for 7 years at £40 Isaac Faulkner 1768-1856 in 1784

On 27 Jan 1835 Jones, acting as the trustee for one Meek, brought a successful lawsuit at the Exchequer Court against William Walker Bramwell of Burslem surgeon c1807-1853 for practising as an apothecary without the certificate of the Society of Apothecaries. Earlier Bramwell had taken Meek apprentice as a surgeon and apothecary. The court required the indentures to be cancelled and the apprentice fee of £100 to be returned (see §F13.1835).

E1.5 County advertisements for medical apprentices etc

From 1796 a few advertisements for apprentices have been found in local newspapers - there are doubtless many more to be discovered. It is not known whether James Watson of Cheadle surgeon e1767-.... was successful in opening a college at Worcester.

(16 Jul 1796) WANTED IMMEDIATELY As apprentice to a surgeon, apothecary and man-midwife in a large market town in the county of Stafford a youth of decent education and reputable parents ... For details apply to the printer Jul 14, 1796 [STS:ADV]

(23 Sep 1797) STAFFORD INFIRMARY. WANTED. An apprentice to be in the House. For particulars apply to Mr Fowke [STS:ADV]

(2 Jun 1804) WANTED An apprentice to a surgeon, apothecary, chymist and druggist. A youth out of a respectable family. A premium will be expected. For particulars apply to John Hadderton, Newcastle [STS:ADV]

(20 Feb 1808) WANTED An apprentice to a surgeon, apothecary etc. Apply to Thomas Webb Greene, surgeon, Lichfield [STS:ADV]

(10 Sep 1808) WANTED An apprentice to a Surgeon; a youth of respectable friends about 16 or 18 years of age, must come well recommended for steadiness and write a good hand. Apply by letter post paid to Mr Watson surgeon Cheadle Staffordshire No premium required [STS:ADV]

(9 Dec 1809) Medical, Scientific and Classic College, Worcester. Mr Watson, surgeon, Cheadle, will commence on the 29th day of March 1810 an entirely new system of education upon extremely easy terms; comprising English learning, and the Classics, as well as the rudiments of general science, including all the branches of medical knowledge calculated to instruct young gentlemen from the age of 8 to 17 in all that is useful in life whether for the profession of physic or as men of science, agriculturists or manufacturers ... applying until the 20th of March next at his house at Cheadle ... gratified by the very distinguished attention he has experienced during his residence at Cheadle and sincerely laments the circumstance of disappointment he laboured under so well known in that town compelled him for the interest of a large family to leave the neighbourhood ... [STS:ADV]

(10 Jan 1818) Richard Forster surgeon informs that he has taken into partnership his late assistant Mr George Parsons [M.R.C.S.] ... wanted an apprentice ... [STS:ADV]

(15 Mar 1834) Iron Market, Newcastle ... Mr William Warham, nephew and successor to the late John Hadderton surgeon ... he has removed to [a nearby house] ... he continues to practice the professions of surgeon, accoucheur, chymist and druggist ... is in immediate want of a steady and industrious assistant [preferably qualified] [and] an apprentice ... with free access to an extensive medical library ... [STS:ADV]

(17 Dec 1836) MEDICAL PROFESSION Wanted a medical pupil in an old-established and extensive practice, a well-educated youth, about sixteen. He will have many advantages both professional and domestic. Apply to Messrs Norris and Edward Best surgeons Bilston ... [STS:ADV]

(3 Sep 1849) MEDICAL Wanted a dispensing assistant. Apply to Mr. William Dunn, Surgeon, Wolverhampton. [Aris's Birmingham Gazette]

E2 County medical apprenticeship statistics 1710-1811

E2.1 Introduction; E2.2 Apprenticeship duty 1710-1811; E2.3 Apprenticeship registers 1710-1811

E2.1 Introduction

From 1710 to 1811 apprenticeship registers were kept to record duties that had been imposed on premiums paid for apprenticeship indentures. The registers did not include parental apprenticeships which did not attract duty because there was no premium - and perhaps no indenture. There follow some notes on the duties and the registers.

E2.2 Apprenticeship duty 1710-1811

From 1 May 1710 until about Jan 1811 a duty was imposed on premiums paid for apprenticeship indentures excepting those of a public or charitable nature. It was first called for under *An act for laying certain duties upon candles and certain rates upon monies to be given with clerks and apprentices towards raising Her Majesties supply for the year one thousand seven hundred and ten* {8 Anne c5} (1709) which only imposed it for five years. It was then made perpetual by *An act for making good deficiencies and satisfying the public debts ...* {9 Anne c15} (1710). It is said to have been repealed by an act {44 George III c98} (1803/4). Duty was liable at the rate of 6d in the pound on premiums of £50 and under - and at 1/0 in the pound over £50.

{8 Anne c5} §40. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid That there shall be throughout the Kingdom of Great Britain raised collected and paid to Her Majesty Her Heirs and Successors the further Rates Duties and Sums of Money following that is to say: The Duty Rate or Sum of Six Pence for every Twenty Shillings of every Sum of Fifty Pounds or under and The Duty Rate or Sum of One Shilling for every Twenty Shillings of all and every Sum and Sums amounting to more than Fifty Pounds which shall at any Time or Times from and after the First Day of May One thousand seven hundred and ten and during the Term of Five Years from thence next ensuing be given paid contracted or agreed for with or in relation to every Clerk Apprentice or Servant which shall be within the Kingdom of Great Britain put or placed to or with any Master or Mistress to learn any Profesaon Trade or Employment and proportionally for greater or lesser Sums. Which said Duties Rates and Sums shall be paid by the said Masters or Mistresses respectively

{8 Anne c5} §50. Provided always that nothing in this Act contained shall be construed to extend to charge any Master or Mistress with the Payment of any of the said Duties in respect of any Money by him or her received with any Apprentice or Servant who shall be put or placed out at the Common or Publick Charge of any Parish or Township or by or out of any Publick Charity or to require the stamping with any such new Stamp as aforesaid of any Indenture Ardcles Covenant Agreement or Contract relating to such Apprentice or Servant as last mentioned Any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding

{9 Anne c15} §10. And be it further enacted ... that the said several Rates upon Monies to be given with Clerks Apprentices and Servants which were granted to Her Majesty Her Heirs and Successors by the said last mentioned Act for the Term of Five Years to be reckoned from the First Day of May One thousand seven hundred and ten shall be further continued and be payable for and upon all Monies or other Consideration to be given with Clerks Apprentices or Servants as in the same Act are mentioned

from and after the First Day of May One which shall be in the Year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and [fifteen] for ever ...

It is said that "Masters and mistresses who took apprentices 50 miles or more from The Limits of the Weekly Bills of Mortality in London were to bring their copy of the indenture to the local collector within two months of its execution. They were to ensure that the full premium, including the value of anything directly or indirectly given was inserted in the document and to pay the *ad valorem* duty. The collector was to endorse his receipt on the indenture and to forward it within six months to the head office (the Stamp Office, 8 Lincoln's Inn New Square, London) for stamping and registration."²¹²

E2.3 Apprenticeship registers 1710-1811

Records of many of the apprenticeship duties were kept by the Inland Revenue Board of Stamps. Two sequences of registers survive. The "City or Town Registers" which start in Oct 1711 and end in Jan 1811 have daily entries of the indentures upon which duty was paid in London. The "Country Registers" which start in May 1710 and end in Sep 1808 record the indentures upon which duty had been paid to district collectors. The indentures were sent up to London in batches to be stamped. The apprentice registers are large heavy volumes whose pages measure 20 by 14½ inches. In 1921 they were transferred from the Board of Inland Revenue to the Public Record Office.²¹³

The country registers are catalogued as IR1/41 to IR1/72 and cover the following periods:

41 (May 1710—Jan 1711); 42 (Jan 1711—Jun 1713); 43 (Jul 1713—Apr 1715); 44 (Apr 1715—May 1717); 45 (May 1717—May 1719); 46 (May 1719—Feb 1720); 47 (Dec 1720—Jun 1723); 48 (Jun 1723—Jan 1725); 49 (Nov 1728—Nov 1731); 50 (Apr 1741—Dec 1745); 51 (Oct 1750—Aug 1754); 52 (Aug 1754—Apr 1757); 53 (May 1757—Aug 1760); 54 (Aug 1760—Dec 1763); 55 (Sep 1763—Jul 1766); 56 (Jul 1766—May 1769); 57 (Jun 1769—Oct 1771); 58 (Oct 1771—Apr 1774); 59 (Apr 1774—Nov 1776); 60 (Oct 1776—Feb 1779); 61 (Feb 1779—Jul 1781); 62 (Aug 1781—Mar 1784); 63 (Aug 1784—Aug 1786); 64 (Aug 1786—Feb 1789); 65 (Mar 1789—Sep 1791); 66 (Sep 1791—Jan 1794); 67 (Aug 1790—Feb 1796); 68 (Feb 1796—Jun 1798); 69 (Jul 1798—Sep 1800); 70 (Aug 1799—May 1803); 71 (May 1803—Sep 1808); 72 (Dec 1804—Sep 1808)

Close examination shows that some periods are missing. These are Mar-Nov 1720, Feb 1725—Oct 1728, Dec 1731 to Mar 1741 and Jan 1746 to Sep 1750.

The table below shows the number of months lost per decade from 1710 to 1809 and here, in order to complete each decade, it has been necessary to consider the periods Jan-Apr 1710 and Oct 1808—Dec 1809 as also missing. In the final column is the correction factor needed to estimate all apprenticeships in each decade.

•Apprenticeships - indentured (lost & corrected)				
Decade	Months	Months recorded	Months lost	Correction factor
1710-9	120	116	4	1.03
1720-9	120	66	54	1.82
1730-9	120	23	97	5.22
1740-9	120	57	63	2.11
1750-9	120	111	9	1.08
1760-9	120	120	0	1.00
1770-9	120	120	0	1.00
1780-9	120	120	0	1.00
1790-9	120	120	0	1.00
1800-9	120	105	15	1.14

In the registers the entries are presented in batches. One typical batch is headed:

"Warrant No 31 Inds. 36 Brot. 24 Feby 1803. Jas. Smith Newcastle Staffordshire"

This indicates that James Smith of Newcastle had brought in 36 indentures which were registered on 24 Feb 1803.

Included in this batch is the following entry (spread over two pages):

(p1) 10 do[Jun] 802 | 16 | Geo: Alsop | Uttoxeter: Co of do[Staffs], surgeon &c | Geo: Roe
(p2) I | 29 April 1802 | 6 do[years] from 10 July last | £50 | £1/5/0

This may be interpreted as:

(p1) date of payment of duty | batch number | master | place | trade | apprentice (p2) type of indenture | date of indenture | period of indenture and date of commencement of apprenticeship | premium | duty

So George Roe was apprenticed for 6 years at a premium of £50 to George Alsop of Uttoxeter, Staffs surgeon &c. His apprenticeship commenced on 10 Jul 1801. The indenture was made on 29 Apr 1802, the duty of £1/5/0 paid

²¹² *Wiltshire apprentices* (1961). The extract is from p vii-viii of the introduction where a footnote reads "... [duties] imposed for five years by 8 Anne c. 5 sect 40, 'made perpetual' by 9 Anne c. 21 sect. 7[sic]. but repealed by 44 Geo. III c. 98 ..."

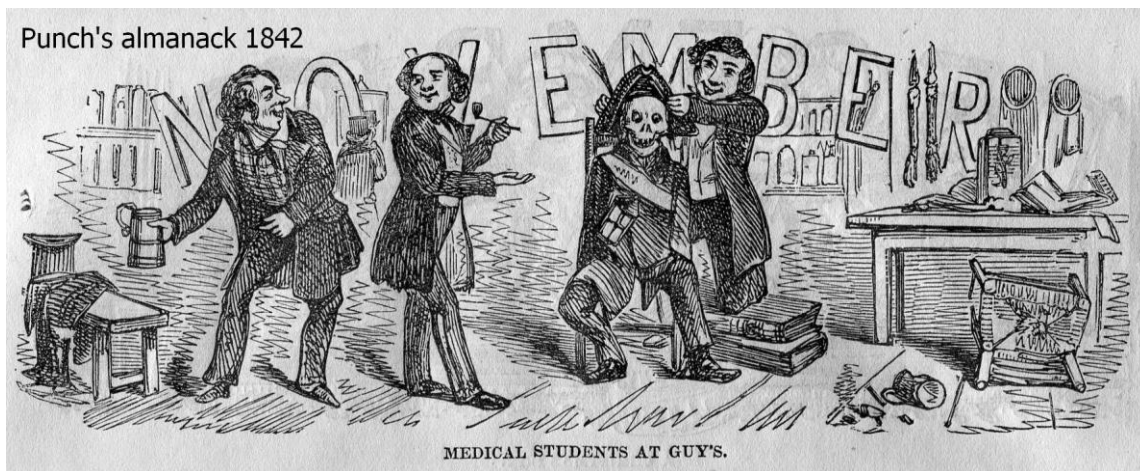
²¹³ see National Archives

on 10 Jun 1802 and the whole event was registered on 24 Feb 1803. There are then up to four dates which may be associated with a particular apprenticeship. Commonly a registration date might be several years after the commencement of an apprenticeship. Until the year 1752 the names of the apprentices' parents are given, but after that year very rarely.

Several indexes have been compiled of the apprenticeship registers. Each has minor errors of commission or omission and each might make use of a different date. Currently easily accessible are the indexes on Ancestry© and FMP©. On Ancestry© the entries are indexed under "payment date" (day, month and year) but importantly there is a link to view the original record. This however is spread over two separate pages and it is difficult to align the two entries. On FMP© two dates are given "indenture or registration year" and "indenture year" which are recorded as a year only (i.e. no day and month). They do not have a link to the original images but do have some search features not available on Ancestry©.

Medical apprenticeships are also indexed in the printed book *Eighteenth century medics*²¹⁴ (1988), hereafter Wallis (1988), which includes the apprenticeship duration and premium. In the specific case of the entry above this book gives the date 11-2-1803 under Roe, George but 11-3-1803 under Alsop, George. That these two dates differ is odd; but what is more important is that neither coincide with the four dates associated with the original entry. In fact *Eighteenth century medics* is an absolutely indispensable tool for the historian and the existence of minor discrepancies points mostly at the difficulty of quickly analysing the given entries.

E3 Hospital training placements



The table below shows the 181 cohort^x training placements discovered but many remain undiscovered. Some men trained in more than one hospital.²¹⁵ Some detail of the hospitals is given in §F5 and §Q6.

•Hospital training placements				
Hospital	Opened	School	Cohort	Code
London				
St Bartholomew's Hospital	1123	1791	35	LB
St Thomas's Hospital	1173	1550	23	LT
Westminster Hospital	1719	1834	2	LW
Guy's Hospital	1721	1825	37	LY
London St George's Hospital	1724	1834	11	LG
London Hospital	1740	1785	6	LH
Middlesex Hospital	1745	1835	5	LM
Charing Cross Hospital	1818	1822	3	LC
London Royal Free Hospital	1828		0	LF
London University College Hospital	1834		3	LU
London King's College Hospital	1840		0	LK
London (unspecified)			5	L
Staffordshire				
Staffordshire General Infirmary	1766		4	SG
North Staffordshire Infirmary	1815		1	SN
South Staffordshire General Infirmary	1849		0	SS
England (others)				
Birmingham General Hospital			10	BM
Derbyshire Infirmary			1	DI
Manchester Royal Infirmary			1	MI
Dublin				
Rotunda Lying-in Hospital	1745		3	DR

²¹⁴ P.J. and R.V. Wallis with the assistance of J.G.L. Burnby and the late T.D. Whittet *Eighteenth century medics (subscriptions, licences, apprenticeships) Second improved and enlarged edition*. PHIBB Project for Historical Biobibliography. Newcastle upon Tyne (1988)

²¹⁵ Database [SDH4] c48. Only from about 1865 do the medical directories begin to include references to the hospitals and schools that medics had attended.

Meath Hospital	1753		1	DM
Dublin (unspecified)			8	D
Edinburgh				
Edinburgh (unspecified)			3	E
Aberdeen				
Aberdeen (unspecified)			1	A
Glasgow				
Glasgow (unspecified)			1	G
Paris				
Hotel-Dieu de Paris			2	PH
Paris (unspecified)			15	P
Total			181	

E4 Medical school placements

E4.1 Introduction; E4.2 London private medical schools; E4.3 London University College; E4.4 London King's College; E4.5 Birmingham Queen's College; E4.6 Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland School of Surgery; E4.7 Dublin Richmond School of Medicine;

E4.1 Introduction

From the later 18C there was an increasing demand for the opportunity to *study* medicine. Many intending medics became pupils of hospital physicians, surgeons and apothecaries. By these men they were *trained*, mainly clinically, both by observation and discussion. At some of these hospitals other opportunities of study may have been available and on this basis the hospitals are said to have hosted informal "medical schools". Those men who trained at hospitals (see §E3) might then also have also studied there.

Formal medical schools (see §Q5) designed specifically for the *study* of medicine opened from the late 18C. The earliest appear to have been privately funded but later schools were publicly funded. In London the Hunterian School of Medicine opened in 1769 and in Dublin the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland School of Surgery was opened about 1784. In the 1820s three important colleges were opened. In London - University College (1826) and King's College (1829) and in Birmingham - Queen's College (1828).

The schools that most medics attended have not been discovered and the placements in the table, below, are only a small proportion of the whole. Some medics attended more than one school.²¹⁶

The placements listed under the universities of Edinburgh, Dublin and Glasgow are only of men who did not subsequently graduate at those places. Graduates are listed in §D2. In some cases the men may have actually studied at a school rather than at the university.

•Medical school placements			
Name	Opened	Cohort	Code
Hunterian School of Medicine	1769	1	HU
Aldersgate Street School of Medicine		1	AL
Webb Street School School of Medicine		1	WE
Windmill Street School of Medicine		1	WI
London University College	1826	25	LU
London King's College	1829	10	LK
Birmingham Queen's College	1828	23	BQ
Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland School of Surgery	1784	3	DS
Dublin Richmond School of Medicine	1826	1	DR
Dublin University	1592	3	DU
Edinburgh University	1582	10	EU
Glasgow University	1451	2	GU
Total		81	

Some details of available medical courses in 1839 were advertised:

(1839) The Society of Apothecaries order that the Winter Medical Sessions be understood as commencing on the 1st of October, and terminating in the middle of April, with a recess of fourteen days at Christmas; and the Summer session, as commencing on the 1st of May, and ending on the 31st of July. First Winter Session: Chemistry, anatomy and physiology, anatomical demonstrations, materia medica, and therapeutics. First Summer Session: Botany, and such other branches of study as may improve the students' general education. Second Winter Session: Anatomy and physiology, anatomical demonstrations, dissections; principles and practice of medicine; medical practice of an hospital. Second Summer Session: Botany, if not attended during the first summer season; midwifery and diseases of women and children; forensic medicine; medical practice of an hospital or dispensary. The student is further required to attend the medical practice of a recognized hospital, from the commencement of the second winter, to the termination of the second summer session; and from that time to the end of the third winter session at an hospital, or recognized dispensary. [Richard Jones *Observations on medical education ...* (1839)]

²¹⁶ Database [SDH4] c49. Only from about 1865 do the medical directories begin to include references to the hospitals and schools that medics had attended.

E4.2 London private medical schools

Only four placements have been discovered here: William Jackson Perrin 1803-1867 studied at Aldersgate Street School of Medicine (where in the 1840s Edward Lloyd M.D. 1820-1882 was a Physician); William Dunn ?1804-1866 studied at Windmill Street School of Medicine; John Matthews Lister 1808-1887 studied at Webb Street School of Medicine and Edwin Bishop 1817-1877 is said to have studied at the Hunterian School of Medicine (where in the 1850s Nathaniel John Dampier of West Bromwich F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1821-1857 lectured on surgery).

E4.3 London University College (1826-1836)

The college was founded on 11 February 1826 under the title "London University" and only changed its name to University College when in 1836 it became part of the new London University (see §D2.2.5). It was secular and admitted men of any or no religious belief. A medical school commenced in 1828 for which in 1834 a teaching hospital was opened. This was originally known as the North London Hospital but became known as University College Hospital.

Twenty-five of the cohort^x studied at University College (both before and after 1836): Stephen Shute Alford, George Allarton, Edmund John Barker, William Haslam Davis, William Fletcher, Robert Garner, Samuel Franceys Gosling, John Nicholas Greensill, Edward Hadduck, William Hammond, Edward Selleck Hare, John Thomas Harland, Frederick Hawthorn, John Hayes, William Muchall Higgins, James Bell Jardine, James Edward Male, Arthur Cary Morgan, James Nance, Daniel Rhodes, Thomas Robinson, Spencer Thomson, John Topham, Thomas Ogier Ward and Richard Williams.

(30 May 1829) The first distribution of Prizes at the London University was made on Saturday ... The gold medal in the class of Materia Medica; the first silver medal in the class of Physiology; the second silver medal in the class of Surgery were all awarded to Mr Robert Garner late pupil of Mr Spark surgeon of Newcastle. [STS:ADV]

E4.4 London King's College (1829-1836)

The college was established by royal charter in 1829 by King George IV and Arthur Wellesley 1st Duke of Wellington. By another charter of 28 Nov 1836 it became one of the two foundation colleges of London University (see §D2.2.5).

Ten men studied at King's College (both before and after 1836): Annerly Allcock, Robert Lyons Campbell, Walter Fergus, Richard Pope Jeston, Henry Thomas Lomax, Thomas Roberts, Edward Russell, George Smith, James Wilkes and John Francis Woody.

E4.5 Birmingham Queen's College (1828)

Birmingham School of Medicine and Surgery²¹⁷ was founded by a surgeon William Sands Cox in 1828 as a residential college for medical students. From 1836 to 1843 it was called the Birmingham Royal School of Medicine. By a royal charter of 1843 it became Birmingham Queen's College. Initially the students may have trained at Birmingham General Hospital (founded 1779). Later in 1841 Cox founded the Queen's Hospital at Bath Row which thereafter provided training. From about 1838 Samuel Wilson Warneford 1763-1855 [OB], an eccentric anglican cleric, is said to have donated £25,000 to Birmingham Queen's College and Birmingham Queen's Hospital providing for chaplaincies, scholarships, a professorial chair in pastoral theology and new buildings. The school then became largely anglican and provided both medical and theological studies. He instituted the Warneford Prize Essay²¹⁸ in 1839 to help impose a more Christian character on the medical school and its students. The essays were to demonstrate "the pathway of God's wisdom, power and goodness as revealed by their anatomical and other studies".

Twenty-three of the cohort^x studied here: Harry Adkins, George Beddow, David Bolton, John James Bunch, James Percival Prettie Chambers, George Chapman, William Joseph Dawes, William Fletcher, William Hammond, Alfred Hill, Joseph Hobbins, William Hopkins, Charles Edward Joseph, Phineas John Kendrick, John William Harris Mackenzie, James Edward Male, George Bellasis Masfen, Charles Ferrers Palmer, Samuel Partridge, John Maule Sutton, Thomas Underhill, Charles Edward Eliot Welchman and James Wilkes

Of these men three were prize winners. In 1832 William Hammond won a prize for his essay "On the anatomy of inguinal hernia" whilst the Warneford Prize Essay was awarded to Charles Edward Joseph in 1845 (for "On the blood") and to George Bellasis Masfen in 1847.

David Bolton c1806-1878 was a Professor of Anatomy, Thomas Pretious Heslop 1823-1885 was a Lecturer and John Maule Sutton 1829-1886 was a Professor of Clinical Medicine.

(14 Apr 1832) BIRMINGHAM SCHOOL OF MEDICINE Chemical Class. The annual examination in Mr Woolrich's class took place on Wednesday se'nnight before R. Phillips Esq F.R.S. when he awarded the first silver medal to Mr David Boulton [recte Bolton] late pupil of Mr Waterhouse surgeon of Bilston; and the second medal to Mr George Beddow pupil of Mr Silvester surgeon of Westbromwich ... [STS:ADV]

E4.6 Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland School of Surgery (1784)

Three men studied here: Arthur Augustus Fletcher 1811-1884, Michael Ryan c1816-1899 and Henry Collins 1828-1914.

E4.7 Dublin Richmond School of Medicine (1826)²¹⁹

One man studied here: Henry Collins 1828-1914.

²¹⁷ In this work it is referred to as Birmingham Queen's College even in the earlier period.

²¹⁸ Birmingham University Library has copies of the essays written from 1847 to 1852 [University Archive 2/11-37].

²¹⁹ See §Q7.7

F Medical practice - types

F1 Medical procedures and treatments

F1.1618 Medical procedure to amputate a leg

About 1618 Alexander Read amputated the leg of a taylor who worked for Baron Gerard of Gerard's Bromley and some years later wrote an account of the proceedings:

(?1618) About twentie yeares agoe returning from the Bathe in Sommerset-shire to the Howlt, five miles from Chester, where then I remained, having lodged in Newport in Shropshire by the way, I was called by this Lord Gerrards Grand-father, to Gerards Bramley, to take a view of his Taylor, who had fractured both the focils [bones] of the legge, a little below the knee, about the bredth of a Palme. When I did behold the fracture with a wound, and the extenuation of the body, for the accident fell out ten weekes before, neither were the bones united; and besides, there was a great tumor in the knee; I pronounced a lingering death to the party, unlesse he were out of hand dismembred above the knee. Being intreated by the sicke partie, and the Earle, to performe the operation, I yeelded unto their request; but having by me neither instrument, nor medicament, thus I supplied the defect of both: I made a medicament of Umber and unslaked Lime, taking equall parts of both, which I found there, the house then being in reparation; I used a Joyners whip-saw newly toothed: And in the presence of two Chirurgeons, Mr. Cole, who dwelt in Lichfield, and Mr. Heywood, who dwelt in Newport, I dismembred the Lords Taylor, unto whom the Lord gave ten pounds a yeare during his life time, who lived many yeares afterward. When I dressed the wound the fourth day, I found the mouths of all the vessels shut by in carnation, so powerfull was the restrictive medicament, made of equall quantities of Umber and unslaked Lime, rubbed to a fine powder, and reduced to the forme of a liniment by the addition of the whites of Egges beaten, and the haire of an Hare. [Alexander Read *A treatise of the first part of chirurgie...* [?1638] p15-6]

F1.1723 Medical treatment of William Pulteney 1684-1764

About 1723 William Pulteney 1684-1764 [CP], later 1st Earl of Bath, was visiting Walter Chetwynd 1st Viscount Chetwynd 1678-1736 [CP] at Ingestre in Staffordshire and fell ill. The following newspaper account, which appeared about eighty years later, states that he spent 750 guineas on physicians. They were John Hope of Derby M.D., Samuel Swinfen of Swinfen in Weeford, Staffs M.D. 1679-1736, John Freind F.R.C.P. 1675-1728 and Neil Brox(h)olme 1686-1748 who was living at Oxford when he was created M.D., Oxford in 1723 but moved the same year to London.

(9 Jan 1802) MR PULTENEY, afterwards known by the title of Lord Bath, lay a long time most dangerously ill of a violent pleuretic fever, at the first Lord CHETWYND's at Ingestone [recte Ingestre]. This illness cost him 750 guineas, and his cure was effected at last by some small beer. Dr HOPE, Dr SWINSON, and other Physicians from Stafford, Lichfield and Derby were called in, and had about 250 guineas. Dr. FRIEND went down post from London with Mrs. PULTENEY and received 300 guineas. Dr. BROXHOLM went from Oxford, and had 200 guineas. When these physicians who were his particular friends, arrived, they thought the case desperate and gave him entirely over. They said everything has been done which could be done. They prescribed some few medicines but without the least effect. He was yet alive, and was heard to mutter in a low tone "Small Beer, Small Beer,". They said give him small beer or anything. Accordingly a large silver cup was brought. They ordered an orange to be squeezed in it; he drank the whole at one draught. He called for another, which was given him, and he fell into a sound sleep and strong perspiration for 24 hours. From that time he recovered very fast, and very soon the faculty took their leave, saying that he had no need of any thing but an horse for his Doctor and an Ass for his Apothecary. It occasioned great joy round the country for his recovery, as he was at that time in the height of his popularity. [London Courier and Gazette]

F1.1748 Medical procedure to remove a foetus

About 1748 John Altree of Wolverhampton M.D. 1701-1751 performed an unusual operation to remove a long dead foetus from a Birmingham woman

(1748) ... A poor woman in Finland had long laboured under disorders consequent to a big belly ... M. Maunsey, physician to the Empress of Russia, had it open'd. The first opening did not succeed, a second was then attempted along the linea alba under the navel by which was extracted the entire body of a foetus which had lain there 15 years ... [A note reads] The like operation, in like circumstances, was successfully performed by Dr Altree now of Norfolk-street [London], late of Wolverhampton on a young woman of Birmingham whose case will soon be laid before the royal society. More another time] [GM 1748 p112]

F1.1781 Medical treatment of Anne Gresley (who died from puerperal fever)

Anne, first wife of William Gresley of Tamworth M.R.C.S. 1754-1826, appears to have given birth to a son in early October 1781. Shortly after she became ill and Gresley requested William Withering M.D. 1742-1799, then living at Birmingham, to attend. Anne died on 21 Oct of puerperal fever. Withering's account of his involvement is given below.

[William Withering writes to John Turton on 23 Dec 1781] I was first called to see Mrs. Gresley on Friday the 5th of October. I saw her again the 7th. On the 9th I met with an accident coming from Bilston, which for some time rendered me incapable of bearing the motion of a Chaise. I did not see her again until Saturday the 13th; but in the mean time prescribed as I saw occasion from the accounts transmitted to me, & uncertain when I could bear such a Journey, desired they would call in another Physician, this was not complied with, but notwithstanding that, upon one of the occasions I went myself to Dr. Ash to desire him to see her, but he was from home & not expected to return for two days. On the 17th [perhaps intending 15th], I went over, took a Gentleman with me with a view to render the Chaise more steady, & to assist to dress & undress me. I saw her again the next Morning, & dined at Drayton Manor. I dare say the family there remember my opinion, "that she was better & in a fair way, but still had much to contend with". On the Wednesday following my Wife had a good account, brought to the Manor by Mr. Oakes; on Thursday [18 Oct] I had another good account, & about the same time a Letter arrived from Mr. Gresley desiring me to come over again when convenient to me, not that he thought her worse, but she desired to see me. After what I had suffered in consequence of my former Journey, which was more than I wish to recollect, I did not purpose going until I should be more able

to bear so much motion, & fixed in my own Mind for Sunday. On Saturday evening [20 Oct] Mr. Gresley came over himself & desired me to return with him, for he thought his Wife worse that Morning. I could not venture upon a Journey in the Night, therefore promised to see her in the Morning; for I never yet had been able to bear the motions of dressing, undressing, or washing myself. However I enquired into her situation; which by his account did not appear to me particularly alarming. He said she took nourishment in plenty; & was certain that she had a great deal of strength; & her pulse not worse than it had been. I laid great stress upon the Article of strength, as I expected she would have a long and tedious expectoration to labour through; and upon his repeating his assertions in that respect, I did as he asserts, give strong assurance of her recovery. That Night [early Sunday 21 Oct] she died. [Peck (1950) p100-1]

(26 Oct 1781, Clifton Campville) Anne Gresley; only daughter of the late Revd. Richard Watkins Rector of this Church & Anne his wife; (married to Mr William Gresley surgeon of Tamworth;) died Octr 21st of a Child-Bed fever & was buried Octr 26th 1781 in the Chancel of this Church at the Communion Steps (aged 29 years)

F1.1791 Lithotomy at Leek

In 1791 Fielding Best Fynney of Leek surgeon & apothecary 1744-1805 conducted a lithotomy at Leek.

(22 Sep 1791) On Wednesday the 10th of August the operation of lithotomy was performed upon Nancy Nixon, then in her 25th year, of the Cornhill Cross in Leek ... by Feilding-Best Finney, Esq. surgeon, corresponding Member of the Medical Society of London &c., from whose bladder he extracted a stone three ounces weight and the size of a hen's egg, with unparalleled dexterity, being under two minutes and a half performing the operation! and, though the excruciating pains which she had been afflicted with for more than six years had reduced her to the lowest ebb, she has been able to pursue her common employments from the 14th day after the operation was performed, and is now perfectly recovered. [Derby Mercury]

F1.1805 Medical treatment of Winefrid White (and her miracle cure)

On 28 Jun 1805 Winefrid White of Wolverhampton, who had a serious medical condition, visited St Winefrid's Well in Flintshire and there sustained a "miraculous cure". From 1802 she had been treated by John Underhill M.B. c1753-1809, then of Tettenhall, and Samuel Stubbs of Wolverhampton surgeon 1759-1809. Both these men provided statements regarding her condition and treatment prior to her cure which are printed in *Authentic documents relative to the miraculous cure of Winefrid White, of Wolverhampton, at St. Winefrid's well, alias Holywell, in Flintshire, on the 28th of June 1805: With observations thereon, by the R.R.,J- M--,D.D.V.A. F.S.A. Lond. and C. Acad. Rome. Third Edition.* (1806) and reproduced below.

I the undersigned, having for several years attended the family of Mrs. Withenbery, of this town, in my professional line, and being now called upon to declare what I have observed and know, concerning the past and present state of health of Winefrid White, a servant in the said family, now aged 26 years, do hereby certify as follows: I first visited the aforesaid Winefrid White, as appears by my day-book, Sept. 1, 1802; at which time, as well as afterwards, I found her in a very debilitated and languishing state, owing to an internal disorder, accompanied with the most fatal symptoms. These brought on an enlargement of the vertebrae, with a relaxation of the ligaments, and a paralytic affection, particularly of the left side; so that, at length, the patient could not hold her self upright, nor move herself from place to place, except in the most feeble manner, and by help of a crutch, placed under her right arm. In attempting to afford her relief I administered to her, from time to time, every remedy that Dr. Underhill, then of Tettenhall, who occasionally visited her, prescribed, or that seemed to myself calculated for this purpose; and, in particular, to relieve the aforesaid enlargement of the vertebrae, I, with the advice of the said Doctor, cut an issue on each side of it, (footnote: Mr. Stubbs acknowledges that he considered this patient's case to belong to that species of palsy arising from a curvature of the spine, which is treated of by the learned Percival Pott, in vol. iii. p. 353. of his chirurgical works. He accordingly treated it in the manner recommended by that eminent practitioner) which issues were kept open for several months. But all this proved ineffectual, and, to speak the truth, I considered her case as incurable, and that her dissolution could not be far distant. My last professional visit to her was on the 14th of August, 1804; but I have frequently seen her and conversed with her since, without discovering any change in her for the better, down to the 22d or 23d of last June; being two or three days before she is reported to have made a journey to Holywell, in Flintshire. At the latter end of the ensuing month, viz. July, she being then returned from her journey, I met her in the streets, to my utter astonishment, walking with as much firmness, vigour and agility as any other young person of her age. All the above mentioned fatal symptoms, as she declares, and I have reason to believe, have disappeared. The ligaments of the vertebrae are contracted and firm, as I ascertained yesterday, though a certain small enlargement of them is discernible, being rather a mark of her past weakness, than any present inconvenience; she holding herself perfectly erect, and moving, in every respect, with the vigour and activity of perfect health. These changes so extraordinary, compleat, and performed in so short a time, I am unable to account for, by any principle of medicine I am acquainted with, or by any experience I have had in it. SAML. STUBBS, Surgeon. Wolverhampton, Sept. 11, 1805.

Dear Sir, I sit down to give you some short account of Winefrid White's case, which I shall endeavour to do in the plainest manner I can. I had frequently an opportunity of seeing her during the space of two or three years, and oftentimes when she appeared to be in the most distressed situation, sometimes incapable of moving herself in any direction. At one time she was deprived of the use of the lower extremities, at another her arms were motionless. (footnote: It appears from the testimony of the patient herself, as well as from that of Mrs. and Miss Withenbery, that she never was totally deprived of the use of her right leg and arm, except when her whole body was rendered quite motionless by a general palsy. Her ordinary debility consisted in a hemiplegia, depriving her of the use of her left side.) The functions of the stomach and alimentary canals were equally irregular. I remember when her appetite was quite sufficient, and again when it totally failed her. Her voice at times scarcely audible. Her pulse, though very weak, I think, seldom indicated her dissolution to be at hand. (footnote: The Doctor does not here deny that sometimes she appeared to be at the point of death. In fact the aforesaid Mrs. and Miss Withenbery assert that, on one occasion at least, he ordered her lips to be moistened with spirits, by means of a feather, as in the case of dying persons, and that the ensuing morning he called upon Mrs. Withenbery, to ask her how she herself was in health, saying he supposed there was no occasion of enquiring after poor Winefrid White.) I never could attribute her complaint to any distinct species: though I believe, it belonged to the nervous class. From the seemingly paralytic disposition of the constitution, I at one time apprehended that the disorder might arise from a diseased spine, and, in consequence, an issue was, I believe, made on each side of what appeared to be an enlargement of the vertebrae. But these had no effect. The variety of medicines administered is too great to recollect; but they were equally ineffectual; and at length, tired out with unavailing attempts, I deemed her case to be totally incurable. This happened about last Christmas. Your obedient Servant, JOHN UNDERHILL. Manchester, 18th Sept. 1805.

F1.1831 Medical treatment of a broken leg

In 1831 the Uttoxeter partners George Alsop surgeon & apothecary ?1776-1847 and James Chapman L.S.A. ?1797-1857 submitted a bill for treatment of a broken leg.

(17 Aug 1831) The surgical partnership of Alsop & Chapman, based in the town [Uttoxeter], billed the overseers for setting and tending Thomas Shaw's leg between 24 March and 17 August 1831. The initial 'reduction' of the fracture was followed by medicines in the form of mixtures, pills, powders, and boluses. Redressing the leg also required lotions, lint, and ointments which were detailed over the page of the bill illustrated above. Most grisly of all, when abscesses formed on the leg, they required 'opening' and presumably draining. The whole process cost the parish £14/8/6 [Internet]

F1.1839 Death after childbirth

(26 Oct 1839) DEATH FROM HEMORRHAGE[sic] An inquest was held... at Newcastle... to enquire into the circumstances connected with the death of a fine healthy young woman Elizabeth Eaton aged 20... midwife directed a surgeon to be sent for... Mr. Rowland assistant to Messrs Dudley and Tait, arrived in a few moments... verdict was recorded "Died from hemorrhage after delivery"... Jury expressed a strong opinion on the impropriety and great danger attending the employment of ignorant women as midwives... [STS:ADV]

F1.1847 Ether anaesthetic

The first successful public demonstration of ether as an anaesthetic was on 16 October 1846 at Massachusetts General Hospital when William Morton anaesthetised a patient who then had a tumour removed from his neck by a surgeon John Warren. As early as 1 January 1847 Edward Hayling Coleman of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1794-1871 performed an amputation using ether - this operation is claimed to be the third such in England. The same year ether was again used in an operation reported by Charles Adolphus Hawkesworth of Burton-upon-Trent M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1811-1860.

(1 Jan 1847) "CASE OF AMPUTATION OF THE THIGH UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF AETHER" To the editor of the Provincial Medical and Surgical Journal: Sir, As the medical profession at this moment must feel deeply interested in the late discovery, made by our Transatlantic friends, of the inhalation of aether producing that state of narcotism which renders persons insensible to the pain arising from surgical operations ... [Yesterday] My partner, Mr Coleman, having occasion to perform amputation of the thigh upon a young woman of a highly nervous temperament ... After using it [aether] for the space of three or four minutes, her teeth became fixed, her eyes closed, and she sank back into the arms of an attendant, as if in a state of complete intoxication. Mr. Coleman now seized this favourable moment, and very adroitly and expeditiously performed the flap operation. ... I remain, Sir, Your obedient servant, George Edwards. Wolverhampton, Jan 2, 1847. P.S. January 3rd. Our patient is going on very favourably and still persists she had a dream during the operation. [Reprinted in British Medical Journal 12 Oct 1946.] [Claimed to be the third operation under anaesthesia in England]

(1847) INHALATION OF AETHER IN TRAUMATIC TETANUS [We quote the following case as reported in the Derby Mercury by Mr C.A. Hawkesworth, surgeon, Burton-on-Trent. It is to be regretted that Mr Hawkesworth did not select some medical periodical as the medium of recording a case, which he states to be "the first of the kind within his knowledge"] ... Charles White about 12 of Stapenhill ... lockjaw ... guidance of my friend Mr Murphy, dentist, Derby [*Provincial Medical and Surgical Journal* 1847 p278]

F2 Poor Law practice to 1834

Under the Poor Laws parish officers in each parish were responsible for the medical care of the poor and examination of surviving parish records will doubtless reveal many cases of medical practice in the years before 1834. Richard Hammersley of Walsall barber chirurgion c1649-?1733 was appointed Parish Doctor for the neighbouring parish of Wednesbury in 1717 whilst in 1761 John Proud of Bilston surgeon and apothecary ?1696-?1762 was appointed Surgeon & Apothecary to Bilston Workhouse in 1761.

As early as 1717 Wednesbury had a parish doctor. Richard Hammersley was in that year appointed at a salary or fee of three guineas a year "for the cure of all those poor and impotent people of Wednesbury that shall not be thought able by the parishioners to pay for themselves." When he was not available, any other doctor called upon was to receive payment from Hammersley. In 1763 the doctor's annual fee was £5 and in 1831 when Robert Ladbury was appointed Parish Surgeon his salary was fixed at £25. He was to attend all paupers and "what other cases the Churchwardens and Overseers may think proper to recommend." These other cases included confinements where the mother was not in receipt of parish relief but was adjudged unable to pay for medical attendance without assistance. For each maternity case attended Ladbury was to be paid an additional 5s. by the parish. [John F. Ede *History of Wednesbury* Wednesbury Corporation (1962) p181, quoting various parish records]

(1761, Bilston) appointed surgeon and apothecary for the workhouse at five guineas a year but apparently he only officiated for twelve months. [Cope (1980) p44]

F3 Poor Law practice 1834 on, Union Medical Officers, Union Workhouse Medical Officers

F3.1 Introduction; F3.2 Union Medical Officers; F3.3 Union Workhouse Medical Officers

F3.1 Introduction

Under *An act for the amendment and better administration of the laws relating to the poor in England and Wales* {4 & 5 William IV c76} (1834) parishes could be joined together into Poor Law unions²²⁰. These unions were usually centred on a particular parish but some had two centres. They might and did cross county boundaries. In 1851 the 182 parishes which made up Staffordshire (§B1.3) lay in 27 unions (§B4.2) of which 17 were centred in Staffordshire.

Additionally unions might be divided into districts. For instance in 1842 Stoke-upon-Trent was divided into three districts - Hanley, Shelton and Bucknal - as noticed below.

²²⁰ Of these "unions" Alstonfied was styled an "incorporation" and Stoke-upon-Trent a "parish".

(19 Nov 1842) Parish of Stoke-upon-Trent: A vacancy having occurred in the offices of surgeon and registrar of births and deaths for the Hanley district by the death of Mr Richard Harding, the Board of Guardians have (subject to the approval of the Poor Law Commissioners) determined to divide the district, for medical purposes, as follows, with the salaries respectively set opposite to each district:-

District 1. The township of Hanley, at a salary of £20 per annum, together with vaccination fees, 1s 6d each successful case, and midwifery 10s 6d each case

District 2. The township of Shelton, at a salary of £25, and 10s 6d upon each case of midwifery.

District 3. The Bucknall district, as formerly comprised in the Hanley district, at a salary of £15 per annum, together with vaccination at 1s 6d each successful case and midwifery at 10s 6d.

Gentlemen desirous of obtaining either of the above situations, are requested to send in their testimonials on Tuesday the 22nd instant: they must possess the qualifications required by the Poor Law Commissioners, which may be known on application to the Guardians, at the Parish Office.

Gentleman not being parish surgeons, and desirous of performing the duties of Registrar of Births and Deaths, are also requested to send in their applications on the 22nd instant.

The election for all the appointments will take place on Wednesday the 23rd instant.

Thos. Griffin junr. Clerk to Guardians, Parish Office, Stoke-upon-Trent, Nov. 18th, 1842. [STS:ADV]

Typically one or more workhouses²²¹ were made available to accommodate the paupers of each union. Medical men might be appointed as Union Medical Officers (§F3.2) and Union Workhouse Medical Officers (§F3.3).

F3.2 Union Medical Officers

A total of 112 cohort^x members²²² have been identified as Staffordshire Union Medical Officers and others probably remain undiscovered.

The table below, taken from the *British Medical Directory* of 1853, names the 80 Union Medical Officers²²³ by Poor Law union²²⁴ and (sometimes) District with the number of parishes in each union and their 1851 area and population. Most of these men (70) were in office in 1851 and lived in Staffordshire and thus appear in the Register [SDH3]. Ten men whose names appear in *italics* either lived out of the county or were appointed after 1851 and are not listed in the register.

•Poor Law Unions (1851) & Union Medical Officers (1853)						
Poor Law Union	District	Parishes	Area	Population	Union Medical Officer	
Alstonefield		4	11916	1880	Nathaniel Bosworth	Twigge
Burton-upon-Trent	Burton	53	86738	31842	Robert Shirley	Belcher
Burton-upon-Trent	Mickleover				<i>Robert John</i>	<i>Bell</i>
Burton-upon-Trent					William	Birch
Burton-upon-Trent					<i>George Ambrose</i>	<i>Cope</i>
Burton-upon-Trent					Henry	Edwards
Burton-upon-Trent					<i>Christopher</i>	<i>Hall</i>
Burton-upon-Trent					<i>Arthur</i>	<i>Hewgill</i>
Burton-upon-Trent					George	Lowe
Burton-upon-Trent					Spencer	Thompson
Cheadle		15	54631	18177	Henry	Langley
Cheadle					John	Ritchie
Cheadle					Thomas	Robinson
Cheadle					Robert	Webb
Leek		19	68247	21827	Richard	Cooper
Leek					George	Goodwin
Leek					Charles	Heaton
Leek					Richard	Turnock
Lichfield		30	60701	25278	Halford Wotton	Hewitt
Lichfield					Arthur Cary	Morgan
Lichfield					Major Butler	Morgan
Lichfield					Joseph Pimlott	Oates
Lichfield					Thomas	Salt
Lichfield	Yoxall				William	Walker
Newcastle	Newcastle	9	27314	20812	William	Hallam
Newcastle					Michael	Ryan MD
Newcastle					Richard	Vernon MD
Penkridge	Penkridge	21	59476	16736	John Matthews	Lister
Penkridge					John Jeffes	Sparham
Penkridge	Cannock				John	Wheatcroft
Seisdon		12	43060	13857	<i>Henry</i>	<i>Bedwell MD</i>
Seisdon					Edward Francis	Dehane
Seisdon					George	Edwardes
Seisdon					<i>Thomas</i>	<i>Haslehurst</i>

221 For mention of workhouses and poorhouses see §B4.3 and the Gazetteer [SDH2].

222 Database [SDH4] c80

223 The abbreviated names in the original directory have here been expanded and sometimes corrected.

224 The Poor Law unions in this table are the 17 centred in the county.

Seisdon	Kinver				Thomas	Holyoake
Stafford		20	47611	22648	Charles Nelson	Bromley
Stafford					William Jackson	Perrin
Stafford					Edward	Tylecote
Stafford					Cornelius	Waddell
Stoke-upon-Trent		1	11705	57946	Edmund John	Barker
Stoke-upon-Trent					James	Dale
Stoke-upon-Trent					Joseph Barnard	Davis
Stoke-upon-Trent					Robert	Garner
Stoke-upon-Trent					Horatio	Girdlestone
Stoke-upon-Trent	Fenton				Samuel Palmer	Goddard
Stoke-upon-Trent	Longton				Thomas	Goddard
Stone	Trentham	10	690804	19339	George	Bakewell
Stone					John	Fallows
Stone					Christopher John	Greatrex
Stone					Charles	Smith
Tamworth		24	39483	14001	Robert Cave	Browne
Tamworth					<i>Thomas</i>	<i>Buxton</i>
Tamworth					<i>Peter</i>	<i>Cooper</i>
Tamworth					Spencer	Thomson
Uttoxeter	Sudbury	21	63747	15128	William	Fletcher
Uttoxeter					Francis	Hawthorn
Uttoxeter					William Muchall	Higgins
Uttoxeter					Richard	Lasseter
Walsall		8	17150	43038	John	Burton MD
Walsall					Henry Woodroffe	Hare
Walsall					David Smith	Moore
Walsall					Francis Paul	Palmer
Walsall	Darlaston & Bentley				John Howells	Thornhill
Walsall					George Hughes	Whymper
West Bromwich		6	20165	69718	<i>Thomas Richard</i>	<i>Cooper</i>
West Bromwich					William	Downes
West Bromwich					Henry	Haines
West Bromwich					Edward	Russell
West Bromwich					Charles	Starkey
Wolstanton & Burslem		2	13192	41914	Daniel	Ball
Wolstanton & Burslem					Charles Thomas	Davenport
Wolstanton & Burslem					Samuel	Goddard
Wolstanton & Burslem					Samuel Mayer	Turner
Wolverhampton		4	10538	90305	Richard Spooner	Cooper
Wolverhampton					William	Dunn
Wolverhampton					William Mott	Hancox
Wolverhampton					<i>Richard</i>	<i>Nugent</i>
Wolverhampton					Richard	Sandford
Wolverhampton					George Nicholson	Smith
Wolverhampton					John Horsley	White

F3.3 Union Workhouse Medical Officers

A total of 14 cohort^x members²²⁵ have been identified as Staffordshire Union Workhouse Medical Officers and others probably remain undiscovered. Of these men two were additionally described as Union Workhouse *Infirmary* Medical Officers at West Bromwich - Charles Thomas Male in 1860 and William James Kite in 1870.

The total numbers of lunatics accommodated in Staffordshire Poor Law union workhouses are available for 1845/6. The workhouses were visited under the 111th section of an Act {8 & 9 Vict c100} between the 4th of August 1845 and the 4th of August 1846. Details of the workhouses and their inmates are given in a table (§D6.16).

F4 Staffordshire gaols

F4.1 Introduction; F4.2 Stafford County Gaol; F4.3 Stafford Bridewell; F4.4 Lichfield City Gaol; F4.5 Walsall Town Gaol; F4.6 Wolverhampton Bridewell

F4.1 Introduction

Little evidence survives of medical practice in Staffordshire's gaols. This is not surprising for there were relatively small numbers of both gaols and prisoners. An account²²⁶ of Staffordshire convicts ordered for transportation to America between 1 Nov 1769 and about 1 May 1776²²⁷ records 99 individuals, 85 convicted in the Assizes and 14 in the Quarter Sessions. This averages at about 16 each year. From 1773 John Howard 1726-1790

²²⁵ Database [SDH4] c81

²²⁶ Howard (1791) p246 from House of Commons lists

²²⁷ On 2 Jul 1776 the Second Continental Congress voted for independence and issued its declaration on 4 Jul.

[OB] the prison reformer visited English prisons and in Staffordshire (which was on the Oxford circuit) notices Stafford County Gaol, Stafford Bridewell²²⁸, Lichfield City Gaol (& Bridewell), Wolverhampton Bridewell and Walsall Town Gaol. He gives the following statistics²²⁹:

•Staffordshire gaols 1773-1788 - prisoners								
Institution	type	1773	1774	1775	1776	1779	1782	1788
Stafford County Gaol	debtors	39	44	40		40	38	31
Stafford County Gaol	felons etc	20	17	18		14	20	39
Stafford County Gaol	convicts							22
Stafford County Gaol	impressed					11		
Stafford County Gaol	deserter						1	
Total		59	61	58		65	59	92
Stafford Bridewell	prisoners			4		9	6	18
Wolverhampton Bridewell	prisoners				4	2	3	
Lichfield City Gaol	prisoners	2			1			0
Lichfield City Gaol	debtors					3	2	
Lichfield City Gaol	felons etc					1	2	
Walsall Town Gaol	prisoners						0	

In 1774 *An act for preserving the health of prisoners in gaol and preventing the gaol distemper* {14 George III c59} was passed. Below is an extract.

Whereas the malignant fever, that is commonly called the gaol distemper, is found to be owing to a want of cleanliness and fresh air ... Justices of the Peace were duly authorised to provide such accommodations in gaols as may be necessary to answer this salutary purpose ... authorised and required to order the walls and ceilings of the several cells and wards, both of the debtors and the felons, and also of any other rooms used by the prisoners in their respective gaols and prisons, where felons are usually confined, to be scraped and white washed, once in the year at least; to be regularly washed and kept clean, and constantly supplied with fresh air, by means of hand ventilators, or otherwise; to order two rooms in each gaol or prison, one for the men, and the other for the women, to be set apart for the sick prisoners, directing them to be removed into such rooms as soon as they shall be seized with any disorder, and kept separate from those who shall be in health; to order a warm and cold bath, or commodious bathing tubs, to be provided in each gaol or prison, and to direct prisoners to be washed in such warm or cold baths or bathing tubs, according to the condition in which they shall be at the time, before they are suffered to go out of such gaols and prisons upon any occasion whatever; to order this act to be painted in large and legible characters upon a board, and hung up in some conspicuous part of each of the said gaols and prisons; and to appoint an experienced surgeon or apothecary, at a stated salary, to attend each gaol or prison respectively, who shall, and be hereby directed to report to the said justices by whom he is appointed, at each quarter sessions, a state of the health of the prisoners under his care or superintendance.

The gaols that Howard describes are all noticed below but only in the case of Stafford County Gaol has any evidence of medical practice been discovered. The gaols do not seem to have conformed to the 1774 act and none appear to have displayed the required painted board.

F4.2 Stafford County Gaol²³⁰.

A county prison in the Broad-Eye, Stafford, was taken down about 1700 after which an old tower or gateway-house in Gaolgate Square was enlarged and used as a prison until 1794. That year a newly built gaol on the north-east side of the town opened. For the first time a hospital facility was provided with 15 beds. The prison was extended in 1832-3.

Before 1778 medics who provided services to the gaol were not salaried staff but presented bills to the authorities. That year in conformity with the 1774 act the new surgeon was paid an annual salary of £8 with a further £12 to be paid to the General Infirmary for medicines etc. By 1834 the surgeon's salary was £100 and in 1851 the salary of Robert Hughes was £200. From 1834 to 1851 the matron's salary was £80.

Gaol fever killed 16 prisoners about 1790 and in 1793 the same condition carried off the apothecary Richard Hughes c1739-1793.

Prison numbers which between 1773 and 1788 (see above) had fluctuated between 58 and 92 were reported as 247 in 1823, 420 in 1832 and in other years up to 1851 between 550 and 600.

Two medics were hanged at Stafford County Gaol after murder convictions: Thomas Milward Oliver of Burslem surgeon & apothecary 1767-1797 (see §N3.1797) and William Palmer of Rugeley M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1824-1856 (see §N3.1856).

Edward Knight of Stafford M.B. 1780-1862

Physician

Surgeon

(1850)

²²⁸ The roles of the gaols and bridewells are not always clear but bridewells were often used for petty offenders.

²²⁹ Howard (1777) p326-9; Howard (1784) p350-2; Howard (1791) p173-4

²³⁰ Reference has been made to Standley Ms. and Standley (1995).

Francis Lee of Stafford chirurgon c1672-1744
Philip Purcell of Stafford surgeon c1672-?1751

1728-1740
1740

Apothecary

Robert Abnet of Stafford apothecary 1697-1733
Edward Thorley of Stafford apothecary c1701-1748
Benjamin Wetwood of Stafford apothecary ?1718-1781

1729
1741-1748
1749-1756

Surgeon and Apothecary

Brooke Crutchley of Stafford surgeon & apothecary 1716-1777
John Ward of Stafford surgeon 1739-1824
William Fieldhouse of Stafford surgeon & apothecary ?1749-1803
Richard Hughes of Stafford surgeon & apothecary c1739-1793
Francis Hughes of Stafford surgeon 1769-1837
Robert Hughes of Stafford F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1802-1879

1756-1762
1762-1778
1776-1778
1778-1793
1793-1837
1837-1870

(1728) [Stafford Gaol] The first instance of payment being made to a medical man now occurs. In 1728 Francis Lee, Surgeon, was to be paid £2 for bleeding and purging 'the late transports before they were conveyed to Liverpool'. ... Later that year [1729] surgery was again carried out on 'transports' by Francis Lee; again he received £2. ... Francis Lee was again in attendance in 1731 to cure a sore hand and leg of one prisoner, the broken arm of another and for bleeding a third. ... The same Surgeon again treated prisoners in 1732, when his bill was for £1 and he was needed to treat both felons and debtors in 1733 in respect of bleeding and surgery when he received the sum of £2. Francis Lee returns again in respect of surgery at the end of the same year [1740], being paid £2/9/0 for his work. [Standley (1995)]

(1729) while an Apothecary, Mr Abnett, received £2/4/8. [Standley (1995) quoting SRO MFQ3 Translation 1729]

(1740) ... 1740, [Stafford County Gaol] when Phillip Purioll[sic], Surgeon, was allowed £12/0/8 for sixteen weeks' attendance in the cure of three abscesses on the leg of a prisoner under sentence of transportation, the same man also requiring treatment to a gangrenous buttock. [Standley (1995) p23 quoting SRO MFQ4 Easter 1740]

(1741-1748) From the next Sessions [1741] there was a more regular submission of bills to the Court. Edward Thorley, Apothecary, asked £7/7/10 for bleeding, attending and administering physic and other medicines to several sick prisoners in the County Gaol. In the following January, Thorley's bill (for a short period he attended regularly and the bills were dealt with more or less on an annual basis) was for £5/6/3. A year later the sum was £6/17/10. The next bill was for £2 and then one for £5/2/4. These bills would no doubt have been itemized but have not survived but that at the end of 1745, for £2/4/0, has. Edward Thorley dealt with fifteen patients all of whom were prescribed ointment at 1/0 per pot, although the type of ointment is not given; purging draughts for six of them at 0/6 each time, while a bottle of drops, at 1/0 a time, on three occasions was provided for one man who also was prescribed Quick Silver at 0/2. Further amounts, again where the itemized bill has not survived, are recorded of £5/8/0 [1746] and £2/12/6 [1748]. Mr Thorley's final bill, delivered at the Epiphany Sessions 1748/9, was for £2/12/6 but by then Edward Thorley had died. [Standley (1995) quoting SRO MFQ4]

(1749-1756) Job[?recte Mr] Wetwood now appears as the Apothecary attending the Gaol, his first bill, at Translation 1749, being for £5/8/5 ... After a slightly longer interval, there was a bill [1751.2] for £7/11/10. ... The next bill [1752] was for £12/2/10 ... next bill (1754) was for £10/3/1 and included attention to prisoners in the Stafford House of Correction ... next bill, in 1755, was for £13/4/11; ... The final bill submitted by Mr Wetwood and dealt with at the Michaelmas Sessions of 1756, was for £21/9/8. [Standley (1995) p32-3]

(1756-62) For whatever reason another Apothecary, Brooks Crutchley, was now [1756] appointed to attend the Gaol and supply medicines ... Mr Crutchley's next bill, in 1757, was for £10/4/4 ... in 1758, was for the period July 1757 to July 1758, amounting to £21/3/8½ and includes date of treatment, details of medicine, name of prisoner and cost of each prescription or attention. The charge for Bleeding was 0/6; French Barley, 0/1; 2oz Flower of Brimstone, 0/1½; Sudorific Powders, 0/4 each; Rhubarb Bolus, 0/6; loz Camomile Flower, 0/2. Extracting the placenta from one woman was charged at 10/6 while delivering another was also charged at 10/6. ... Another bill, from Job[sic, for ?Mr.] Crutchley, for the year ending Translation Sessions, 1759, amounted to £20/8/3 ... Whatever his attendance at the Gaol, Mr Crutchley had complained of loss of business in 1762, and in his stead the Court appointed another Apothecary ... [Standley (1995) quoting SRO MFQ4]

(1776-8) Some months later there was a revision of this order the effect of which was that John Ward continued to perform the duties on his own or to be more precise his was the only name to whom payment was authorized, until 1776, when an Apothecary named Fieldhouse joined him in receiving payment and this continued until 1778 when Richard Hughes, then an Apothecary to the Staffordshire General Infirmary (opened in 1766), was appointed to replace them. [Standley (1995) quoting SRO MFQ5 Translation 1776]

(1777) STAFFORD COUNTY GAOL: Gaoler, William Scott. salary, none. fees, debtors, 17/4, felons 15/10. transports £6 each. licence, for beer and wine; Prisoners ... [19 Nov 1773] debtors 39, felons etc 20; [1 Apr 1774] debtors 44, felons etc 17; [15 Nov 1775] debtors 40, felons etc 18; Chaplain, Rev. Mr Unett ... salary lately augmented from £20 to £30; Surgeon, Mr Ward. salary, none; he makes a bill. Remarks: This gaol is much too small for the number of prisoners: and so is the felons court-yard. The dungeon where the men felons sleep is about two feet lower than the passage. No steps, a sloping descent. It is too close. No infirmary. An alarm-bell. It is a pity that the stream just on the outside of the walls is not within them. I was pleased to see plenty of clean straw in the dungeon; and found it was owing to the generous and exemplary practice of not farming it out, but allowing the gaoler to order it whenever wanted and the County paying for it themselves. A table of fees settled at the General Quarters Sessions 18th day of April 1732 [with considerable detail of legal charges etc] [Howard (1777) p326-9]

(1778-1793) and this continued until 1778 when Richard Hughes, then an Apothecary to the Staffordshire General Infirmary (opened in 1766), was appointed to replace them. Richard Hughes was the first of three generations of Hughes to serve the Gaol, Richard dying from Gaol Fever in early 1793 just before the present Gaol was opened, his son Francis Hughes, a Surgeon, taking over (he in turn followed by Robert Hughes, his son, who continued the family tradition until 1870). With the appointment of Richard Hughes came a set amount to be paid the Surgeon as a salary, £8 each year, with a further sum of £12 being paid to the Treasurer of the Staffordshire General Infirmary for such medicine, drugs, etc., as Richard Hughes should think requisite and necessary. [Standley (1995) p34 quoting SRO MFQ5 Translation 1776 & Epiphany 1778 and his own unpublished manuscript "Stafford Gaol, 1793-1916"]

(1784) STAFFORD COUNTY GAOL: Gaoler, William Scott now Lyttleton Scott ... Prisoners ... [15 May 1779] debtors 40, felons etc 14, impressed 11 [24 Nov 1782] debtors 38, felons etc 20, deserter 1. Remarks: ... The debtor's court and free-ward are spacious. ... The felon's court is also too small and the gaoler keeps his poultry in it ... There is only one sewer and that is quite exposed. ... The chapel is small and at the top of the house. It is painful for prisoners loaded with irons to go up and down the stairs. The act for preserving the health of prisoners not hung up. No infirmary; no bath. Mr Hughes is apothecary to the county infirmary, which is near the gaol. He receives £8 of the salary of £20 allowed by the county; the remaining £12 is paid to the infirmary for drugs. [Howard (1784) p350-2]

(1791) STAFFORD COUNTY GAOL: No alteration in this crowded prison. Only one small day-room for men and women. In the dungeon for male felons I saw fifty-two chained down, hardly fourteen inches being allowed to each. The moisture from their breath ran down the walls. I need not intimate the heat and offensiveness of this dungeon, and the paleness of the prisoners. The women were in irons, and lay in another dungeon. Last year, seven of the felons died in their dungeon of the gaol-fever; and the free-ward or county chamber, being directly over it, nine out of thirteen of the poor debtors died. No infirmary; no bath. ... Gaoler's salary £100 in lieu of the tap. The county is now going to build a new gaol. [11 Feb 1788] debtors 31, felons etc 39, convicts 22 [Howard (1791) p173-4]

(1834) The County Gaol And House Of Correction, situated on the north-east side of the town, form one gigantic establishment, which has lately undergone a considerable alteration and enlargement, nearly one acre of ground having been added to the north side of the prison yard, which is enclosed by a quadrangular brick wall, 23 feet in height, encompassing an area of nearly four acres, and having in its main front (which is about 450 feet long) a porter's lodge of massive stone work, and a gateway for the entrance of carriages. The old prison and its numerous offices, which occupy the greater part of the area, were built in 1793. {footnote: The original County Prison stood in the Broad-Eye, near the site of the Methodist chapel, but was taken down about the year 1700; after which the old tower or gateway-house that stood in Gaolgate Square was enlarged and used as the prison till 1794.} The buildings which are of brick, project from each other at right angles so as to form three middle or internal courts, which are by these means enclosed within high walls. The governor's house is opposite the porter's lodge, and has a neat enclosed garden in front. Behind it is the central court which conducts to the principal departments of the prison. The matron's house and chapel are on the opposite side of this court. The other two courts form part of the prisoners' airing-yards. The other airing yards are placed on the outside of the main building and are enclosed so as to leave a road or passage-way round the prison, between the boundary wall and the airing-yards. There are no means of central inspection over the prison; but from the surrounding passage the governor and turnkeys are enabled

to inspect the prisoners while in the yards with great facility, the external enclosure of the yards being formed of iron railing, put up in 1823, instead of the wooden paling that formed the original barrier. The yards in the rear, occupied by the women, have a tolerable degree of inspection from the matron's house, and they are enclosed with brick walls next the surrounding passage to prevent any communication with the male officers. In the rear passage are 12 solitary cells for males, and 4 for females, with a turnkey's lodge in the centre; and near these is the hospital, containing 15 beds. The main body of the gaol consists of six wards, five for felons, and one for debtors. The buildings are three stories in height, and comprise several double ranges of cells, (each cell about 9 feet by 8,) opening into a middle gallery. The principal day-rooms are at the extremities of the galleries. On one side of the governor's house is a good kitchen and offices, with a separate yard, and on the other side is the task-master's residence; adjoining to which is the debtor's airing-court, 100 feet by 70. Near the latter is the bake-house and the corn mill, in which are three pair of stones, and a dressing machine, set in motion by two tread-wheels turned by twenty male felons. Corn is ground here both for the use of the prison[sic] and for hire. In the rear passage are several workshops, where many of the prisoners are employed in spinning and carding wool, and in weaving, dying, and finishing, coarse woollen and linen cloth, blankets, bed-rugs, horse-cloths, &c &c.; but as the manufactory is possessed of none of the modern machinery used in the clothing districts, and as its workmen have never been previously accustomed to such employment, it tends but little towards lessening the vast expenditure of the prison. Some of the prisoners are also employed in making shoes and clogs for the use of the establishment, and others in heading pins for hire. The House of Correction, which has just been erected, at the cost of about £6,000, occupies the whole of the north side of the enclosure, and is a lofty brick building, in the form of a crescent, three stories in height, and 200 feet in length. It contains 114 sleeping rooms, and has, extended along the area in front, six tread-wheels which employ sixty men in pumping water from a deep well into reservoirs and cisterns, some of which are placed on the roofs of the buildings. The conduct and appearance of the prisoners on our visit, was very satisfactory and becoming: they seemed to be in good health, clean, silent, and orderly. The cells, galleries, and dayrooms, were in a state of perfect cleanliness: in the workshops the prisoners seemed very attentive to their respective occupations; and the arrangements throughout reflect great credit on the governor. The chaplain attends the prison daily, and superintends the schools: on Sundays he performs divine service, and reads prayers every Wednesday and Friday. In the chapel the men and women cannot see each other, the women's sittings being enclosed with cloth blinds. The total number of prisoners confined here at any one time, in 1823, was 247; but in the winter of 1832, there were at one period 420. The annual expenditure of the Gaol and House of Correction, for salaries, food, clothing, repairs, Sec, has for some time past, amounted to about £7,000, though, in 1799, it was only £843 6s. 9d. The great increase in this and other items of the county expenditure, has created much dissatisfaction among the rate payers, who have lately held several public meetings on the subject, as has been seen in the general History of the County, at a preceding page. Exclusive of gratuities and perquisites, the yearly salaries paid to the officers here, amount to no less than £1,392, of which, £450 is paid to the governor, (Mr. Thomas Brutton); £230 to the chaplain, (the Rev. Richard Buckeridge); £100 to the surgeon; £80 to the task-master, (Wm. Halkin); £70 to the head turnkey; £175 to three turnkeys; £70 to the miller and baker; £52 to the manufacturer; £20 to the clerk; £10 to the porter; £80 to the matron, and £25 to female turnkeys. Until the erection of the present gaol, the governor's yearly salary was only £100; but in 1793, it was advanced to £250, and afterwards to £450!!! The county rates, in 1794, amounted only to £5,500; but in 1833, they had increased to the enormous sum of £29,792! [White (1834) p122-4]

(1836) Officers and servants employed in the County Gaol and House of Correction for the county of Stafford [with annual salaries]. The Keeper of the Gaol (appointed by the High Sheriff) £200 etc; the Governor of the House of Correction £250 etc; Chaplain £200; Surgeon £100; Matron £80. [this is an extract] [*Reports and papers of the House of Commons: Prisons* (1836) 612] (1851) [White adds further comment on the buildings etc ...] The total number of convicts here, at any one time, in 1823 was 247; but there are now often as many as 550, and sometimes more than 600 including convicts. ... The following are the principal officers ... Captain William Fulford, governor, £408; Rev. Robert H. Goodacre M.A., chaplain, £250; ... Mr Robert Hughes, surgeon, £200 ... Mrs H. Stanley, matron, £80 ... [White (1851) p330-1]

F4.3 Stafford Bridewell

(1777) STAFFORD BRIDEWELL: The house very dirty. Prisoners always shut up. Keeper's Salary £25; he puts in a deputy who serves for rent. Allowance same as the gaol. No employment. [15 Nov 1775] prisoners 4. [Howard (1777) p326-9] (1784) STAFFORD BRIDEWELL: At the North-Gate. Three rooms for men and women. A room below (called the *dungeon*) with four apertures about 3 inches square. No employment. Prisoners always shut up and *in irons*; the small court not secure. ... The keeper a woman, who is the *county baker*. She appoints a man who, for living rent free, looks after the prisoners. [15 May 1779] prisoners 9 [24 Nov 1782] prisoners 6. [Howard (1784) p350-2] (1791) STAFFORD COUNTY BRIDEWELL: [11 Feb 1788] prisoners 18 [Howard (1791) p173-4]

F4.4 Lichfield City Gaol

(1777) LITCHFIELD CITY GAOL: The rooms too small and close. No yard; no water; no straw. Might be improved on the ground behind it. Keeper's Salary £21 ... [20 Nov 1773] prisoners 2; [8 Jan 1776] prisoners 1. [Howard (1777) p326-9] (1784) LITCHFIELD CITY AND COUNTY GAOL AND BRIDEWELL: Two close cells 6½ feet by 5½ and 8 feet high. To these are added two new ones, and two rooms for debtors; a court is enclosed, in which is an offensive sewer. The prison dirty, as is always the case where there is a number of dogs. Act for preserving the health of prisoners not hung up. No water accessible to prisoners; no straw ... [26 Nov 1779] debtors 3, felons etc 1; [25 Nov 1782] debtors 2, felons etc 2. [Howard (1784) p350-2] (1791) LITCHFIELD CITY AND COUNTY GAOL AND BRIDEWELL: ... Gaoler's salary £50 in lieu of the tap [13 Feb 1788] no prisoners [Howard (1791) p173-4]

F4.5 Walsall Town Gaol

(1784) WALSALL TOWN GAOL: Two rooms under the town-hall; that for debtors has a fire-place. [Here] offenders are confined only for a night or two, till they are carried before a magistrate. And debtors have friends who resort to the windows. [25 Nov 1782] No prisoners. [Howard (1784) p350-2]

F4.6 Wolverhampton Bridewell

(1777) WOLVERHAMPTON BRIDEWELL: Only two rooms about twelve feet square, viz. a common day-room on the ground-floor; and a night room above, for men: women sleep in the day-room. No court-yard; no water; no sewer; no employment. ... Keeper's allowance £25 ... The prison is greatly out of repair; and so insecure that prisoners, even for the slightest offences, are kept in irons. The County may redress this; for they have a large garden close to the prison which they let with an old house on the spot. [11 Sep 1776] prisoners 4 men. [Howard (1777) p326-9] (1784) WOLVERHAMPTON BRIDEWELL: ... Sometimes, here are fourteen or fifteen prisoners, and to prevent suffocation, they are let out into the court which is 17½ feet by 15½. [23 Aug 1779] prisoners 2 women; [25 Nov 1782] 2 men and 1 woman. [Howard (1784) p350-2]

F5 Staffordshire institutional hospitals

F5.1 Introduction; F5.2 Staffordshire General Infirmary; F5.3 Pottery Dispensary; F5.4 North Staffordshire Infirmary; F5.5 Wolverhampton Dispensary; F5.6 South Staffordshire General Hospital

F5.1 Introduction

Prior to 1851 Staffordshire had three major institutional hospitals. Staffordshire General Infirmary at Stafford opened in 1766. The Pottery Dispensary at Stoke-upon-Trent opened in 1802 and in 1815 was succeeded by the North Staffordshire Infirmary. The Wolverhampton Dispensary opened in 1821 and in 1849 was succeeded by the South Staffordshire General Hospital. A brief history of each hospital is given below followed by lists of their officers and extracts from newspapers and other sources.

A number of smaller hospitals, dispensaries and other medical facilities such as cholera hospitals are discussed in the Gazetteer [SDH2].

F5.2 Staffordshire General Infirmary (1766-1992+)

The Staffordshire General Infirmary was sometimes styled Stafford General Infirmary. Cyril Williams has written *The Staffordshire General Infirmary: A history of the hospital from 1765* published by the Mid Staffordshire General Hospital in 1992²³¹. He reports that the "documents, reports, correspondence etc relating to the SGI are held in the Stafford County Record Office".

In his will dated 2 Mar 1765 William Deakin bequeathed "four hundred pounds towards erecting or supporting an infirmary in and for the county of Stafford". This money is said to have supplemented an existing subscription which itself was boosted by another legacy of £200²³².

(2 Mar 1765) William Deakin of Wolverhampton surgeon and apothecary ... four hundred pounds towards erecting or supporting an infirmary in and for the county of Stafford ...

On 8 Oct 1765 John Eld of Seighford Esquire 1704-1796 called a meeting of prominent local people to consider the foundation of a hospital. A committee was formed and two suitable buildings acquired on Foregate in Stafford. Early in 1766 the Staffordshire General Infirmary was opened. In the years 1769-1772 land was acquired on Foregate and a new hospital designed by Mr Wyatt was built at a cost of £2,784 (plus some extras). It was opened in the summer of 1772²³³.

The Infirmary is described in *The medical register for the year 1779 (and 1783)* and by John Howard in 1791.

(1779) Stafford: An INFIRMARY was erected here a few years ago, for which the County is greatly indebted to the active humanity of Mr Eld of Seighford. It is a handsome brick building capable of containing about one hundred patients and (though erected and supported by the benefactions and subscriptions of the Gentlemen of this County) is open to objects of charity from any part of the kingdom provided they come recommended by a subscriber. Every subscriber may recommend one in-patient annually for every guinea subscribed, and one for every ten guineas given as a benefaction. No person can have more than one in-patient at a time but out-patients may be sent without limitation. Subscribers of two guineas annually and benefactors of ten guineas are trustees. It is attended gratis by the Physicians of the town but the two Surgeons have an annual salary of £30 each. ... PHYSICIANS Archibald Campbell, M.D. (Edinburgh) "Dissert. Inaug. de Vermibus" 8vo Edin. 1765 ... Thomas Underhill, M.B. (Louvain) "Dissert. Inaug. de Pleuritide" 4to ... Thomas Fowler, M.D. (Edinburgh) "Dissert. Inaug. de Methodo medendi Variolam praecipue auxilio Mercurii" 8vo, Edin. 1778 "The History of two Cases, from the poisonous Effects of the Seeds of The Thorn Apple" Med. Comm. vol. V ... Messrs Thomas Wright and Richard Adams (Surgeon to the Infirmary) ... Messrs John Ward (Surgeon to the Infirmary) and William Fieldhouse [MR (1779)]

(1783) Stafford: The COUNTY INFIRMARY at STAFFORD is a handsome brick building capable of holding eighty patients. It is attended gratis by two of the Physicians of the town but the two surgeons have an annual salary of £30 each. The Apothecary (Mr R. Hughes) resides in the house. ... Archibald Campbell, M.D. (Edin.,1765) formerly Physician to the Infirmary ... Thomas Underhill, M.B. (Louvain) (Physician to the Infirmary) ... Thomas Fowler, M.D. (Edin. 1778) (Physician to the Infirmary) ... Messrs Thomas Wright and Richard Adams (Surgeon to the Infirmary) ... Messrs John Ward (Surgeon to the Infirmary) and William Fieldhouse [MR (1783)]

(1791) STAFFORD COUNTY INFIRMARY: this hospital is quiet and clean, and has a humane and attentive apothecary. The surgeons are here paid for their attendance. [Howard (1791) p173-4]

In 1808 an operating theatre was to be opened and was probably the first such in the county.

(Jul 1808) "the want of an operation room causes great inconvenience. Ordered that one of the upper rooms be fitted up for the purpose under direction of the medical gentlemen" [Williams (1992) p30]

Later in 1851 is the following description of the Infirmary in a county directory.

(1851) STAFFORDSHIRE GENERAL INFIRMARY is a spacious and neat brick building in Foregate street, erected in 1766, and afterwards enlarged by the erection of two wings. It was again enlarged by the erection of an extensive Fever Ward, in 1829, at the cost of £2,300, connected with it by a corridor, but having a separate entrance. In the same year the principal entrance to the Infirmary was ornamented with a handsome portico, at the cost of £257, left by Thos. Mottershaw, Esq., for that purpose. John Eld, Esq., of Seighford, (of whom there is a fine portrait in the board room,) was one of the first and most zealous promoters of this Samaritan institution, which was again enlarged some years ago, at the cost of about £4,000, and has now 20 wards, and beds and other accommodations, for 120 in-patients; being now one of the largest county hospitals in the kingdom. In the out-buildings is a steam-engine, which cost £266, and supplies the wards, baths, &c, with water. From the opening of the institution, in 1766, to December, 1850, no fewer than 97,569 patients had been admitted, of whom 36,784 were in-patients. The number of patients admitted in 1850 was 1795, of whom 565 were in-patients. The annual expenditure of the charity is upwards of £2,000, and it derives yearly about £1,000 from annual subscriptions, and £750 from upwards of £22,000 stock, mostly in the three per cents.; but in 1834, its capital stock was nearly double that amount. There are two other General Infirmaries at Wolverhampton and the Potteries, and since the institution of the former the subscriptions to this charity have somewhat decreased; but as there is great need for three such useful charities in this populous county, it is hoped that each of them will receive liberal support. The Earl of Harrowby is president of this large Infirmary; Drs. Knight and Harland are the physicians; Messrs. Masfen, Hughes, and Waddell, are the surgeons: Mr. G.B. Masfen is the house surgeon and secretary; the Rev. Thos. Harrison, M.A. chaplain; Mr. Jph. Bache, dispenser; and Mrs. Tomkinson, the matron. In the Infirmary is an interesting museum and a medical library. There is a valuable MEDICAL LIBRARY at the General Infirmary established a few years ago and supported by annual subscriptions of 21s. each [White (1851) p336, 339-40]

Officers

²³¹ Hereafter Williams (1992)

²³² Williams (1992) p6 [William Deakin of Wolverhampton surgeon & apothecary e1721-1765]

²³³ Williams (1992) p14-6

Appointments to the offices of physician, surgeon, apothecary, house surgeon and secretary were made by the governors of the Infirmary and were often hotly contested and sometimes disputed. Some men appointed were sons or other relatives of existing staff. In later years much is made of the holding of relevant qualifications. Notices were posted in the *Staffordshire Advertiser* giving detail of candidates' careers etc. Some of these follow further below.

Physician Extraordinary

In 1776 Erasmus Darwin of Lichfield M.B. 1731-1802 was appointed (honorary) Physician Extraordinary.²³⁴ No instance of his practice here has been discovered and it might be that he just lent his name to the Infirmary to confer a certain distinction.

Erasmus Darwin M.B. 1731-1802

1776-?1802

Physician

In the years to 1851 and beyond the physicians at the Infirmary were unpaid and so sometimes styled Honorary Physician. The first physician appointed in 1766 was John Buchanan M.D. 1710-1767 who died on 23 Feb 1767 at Carlisle on a journey to Glasgow. Philip Parry Price Myddelton "physician" e1758-1830 who was appointed in 1805 was forced out of office the following year following revelations of earlier criminal conduct. (§---) John Thomas Harland of Stafford M.D. 1812-1881 appointed in 1838 was a graduate at Heidelberg and was requested by the governors to further qualify Ext.L.R.C.P. (which he did).

John Buchanan M.D. 1710-1767

1766-1767

Archibald Campbell M.D. c1738-1805

1767-1805

William Withering M.D. 1742-1799

1767-1775

Thomas Fowler M.D. 1736-1801

1778-1791

John Underhill M.B. c1753-1809

1779-1783+

Philip Parry Price Myddelton "physician" e1758-1830

1805-1806

Thomas Bree M.D. 1768-1828

c1806-c1812

Edward Knight M.B. 1780-1862

1808-1862

George Dent M.D. 1781-1845

1816-1822+

Henry Somerville M.D. c1765-1830

1823-?1830

Alexander Giles Kennedy M.D. ?1798-1832

1830-1832

John Thomas Harland M.D. 1812-1881

1838-1881

Henry Day of Stowe M.D. c1810-1881

1862-1881

Surgeon

The earliest surgeons were also unpaid and so might be styled Honorary Surgeon. Many surgeons on retirement were appointed to an office called Surgeon Extraordinary or Consulting Surgeon. By 1833 this procedure appears to have become a constitutional rule. The first two surgeons were Thomas Wright ?1716-1802 (served 1766-1778) and John Ward surgeon 1739-1824 (served 1766-1799). About 1775 it was ordered that there should only be two Surgeons in the Infirmary and that their annual salary should be £30.²³⁵ Some time after 1799 the salaries were discontinued.

In 1816 when the surgeon Henry Taylor resigned there was a notable exchange of letters in the *Staffordshire Advertiser*. On 26 Oct 1816 John Ward (then Surgeon Extraordinary) wrote to recommend William Wogan and John Hawthorn for the post of surgeon that Henry Taylor had resigned. On 2 Nov Henry Somerville (then a Surgeon) wrote alleging collusion between William Wogan, Henry Taylor and John Ward when Wogan was earlier appointed Apothecary in 1812 and, together with his fellow Francis Hughes (then also a Surgeon), argued that Wogan was unfit to be appointed Surgeon. This was followed by a letter of 9 Nov from Wogan who announced his intention to sue (for libel) and derides Somerville for having been educated at Bilston. A further letter of 16 Nov is from Ward who points out that another candidate for the post of surgeon Richard Hughes (son of Francis) was only aged 20 and not qualified and, also, that Somerville and Francis Hughes were in combination to protect their position as surgeons. However in early December Richard Hughes was unanimously elected Surgeon. In a subsequent libel action the court found that Wogan was in practice before *The new apothecaries' act* of 1815 (§Q2.1815).

Thomas Wright surgeon ?1716-1802

1766-1778

Richard Adams surgeon e1739-?1803

1779-1783+

Francis Hughes surgeon 1769-1837

?1795-1837

Thomas Fowke surgeon ?1775-1854

1799-1800

William Fieldhouse surgeon 1749-1803

1800-1803

Henry Taylor M.R.C.S. ?1786-1840

1807-1816

Richard Hughes M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1796-1861

1816-1847

Cornelius Waddell M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1813-1861

1847-?1861

John Ward surgeon 1739-1824

1766-1799

Henry Somerville M.D. c1765-1830

1799-1823

John Masfen F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1795-1854

1823-1854

Robert Hughes F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1802-1879

1833-1870

Henry Thomas Lomax M.R.C.S. c1818-1873

1870-1873

Apothecary & Secretary/House Surgeon & Secretary

These two offices, although attracting separate salaries, appear to have always been united. The style of Apothecary was replaced by House Surgeon between 1825 and 1834. Richard Hughes c1739-1793 (served 1766-?1793) and Thomas Fowke ?1775-1854 (served ?1793-1799) were married men. From about 1799 holders of this office were expected to be unmarried and lived in at the Infirmary. Many men used the office as a first step in their career often resigning before marriage and further preferment in their careers. In 1838 Edward Selleck Hare, then House Surgeon, died after he contracted typhus fever from a patient in the fever ward.

In 1766 Richard Hughes had an annual salary of £30 as apothecary and £10 as secretary. About 1806 the salary of the secretary was increased to 15 guineas (£15/15/0). In 1825 the annual salary for the combined offices was one hundred guineas (£105) (including an allowance for tea and sugar) with board and lodging. By 1838 the salary had increased to £120 but of this £20 was paid to a dispenser. That year the salary was increased to £120 additionally the dispenser was to be paid £20. By 1855 the salary had reduced to £100 but additionally "Furnished apartments, together with coals, gas, washing, and board will be provided by the Institution."

Apothecary & Secretary

Richard Hughes surgeon c1739-1793

1766-?1793

Thomas Fowke surgeon ?1775-1854

?1793-1799

Charles Salt [M.D.] 1779-1860

1799-1807

Charles Aylesbury surgeon ?1782-1837

1807-1812

William Wogan M.R.C.S. c1795-1867

1812-1816

Francis Hawthorn L.S.A. 1793-1829

1816-1823

Charles Manley Ashwin M.R.C.S. 1788-1869

1823-1825

House Surgeon & Secretary

234 Williams (1992) p19

235 Williams (1992) p18

Thomas Farmer Kemsey L.S.A. 1802-1875	1825-1834
Henry Somerville M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1806-1851	1834-1836
Edward Selleck Hare M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1812-1838	1837-1838
George Crump M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1812-1844	1838-1843
Walter Fergus M.D. c1820-1886	1844-1848
George Bellasis Masfen M.R.C.S. 1826-1864	1849-1852
William Webb (qualified in 1852)	1852-....
Robert Hall Bakewell M.D. 1831-....	1854-1855
James Earl Moreton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1831-1914	1855-1856
Edward Francis Weston M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1834-1897	1856-1858
Thomas Parker Smith M.B.	1859

[Lichfield] In 1767 the corporation subscribed 20 guineas to the Staffordshire General Infirmary opened at Stafford the previous year. It thereby became one of the trustees of the infirmary, with the right to recommend two in-patients a year and any number of out-patients. It ceased to be a trustee after 1834. St. Mary's parish subscribed 2 guineas a year from 1802 and was entitled to recommend the same number of patients; from 1811 to 1831 it subscribed 3 guineas (5 guineas in 1814). St. Michael's subscribed 5 guineas from 1812 but reduced its subscription to 3 guineas in 1819 to be in line with St. Mary's; it ceased to subscribe after 1822. St. Chad's subscribed 3 guineas from 1815 to 1841. [VCH Lichfield 105]

There were two physicians and four surgeons in 1800. The physicians were both elderly men: the famous Erasmus Darwin (d. 1802), who was then living at Derby, was the Infirmary's 'physician extraordinary', and a Stafford doctor and former mayor of the town. Archibald Campbell, M.D. (d. 1805), its physician in ordinary. All the surgeons practised in Stafford. John Ward M.D. was the 'surgeon extraordinary' at the Infirmary; when he died in 1824 at the age of eighty-six he was described as "formerly a surgeon of great eminence". Of the three surgeons in ordinary William Fieldhouse (d 1803) was a man in his fifties beloved by the public we are told, for his 'suavity of disposition and integrity of heart'. He was busy in public life and was mayor of Stafford at the time of his death. Francis Hughes, F.R.C.S. (d. 1837), and Henry .

Somerville (d. 1830) were younger men, in their thirties. Hughes, like Fieldhouse and Campbell, went in for local politics and had been mayor of Stafford six times when he died; his career as a doctor had been, according to an obituarist, 'long, laborious, and successful'. Somerville, who was said by ... [Johnsonian Studies 1986]

(1766) The first appointments were made. John Buchanan was Physician whilst Thomas Wright and John Ward were Surgeons. These were unpaid posts. Richard Hughes was Apothecary at a salary of £30 pa (and additionally Secretary at £10 pa), Mary Delves was Matron at £18 pa and Thomas Green was Porter at £4/4/0 pa²³⁶. Buchanan died on 23 Feb 1767 and on the following 29 Apr Archibald Campbell and William Withering were appointed in his place²³⁷.

(24 Jan 1795) COUNTY GENERAL INFIRMARY Patients admitted and discharged from Jan 2 to Jan 23 1795. Admitted 24. Discharged 28. Remain in the House 50. Out-patients: Admitted 31, Discharged 19. The severity of the frost having for some time prevented any supply of coal being brought by the canal a very considerable enhance may be saved the infirmary if some of its friends would, as formerly, favour the charity with the carriage of a few loads from the pits which at this time would be a very acceptable donation as the greater expence in procuring that very necessary article now falls chiefly on the carriage. [STS:ADV]

(23 Sep 1797) STAFFORD INFIRMARY. WANTED. An apprentice to be in the House. For particulars apply to Mr Fowke [STS:ADV]

(20 Jul 1799) STAFFORD County General Infirmary. Quarterly General Board. Friday, July 19 1799. Mr Ward and Mr Hughes surgeons ... requested their salaries be discontinued [declined] ... Ward appointed Surgeon Extraordinary ... Fowke and Somerville appointed Surgeons ... office of Apothecary & Secretary vacant [by Fowke's appointment as surgeon] [STS:ADV]

(27 Jul 1799) [General Infirmary, Stafford] ... vacancy ... apothecary .. to succeed Mr Fowke ... served my apprenticeship with Mr Hughes (one of your surgeons) [acted] as apothecary during [Fowke's] absence in London ... F. Charles ... [recommended by] A. Campbell, physician; J. Ward, Francis Hughes, W. Fieldhouse, Thomas Fowke, surgeons. [STS:ADV]

(20 Jul 1805) STAFFORD GENERAL INFIRMARY Weekly Board June 28th 1805 Two vacancies in the office of Physician having happened ... election ... Friday the 19th July next ... Dr Price Myddleton and Dr Bree have offered their services ... [STS:ADV]

(c1806) "The salary of the Secretary to be increased from £10 to 15 guineas per annum and that Mr Salt be allowed a further £10 per annum in consideration of privations and services [Williams (1992) p29 who gives dae as 1816/7 probably in error]

(1806) An Unfortunate Doctor. In April, 1806, Mr. P. P. Myddelton, M.D., occupied the post of physician to the General County Infirmary. There appears to have been a party on the Board of Management opposed to him, the issue of such hostility being the following, as taken from the official minutes: "*Resolved, that it is the opinion of this meeting that a person who has been convicted of the offence which is now proved to us as against Dr. Myddelton viz., the seduction of an Artificer out of the country, for which he has been convicted and sentenced to a fine of £500 and imprisonment, is not a proper person to occupy any public situation in this Charity, and therefore that Dr. Myddelton be recommended to withdraw his services from this institution.*" This suggestion not being complied with, this further resolution was passed: "*Ordered, that Dr. Myddelton be removed from his situation of Physician to this Charity, and that the Secretary do acquaint him therewith.*" [Cherry (1890) p4]

(7 Nov 1812) Stafford County General Infirmary ... Mr Aylesbury having resigned his situation as apothecary and secretary ... William Wogan ... [recommended by] Thos Bree M.D. & Edw. Knight M.B. physicians; John Ward surgeon extraordinary; Francis Hughes & Henry Taylor surgeons ... [Wogan had been] house pupil ... Charles Aylesbury, apothecary & secretary [STS:ADV]

(27 Apr 1816) GENERAL INFIRMARY ... Dr Dent having offered his gratuitous services as Physician ... accepts the offer ... W. Wogan, Secretary [STS:ADV]

(26 Oct 1816) Stafford County General Infirmary ... [Surgeon] ... from my residence in the infirmary for near seven years ... William Wogan [and] ...having succeeded to the business of my late father and consequently having been in full practice in this town for several years ... John Hawthorn ... [and] ... recommend Mr Wogan and Mr Hawthorn to succeed Mr Taylor who has resigned ... John Ward [STS:ADV]

(2 Nov 1816) To the Trustees of the Stafford General Infirmary: The unfortunate want of success which has attended my former attempts to draw your attention to the real interests of the Infirmary shall not deter me from making one more effort on the present occasion. The advertisements in the Stafford Paper of last Saturday which issued from the Infirmary (though in open and flagitious violation of its Statutes) in consequence of Mr Taylor's signified resignation present a large field for remark [regarding Mr Ward Surgeon Extraordinary] his recommendations ... have always originated in self-interest, private pique, or a view to personal accommodation and in some instances with a total ignorance of the party recommended to your choice. This was particularly the case with respect to his first introduction of Mr Wogan as your Apothecary when he had served little more than two years and a half out of six the term of his apprenticeship. At that time he gave to Mr Wogan the most unqualified testimonial ... though [he had said privately] "*that he did not even know Mr Wogan by sight; but he believed he was a good sort of a young man*" ... [Wogan's resignation as apothecary] ... it was a job and contrivance between Mr Ward, Mr Taylor and Mr Wogan. Mr Taylor having long since formed the resolution to leave his situation in Stafford found in Mr Wogan a fit person to succeed him in business and equally fit to follow him in the office ... Mr Wogan ... made his sudden retreat from the Infirmary in May last to breathe the air of the metropolis ... returns and offers himself to you as a Surgeon ... you will have some consideration for the feelings of my colleague Mr Hughes and myself ... that you will not think of electing ... surgeon ... one of whom I have proved to you to be unfit for the situation ... Henry Somerville Stafford Oct 30 1816 [STS:ADV]

(9 Nov 1816) To the Editor ... In your last week's Paper I was surprised to see a Letter from Mr Somerville to the Trustees of the Stafford Infirmary relecting upon my conduct to that Charity; my surprise however upon ceased when I recollected that he had received part of his Education at *Bilston*. I believe, Sir, there are more prudent ways of that Man spending his money than publishing such low, indecent and unprovoked, abuse ... Henry Taylor, Stafford, Nov 6, 1816 To the Editor ... [regarding] attack made upon me in a Letter ... last week ... I feel myself if called upon in justice to my own character to say that whatever may be the fate of the present contest I shall submit my Reputation to the scrutiny and decision of the only proper Tribunal on such an occasion - that of a Jury of my country ... William Wogan, 8th Nov 1816 [STS:ADV]

(16 Nov 1816) To the Trustees of the Stafford General Infirmary: I should certainly not have obtruded a second letter upon your notice had it not been for the ex-parte statement contained in Mr Hughes' letter ... last week's Staffordshire Advertiser ... letter I lately published in conjunction with my friend Mr Wogan ... Mr Richard Hughes being but little more than twenty; therefore he cannot be qualified to act as General

- Practitioner ... I have not been more than four years and a half a resident in Stafford since the year 1808 & when I began to practice my profession in this place in 1812 ... Mr Richard Hughes was a Tyro in the Latin language at the Grammar School in this town ... Mr Richard Hughes had just entered upon his Anatomical Studies in London; the only place in England where Anatomy is successfully cultivated ... Allow me to observe that Mr Hughes and Mr Somerville have combined for the purpose of usurping the whole of the Surgical practice of your Institution which although not directly is indirectly a source of emolument and influence; and Mr Hughes with very *becoming modesty* wishes to usurp *two-thirds* of it ... John Hawthorn [letter itself not dated] [STS:ADV]
- (27 Apr 1822) Quarterly General Board of the Trustees of the General Infirmary ... thanks of the board be given to Mr Hawthorn and Mr Masfen who have offered their gratuitous services as Surgeons ... but there not being any vacancy it is considered inexpedient to increase the present number. Likewise thanks of the board to Doctor Knight, Doctor Dent, Mr Hughes, Mr Somerville and Mr. R. Hughes for their services ... C. Hawthorn [STS:ADV]
- (4 May 1822) [Letter dated from from Stafford May 2d 1822 from Bernard Fry] ... The advertisement which appeared in your last paper signed "C. Hawthorn" is of such a description as can hardly fail to produce some animadversion ... [had also offered his services as surgeon] ... ostensibly the act of C.H. yet it originated with his brother Mr John Hawthorn ... [Fry NOT M.R.C.S.] ... Such I might easily have become by passing through the ordinary forms at a small expense after finishing my anatomical, surgical and others studies at the Hospitals of London if I had thought it of any consequence or that it could have conferred either medical knowledge or surgical skill [STS:ADV]
- (22 Jan 1825) Staffordshire General Infirmary ... [meeting to select apothecary] March 4 1825 ... apothecary and secretary ... offices are united in one person the salary one hundred guineas per annum (including an allowance for tea and sugar) with board and lodging ... Ashwin [STS:ADV]
- (19 Jan 1828) STAFFORD GENERAL INFIRMARY Quarterly General Board Jun 18 1828 ... details of fever wards etc [long account]
- (1830) Fever wards opened the Board considered "the establishment is now complete in every respect" [Williams (1992) p34]
- (1831) Quarterly Salary of House Surgeon & Secretary £26/5/0 [£105 per annum] [Williams (1992) p38]
- (19 Jan 1833) TO THE TRUSTEES OF THE STAFFORD COUNTY GENERAL INFIRMARY My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen, A vacancy occurring in the office of Surgeon to your Infirmary by my father's resignation of the appointment he had held for more than forty years I respectfully present myself to your notice - desirous of the honor of becoming his successor. I am thirty years of age: and the Testimonials I hope to submit to your next General Board, will shew that not less than thirteen years of my life have been unremittingly occupied in the acquisition of professional knowledge. It will be seen that I have attended Lectures and Dissections in London, during three Anatomical Sessions of eight months each; and that I have had also ample opportunities of gaining practical experience, first by attending, several years, at your valuable Institution, and by witnessing hospital practice in London; next while engaged as Visiting Assistant to an able surgeon in an extensive mining district; and lastly at the Wolverhampton Dispensary. I ask no favour in consideration of my father's long - and may I venture to add? - faithful - gratuitous services; being persuaded that you will be guided in your choice of his successor, by regard to the interests of the charity alone. Under this conviction, I shall consider it a truly honorable distinction to become the object of your choice; and, by a humane and assiduous discharge of the duties of the important trust, will endeavour to convince you I am grateful. I have the honor to subscribe myself, my Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen, Your obedient humble servant, Robert Hughes, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, London. [This is the full letter] [STS:ADV]
- (19 Jan 1833) TO THE TRUSTEES OF THE STAFFORDSHIRE COUNTY GENERAL INFIRMARY ... [solicits position of surgeon] ... Having been a pupil for five years to your valuable Institution ... Henry Fowke [M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.] [STS:ADV]
- (19 Jan 1833) TO THE TRUSTEES OF THE STAFFORDSHIRE COUNTY GENERAL INFIRMARY ... As my duties at the Infirmary preclude me from the advantages of personal canvass for the vacant situation of Surgeon ... [one candidate] supported by the recommendation of his father and brother (both of them Surgeons to this Institution) ... I am thirty-two years of age and have been seventeen years in the Profession, viz: five years as an apprentice - two full sessions occupied in professional studies in London; during which I attended the practice of the Middlesex Hospital for twelve months; three years a Visiting Assistant and I have been eight years Resident House Surgeon &c in the Infirmary ... I have not, it is true, obtained a Diploma from the College of Surgeons ... pecuniary considerations alone prevented the acquisition ... late Dr Somerville when surgeon, and the late Mr Ward possessed not a Diploma ... nor were the following Surgeons to your Infirmary ... Messrs Wright, Adams, Fieldhouse, Wetwood and Fowke nor was Mr Richard Hughes when first appointed ... Thomas Farmer Kemsey House Surgeon Infirmary Jan 18th 1833 ... [there follow endorsements etc] [A postscript adds "By the 72nd Rule of the Infirmary Mr Hughes becomes Consulting Surgeon and Surgeon Extraordinary to the Institution, on his resignation of his office of surgeon] [STS:ADV]
- (29 Oct 1836) Staffordshire General Infirmary 20th Oct 1836 Weekly Board Mr Somerville having this day resigned his situation as HOUSE APOTHECARY and SECRETARY of the General Infirmary notice ... election. 4 Jan 1837 ... applications as HOUSE SURGEON[SIC] ETC ... from John Morris Rogers, Hough Cottage, Stafford 28 Oct 1836 and Edward Selleck Hare [STS:ADV]
- (10 Oct 1838) On the 28th ult, Edward Selleck Hare Esq. House Surgeon of the General Infirmary, Stafford, aged 26. We deeply regret to have to announce the premature death of Mr Hare from typhus fever of a most virulent kind taken from a patient in the Fever Ward of the infirmary. Mr Hare's scientific attainments were of the highest order and gave promise of a brilliant professional career. ... The deceased was the second son of the late James Hare Esq of Wormsley Grange in this county. [Hereford Times]
- (20 Oct 1838) STAFFORDSHIRE GENERAL INFIRMARY General Quarterly Board ... Dr Harland ... physician ... [his diploma was] a foreign one ... should obtain a license from the College of Physicians ... the late House Surgeon and secretary Mr Hare had received £120 out of which he had himself paid £20 to a dispenser ... [new salary to be] £120 and £20 to the Dispenser ... [House Surgeon] three candidates [with number of votes] Mr Barrett [31], Mr Crump [80] and Mr Fletcher [31]. ... Mr Broxham, Mr Hare's dispenser, was then formally appointed, with a salary of £20 per annum. [STS:ADV]
- (6 Jan 1844) Staffordshire General Infirmary ... house-surgeon ... election 10 Jan ... [STS:ADV]
- (30 Oct 1847) STAFFORDSHIRE GENERAL INFIRMARY ... Richard Hughes ...resignation ... surgeon ... last 31 years ... [to continue as] consulting surgeon ... his handsome present of upwards of 300 volumes of valuable books towards the formation of a medical library ... [STS:ADV]
- (27 Jan 1849) [Staffordshire General Infirmary House Surgeon] Mr George Bellasis Masfen, 153 votes, Mr William Martin [45 votes], Warren Fincham [resigned]
- (1 Nov 1851) Staffordshire General Infirmary. The munificent donation of upwards of two hundred volumes has just been presented to the Library ... by Henry Crump esq of Albrighton including the collection of the late George Crump esq formerly house surgeon ... [STS:ADV]
- (12 Jun 1852) STAFFORDSHIRE GENERAL INFIRMARY candidates for House Surgeon & Secretary ... David Henry Monckton M.B. and Mr William Webb ... Geo. Bellasis Masfen, Secretary [STS:ADV]
- (19 Jun 1852) STAFFORDSHIRE GENERAL INFIRMARY [elected] William Webb [STS:ADV]
- (17 Jun 1854) STAFFORDSHIRE GENERAL INFIRMARY ... House Surgeon and Secretary ... resignation of Dr Webb ... R. Hall Bakewell [appointed] [STS:ADV]
- (1854/5) STAFFORDSHIRE GENERAL INFIRMARY House Surgeon and Secretary wanted. ... resignation of R. Hall Bakewell ... [candidates] required to be unmarried and Members of one of the Royal Colleges of Surgeons of London, Edinburgh, or Dublin and legally qualified apothecaries. ... The salary will be £100. Furnished apartments, together with coals, gas, washing, and board will be provided by the Institution. [Special appeal regarding Rules 43 & 44] dated Dec 21, 1854 [ORIGINAL LOST]
- (13 Jan 1855) STAFFORDSHIRE GENERAL INFIRMARY ... House Surgeon and Secretary ... candidates James Earl Moreton and E.L. Jacob ... election on January 23rd 1855 [STS:ADV]
- (18 Oct 1856) STAFFORDSHIRE GENERAL INFIRMARY resignation of Mr Moreton ... offer myself as a candidate for the House Surgency[sic] ... Edward Francis Weston [STS:ADV]
- (10 Apr 1858) STAFFORDSHIRE GENERAL INFIRMARY office of House Surgeon and Secretary vacant by the resignation of Mr Weston ... The salary will be £100 for the first year. etc etc. ... E.F. Weston [STS:ADV]
- (1859) Staffordshire General Infirmary. Wanted a Head Nurse for the Male Department ... Salary £20 per annum ... Thomas P. Smith M.B. House Surgeon ... Nov 25th 1859 [STS:ADV]
- (14 Apr 1860) Staffordshire General Infirmary ... Physician Dr Knight ... Surgeon Dr Masfen ... Thomas P. Smith M.B. House Surgeon and Secretary
- (28 Jun 1862) Stafford County Infirmary ... death of Dr Knight ... candidate Henry Day [STS:ADV]

(23 Jan 1864) [STAFFORDSHIRE GENERAL INFIRMARY] January 22 ... Physician Dr Wollaston ... Surgeon Mr Weston ... House Surgeon Mr C.H. Greaves

(30 Aug 1865) ... death of Dr Wollaston ... was a few years ago appointed one of the physicians to the South Staffordshire Hospital ... upon the resignation of Topham ... for about two years ... moved to Stafford ... Physician to the Staffordshire Infirmary ... visiting physician Coton Hill [WTON:CHR]

(1867) In Staffordshire General Infirmary there are four male and four female beds for venereal cases and these are frequently not filled especially the female ones [The Medical Press and Circular (1867) p336]

(3 Dec 1870) Staffordshire General Infirmary ... honorary surgeon in place of Mr Robert Hughes who had resigned ... two candidates Mr H.T. Lomax (52 votes) and Dr Cookson (18) and Mr. C.H. Greaves (retired from the contest) ... [STS:ADV]

(1882) Mr Weston surgeon to the Staffordshire General Infirmary informs me that there were formerly four beds for patients of each sex in their lock wards. He adds, the beds are rarely occupied. Frederick W. Lowndes: Lock hospitals and lock wards in general hospitals (1882)

F5.3 Pottery Dispensary (1802-1819)

The Pottery Dispensary, sometimes styled the North Staffordshire Dispensary, was built in the vicinity of Etruria and Shelton in Stoke-upon-Trent and opened in 1802. It was succeeded in 1819 by the North Staffordshire Infirmary built in the same district. A good account of both bodies is given in *Staffordshire and Warwickshire past and present. Vol. I.* which was published in or about 1875²³⁸.

At the request of Edward Powys (Perpetual Curate of Cheddleton) 1754-1819 and W.H. Coyney a meeting was held on 28 Jul 1802, at the "Swan Inn", Hanley "for the purpose of taking into consideration the expediency of establishing a Medical Dispensary and A Ward for the reception of fever patients". Seventeen local gentlemen attended and formed a committee to take matters forward.

The North Staffordshire Infirmary, the most important and the most purely benevolent in North Staffordshire, if not in the whole county, had its origin in the year 1802. On July 6 of that year the Rev. Edward Powys and W. H. Coyney called a meeting for the establishment of a dispensary and house of recovery, necessitated by the mortality from epidemical disease then prevalent amongst the poor, arising from the privation which they are described as having undergone 'during late severe times'. [Langford (1875)]

(31 Jul 1802) At a meeting held at the Swan Inn at Hanley this 28th day of July 1802 for the purpose of taking into consideration the expediency of establishing a Medical Dispensary and A Ward for the reception of fever patients Walter Sneyd Esq in the chair It was resolved First, That such an institution will be highly beneficial to the neighbourhood, Second, That it must be supported by the subscription of individuals, parishes and societies, Third, That at a committee be formed ... eligibility of erecting or hiring a building suitable for the purpose [etc etc] Present: John E. Heathcote, W. Sneyd. in the chair, Edward Powys, W.H. Coyney, James Bent, Josiah Spode, D. Whalley jun., Gregory Hickman, John Robinson, John Warburton, John Turner, Ralph Stevenson, W.H. Smallwood, Thomas Breck, Thomas Byerley, F.H. Northern, George Steedman. [STS:ADV]

A further meeting was held on 22 Oct 1802 when two physicians and four surgeons were appointed. There were by then over one hundred subscribers.

(6 Nov 1802) MEDICAL DISPENSARY & HOUSE OF RECOVERY In the Potteries and Neighbourhood. At an adjourned meeting of the subscribers held at the Swan Inn, Hanley, October 22d 1802 ... [resolved to purchase a field] ... appointment of officers ... President: Walter Sneyd ... Vice-presidents: Sir John Edensor Heathcote, Rev. Edward Powys, Rev. William Robinson; Josiah Wedgwood; James Bent ... The Committee: [12 men] ... Treasurers: Messrs J. Wedgwood & Byerley ... The following physicians and surgeons, viz: F.H. Northern M.D., John Robinson M.D., James Bent Esq, Mr Bernard Combe, Mr W.H. Smallwood, Mr George Wood. Being present at this meeting in pursuance of a request made to the medical gentleman of the neighbourhood by the preceding meeting for a declaration of their opinion and having now pledged themselves to attend two days a week at The Dispensary and House of Recovery as soon as erected and fitted up and give their advice and assistance gratuitously to poor patients recommended by subscribers; Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the above names physicians and surgeons for this handsome offer of their services; and that as it would be unreasonable expectation that these gentlemen should contribute both in money and such valuable practical services the sums they have before liberally subscribed ought not to be called for ... Alphabetical list of subscribers ... Anderson Committee £50 ... Etruria, Workmen of the Manufactory £33 ... Henshall & Williamson, workmen of £25 ... Stafford Marquis ... £50 ... [probably over 100 subscribers] [STS:ADV]

The Pottery Dispensary was built on land purchased from Mr Wedgwood near the junction of the Cauldon Canal with the Grand Junction Canal. It is said to have been an ugly building. In 1819 it was succeeded by the North Staffordshire Infirmary and the original building was converted to other purposes.

The dispensary and house of recovery was located on land purchased from Mr. Wedgwood (secundus), near the junction of the Cauldon Canal with the Grand Junction ditto. The ugly building is still standing, but is now in other hands and converted to other purposes. From Mr. Wedgwood also the site, at that time called Wood Hills, of the North Staffordshire Infirmary, into which the first establishment merged, was purchased, both bargains being made on very moderate terms for the purchasers. Both sites were at the time of purchase almost in the country, but both in the course of a few years ceased to be so; and the latter, situated about half a mile to the north of the former, became eventually contiguous to vast smelting furnaces and rolling forges, together with collieries, heaps of calcining ironstone, and the houses of a large population. It was in 1814 that a committee was formed towards adding an infirmary to the dispensary, and very shortly to commence the building of the same. [Langford (1875)]

Officers

The offices of physician and surgeon to the Pottery Dispensary were initially unpaid and so honorary and probably continued thus. In 1815 governance of the Dispensary may have passed to the North Staffordshire Infirmary. The two physicians and four surgeons continued in duty moving to the new building in 1819.

²³⁸ Hereafter Langford (1875). The account is reproduced in full in §Y.1875.

Physician

There were positions for two physicians at a time. When James Bent died in 1812 his son Richard Bent was appointed as his successor apparently without a relevant qualification. He resigned two years later in 1814.

Francis Hickin Northen M.D. 1771-1861	1802-1815
John Robinson M.D. 1777-1837	1802-1805
James Bent M.D. 1741-1812	1805-1812
Richard Bent M.D. 1778-1839	1812-1814
Henry Stephens Belcombe M.D. c1790-1856	1814-1815

Surgeon

There were positions for four surgeons at a time.

James Bent [M.D.] 1742-1812	1802-1805
Robert Bentley surgeon 1778-1822	1805-1815
Bernard Coombe surgeon c1757-1833	1802-1815
William Hassells Smallwood surgeon c1768-1826	1802-1815
George Wood surgeon c1776-1846	1802-1815

(11 Jan 1806) Monthly report of the Pottery Dispensary for December [1805]. Admitted 27, discharged 48, inoculated with vaccine virus 30, remaining upon the books 110. [STS:ADV]

(1 Aug 1812) To the Subscribers to the Pottery Dispensary and House of Recovery, Gentlemen, I ... offering myself for the situation of Physician ... vacant by the death of Dr. Bent ... Henry Stephens Belcombe [STS:ADV]

(8 Aug 1812) Pottery Dispensary and House of Recovery ... candidate ... physician Richard Bent ... Basford Aug 6th 1812 [STS:ADV]

(1812) In 1812, on the decease of Dr. J. Bent, his son, Dr. Richard Bent, was elected physician, the unsuccessful candidate being Dr. W. S. Belcombe, who, however, on the resignation of Bent in 1814, got the appointment. [Langford (1875)]

(30 Apr 1814) Pottery Dispensary and House of Recovery ... candidate ... physician ... resignation of Dr Bent ... H.S. Belcombe Newcastle-under-Lyme [STS:ADV]

(15 Feb 1823) Mrs Heath widow of Mr Heath late Surgeon of the Pottery Dispensary ... commence practice as a midwife in Stafford ... [STS:ADV]

[NOTE: This man has not been traced]

F5.4 North Staffordshire Infirmary (1819-....)

The North Staffordshire Infirmary was built at Shelton in Stoke-upon-Trent "on a gentle eminence between Etruria and Cobridge" and opened in 1819 as a successor to the Pottery Dispensary. A good account of both bodies is given in *Staffordshire and Warwickshire past and present. Vol. I.* which was published in or about 1875²³⁹. Unusually among the subscribers were many ordinary workmen.²⁴⁰

Earlier on 18 Nov 1814 a meeting had been held at the "Swan Inn", Hanley "to consider the propriety of adding an infirmary, to the present dispensary for the Potteries and Neighbourhood". Work had already commenced on the building when on 6 Jul 1816 a ceremonial corner-stone was laid. The completed building was inspected by the governors on 24 Apr 1819 and is said to have opened on 5 May 1819 with accomodation for 70 patients.

Report and resolutions adopted at a meeting held at the Swan Inn, Hanley, November 18, 1814, to consider the propriety of adding an infirmary, to the present dispensary for the Potteries and Neighbourhood. Smith, printer, Newcastle. [a pamphlet]

(14 Jan 1815) NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE INFIRMARY A General Meeting of the subscribers and of all persons who wish to promote the establishment will be held at the Market Hall in Hanley on Thursday next, the 26th instant. [STS:ADV]

The dispensary and house of recovery was located on land purchased from Mr. Wedgwood (secundus), near the junction of the Cauldon Canal with the Grand Junction ditto. The ugly building is still standing, but is now in other hands and converted to other purposes. From Mr. Wedgwood also the site, at that time called Wood Hills, of the North Staffordshire Infirmary, into which the first establishment merged, was purchased, both bargains being made on very moderate terms for the purchasers. Both sites were at the time of purchase almost in the country, but both in the course of a few years ceased to be so; and the latter, situated about half a mile to the north of the former, became eventually contiguous to vast smelting furnaces and rolling forges, together with collieries, heaps of calcining ironstone, and the houses of a large population. It was in 1814 that a committee was formed towards adding an infirmary to the dispensary, and very shortly to commence the building of the same. [Langford (1875)]

(6 Jul 1816) Ceremony of laying the corner-stone of the North Staffordshire Infirmary. On Wednesday morning, ... [order] Band of Music; Masonic Lodges; Sir J.E. Heathcote; The Architect, Mr Potter; The Surveyor, Mr Wincks; The Building Committee; The Medical Establishment; The General Committee; the Workmen. ... The Plate bears the following inscription: NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE INFIRMARY THIS STONE WAS LAID BY SIR JOHN EDENSOR HEATHCOTE, KNIGHT AS PROXY FOR THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF STAFFORD K.G. PATRON JULY 3 A.D. M.DCCC.XVI BENEDICTUS-BENEDICAT ... The building is already proceeded in as far as the basement story, and it is to be covered in by the 15th of November next. [STS:ADV]

(1818) ... on a gentle eminence between Etruria and Cobridge is the North Staffordshire Infirmary newly-erected and handsome piece of building every way adapted to the purposes of such a benevolent Establishment. It was projected about three years since by the leading gentlemen and manufacturers of the neighbourhood whose exertions were seconded by the munificent donations of noble and opulent individuals and the subscriptions of the manufacturers, tradesmen and others in the vicinity. His Royal Highness the Prince Regent gave £500 and the late John Rogers esq of the Watlands bequeathed the princely legacy of £1,000 to the Institution. The workmen belonging to the different manufactories in the Potteries contribute to the funds of the Institution by a small deduction from their weekly earnings proportioned to the number of children and the amount of wages of each individual. The Marquis of Stafford is Patron. [Parsons (1818) xxxiv]

(24 Apr 1819) Special General Meeting ... 2nd. That the governors ... having inspected the different Wards, &c. of the North Staffordshire Infirmary, are fully satisfied with manner in which the Committee in general, and the Building and Furnishing Committees in particular, have discharged the trust reposed in them ... [STS:ADV]

(5 May 1819) ... the building was opened for the reception of the forty in-patients. It had a total accommodation for some 70 patients. [Internet, unsorted]

(1851) The North Staffordshire Infirmary is a similar institution to the general hospitals at Stafford and Wolverhampton. It is a spacious brick building, on an open and elevated site, in Shelton, and has accommodations for about 100 in-patients; having been considerably enlarged since its commencement in 1815, when a liberal subscription was raised for its foundation, to which the Prince Regent, afterwards George IV., gave £500, and the late John Rogers, Esq., left £1,000. It has often as many as 60 in-patients at one time, and receives more than 700 during the-

²³⁹ Hereafter Langford (1875). The account is reproduced in full in §Y.1875.

²⁴⁰ See A. Tomkins "The excellent example of the working class: Medical welfare, contributory funding and the North Staffordshire Infirmary from 1815" in *Social History Of Medicine* 21:1 p13-30. The author suggests that the North Staffordshire Infirmary was probably the first hospital to obtain workers' contributions (or 'establishment' funds) on a mass scale. [unseen]

year, besides administering relief to about 5,000 out-patients. The average annual expenditure of this useful charity is upwards of £2,000, and its annual subscriptions yield about £1,600 per annum. It has received many liberal donations and legacies, and has upwards of £2,500 three and a half per cent, stock. The Duke of Sutherland is patron, and C. B. Lawton, Esq., president. Drs. Northen, Wilson, and Wood are the physicians; Messrs. James Spark, Daniel Ball, S. M. Turner, and Robert Garner, the surgeons; William G. Dalgairns, house surgeon; Isaac Bragge, secretary; Mr. Frederick Ruffe, dispenser; and Eliz. Cotton, matron. [White]

At the establishment of the infirmary in 1815 the subscriptions amounted to £991/4/6 and the establishment ditto to £745/2/3½. In the following year an accumulating fund, amounting in 1871 to £13,371/8/2, was commenced, principally at the instigation of John Tomlinson, a gentleman who more than once received the thanks of the governors for his energetic assistance. The interest of this fund will be available only when the principal amounts to (say) £20,000, that amount, however, depending upon the amount of interest. The accumulation at present is slow, the principal being in consols, and £2,000 having been, a year or two back, appropriated towards the erection of the present infirmary, for such a sum could be drawn under such contingency on the funds reaching the amount of £10,000. Though the arrangement is a very prospective mode of charity, yet the fund has accrued more rapidly than its originator promised. Funds for the erection of the stone portico of the infirmary (being a separate subscription), were collected principally by Mr. Tomlinson. In 1817 £550 was received from the trustees of And. Newton, of Lichfield; also a legacy of £1,000 from J. Rogers; about 1828, £500 from Alice Daniel; and £300 from Dean Woodhouse, the author of the work on the Apocalypse, who coupled his gift, however, as churchmen's benefits often are, with certain conditions. The lady appears to have been a less orthodox individual than the dean, for she and her brother are interred in a field at Endon a very pleasant spot, nevertheless; £500 came in also from Josiah Spode. In 1834 £744/5/0 was received from an oratorio at Stoke Church.; 1856, £500 from T. H. Parker (by will); 1858, £1,000 from J. Crowther, of Wednesbury (ditto); 1864, £988/13/3 from J. Mayer (ditto); 1865, £500 from T. Wedgwood (ditto). In 1818 the establishment subscriptions amounted only to £196/12/8½, so that in the following year an appeal to the workmen was issued; in fact, at that time the funds seem to have been almost at zero. The appeal produced a good effect, and the increase in governors' subscriptions has been from £925/4/0 in 1839 to £1,842/23/0 in 1870, and in establishment ditto from £735/1/8½ to £2704/8/0, the latter making the institution almost the property of the wage men — a feature peculiar to it and liable to be abused, but upon the whole beneficial to it and them. [Langford (1875)]

The 1851 Census has a record of the North Staffordshire Infirmary at Mill Street, Shelton. The occupants are headed by William G. Dalgairns (then House Surgeon) and, second, George Utermarck "student in medicine" (both of whom were born in Guernsey). They are followed by about 95 staff and patients.

In 1866 a foundation stone was laid for a new Infirmary at Hartshill which was opened on 15 Dec 1869.

But whatever deference may be paid to the above sentiments, the new infirmary is now a reality. We shall not say how the necessary funds have been raised. Honour to those who have made noble individual donations; to those who so zealously carried out that hackneyed but sometimes productive thing, a bazaar — in this case, though unpatronized by the nobility, raising £3,073/11/9; to those (principally workpeople) who laid down purses to the amount of £1,441 before our young prince and princess on the occasion of laying the foundation stone in 1866. It was opened by the duchess of Sutherland, December 15, 1869. [Langford (1875)]

Officers

In 1815 governance of the Pottery Dispensary may have passed to the North Staffordshire Infirmary. The two physicians and four surgeons continued in duty moving to the new building in 1819. Appointments to the offices of physician, surgeon and house surgeon and secretary were made by the governors of the Infirmary and were often hotly contested and sometimes disputed. Some men appointed were sons or other relatives of existing staff. Notices were posted in the *Staffordshire Advertiser* giving details of candidates' careers etc. Some of these follow further below.

Physician

There were positions for two physicians at a time. Most of the physicians lived at Newcastle.

Francis Hickin Northen M.D. 1771-1861	1815-1835
Thomas Davidson M.D. 1794-1839	1835-1836
Edward Wilson M.D. 1803-1858	1836-1858
Wilson Fox M.D. 1831-1887	1858-1861
Augustus Frederick Gooday M.D. 1815-1873	1862-....
Henry Stephens Belcombe M.D. c1790-1856	1815-1824
Richard Bent M.D. 1778-1839	1824-1831
Thomas Mackenzie M.D. c1794-1849	1831-1849
George John Wood M.D. 1816-1862	1849-1862
John Thomas Arlidge F.R.C.P. 1822-1899	1862-....
Charles Orton M.R.C.S. c1840-1913	(1869)

Surgeon

Initially there were positions for four surgeons at a time but on the death of William Hassells Smallwood in 1826 these were reduced to three. From 1822 it was required that Surgeons be qualified M.R.C.S. (or equivalent). On leaving office most of these men were made Surgeon Extraordinary.

Robert Bentley surgeon 1778-1822	1815-1822
Thomas Gorton Coombe surgeon 1792-1835	1822-1835
Daniel Ball F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1799-1895	1835-1859
Bernard Coombe surgeon c1757-1833	1815-1827
James Spark F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1798-1872	1827-1850
Robert Garner M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1808-1890	1850-....
William Hassells Smallwood of Hanley surgeon c1768-1826 [not replaced]	1815-1826
George Wood surgeon c1776-1846	1815-1839
Joshua Seddon of Longdon [M.D.] 1797-1862	1839-1846
Samuel Mayer Turner M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1818-1864	1846-1859
Joseph Walker M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1806-1875	1859-1869
William Henry Folker of Hanley M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1827-....	1859-1864

House Surgeon & Secretary

From 1815 the offices of House Surgeon & Secretary appear to have been combined but by 1841 there was a separate Secretary. Both offices were salaried. In 1848 it was decided that the starting salary of the House Surgeon should be £100 with possible increases to £150. For

some reason the starting salary in 1853 was only £70 but with annual increases of £10. By 1853 all candidates were required to be qualified both M.R.C.S. and L.S.A.

House Surgeon & Secretary

Thomas Woolrich surgeon [? 1782-1851]	?1815-1818
William Lamb surgeon c1788-1821	?1818-?1820
Joshua Seddon [M.D.] 1797-1862	1820-1836
Hugh Davies M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1809-1891	1836-1840

House Surgeon

Samuel Mayer Turner M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1818-1864	1841-1844
Stephen Shute Alford F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1821-1881	1844-1846
John William Harris Mackenzie M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1824-1899	1846-1847

William Guille Dalgairns M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. ?1822-1879	a1849-1853
John Alcock	....-1859
Charles Parsons	1859-....
Charles Orton M.R.C.S. c1840-1913	(1863)-1864
William Dunnett Spanton F.R.C.S. 1840-1922	1864-....

(7 Nov 1818) NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE INFIRMARY ... gratuity of ten guineas be presented to Mr Thomas Woolrich the late House Surgeon and Secretary [STS:ADV]

(16 Jun 1821) Lately at Stockport in the prime of life Mr Lamb surgeon of that place. He formerly practised at Leek ... and subsequently ... House Surgeon to the North Staffordshire Infirmary [STS:ADV]

(9 Nov 1822) North Staffordshire Infirmary ... AGM Friday 15 Nov ... [Surgeon] No person is eligible to the office who does not produce to the Committee a Certificate of being a Member of the Colleg of Surgeons, of either London, Dublin, Edinburgh or Glasgow ... James Spark, T G Coombe, W P Crewe apply [STS:ADV] with further detail

(30 Oct 1824) NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE INFIRMARY On Wednesday a meeting of the governors ... Since the first establishment of the Pottery Dispensary ... only vacancies in the gratuitous medical department [caused by death] ... early ... loss of an experienced physician and afterwards of a skilful surgeon ... [retirement of Belcombe who served] ... ten years ... came into the neighbourhood an unfriended stranger ... [proposals for] Dr Bent ... the opportunities he had enjoyed under his late father and subsequently at Edinburgh ... [had worked at] Macclesfield Infirmary ... Dr Mackenzie ... pupil of the celebrated Dr Thomson of Edinburgh and that accompanied by that gentleman had visited a great part of the continental hospitals with a view to professional improvement. ... Poll Dr Bent 62 ... Dr Mackenzie 57 ... next general meeting [proposal for] additional physician. [STS:ADV]

(14 Oct 1826) NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE INFIRMARY ... The resolution you have passed restricting the number of surgeons ... death of Mr Smallwood ... James Spark [STS:ADV]

(8 Sep 1827) Special General Meeting North Staffordshire Infirmary ... on Monday August 13th 1827 ... Mr Bernard Coombe having resigned ... [thanks] long and valuable services from the very foundation of the Dispensary during a period of twenty five years ... [candidates as surgeon, with number of votes] James Spark (73), D. Ball (48), William Crewe (18). [STS:ADV]

(17 Jan 1835) Special General Meeting of the North Staffordshire Infirmary held January 8th 1835 to elect a physician in the place of Dr Northen [who had served thirty years[sic]] who has resigned ... Dr Thomas Davidson was unanimously elected the other candidate Dr Speed Frowd having withdrawn his name [STS:ADV]

(20 Aug 1836) Special General Meeting of the North Staffordshire Infirmary held 17 Aug 1836 ... electing a House Surgeon and Secretary in room of Joshua Seddon who has resigned ... [presented] with a gratuity of fifty guineas ... inestimable services and meritorious conduct during a period of twenty years. Candidates: George Warren Watts Firth, Hugh Davies (44 votes) [elected], Frederic Plant, William Hallam (41 votes), Charles Rowland

(5 Oct 1839) North Staffordshire Infirmary ... Special General Meeting ... 9 Oct ... electing a surgeon in the place of George Wood who has resigned ... Hugh Davies secretary Sept 7th 1839 ... [followed by letters from Robert Garner, J Seddon, Joseph Blunt & George Tait] [STS:ADV]

(12 Oct 1839) Election of Surgeon ... North Staffordshire Infirmary ... in the place of George Wood who had resigned [in office upwards of twenty years] ... four candidates ... Mr Seddon (formerly house surgeon for sixteen years) (120) Mr Blunt details of his medical career (50) Robert Garner details of his medical career (47) George Tait (withdrew) a letter from Mr George Tait, one of the candidates, to the effect that, finding he had no reasonable prospect of success, he was unwilling to give unnecessary trouble, and therefore withdrew his name [STS:ADV]

(12 Dec 1840) North Staffordshire Infirmary ... resignation of Mr Davies ... House Surgeon ... Surgeon's Dresser under Mr Liston at University College Hospital, London [and under] M. Breschot at the Hospital of Hotel Dieu, Paris ... Samuel Mayer Turner ... Newcastle ... Nov 23 1840 [STS:ADV]

(1840) Mr Seldon [recte, Seddon] has been elected one of the surgeons to the North Staffordshire Infirmary in the room of George Wood Esq. resigned [Medical Times 1 p37]

(2 Jan 1841) [election of house surgeon North Staffordshire Infirmary] Mr S.M. Turner 116 votes; Mr [Edmund] Parkes 41 [STS:ADV]

(8 Mar 1841) North Staffordshire Infirmary ... Isaac Bragge, Secretary [STS:ADV]

(28 Oct 1843) North Staffordshire Infirmary ... J. Bragge, Secretary [STS:ADV]

(1 Aug 1846) ... resignation of Mr Seddon as one of the surgeons of the North Staffordshire Infirmary ... [candidate Charles Thomas Davenport] ... [candidate Samuel Mayer Turner] on my retirement from the duties of House Surgeon ... for a period of four years ... [candidate for House Surgeon; John. W.H. Mackenzie [STS:ADV]

(8 Aug 1846) North Staffordshire Infirmary ... [resignations] Mr Seddon ... first as house surgeon for 15 years and since as one of the honorary surgeons ... relinquishing practice and leaving the neighbourhood through ill health. Simultaneously ... Mr Alford the house surgeon elected two years ago ... undertaken a general practice in the metropolis ... [house surgeon appointed] J.H. Mackenzie late of Wigan Dispensary and a relative of Dr. Mackenzie senior physician ... [honorary surgeon candidates, number of votes] ... Samuel Mayer Turner (134) of Newcastle who was Mr Alford's predecessor in the house and Charles Thomas Davenport (49) son and partner of Mr Davenport of Tunstall ... [STS:ADV]

(23 Oct 1847) North Staffordshire Infirmary ... vacancy ... Mr Mackenzie house surgeon and apothecary ... [application] James Yates, Eccleshall ... Oct 18 1847 [STS:ADV]

(23 Oct 1847) North Staffordshire Infirmary ... vacancy ... house surgeon ... A few years ago I was assistant surgeon to the Institution for 12 months ... Richard Joule London 18th Oct 1847 [STS:ADV]

(30 Oct 1847) North Staffordshire Infirmary ... election of house surgeon and apothecary advertised to take place on the 9th of December next is postponed till further notice ... [STS:ADV]

(1 Jan 1848) North Staffordshire Infirmary ... special general meeting ... revise the rules of the institution ... [suggested that] The House Surgeon to be not less than 26 years of age and of at least three years practice To be the Master of the House; Steward as well as Surgeon; and accountable for its good order; with a salary of £100 per annum and to be raised £10 per year till it reach £150 ... [very long account of previous problems and debate on changes] ... Mr Bragge [was] secretary [had] acted as a house steward [was not house surgeon] ... decided that house surgeon salary should be £100 with committee able to raise it to £150 ... [STS:ADV]

(8 Jan 1848) North Staffordshire Infirmary ... vacancy ... [candidate] George Ashdown [STS:ADV]

(12 Feb 1848) North Staffordshire Infirmary ... vacancy ... house surgeon ... [candidate] Charles Girdlestone ... East India Dock, London Feb 9th 1848 [STS:ADV]

1849 ... John Warburton Moseley (both apply) ... George John Wood

(3 Nov 1849) NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE INFIRMARY ... [Report] Annual Meeting ... [much detail] ... passed a high compliment upon the efficiency of Mr Dalgairns the hous surgeon ... [STS:ADV]

(7 Sep 1850) [NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE INFIRMARY] ... office of Honorary Surgeon [vacant] by the resignation of Mr Spark ... [the following offer their services] John Harrison M.R.C.S.L and L.A.S.L.; Joseph Walker Burslem; James Dale Hanley; Walter Scott; etc etc

(7 Sep 1850) [NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE INFIRMARY] ... office of Honorary Surgeon [vacant] ... My partner Mr Spark having resigned ... already acted for two years as Honorary Surgeon to the Lowestoft Infirmary ... Walter Scott ... Newcastle-under-Lyme Sept. 3rd 1850 [unsuccessful] [STS:ADV]

(2 Nov 1850) NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE INFIRMARY Surgeon Robert Garner elected ... since he became a resident in the Potteries Mr Garner had for nine years been one of the parochial surgeons of Stoke, and during the late visitation of cholera, when two of the nurses died at the workhouse, he was unremitting in his attention to the patients ... [STS:ADV]

(15 Jan 1853) NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE INFIRMARY, ETRURIA The Office of HOUSE SURGEON to this Institution will be VACANT by the resignation of Mr. W.G. Dalgairns on the 25th of March next. Candidates may send their testimonials ... They must be Member of the College of Surgeons of London, Dublin, Edinburgh or Glasgow and Licentiate of the the Apothecaries' Company, London. The salary will be £70 for the first year with an annual increase of £10 ... J. Bragge, Secretary [STS:ADV]

(12 May 1855) NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE INFIRMARY ... condolence to Mrs Bragge in her bereavement ... fourteen years [service] late secretary

(12 May 1855) NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE INFIRMARY ... George H. Morewood, Secretary [STS:ADV]

(26 Jun 1858) [NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE INFIRMARY] ... electing a physician in the room of the late Dr Wilson ... for twenty-two years he had taken a very active and useful part ... Admiral Mainwaring proposes Dr Gooday ... F. Wedgwood proposed Dr Wilson Fox ... [poll] Dr Fox 210 ... Dr Gooday 49 ...

(15 Jan 1859) NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE INFIRMARY ... election of two surgeons to fill up the vacancies caused by the resignations of Mr Ball and Mr Turner ... [candidates] William Henry Folker ... Joseph Walker ... W. Haslam Davis ... John Swift Walker ... Michael Ryan M.D. ... [STS:ADV]

(12 Feb 1859) NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE INFIRMARY surgeons ... Joseph Walker & William Henry Folker [elected] ... [STS:ADV]

(21 May 1859) [NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE INFIRMARY] ... resignation of Mr Alcock ... house surgeon ... [candidates] Richard Whish Brigstokk ... Charles Parsons ... Henry Barber [STS:ADV]

(30 Jul 1859) [NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE INFIRMARY] Physician and surgeon for the week Dr Wood and Mr Folker; House Surgeon Mr Charles Parsons

(14 Apr 1860) North Staffordshire Infirmary ... Physician Dr Wilson Fox ... Surgeon Mr Garner ... House Surgeon Charles Parsons [STS:ADV] ... Secretary R. Hordley

(12 Apr 1862) [NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE INFIRMARY] Election of two physicians ... death of Dr Wood ... resignation of Dr Wilson Fox (who has been appointed Professor of Pathological Anatomy at University College, London) ... [applicant] Robert Hutchinson Powell [STS:ADV]

(17 May 1862) On Thursday morning last a special meeting ... North Staffordshire Infirmary ... two vacancies in the office of physician occasioned by the death of Dr Wood and the resignation of Dr Wilson Fox ... The candidates were Dr Augustus Frederick Gooday of Newcastle; Dr J.T. Arlidge, Physician to the West of London Hospital and Dr Robert H. Powell, Physician to the Chester General Infirmary ... [Gooday] had resided at Newcastle some ten or twelve years ... had occupied a very important office in the East India Company's service and that he left India solely on account of his life having been placed in jeopardy by the climate. He then practised successfully in France from which country however he was after a time driven by the Revolution of 1848 ... [poll; Gooday, 130; Arlidge, 177; Powell, 48. Dr Arlidge therefore became the senior physician to the Infirmary.

(14 Mar 1863) [NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE INFIRMARY] House Surgeon Mr C. Orton

(23 Jan 1864) [NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE INFIRMARY] January 19 ... Physician Dr Arlidge ... Surgeon Mr Folker ... House Surgeon Mr C Orton [STS:ADV]

(27 Nov 1869) North Staffordshire Infirmary: Mr Joseph Walker having found it necessary and we regret to say mainly on the ground of health to resign his office as hon. surgeon has been appointed a surgeon extraordinary to the institution with a high sense on the part of the committee of the value of Mr Walker's past services. Mr Spanton has been appointed ... in his room [Staffordshire Sentinel]

F5.5 Wolverhampton Dispensary (1821-1848)

A public meeting was held in Wolverhampton on 9 April 1821 at which a committee was formed to establish a dispensary. A building at 46 Queen Street was acquired and Wolverhampton Dispensary was opened on 10 July 1821 to serve the medical and surgical needs of the poor; there were six beds for in-patients. An extension in 1826 added 14 more beds and another in 1833 added 16 further beds for casualties. The Dispensary closed on 31 December 1848. The following day it was succeeded by the South Staffordshire Hospital to which the serving physician, some surgeons and the house surgeon were transferred.²⁴¹

The physicians and surgeons seem to have contributed their services free of charge but the house surgeons were paid a salary. In 1824 this was £100 per annum "with a house, coals and candle" but by 1842 had reduced to £80 per annum.

(5 Jan 1820) John Freer Proud has a letter published in the Wolverhampton Chronicle mentioning the great sickness amongst the poor owing to hard times. [Parker (WD)]

(4 Apr 1821) Wolverhampton Dispensary: Endeavours are making to establish a Dispensary in this town, and a meeting of the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood who are disposed to support it, is appointed to be held at the Public Offices on Monday next. The advantage of such an institution to a populous district like this, must be obvious to everyone, and we trust the benevolent design will be speedily carried into effect. Intended Dispensary at Wolverhampton. THE SUBSCRIBERS and those Ladies and Gentlemen who are disposed to support this Institution are requested to meet at the PUBLIC OFFICE on MONDAY APRIL 9th, at Eleven, to take into Consideration the Measures most likely to promote the Design. [Parker (WD) quoting WTON.CHR]

(9 Apr 1821) The meeting was duly held and well attended, with Sir John Wrottesley, Bart. in the chair. It was decided that it would be highly desirable to establish such an institution in Wolverhampton and to form a provisional committee for the purpose of collecting subscriptions. Members for the County, and Noblemen and Gentlemen in any way connected with the district were asked to support the fund. [Parker (WD) quoting WTON.CHR]

(Apr 1821 on) Further meetings were held in which plans and rules for the Dispensary were drawn up and an advertisement was placed for a resident surgeon and an apothecary. By the middle of May the fund amounted to £483/4/9 and at a meeting of the subscribers at the Swan Hotel it was decided that the Right Hon. Lord Dudley and Ward would be requested to accept the office of President of the Institution and the following gentlemen should be Vice Presidents: E.J. Littlejohn; Sir John Fenton Boughey, Bart.; Sir John Wrottesley, Bart.; Francis Holyoake, Esq.; James Hordern, Esq.; Richard Fryer, Esq. Sir John Wrottesley, Bart. and Francis Holyoake, Esq. were requested to act as treasurers, Dr. Dehane and Dr. Mannix were to be physicians and Mr. Fowke and Mr. Proud, surgeons. Mr. E.H. Coleman was asked to be house surgeon. The choice of Lord Dudley and Ward as President was appropriate because he had contributed large sums of money to the erection of the building and played a considerable part in its affairs. A house was acquired in Queen Street, one of the most important streets in the town and fitted out with six beds for inpatients and made ready for use. [Parker (WD)]

(10 Jul 1821) Wolverhampton Dispensary, the City's first hospital, opened its doors on Tuesday 10th July, 1821 at number 46 Queen Street. It was established to cater for the medical and surgical needs of the poor who could not afford to pay for the service themselves. [Parker (WD)]

(1824) Within three years of opening a larger building was required. A committee consisting of Sir John Wrottesley, Bart.; Rev. W. Leigh; Rev. E. Burton; Mr. Jesson; and Mr. Pearson looked into the matter and at the end of 1824 they recommended that a new dispensary should be erected and completed within a matter of months at an estimated cost of £1,600. Subscriptions for the new building were collected from local nobility and gentry, mainly as a result of the numerous charity balls that were held in the Queen Street Library and News Room. A total of £964 was collected and the building was extended to add a further 14 beds. [Parker (WD)]

²⁴¹ Bev Parker has written an article *Wolverhampton Dispensary* available on the internet. Hereafter - Parker (WD)

(1833) In 1833 the building was again extended at the rear to contain casualty wards due to the increased demand for beds for accident victims. £700 was raised for the extension which gave room for a further 16 beds. By 1838 the resident staff consisted of one Surgeon at £80 per annum, a Matron at £25 per annum, a Dispenser at £50 per annum and a number of servants at £8 each per annum. The number of patients continued to increase and during 1838 an extra 650 people were treated. [Parker (WD)]

(1848) In August 1848 the decision was taken to transfer the Dispensary to the new hospital, which opened its doors on 1st January 1849. The committee at the Dispensary met for the last time in November 1848 and the Dispensary closed on 31st December. On the closure of the Dispensary the building was taken over by John Lees for use as an orphanage and school. It was so successful that in 1854 it moved to large new premises on Goldthorn Hill, where it still stands as the Royal School. The building was later a post office and today houses the Euro Bar. [Parker (WD)]

Physician

Initially two physicians were appointed but subsequently there appears to have only been one position.

John Dehane M.D. 1790-1852	1821-1837
William Mannix M.D. c1797-1873	1821-....
Thomas Ogier Ward M.D. 1803-1879	?1831-1834
William Mannix M.D. c1797-1873 [reappointed]	1834-1837
James Muter Turnbull M.D. c1818-1897	1841-1843
[? vacant]	1843-1845
John Topham M.D. 1821-1887	1845-1848

Surgeon

Initially two surgeons were appointed but from 1843 there appear to have been three appointees. On leaving office many surgeons were appointed as Consulting Surgeons.

Thomas Fowke surgeon ?1775-1854	1821-1834
John Freer Proud surgeon 1783-1846	1821-1834
John Fowke F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1800-1851	1834-1848
George Edwardes F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1808-1859	1834-1843
Edward Francis Dehane F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1804-1869	1843-1848
John Talbot Cartwright M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1810-1872	1843-1848

House Surgeon, Apothecary & Secretary

In 1824 the salary of this office was £100 per annum together with a house, coals and candles. By 1828 this had increased to £112 with the same extras.

Edward Hayling Coleman M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1794-1871	1821-1824
Benjamin Bellin M.R.C.S.,M.S.A. 1797-1868	?1824-1826
Edward Francis Dehane F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1804-1869	?1827-1828
Robert Hughes F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1802-1879	1828-1831
Thomas Williams L.S.A. c1810-....	1831-?1833
James Gatis M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1811-1872	1833-1835
John Simpson Rutter M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1810-1863	1835-1837
Rowland William Maxon L.S.A. 1813-1856	1837-1842
Edward Hadduck M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1821-1888	1843-1844
William Henry Pope L.R.C.P.E. ?1821-1890	1844-1848

(26 Jan 1824) ... House Surgeon ... vacant on the 5th of May next by the resignation of Mr Coleman ... [invites candidates] ... N.B. The Salary is £100 per annum together with a House, Coals and Candle. [Aris's Birmingham Gazette]

(9 Oct 1826) House Surgeon and Apothecary ... Wolverhampton Dispensary ... resignation of Mr Bellin ... B. Bellin, Secretary [Aris's Birmingham Gazette]

(Jul 1826) The new facility opened in July 1826. There is some uncertainty about the architect, who is believed on stylistic grounds to have been William Hollins from Birmingham. [Parker (WD)]

(12 Feb 1828) Wolverhampton Dispensary Physician: Dr Dehane; Surgeon: Mr Fowke [STS:ADV]

(9 Jun 1828) ... House Surgeon and Apothecary and Secretary ... resignation of E.F. Dehane ... Salary £112 per annum with House, Coals and Candles. No private practice is allowed. [Aris's Birmingham Gazette]

(13 Jun 1831) ... House Surgeon, Apothecary and Secretary ... resignation of Mr Robert Hughes ... Salary £100 per annum with House, Coals and Candles. No private practice is allowed. He must remain in the situation at least three years. [Aris's Birmingham Gazette]

(10 Aug 1831) Wolverhampton Dispensary ... August 9 1831 Physician: Mr Ogier Ward; Surgeon Mr Fowke [WTON:CHR]

(26 Jun 1833) Wolverhampton Dispensary ... James Gatis, secretary [WTON:CHR]

(12 Apr 1834) Wolverhampton Dispensary ... to elect two surgeons in the room of Mr Fowke and Mr Proud ... character of Mr John Fowke whom he proposed in the place of Mr Fowke sen. Mr John Fowke's nomination ... his election unanimous [STS:ADV]

(2 Jul 1834) Wolverhampton Dispensary Fourteenth Anniversary Meeting 30 Jun 1834 ... thanks to Dr Dehane and Dr Ward the physicians, to Mr Fowke and Mr Proud, the late surgeons now appointed consulting surgeons; and likewise to Mr John Fowke and Mr Edwardes their successors

(5 Jul 1834) Wolverhampton Dispensary Monday morning last [30 Jun] ... election of a physician ... Mr John Underhill proposed Dr Bell as a fit person to succeed Dr Ward ... Mr J.E. Molineux then proposed Dr Mannix ... Mannix was declared duly elected by a division of 49 to 20. [STS:ADV]

(14 Jul 1835) Wolverhampton Dispensary Physician Dr Mannix, Surgeon Mr Edwardes, House Visitors Mr Lovatt and Mr R Sidney ... Mr Rutter who was last week appointed House Surgeon to this institution was a pupil of F. Hughes Esq of Stafford and not of Mr Masfen as reported. [STS:ADV]

(29 Mar 1836) Wolverhampton Dispensary March 29 1836 ... Physician: Dr Dehane; Surgeon: Mr John Fowke; House Visitors: Mr W. Meller; Mr J. Norton

(5 Jul 1837) Dr Dehane ... [resignation] ... Having held the appointment since the foundation of the institution - a period of sixteen years ... [WTON:CHR]

(5 Jul 1837) Wolverhampton Dispensary ... situation of apothecary and secretary vacant by the resignation of Mr Rutter ... [application by] Thomas Wright M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. Wolverhampton July 3 1837. [WTON:CHR]

(6 Dec 1837) Wolverhampton Dispensary ... December 4 1837 ... Physician Dr Mannix; Surgeon Mr J Fowke; [WTON:CHR]

(27 Dec 1837) Wolverhampton Dispensary ... resignation of Dr Mannix who for many years has held the office of physician ... Mr Fowke and Mr Proud offer to attend to medical cases [WTON:CHR]

(25 Aug 1841) Wolverhampton Dispensary ... August 23 1841 ... Medical Officers for the week: Dr Turnbull and Mr J. Fowke [WTON:CHR]

(29 Jun 1842) Wolverhampton Dispensary ... vacancy in the office of house surgeon ... salary £80 pa ... [WTON:CHR]

(29 Jun 1842) Wolverhampton Dispensary ... meeting to be called for the second of August to elect a House Surgeon vacant by the resignation of Mr R.W. Maxon ... [WTON:CHR]

(7 Jan 1843) Wolverhampton Dispensary Dr Turnbull [STS:ADV]

(7 Jun 1843) The Dispensary. On Monday [30 May 1843] last Mr Edward Hadduck was elected house surgeon to the dispensary, there were six other candidates ... On the same day Mr Edwardes resigned ... in consequence of his intended removal from the town [WTON:CHR]
 (7 Jun 1843) [candidates for surgeon] W. Quinton ... E.H. Coleman ... John Talbot Cartwright, Bilston Street ... E.F. Dehane ... [WTON:CHR]
 (12 Jul 1843) Wolverhampton Dispensary ... office of surgeon vacant ... additional surgeon to be appointed [WTON:CHR]
 (6 Sep 1843) Wolverhampton Dispensary ... Physician: Dr Turnbull; Surgeons: Mr John Fowke, Mr Dehane, Mr T Cartwright [WTON:CHR]
 (7 Sep 1844) Mr William Henry Pope son of T. Pope Esq. of Cleobury Mortimer was on Monday last [2 Sep] elected House Surgeon to the Dispensary and Casualty Hospital, Wolverhampton [Worcester Herald]
 (28 Aug 1844) Wolverhampton Dispensary ... The medical officers attend at the Dispensary on the following days: Mr John Fowke, Wednesday & Saturday; Mr Dehane, Monday and Thursday; Mr J.T. Cartwright, Tuesday & Friday; E. Hadduck, House Surgeon [WTON:CHR]
 (1844) WOLVERHAMPTON [General Dispensary, Wolverhampton] George Edwards, surgeon; John Fowke, surgeon; Thomas Fowke, consulting surgeon; John Freer Proud, consulting surgeon [Transactions of the Provincial Medical Association]
 (19 Dec 1848) Wolverhampton Dispensary ... Medical Officers ... Dr Topham, Mr John Fowke, Mr Dehane, Mr J.T. Cartwright, W.H. Pope, house surgeon December 19 1848

F5.6 South Staffordshire General Hospital (1849-....)

The South Staffordshire General Hospital built on Cleveland Road in 1847-8 opened on 1 Jan 1849 as a successor to the Wolverhampton Dispensary on Queen Street which closed the previous day. The serving physician, two (of the three) surgeons and the house surgeon were transferred from the dispensary to the new hospital. There were beds for more than one hundred in-patients. The physicians and surgeons contributed their services free of charge but the house surgeons were paid a salary.

(1851) SOUTH STAFFORDSHIRE GENERAL HOSPITAL, at Wolverhampton, ranks in magnitude next to that at Stafford, among the three General Infirmaries of this populous county, of which that in the Potteries is the smallest. It is a large and handsome building of red brick, with stone pilasters, columns, and window dressings, &c., and is pleasantly situated on the Cleveland road nearly opposite the New Cattle Market. It has a large extent of garden and pleasure grounds with a tolerable wide street at each end, so that it is permanently secured from being closed in by buildings; a matter of the highest importance for a hospital. It was erected in 1847-8, and is upwards of 200 feet long, and contains accommodation for more than one hundred in-patients. One wing is employed partly as a Dispensary for out-patients, in lieu of the old Dispensary, which was established in Queen street, in 1821 and was supported by annual subscriptions, averaging about £350 per annum; and by legacies and donations, one of which was £500, given towards the erection of the "casualty wards" built in 1833, for 16 in-patients. The funds and subscriptions of the Dispensary have been transferred to the present large and well conducted General Hospital, to which the late Wm. Meller, Esq. left £2,000, in 1850, and Edward Cooke, Esq., £1,000, in 1849. The basement floor is chiefly occupied by the domestic offices, and the ground floor contains a men's fever ward, an accident room, board room, and rooms for the use of the house surgeon, matron, apothecary &c. The second floor is divided into wards, one end for men and the other for women. The rooms, wards, stairhouses, &c., are well lighted and ventilated, and the whole building reflects much credit on the skill of the architect, Mr E. Banks. The building cost about £18,800, including the furniture and fixtures, and £3,820 paid for the site. The Hospital was founded in connexion with the Dispensary, in 1845, under the name of the South Staffordshire General Hospital and Wolverhampton Dispensary. This Samaritan institution, for affording medical and surgical aid to the sick, lame, and infirm poor, of the most populous portion of Staffordshire, is supported chiefly by annual subscriptions and collections, but it is hoped that its permanent fund, arising from legacies and donations, will continue to increase, so that its accommodations for in-patients may be augmented, to meet the wants of the mining districts, where accidents so frequently occur. In December 1849, the Hospital had a reserved fund of £1,076/14/3 three per cent. consols; about £900 in the bank; and 20 shares in the Wolverhampton and Staffordshire Banking Company, but this stock is subject to £38 a year in two life annuities. The average number of in-patients is about 50, and the total number admitted in 1849 was 408, and out-patients 2,858. There are about 600 subscribers to this useful charity, most of whom contribute one or two guineas yearly, and the others larger sums. The Hospital is governed by a board of directors, of whom the Duke of Cleveland is the president. All donors of £100 or upwards are vice-presidents. Mr W.H. Pope is the house surgeon; Mr J.J. Lloyd, apothecary; Mr H.N. Payne, secretary; and Miss Southern, matron. The following medical gentlemen lend their aid gratuitously: J. Topham, M.D., physician; and Messrs. J. Fowke, E.F. Dehane, G. Edwardes, and J. T. Cartwright, surgeons. [White]

The Royal Hospital originated with the foundation of the Wolverhampton Dispensary in 1821 situated in Queen Street. The Dispensary was funded by subscription with the initial amount raised being £483 4s 9d. Its purpose was to afford "medical and surgical relief, with the benefit of vaccination to those poor persons who are unable to purchase medicine and advice for themselves". A Board of Management looked after the administration of the Dispensary. In 1842 the Duke of Cleveland accepted the position of President of the Dispensary. By 1844 it was recognised that the Dispensary was insufficient for the needs of the town and on 1st January 1849 it transferred to the new South Staffordshire General Hospital and Dispensary, situated in Cleveland Road. The building and land (purchased from the Duke of Cleveland) had cost £18,898 and its first president was the Duke of Cleveland until 1867. Eighty beds were provided paid for by a separate fund at a rate of £7 7s per bed. Subscribers had the right to elect the senior medical staff which at the time of opening consisted of a physician, consulting surgeon, three surgeons, house surgeon, matron, and a secretary. A ticket of recommendation was required prior to treatment, which was either obtained by subscription or the subscriber could pass it on to a deserving person. This system remained in force until 1948 causing controversy between doctors, subscribers, and management. In 1861 the rule which excluded treatment in the hospital of children under six years was rescinded. In 1862 a sub-committee was formed and a children's ward was established with special Children's Tickets of Recommendation. In 1869 the age of children admitted to this ward was increased to ten years. [Wolverhampton City Archives]

Physician

Initially there was one physician but in 1852 a second office was created. On leaving office the physician was appointed as consulting physician.

John Topham of Wolverhampton M.D. 1821-1887	1848-1860
Robert Wollaston of Newcastle M.R.C.P. c1801-1865	1860-1862

William Millington of Wolverhampton M.D.	1852-....
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Surgeon

On leaving office many surgeons were appointed as consulting surgeons.

George Edwardes of Wolverhampton F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1808-1859	1849-?1852
Edward Hayling Coleman of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1794-1871	1852-?1865

Edward Francis Dehane of Wolverhampton F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1804-1869	1849-1853
James McMunn of Brewood L.R.C.S.I. c1811-1873	1853-1870

John Talbot Cartwright of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1810-1872	1849-1853
William Henry Pope of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1821-1890	1853-....

Francis Albert Nesbitt of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.	1860-....
James O'Brien Kough of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.	1865-....

House Surgeon, Apothecary & Secretary

William Henry Pope of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1821-1890	1849-1853
Richard Sandford of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1819-1859	1854-1859

Edward Wynne Thomas M.B.	?1859-?1860
Francis Albert Nesbitt of Wolverhampton, Staffs F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1832-1866	1860-....
James O'Brien Kough of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.	....-1865
Robert Hughes M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.	1865-....
Herbert Lumley Snow M.D.	....-1871
Edmund Burton Ravenhill M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.	1871-....
Resident Surgeon	
Thomas Vincent Jackson of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.	?1860-....

Apothecary

J J Lloyd (1851)

(1848) Dr Topham has just been elected physician and Messrs E.F. Dehane, G. Edwardes and J.T. Cartwright surgeons to the South Staffordshire General Hospital [Lancet 2]
 (3 Apr 1852) To the Governors of the South Staffordshire General Hospital and Wolverhampton Dispensary ... [solicits] office of physician ... my professional studies have been pursued in Edinburgh, London, Dublin and Paris ... William Millington M.D. Queen-street, Wolverhampton March 23, 1852. [STS:ADV]
 (17 Apr 1852) Dr Millington elected a second physician [STS:ADV]
 (14 Aug 1852) South Staffordshire General Hospital ... studying in London and attending the hospitals there ... appointed assistant surgeon in the Honourable East India Company's Naval Service and on my return from China became House Surgeon to the Wolverhampton Dispensary ... practised in this town for many years E.H. Coleman Wolverhampton Augst 3rd 1852 [STS:ADV]
 (16 Oct 1852) South Staffordshire General Hospital ... Coleman elected [STS:ADV]
 (21 May 1853) South Staffordshire Hospital. Mr Pope the retiring house surgeon has had a vote of thanks presented to him by a resolution of the directors. Mr Talbot Cartwright surgeon is retiring from the hospital after a connection highly valuable to the institution of ten years ... [STS:ADV]
 (28 May 1853) South Staffordshire General Hospital .. retirement of Mr Dehane having created another vacancy for a surgeon ... [candidates] W.H. Pope ... George Nicholson Smith ... [STS:ADV]
 (29 Jun 1853) South Staffordshire General Hospital ... [elected surgeons] ... W.H. Pope ... J.M'Munn, Darlington Street [WTON:CHR]
 (29 Jun 1853) South Staffordshire General Hospital ... voting for surgeons ... M'Munn 184, Mr Pope 160, Mr White 54 [WTON:CHR]
 (22 Mar 1854) South Staffordshire General Hospital. House Surgeon. [application] Richard Sandford ... having filled a similar situation for four years in the British Hospital at Jerusalem ... Darlington Street, Wolverhampton Feb 7 1854. [WTON:CHR]
 (22 Mar 1854) South Staffordshire General Hospital. House Surgeon. [application] John Butter Ashford M.D. Darlington Street, Wolverhampton Feb 14? 1854
 (19 Apr 1854) [South Staffordshire General Hospital. House Surgeon] ... 11th instant ... resignation of Mr Pope ... Mr Richard Sandford (son of the Rev. H. Sandford of the Isle near Shrewsbury) ... elected [Eddowes's Journal]
 (1859) REPORT The directors of the South Staffordshire General Hospital have to report: ... income £2,334/14/8½ and the disbursements £2,706/3/0¼ ... number of out-patients 5,025 ... in-patients 524 ... thanks to physicians Dr Topham and Dr Millington ... surgeons E.H. Coleman, J. McMunn, and R. Sandford for their valuable and gratuitous service.
 (4 Jan 1860) [South Staffordshire General Hospital] ELECTION OF HOSPITAL SURGEON ... yesterday morning ... three candidates Mr F.H. Nesbitt of this town; Mr T.F. Higgs of New Radnor; Mr W. Croome of Wandsworth Road, London ... [Nesbitt elected unopposed] [WTON:CHR]
 (14 Apr 1860) South Staffordshire General Hospital ... Physician Dr Millington ... Surgeon Mr Nesbitt [STS:ADV]
 (24 Oct 1860) South Staffordshire General Hospital ... election of physician ... Dr Wollaston and Dr Powell ... eligible ... Wollaston elected [WTON:CHR]
 (19 Oct 1861) Vincent Jackson ... resident surgeon to South Staffordshire General Hospital [BMJ]
 (1865) South Staffordshire General Hospital: (elected) Hughes, R M.R.C.S.Eng. house surgeon ... Kough, J. O'Brien M.R.C.S.Eng. surgeon ... Miller John M. M.B.London, physician's assistant [Medical Times & Gazette]
 (30 Aug 1865) ... death of Dr Wollaston ... was a few years ago appointed one of the physicians to the South Staffordshire Hospital ... upon the resignation of Topham ... for about two years ... moved to Stafford ... Physician to the Staffordshire Infirmary ... visiting physician Coton Hill [WTON:CHR]
 (1868) Mr Jackson reports that there are no beds for such cases [venereal] in the South Staffordshire Hospital [Report on the extent of venereal disease - Volume 1 - Page 22]
 (1871) Ravenhill, E.B. appointed house surgeon South Staffordshire General Hospital in the room of H.L. Snow resigned [BMJ]

F6 Royal Navy, Merchant Navy, Army, East India Company and Militia surgeons

F6.1 Introduction; F6.2 Royal Navy surgeons; F6.3 Merchant Navy surgeons; F6.4 Army surgeons; F6.5 East India Company surgeons; F6.6 Militia surgeons

F6.1 Introduction²⁴²

Medical service in the Royal Navy, Merchant Navy, regular army, East India Company and in county militias and volunteers is discussed in the sections below. Some examples of their salaries are given in §G4.

Habit and practice would appear to be that army, navy and East India surgeons and apothecaries on retiring would be considered qualified to continue practice as surgeons or apothecaries in the community at large. *The new apothecaries' act* of 1815 did not provide for this circumstance so that we find in 1825 specific legislation to allow these men to continue practising as apothecaries. Their practice as surgeons was not affected by the 1815 act.

An act to amend and explain an act of the fifty fifth year of his late majesty, for better regulating the practice of apothecaries through England and Wales {6 George IV c133} (6 Jul 1825)

§4. Be it therefore enacted, That every Person who heretofore has held, or who now holds, or hereafter shall hold a Commission or Warrant as Surgeon or Assistant Surgeon in His Majesty's Navy, or as Surgeon or Assistant Surgeon or Apothecary in His Majesty's Army, or as Surgeon or Assistant Surgeon in the Service of the Honorable the East India Company, shall be entitled to practise as an Apothecary in any Part of England or Wales, without having undergone any such Examination, or received any such Certificate, as by the said recited Act of the Fifty fifth Year of the Reign of His late Majesty King George the Third is directed, and without being liable to any Penalty or Disability whatsoever imposed by the said recited Act, on Persons who, not having been in Practice as Apothecaries on the said First Day of August One thousand eight hundred and fifteen, without having been examined, and received Certificates in the Manner directed by the said recited Act, commenced Practice as Apothecaries in any Part of England or Wales and no such Person shall be obliged, in order to recover in a Court of Law any Charges claimed by him as an Apothecary, to prove that he was in Practice as an Apothecary on the said First Day of August One thousand eight hundred and fifteen, otherwise than as holding a Commission or Warrant as Surgeon or Assistant Surgeon in His Majesty's Navy, or as Surgeon or Assistant Surgeon or Apothecary in His Majesty's Army, or as Surgeon or Assistant Surgeon in the Service of the Honorable the East India Company any Thing in the said recited Act contained to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding.

F6.2 Royal Navy surgeons

²⁴² Most of the notes throughout this section are for guidance only.

In 1629 Charles I issued a royal charter regarding the Company of Barber-Surgeons (see §Q2.1629) which however was not confirmed by statute. Within provision was made that all ships sailing from British ports must have on board a surgeon approved by the Company. These naval surgeons must have practised as physician, surgeon and apothecary.²⁴³

Navy Surgeons might have qualified by apprenticeship or by an examination conducted on behalf of the Navy Board. From 1797 the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland provided a qualification (§Q3.3.5). It is said that by 1814 the Royal Navy had 14 physicians, 850 surgeons and 500 assistant surgeons caring for 130,000 men on shore and at sea. Pay started at £14 per month in 1815 for surgeons with less than 6 years of experience and rose to £25/4/0 for those with 20 years. There were other bonuses so that annual salaries might range from £100 to £300. Prior to 1806 surgeons were warranted by individual ship's captains but thereafter were commissioned by the Admiralty. Surgeons were assisted by Surgeon's Mates who after 1805 were styled Assistant Surgeons.

Seven of the cohort^x were or may have been Royal Navy surgeons or assistants.

Royal Navy Surgeon, Assistant Surgeon, Surgeon's Mate etc

John Audley of Alrewas surgeon c1700-1763 ?1721-?1740
Perhaps time served about 1721 he served as a Royal Navy Surgeon and then retired, perhaps on the death of his father in 1740, to a small family estate at Orgreave in Alrewas where he died, aged 63, on 28 Aug 1763 with burial on 31 Aug.

Rupert Gettliffe of Cheadle surgeon & apothecary 1719-1782 1744
In 1744 he may have served as a Royal Navy Surgeon's Mate.

Richard Peale of Wednesbury surgeon & apothecary ?1757-1787 1778
Peale may have been a Royal Navy Surgeon about 1778.

Philip Parry Price Myddelton of Stafford "physician" c1758-1830 1780
Originally named Philip Price or Philip Parry Price he was apprenticed for 7 years at £40 to Snead Hugh of Hereford surgeon & apothecary about 1 Jun 1772. Time served he appears to have briefly served as a Royal Navy Assistant Surgeon before his appointment in 1780 as Apothecary to Hereford County Infirmary.

(30 Jan 1780) Philip Price, Surgeon's Mate of the Queen, Plymouth to James Henckell, 15, Bush Lane, Cannon Street, London. Asks for assistance in getting a discharge from the Navy on being appointed Apothecary at Hereford Infirmary. [NA ADM 106/1257/77]

Boleyn Whitney West of Bilston apprentice c1779-.... 1804-1805
In the years 1804 and 1805 he worked as a Royal Navy Surgeon's Mate.

John Howe of Wolverhampton surgeon c1783-1861 1819
Time served about 1804 in 1819 he was a Royal Navy Assistant Surgeon and that year was admitted as a lunatic to Staffordshire County Lunatic Asylum (at Stafford). ... He was living with his sister Mary Healey at Lapley in 1841 and in 1851 when he is styled "Royal Naval Surgeon on half-pay".

William Stuart of Stoke-upon-Trent M.D. 1812-1879 1840
Whilst at Woolwich, Stuart was a Royal Navy Surgeon, ...

(19 Apr 1879) DEATH OF DR STUART ... He was appointed surgeon to the Marine Society's training ship Venus on its first being stationed at Charlton and subsequently to the ship Warspite which re-placed the Venus but resigned the appointment in 1867 ... [Kentish Independent]

F6.3 Merchant Navy surgeons

Only three of the cohort^x were Merchant Navy surgeons.

Merchant Navy Surgeon

Henry Hulme Warburton of Betley apprentice 1819-1903 1845-1847
until 1844 when he emigrated to America and settled in New York. Between 1845 and 1847 he was a Merchant Navy Surgeon on the "Corea" a whaling vessel.

... until the autumn of 1845, when he went to New London, Connecticut, and there embarked as surgeon in the whaling vessel Corea, under Capt. Benjamin Hemstead. He cruised on the northwest coast of North America, the coast of New Zealand, and also visited the Sandwich Islands a number of times. At San Francisco, in 1847, he resigned his commission as surgeon of the vessel, and after visiting various gold diggings he located, in 1848, at Santa Clara,

Samuel Hallett Griffith of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1819-1859 1859
In 1846 he worked as a medic in the East Indies and West Indies but returned to England later that year and settled in London where he practised until 1859 when he became a Merchant Navy Surgeon on the ship "Joseph Fletcher" which was voyaging to New Zealand and China. Griffith died, aged 40, on 3 Nov 1859 when his ship was wrecked in the China Sea.

John Adams Palin of Wednesbury [M.D.] 1818-1876 ?1860s
About 1854 Palin became a Regular Army Surgeon and may have served at the battle of Balaclava on 25 Oct the same year. Afterwards he was for many years a Merchant Navy Surgeon in the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company.

F6.4 Army surgeons

Only 17 of the cohort^x are known to have served as medics in the regular Army²⁴⁴ and their careers are briefly noticed below. The complexities of medicine and military history are not here addressed but the extract below provides a brief introduction²⁴⁵. Perhaps from late in the 18C the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland provided a qualification (§Q3.3.5).

In 1680, the army consisted of but four regiments, and, when Tangiers belonged to Britain, medical officers were sent with the army of occupation. The chirurgens were attached to regiments, and their names appeared in the Army List. In the Guards they

²⁴³ *The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology* (1966) under surgeon has "medical officer in the forces XVI".

²⁴⁴ Database [SDH4] c82

²⁴⁵ Peter Alexander Young "The army medical staff: Its past services and its present needs" in *Edinburgh Medical Journal* (1898) acknowledging Albert A. Gore *Our services under the crown* (1879).

received 4/0 a day, and had a horse to carry their chests. Chirurgeons' mates were also attached to regiments, but, as they received their warrants from the regimental colonels, their names do not appear in the Army List. The Company of Surgeons of London seems to have provided the chirurgeons and chirurgeons' mates. About this time the chirurgeons are returned before, and presumably ranking before, captains. During the reign of James II. it was by no means uncommon for medical officers to hold double commissions purchasing their commissions as ensigns, and obtaining 2/6 a day for extra hospital service. ... In 1714, the terms surgeon and surgeon's mate were used instead of chirurgeon. ... In 1751, medical officers wore the uniform of the corps to which they belonged. The medical officers of the 39th Foot, in 1757, were the first surgeons of the British Medical Staff who saw service in Bengal. ... A surgeon's pay in 1760 was £73, while a captain's was £182. Brocklesby, a distinguished army surgeon, considered that the pay of the army surgeon was too small. He thought that it should at least be £250, as it had to be obtained by purchase, and cost £500. ... Previous to 1783, surgeons' appointments were bought and sold, but after this period the sale of commissions was legally suppressed, but for long after was still carried on. The officers required simply a certificate from a private teacher to get an appointment no degree or Surgeons' Hall certificate being necessary. Surgeons to general hospitals received about £200 a year, regimental surgeons £100, and apothecaries 10/0 a day. ... Until the termination of the year 1793, the rank of the medical staff of the British army was not distinctly defined. The assistant-surgeon joined a regiment with the rank of lieutenant, and the surgeons took rank with captains, according to date of commission. ... After 1858 the titles of medical officers were as follows, namely, Inspector-General of Hospitals; Deputy-Inspector General of Hospitals Staff or Regimental Surgeon, after twenty years' service Surgeon-Major and Staff or Regimental Assistant-Surgeon. ... In 1860 took place the first examination for entry into the Army Medical School, which was opened at Fort Pitt, Chatham. ... The regimental system was abolished in 1874. Medical officers now belonged to the Army Medical Department.

Three Regular Army regiments were named for the county of Staffordshire. No record of their surgeons has been discovered.

38th (1st Staffordshire) Regiment Of Foot 1782-1881 (previously Sir John Guise's Regiment Of Foot 1688-1694, Luke Lillingstone's Regiment Of Foot 1694-1696, Luke Lillingstone's Regiment Of Foot 1705-1751 and 38th Regiment Of Foot 1751-1782)

64th (2nd Staffordshire) Regiment of Foot 1782-1881 (previously 2nd Battalion, 11th Regiment of Foot) 1756-1758, 64th Regiment of Foot 1758 1782)

80th Regiment Of Foot (Staffordshire Volunteers) 1793-1881

The South Staffordshire Regiment was formed on 1 July 1881 by the amalgamation of the 38th (1st Staffordshire) Regiment of Foot, the 80th Regiment of Foot (Staffordshire Volunteers), the King's Own Staffordshire Militia and the Queen's Own Staffordshire Yeomanry²⁴⁶.

Regular Army Surgeon, Assistant Surgeon, Surgeon's Mate etc

John Buchanan of Stafford M.D. 1710-1767

1734-1746

From 1734 he was a Regular Army Surgeon in the King's Own Horse Guards *later* Royal Horse Guards and served in Flanders from 1742 to 1746. He had probably graduated M.D. by 1757 when he was living at Stafford. ... He was the author of a manuscript entitled *Regimental practice or a short history of diseases common to His Majesties Own Royal Regiment of Horse Guards when abroad (commonly called The Blews)*.

Jonathan Mallett of Lichfield apprentice 1729-1806

1757-????

Probably time served about 1750 by 1757 he was a Regular Army Surgeon in America (46th Foot). By 1765 he was living in New York. In 1775 he provided medical support at the siege of Bunker Hill. He was subsequently Chief Surgeon at Boston Hospital and an Administrator of Hospitals in North America and the West Indies. In 1784 he returned to London. Mallet was Quarter-Master of the Lichfield Volunter Infantry in 1803 but he died, aged 77, on 21 Nov 1806 in London with burial on 28 Nov at Battersea St Mary.

Moses Birch of Barton-under-Needwood surgeon ?1741-1805

?1762-1769

Time served about 1762 he worked as a Regular Army Surgeon in a horse regiment until 1769. That year his brother Simeon Birch of Burton-upon-Trent surgeon & apothecary ?1737-1780 told him of an opening at Barton-under-Needwood ...

Stephen Woolrich of Stafford apprentice 1770-1856

1790-1830

Time served about 1790 he was successively a Regular Army Surgeon's Mate and Regular Army Surgeon (111th Foot). He qualified M.R.C.S. in 1794 (F.R.C.S., 1843) but continued a regular army career rising eventually to become Inspector-General of Army Hospitals by 1830. In 1850 he was made a Companion of the Order of the Bath (Military Division).

Benjamin Bible of Stoke-upon-Trent surgeon c1771-....

c1796

Bible is of unknown parentage. He is said to have been a Regular Army Surgeon (perhaps about 1796) which would have qualified him to practice as a surgeon in civil life. He is also said to have graduated as a physician but this seems unlikely.

Joseph Timbrell of Walsall apprentice ?1772-....

1797-1803

He was apprenticed for 7 years at £50 to Henry Pitt of Walsall apothecary &c about 4 Sep 1787. He is likely to be the man of the same name who was a Regular Army Surgeon in the Royal Artillery and served in the West Indies on Trinidad between 1797 and 1803.

Stephen Panting of Lichfield surgeon & apothecary 1767-1830

1798-....

By 1798 he was a Regular Army Assistant Surgeon in the 6th West India Regiment and rose to be Surgeon to the Forces and Inspector of Hospitals in the West Indies.

John Freeman of Tamworth apprentice ?1778-1814

?1800-1814

Time served about 1800 he became a Regular Army Surgeon and was buried, aged 36, on 22 Feb 1814 at Tamworth.

Frederick Darwall of Lichfield apprentice 1773-1805

1802-1805

Time served by about 1793 he was that year appointed an Assistant Army-Surgeon in the Staffordshire Militia and then about 1802 became a Regular Army Assistant Surgeon (65th Regt). He died, aged 32, in Dec 1805 at Calcutta in India.

(23 Aug 1806) In December last, at Calcutta, Mr Frederick Darwall, an assistant surgeon in the 65th regiment, and the youngest son of the Rev. J. Darwall, late Vicar of Walsall ... Previous to his appointment to the 65th regiment he had served several years in the same capacity in the Staffordshire militia wherein his talents and humaity are still spoken of in a manner which conveys the most honourable testimony of the merit he possessed. [STS:ADV]

²⁴⁶ It may only have been parts of the King's Own Staffordshire Militia and The Queen's Own Staffordshire Yeomanry.

Walter Ward of Lichfield surgeon 1783-1830 **1804-1816**
From about 1804 to 1816 he appears to have been successively a Regular Army Surgeon's Mate, Regular Army Assistant Surgeon and Regular Army Surgeon initially with the Canadian Fencibles but later with the British Army in India. By 1818 he had settled at Lichfield

William Flamank Blick of Stone apprentice 1783-1838 **1805-1813**
From 1805-12 he was a Regular Army Assistant Surgeon (86th Foot) and 1812-3 Regular Army Surgeon (10th Foot)

William Jones of Burton-upon-Trent M.D. 1782-1862 **1805-1820**
From 1805 he had an adventurous career as a Regular Army Surgeon serving in South America, Spain, North America and Australia. About 1820 he held a hospital appointment at Bombay.

(15 Aug 1862) We regret to announce the death of William Jones Esq. M.D. of Burton-upon-Trent aged 79 ... He commenced his career in the 95th or Rifles in November 1805. In 1806 he went out to South America under the command of General Crawford and was a prisoner at Buenos Ayres. Immediately after this he joined the expedition to Spain, in 1808, under Sir John Moore. He was in the retreat and in the Battle of Corunna and had the Peninsular and Waterloo medals with twelve clasps for general actions. He was assistant surgeon to the Rifles in the following actions: Corunna. Busaco, Fuentes d'Onore, Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajos, Salamanca. He was surgeon to the 40th at Vittoria, Pyrenees, Nivelles, Neve, Orthez, Toulouse. ... He was present at the sanguinary combat of Almeida on the Cos against Ney 1810; at Redinha in March 1811 against Ney also; at Condeixa in the same month; at For d'Aronce against Ney and Massena; at the fiercely contested combat of Sabugal, against Massena; ... He was also present at the engagement of Pembal. In 1814 he joined the expedition to New Orleans against the American General Jackson, and in 1815 he was present at the battle of Waterloo. He then went to New South Wales where he stayed for some time on service; from which place he went to Bombay where he had the local appointment of Deputy General of Hospitals and ultimately retired on half pay on account of ill health. [Leicester Journal]

Henry Lilley Smith of Walsall apprentice 1788-1859 **1809**
He was apprenticed for 5 years at £80 to James Adams & Thomas Nicholls Adams of Walsall surgeons about 1 Sep 1803. He is said to have been a Regular Army Assistant Surgeon during the 1809 retreat to Corunna.

Henry Edwards of Tutbury M.R.C.S. 1789-1863 **1812-1820**
He qualified M.R.C.S. in 1812 and then worked as a Regular Army Assistant Surgeon (43rd Foot). When he married in 1820 he was living at Stafford ...

John Horsley White of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1826-1855 **1853-1855**
Shortly after he did commence practice at Wolverhampton but then perhaps in 1853 became a Regular Army Acting Assistant Surgeon in the 3rd Regiment of Foot and died of fever after cholera, aged 29, on 2 Jul 1855 in Crimea at "the camp before Sebastopol".

John Adams Palin of Wednesbury M.D. 1818-1876 **1854-....**
About 1854 Palin became a Regular Army Surgeon and may have served at the battle of Balaclava on 25 Oct the same year. Afterwards he was for many years a Merchant Navy surgeon with the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company.

Henry Joseph Rose of Eccleshall assistant surgeon 1833-1915 **1855-...**
After qualifying L.R.C.S.I. in 1855 he became a Regular Army Assistant Surgeon and later a Regular Army Surgeon. In retirement he moved to London where he died, aged 85, on 2 Jun 1915.

F6.5 East India Company surgeons

The company received a royal charter from Queen Elizabeth I on 31 December 1600. By 1803, at the height of its rule in India, the company had a private army of about 260,000 twice the size of the British Army. Company rule in India effectively began in 1757 and lasted until 1858 when, following the Indian Rebellion of 1857, the *Government of India Act {21 & 22 Victoria c106}* (2 Aug 1858) led to the British Crown's assuming direct control of the Indian subcontinent in the form of the new British Raj. The East India Company's medical men were first organised into a regular service in 1764. Subsequently they could be classified as Assistant Surgeon, Surgeon and Surgeon Major and those in the navy branch as Navy Assistant Surgeon and Navy Surgeon.

Only seven men (below) of the cohort* served as medics in the Honourable East India Company.

East India Company Surgeon etc

Edward Hayling Coleman of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1794-1871 **1817-1821**
He qualified M.R.C.S. in 1815 and L.S.A. in 1817 and served as an East India Company Navy Assistant Surgeon. By 1821 he had commenced practice at Wolverhampton

Alexander McBean of Stoke-upon-Trent M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1810-1888 **1829-1835**
He qualified M.R.C.S. in 1829 and then served as an East India Company Surgeon. By 1835 he was in practice at Hanley in Stoke-upon-Trent

Augustus Frederick Gooday of Newcastle M.D. 1815-1873 **1839-1843**
He trained at Guy's Hospital before he qualified L.S.A. and M.R.C.S. in 1839. Next he became an East India Company Surgeon but left that office for health reasons. He likely graduated M.D. from London about 1843

Allan Webb of Tamworth M.R.C.P. 1808-1863 **1835-1859**
On 20 Mar 1835 he was appointed an East India Company Assistant Surgeon and subsequently promoted Surgeon in 1849 and Surgeon Major in 1859. Whilst in India he held several important offices and wrote *Pathologica Indica* published in 1844. By 1861 he had returned to England

THE LATE ALLAN WEBB, M.D. The medical profession and the Bengal Medical Department have sustained a great loss in the premature decease of this gentleman the distinguished author of the *Pathologia[sic] Indica*, after an arduous professional career of above thirty years, of which twenty-seven had been devoted to the Indian medical service, succumbed on September 15th, at the comparatively early age of 55 years, to disease brought on by the arduous nature of his duties. ... After his arrival in Bengal, he did not remain long on general duty for his superior attainments induced Government to appoint him surgeon to the Bishop of Calcutta, and in his company he traversed most parts of our Indian empire. During these years, his opportunities for observing the varieties of tropical disease were almost unlimited and so well did he use them, that the views on their pathology and treatment which he embodied in his principal work, the *Pathologia[sic] Indica*, have had a marked effect in modifying the views and influencing the practice of our medical brethren in the East. Ever on the look out to render professional aid where it was most wanted, he worked energetically in support of a hospital at Simla, to which he devoted all the time he could spare. Government employed him to report upon an outbreak of cholera which had destroyed large numbers of native convicts upon portions of the Grand Trunk Road, then being constructed. His recommendations were acted upon and a stop was put to the outbreak. Eventually, he was appointed Professor of Military Surgery in the Calcutta Medical College and, in course of time, Clinical Professor of Surgery at the College Hospital, and surgeon to the Native Hospital. Fortunate it was for the present race of native practitioners, as well as for Indian medical science, that his great attainments as an anatomist and scientific surgeon, combined, as they were, with his abilities as an artist, were thus made available and that he was enabled to become one of the most successful operating surgeons of the day. He first carried out systematic courses of surgical

anatomy in the College and from his immense surgical experience, he was enabled to lay down rules for operating, more precise than had before been attempted. These he afterwards embodied in his Field Notes for Surgical Operations. He was also curator of the College museum and for some years laboured with indefatigable industry to collect specimens of all the forms of disease most prevalent in India, and thereby was enabled to lay the foundation of a rational system of pathology and treatment. In accordance with his system of applying the humoral pathology to many Indian diseases, he looked upon cholera as an exhausting disease, in which there was an excessive elimination of disintegrated blood and advocated the use of opium and stimulants, in opposition to the plan of treating it by depletion, salines, etc. In abscess of the liver, he advocated a modification of the plans adopted by Graves, Alcock, and others, of promoting adhesions between the hepatic lining and the abdominal parietes, with the view of facilitating the outward evacuation of matter and preventing introduction of air into the cavity. Great as were his labours as an Indian physician, probably those which he under took in the character of surgeon were of more importance. We believe that no European surgeon had ever more experience in operating upon cases of elephantiasis of the scrotum. He instituted researches into the nature of these tumours and the results were embodied in a paper which was read by him and discussed, not long ago, before the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society of London. In the midst of his toils, he could always spare time to do a beneficent act to aid a professional brother in his researches or to investigate the causes of phenomena himself with the scalpel or microscope. Few men were more esteemed by the patients than Dr. Webb he was always looked upon as the personal friend as well as the medical attendant. For very many years, he was the medical adviser and chosen friend of the Bishop (Daniel Wilson). [BMJ Nov 7, 1863]

George Turner of Longton in Stoke-upon-Trent M.R.C.S. 1815-1848

1839-1848

was appointed an East India Company Surgeon on 24 Feb 1839 and was active during the First Sikh War of 1845-6. In India he died, aged 33, on board the S.S. Benares near Monghir on 1 Oct 1848.

Richard Pope Jeston of Stafford M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1826-1901

1853-1857

In 1851 he was an assistant surgeon living in the household of John Masfen of Stafford F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1795-1854. On 24 May 1853 he was appointed an East India Company Assistant Surgeon but resigned on 20 Aug 1857 and returned to England where he settled at his birthplace Henley-on-Thames.

Joseph Froyssell of Willenhall [L.R.C.P.E.] c1806-1869

1831-1833

He trained at St Thomas's Hospital before he qualified L.S.A. in 1831. Early in his career he was an East India Company Navy Surgeon and a House Surgeon at London Moorfields Ophthalmic Infirmary.

F6.6 Militia surgeons

F6.6.1 Staffordshire Militia (1776-1805) *later* King's Own Staffordshire Militia (1805-1881); F6.6.2 Staffordshire Yeomanry (1794-1838) *later* Queen's Own Staffordshire Yeomanry (1838-1881); F6.6.3 Staffordshire Volunteers (1803-?1810); F6.6.4 Staffordshire Local Militia (1809-1813); F6.6.5 Staffordshire Rifle Volunteer Corps (1859-....)

Brief histories of five county militias and similar bodies are given below together with the known medics who served in them as army surgeons. In the lists of surgeons **men marked #** are not known to have lived or practised in Staffordshire.

F6.6.1 Staffordshire Militia (1776-1805) *later* King's Own Staffordshire Militia (1805-1881)²⁴⁷

The Staffordshire Militia was embodied in 1776. In 1805 it was renamed the King's Own Staffordshire Militia. In 1881 all or most of this militia became part of the South Staffordshire Regiment.

Staffordshire Militia (1776-1805)

The Staffordshire Militia was embodied in 1776 during the American War of Independence (1775-1783) and disembodied in Mar 1783.

In the first of these cases I was assisted by Mr Walker surgeon's mate of the Staffordshire militia and in the second case the effects of the cold bath were witnessed by him and my friend Mr Park [James Currie "Of tetanus and convulsive disorders. Read May 10 1790" in *Memoirs of the Medical Society of London* 3 (1792) p155]

(9 & 16 & 23 May 1829) RECORDS OF THE KING'S OWN STAFFORDSHIRE MILITIA [Earlier history omitted here] In 1776 during the American war the Staffordshire militia was embodied ... in Jan 1779 ... Thomas Peake was surgeon (appointed 23 May 1778) and Charles Greenhead was surgeon's mate (also appointed 23 May 1778) ... in Mar 1783 it was disembodied when Thomas Peake was still surgeon but Charles Walker was surgeon's mate ... [STS:ADV]

Army Surgeon

Thomas Peake of Eccleshall surgeon c1741-....

1778-1783

Army Surgeon's Mate

#Charles Greenhead

1778-....

#Charles Walker

....-1783

The Staffordshire Militia was again embodied in 1793 during the French revolutionary wars (1792-1802) and may have still been embodied until 1802. A Second Battalion was embodied in Feb 1798 and a Third Battalion on 25 Apr 1798 but both were disbanded in 1799.

(26 May 1798) Commissions in the Supplementary Militia for the county of Staffordshire ... Edward Sprange [Lieutenant] ... Lieut. George Wood to be surgeon [STS:ADV]

(16 Mar 1799) Commissions in the Third Staffordshire Regiment of Militia ... [Ensign] John H. Radford gent. Dated July 10, 1798 ... to be surgeon John H. Bradford dated July 10 1798 [STS:ADV]

1st Battalion Army Surgeon

Thomas Webb Greene of Lichfield surgeon 1763-1842

1793

Francis Hickin Northen of Newcastle M.D. 1771-1861

1801

(Apr 1871) F.H. NORTHEN ESQ M.D. Jan. 11. At Lea-house, near Eccleshall, Staffordshire, aged 89, Francis Hickin Northen, Esq., M.D. The deceased, ... Having concluded a honourable career as a student, he became connected in the course of his profession with the Staffordshire Militia, or the "King's Own," forming one of the medical staff of that regiment, and was constantly about the person of King George III. at Windsor and other places.

	1st Battalion Army Surgeon's Mate	
Frederick Darwall of Lichfield apprentice 1773-1805		1793-?1802
#John Dutton Colt [4th Baronet] 1774-1845	1st Battalion Army Surgeon's Mate	1801
	2nd Battalion Army Surgeon	
George Wood of Newcastle surgeon c1776-1846		1798-1799
	2nd Battalion Army Assistant Surgeon	
Edward Sprange of Newcastle apprentice c1780-....		1798-1799
	3rd Battalion Army Surgeon	
#John Hopkins Radford 1764-1848		1798-1799

The Staffordshire Militia was again embodied in 1803. A Second Battalion was embodied on 28 Jun 1803. In 1805 it was renamed.

	1st Battalion Army Surgeon	
George Wood of Newcastle surgeon c1776-1846		1803-....
	2nd Battalion Army Surgeon	
#John Hopkins Radford 1764-1848		1803-....
	2nd Battalion Army Assistant Surgeon	
#Charles Bennett surgeon e1783-....		1803-....

King's Own Staffordshire Militia (1805-1881)

On 21 May 1805 the King commanded that the militia should be styled the King's Own Staffordshire Militia. It was disbanded in 1814.

	Army Surgeon	
George Dent M.D. 1781-1845		....-1814

The King's Own Staffordshire Militia was again embodied in 1815.

	Army Surgeon	
George Dent M.D. 1781-1845		1815-1829
	Army Assistant Surgeon	
#Augustus Alderman 1778-1859		?1811-1814
#John Bissett		....-1814

In later years there were again three battalions and the following men are known to have served.

(9 & 16 & 23 May 1829) RECORDS OF THE KING'S OWN STAFFORDSHIRE MILITIA [Earlier history omitted here] In 1776 during the American war the Staffordshire militia was embodied ... in Jan 1779 ... Thomas Peake was surgeon (appointed 23 May 1778) and Charles Greenhead was surgeon's mate (also appointed 23 May 1778) ... in Mar 1783 it was disembodied when Thomas Peake was still surgeon but Charles Walker was surgeon's mate ... The regiment was embodied in the Spring of 1793 during the revolutionary war with France when Thomas Webb Greene was surgeon and Frederick Darwell [*recte* Darwall] was surgeon's mate. A second battalion was created in 1797 and embodied in Feb 1798 when George Wood was surgeon and Edward Sprange assistant surgeon. A third battalion was embodied on 25 Apr 1798 when J.H. Radford was surgeon. The second and third battalions were disbanded in 1799. In 1801 the regiment surgeon was Francis Hicken Northen M.D. and John Dutton Colt assistant surgeon. In 1803 the regiment was re-embodied when George Wood was surgeon. ... The second battalion was embodied 28 Jun 1803 when the surgeon was John Radford and the assistant surgeon Charles Bennett ... On 21 May 1805 the King commanded that the militia should be styled The King's Own Staffordshire Militia ... regiment disbanded in Aug 1814 when the surgeon was George Dent M.D. and the assistant surgeons Augustus Alderman and John Bissett. ... It was again embodied in 1815 when the surgeon was again George Dent ... [present staff] Surgeon: George Dent M.D. [STS:ADV]

(23 May 1857) Commission signed by the Lord Lieutenant of the County. In the Rifle Regiment of the King's Own Staffordshire Militia: Assistant-Surgeon John Grant to be surgeon vice Waddington resigned. Dated 1st of May 1857 [STS:ADV]

	1st Battalion Army Surgeon	
Benjamin Miller of Rugeley M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1824-1875		a1860
	1st Battalion Army Assistant Surgeon	
Charles Edward Eliot Welchman of Lichfield M.R.C.S. 1822-1877		1855
	2nd Battalion Army Surgeon	
Henry Thomas Lomax of Stafford M.R.C.S. c1818-1873		a1860
	3rd Battalion Army Surgeon	
George John Wood of Newcastle M.D. 1816-1862		1853-....
	3rd Battalion Army Assistant Surgeon	
Samuel Mayer Turner of Newcastle M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1818-1864		1853-a1860

F6.6.2 Staffordshire Yeomanry (1794-1838) later Queen's Own Staffordshire Yeomanry (1838-1881)

The Staffordshire Yeomanry was formed on 4 Jul 1794. It was renamed the Queen's Own Staffordshire Yeomanry in 1838 and in 1881 all or most of it became part of the South Staffordshire Regiment.

Staffordshire Yeomanry (1794-1838)

The Staffordshire Yeomanry was formed on 4 Jul 1794. It was variously called Staffordshire Gentlemen and Yeomanry Cavalry, Staffordshire Yeomanry Cavalry, Staffordshire Regiment of Yeomanry Cavalry etc. In 1838 it was renamed.

(10 Jan 1816) STAFFORDSHIRE REGIMENT OF YEOMANRY CAVALRY ... Richard Bird to be surgeon ... ----- Rowley to be assistant-surgeon [London Gazette]

(1 Oct 1828) Regiment of Staffordshire Yeomanry Cavalry. Assistant Surgeon Thomas Rowley to be Surgeon vice Bird retired and Halford Wotton Hewitt gent. to be Assistant-Surgeon vice Rowley promoted - both dated August 13 1828. [London Evening Standard]

(25 Jul 1835) STAFFORDSHIRE REGIMENT OF YEOMANRY CAVALRY Robert Wilson Lishman, Gent., to be surgeon vice Rowley resigned and Robert Osborne Gent. to be Assistant Surgeon vice Hewitt resigned - both dated Jun 25 1835 [STS:ADV]

Army Surgeon

Richard Bird of Tamworth M.R.C.S. 1789-1846	1816-1828
Thomas Rowley of Lichfield M.D. 1790-1863	1828-1835
Robert Wilson Lishman of Shenstone M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1793-1857	1835-1838

Army Assistant Surgeon

Thomas Rowley of Lichfield M.D. 1790-1863	1816-1828
Halford Wotton Hewitt of Lichfield M.D. 1805-1893	1828-1835
Robert Osborne e1814-....	1835-....

Queen's Own Staffordshire Yeomanry (1838-1881)

In 1838 by royal command the Staffordshire Yeomanry was renamed The Queen's Own Royal Regiment of Yeomanry Cavalry but was popularly known as the Queen's Own Staffordshire Yeomanry.

Army Surgeon

Robert Wilson Lishman of Shenstone M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1793-1857	1838-1850
Joseph Pimlott Oates of Lichfield M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1808-1883	1850-(1880)

Army Assistant Surgeon

Charles Edward Eliot Welchman of Lichfield M.R.C.S. 1822-1877	(1865)
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(17 Feb 1838) Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to command that the Staffordshire Regiment of Yeomanry Cavalry shall in future bear this distinctive appellation "The Queen's Own Royal Regiment of Yeomanry Cavalry" as marking its having had the honor of being reviewed by Her Majesty in person. [STS:ADV]

F6.6.3 Staffordshire Volunteers (1803-?1810)

In 1803 a number of units of Staffordshire Volunteers were formed in Staffordshire to counter the Napoleonic threat. In Jun 1803 eight cavalry units were counted whilst in Aug 1803 there were 67 infantry and six cavalry units²⁴⁸. *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* of 28 Nov and the *Staffordshire Advertiser* of 31 Dec 1803 mention several units and the names of their officers including some surgeons. All may have been disbanded between 1808 and 1810 and some perhaps merged into the Staffordshire Local Militia of 1808-1813 (below).

(28 Nov 1803) War Office Nov 26 ... [various officers appointed to]; Bilston Gentlemen and Yeomanry Cavalry; Berkswich Volunteers; Bettley and Audley Volunteers; Bilston Loyal Volunteers [Norris Best gent. to be surgeon]; Burton-upon-Trent Volunteers; Lane End Voluntary Infantry; Leek Volunteer (before called the Leek and Lowe); Lichfield Volunteer Infantry [Richard Wright gent. to be surgeon; Thomas Wright gent to be Surgeon's Mate]; Newcastle-under-Lyne Volunteers; Sandon Volunteers; Stone Volunteer Infantry [Henry Dewint Gent to be surgeon]; Tamworth Volunteer Infantry [Aris's Birmingham Gazette]

(31 Dec 1803) Bilston Volunteer Infantry: Rev. William Lee to be chaplain; Thomas Price Gent. to be Surgeon [STS:ADV]

(2 Dec 1806) ... Lichfield Volunteer Infantry ... Newcastle-under-Lyne Volunteer Infantry ... Edward Foulkes Cleavins[sic] to be Lieutenants ... [Chester Courant]

(31 Mar 1810, p4) mention is made of "Tamworth Volunteer Cavalry" and "Stone and Eccleshall Volunteer Cavalry" [STS:ADV]

(12 Oct 1861) [A letter comments] ... 380,000 British volunteers who came forward in 1803 at the period of England's greatest need ... our Staffordshire volunteers of 1803 and subsequently our four regiments of Staffordshire local militia into which our volunteers were absorbed in 1808 ... [STS:ADV]

Army Surgeon

Henry De Wint of Stone M.D. ?1750-1807 (Stone Volunteer Infantry)	1803-....
Norris Best of Bilston surgeon 1755-1816249 (Bilston Loyal Volunteers)	1803-....
Richard Wright of Lichfield M.D. 1777-1820 (Lichfield Volunteer Infantry)	1803-....
Thomas Price of Bilston surgeon & apothecary e1756-... (Bilston Volunteer Infantry)	1803-....

Army Surgeon's Mate

Thomas Wayle Wright of Lichfield surgeon 1782-1805 (Lichfield Volunteer Infantry)	1803-1805
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F6.6.4 Staffordshire Local Militia (1809-1813)

The Staffordshire Local Militia was formed in 1809 and consisted of five regiments Central, Eastern, Northern, Southern and Western. They were disbanded in 1813.

STAFFORDSHIRE LOCAL MILITIA Five regiments of local militia were formed in this county in 1809 from the volunteer force: Northern, Eastern, Western, Central and Southern. Their effective force was upwards of 4,000 men and they were trained for several periods acquiring a respectable state of discipline. The ballot for the local militia was suspended in 1813 their arms and clothing were sent to the government depot in London [Thomas Fernyhough *Military memoirs of four brothers (natives of Staffordshire) ... Third Edition* (1838) p305]

(6 May 1809) Staffordshire Local Militia. Notice is hereby given that the men enrolled in the Local Militia for the several Subdivisions in the County of Stafford are to assemble at the hour of 12 o'clock noon ... for the purpose of being trained ... twenty-eight days [subdivisions] Pirehill North at Newcastle-under-Lyme ... Pirehill South and Totmonslow North and South at Cheadle ... Offlow North and South and the city of Lichfield at Tamworth ... Seisdon North and South and Cuttlestone at Wolverhampton ... By order of the Lieutenancy 1st May 1809 [STS:ADV]

(11 May 1809) The Western Staffordshire Local Militia ... to assemble at Wolverhampton [Worcester Journal]

(16 Dec 1809) ... the Southern Regiment of Staffordshire Local Militia ... began to beat up for recruits at Wolverhampton [STS:ADV]

(31 Mar 1810, p4) [South Regiment of Staffordshire Local Militia] Shirley Palmer Gent. to be Surgeon vice Gregory resigned [STS:ADV]

(6 Jun 1812) Central Local Militia ... [? at Stafford]

Eastern Regiment of Staffordshire Local Militia ... training at Newcastle-under-Lyme ... [STS:ADV]

(3 Oct 1812) ... Robert Brown is ... flugleman in the North Staffordshire Local Militia [STS:ADV]

(12 Oct 1861) [A letter comments] ... 380,000 British volunteers who came forward in 1803 at the period of England's greatest need ... our Staffordshire volunteers of 1803 and subsequently our four regiments of Staffordshire local militia into which our volunteers were absorbed in 1808 ... [STS:ADV]

Army Surgeon

John Gregory of Stoke-upon-Trent surgeon e1784-.... (Southern Regiment)	1809-1810
Shirley Palmer of Tamworth M.D. 1786-1852 (Southern Regiment)	1810-?1813

248 Philip J. Haythornthwaite "The volunteer force, 1803-04" in *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 64:260 (Winter 1986) p193-204

249 Or, this might be his son Norris Best of Bilston surgeon 1780-1861.

F6.6.5 Staffordshire Rifle Volunteer Corps (1859-....)

From 1859 large numbers of individual units²⁵⁰ of the Staffordshire Rifle Volunteer Corps were formed. Notices in the county newspapers record their progress with many units combining over the years. A few of their surgeons are recorded below.

As a result of an invasion scare in 1859, Rifle Volunteer Corps (RVCs) began to be organised throughout Great Britain. The 2nd Staffordshire RVC was raised in Longton, near Stoke-on-Trent, on 30 September 1859, and was quickly followed by others. By May 1860, there were enough company-sized RVCs in the Stoke area to be formed into the 1st Staffordshire Administrative Battalion. Brevet Major Coote Manningham Buller, a half-pay officer who had served with the Rifle Brigade during the Crimean War, was appointed lieutenant-colonel to command the battalion. In 1880 the administrative battalion was consolidated as the new 2nd Staffordshire RVC, with The Staffordshire Rangers permitted as an official title: HQ at Stoke-on-Trent

A Company at Longton (original 2nd Staffs RVC formed 30 September 1859); B Company at Hanley (3rd Staffs RVC formed 27 September 1859); C Company at Burslem (6th Staffs RVC formed 28 December 1859); D Company at Tunstall (9th Staffs RVC formed 4 January 1860); E Company at Stoke-on-Trent (10th Staffs RVC formed 19 January 1860), with an affiliated Cadet Corps from 1875 to 1884.; F Company at Kidsgrove (13th Staffs RVC formed 26 February 1860); G and H Companies at Newcastle-under-Lyme (16th Staffs RVC formed at the old barracks at Newcastle-under-Lyme on 24 February 1860); J Company at Leek (28th Staffs RVC formed 26 April 1860); K Company at Hanley (36th Staffs RVC formed 18 June 1860); L Company at Stone (40th Staffs RVC formed 1 December 1860); M Company was formed later at Trentham ... [WIKIPEDIA]

(28 Dec 1859) In the Third Company of Staffordshire Rifle Volunteers: William Henry Folker gentleman to be honorary surgeon. Dated 13th December [WTON:CHR]

(25 Feb 1860) Honorary Assistant-Surgeon, Twelfth Company, Staffordshire Rifle Volunteers William Mott Hancox ... 18 Feb 1860 [STS.ADV]

Army Surgeon

William Henry Folker of Hanley M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1827-.... (3rd Company)	1859-....
Samuel Palmer Goddard of Stoke-upon-Trent M.D. 1818-1866	1860-....
Edward Denniss Moore of Walsall "pupil" c1833-1864 (4th Company)	1860-....

Army Assistant Surgeon

Frederick Atcherley Edwards of Walsall M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1809-1868	1860-....
William Mott Hancox of Bilston M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1813-1884 (12th Company)	1860-....
Arthur Neville Hawthorne of Eccleshall F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1819-1866 (Eccleshall Battalion)	1860-....
John Cromwell Blackford 1822-1898 (33rd Battalion)	1861-....
Charles Thomas Davenport of Wolstanton M.R.C.S. 1818-1864 (9th Battalion)	1865
William James Kite of West Bromwich M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1823-1872 (20th Battalion)	1865
Joseph Walker of Burslem M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1806-1875 (6th Battalion)	1865
Samuel Franceys Gosling of Biddulph M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1822-1885 (1st Administrative Battalion)	1869-....
John McNab Ballenden of Sedgley M.D. ?1813-1895 (2nd Battalion)	1870-1875
Henry Thomas Lomax of Stafford M.R.C.S. c1818-1873 (2nd Battalion)	1870-1873

F7 Friendly societies

F7.1 Introduction; F7.2 Newspaper extracts; F7.3 Rolleston Friendly Institution (1829-1878); F7.4 Rule Book

F7.1 Introduction

Friendly societies²⁵¹ were generally independent mutual benefit societies whose members were mostly drawn from ordinary working families. Typically a local medic would be appointed to provide medical services to the members of a friendly society but was himself unlikely to be a member. It is unclear when the first friendly societies formed but their name might derive from the "Friendly Society" which is said to have been formed in London in 1683 as a fire insurance company.

An early friendly society was founded in Newcastle on 23 Sep 1752 and by the end of the 18C Staffordshire had several friendly societies some with memberships of about 200. Each year many had an annual parade to a local church where a service was held and a sermon preached. The members would then march on to a local inn and attend a celebratory meal. In 1798 a female friendly society is mentioned. Cobridge Catholic Sick Club was founded in 1816 and by 1845 had 180 members. Several newspaper extracts (§F7.2) illustrate these matters.

Yoxall New Friendly Society, which was founded in 1821, was involved in a complicated lawsuit in 1828 regarding their treatment of their "doctor". Details are given in §Y.1828 where some interesting figures of payments and memberships are given.

On 28 July 1829 Rolleston Friendly Institution was founded (§F7.3) and the same year *An act to consolidate and amend the laws relating to friendly societies {10 Geo IV c56}* (1829) was passed. Under that act the New Union Friendly Society at Lane-End (or Longton) in Stoke-upon-Trent was formed (or possibly reformed). Their rule book (which was probably typical for the period) was published in full the same year (§F7.4).

F7.2 Newspaper extracts

(2 May 1795) A CAUTION TO FRIENDLY SOCIETIES Whereas Joseph Walker of Elton near Warrington [Cheshire] ... has defrauded the Friendly Society of Uttoxeter ... by the pretence of illness (being able to work) supposed for two years whereby he has received the sum of nineteen pounds and upwards ... and by the letters of the Minister of Elton was at last detected. ... By the Society at the White Hart in Uttoxeter April 24th 1795 [STS:ADV]

(30 May 1795) ... And however we may abhor the idea of future rewards being saleable in this world yet certainly men may traffic in the practice of benevolence without the commission of crime. This position is illustrated in the institution of Friendly Societies which are more useful than honourable to our country. On Monday last the Junior Society meeting at the Vine in this town [Stafford] and consisting of near 200 members walked in procession to St Mary's church preceded by two clergymen. An Excellent sermon was preached on the occasion by the Rev. Mr. Lewis. [STS:ADV]

(11 Jul 1795) Monday last the Friendly Society meeting at the George inn in this town [Stafford] assembled to keep their annual festival. In the morning the accounts were settled with the utmost regularity, after which they proceeded to church where an energetic and very suitable sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Russell. The society returned to dinner and spent the day very convivially. The members are numerous. We doubt

²⁵⁰ The units are styled battalions and companies or sometimes called by a prefix such as "20th". Men are called surgeons and assistant surgeons. Most positions seem to have been honorary.

²⁵¹ Comparison might be made with national mutual benefit societies such as the Freemasons and Oddfellows which are discussed in §L5. Their members were generally men of above average wealth - some of whom might be medics.

not an ancient member or two of this society who are preserved from the wreck of poverty by its fostering arms could say something in its favour more impressive than any language we could make use of. [STS:ADV]

(17 Jun 1797) On Thursday the 8th inst the Friendly Society at Ellaston ... to the amount of about 150 held their Annual Meeting ... when it was unanimously resolved that in case there should be any necessity for any extraordinary exertion on their part they would meet together at the Club Room and put themselves under the orders of the nearest magistrate. [STS:ADV]

(20 Jun 1798) State of the fund of the Female Friendly Society in Stafford ... 20th June 1798 ... Stock in the 3 per cents, £170; ... 4 per cents, £50 ... cash in the box, £58/0/9 ... [of which] £40 for the purchase of 3 per cents ... £187/0/9 for current expences [STS:ADV]

(23 & 30 May 1807) Dr Bible of Lane-End begs to inform the inhabitants of Stoke and its vicinity that in consequence of the resignation of a professional gentleman there together with its affinity to Lane-Delph where he has the care of a Friendly Society he has taken a place in the town of Stoke in which he will keep medicines and give daily attendance from 10 till 2. Dr Bible will shortly be joined by a professional gentleman from London who purposes to pursue the midwifery branch; this will enable him to form an arrangement for the attendance of one constantly at Stoke: in the mean time the business will be carried out at Lane-End as usual. ... Mr Moul takes the liberty of recommending Doctor Bible to the neighbourhood of Stoke as his successor knowing him to have had general extensive practice for several years, as surgeon in the army, and to be otherwise professionally qualified by a degree as a physician. 16th May 1807 [STS:ADV]

(28 Oct 1809) [George III 50 years on throne] Newcastle ... [parade] with the flags of the different friendly societies and many of their members ... The members of the Friendly Societies we understand made a voluntary contribution for their superannuated class each of whom they gave six shillings ... [STS:ADV]

(11 Jun 1814) The annual meeting of the First Female Friendly Society at Newcastle took place on Tuesday last when the members upwards of 200 in number preceded by some of the most respectable ladies of that place walked in procession to church in the afternoon and an excellent sermon was delivered to them by the Rev. J.E. Aitkens of Hanley [STS:ADV]

(6 Jul 1816) [Deaths] On Monday last in his 90th year John Griffiths of Newcastle; he entered the First Friendly Society in that town, September 23 1752, and was the oldest inhabitant and burgess of the borough. [STS:ADV]

(31 May 1817) The Berkswich (or Baswich) Friendly Society held their annual meeting at the Hand and Trumpet, Radford Bridge on Whit-Monday last when 224 members sat down to a meal ... [Societies] keep alive in the hearts of the peasantry that old English pride that feels a double distress in the humiliation of accepting parochial relief but may encourage the labourer without any feeling of degradation to demand assistance in the hour of misfortune from the funds he has himself contributed to raise. It is rather a singular proof this that during the last twelve months of severe agricultural distress and of rather unusual sickness from the wet season and bad quality of bread only two members have resorted to relief from the parish and thus benefitting the parishioners generally by the success of the Society ... prosperous state of the funds ... labours and exertions [of Stewards] now of many years ... [STS:ADV]

(9 Aug 1845) Stoke Wakes Week is the time when many of the Odd Fellows societies and other clubs in the district hold their anniversary meetings. ... At Longton on Tuesday several Female Friendly Societies held their anniversaries and amongst them was a new society designated the "Odd Women's" or Social Sisters' Society. About one hundred and thirty of the sisterhood joined in a procession and afterwards dined at the Furnace Inn. ... The Cobridge Catholic Sick Club preceded by a band of music went through Hanley and Shelton and afterwards enjoyed an excellent dinner at the Dolphin Inn. This club was established in 1816 and numbers about 180 members. [STS:ADV]

F7.3 Rolleston Friendly Institution (1829-1878)

The Rolleston Friendly Institution was founded on 28 Jul 1829 and wound up in Jul 1878. Its principal aim was to provide medical insurance but it also offered a number of endowments. The following newspaper extracts illustrate its history. In 1860 Samuel Hayman Warren was their House Surgeon.

(17 Feb 1830) Sir Oswald Moseley commenced his lecture on the nature and object of this Institution ... in the Lancastrian School Room of this town on Thursday evening ... [Rolleston is] a central spot, between the large towns of Derby, Uttoxeter and Lichfield ... most desirable place for holding monthly meetings of the directors ... ten physicians attached ... living at Derby, Uttoxeter, Lichfield and Ashby; consulting surgeons; and (we understand twenty-three) district surgeons; 343 members for insurance; 28 members ... endowment children; 100 honorary members ... making a total of upwards of 500 honorary and insuring members in the few months the Institution had been in operation. [There follows detailed accounts of types of membership etc] [Derby Mercury]

(11 Aug 1832) The third annual general meeting ... 31 Jul 1832 at the Town Hall, Burton-upon-Trent ... number of persons interested therein ... exceeds 750 ... [STS:ADV]

(21 Nov 1863) Established 28th July 1829 ... 34th Annual Report ... 1,274 insurances

(26 Jun 1878) ROLLESTON FRIENDLY INSTITUTION Dissolution by award of Chief Registrar ... claim or demand ... before 10 July ... 24 Jun 1878 Watson, Sowter & Co, 7 Corn Market, Derby Public Accountants [Derby Mercury]

House Surgeon

Samuel Hayman Warren of Tutbury, Staffs L.S.A. 1825-1903

1860

F7.4 Rule Book

In 1829 the New Union Friendly Society at Lane-End (or Longton) in Stoke-upon-Trent was formed (or possibly reformed) under *An act to consolidate and amend the laws relating to friendly societies {10 Geo IV c56}* (1829). They published their rule book in full the same year²⁵². Its contents with their 19 rules are summarised below.

WE hereby declare that the design and intention of this Society, is to place the Means of providing for the various Casualties of Life, upon the most respectable and permanent Foundation, so that the Members thereof, may, by small Monthly Payments, secure to themselves Relief and Maintenance, in Sickness, Old Age, and Infirmary, and for the decent Interment of the Deceased Members, and for no other purpose whatsoever; and to that end, the following Rules, Orders, and Regulations, have been framed and agreed to.

(1) ... Members of this Society shall meet the first Monday in every Calendar Month, at the Union Hotel, in Lane-End, in the Parish of Stoke-upon-Trent ... and each Member shall then pay to the Fund, the sum of one shilling and three-pence ...

(2) ... a general meeting of the society be held annually, on the Tuesday in Blurton Wake Week, on which day, the High Steward shall cause a Sermon to be preached in the Church at Lane-End, or in the Parish Church at Stoke-upon-Trent, and each member shall attend at the appointed place of meeting ... clothed in decent and clean apparel; and each member so clothed, shall arrange himself with some other member, and walk with regularity and decorum, two abreast, to the place of worship, ... return to the place where they assembled, and enter the dining room in the same form, and place themselves at table as directed, ... That a Victualler residing in the parish of Stoke, (to be chosen by the Stewards and Committee for the time being) shall provide a sufficient Dinner on the same day, at the Union Hotel aforesaid ...

(3) If any member who has been in the society for the space of one year, shall be rendered incapable of labour, either from sickness, lameness, blindness, or any other infirmity ... to receive seven shillings per week, during the time of his sickness ... but if he continues unable to labour more than twelve calendar months, he shall thereafter be allowed four shillings per week, ... Any member residing at the distance of four miles from the box, and claiming the benefit of the society, shall send a certificate of his disorder, signed by the Surgeon and the Minister of the place where he resides, ... If any member be suspected of counterfeiting sickness, disease, or inability to work, for the purpose of defrauding the

²⁵² *Rules, orders & regulations, to be observed by the New Union Friendly Society, held at the Union Hotel, in Lane-End, in the parish of Stoke-upon-Trent, in the County of Stafford* [Eliz. Forrister, Printer and Bookbinder, Lane-End] [1829]. This is printed in full in §Y.1829 and also as Staffordshire Historical Monograph 3 Dragonby Press (2021)

society, the Committee are hereby empowered to call in any Physician they may think proper, in order to elicit the truth, and such member may refer his case to the Physicians of the North Staffordshire Infirmary, and their opinion shall decide the case.

(4) No member of this society shall be entitled to the benefit of the same, for any sickness, lameness, blindness, or any other disease or infirmity, which he may have brought upon himself by fighting, fencing, wrestling, or any other needless or foolish exercise ...

(5) ... after the decease of any member who has been in the society twelve calendar months, Ten Pounds shall be allowed to his Widow ... on the death of his Wife, be entitled to Five Pounds,

(6) On the decease of any member residing within two miles of the box, twelve members who shall reside nearest such deceased member, shall follow his corpse to the grave, if buried at Lane End;

(7) A Surgeon and Apothecary shall be appointed by the Society, to attend upon all the afflicted members residing within five miles from the box, as often as the nature of their complaints may require, and to supply them with such medicine as shall be requisite and necessary; and in case of sudden or dangerous illness, to visit, or procure another Surgeon or Apothecary to visit such member by day or by night, with all convenient speed, to render all the assistance in his power; and he shall (if required) inspect members on admission, to guard the society from imposition. He shall be elected by a majority of the members, at their Annual Meeting, on the Tuesday in Blurton Wake Week, and be paid such sum annually as he may agree for.

(8) The officers of this society shall consist of three Trustees, a Committee of eleven Members, a High Steward, who shall act as Treasurer, two Under Stewards, a Clerk, Recorder, Constable, and two Auditors, who shall be elected at the Annual Meetings on Blurton Wake Tuesday, ...

(9) If any member shall enlist into his Majesty's regular forces or militia, or enter into the navy, it shall be lawful for the society, at any of their general meetings, to exclude him therefrom; but on his returning free from bodily injury or infirmity, discharged from the said service, such member shall have a right to enter again into the said society ...

(10) Any member of this society shall be at full liberty to propose at any meeting, any new regulation, ...

(11) No person shall be admitted a member of this society, who has not given one month's notice of his intention to the committee, nor if he has engaged in any extremely hazardous employment; neither shall any person be admitted a member, unless elected by three-fourths of the members then present, and unless he be of sound healthy body and mind;

(12) If any member shall enter the club room disguised in liquor, or shall curse, swear, or use any indecent language, or offer to game, or lay any wager, during club hours, ... he shall forfeit two-pence for each offence; ... Every member on entering the club room shall take off his hat

(13) If any member of this society be convicted of murder, burglary, fraud, felony, or any other flagrant violation of the laws of this realm, he shall be immediately excluded ...

(14) All necessary Books shall be provided by the respective officers

(15) That if any excluded member shall commence legal proceedings ...

(16) money subscribed, paid, or given to or for the use or benefit of the society, as well as the fines imposed, shall be appropriated and applied only for the purposes herein-before-mentioned ...

(17) If any dispute or difference shall arise ... the same shall be decided by arbitration,

(18) This society shall not be dissolved, ... without the consent of five-sixths of the members thereof,

(19) That THOMAS CHADWICK, of Lane End, in the Parish of Stoke-upon-Trent, in the County of Stafford, Surgeon; SAMUEL HUGHES, of Lane-End aforesaid, Gentleman; and GEORGE YOUNG, of the same Place, Gentleman, be appointed Trustees

Allowed and Confirmed at the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace for the County of Stafford, held upon Wednesday, the Twenty-first Day of October, 1829. Oswald Moseley, E. Monckton, jun. - Two of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said County.

I do hereby certify that the above Rules were enrolled in the Office of the Clerk of the Peace, for the County of Stafford, at the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace, of the said County, held upon Wednesday, the Twenty-first Day of October, 1829. Sinckler Porter, Deputy Clerk of the Peace.

We do hereby certify, that the above Rules and Tables are approved by us, as fit and proper, according to the most correct Calculation of which the nature of the case will admit. Richd. Mills, Thomas Shaw, Actuaries and Accountants

F8 Police surgeons

The office of police surgeon followed on *The Metropolitan Police act* {10 George IV c44} (1829) which established the London Metropolitan Police. It is said that their first police surgeon was appointed the following year.

Staffordshire was policed by the following forces²⁵³.

Walsall Borough Police (6 Jul 1832-1966); Newcastle-under-Lyme Police (1834-1947); Stafford Borough Police (1836-1858); Wolverhampton Borough Police (3 Aug 1837-1966); Tamworth Borough Police (1840-1857); South Staffordshire Constabulary (1840-1842); Staffordshire County Constabulary (1842-1929); Lichfield City Police (1856-1889)

The 11 cohort^x men (below) are known to have been Staffordshire police surgeons²⁵⁴. Others may have been.

John McNab Ballenden of Sedgley M.D. ?1813-1895; Charles Thomas Davenport of Wolstanton M.R.C.S. 1818-1864; Samuel Goddard of Burslem M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1803-1876; Samuel Palmer Goddard of Stoke-upon-Trent M.D. 1818-1866 for "*Longton and Fenton*"; Thomas Head of Stoke-upon-Trent M.D. 1799-1886 for "*Staffordshire County Police, Hanley district*"; Samuel Hudson of Kingswinford L.S.A. 1804-1854; Peter Tertius Kempson of Kingswinford M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1814-1890 for "*Staffordshire County Police*"; Henry Thomas Lomax of Stafford M.R.C.S. c1818-1873; John Adams Palin of Wednesbury M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1818-1876; Francis Paul Palmer of Walsall M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1808-1872 for "*Tamworth Borough Police*"; James Troutbeck of Wolstanton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1813-1861 for "*Tunstall district*"

F9 Public vaccinators

The office of public vaccinator was created by an act of parliament of 1840 (below) and the first Staffordshire medics were appointed that year. Their only duty²⁵⁵ was to inoculate the public with cow-pox to give them immunity against smallpox.

Smallpox is now known to be an infectious disease caused by two viruses - *Variola major* and *Variola minor*. An early mention of the disease under a version of its modern name is in this letter written from Wallingford, Berks in 1518.

(1518) PACE TO WOLSEY ... Tomorrow the King leaves for Bisham "as it is time; for they do die in these parts in every place, not only of the small pokkes and mezils, but also of the great sickness" Wallingford, 14 July [*Letters and Papers ... Henry the VIII Vol II ii* (1864) p1333]

²⁵³ Dates are for guidance only.

²⁵⁴ Database [SDH4] c83

²⁵⁵ Only from about the 1890s was the word vaccination used in its current meaning of "to inoculate with (any) virus".

In 1798 Edward Jenner 1749-1823 [OB] published *An inquiry into the causes and effects of the Variolae Vaccinae*²⁵⁶, *A disease discovered in some of the Western counties of England, particularly Gloucestershire and known by the name of the cow pox*. This was a pox found on the teats and udders of cows which was known to be transmissible to humans. The designation "cow pox" has not been found in print before 1797 when Jenner's book was advertised to be published. Some further notice of the disease and its names is found in a later book by Benjamin Waterhouse published in America in 1810.

(14 Aug 1797) In the Press, and speedily will be published, AN ENQUIRY into the NATURAL HISTORY of a DISEASE known in some of the Western Counties of England, particularly Gloucestershire, by the name of the COW POX; with observations on inoculation, and on the origin of the Small Pox. By EDWARDS JENNER, M.D. F.R.S. [Gloucester Journal]

(1810) A CONCISE HISTORY OF THE KINE-POCK INOCULATION. THERE is a mild distemper, which has been noticed here and there among the herds of kine, in several parts of England, time immemorial. This disorder appears first on the teats and udder of the cows, in the form of irregular pustules, or pocks, of a palish blue colour; and those who milk them, when thus affected, seldom fail of catching the disease. This distemper has existed so long in Ireland, as to be known there by a Celtic name, viz. "Shinnaugh," which word is found, on dissection to mean, a cow's teat. This carries the knowledge of this epizootic disorder back full 500 years. There are innumerable instances of persons in Britain and Ireland, who caught the malady by milking cows in their youth, and who have passed through a long life, and have been repeatedly exposed to the contagion of the small-pox without being infected; so that with a knowledge of this disease, has ever been connected an opinion, that a person once affected with it, is ever after secure from the small-pox. ... This vicarious disease retains in England its vulgar name of *cow-pox*. It is called *la vaccine* in France; *vajuolo vaccino* in Italy; *vaccina* in Spain, Germany, and the Northern Nations; and in the United States of America, the *KINE-POCK*. [Benjamin Waterhouse *Information respecting ... Kine Pock Inoculation* (1810) p11-13]

In his book Jenner describes how, commencing in 1796, he inoculated several people with *Variolae Vaccinae* and how this immunised them from smallpox. For some years prior to this many people had been inoculated with a variety of smallpox itself with varying success. Jenner's new practice was to become known as vaccine inoculation and vaccination but neither of the words vaccine and vaccination are found in his book. In 1800 Richard Dunning, a surgeon of Plymouth-Dock, published *Some observations on vaccination, or the inoculated cow-pox* and he is thought to have introduced the word vaccination into the English language. A few extracts from newspapers illustrate other early usages.

(1 Jul 1799) ... I will then inoculate a child with the vaccine matter ... [The Scots Magazine]

(8 Aug 1799) ... inoculated for the small-spox[sic] subsequently to the vaccine disease took the infection [Derby Mercury]

(19 Apr 1800) VACCINE POCK INSTITUTION ... VACCINE or COW-POCK INOCULATION GRATIS [Ipswich Journal advertising first a meeting and then a surgeon and dentists' advertisement]

(29 Sep 1800) At Norwich ... an hospital is instituted for vaccinating or inoculating for the cow-pox. [Reading Mercury]

(1 Sep 1801) ... The advocates for vaccination are scandalized ... [Chester Courant, in article regarding the claim of a Genoese surgeon regarding sheep]

About 1804 the earlier practice of inoculating with a variety of smallpox became known as variolation.

(1804) Notice from the VACCINE POCK INSTITUTION June 20, 1804 ... have been submitted to the test or counter proof, variolation ... [The Medical and Physical Journal 12 (1804) p90]

(1805) [Letter from Walter Drew dated Oct 14, 1805] As the two following cases exhibit rather a remarkable coincidence of failure, in the same family, of variolation as well as vaccination ... [The Medical and Physical Journal 14 (1805) p536]

(28 Jul 1806) ORIGINAL VACCINE POCK INSTITUTION Jul 18, 1808 ... Resolved ... 3. That considering the slightness of the Cow-pock, and that no fatal case has occurred in the practice of this Institution, Vaccination is greatly preferable to Variolation ... [Sun (London) 28 Jul 1806]

In the following years controversy raged over the advantages and disadvantages of vaccination (using cow-pox) and variolation (using smallpox). Confusingly variolation was in this later period often simply referred to as inoculation.

Some interesting notices appear in the *Staffordshire Advertiser* and *Derby Mercury*.

(15 Oct 1796) SWINFEN'S PURGING SUGAR CAKES an improved Medicine to destroy Worms in Children or grown people which are so pleasant and safe they may be taken without the least difficulty. These cakes are the properest physic to be taken after the measles and small pox or any other disorder that requires purging and are a most excellent preparative Medicine for the small pox - Thirteen Cakes in a box price is 1½d and six cakes in a smaller box price 7½d. [STS:ADV]

(20 Apr 1799) The much-disputed fact of the Cow-pox proving a preventative from the Small-pox is at length, by repeated experiments both in the metropolis and in the country, fully established. More than 160 patients have been inoculated with cow-pox matter in the Inoculation Hospital, in London; the first sixty were subjected to the small-pox virus, every one of whom resisted in[sic] action [STS:ADV]

(27 Apr 1799) Recent and numerous experiments made by the most eminent of the faculty in London tend to confirm the efficacy of the Cow pox as a means of extirpating that horrible scourge of the human race the Small-pox. Several hundred individuals have recently been inoculated for this new disease in the metropolis and they have all taken it and recovered from it in a few days without its being attended by any illness other than a few pustules which have appeared in the arm: these persons have since been repeatedly inoculated with the variolus matter of the small-pox but without effect; several of them have even slept in the same bed with persons in the most infectious state of the latter disorder but without being in any degree affected by it. [STS:ADV]

(18 Dec 1800) To the printer of the Derby Mercury, Sir, In making innovations upon established customs, the greatest caution should be used, ... That such have been the circumstances regarding substituting the Vaccine for the Small Pox, is well known to your readers ... [long letter with much details] ... The Cow Pox is mild without danger or detriment, leaves the habit healthy and permanently secure from the Small Pox and is not otherwise infectious than by inoculation ... John Whateley, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons in London. Burton-on-Trent, Dec. 10, 1800 [Derby Mercury] [also apparently published as a medical book or pamphlet *An account of cow vaccine or kine pox.*]

(18 May 1805) Three children have lately lost their lives in Herefordshire from being inoculated for the small-pox. We hope this information will be a caution to parents not to risk the lives of their offspring and their own happiness when so valuable a preventative for that dreadful malady is so readily to be met with in the cow-pock. [STS:ADV]

(29 Jan 1814) Chronology Extraordinary. Remarkable Events of the Year 1813. September. ... Several children inoculated for the small-pox died in consequence. The parents and other parties implicated in the murders will it is hoped be brought to condign punishment. [STS:ADV]

(31 Dec 1814) We are sorry to hear that the natural small-pox of a virulent kind has appeared at Lower-Lane and Lane End in the Potteries; but by the prudent and prompt exertions of the Committee of the Pottery Dispensary, we trust that its ravages will instantly be checked. They have their Apothecary to proceed without delay to the infected districts and gratuitously to vaccinate upon the spot the children of such poor persons as are willing to avail themselves of so important a benefit. We cannot but add that this vigilant attention to the health of the neighbourhood is

²⁵⁶ *Variola* is Latin for *pox* or *pustule* and *vaccina* for *cow*.

very creditable to the Committee of the Dispensary whilst it affords a further proof, if proof were wanting, of the great utility of these valuable Institutions. [STS:ADV]

(28 Aug 1819) Sir, As public opinion in the efficacy of the anti-variolous property of Vaccine Inoculation appears to be very much weakened, and a prejudice against it seems to be gaining ground every day ... It will be necessary to premise that there is a spurious, as well as genuine Cow-Pox ... [much technical material follows] .. Your's &c. - E.D. - Stone, Aug 24th, 1819. [STS:ADV, E.D. was Edwin Daniel L.S.A. 1793-1873]

(29 Sep 1821) The National Vaccine Establishment in its annual report lately published states that in those Countries where the Legislature has interfered to prohibit inoculation for small-pox and enforce vaccination the small-pox has become unknown and the full benefit of this valuable discovery is enjoyed; but sinmilar results cannot be looked for in the United Kingdom until the whole community shall concur voluntarily in its salutary practice ... (letter signed by Medicus) [STS:ADV]

On 23 Jul 1840 *An act to extend the practice of vaccination* {3 & 4 Victoria c29} was passed which allowed for the appointment of medics as *public vaccinators*²⁵⁷ and forbade the practice of "inoculation with variolous matter" (variolation). The original act was amended the following year on 21 Jun 1841 by *An act to amend an act to extend the practice of vaccination* {4 & 5 Victoria c32} which provided the specific means of payments to vaccinators. The public vaccinators might vaccinate any resident and it appears their fees were to be paid from the local rates.

[§1] Whereas it is expedient to extend the practice of vaccination: BE IT THEREFORE ENACTED, That from and after the passing of this Act it shall be lawful for the guardians of every parish or union, and for the overseers of every parish in which relief to the poor shall not be administered by guardians, in England and Wales, and they are hereby directed, to contract with the medical officers of their several unions or parishes respectively, or with any legally qualified medical practitioner or practitioners, for the vaccination of all persons resident in such unions or parishes respectively: Provided always, that it shall be a condition of every such contract that the amount of the remuneration to be received under the same shall depend on the number of persons who, not having been previously successfully vaccinated, shall be successfully vaccinated by such medical officers or practitioners respectively so contracting.

§8. That any person who shall from and after the passing of this Act produce or attempt to produce in any person by inoculation with variolous matter, or by wilful producing exposure to variolous matter, or to any matter, article, or thing impregnated with variolous matter, or wilfully by any other means whatsoever produce the disease small pox in any person in England, Wales, or Ireland, shall be liable to be proceeded against and convicted summarily before any two or more justices of the peace in petty sessions assembled, and for every such offence shall, upon conviction, be imprisoned in the common gaol or house of off[sic] correction for any term not exceeding one month.

[§1] Whereas an Act was passed in the fourth year of the reign of her present majesty, intituled "An act to extend the Practice of Vaccination"; but no express provision was thereby made for defraying the expenses of carrying the same into execution: BE IT THEREFORE DECLARED AND ENACTED, That it shall be and be deemed to have been lawful for the guardians of every parish or union in England and Ireland, and the overseers of every parish in England, by whom the contracts for vaccination may respectively be be or have been made under the provisions of the said Act, to defray the expenses incident to the execution of the said Act out of any rates or monies which may come or may have come into their hands respectively for the relief of the poor.

By the following September the first public vaccinators were appointed in the Stoke-upon-Trent district of Staffordshire.

(19 Sep 1840) The New Vaccination Law [long article with background information] ... at the present time upwards of 30 years after the general introduction of vaccination no less than 12,000 persons die annually in England and Wales, so that is probable there are 50,000 attacked every year ... appoints public vaccinators, regularly educated medical practitioners to be paid out of the poors' rates. These persons will be required to vaccinate all those not previously vaccinated who desire it in the district in which they reside at a small fee for each successful case ... The following gentlemen were appointed public vaccinators for the districts undermentioned, viz: Mr. Harding, Hanley; Mr J.B. Davis, Shelton; Mr Garner, Stoke; Mr Dawes, Fenton; Mr Goddard, Lane End; and Mr Chadwick, Longton. [STS:ADV]

After the 1840 act there were still large numbers of people who chose not to be vaccinated and this led to a body of opinion in favour of making vaccination compulsory. Those who did not approve of vaccination might have done so on religious, political or scientific grounds but in some cases had apparently been persuaded that the vaccination might cause people to take on cow-like characteristics. The print below was drawn by James Gillray 1756-1815 [OB] as early as 1802.



²⁵⁷ Although not so named in the Act.

On 20 Aug 1853 *An act further to extend and make compulsory the practice of vaccination* {16 & 17 Victoria c100} was passed. For children born after 1 Aug 1853 vaccination was now made compulsory with a fine of up to £1 for non-compliance. Section 6 concerned the minimum payment to be made for vaccinations. This was 1/6 for vaccinations at the medic's residence or up to two miles distant - and 2/6 at a greater distance.

§2. The father or mother of every child born in England or Wales after the first day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-three shall within three calendar months after the birth of the said child, or in the event of the death, illness, absence, or inability of the father and mother, then the person who shall have the care, nurture, or custody of the said child shall within four calendar months after the birth of such child, take or cause to be taken the said child to the medical officer or practitioner appointed in the union or parish in which the said child is resident according to the provisions of the first-recited Act for the purpose of being vaccinated, unless he shall have been previously vaccinated by some duly qualified medical practitioner, and the vaccination duly certified, and the said medical officer or practitioner so appointed shall and he is hereby required thereupon, or as soon after as it may conveniently and properly be done, to vaccinate the said child.

§6. In all contracts to be hereafter made under the provisions of the first-recited Act by any guardians or overseers of the poor with any medical officers or practitioners for the vaccination of the persons resident in their respective unions or parishes the sums contracted to be paid shall not be less than the following rates; that is to say, for every person successfully vaccinated at the residence of such medical officer or practitioner, or within two miles therefrom by the nearest public road, a sum not less than one shilling and sixpence, and for every person successfully vaccinated at any place more than two miles distant from such residence any sum not less than two shillings and sixpence.

§9. The registrar of births and deaths in every sub-district shall, on or within seven days after the registration of the birth of any child not already vaccinated within the said sub-district, give notice in writing ... that it is the duty of such father or mother, or person having the care, nurture, or custody of such child as aforesaid, to take care that the said child shall be vaccinated in the manner directed by this Act, ... then such father or mother, or person having the care, nurture, or custody of such child as aforesaid, so offending, shall forfeit a sum not exceeding twenty shillings.

The following 22 cohort \times men are known to have been public vaccinators in Staffordshire²⁵⁸. There must have been many more. Others of the cohort \times served this office in other counties.

George Bakewell of Stoke-upon-Trent M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1811-1855; Thomas Chadwick of Stoke-upon-Trent surgeon c1775-1841; George Chapman of Kingswinford assistant surgeon c1824-1926; Charles Thomas Davenport of Wolstanton M.R.C.S. 1818-1864; Joseph Barnard Davis of Stoke-upon-Trent M.D. 1801-1881; William Dawes of Stoke-upon-Trent L.S.A. 1800-1856; William Chancellor Garman of Wednesbury assistant surgeon 1831-1928; Robert Garner of Stoke-upon-Trent M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1808-1890; Samuel Goddard of Burslem M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1803-1876; Charles Harwood Greene of Brewwood L.F.P.S.G.,L.S.A. 1812-1884; William Mott Hancox of Bilston M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1813-1884; Richard Harding of Stoke-upon-Trent surgeon c1789-1842; Frederick Hawthorn of Uttoxeter L.R.C.P.E. c1812-1898; John Hayes of Stone L.R.C.P.E. 1823-1887; John William Harris Mackenzie of Penkridge M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1824-1899; Arthur Cary Morgan of Lichfield M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1810-1902; Francis Paul Palmer of Walsall M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1808-1872; Samuel Partridge of Darlaston M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1827-1907; James Troutbeck of Wolstanton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1813-1861; Richard Turnock of Leek M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1816-1875; Richard Vernon of Audley M.D. 1817-1914; Samuel Hayman Warren of Tutbury L.S.A., M.R.C.S. 1825-1903;

F10 Factories Act certifying surgeons (1844)

Under *An act to regulate the labour of children and young persons in the mills and factories of the United Kingdom (aka The factory act of 1833)* {3 & 4 William IV c103} (29th Aug 1833) which was to come into force on 1 January 1834 various provisions were made regarding employment in mills and factories. Surgeons and physicians were asked to issue certificates regarding the age of children.

§7 ... it shall not be lawful for any person whatsoever to employ in any factory or mill ... except in mills for the manufacture of silk, any child who shall not have completed his or her ninth year of age ...

§13 ... form of certificate ... I [name and place of residence] surgeon [or physician] do hereby certify that A.B. the son [or daughter] of ... has appeared before me and submitted to my examination; and that the said [name] is of the ordinary strength and appearance [according to the fact] of a child of at least nine years of age [or if apparently above nine, say exceeding]

Eleven years later a further act was passed which was to come into force on 1 October 1844. This was *An act to amend the laws relating to labour in factories (aka The factory act of 1844)* {7 & 8 Victoria c15} (6 Jun 1844). This created the specific office of Factories Act certifying surgeon. Each factory was to publicly display their surgeon's name and address. The duties of the certifying surgeon still included issuing age certificates but extended to the investigation of serious accidents.

§3 ... Inspector and sub-inspector shall have power to enter ... and at all times take with him ... the certifying surgeon of the district herein-after mentioned ...

§8 ... Inspector shall have power to appoint a sufficient number of persons practising surgery or medicine to be certifying surgeons ... in every such appointment specify the factories or district for which each surgeon is appointed... no surgeon, being the occupier of a factory, or having a beneficial interest in any factory, shall be a certifying surgeon.

§23 ... if a certifying surgeon shall receive notice ... that an accident has occurred which has caused bodily injury ... of such a nature as to have prevented ... returning to work ... the following morning ... make a full investigation as to the nature and cause of such bodily injury ... a report ... shall received a fee not exceeding ten shillings ... not being less than three shillings ...

§28 ...moveable board ... entrance of factory ... names and addresses of inspector ... of the surgeon who grants certificates of age for the factory

Twenty four Factories Act Certifying Surgeons have been identified²⁵⁹ in the cohort \times but it is likely many more acted in that capacity considering the extent of industry in the county.

²⁵⁸ Database [SDH4] c84

²⁵⁹ Database [SDH4] c85

Edward Alsop; Edmund John Barker; John Cromwell Blackford; Robert Cave Browne; Henry Collins; Henry Day; Edward Francis Dehane; Samuel Palmer Goddard; William Hallam; Frederick Hawthorn; Halford Wotton Hewitt; Henry Thomas Lomax; Samuel Partridge; William Pitt; John Ritchie; Thomas Robinson; John Shaw; Richard Sutton; John Howells Thornhill; George Utermarck; Joseph Walker; Edward Smith Walters; Samuel Hayman Warren and Thomas Webb

F11 Industry surgeons

Under §8 of *The Factory Act of 1844* (above) Factories Act certifying surgeons were appointed to specific "factories or districts". Those surgeons appointed to specific factories might have also acted in a private capacity or might have been joined by other surgeons acting in a private capacity. It is then not possible to discern in which capacity a man simply described as a *factory surgeon* was acting. Neither mines or railways appear to have been covered by the *The factory acts of 1833 and 1844* so that men described as for instance a *colliery surgeon* or a *railway surgeon* were likely privately employed *industry surgeons*.

The extracts below from the *First Report of the Commissioners. Mines* (1842) illustrate the employment of children in the Staffordshire mines.

§46. SOUTH STAFFORDSHIRE. It is common in this district for Children to begin to work in the pits when they are seven years of age, very common when they are between seven and eight, and general when they are nine. ... Richard Spooner Cooper, Esq., surgeon, states, that "... he has been in practice at Bilston for 10 years; is the medical attendant to about twenty-six clubs, having amongst them upwards of 2,000 members, all of whom, with the exception of about 100, are connected with the collieries and iron-works. Some children go to work in the collieries as early as seven or eight; many have met with accidents before they are eight. In the very small collieries, where a man without capital is endeavouring to get on, and cannot afford the proper means of working his pit, little children are sent into holes in the mines with baskets to get coals to bring to the foot of the shaft, and they drag them along on their hands and knees". §47. The Sub-Commissioner states, that "the Returns obtained from the ministers of religion afford overwhelming evidence of the fact that Children in South Staffordshire are sent to work in the coal-field at the early age of seven or eight, and that some are even removed from school to be sent into the mines still earlier." §48. NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE. Throughout the pottery district the employment of the Children in the potteries prevents their being taken into the coal-mines while under thirteen years of age; but there are many boys under eighteen employed under ground. In the collieries near Cheadle, however, boys commence working under ground at ten years of age, or even.

Only three cohort^x men have been discovered who may have been privately employed industry surgeons:

William Davies of Harborne M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1819-1882

1842-1882

After he qualified L.S.A. and M.R.C.S. in 1842 he practised most of his life at Smethwick in Harborne where he was also an industry surgeon - Factory Surgeon to Chance Brothers Glassworks.

(25 Sep 1882, Smethwick Old Churchyard, M.I.) Loving Memory of William Davies M.R.C.S. (of Smethwick) For 40 years surgeon to the workpeople of Messrs Chance Bros and Co who died September 25th 1882 ...

William Mott Hancox of Bilston M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1813-1884

1860

In 1860 Hancox is described as a "Colliery Surgeon" - a type of industry surgeon.

Edmund John Barker of Stoke-upon-Trent M.D. 1818-1888

1885

He appears to have commenced practice in Stoke-upon-Trent but after he graduated M.D. from Aberdeen King's on 17 Apr 1856 he moved to Cheshire and then to Aldershot, Hants ... In 1885 Barker was a private industry surgeon working for London and South Western Railway.

F12 Medical referees

It is said²⁶⁰ that between 1787 and 1837 more than two dozen life insurance companies were started but fewer than half a dozen survived. An advertisement in the *Worcester Journal* of 1 Sep 1823 for the Economic Life Assurance Society has a list of "Medical Referees in the Country" for 18 towns and cities none of which are in Staffordshire - Chester and Warwick do appear. Six years later an advertisement in the *Staffordshire Advertiser* mentions some early county medical referees.

(3 Jan 1829) ASYLUM FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC LIFE OFFICE ... For foreign climates, pregnancy, disease and advanced age 70 Cornhill London ... Medical Referees for Stafford: Mr Masfen; Lichfield: Messrs Pattison and Allport; Newcastle-under-Lyme: Dr Northen; Stone: Mr Foster [*recte* Forster]; Wolverhampton: Mr Fowke [STS:ADV]

The following 21 cohort^x men are known to have been medical referees in Staffordshire²⁶¹. There must have been many more. In many cases the companies they worked for are given in the medical registers.

John Allport of Lichfield M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1799-1853; John McNab Ballenden of Sedgley M.D. ?1813-1895; John Burton of Walsall M.D. c1804-1891; John Talbot Cartwright of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1810-1872; Henry Day of Stowe M.D. c1809-1881; Richard Forster of Stone surgeon c1762-1837; Christopher John Greatrex of Eccleshall surgeon 1792-1880; Frederick Hawthorn of Uttoxeter L.R.C.P.E. c1812-1898; Thomas Head of Stoke-upon-Trent M.D. 1799-1886; Thomas Holyoake of Kinver M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1811-1889; William Hopkins of Handsworth L.R.C.P.E. 1828-....; George Walter James of West Bromwich M.D. 1802-1865; John Masfen of Stafford F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1795-1854; Benjamin Miller of Rugeley M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1824-1875; Francis Hickin Northen of Newcastle M.D. 1771-1861; William Wallman Pattison of Lichfield surgeon 1794-1842; Peter Stanton of Kingswinford surgeon c1781-1858; Samuel Hayman Warren of Tutbury M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1825-1903; Charles Edward Eliot Welchman of Lichfield M.R.C.S. 1822-1877; William Brown Weston of Ellastone M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1814-1895 and George Hughes Whymper of Walsall M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1815-1883.

F13 Lawsuits, court cases and misbehaviour (medical)

Legal trials or proceedings generally fall into two categories - civil and criminal. Civil trials take place in civil law courts and are generally styled *lawsuits*. In a lawsuit the *plaintiff* (sometimes called the *complainant*) brings a civil action for wrong-doing against the *defendant* and requests a legal or equitable remedy such as damages or injunctions. Criminal trials take place in criminal law courts and are generally styled *court cases*. In a court case the Crown brings proceedings against the defendant for breach of stated laws with their stated penalties.

²⁶⁰ Wikipedia

²⁶¹ Database [SDH4] c86

F13.1 Introduction

Lawsuits, court cases and misbehaviour of a medical nature are discussed in this section. Those of a non-medical nature are discussed in §N3. Nineteen cases are noticed between 1704 and 1856 of which there are 10 lawsuits, 8 court cases and one case of misbehaviour. Cases marked # are more fully discussed further below. The 10 lawsuits were for practising without a (Royal College of Physicians) licence - 1704#, libel - 1817, 1854, practising without a (Society of Apothecaries') certificate - 1819#, 1819a, 1826#, 1828, 1834, 1835 and debt - 1828#. The 8 court cases were for malpractice - 1797, conspiracy to obtain a (Society of Apothecaries') certificate - 1820, feloniously causing a miscarriage - 1840, attempt to commit rape - 1844, manslaughter - 1846, 1848#, forging a (M.R.C.S.) diploma - 1856 and assault - 1858. The single case of misbehaviour was of unprofessional behaviour - 1839.

F13.1704 Lawsuit - Royal College of Physicians of London *versus* William Rose (1704), practising without a licence

About 1701 in the Queen's Bench Division the College of Physicians sued William Rose, a London apothecary, "for practising Physic for One Month, within Seven Miles of the City of London, without the Licence of the Plaintiffs" and wished him to pay a penalty of £5 per month. Rose was said to have "made up and administered proper medicines to [John Seal, Seale or Seals, a butcher]; but without any license from the faculty, and also without the direction of any physician, and without taking or demanding any fee for his advice". The College quoted from their Charter and after three hearings the Court found that Rose had been "practising Physic, within the said Charter" and should pay the penalty. However Rose brought "a writ of error returnable in Parliament" against the College. When the case was heard in the House of Lords on 17 Mar 1703.4 the judgment was reversed. It should be noted that this court judgment simply found that Rose had *not been* "practising Physic, within the said Charter". A full account is given in §Q2.1704.

F13.1797 ?Court case - Mayor of Stafford *versus* William Newham, malpractice

In 1797 William Newham of Newcastle "physician" ?1743-c1805 was "arraigned before the Mayor and several of the apothecaries", imprisoned at Stafford but then released without charge. About April 1797 he was again arraigned before the Mayor and charged by Richard Rivers of Newcastle surgeon & apothecary c1751-1802 with being the instrumental cause of the death of a child. This case was not proceeded with.

(30 Sep 1797) TO THE PUBLIC The Natural-bred Dr Newham after he had found his way into Newcastle-under-Lyme and had restored several of his fellow creatures in affliction to their business wished the apothecaries of this place to be convinced of the mismanagement of diseases. This is a delicate matter in a moral light and therefore should strike them home for serious reflection and better experience. But instead of this many of them have shewn indecent, rude and even wicked behavior when he has been called in after them and given relief to his patients after they had been told by them for their comfort that no relief was to be obtained for them. For doing of this the reader is to be informed he was arraigned before the Mayor and several of the apothecaries of this place who called him a fool, a madman, and loaded him with many opprobrious epithets which to repeat would only be to offend the chaste can of delicacy. He was not permitted to speak or reply except only to such insignificant interrogations as they were pleased in their great wisdom to address him with after about two hours of consultation to know how to send the stranger out of their town that he might not any longer be an eye-sore to them they *charged him with imposing on the public by pretending to heal diseases by a practice unknown to any one but himself* (and on). He was sent that night to the Stone-House and on bail being offered by friends it was not to be admitted. Next day he was sent to Stafford Prison where he has lain in his bed for twelve hours covered with snow from its drifting through his apartment window. Soon after his return from prison (from whence he was discharged by proclamation of court without any body appearing against him to justify the legality of his commitment) he was a second time arraigned before the Mayor, charged by a Mr Rivers (an apothecary in Newcastle) [Richard Rivers of Newcastle surgeon & apothecary c1751-1802] with being the instrumental cause of James Grime's child's death [Ann Grime daughter of James was buried, aged 8, 26 Mar 1797 at Newcastle] who was dangerously ill of a consumptive dropsy a spectacle of affliction to behold was given over by several apothecaries of this place and by them deemed not likely to live 24 hours when he took her under his care (pretty little sensible creature) he soon reduced her to her natural size and recovered her so as to go a visiting amongst her neighbours. He thought her out of danger. He never enquired if the Mayor and the Doctors who went to visit her gave her any medicines. The doctor's bills pouring in upon her father and his attempting to hang himself and she being deprived of her doctor he has reason to believe was the cause of her death. Dr N had not any knowledge of the sudden change in his little patient till he heard of her death. The doctor had such a train of testimonies which stepped forward upon this second imprisonment of cures and reliefs and of sight restored by him as struck such a shame upon Rivers as not to meet him at the Town Clerk's office at the time appointed. The Mayor with pale lips and a low voice said to the doctor "I acquit you of the charge". A charge indeed! When Dr N wishes the apothecaries to be convinced of the mismanagement of diseases he is not without apology for them. No practitioner ever yet was known to perform his practice nor singularly bold and disinterested enough to call them to meet him upon open ground to convince them by facts of both the one and the other. The opposition he has met with at Newcastle from the apothecaries and those who thought themselves bound to take a side with them on account of relationship or incidental connections has been attended with this that in vindication of his character and in justice to his country he staked his last shilling to bring the Mayor of Newcastle into a court of justice which he has done at Stafford before Lord Kenyon where he pleaded guilty of twice imprisoning Dr N unjustly. In the reign of George II as an encouragement in merit his majesty made a law to tolerate any of his subjects who might make any discoveries for the relief of health to practice and administer the same if they were found efficacious in the restoration of this most invaluable blessing. Yet Dr Newham lay in prison for three months for offering one of the most sovereign remedies for healing of diseases ever yet offered to the public. And to prove it as such he does not wish to take any one under his care but who has had the previous assistance of some eminent regular-bred practitioner. Moreover whenever he has offered his (?)test services to the public both at Newcastle and at other places he has ever uniformly requested the faculty and the respectable inhabitants of the same to meet him in a public manner with a certain collection of cases that had been under the hands of the former and could find no relief from swallowing of drugs and he would either prove the superiority of his practice for the relief of bodily health or he would immediately quit the place of his residence and make a public acknowledgemtn of his error. If the faculty of Newcastle think they can confute his assertions or disprove his skill in healing art why do they not meet him like gentlemen upon the fair ground of facts to determine the point? He should be happy to do it and the public have a right to expect it from them as their duty. It may be had in excuse for themselves "Oh, he is beneath our notice". The fox in the fable said so when he found the grapes beyond his

reach. Was it supposed that the youngest son of the late Roger Newham near Chesterfield in Derbyshire was to be intimidated at being told the corporation meetings were to support the prosecution or at the Mayor having the King, noble Marquis and a member of parliament on his side. No Dr Newham pledges himself to be a true Englishman and some part of his relations to have been steady friends to the Marquis. Newcastle-under-Lyme Sept 17th 1797 [STS:ADV]

F13.1817 Lawsuit - William Wogan versus Henry Somerville, libel

In a lawsuit at Stafford Lent Assizes in 1817 William Wogan of Stafford M.R.C.S. c1793-1867 sued Henry Somerville of Stafford M.D. c1766-1830 for libel. A subsequent legal judgement held that Wogan was legitimately in practice before 1815.

WOGAN V SOMERVILLE [1 Moore, 102, S.C.] [1817] [Precis] The house-apothecary of an infirmary, who officiates in mixing medicines for the patients of the charity, but for no others, is a person already in practice as an apothecary within s[ection] 14 of the apothecary's act, and needs not obtain a certificate, nor serve an apprenticeship of five years as required by the 15th section of the statute 55 G. 3 c194 {55 George III c194}. In an action for a libel the plaintiff declared, that he had been, and was an apothecary, and had exercised, and still continued to exercise the calling and business of an apothecary, and averred a libel published concerning him as such apothecary. Upon the trial of the cause at the Stafford Lent assizes, 1817, before PARK J., the Plaintiff did not produce any such certificate of his qualification to practise as an apothecary, as the statute {55 George III c194} directs apothecaries to obtain, but he proved that, being articulated as an apprentice to an apothecary for five years and a half, till he was twentyone, he had served him for three years and a half, at the end of which time, being about four years before this action, upon his master quitting his practice, the trustees of the Stafford infirmary appointed the Plaintiff their house-apothecary, in which situation he had, for four years, officiated in mixing medicines for the patients of that charity, but for no others. For the Defendant, it was objected, that this evidence did not prove the allegation that he was an apothecary; because the statute {55 George III c194} directs that "it shall not be lawful for any person or persons (except persons already in practice as such), to practise as an apothecary in any part of England or Wales, unless he or they shall have been examined by the Court of Examiners, or the major part of them, and have received a certificate of his or their being duly qualified to practise as such, from the Court of Examiners, or the major part of them:" it was therefore necessary, that the Plaintiff should prove the fact of his being an apothecary, by the production of his certificate, which he not only had not produced, but upon the evidence, it appeared, that it was impossible he should obtain a certificate, because the 15th section provided, "that no person should be admitted to any such examination for a certificate to practise as an apothecary, unless he should have served an apprenticeship of not less than five years to an apothecary," whereas the Plaintiff had served an apprenticeship of three years and a half only; and, by s[ection] 20, he could not under these circumstances practise as an apothecary, without subjecting himself to a penalty of £20. PARK J. was of opinion that the Plaintiff came within the exception in the 14th section, as a person already in practise as an apothecary, but he reserved the point, subject whereto the jury found a verdict for the Plaintiff. SHEPHERD, SOLICITOR-GENERAL, now moved to set aside the verdict and enter a nonsuit, upon the objection that the Plaintiff had not proved himself to be an apothecary. GIBBS C. J. I am quite clear that a person who had four years since been admitted to officiate as apothecary to that infirmary, comes within the proviso of the act, as a person already in practice, for whom it is not necessary to obtain any other diploma. Rule refused. [See 3 Barn. & Ald. 40, Apothecaries' Company v. Warburton] [*Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Court of Common Pleas ... Volume 7 (1855) p419*]

F13.1819 Lawsuit - Society of Apothecaries versus John Warburton, practising without a certificate

On 15 Mar 1819 the lawsuit "Society of Apothecaries versus John Warburton" was heard at Stafford Lent Assizes. The Society prosecuted John Warburton of Betley [L.S.A.] 1792-1878 for practising as an unlicensed apothecary contrary to §14 of *The new apothecaries' act* (1815) (below). The Society were said in court, by Warburton's lawyers, to be acting on behalf "of the apothecaries in the neighbourhood, who jealous of, and hurt by, the professional success of the defendant, wished to put an end to his practice by this action." The sum of £700 was sought in damages for 35 separate offences but in the event the Society reduced their claim to £20 for one specimen case.

§14. Enacts, That after the first of August, 1815, no person (except persons already in practice) to practice as an Apothecary in any part of England or Wales, unless examined by the Court of Examiners, and a Certificate of Qualification obtained; ...

§20. Penalty of twenty pounds on any person (except present Practitioners), acting as an Apothecary after said first of August without Certificate.

John Warburton admitted to practising as an apothecary but claimed to have been in practice before 1 Aug 1815 and to have served an apprenticeship with his father Arnold Warburton of Newcastle "surgeon" 1767-?1822. Arnold Warburton was called as a witness and admitted to having no formal medical education or training. Primarily on this basis the jury "almost instantly" returned a verdict for the plaintiffs with damages of £20. In 1826 John Warburton did qualify L.S.A. and appears to have had a long and successful practice at Betley where he died in 1878 leaving personalty of £14,000 and three medically qualified sons: James Pennington Warburton of Betley L.R.C.P.E. 1833-1900, Charles Wesley Warburton of Nantwich, Cheshire L.R.C.P.E. 1835-1805 and Edmund Samuel Warburton of Liverpool, Lancs M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1845-1904.

The court case was heard on 15 Mar 1819 at the Stafford Lent Assizes and was fully reported in the *Staffordshire Advertiser* on 27 Mar 1819 and copied in the *Chester Chronicle* of 30 Apr 1819. An account, copied from the *Staffordshire Advertiser*, appeared in the *London Medical, Surgical and Pharmaceutical Repository* (1824) p168-75. Detailed testimony and cross-examinations appear in this account which sheds considerable light on contemporary attitudes to unqualified medical practice. Both the judge and other lawyers express opinions on unrelated medical matters. Both the penalty of £20 and the taxed costs of £266/10/0 were recovered. The full account is given in §Y.1819.

1820[sic] Hilary Term - Soc. Apoth. versus John Warburton - Betley, Staffordshire - verdict for plaintiffs for one penalty, taxed costs £266/10/0; penalty and costs recovered practice [*Report from the Select Committee on Medical Education Part III* (1834) (Appendix No 12) p105]

F13.1819a Lawsuit - Society of Apothecaries *versus* Arnold Warburton, practising without a certificate

On 15 Mar 1819 the lawsuit "Society of Apothecaries *versus* Arnold Warburton" was proposed against Arnold Warburton of Newcastle "surgeon" 1767-?1822 for practising as an unlicensed apothecary contrary to §14 of *The new apothecaries' act* (1815). However the "action discontinued, defendant having quitted his residence, and left practice".

1820 [? *recte* 1819] Trinity Term - Soc. Apoth. *versus* Arnold Warburton - Newcastle, Staffordshire - action discontinued, defendant having quitted his residence, and left practice [*Report from the Select Committee on Medical Education Part III* (1834) (Appendix No 12) p105]

F13.1820 Court case - Crown *versus* Thomas Bennett and Thomas Fox, conspiracy to obtain a certificate

On 26 Oct 1820 in a court case held at the Court of King's Bench Thomas Bennett of Macclesfield, Cheshire and Thomas Fox of Burslem L.S.A. c1796-1824 were prosecuted for a *conspiracy* to obtain the certificate (L.S.A.) of the Society of Apothecaries. Whilst training and studying in London Fox had formed a friendship with Bennett who had qualified L.S.A. on 27 Aug (or Sep) 1818 and tutored Fox. On 13 May 1819 Bennett fraudulently impersonated Fox at a Society of Apothecaries' examination and qualified L.S.A. obtaining in Fox's name a certificate. Fox then commenced practice at Burslem but on the discovery of the fraud surrendered his fake certificate. It was not disputed that Bennett had impersonated Fox but there was no definite evidence of a *conspiracy* and both men were found not guilty. A few months later on 4 Jan 1821 Fox (properly) qualified L.S.A. and continued in practice at Burslem .

1820 Hilary Term - The King *versus* Thomas Bennett - Macclesfield and Thomas Fox - Burslem - indicted for a conspiracy, by Bennett personating Fox, and being examined instead of him; acquitted; but Fox surrendered the certificate obtained, and was examined in person, and received his certificate. [*Report from the Select Committee on Medical Education Part III* (1834) (Appendix No 12) p105-9]

(27 Oct 1820) COURT OF KING'S BENCH Oct 26 ... The King v. Thomas Bennett and another ... This was an indictment against Thomas Bennett and Thomas Fox for a conspiracy; the indictment charging the former with fraudulently personating the latter, for the purpose of obtaining for the latter a certificate from the Committee of Examiners of the Apothecaries' Company ... It appeared in evidence that both defendants are young men ... In 1818 Bennett ... received his certificate [to practice at Macclesfield, Cheshire] ... [Bennett tutored Fox and was paid £5] ... In May 1819 defendants lodged in Great Pulteney-street ... Bennett applied for certificate ... [in] name of Fox ... recognised .. seen before at the Hall to obtain a certificate ... asked ... whether the Apothecary's case, which had been tried at the late March Assizes in Staffordshire, had not produced a great noise in the neighbourhood ... [Bennett] went through his examination with credit and received a certificate in the name of Thomas Fox ... [Secretary investigates at Macclesfield and Burslem where Thomas Fox was practising] ... [Fox] told him that a fraud had been practised upon the Apothecary's Company, and that if he candidly stated all the circumstances of the transaction, probably the Company would be inclined to shew him lenity; but that, in all events Thomas Bennett would be prosecuted ... Upon this promise being held out the defendant entered into a statement which the Learned Judge would not receive in evidence, because it was so obtained ... letter written by Bennett to the Company was produced and read which professed to confess the whole of his guilt in the transaction which he ascribed to feelings of gratitude and kindness to Fox to whom he was under some small pecuniary obligations ... [Bennett now a ruined and broken man] ... Mr Justice Bayley charged the jury that there was no direct proof of a previous conspiracy between the defendants but they were to say whether the evidence adduced satisfied them that the acts of the defendants were in pursuance of a conspiracy formed originally, They could not find Bennett guilty and acquit Fox. Their verdict, whatever it might be, must be joint with respect to the guilt or innocence ... The jury retired for about half an hour and found the defendants Not Guilty. [Morning Chronicle]

(27 Oct 1820) COURT OF KING'S BENCH ... on the 27th of September 1818 the defendant Thomas Bennet passed his examination ... On the 13th of May following there was an entry of the name of Thomas Fox ... Bennet then stated that he came from Burslem in Staffordshire; upon which the witness said that the Company had had a trial [see John Warburton, above] recently at Stafford and asked whether it had not been much talked of there? to which the Defendant replied in the affirmative. ... [Fox] afterwards delivered up the certificate under which he practised in order to be re-examined and to obtain a new one ... Justice Bayley ... said unless the jury were satisfied of the full concurrence of Fox in the proceedings of Bennet they must acquit both ... The jury retired for half an hour, and returned a verdict of - Not Guilty [British Press]

F13.1826 Lawsuit - Society of Apothecaries *versus* Joseph Fernyhough, practising without a certificate

On 17 Jul 1826 the Society of Apothecaries brought a lawsuit at the Stafford Michaelmas Assizes against Joseph Fernyhough of Yoxall surgeon & apothecary ?1797-1843 for practising as an unlicensed apothecary contrary to §14 of *The new apothecaries' act* (1815) (below). The lawsuit was unsuccessful and Fernyhough recovered his costs of £151/5/5 from the Society. In 1810 Fernyhough was apprenticed to James Heap of Wolverhampton druggist. Then in 1814/5 he was probably assistant to William Gaunt of Longdon surgeon & apothecary ?1775-1829. In May 1815 he claimed to have become junior partner to William James Sutton of Yoxall surgeon ?1773-1817 then said to be "addicted to liquor" and after his death assisted his widow in the practice. Probably the following year he commenced practice at Yoxall on his own account. A full account and commentary on the case is given in §Y.1826. To a modern observer it might appear that both parties to the dispute may have "embroidered" the truth.

§14. Enacts, That after the first of August, 1815, no person (except persons already in practice) to practice as an Apothecary in any part of England or Wales, unless examined by the Court of Examiners, and a Certificate of Qualification obtained; ...

1825[sic] Michaelmas Term - Soc. Apoth. *versus* Fernyhough - Staffordshire - verdict for defendant; costs paid to him £151/5/5 [*Report from the Select Committee on Medical Education Part III* (1834) (Appendix No 12) p105-9]

F13.1828 Lawsuit - John Garner *versus* Yoxall Friendly Society, debt

On 28 Jul 1828, at Stafford Assize Court, John Garner sued Shelley and others (the committee of the Yoxall Friendly Society) for £15/9/0 owing to him as "doctor" to the Society. In 1821 the Yoxall New Friendly Society had been established at a meeting where some 70 members were present. John Garner M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1793-1851 was then appointed doctor and for his services was to receive 3/0 per annum for each member. He served this office until 14 Aug 1826 when a committee meeting peremptorily dismissed him and appointed in his place Joseph Fernyhough "surgeon & apothecary" ?1797-1843. Garner was then paid up to date but in the event continued treating some 75 members (of the total membership of 103) who signed a paper approving him as doctor. Subsequently the dispute was taken before the local magistrates who ordered a General Meeting to be held on 17 Dec 1827 at which 67 members attended. Of these 53 voted for Garner, three for Fernyhough and 11 abstained. On 11 Mar 1828 a further committee meeting was held at the Golden Cup Inn in Yoxall when it was ordered that Fernyhough be paid £15/12/0 (suggesting there were 104 members). On 28 Jul 1828 Stafford Assize Court ordered that Garner be paid damages of £15/9/0 subject to some legal points. A full account is given in §Y.1828.

F13.1834 Lawsuit - Society of Apothecaries versus John Talbot Cartwright, practising without a certificate

Early in 1834 in a lawsuit John Talbot Cartwright of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S. [L.S.A.] c1810-1872 was successfully prosecuted by the Society of Apothecaries for practising as an unlicensed apothecary contrary to §14 of *The new apothecaries' act* (1815). They recovered costs of £8. On 1 May 1834 he qualified L.S.A.

1834 Hilary Term - Soc. Apoth. versus John Talbot Cartwright - Brierly-hill, Staffordshire - judgment by default, costs £8 recovered [Report from the Select Committee on Medical Education Part III (1834) (Appendix No 12) p107]

F13.1835 Lawsuit - Jones versus William Walker Bramwell, practising without a certificate

On 27 Jan 1835 Jones, acting as the trustee for one Meek, brought a successful lawsuit at the Exchequer Court against William Walker Bramwell of Burslem surgeon c1807-1853 for practising as an apothecary without the certificate of the Society of Apothecaries. Earlier Bramwell had taken Meek apprentice as a surgeon and apothecary. The court required the indentures to be cancelled and the apprentice fee of £100 to be returned.

(28 Jan 1835) EXCHEQUER COURT Jan. 27 JONES V. BRAMWELL An indenture of apprenticeship was entered into between Mr Bramwell the defendant a surgeon and apothecary in Staffordshire and a young gentleman by the name of Meek in the month of June last ... The defendant having omitted to get himself licensed as a member of the Apothecaries Company ... indenture had been cancelled and the apprentice fee of £100 returned ... [etc. etc.] [Jones acting as trustee] [Morning Advertiser] ... had married a Miss Meek [Public Ledger]

(28 Jan 1835) It was an action brought by the plaintiff against Mr Bramwell a surgeon and apothecary residing in Staffordshire for practising without being duly licensed by the Apothecaries' Company ... Bramwell had married a Miss Meek and by that marriage become connected with the family ... violent quarrel between the plaintiff and the defendant [Public Ledger and Daily Advertiser]

F13.1836 Lawsuit - Simon Morgan versus the executors of Sarah Ironmonger, a debt

In a "Nisi Prius" lawsuit at Stafford Assizes on 25 Jul 1836 Simon Morgan of Lichfield surgeon 1770-1850 brought an action against the executors of Sarah Ironmonger of Lichfield to recover money owing for medical services [recover a debt]. Morgan had submitted a bill for £204/16/6 of which £96/16/6 was for medicines and £108 for attendances charged at £18 per annum (over 6 years). The executors had paid £124/10/0 into court being £96/16/6 for the full cost of the medicines and just £27/13/6 for attendances. This was only one quarter of the full £108 claimed for attendances and was a shortfall of £80/6/6. Their declared grounds for underpayment was that "the plaintiff, being a surgeon and apothecary, had no right to charge for his attendances, but only for the medicines". Evidence was presented that Morgan had almost daily over six years advised Ironmonger (who might be seen as mildly eccentric) on matters of medicine, diet and exercise. Bills he had presented (now to be settled) had originally left blank the charge for attendance as was often the local custom. Regarding the right to charge for attendance two specific cases were cited and examined *Towne versus Lady Gresley* and *Handey versus Henson*. The judge then gave his opinion "*that by the general law of the land, a surgeon and apothecary could not charge for his attendances*" but that "*a surgeon might charge for the attendance necessary to perform surgical operations*". However he went on to say "*His attendances upon this old lady were, indeed, unremitting ...in giving his advice, not only upon her state of health, but as to matters which did not always fall within the province of a medical man to advise upon; and for these services ... Supposing him to be entitled to charge for attendances at all, £18 per annum, being at the rate of a shilling a day, was certainly as moderate as could be expected.*" Here the implication appears to have been that an apothecary might charge for attendance on a person to offer non-medical advice. The jury then consulted and found a verdict for Morgan who was to be paid the shortfall of £80/6/6 subject to any question of law. A much fuller account is given in §Y.1836.

F13.1839 Misbehaviour - Stephen Ingram, unprofessional behaviour

An inquest was held on 11 May 1839 on the body of a parish apprentice. His master Stephen Ingram of Stowe surgeon was found not to have acted with a "proper degree of humanity nor a proper attention as a professional man".

(11 May 1839) INQUEST ... County General Infirmary, Stafford ... boy named William Dicks ... evidence of Mr Stephen Ingram of Stowe, in this county, surgeon, that the deceased was his parish apprentice ... bedding his mare ... found the deceased lying on the ground ... about a yard and a half from the mare's heels ... [evidence about treatment by Ingram and eventually taken to the Infirmary] ... [jury found that] "the conduct of Mr Ingram to the deceased after the accident was not marked by a proper degree of humanity nor a proper attention as a professional man". [STS:ADV]

F13.1840 Court case - Crown versus Thomas Ashmall, feloniously causing a miscarriage

In Mar 1840 Thomas Ashmall of Wolverhampton L.S.A. ?1813-1842 was accused in a court case at Stafford Assizes of feloniously causing a miscarriage but was found not guilty. There is a long account of the case in the *Wolverhampton Chronicle*.

(18 Mar 1840) Staffordshire Assizes ... THE MEDICAL CASE ... Thomas Ashmall and Thomas Josiah Tay charged with feloniously using certain instruments and administering certain noxious ingredients for the purpose of causing the miscarriage of Hannah Lear, now Hannah Evans ... Ashmall did not answer; Tay appeared in court, and was about to go into the dock, when Mr. ... [long account] ... Mr W. Gill said he was a surgeon at Wolverhampton ... jury then under the direction of the court returned a verdict of not guilty [WTON:CHR]

F13.1844 Court case - Crown versus Peter Stanton, attempt to commit rape

In Mar 1844 Peter Stanton of Kingswinford surgeon c1781-1858 was charged in a court case at Stafford Assizes with an attempt to commit rape on a patient. The jury, after only a few minutes consultation, acquitted him.

(16 Mar 1844) Staffordshire Lent Assizes - Crown Court - CHARGE AGAINST A SURGEON Mr Peter Stanton who is advanced in life being 63 years of age was charged with an attempt to commit rape on Emma Brown on the 24th February at Brierley Hill ... [she was his patient] ... at his request she placed herself in a certain stooping position with her head on the bed when he made the application ordered. After this, according to the statement of the complainant he proceeded to take liberties with her. "The nature of the liberties was explained but they are unfit for publication". ... The learned counsel called a number of respectable females ... His Lordship summed up the case and the jury after a minutes consultation acquitted the prisoner who immediately retired. [STS:ADV]

F13.1846 Court case - Crown versus John Dickenson, manslaughter

In 1846 at an inquest John Dickenson of Bilston surgeon c1798-1847 was found guilty of manslaughter when he had attended Hannah Hickman during childbirth. However at a court case during the 1846 Stafford Spring Assizes he was found not guilty.

(1846) ... inquiry commenced before T.M. Phillips Esq coroner ... circumstances attending the death of Hannah Hickman ... verdict of manslaughter against Mr John Dickenson surgeon of Bilston. Mr Best surgeon [said] ... Mr Dickenson had not acted right; he considered his conduct as in many respects betraying extreme unskilfulness, in consequence of which he believed the deceased had died. ... Mr E.H. Coleman surgeon of Wolverhampton expressed a similar opinion ... upon which the jury at once returned a verdict of "manslaughter" ... [he] was committed on the Coroner's warrant for trial at the ensuing Assizes ... [The Lancet (1846) p313]

(17 Mar 1847) Sudden death of Mr John Dickenson surgeon of Bilston ... was forty-nine years of age and of intemperate habits lived in a house by himself in Shropshire Row ... Mr Thomas Dickenson brother to the deceased effected an entrance ... surgeon sent for but the deceased died [Thursday 4 Mar] before he arrived ... at the last Staffordshire Spring Assizes the deceased was tried for the manslaughter of Hannah [Hickman] ... The charge arose out of alleged negligence and ignorance whilst attending Mrs Hickman during childbirth. The trial terminated after a lengthened investigation in a verdict of not guilty. [WTON:CHR]

F13.1848 Court case - Crown versus William Harding Flint, ?manslaughter

In 1848 a court case was held at the Stafford Summer Assizes when William Harding Flint of Longnor surgeon e1808-1856 was indicted for killing and slaying [? manslaughter] of Elizabeth Riley at Sheen on 29 Mar 1848. That day Flint arrived after midnight to assist in the birth of Riley's child. He then slept until about 7am when after an examination he declared it a "preternatural presentation". Subsequently he maintained he had turned the foetus and delivered it - only to find a second foetus. At the trial a woman neighbour who had been present throughout Flint's attendance gave evidence as did a midwife who only arrived about 11am. On 13 Apr, on the coroner's order, a postmortem was conducted by Alfred James Simkins of Alstonfield M.R.C.S. 1816-1859 assisted by George Goodwin of Alstonfield M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1814-1872 (who practised at Longnor) and Mr Curling of Repton, Derbys. Evidence from the postmortem showed that Riley had likely died as a result of a severe rupture of the uterus. This having been established the Judge suggested that the jury consider this fact. They did and after a very short deliberation said "We think the death might have arisen from natural causes, and therefore we say he [Flint] is Not Guilty". However evidence from the neighbour, midwife and the postmortem showed that there had only ever been one foetus and that Flint's treatment of Riley appeared quite barbaric since it resulted in significant internal damage inflicted by a penknife. Flint's background is obscure. He falsely claimed to be qualified M.R.C.S. and L.S.A. and earlier in life he had been known as William Flint Harding. On account of the jury's early not guilty verdict, evidence from or in support of Flint was not heard but it appears that four local medics - Cornelius Waddell of Stafford M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1813-1861, then a Surgeon at Staffordshire General Infirmary, Charles Nelson Bromley of Stafford M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1817-1853, Richard Lassetter of Uttoxeter M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1806-1873 and Edward Smith Walters of Leek [M.R.C.S.] L.S.A. 1813-1867 were in attendance in court to have given evidence on his behalf. A newspaper report observes "Mr Flint has successfully practised his profession for the last 21 years during which long period he has not lost a single case in midwifery". *The Lancet* 2 (1848) p160-2 prints a long account of the trial and p354 investigates his qualifications. They end their account by stating "If the accused man were on the contrary not a qualified medical man the case offers a still stronger argument against the present medical condition of medical affairs which allow uneducated and unqualified persons to take the hazardous perils of midwifery upon themselves. We cannot at this time trust ourselves to offer a more particular expression of our opinion upon this lamentable case." A fuller account is given in §Y.1848.

F13.1854 Lawsuit - Thomas Crean versus George Edwardes, libel

In a lawsuit of 1854 at Stafford Assizes Thomas Crean of Brewood L.K&Q.C.P.I. c1827-1875 successfully sued George Edwardes of Wolverhampton F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1808-1859 for libel regarding his treatment of a patient. He received damages of £25.

(7 & 8 Aug 1854) [Libel Case at Stafford regarding treatment of a Coven man ...] Thomas Crean, surgeon, at Brewood sued for libel ... [plaintiff] was educated at Dublin ... obtained five prizes ... Having practised for two years in Ireland came to Brewood, and for three years acted as assistant to his uncle Mr M'Munn a surgeon in that town. He then purchased his uncle's business and carried it on for about two years till the 28th May 1853 ... on 13 August Mr George Edwards a Wolverhampton surgeon [who had apparently libelled Crean] was called in ... the jury found a verdict for the plaintiff with £25 damages. [Association Medical Journal 1 Sep 1854 with quite detailed account]

F13.1856 Court case - ?Crown versus Henry Frederick Hodgson, forging a diploma

In March 1856 Henry Frederick Hodgson of Cradley Heath in Rowley Regis "surgeon"1830-.... was to be tried at Stafford Assizes for forging a diploma as a M.R.C.S. He was alleged to have reused the diploma of Issachar Higgs of Kingswinford M.R.C.S. 1826-?1855 to whom he had been assistant.

(12 Mar 1856) CHARGE OF FORGING A DIPLOMA On Monday last at the Public Office before C. Cartwright, P. Williams and R. Fereday Esqrs, Mr H.F. Hodgson was charged with having forged a diploma, thus making himself appear as a duly qualified surgeon. The college of surgeons were the prosecutors and were represented by Messrs Rawlins and Rowley of Birmingham. Mr Corser appeared for the defendant. The particulars of the case have recently appeared. The defendant acted as assistant to the late Mr Issachar Higgs surgeon of Cradley and after the death of that gentleman he took to his practice and succeeded him in his house. In his sitting-room what purported to be his diploma was hung up. It was numbered 25,921 and his name was twice written on it over erasures having apparently been substituted for some other name. Suspicions arising that this was Mr Higgs diploma artfully altered enquiry was made and it was found that Mr Higgs's diploma was numbered 2,592 that no such number as 25,921 has been issued by the College of Surgeons and that no diploma had ever been granted to Henry Frederic Hodgson the defendant. The diploma to Mr Higgs was granted 9th July 1850. That which Mr Hodgson passed off as his bore date in July 1855 when the examiners whose signatures were appended to it had ceased to be examiners. The defence was reserved and the prisoner was committed for trial at the Stafford Assizes. [Worcester Chronicle]

F13.1858 Court case - ?Crown versus Joseph Froyssell, assault

In 1858 Joseph Froyssell of Willenhall L.R.C.P.E. c1806-1869 was fined £5 for an assault on a Willenhall veterinary surgeon when he "threw the contents of the chamber vessel through the window to the great annoyance of the complainant".

(9 Jan 1858) SINGULAR CHARGE OF ASSAULT Mr Joseph Froyssell surgeon at Willenhall appeared to answer ... assaulting ... Mr Joseph Attwood a veterinary surgeon of the same place ... [asked to attend a child at 2pm in morning and refused] ... threw the contents of the chamber vessel through the window to the great annoyance of the complainant ... charge proved and mulct the defendant the sum of £5 and costs. [Birmingham Journal]

G Medical practice - commercial aspects

G1 Introduction

Medicine as a career was only open to men from relatively wealthy families because of the cost of apprenticeship, training and education (§G2) and then of setting up in business (§G3). Evidently this cost would be balanced against expected salaries, incomes and fees (§G4). Practice was conducted from shops, surgeries and residences (§G5). The survival of the detailed list of book debts of Henry Fogg of Leek apothecary 1707-1750 provides some evidence regarding the scope of his practice with regard to both the area he covered and the amounts he charged (§G6). Certain levels of stock (§G7) were maintained and medical books (§G8) were needed for reference. Some men were involved in partnerships and companies (§G9) and others might have eventually faced insolvency and bankruptcy (§9).

G2 Cost of apprenticeship, training and education

The premiums paid for apprenticeship are discussed in §E1.4.4. In many cases the premium would have covered the living expences of the apprentice. Men who underwent training at hospitals (§E3) and medical schools (§E4) would have had to pay the fees charged together with their living expences. Those men, mostly physicians, who studied at universities (§D2) would also have faced fees together with heavy living expences and in some cases travel expences. No attempt is made in this work to quantify these figures.

In 1747 *A general description of all trades digested in alphabetical order* ... was published and includes descriptions of surgeons, barbers, apothecaries, chemists and druggists (given in full in §D3.1 and §D4.4). The extracts below reveal some financial detail (perhaps intended to reflect London practice) which are summarised in the table below.

SURGEONS ... This profession is attended with more or less expence in proportion to the sum that is required with the apprentice, and the place he is to reside in. In large and populous cities the expence is greatest; as the apprentice, during his servitude, is expected to make a better appearance; and the Master enhances his demand, as the apprentice has better prospect of business from a multiplicity of acquaintance at the expiration of his time, and greater opportunities of improving his understanding and learning. There is no fixing the sum they take with an apprentice; for some have £50, others £100, and so on to £400 or £500 according to the reputation they are in. The expence an apprentice is at during the seven years, in furnishing himself with cloaths, washing, and pocket-money, may be about £200. To furnish him with instruments, medicines, and proper books, £100 more. This, I believe, is the common expence of a surgeon that sets out in the mid-way.

BARBERS ... Or barber-surgeons, (which is the term they were incorporated by) is a trade very much in use now-a-days ... The chief qualifications in lads for this business are to be courteous, neat, and nimble, which will often recommend them to good masters without any money; though some give as far as £20. Their hours of working from six in the morning till eight at night. A common journeyman has from £10 to £20 a year, and his board; but a good hand at weaving and mounting perukes, or perriwigs (formerly, spelt perwick) has from six to twelve shillings per week. About £50 well laid out, will do for a middling beginner for himself, especially if he is beloved in his neighbourhood, and has a tolerable set of acquaintance.

APOTHECARIES ... The sums given with lads, going apprentices to this business, are from £20 to £300 according to the reputation and station the masters are in: and if a boy is of an affable, acute disposition, genteel and well-behaved, it will be so

much the better. They have no set hours for business; but I have observed they are not the earliest at it in the morning, yet attend pretty late at night: and an apprentice at first must expect to do the lower offices about the shop, though they generally keep serving-men, or boys, to go on errands, and do dirty Work. A journeyman has, according to his capacity, from £10 to £40 a year, and his board. For a person, who may be inclined to set up, £100 may do; but £200 I apprehend, will fit up a smart shop; besides which they ought to have somewhat handsome to support them till they get into a good set of patients.

CHEMISTS ... as the erecting a good laboratory[sic] is very expensive, and the articles they prepare numerous, many of them are costly too, a good fortune to set him up will be necessary; an hundred pounds or two which will be expended in putting him apprentice, if he goes to one eminent in his profession, which is now in greater vogue than ever among the practitioners in physic.

DRUGGISTS ... They expect with an apprentice from £50 to £100, pay a journeyman from £20 to £30 a year besides his board: And not less than £500 or rather £1,000 will set one up in this business.

•Business costs in 1747			
Trade	Apprenticeship premium	Journeyman's annual wage	Cost to set up in business
Surgeon	£50-£500		£100
Barber	£20	£10-£20	£50
Apothecary	£20-300	£10-£40	£100-£200
Chemist	£100-£200		
Druggist	£50-£100	£20-£30	£500-£1,000

G3 Cost of setting up a business

In order to set up in business a physician was perhaps best placed since - apart from perhaps a good library - he only needed to acquire a smart premises from where to practise. A surgeon would also need a library and a suitable house perhaps with a room set aside for surgery. He also needed to purchase instruments and medicines. In the case of an apothecary it seems likely that the cost of setting up might be greatest. He had to acquire a suitable premises and then fit it up as a shop (§G5). Also needed were medical books and a suitable stock. The figures in the table (above) suggest that in 1747 the cost to set up business as apothecary might be between £100 and £200 and as a surgeon about £100.

Many men might have joined family practices or the practice of their master. They might start as employees and later become junior partners eventually - in some cases - succeeding to the practice. As partners or successors they might need to buy into the business.

A newspaper advertisement of about 1850 gives the worth²⁶² of a "first-class Country Practice" at £1,300 pa. This might be intended to state the turnover. Two years later a Staffordshire practice with a turnover of £700 pa was advertised for sale at a premium of £1,000.

Partnership, with Succession to a first-class Country Practice, worth about £1,300 a year. It is situate in a good agricultural district, containing several wealthy resident families. and is about 3½ hours from London. The Practice is the leading one in the district and the present proprietor who has held it upwards of a quarter of a century will guarantee a most thorough and efficient introduction. Opposition extremely limited. The amount of premium will be based upon the amount of work done during the partnership. Apply to Mr J.C. Needes, 1 Adam Street, Adelphi W.C.

In 1852 in *The Lancet* appeared the following advertisement for a general practice in an (undiscovered) Staffordshire town.

(1852) Staffordshire. A General Practice, with Retail, long and well-established, in a thickly populated town, is for Disposal. Receipts, including appointments, nearly £700 a year. Premium for Stock and Fixtures (alone worth [?£100 or £400]) and Goodwill, £1,000. Rent of House, thirteen-roomed, £50. The furniture, if desired, may be taken at valuation. Apply to Messrs. Lane and Lara, 14 John-street, Adelphi, London [*The Lancet*]

G4 Salaries, incomes and fees

As discussed in §D1.2 the ability of a medic to make a living depended on his having access to a patient base of a certain size. Some patients paid him directly and others were provided for by parish relief or an organisation such as a friendly society. In the early period details of incomes have seldom been discovered but by 1700 a physician was said to charge a typical 10/0 fee and between 1717 and 1831 the annual salary of a Wednesbury parish "doctor" rose from £3 to £25.

(1665-1700) I find many notices of an angel, or ten shillings, being the usual [physician's] fee to them, from 1665, to the beginning of the present century [1700] ... Many persons, therefore, who wished to receive benefit from medicine, but unable or unwilling to fee physicians so largely, and at the same time too proud to solicit their gratuitous aid, would naturally apply to those, who offered both advice and medicines at a cheap rate. This also seems the chief reason, and not the greater credulity of the people, why empirics formerly abounded here, more than in any other country in Europe. For, since the complete establishment of apothecaries, as medical practitioners, the number of empirics[sic] has been considerably lessened; the descriptions of men, who on account of cheapness used to resort to the latter, now applying to the former, for the cure of their complaints. [William Charles Wells M.D. F.R.S. *A letter to the Right Hon. Lloyd Lord Kenyon ...* (1799) p83 footnote]

As early as 1717 Wednesbury had a parish doctor. Richard Hammersley was in that year appointed at a salary or fee of three guineas a year "for the cure of all those poor and impotent people of Wednesbury that shall not be thought able by the parishioners to pay for themselves." When he was not available, any other doctor called upon was to receive payment from Hammersley. In 1763 the doctor's annual fee was £5 and in 1831 when Robert Ladbury was appointed Parish Surgeon his salary was fixed at £25. He was to attend all paupers and "what other cases the Churchwardens and Overseers may think proper to recommend." These other cases included confinements where the mother was not in receipt of parish relief but was adjudged unable to pay for medical attendance without assistance. For each maternity case attended Ladbury was to be paid an additional 5s. by the parish. [John F. Ede *History of Wednesbury* Wednesbury Corporation (1962) p181, quoting various parish records]

²⁶² The figure might represent turnover rather than profit. Original source now lost.

In 1808 an outline proposal from the Royal College of Physicians proposed that District Physicians should have a salary not exceeding £500 (see §D4.5). This amount was presumably sufficient to attract men actually in practice to change career and might be considered to be a typical annual income for a successful established physician. Much later in 1871 the resident physician at Birmingham General Dispensary had a salary of £200 - this was presumably to attract a newly qualified man. In 1828 the salary of navy physicians ranged from £766 to £383 whilst army physicians were paid about £365. Physicians in institutional hospitals normally practised in an honorary unpaid capacity.

Salaries at the county's hospitals, gaol and lunatic asylum have been commented on in sections above. By the early to mid 19C a typical house apothecary or surgeon might have an annual salary of about £100. Similar payments appear to have been made in 1871 in other parts of the country.

Staffordshire General Infirmary (§F5.2) In 1766 Richard Hughes had an annual salary of £30 as apothecary and £10 as secretary. About 1806 the salary of the secretary was increased to 15 guineas (£15/15/0). In 1825 the annual salary for the combined offices was one hundred guineas (£105) (including an allowance for tea and sugar) with board and lodging. By 1838 the salary had increased to £120 but of this £20 was paid to a dispenser. That year the salary was increased to £120 additionally the dispenser was to be paid £20. By 1855 the salary had reduced to £100 but additionally "Furnished apartments, together with coals, gas, washing, and board will be provided by the Institution."

North Staffordshire Infirmary (§F5.4) From 1815 the offices of House Surgeon & Secretary appear to have been combined but by 1841 there was a separate Secretary. Both offices were salaried. In 1848 it was decided that the starting salary of the House Surgeon should be £100 with possible increases to £150. For some reason the starting salary in 1853 was only £70 but with annual increases of £10. By 1853 all candidates were required to be qualified both M.R.C.S. and L.S.A.

Wolverhampton Dispensary (§F5.5) The physicians and surgeons seem to have contributed their services free of charge but the house surgeons were paid a salary. In 1824 this was £100 per annum "with a house, coals and candle" but by 1842 had reduced to £80 per annum.

Stafford County Gaol (§F4.2) Before 1778 medics who provided services to the gaol were not salaried staff but presented bills to the authorities. That year in conformity with the 1774 act the new surgeon was paid an annual salary of £8 with a further £12 to be paid to the General Infirmary for medicines etc. By 1834 the surgeon's salary was £100 and in 1851 the salary of Robert Hughes was £200. From 1834 to 1851 the matron's salary was £80.

Staffordshire Lunatic Asylum (§D6.12) was offering a salary of £200 for a "House Surgeon, Apothecary, & Superintendent united" in 1818.

(1871) Vacancies: Dublin Fever Hospital, Cork Street - Apothecary and Accoucheur - Salary £90 with residence and extra fees ... Derby County Asylum - Assistant Medical Officer - Salary £100 ... Lincoln County Hospital - House-Surgeon - Salary £100 with board ... Rochdale Infirmary - Resident Medical Officer - Salary £80 ... Liverpool Dispensaries - Five Assistant House Surgeons - Salaries £103. ... Birmingham General Dispensary - Resident Physician Salary - £200 [Medical Press & Circular 1871]

Complex tables of pay of the medical departments of the army (p216), navy (p217) and East India company (p218) are given in *The medical calendar or students' guide to the medical schools ...* (1828). Typical²⁶³ salaries are shown in the table below. Navy physicians were "physicians to the fleet" and were better paid and likely better qualified than their army colleagues. East India Company surgeons appear highly paid but must have had heavy expenses.

•Royal Navy, Army & E.I.C. salaries - 1828	
Navy physician (senior)	766
Navy physician (junior)	383
Navy surgeon (senior)	328
Navy surgeon (junior)	182
Navy dispenser	182
Army physician	365
Army surgeon (senior)	365
Army surgeon (junior)	182
Army apothecary	182
East India Company surgeon (senior)	671
East India Company surgeon (junior)	247

Medical salaries may be compared to those achieved by schoolmasters. In 1795 at Cheddleton a schoolmaster to teach english and arithmetic was to get a salary of about £20 whilst in 1806 at Wolverhampton a *second master* - able to teach the classics - was to earn £100.

(29 Aug 1795) Wanted at the Free School at Cheddleton, near Leek, a schoolmaster, who must be qualified to teach the english language correctly, writing, and arithmetic. The present salary is nearly £20 per annum. ... [STS.ADV]

(31 May 1806) Free Grammar School Wolverhampton ... second master ... must be capable of teaching the Classics ... The Salary attached to this situation is one hundred pounds a year, with an house adjoining ... and liberty to take twelve boarders ... 27th May 1806 [STS.ADV]

²⁶³ It should be emphasised that the actual details of pay are very complex and sometimes depend on length of service.

G5 Shops, surgeries and residences



from: Pierre Morel *The expert doctors dispensary* (1657)

Apothecaries might typically work from a shop, surgeons from a shop or a surgery and physicians more often from their residence. However it is unlikely any strict rule applied. Any of these premises might be offered for sale or for lease. Sometimes shop fittings²⁶⁴ were offered for sale. They might be described as the *form of the shop* or the *shell of the shop* and might include counters to provide service and shelves and drawers to accommodate stock (as in the image above²⁶⁵). Some properties were sold by auction and newspaper notices often describe them in great detail.

(10 Oct 1748) An Apothecary's Shop to be Sold, and enter'd upon directly, at Newcastle under Line, in Staffordshire, situated near the Market Place, completely fitted up, and all the Utensils belonging to it almost as good as new. Enquire of Edmund Pierce, Surgeon, at Newcastle aforesaid, in whose Possession the said Shop now is. [Aris's Birmingham Gazette quoted by Lane (1993)]

(20 Feb 1749) To be Sold at Cannock, in the County of Stafford, the Form of an Apothecary's Shop, furnished with the best Drugs, and all Galenical and Chymical Preparations; most Sorts of Books in Physick, Surgery, Anatomy, Chymistry, and Pharmacy, and several Instruments for Surgery, Enquire of Mr [Joseph] Stubbs in Cannock aforesaid. N.B. As the said Mr Stubbs, to whom the Shop belongs, (and which he hath kept 30 Years and upwards) hath got a competent Fortune the said Shop and two or three Rooms adjoining to it, will be Lett, if required. [Aris's Birmingham Gazette quoted by Lane (1993)]

(8 Jul 1751) To be Lett, A well-accustom'd Apothecary's Shop, with a very good Dwelling House, Laboratory, Cold-Bath, and divers other Rooms, convenient for a Person of that, or any other considerable Trade or Profession, situate in Wolverhampton, late in the Possession of Dr [John] Altree, deceased, with a good Stable, Chaise House, Garden, a Pew or Pews in the Church, a Piece of Land, and many other Conveniences thereto belonging. [Aris's Birmingham Gazette quoted by Lane (1993)]

(23 Mar 1752) To be Sold at Newcastle under Line, in Staffordshire. An Apothecary's Shop, with the Counters, Drawers, Mortars, Still and all other Things thereunto belonging. For further Particulars, enquire of Mr William Sutton, Attorney, at Newcastle aforesaid. [Aris's Birmingham Gazette quoted by Lane (1993)]

(26 Mar 1753) To be Lett, immediately, A Good old-accustom'd Apothecary's Shop, of Richard Spencer, Surgeon and Apothecary, of Stone in Staffordshire²⁶⁶, lately deceased; the Shop is neatly fitted up with Utensils of all Sorts, and fresh Drugs to be sold. Enquire of Mrs Spencer, Widow, at Stone. N.B. He has been in Trade not above one Year, and had acquired great Business in the Surgery and Apothecary Practice. The House to be lett with it, if required. [Aris's Birmingham Gazette quoted by Lane (1993)]

(25 Dec 1753) To be Lett and enter'd on immediately, A Well-accustom'd Apothecary's Shop, at Brewood: Also a Quantity of fresh Drugs, and Instruments proper for Surgery and Midwifry, to be sold. A good Tenant will meet with Encouragement, For Particulars, enquire of Thomas Rock in Brewood. [Aris's Birmingham Gazette quoted by Lane (1993)]

(10 Nov 1798) To Gentlemen of the Faculty. A surgeon, apothecary, and man-midwife, being importuned by his friends to reside and practice in their (a distant) county, is desirous of so doing, provided he can meet with a skilful and respectable successor, as he is bound in duty to his numerous friends to fill up the vacancy that he will cause, should he leave his present connections. The circuit of the country in which he now visits, contains at least 40,000 souls, is a remarkable genteel one, and a gentleman of ability and address will meet encouragement, ever attendant on merit. A premium will of course be expected and the shell and stock taken on a fair valuation, and in the like mode, the contractor may be immediately accommodated also with the house genteely furnished if agreeable. Application made personally, or by letters postage paid, addressed to T. Oulton, Public Accountant, May Bank, near Newcastle-under-Line, will be attended to. Nov 6, 1798. [STS:ADV]

(2 Nov 1822) TO BE LET An excellent dwelling-house and shop situated in the Iron-Market, Newcastle now in the possession of Mr Spark surgeon who is removing to the premises occupied by the late Robert Bentley Esq. [STS:ADV]

(23 Feb 1822) TO THE FACULTY In consequence of the death of Mr Weaver surgeon of Walsall (who has been settled there 18 years) a vacancy occurs for a gentleman wishing to practice in a populous town and neighbourhood. No good will is required; the stock to be taken at a valuation; and part of the furniture if required. The house consists of two parlours and six lodging rooms, entire yard, good pump of water, garden and stable. The same will be let either from year to year, or upon lease at twenty pounds per annum. If mutually agreeable the apprentice who has two years to serve, will continue with the gentleman who takes the practice. Apply to Mander, Weaver and Mander, chemists, Wolverhampton. [STS:ADV]

(21 Oct 1829) TO BE SOLD BY AUCTION, By Mr. TITTERTON, Upon the Premises, Horninglow Street, Burton-upon-Trent, On Monday the 2d of November, 1829, and the four following days, at ten each day; All the Genteel HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE, and other Effects, the property of Dr. CHAWNER, (changing his Residence) Comprising [long list of furniture] quantity of good hops, oak counters and surgery fixtures, valuable paintings and prints, medical and other books, surgical instruments and other valuable effects. N.B. The Paintings, Prints, Medical and other Books, and Surgical Instruments, consisting of 200 Lots, will be sold on Friday, the last day of sale. ... THE DWELLING HOUSE, GARDEN, CROFT & PREMISES (which are Freehold for ever,) will be sold by Private Contract [Derby Mercury 21 Oct 1829]

(18 Jun 1842) LONGTON ... late Thomas Chadwick surgeon ... Auction ... June 28th 1842 ... household furniture, handsome phaeton ... medical books, instruments etc ... Queen Street, Vauxhall, Longton and contiguous to his late residence which is now in the occupation of his successor Mr George Bakewell ... The furniture, saddlery, and books are the greater part new of prime quality and first-rate condition many of the articles having been scarcely ever used except for the purpose of cleaning them and from the known eccentricity of the late worthy and lamented proprietor and his judgment in selection present an opportunity to parties desirous of purchasing really first rate articles seldom to be met with ... [STS:ADV]

²⁶⁴ Fittings were moveable whilst the term fixtures came to mean items incorporated or built-in to the fabric of a building. Former usage was not strict.

²⁶⁵ Also see print entitled "MATTHEW MANNA. A COUNTRY APOTHECARY" (at end)

²⁶⁶ Richard Spencer of Stone surgeon & apothecary 1731-1753

(4 Nov 1876) Auction ... 16 Nov 1876 ... A capital message with out-offices ... in High Street ... Cheadle ... The house contains ... a commodious surgery ... nine bedrooms ... one of the best residences in the town of Cheadle ... A purchaser would have the option of taking the drugs and the fixtures in the surgery at valuation. [Staffordshire Sentinel]

G6 Henry Fogg's book debts²⁶⁷

G6.1 Introduction

Henry Fogg of Leek apothecary 1707-1750 was the son of Henry Fogg of Leek butcher c1671-.... and his wife Ann (Godwin). He married 29 May 1728 at Leek to Eleanor Bradley who bore him two sons who both died in infancy. She died in 1745. Fogg made his will on 9 Jun 1749 and in it bequeathed all his goods to his father Henry Fogg and appointed an uncle Benjamin Sant of Leek innholder and a brother-in-law Samuel Bradley as executors. Fogg was buried on 6 Sep 1750 at Leek. After Fogg's death Sant renounced leaving Bradley the sole executor and he was granted probate at Lichfield on 24 Dec 1751. The will was endorsed as "Inf [under] £20" in value.

(9 Jun 1749) Henry Fogg the younger of Leek apothecary ... unkle Benjamin Sant of Leek [executor] ... shop goods, book debts [etc] to father Henry Fogg of Leek butcher ... brother in law Samuel Bradeley [executor] under £20[sic] ... [Benjamin Sant of Leek innholder renounces 19 Dec 1751]

An inventory of Fogg's goods was drawn up by Thomas Pratt and Jeremiah Corden. Of these goods some were sold to the executor Samuel Bradley and some "publicly sold" (perhaps auctioned) to various buyers. A few other items including his "wearing apparrell" were delivered, unappraised, to his father Henry. His shop goods (£51/10/0) and his books (£2/2/0) (see §G8.2) were sold to Hugh Wishaw of Leek apothecary. Settled debts amounted to £43/2/2½. All this personalty was said to amount to £148/0/4½. On 20 Feb 1753 the executor Samuel Bradley exhibited a further inventory²⁶⁸ and was sworn to its truth. This document must be based on the original inventory (which is not known to have survived) but also also includes some other non-desperate and desperate debts perhaps not included in the original inventory

The overall record must have been compiled between Sep 1750 and Feb 1753 perhaps jointly by Pratt and Corden the appraisers and Samuel Bradley himself. Henry Fogg probably had an account book in which he would record all his debts. Compiling the list of the settled debts would have been straightforward since details would have been to hand and copies of receipts were probably kept. If the lists of unsettled debts were taken from his account book they might have dated back to about 1728 when Fogg is thought to have commenced practice. A number of (incomplete) entries are annotated "so in bill". This could indicate the contemporary survival of some original bills (?invoices). It would be natural to assume that all the book debts were owed on account of Fogg's medical services but this is nowhere stated. One debt of £1/1/0 was specifically said to be "money lent to Thomas Maddock". Generally no mention is made of debts that Fogg owed (or might have owed) to other people. However a number of debts were disputed by the debtors and are annotated as "claims a (larger) debt from the testator".

The final inventory records his "book debts" in three sections. First "... Sums received .. from ... several persons ..." (*settled debts*), second, "debts esteemed not to be desperate but have not yet been received" (*non-desperate debts*) and, third, "debts ... esteemed to be desperate & irrecoverable" (*desperate debts*). These debts are recorded on pages 4-11 of the inventory. They are summarised in the table below. His settled debts were paid by 152 people, ranged from 0/3 to £2/8/4 and totalled £43/2/2½ (average 5/8). Five non-desperate debts ranged from 0/3 to 4/0 and totalled 9/6 (average 1/11). A larger number of 203²⁶⁹ desperate debts ranged from 0/4 to £2/17/4 and totalled £55/11/9 (average 5/6). At the time of his death all these 360 debts totalled £99/3/5½ (average 5/6).

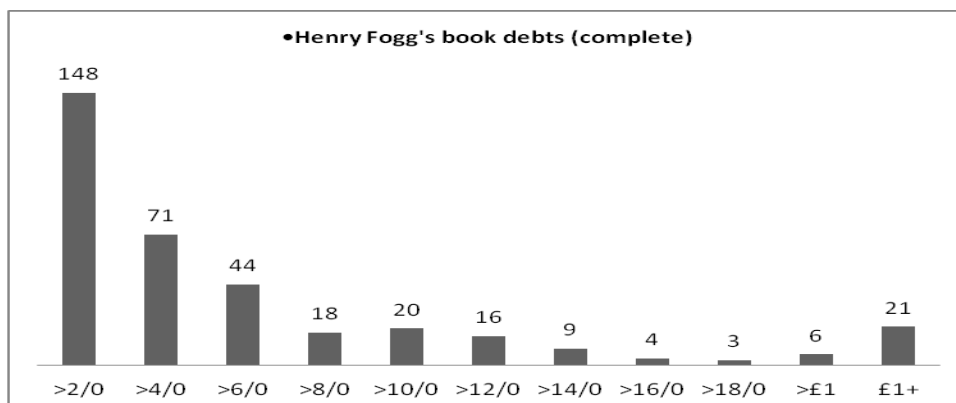
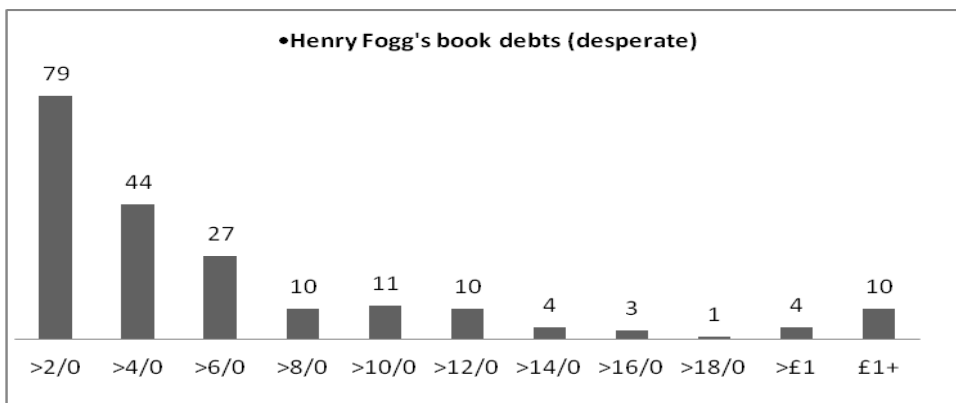
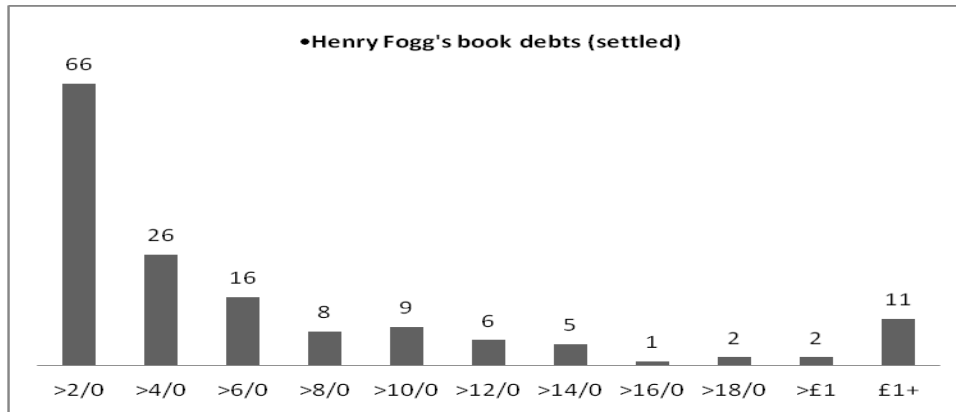
•Henry Fogg's book debts										
	Page	Number	Total			Average	Lowest	Highest	M	F
			£	s	d					
Settled debts	4	55	19	12	6					
	5	54	11	16	10					
	6	43	11	12	10.5			93%	7%	
<i>Sub-total</i>		152	43	2	2.5	5/8	0/3	£2/8/4	141	11
Non-desperate debts	7	5	0	9	6				100%	0%
<i>Sub-total</i>		5	0	9	6	1/11	0/3	4/0	5	0
Desperate debts	8	46	10	18	8					
	9	59	12	10	6.5					
	10	59	17	16	8.5					
	11	39	14	5	10				80%	20%
<i>Sub-total</i>		203	55	11	9	5/6	0/4	£2/17/4	162	41
All Debts		360	99	3	5.5	5/6			308	52

²⁶⁷ This topic is extensively discussed in Joan Lane and Anne Tarver "Henry Fogg (1707-1750) and his patients: The practice of an eighteenth-century Staffordshire apothecary" in *Medical History* 37 (1993) p187-96. I have published a fuller account as *Name and place indexes to the book debts of Henry Fogg of Leek apothecary 1707-1750 (with an introduction)* (Staffordshire Historical Monographs 6) Dragonby Press (2021). Both accounts should be carefully compared with the original.

²⁶⁸ LRO B/C/1753/113

²⁶⁹ Or 201 when the two newly married women's debts are combined with that of their husbands (as in the original)

In the next three tables the distribution of the book debts - settled, desperate²⁷⁰ and complete are shown. Distribution of settled and desperate debts was very similar and for this reason the ensuing discussion deals with the complete body of debts.



In the following sections the names (§G6.2), styles (§G6.3), occupations (§G6.4), places (§G6.5) and amounts (§G6.6) associated with each debt are briefly noticed. Of particular significance is the area of his practice (§G6.4) and the range of amounts owed (above).

G6.2 Names

There are a total of 354 named persons. Of the 360 book debts four were desperate debts owed by unknown persons recorded as "a man at Foxt unknown 1/3", "a woman at Blew Hills 1/0", "a Man at the Holehouse 1/0" and "a woman near Naychurch 1/9". In two cases men who had recently married had their wives' former debts incorporated with their own. Two cases occur where debtors are listed twice. In the case of John Allen one amount was for his servant, in the case of John Hall the reason is not stated. Prominent debtors included "Mr. Armett of Toft House" who was probably the William Armett who was Sheriff²⁷¹ of Staffordshire in 1764/5. Also named were "The Rever'd Mr Lea of Grindon" who was Henry Lea (Rector of Grindon) c1684-1755 [SCD] and "Mr Robert Key of Leek" a quaker physician.

G6.3 Styles

Of the 360 debts, 308 (86%) were incurred by men and 52 (14%) by women. Of the settled debtors women formed 7% of the whole whilst of the desperate debtors they formed 20%. Twelve of the women were described as widows and of these two were dead. Of the 308 men, 29 were dead whilst of the 52 women, four were dead and of these two were widows. So that of the 360, 33 were dead (of which 8 had settled, 1 was non-desperate and 24 were desperate). Eight men were described as "late of ----" doubtless signifying only that they had moved elsewhere. Of

²⁷⁰ His non-desperate debts are only included in the table of all debts.

²⁷¹ SHC 1912 p291

the 308 men, 45 (15%) were styled "Mr."; whilst of the 52 women, 5 (10%) were styled "Mrs.". So that of the 360, 50 (14%) were given a *gentrified* status

G6.4 Occupations

The occupations of only 17 people are mentioned (as below). Lea was Henry Lea (Rector of Grindon) (mentioned above). Whilst "Mrs Hall late of Leek mantuamaker [dressmaker] (dead)" may be the "Elizabeth Hall of Pethill widow" who was buried at Leek on 26 Jan 1747.8. Desperate debts were owed by William Oliver and John Robinson of whom it is stated "these two are unknown and? suppos'd to be servt. who lived with husbandmen in the country". Thomas Weston became a shoemaker after incurring his debt.

•Henry Fogg - debtors' occupations					
Name		M/F	Dead	Style	Occupation
Joseph	Jackson	M			baker
Henry	Davenport	M			blacksmith
John	Cope	M			butcher
Joseph	Jackson	M			butcher
John	Hall	M			chairmaker
not stated	Hall	F	d	Mrs	mantuamaker
James	Cope	M			mill carrier
Thomas	Gent	M			packthread spinner
not stated	Lea	M		Mr	reverend
John	Allen	M			servant
William	Oliver	M			servant
James	Robinson	M			servant
Thomas	Weston	M			shoemaker
John	Hall	M			slater
Thomas	Lownde	M			soldier
Samuel	Toft	M			soldier
Samuel	Toft	M			taylor

G6.5 Places

The place of origin of 354 of the 360 book debts can be fairly confidently identified. Only eight were from outside the county. Four from Cheshire (including Gawsworth and Macclesfield), three from Derbyshire (Hartington and Parwich) and one from Lancashire (Manchester). Four debtors had *subsequently* moved from Leek to other counties. Thomas Newton had gone to Macclesfield and Thomas Rowley to Knutsford, both in Cheshire, William Smith to the "city of London" and Peter Alker to Warrington, Lancashire. William Masterman of Leek was said to have "run his country" but perhaps not to avoid his debt of 0/6. The remaining book debts (346) were from Staffordshire. Unsurprisingly the bulk were from Leek (236) and the rest from eight parishes within a five mile radius²⁷² (59) and 12 other parishes within a five to ten mile radius (51). They are all named in the table below.

•Henry Fogg - debtors' places										
Staffordshire parishes				Undiscovered		Out of County				
Leek		under 5 miles	under 10 miles					original		moved to
Leek	236	Meerbrook	4		not known	1	not known	CHE	2	
			Longnor	2	not stated	5	Gawsworth	CHE	1	
		Elkstone	5				Knutsford	CHE		1
			Butterton	10			Macclesfield	CHE	1	1
			Wetton	2						
			Alstonfield	8			Hartington	DBY	2	
			Grindon	10			Parwich	DBY	1	
		Onecote	3							
			Ilam	1			Manchester	LAN	1	
			Waterfall	1			Warrington	LAN		1
			Caldon	4						
		Ipstones	13				London	LON		1
			Kingsley	4						
			Cheadle	2						
		Cheddleton	24							
			Stoke-upon-Trent	3						
		Bagnall	2							
			Norton-in-the-Moors	4						
		Horton	5							
		Rushton	3							
Totals	236		59	51	0	6			8	360
										4

²⁷² The radius has been (roughly) calculated from Leek parish church to the parish church of the named parish.

G6.6 Amounts

Twenty-one of the debts were for £1 or above and of those eleven were settled (of which eight were over £1). Of these larger debts those owed by Stubbs, Toft and Potts were disputed (*contra*) debts (below), one was paid as a balance, and one was a loan.

•Henry Fogg's book debts - £1 or above										
Name				Place				£	s	d
John	Taylor	M	d		Birchall near	Leek	2	17	4.0	
not stated	Wheildon	M		Mr	Bubchurch near	Ipstones	2	8	4.0	
Joseph	Yates	M			Stanley	Leek	2	0	0.0	
Matthew	Stubbs	M				Butterton	<i>contra</i>	1	19	5.0
William	Fernihough	M	d			Leek		1	13	6.0
not stated	Toft	M		Mr	Hare Gate near	Leek		1	11	0.0
Samuel	Toft	M			taylor	Leek	<i>contra</i>	1	9	5.0
not stated	Armett	M		Mr	Toft House	Leek		1	7	6.0
Francis	Brookbank	M	d			Leek		1	7	3.0
not stated	Potts	M		Mr		Leek	<i>contra</i>	1	7	2.0
John	Sant	M				Leek	<i>balance</i>	1	6	5.0
Thomas	Hind	M			<i>Gibb Jarr</i>	Alstonfield		1	5	7.0
William	Challinor	M	l			Leek		1	3	0.0
not stated	Hollins	M		Mr		Leek		1	2	7.0
Robert	Smith	M				Leek		1	2	6.5
Thomas	Maddock	M				Leek	<i>loan</i>	1	1	0.0
Samuel	Steel	M	d			Leek		1	0	6.0
Walter	Osborne	M				Leek		1	0	6.0
James	Turner	M			Basford	Cheddleton		1	0	0.0
George	Hargreaves	M			Park Lane	Leek		1	0	0.0
Ellen	Brown	F				Leek		1	0	0.0

The disputed (*contra*) recorded as "claims a (larger) debt from the testator" were some of the larger debts and are shown in the table below ranked by value. The average of these debts was 15/9 far greater than the average debt of 5/6 (see above).

•Henry Fogg's book debts (disputed)						
Matthew	Stubbs		Butterton	1	19	5.0
Samuel	Toft	taylor	Leek	1	9	5.0
Mr	Potts		Leek	1	7	2.0
George	Gould		Leek	0	14	1.5
Sampson	Stubbs		<i>Wardlow in Caldon</i>	0	13	7.0
David	Ball		Leek	0	13	4.0
John	Mortyn		Leek	0	11	7.0
Robert	Pimlett		Leek	0	4	1.0
George	Brown		Leek	0	3	10.0
John	Rider		Leek	0	1	2.0
Total				7	17	8.5
<i>Average</i>					15	9

Thirty-two debts were owed by *the gentry* (27 *Mr* and 5 *Mrs*) which ranged between 11/5 and 0/2 and averaged 3/1 much less than the overall average of 5/6 (above).

G7 Stock and instruments

G7.1 Introduction

Below are extracts from 21 discovered wills and 9 inventories which mention shops and their contents or stock and instruments. Most descriptions are succinct but four are of particular note. A few more wills are noticed in §G8.1 on books.

In 1655 the inventory of John Parker of Lichfield apothecary includes a reference to a shop sign "In the window with the naked boy £1" and lists in considerable detail both fittings (such as boxes, chests, counters and shelves) and shop stock with a total value of £124/1/10.

Following on in 1666 another Lichfield inventory for Samuel Newbould apothecary provides an exceptionally detailed list of over a hundred items stocked in his shop (which alone total £27/3/0).

Next in 1685 in the inventory of John Sharratt of Wolverhampton barber surgeon is mention of "1 barbers pole 1/6" and "15 rasers wherof 2 tipt wth silver" along with many other implements and stock including "1 gray perrywig 2/6". His inventory totals only £5.

The last inventory of particular note is that of Henry Fogg (1753). This lists his shop goods valued at £51/10/0 and his books valued at £2/2/0. However it is perhaps unique on account of its detailed lists of 360 book

debts with the names of debtors, amounts due, and in some cases occupations, addresses and other miscellanea (see §G6).

A few wills and inventories mentions books, medical and non-medical, and these are recorded in §G8 where a particular account is given of Henry Fogg's books.

G7.2 Wills and Inventories (extracts)

(18 Feb 1619.20) Richard Collier of Lichfield chirurgion e1581-1620 [inventory²⁷³] "Apothecaries potts & druggs £2"

(3 Mar 1640.1) Thomas Cope of Lichfield apothecary e1574-1641 [will] "all the wares belonging to my trade which nowe are in my shopp ... together with the shelves chests and boxes in my shoppe or belonging to my trade"

(7 Mar 1654.5) John Parker of Lichfield apothecary e1619-1655 [inventory²⁷⁴] In the shopp: In the window with the naked boy £1; Plaisters, red wax, confeccion hyacynthya £3/1/0; In the litle nest of boxes by the boy £1/11/0; Pylles and chymicke oyles, metredate and extractes £4/19/2; In the second nest of litle boxes £3/8/0; In the greate nest of boxes £2/19/0; In the second nest of boxes £6/4/6; In the therd nest of boxes £1/10/0; In the fourth nest of boxes £1/4/0; In the longe nest of boxes £2/5/0; Under the boxes £5/10/0; In the galley pottes standinge over the boxes £2/12/0; In serropps £4/8/0; In oyles £2; In conserves £2/1/0; In oynments £1/13/0; In lohoches [linctuses] 12/0; In electuaries 16/6; In simple waters £1/4/0; In oyles 15/0; In sperritts £3/15/0; In serropes more and in conserves £3/17/0; In boxes under the glasses £2; Grocery in the first, second, and therd chests £2/14/0; In the 4th chest symples £9/5/0; In paper £2; In the boxes standinge on that side the shopp next the hall £8/13/8; White earthen plate £1; In shott and thridd £1; In tobaccu £3/10/0; Oyles and turpetine upon the post £1/12/0; In paynted boxes att the hall doare £2/14/0; Eight nestes of boxes £2/8/0; All the chestes or counters £2; The railles in the window and the barrells 10/0; Two greate morters and pestells and charcoal pan £3/15/0; Scales, lead weightes and bras weightes £1/12/0; In pewter measures and glister pott 8/0; In burgany pitch and sponges 8/0; Glasses for speeces 8/0; Seaventy serropp and oyle potts £4/10/0; In other galle pottes £1/10/0; In glasse bottles of all sortes £3; In urnnalls and biskett mouldes 6/0; In boxes greate and small of all sortes £2/5/0; In sugar loaves £2/10/0; In sweete meates £6; Boxes for sweete meates 4/0; Saltes 4/0; Shalves and odd implementes 10/0 [Total £124/1/10]

(30 May 1660) Humphrey Bennet of Lichfield chirurgion e1610-1660 [will] my new case of instrumts with all my silver instrumts & razors tipt with silver ... my ??? case of instrumts (except my tipt razors with silver) ... two lancets ... two printed books of chirurgy called Woodall & Read with all my receipts of chirurgery

(25 Jun 1666) Samuel Newboul of Lichfield apothecary 1636-1666 [inventory²⁷⁵] In the shopp: Orris rootes 12d, horse spice 12d, burgamy [burgundy] pitch 4d 2/4; Wt. lead 3s, sweet almondes 16d, juice lycorish 10d 5/2; Bay berryes 6d, dyapenty 2s, hartshorne 8d 3/2; Wt. coppis 2s, pelytary and nox vomica 8d 2/8; Camphire 3d, olibinum and borax 2s 2/3; Vermilian and Roman vitriall 2s, pomegrate pills 12d 3/0; Verdigrease 20d, gum hammanicum 2s 8d 4/4; Turby [turpeth] 18d, graynes 2d, allows 4s 5/8; Cantharades 6d, lapis calaminaris 3d 0/9; Franckincense 6d, jallopp 3s, cerius 8d 4/2; For plaisters 4s, mastick 3s, opapanax 12d 8/0; Oculus inde 20d, mouth gum 18d 3/2; Tackimey hacky [tacamahacca] and carranny 1/6; Virgin's wax 8d, cucheneale 5s, steele 18d 7/2; For severall conserves 4/0; 6 lbs soft wax 3s, quicksilver 6d 3/6; Severall cimmical oyles 9/0; Aqua fortis and spirit of wine 3/0; Treacle water 2s 4d, cynamon water 3s 5/4; For severall syrroppes 6/0; Severall electuaries with some litle quantity of metridate and London treacle 6/8; Severall oynmentes 4/0; For ambergreese, besor, seed pearle, castor, mercurius vitae,; and some other small things £1/1/0; Benjamin, storax, ladbanum and corax 5/6; Carthamus seedes, cortex caparis and isinglass 2/0; Dyagredium, wt. mercury, perfumed cloves, junyper berryes,; litharides and longe peper 8/0; 1 herball book 16/0; Ellibor and stibium 2/0; Polipodium and gum dragon 1/8; Guacum and calamus 2/6; Maiden haire 8d, common bolus 16d 2/0; Common lake and pensills 1/4; Cardimums and sassifrage 2/0; Stickodus, sanguis dragonis, newforbium, terra sigillata 3/4; Galbanum, venus turpentine 2/4; Jallopp, small mirrhe, spouck, caterack and orgall 6/0; Sigopane, epithomum, and spicknard 6/6; Ruberb, gum alemina and agrigg 7/0; Staves ackre, ginney peper, cortex guatum 1/0; Gentium rootes 2s, cassia custecata 12d 3/0; Cena 3s, mecoicum, dictaminus, sarsiparilla 4s 6d 7/6; For severall oyles and 1 pott of hogges' grease 9/0; Castle sope 2s, washballs 12d 3/0; Party gold 5/4; 1 sett gold weights and scales, 6 payre old scales and brass weightes 6/8; 1 pinte, 2 quarter pintes, 1 glister pott, and some other small measures 4/0; 2 brasse morters and 2 pestills £1/6/8; 1 litle broken mortar and pestill 1/6; Turmerick 10/6; White and browne paper 9/8; Nest boxes £15/5/2; Syrupp pottes and oynment pottes £1; For pound pottes and small pottes 5/0; For galiand glasses 6/0; For other glasses and jugges 4/0; 2 chestes, 2 stooles and rayles for the windows 12/0; 1 remnant best sope 18/0; Fine powder suger £2/1/8; Shott 6/8; Starch 6/8; A remt. powder sugar and ½ lb lose suger 2/0; Another remt. powder suger 8/4; Browne suger £2/1/0; A small parcell res: solis 6/0; Maligo resinges 10/6; Currans 1/0; Safron 0/8; Pepper 9/0; Cloves and mace 11/6; Cinamon 12d, nutmegges 2d 1/2; Rice 2d, brimistone 1d 0/3; Annysseedes 1/0; Carraway seedes 0/1; Hopps 10d, gawles 18d 2/4; Treackle 10/0; Aniseed water and aqua vitae 12/4; 1 screw, some odd boxes, barrells, and other utensills 5/6; Common turpentine, nor' oyle and black sope 3/4 [Total £27/3/0]

(11 Aug 1685) John Sharratt of Wolverhampton barber surgeon e1621-1685 [will] all the instruments and tools & vissills which are in my house and shop which belong to my trade and all things which belong unto the shop as linnens, salves and all other materials which belong to the shop and are usefull to my trade as barber-chyrurgion

(1685) John Sharratt of Wolverhampton barber surgeon e1621-1685 [inventory] 15 rasers wherof 2 tipt wth silver 4 wth block tin all valued at 8/0; 1 large & 1 smal insersion knife one dismerred? saw 2 cauterising irons 2/6; 1 old salvatory 0/2; 14 horn and wood combs 2/4; some od rusty small instrumts of iron 0/8; 5 old lancitts & a case 2/2; 1 new & 2 pittifull old cases for razors &c 3/0; 2 hones 2/6; haire 4/0 ... 1 gray perrywig 2/6 ... 6/6; 22 lb of diapalme ?drinimion and a pitch plaister &c at 0/8 perlt 14/8; silver instruments &c 4 ounces at 4/6 & a tobacco stopper tipt with silver all at 18/0; unguents in 3 potts 0/9; one standing salvatory 0/6; odd pieces of salve &c not seen & unapprised 1/0; 10 lb of bras in basons &c at 0/8 per lb 6/8; 5 lb of pewter in basons &c bloud dishes &c at 0/8 3/4; 1 caser 13 lb at 0/5 per lb 5/5; 1 leaden sistern at 2/6; 1 tin vessel 0/4; 4 old joynd stools 2/0; 2 old barbers chaires 1/0; 4 pr of scissors 2p ...; 6 spatulas at 0/8 all; 1 plaister box with som small instrumts gereem ft 2/6 ... 4/10; 1 litle old coffer 1/6; 1 wooden frame for bloud ?poiengery & .. 1 barbers pole 1/6; 2 old cushions 0/6; shopclothes & barbers aprons 5/0; 1 old duskey glas 0/6; 1 hamer 1 whipsaw 1 brush 1 puffbag haire pouthter washballs &c 2/2 [Total £5]

(14 Jan 1694.5) Zachary Turnpenny of Wolverhampton barber chirurgion ... my apprentice Thomas Garlick all my barbering instrumts soever that now arte in my shop ... An inventory of the goods & chattells of Zachary Turnpenny late of Woolverhampton ... barber chyrurgion deceased ... 4 February 1694 [1694.5] In the Shopp, Two case of barbers instrumts 1/10/0, Two basons A brass water pott & a brass chafer 12/0, A chaire 0/9, A rack & bloud porringere 3/0, A looking glass 2/6, A coffer & a litle table with a drawer 10/0, A paire of haire cards & periwig ribboning 5/0, An iron ladle & spatlua 0/8, Six ?nicht pewter basons to hang on the ?pole & 2 porringers 3/6, Two hones [deletion] --, A small brass mortar & pestill 2/0, Shop linnen and aprons 8/0, Galley potts & botles 1/0, Two paire of ?pares & a paire pulicans 2/0, [subtotal £4/0/5]

(1 Jan 1716.7) Francis Bridges of Burton-upon-Trent apothecary c1645-1717 [inventory] A box of surgeons instrumts 10/0 ... in the back study one hundred and twenty bookes £3/10/0"

(4 Apr 1722) Charles Bradgate of Tamworth apothecary 1696-1722 [inventory] "Shop valued at £55" [no detail]

(18 Dec 1741) James Smith of Uttoxeter surgeon e1670-1741 [will] all my instruments and medicines whatsoever with appurt's belonging to the phisic or surgery

(17 Dec 1736) Thomas Garlick of Wolverhampton surgeon ... c1677-1737 [will] unto my son Robert Garlick all the goods belonging the shop and all my books and instrumts and every other thing belonging to the business ...

(1753) Henry Fogg of Leek apothecary 1707-1750 [inventory] All the shop goods to wit: drugs simples spirits vials bottles gallipots counter drawers shelves weights & scales brass & copper pans mortars and pestles pewter measures bleeding cups a pair of screws & all the shop utensills were valued appraised & sold to Mr Hugh Wishaw for the sum of £51/10/0 ... All the deceased's books ... [now see §G6 & G8.2]

273 SHC 1969 p55

274 With the permission of Matthew Blake, Honorary Secretary of the Staffordshire Record Society this inventory has been copied from D.G. Vaisey (Ed.) *Probate inventories of Lichfield and district 1568-1680* in SHC 1969 p99-102

275 With the permission of Matthew Blake, Honorary Secretary of the Staffordshire Record Society this inventory has been copied from D.G. Vaisey (Ed.) *Probate inventories of Lichfield and district 1568-1680* in SHC 1969 p155-161 [Therein is a full glossary of technical terms]

- (24 Mar 1753) Richard Spencer of Stone surgeon & apothecary 1731-1753 [inventory] a parcel of books £1/1/0; Drugs in the shop £15; Mortars and pewter measures 10/0; instruments £4; ?fluid bottles and phials £9; counter drawers etc £5/5/0; conserve potts gallipots etc £1/1/0 (17 Oct 1759) John Bailey of Uttoxeter apothecary ?1686-1759 [will] "my medicines, utensils of trading tools bottles and potts ... my watch, lancets and case"
- (11 Aug 1763) John Audley of Alrewas surgeon c1700-1763 [inventory] "In the Tenants Chamber: Five old books 7/6, Two Desks 8/0, Two Dozen Glass Bottles 2/6, Old Lumber 2/0"
- (18 Sep 1771) Benjamin Wetwood of Stafford apothecary e1718-1781 [will] "my shop and all my drawers boxes shelves and other utensills made use of in my business together with all my drugs and stock in trade"
- (28 Oct ?1771) Jeremiah Addenbrooke of Kingswinford apothecary 1701-1773 [will] "all that my message or tenement with the shop"
- (5 Apr 1776) John Hassard of Penkridge surgeon & apothecary [will] ... unto Samuel Perks [brother of John] my ..cett case and all my physical books which are in the desk in the little parlour in case he is brought up an apothecary ... [very long will]
- (15 Oct 1777) Christopher Ley of Burton-upon-Trent surgeon & apothecary 1698-1779 [will] "all my shop goodes drugs instruments and utensills whatsoever in my business as surgeon and apothecary"
- (27 Sep ?1781) John Dickinson of Bilston surgeon & apothecary c1738-1782 [will] "all my fixtures in the shop and instruments belonging to my business of a surgeon and apothecary together with all my books appertaining to surgery physick and midwifery and all my stock of drugs"
- (9 Dec 1786) Thomas White of Wolverhampton surgeon & apothecary 1728-1787 [will] the shell of my shop and all my druggs and medicines together with all my anatomical preparations at the price of forty pounds ... all my library of books which relate to physic or surgery and my chirurgical instruments ...
- (23 Feb 1790) William Wetwood of Stafford surgeon 1746-1790 [will] "all my drawers, boxes, shelves and other utensills made use of in my business together with all druggs & stock in trade & book debts"
- (19 Feb 1795) William Hassell of Wolverhampton surgeon 1752-1795 [will] ... Mr Joseph Jones of Wolverhampton surgeon all my books relating to physic surgery anatomy and medical botany and also all my surgical instruments of every sort ...
- (29 Aug 1801) Isaac Cope of Leek surgeon & apothecary c1717-1801 [will] "all my stock of drugs chymicals and Compounds with the counters shelves drawers and other pots instruments with all other appendages appertaining to the business of a surgeon and apothecary and which shall be found in my shop [and] books as relate to my profession"
- (5 Apr 1810) Edward Taylor of Wednesbury surgeon c1749-1810 [will] "all my surgical instruments and the shell of my shop complete"
- (12 Apr 1821) Francis Watkin Weaver of Walsall surgeon 1775-1822 [will] ... give and bequeath all my medical books and surgeons instruments unto my son William Weaver ...
- (9 Mar 1832) Charles Chadwick of Leek surgeon 1789-1836 [will] "all my drugs medicines shop fixtures medical books and surgical instruments"
- (8 Jun 1833) William Chawner of Cheadle surgeon 1786-?1833 [will] ... to my brother Thomas all my surgical instruments and books relating to my profession ...
- (12 Apr 1849) John Foster of Tamworth surgeon c1788-1849 [will] ... son John Foster all my surgical instruments, drugs, shop fixtures and books ...
- (18 Aug 1855) Thomas Henry Sharples of Tamworth M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1815-1856 [will] ... brother Wiliam Sharples of Horncastle [Lincs] surgeon all my books relative to medicine and surgery and also all my surgical instruments ...

G8 Medical books (ownership)

In §G8.1 is a list of wills and inventories which mention medical books and notices of auctions in 1830 and 1863; in §G8.2 is a more detailed look at the named books of Henry Fogg.

G8.1 Wills and inventories (extracts), auctions

- (25 Jul 1653) Richard Thornton of Lichfield chirurgeon c1610-1653 [will] "all my books on Phisick and Chirurgery belonging to my profession of what nature or quality soever they bee"
- (7 Mar 1654.5) John Parker of Lichfield apothecary e1619-1655 [inventory above] "two printed books of chirurgy called Woodall & Read with all my receipts of chirurgery"
- (30 May 1660) Humfry Bennet of the city of Lichfield chirurgion e1610-1660 [will above] Alsoe I give to the above named Humfry Bennet my godsoynn two printed books of chirurgy called Woodall & Read with all my receipts of chirurgery
- (25 Jun 1666) Samuel Newboul of Lichfield apothecary 1636-1666 [inventory above] "1 herball book 16/0"
- (1 Jan 1716.7) Francis Bridges of Burton-upon-Trent apothecary c1645-1717 [inventory above] "in the back study one hundred and twenty bookes £3/10/0". [NOTE: Joseph Bridges of Burton-upon-Trent M.D. ?1678-1698 was probably his first son ... Part of his book collection may have belonged to Joseph who died soon after graduation at Utrecht in 1697 and may have brought back some books from abroad.]
- (17 Dec 1736) Thomas Garlick of Wolverhampton surgeon ... c1677-1737 [will] unto my son Robert Garlick all the goods belonging the shop and all my books and instruments and every other thing belonging to the business ...
- (1753) Henry Fogg (see §G8.2)
- (24 Mar 1753) Richard Spencer of Stone surgeon & apothecary 1731-1753 [inventory above] "a parcel of books £1/1/0"
- (11 Aug 1763) John Audley of Alrewas surgeon c1700-1763 [inventory above] "Five old books 7/6"
- (5 Apr 1776) John Hassard of Penkridge surgeon & apothecary [will] ... unto Samuel Perks [brother of John] my ..cett case and all my physical books which are in the desk in the little parlour in case he is brought up an apothecary ... [very long will]
- (27 Sep ?1781) John Dickinson of Bilston surgeon & apothecary c1738-1782 [will above] "all my books appertaining to surgery physick and midwifery"
- (9 Dec 1786) Thomas White of Wolverhampton surgeon & apothecary 1728-1787 [will above] "all my library of books which relate to physic or surgery"
- (19 Feb 1795) William Hassell of Wolverhampton surgeon 1752-1795 [will] ... Mr Joseph Jones of Wolverhampton surgeon all my books relating to physic surgery anatomy and medical botany and also all my surgical instruments of every sort ...
- (29 Aug 1801) Isaac Cope of Leek surgeon & apothecary c1717-1801 [will above] "[and] books as relate to my profession"
- (12 Apr 1821) Francis Watkin Weaver of Walsall surgeon 1775-1822 [will] ... give and bequeath all my medical books and surgeons instruments unto my son William Weaver ...
- (19 Oct 1822) [Auction, Newcastle] ... All the handsome household furniture ... valuable medical and other books (amongst which is Rees's Encyclopaedia in ninety parts), good saddle horses ... the property of the late Mr Robert Bentley [STS:ADV]
- (21 Oct 1829) TO BE SOLD BY AUCTION, By Mr. TITTERTON, Upon the Premises, Horninglow Street, Burton-upon-Trent, On Monday the 2d of November, 1829, and the four following days, at ten each day; All the Genteel HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE, and other Effects, the property of Dr. CHAWNER, (changing his Residence) Comprising [long list of furniture] quantity of good hops, oak counters and surgery fixtures, valuable paintings and prints, medical and other books, surgical instruments and other valuable effects. N.B. The Paintings, Prints, Medical and other Books, and Surgical Instruments, consisting of 200 Lots, will be sold on Friday, the last day of sale. ... THE DWELLING HOUSE, GARDEN, CROFT & PREMISES (which are Freehold for ever,) will be sold by Private Contract [Derby Mercury 21 Oct 1829]
- (23 Oct 1830) William Simmons of Stone M.R.C.S. c1763-1830 [Auction] Valuable Medical and Miscellaneous Library, surgical instruments, framed engravings and Share in the Exchange Library ... [detailed list follows] ... [Manchester Courier]
- (2 Apr 1831) Sale by Auction at Alstonefield ... property of the late John Spencer Harrison surgeon ... comprising the whole of the household furniture ... medical and surgical works by the most approved authors, superior surgeon's instruments, in separate mahogany cases, for amputating, trephining, dissecting, resuscitating, paracentesis, cupping, couching, midwifery, tooth instruments, dressing cases, electrical and galvanic instruments, glass retorts and receivers, assay scales &c, [STS:ADV]
- (9 Mar 1832) Charles Chadwick of Leek surgeon 1789-1836 [will above] " medical books"
- (8 Jun 1833) William Chawner of Cheadle surgeon 1786-?1833 [will] ... to my brother Thomas all my surgical instruments and books relating to my profession ...
- (16 Jun 1836) William Bourne of Cheadle surgeon 1766-1836 [will] "all my medical library or stock of medical books"

(18 Jun 1842) LONGTON ... late Thomas Chadwick surgeon ... Auction ... June 28th 1842 ... household furniture, handsome phaeton ... medical books, instruments etc ... Queen Street, Vauxhall, [STS:ADV]
 (12 Apr 1849) John Foster of Tamworth surgeon c1788-1849 [will] ... son John Foster all my surgical instruments, drugs, shop fixtures and books ...
 (27 Apr 1849) James Percival Prettie Chambers of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1821-1844 [his father's will] "and also all the books and diplomae of my late son"
 (18 Aug 1855) Thomas Henry Sharples of Tamworth M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1815-1856 [will] "all my books relative to medicine and surgery and also all my surgical instruments ..."
 (17 Nov 1855) [Auction, 29 Nov 1855] ... farming stock ... medical and other books, surgical and chemical instruments, drugs, bottles, surgery fixtures &c late the property of Samuel Swinnerton deceased on the premises Shropshire Street, Market Drayton [STS:ADV]
 (23 May 1863) William Hallam of Newcastle M.D. ?1814-1863 SALE by AUCTION ... 27th and 28th May ... HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE, PIANOFORTE, MEDICAL LIBRARY consisting of about 300 volumes; SURGICAL INSTRUMENTS ... the late William Hallam M.D.
 (25 Jul 1871) SALES BY AUCTION In Liquidation Re William Hopkins Gold's Hill Handsworth SUPERIOR HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE ... Tuesday next August 1st 200 Volumes of Medical and Other Books, Medical Instruments, contents of Surgery ... [Birmingham Daily Post]

G8.2 Henry Fogg's books

In 1753 the medical books and a few other literary items which had belonged to Henry Fogg 1707-1750 were sold to Hugh Wishaw for £2/2/0. His inventory records:

All the deceased's books, to wit, Lytes Herball; +A Treatise of Surgery - imperfect; Lyttletons Dictionary; Allen's Practice of Physic; Treatise of the Diseases of the Bones; Salmon's Compendium of Physick; Gibsons Anatomy; +Le Drans Observations on Physick; Fullers Pharmacopeia; Hillary on the Small Pox; Shaw's Practice of Physick - 2 vols; Boorhaaves Aphorisms; Swains Sydenham; Reformation of the London Pharmacopeia; Bellost's Hospital Surgeon - 2 vols; Blancard's Dictionary; Edinburgh Pharmacopeia; Cheselden's Anatomy; Pharmacopeia Bateana; British Dispensatory; Le Dran's Operations in Surgery; Sharps Surgery; Sharps Enquiry into the State of Surgery; Heister's Surgery; Wiseman's Surgery; Bates Dispensatory; Salmon's Dispensatory & Supplement [? recte Dispensatory Supplement]; Lower N[?]at: de Corde; +Carror[?] Dissertatio; Willis's Cereb: Anat.; Clerici Physica; Remarks on Cheyne's Essay; +Goodman on Phlebotomy; some old torn classicks & some old magazines were all apprais'd by Mr John Maddox stationer & sold together to Mr Hugh Wishaw for the sum of £2/2/0.

Of the 33 titles mentioned 29 can be tentatively identified but the four, marked + above, remain obscure. In the list below the first English edition is cited but the actual books may of course have been later reprints. The books are presented in date order. Fogg's apprenticeship ended in 1729 and it is likely that the last ten books were bought new whilst many of the earlier books might have been acquired second hand.

+Rembert Dodoens *A nieuwe herball, or historie of plantes* [Translated from the French of Charles de L'Ecluse by Henry Lyte] (1578)
 +Thomas Willis *Cerebri anatome cui accessit nervorum descriptio et usus* (1664)
 +Richard Lower *Tractatus de corde* (1669)
 +Richard Wiseman *Severall chirurgicall treatises* (1676)
 +Adam Littleton *Linguae Latinae liber dictionarius quadripartitus* (1678)
 +William Salmon *Synopsis medicinae a compendium of physick, chirurgery, and anatomy* (1679) [A later edition of *Synopsis medicinae, or, a compendium of astrological, galenical & chymical physick* (1671)]
 +Thomas Gibson *The anatomy of humane bodies epitomized* (1682)
 +William Salmon *Doron medicum or, a supplement to the new London dispensatory* (1683)
 +George Bate *Pharmacopoeia Bateana ... cura Ja. Shipton pharmacopoei Lond.* (1688)
 +Stephen Blancard *The physical dictionary. Wherein the terms of anatomy, the names and causes of diseases, chyurgical instruments and their use; are accurately described ...* [Translated from the Latin] (1693) [*Lexicon medicum Graeco-Latinum* (1679)]
 +George Bate *Pharmacopoeia Bateana or Bate's dispensatory. Translated from the last edition of the Latin copy, published by Mr. James Shipton. [Edited by William Salmon]* (1694)
 +Jean le Clerc *Joannis Clerici physica, sive de rebus corporeis* (1696)
 +*Pharmacopoea[sic] collegii regis medicorum Edimburgensium* (1699) [2nd edn 1722, 3rd edn 1735, 4th edn 1744]
 +Augustin Belloste *The hospital surgeon, or, a new, gentle, and easie way to cure speedily all sorts of wounds, and other diseases belonging to surgery* [Translated from the French] (1701) [*Le chirurgien de l'hôpital* (1696)]
 +Thomas Fuller *Pharmacopoeia extemporanea* (1702) OR *Pharmacopoeia domestica* (1723)
 +William Cheselden *The anatomy of the human body* (1713)
 +Herman Boerhaave *Boerhaave's aphorisms concerning the knowledge and cure of diseases. Translated from the last edition printed in Latin at Leyden ... With useful observations and explanations, by J. Delacoste, M.D.* (1715)
 +*Remarks on Dr. Cheyne's essay on health and long life. Wherein some of the doctor's notorious contradictions, and false reasonings are laid open. By a fellow of the Royal College* (1724)
 +Peter Shaw *New practice of physick* (1726)
 +John Allen *Synopsis Medicinae, or, A summary view of the whole practice of physick ... translated by himself from the last edition of his latin synopsis, with very large improvements* (1730) [*Synopsis universae medicinae practicae, sive, Doctissimorum virorum de morbis eorumque causis ac remediis judicia* (1719)]
 +Jean-Louis Petit *A treatise of the diseases of the bones ... translated from the French of John-Lewis[sic] Petit* (1733)
 +Henri François Le Dran *Observations in surgery containing one hundred and fifteen different cases, with particular remarks on each, for the improvement of young students. [Translated from the French of Henry-Francis le Dran by J.S., surgeon]* (1739) [Observations de chirurgie ausuelles on a joint plusieurs réflexions en faveur des étudiants (1731)]
 +Samuel Sharp *A treatise on the operations of surgery* (1739)
 +William Hillary *A practical essay on the smallpox* (1740)
 +Thomas Sydenham *The entire works of Dr. Thomas Sydenham, newly made English from the originals wherein the history of acute and chronic diseases, and the safest and most effectual methods of treating them, are faithfully, clearly, and accurately delivered. to which are added, explanatory and practical notes, from the best medicinal writers by John Swan, M.D.* (1742)
 +Lorenz Heister *A general system of surgery* [Translated from the Latin] (1743) [*Chirurgie* (1718)]
 +William Lewis *Pharmacopoeia reformata or, An essay for a reformation of the London pharmacopoeia* (1744)
 +*The British dispensatory, containing a faithful translation of the new London pharmacopoeia, publish'd by the College of Physicians, and enforced by the king and council. To which are joined, in a compendious manner, the whole contents of the Edinburgh pharmacopoeia; with notes explanatory and additional ...* (1747)

+Samuel Sharp *A critical enquiry into the present state of surgery* (1750)

G9 Partnerships and companies

G9.1 Introduction; G9.2 Partnerships; G9.3 Medical partnerships; G9.4 Cohort \times medical partnerships; G9.5 Companies; G9.6 Cohort \times companies

G9.1 Introduction

It remains unclear what difference existed (if any) between early partnerships²⁷⁶ and companies apart from the inclusion of the phrase "& Co." in their style. Both combinations are known by the mid 18C.

G9.2 Partnerships

It is not discovered when the first partnerships were entered into. In law medical partnerships were likely to be treated in the same manner as any other business partnership. In 1794²⁷⁷ William Watson of Lincoln's-Inn, Esq. published *A treatise of the law of partnership* (1794) and in 1827 Henry Cary in his *A practical treatise on the law of partnership* ... sets out in great detail the contemporary legal framework. He cites many examples of law cases and gives details of contracts. Extracts follow.

Chapter I. Partnership - What. - Partnership is a voluntary contract between two or more persons for joining together their money, goods, or labor, upon an agreement that the gain or loss shall be divided proportionably. ... [Watson (1794)]

It is in general usual for persons who intend entering into partnership to have a formal contract ... It is usual to covenant that none of the parties shall engage privately in the same business ... may also enter into a verbal agreement ... [Dissolution] The causes of dissolution may be distinguished into three kinds, by the [A] act of the parties themselves, by the [B] act of operation of law, or, lastly by the [C] act of god. [A] The period during which a partnership is to continue is usually specified in the articles of partnership; but if there is no agreement ... either partner may dissolve the partnership at a moment's notice ... [B] In some cases a court of equity will dissolve ... [cases of] misconduct of one of the firm ... an act of bankruptcy ... [C] by the death or insanity of one of the partners ... A partner cannot by will leave his interest in the business to a legatee, but the surviving partner cannot refuse to admit a legatee if he himself claims any benefit under the will; nor has the representative, executor or administrator of a deceased partner any claim to be admitted as a partner. But it is usual in articles of partnership to provide for that contingency and by a special agreement one or all of the partners may severally secure the reversion of their interest in the partnership business to their representative or assignee ... in order to obviate future liability it is necessary to apprise the world of the fact of the dissolution ... Notice in the gazette is sufficient notice to those who have had no previous dealings with the firm ... An advertisement in a common newspaper ... [in a trial] left to the jury to consider whether the attention of a tradesman in reading a paper is not likely to be attracted by notices of the dissolution of partnerships ... [Contracts] Style of the Firm: That the firm and style of the said copartnership or house of trade shall be ... [Cary]1827]

Partnerships might be commenced by a contract or by a verbal agreement neither of which required a public announcement. Men would normally agree not to conduct private business. They would agree the *firm*²⁷⁸ of the partnership which at that time meant its name or *style* and only later came to mean the partnership itself. The duration of the partnership might be for a defined period or might be left undefined. Normally partnerships were dissolved by mutual consent²⁷⁹ or through the death of a partner but special provisions were made for instances of bankruptcy, misconduct and insanity. Unlike at commencement it was normal practice, for legal reasons, to publicly announce the dissolution of partnerships. This might be by a notice in *The London Gazette* or a notice in a local newspaper (or both)²⁸⁰. In cases where a partner died his surviving representatives might have a continued interest in the partnership. In most cases the style of partnerships was just the conjoined names of the partners e.g. *John Smith and Richard Williams*. In the Kentish example (below) of 1770 Hunter states that "he has taken into partnership" Hannam. Hunter might then be styled "senior partner" and Hannam "junior partner". Both phrases were in use by 1827 when Cary wrote his book (above) but he himself does not appear to have used them²⁸¹.

(21 Apr 1770) Mr Hunter surgeon at Margate takes this method to inform his friends and the publick that as his bad state of health does often render him incapable of visiting his patients in the country he has therefore taken into partnership Mr Hannam surgeon, apothecary and man-midwife of St Thomas's Hospital ... [Kentish Gazette]

Two early instances of partnership dissolution are given in the *Northampton Mercury* of 6 Apr 1778 and 19 Dec 1789. The first concerns lawyers, the second concerns medics.

(6 Apr 1778) DISSOLUTION OF PARTNERSHIP Notice is hereby given that the partnership between Messrs Harrison and Lamb attorneys at law in Daventry in the county of Northampton is dissolved by mutual consent. [Northampton Mercury]

(19 Dec 1789) DISSOLUTION OF PARTNERSHIP Amphill Bedfordshire ... All persons having any claim or demand on the late partnership between Messrs Bolding and Humberstone surgeon and apothecaries ... send an account of the same ... and all persons who are indebted ... pay their respective debts ... [Northampton Mercury]

When partnerships were dissolved it became by the 1790s a legal requirement²⁸² that notice of the dissolution should appear in *The London Gazette*²⁸³ as stated in the case below.

²⁷⁶ Copartner (or co-partner) and copartnership are synonyms of partner and partnership.

²⁷⁷ Another early book regarding partnerships is *A lecture upon partnership accounts, with a chapter upon balance. In all the varieties of foreign factorage and domestic trade, upon a plan altogether clear, simple and mercantile. By a merchant. Second Edition* (1769)

²⁷⁸ see OED

²⁷⁹ Sometimes this involved a further legal contract. For instance the articles of dissolution of partnership between Thomas Salt and Simon Morgan of 1815 are to be found at the Wellcome Library [MS 6884]

²⁸⁰ In 1823 the Chief Justice Lord Kenyon stated "... The Gazette, he thought was not of itself sufficient notice to the plaintiff of the dissolution of the partnership ... It was incumbent on persons dissolving a partnership to send notice of such dissolution to all the persons with whom they had had dealings in partnership" [Samuel Comyn *A treatise of the law relative to contracts and agreements not under seal* ... (1823)]

²⁸¹ In this work I have used "senior partner" to refer to the first named in a partnership, and "junior partner" to the second named.

²⁸² *Gorham v Thompson*: Peake 60, 170 Eng. Rep. 84 (K.B. 1791) [original unseen]

²⁸³ The London Gazette (originally titled The Oxford Gazette) has been the principal official government newspaper since 1665.

Erskine for the Plaintiff stated, that he would prove the partnership dissolved by the following evidence, viz. that as it was necessary to give notice in the Gazette, of the dissolution of partnership, and the Gazette required that the advertisement giving notice of the dissolution, should be attested by a witness and left at the Gazette Office; ... [Isaac Espinasse *Reports of cases ... King's Bench* (1796) p284]

There was not the same requirement to announce the formation of a partnership. As a result of this the exact date of dissolution of a partnership is often known but the date of commencement has to be estimated.

In 1826 Perry's Bankrupt and Insolvent Gazette²⁸⁴ commenced publication and it lists many dissolutions of partnerships originally mentioned in *The London Gazette*.

With regard to bankruptcy (see §G10.4) it was stated in a law book²⁸⁵ of 1832 that "All the partners in a firm may become bankrupt together, or some, or one only, may become bankrupt, while the others remain solvent."

G9.3 Medical partnerships

In 1752 the death on the same day of two London apothecaries one of whom was in partnership is humorously commented on by a local newspaper:

On Wednesday died advanced in Years, at his Lodgings at Hampton, Mr. Wade, formerly an eminent Apothecary in the Strand, but having acquired a handsome Fortune, had retired from Business. And, On Wednesday died Mr. Harding, an eminent Apothecary, in Partnership with Mr. Monk in Crutched-fryars. [A note reads: It may, perhaps, be thought extraordinary that an Apothecary and an Half should die on the same Day.] [*The Covent-Garden Journal* 1:5 (20 Feb 1752) p19]

And in 1771 another London partnership is mentioned.

(14 May 1771) A gentleman has favoured us with the following particulars relative to the death of Mr J. Shafto ... About six he desired his servant to go to Mr Nevison a young gentleman in partnership with Mr Carlisle, apothecary in Pall Mall, and desire to come immediately ... [suicide] ... He has left behind upwards of £60,000. [Kentish Gazette]

By the time that *The medical register(s) for the year 1779, 1780 and 1783* were published medical partnerships were widespread. But a quick search of the registers reveals only three *stated* medical partnerships one of which was in Staffordshire.

Newcastle under Lyme ... Mr Beech in partnership with Mr Bent [MR (1779) p130]

To the List of Apothecaries, &c. resident in London, add ... Mr Atkinson, in partnership with Mr. Naylor, Jermyn-street ... Mr Morgan, in partnership with Mr. Richards, St. Martin's-lane [MR (1783) p220]

However it is clear that a fairly large number of men referred to as (for example under Staffordshire) "Messrs Thomas Wright and Richard Adams" or "Messrs Cope and Son" were in regular partnerships.

In the *Staffordshire Advertiser* of 1 Nov 1817 is the earliest discovered newspaper notice of a Staffordshire medical partnership.

(1 Nov 1817) DISSOLUTION OF PARTNERSHIP, and notice to debtors and creditors. The partnership lately subsisting between the undersigned George Alsop & Thomas Morley as surgeons, apothecaries &c &c at Uttoxeter ... having been dissolved on the 8th June of 1816; all persons indebted to the late co-partnership are requested to pay their respective debts to the under signed or one of them within one month from the date hereof. And all persons having demands upon the late co-partnership are desired to deliver their respective claims forthwith, in order that the same may be discharged. George Alsop, Thomas Morley, Uttoxeter, Oct 20th, 1817 [STS:ADV]

A newspaper advertisement of about 1850 gives the worth²⁸⁶ of a "first-class Country Practice" at £1,300 pa.

Partnership, with Succession to a first-class Country Practice, worth about £1,300 a year. It is situate in a good agricultural district, containing several wealthy resident families. and is about 3½ hours from London. The Practice is the leading one in the district and the present proprietor who has held it upwards of a quarter of a century will guarantee a most thorough and efficient introduction. Opposition extremely limited. The amount of premium will be based upon the amount of work done during the partnership. Apply to Mr J.C. Needes, 1 Adam Street, Adelphi W.C.

G9.4 Cohort medical partnerships

Details of the many cohort^x partnerships are given in the Register [SDH3]. There if the partnership was between two men the first named is styled "senior partner" and the second named "junior partner". Only two cases of three *named* partners has been found and here the style "mid partner" is used.

(1848) Deed of Co-partnership between John Fowke, Thomas Henry Fowke, and Charles Underhill, all of Wolverhampton, surgeons, apothecaries and accoucheurs [SRO D660/23/25]

(1865) (Hartill, Thornhill & Hartill)

A good many partnerships were family partnerships often between a father and son or son-in-law.

Space does not permit the listing of all the cohort^x partnerships but in the table and list (below) are details of all the partnership²⁸⁷ apprentices and all partnerships mentioned in *The medical register for the year 1779*.

²⁸⁴ Perry's Bankrupt and Insolvent Gazette (1828-61) later Perry's Bankrupt Weekly Gazette (1862-81) later Perry's Gazette (1882-1964) published information regarding bankrupts, dissolution of partnerships etc.

²⁸⁵ John Collyer *A practical treatise on the law of partnership ...* (1832) p483

²⁸⁶ The figure might represent turnover rather than profit. Original source now lost.

²⁸⁷ See §G9.6 for company apprenticeships

•Partnership apprenticeships				
Partnership	Year	Place	Term	£££
Oldershaw & Lyon	1767	Tamworth	7	63
Ward & Fieldhouse	1775	Stafford	5	105
Ward & Fieldhouse	1780	Stafford	5	100
Ward & Fieldhouse	1782	Stafford	5	105
Messrs Greene's	1784	Lichfield	5	50
Ward & Fieldhouse	1785	Stafford	5	126
Richd & Thos Green	1788	Lichfield	5	80
Lyon & Bage	1793	Tamworth	7	90
Jeffrey & Bourne	1794	Cheadle	5	35
Crewe & Mayer	1794	Newcastle	7	75
William Bourne & Edward Bourne	1797	Cheadle	5	42
Messrs Salt & Morgan	1799	Lichfield	7	105
Messrs Salt & Morgan	1801	Lichfield	7	150
Bage & Woody	1803	Tamworth	7	80
Mayer & Bentley	1803	Newcastle	4	40
James Adams & Thomas Nicholls Adams	1803	Walsall	5	80

Cohort^x partnerships in the *The medical register for the year 1779*:

Messrs Thomas Wright and Richard Adams, Stafford
 Messrs John Ward and William Fieldhouse, Stafford
 Messrs Lee and Son, Burton upon Trent
 Messrs Cope and Son, Leek
 Mr Beech in partnership with Mr Bent, Newcastle under Lyme
 Messrs Britain and Hall, Rudgley
 Messrs Lyon and Bates, Tamworth

A few examples from Perry's Bankrupt Gazette:

(17 May 1834) Partnerships dissolved: FORSTER Richard and Joseph Heeley surgeons Stone 1 Jan.
 (1 May 1841) Partnerships dissolved - Gazette - April 20, 1841 - BRINDLEY Joseph and Edward Smith WALTERS surgeons, Leek, 1st Jan. Debts by Walters.
 (23 Mar 1850) WEBB William Creswell and Benjamin MILLER of Rugeley, surgeons and apothecaries
 (11 Jun 1864) MILLER Benjamin and Edmund Henry DAY surgeons, apothecaries and accoucheurs, Barton-under-Needwood, [dissolved] 30th April.
 (27 Jan 1866) DAY John and John Redfern DAVIES, surgeons, Walsall, partnership dissolved on 17 Jan

In 1815 the partnership between Thomas Salt of Lichfield surgeon & apothecary 1737-1817 and his son-in-law Simon Morgan of Lichfield surgeon 1770-1850 was dissolved. However on Salt's death in 1817 Morgan is said to have succeeded to the practice.

(1815) Morgan family, Lichfield, Staffordshire, surgeon apothecaries, articles of dissolution of partnership between Thomas Salt and Simon Morgan 1815, [Wellcome Library MS 6884]

In 1837 on the death of John Hawthorn of Stafford M.R.C.S. c1791-1837 the business was to continue partly for the benefit of his widow and family.

(18 Mar 1837) In consequence of reports being busily circulated in Stafford and its neighbourhood that the widow and family of the late John Hawthorn Esq surgeon have no share in the profession lately carried on by "Hawthorn and Waddell" Mrs Hawthorn inserts this advertisement in order to acquaint her friends that for some years herself and family will participate in the profits of the profession which will be continued in the name and for the mutual interest of "Hawthorn and Waddell". [STS:ADV]

G9.5 Companies

Only a few instances of countrywide medical companies have been discovered. A quick search of *The medical register(s) for the year 1779, 1780 and 1783* reveals only two companies:

Buckingham, Bucks --- Messrs Williams and Co (1783)
 Buntingford, Herts --- Messrs Henning and Co (1779, 1780 & 1783)

G9.6 Cohort companies

In Staffordshire the following five company²⁸⁸ apprenticeships have been found between 1750 and 1785. The four companies involved are the only county medical companies discovered.

•Company apprenticeships							
Year	Company			Place	Style	Yrs	£££
1750	Thomas	Bradshaw	& Co	Wolverhampton	apothecaries	6	80
1770	James	Oldershaw	& Co	Tamworth	surgeons	7	70
1776	John	Smith	& Co	Walsall	surgeons &c	7	70
1778	John	Smith	& Co	Walsall	surgeons &c	7	80
1785	Messrs.	Lyon	& Co	Tamworth	surgeons	6	80

G10 - Insolvency and bankruptcy

G10.1 Introduction; G10.2 Insolvency; G10.3 cohort^x insolvent debtors; G10.4 Bankruptcy; G10.5 cohort bankrupts

G10.1 Introduction

Any man might become an *insolvent debtor* and unable to pay his creditors but some of these men *chose* not to pay their creditors and if those men were *traders* they were by 1543 styled *bankrupts*. In the following years the law regarding and the definition of insolvents and bankrupts was the subject of constant and complex review. Below is a mere outline of some aspects. §G10.2 and §G10.3 summarise the national developments and §G10.4 and §G10.5 give some account of those of the cohort^x discovered to be insolvent debtors and bankrupts.

G10.2 Insolvency

Evidently men became insolvent debtors from an early period. Early uses of the word "insolvent" are found in 1591, 1642 and 1662.

... the Quens Majestys complainte, on the behalf of her merchants tradinge those countries, whoe had trusted the marchants of that crown and kingdom ... and became insolvent, altering their dwellings ... to the excedinge great prejudice ... of .. said Majestys merchant. ... ["Travels of Sir Jerome Horsey" a manuscript of about 1591 quoted in *Russia at the close of the sixteenth century*. *Hakluyt Society*. (1856) p246]

Die Lunae, 15 Augusti, 1642. [Order against Merchants making false Entries, and for them to advance Money by Loan] Whereas some Merchants, against the Laws and Statutes of this Kingdom, have made Entries of their Goods in the Custom-house in the Names of other Persons, who are either unknown or insolvent ... [House of Lords Journal]

§12. Why should not insolvent Thieves be rather punished with slavery than death? so as being slaves they may be forced to as much labour, and as cheap fare, as nature will endure, and thereby become as two men added to the Common-wealth; and not as one taken away from it; for England be underpeopled, (suppose by half) I say that next to the bringing in of as many more as now are, is the making these that are, to do. double the work which now they do; that is, to make some slaves; but of this elsewhere ... [William Petty *A discourse of taxes and contributions* ... (1689) p47 but likely earlier found in his *Treatise of taxes* (1662) p37] [NOTE: Petty is sometimes misquoted: "insolvent" being rendered "insolent"]

The insolvent debtor might be a victim of circumstance or might be an intentional fraudster. In either case under 17C law he might find himself in prison. Two writers, a century apart, published works questioning the operation of the law. These were an anonymous pamphlet *The English-mans question: Whether imprisonment of the body, for debt and damages, be more advantagious, or prejudicial to the English nation? also An account of the number of persons that lies now in prison for debt in all the gaoles in England* (1673) and Edward Farley *Imprisonment for debt unconstitutional and oppressive, proved from the fundamental principles of the British Constitution and the rights of nature* (1788). The quote below is from the former work.

Our Laws, in matters of Life and Death, are highly commended by all Nations: but our proceedings in Debt and Damages exceedingly condemned. And it seemeth strange to some Rational Men, That since the Liberty of the Body is of so much publick and private Concernment; any Law or Custome should permit its restraint before it be Judicially proved, that the Defendant is a Debtor or Trespasser. ... If it be true that we finde upwards of 50,000 Persons constantly in Prison for Debt and Damages ... [p3 and p6]

The specific phrase "insolvent debtor" is used in 1682 by an anonymous author and in 1689 by John Hawkins.

In the time of *Augustus* it was decreed, that the insolvent debtor should quit all his goods, but not suffer chains, nor slavery, not do labor for his Creditor, but the benefit of this Law extended not to prodigal and vain Persons, but to those only *qui vi majore aliqua fortunis evertentur*, persons that were undone by any great violence, by shiprack or fire or any accident unavoidable, or men who were *per vim majorem eversi* not poor by vice, but by misfortune and the divine providence. [Anonymous *Some animadversions ... modern reports or selects cases adjudged in the Courts* ... (1682)]

Again, For all Moneys paid out where there is no return of any thing for the same as Moneys given with an Apprentice, with a Daughter in Marriage, Money allowed or paid upon Rebate, for Money received before it be due, or for Moneys received short, by Composition with an insolvent Debtor, &c. Profit and Loss must be made Debtor; as for Instance ... [John Hawkins *Clavis Commercii* (1689) p13]

In 1702 *An act for the relief of poor prisoners for debt* {1 Anne stat 1 c19} was passed. This act only applied to men in debt for less than £20 and with assets of less than £10. Crucially in the last section it appears that all men aged under 40 seeking benefit from the act were to enlist in the army or navy.

²⁸⁸ See §G9.4 for partnership apprenticeships

Forasmuch as very many Persons are detained in Prison who being miserably impoverished by War Losses and other Misfortunes are totally disabled from making present Satisfaction to their Creditors and having nothing to maintain themselves (though many of them are able and willing to serve her Majesty by Sea or Land) must either starve or be a Burthen to the Counties Cities or Parishes where the Prisoners are and may become an Occasion of a Pestilence and other contagious Diseases to the great Prejudice of the Kingdom Be it therefore enacted ... Parts of the Kingdom of England Dominion of Wales and Town of Berwick upon Tweed where any Poor Prisoners are Imprisoned the Justices of the Peace at their General or Quarter Sessions in Open Court are hereby also Authorized and Impowered to put this Act in Execution.

§II. ... [person in custody] be found or become so Poor that he or she hath not wherewith to Maintain him or her self in Prison without being Burthensome to his or her Relations or to the Counties Cities or Parishes where the Prisons are Then and in such Case it shall and may be Lawful to and for the Persons who are hereby Impowered to put this Act in Execution upon the Petition of any Poor Prisoner to Summon the Person or Persons at whose Suit or Suits he or she is detained in Prison their Executors Administrators or Assigns and also the Goaler or Keeper of the Prison to bring such Prisoner or Debtor before them with a Copy of his or her Causes of Commitment And in Case such Prisoner shall take an Oath to this Effect (viz.) I A.B. do upon my Corporal Oath solemnly Profess and Declare before Almighty God That I have not any Estate real or Personal in Possession Reversion Remainder or in Trust of the Value of Ten Pounds in the whole or Sufficient to pay the Debt or Damages for which I am Imprisoned and That I have not Directly or Indirectly Sold Leased or otherwise Conveyed Disposed of or Instructed all or any Part of my Estate thereby to Secure the same to Receive or Expect any Profit or Advantage thereof or Defraud or Deceive any Creditor or Creditors whatsoever to whom I stand Indebted and That I was actually a Prisoner within the Prison of [blank] at the Suit of [blank] and have so Continued until this Day and That I have not had the Liberty of the Rules of the said Prison. Which Oath the Justices of the Peace at their General or Quarter Sessions in Open Court are hereby Impowered to Administer and to Examine upon Oath the Prisoner or any other Person about the Prisoners Poverty if they see cause and also the Summoner of the true Service and Notice given to such Creditor or Creditors their Executors Administrators or Assigns Goaler or other Person) Then after the Taking the said Oaths such Creditor or Creditors so Summoned shall then Cause why such Poor Prisoner should not be ...

§IX. And it is further Enacted and Declared That every poor Prisoners Wearing Apparel Bedding and Tools necessary for his and her Trade (not exceeding Ten Pounds in Value) are hereby Excepted from being liable to be Seized or Attached for any Debt contracted before the said First Day of January One thousand seven hundred and one.

§XIII. Provided also That no Person by Virtue of this Act shall be Discharged out of Prison who shall really and bona fide stand Indebted in more than the Sum of Twenty Pounds to any one Person Principal Money and Damages Costs of Suit excepted.

§XIV. Provided also That no Person shall be Discharged by Virtue of this Act that hath not or shall not before such Oath made as aforesaid have remained in Prison by the space of Six Months.

§XV. Provided always That no Man being under Forty Years of Age shall be Discharged from his Imprisonment or have any Benefit or Advantage by Means or Virtue of this Act or any thing therein contained unless such Man or Person do and shall before his Discharge voluntarily List himself a Soldier under some Officer or Officers of her Majesties Army or on Board her Majesties Fleet Any thing herein before contained to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

During the 18th and 19th centuries it is said that in any given year as many as 10,000 people were imprisoned for debt. The sentence of imprisonment was imposed simply as a result of insolvency not in order to reduce the debt owed. Frequently a release from prison was only obtained when the full debt was paid.

Debtors who were imprisoned could face very different living conditions depending no doubt on their social connections and their exact financial situation. That imprisonment might be served within the prison in a shared cell or in a personal cell perhaps equipped with some small luxuries. Or, in some cases it might be served outside the prison in a defined area where prison rules applied²⁸⁹.

In 1813 further effort was made to make fairer the process of debt enforcement. That year *An act for the relief of insolvent debtors in England* {58 George III c102} (10 Jul 1813) was passed. Most importantly it created "The Court for Relief of Insolvent Debtors" more often styled the "Court for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors".

"WHEREAS, notwithstanding the occasional Acts which have from time to time passed for the relief of insolvent debtors, and the discharge of many prisoners for small debts by charitable donations, great numbers of persons generally remain confined for debt in different prisons in England; and it is therefore expedient to make a permanent provision for the relief of insolvent debtors in England, under certain restrictions" Be it enacted ... That, from and after the passing of this Act, it shall be lawful for his Majesty to appoint a fit person, being a barrister at law, of six years' standing at the least, to be his Majesty's Commissioner for the relief of insolvent debtors, and to preside in a court to be called "The Court for Relief of Insolvent Debtors" ... and thereupon it shall be lawful for every person who shall be a prisoner in any prison in that part of the United Kingdom called England, upon any process whatsoever issuing from any court whatsoever, for or by reason of any debt, damage, costs, sum or sums of money, or contempt for non-payment of money, and who shall have been in actual custody upon some process for some or one of the said debts or demands during the space of three calendar months or more, to apply by petition in a summary way to the court to be established by virtue of this Act, for his or her discharge from such confinement, according to the provisions of this Act;

A further Act was passed on 12 Aug 1842 *An act for the relief of insolvent debtors* (5 & 6 Victoria c116). This included provision that "any person not being a trader, or being a trader and owing less than £300, could obtain a protection order from the Court of Bankruptcy or a District Court of Bankruptcy, staying all process against him on condition that he vested all his property in an official assignee."

G10.3 Cohort insolvent debtors

Below are listed in order of their insolvency 14 of the cohort²⁸⁹ who were declared insolvent debtors between 1755 and 1871.

At least six of the men were imprisoned as a result of their insolvency: Richard Brittain (1755) at London, Samuel Hudson (1837) at Stafford, William Salter (1837) in London, Robert Taylor (1837) at London, William Bane Lycett (1843) at Stafford and William Walker (1853) at Stafford. No further record has been found of five men after their insolvency: Thomas Seacome (1796), William Salter (1837), Michael Hordorn Peake (1841), William Walker (1853) and William Hopkins (1871, who may have emigrated to Canada).

In two cases auctions were to be held of the insolvent's household goods. Gregory Hickman's auction catalogue of 1810 did not include medical equipment but that of William Hopkins 1871 included "200 Volumes of Medical and Other Books, Medical Instruments, contents of Surgery".

Richard Brittain of Newcastle surgeon & apothecary ?1705-1785

1755

Possibly time served about 1726 by 1735 he was living at Newcastle. In 1755 he was imprisoned at the Fleet Prison in London probably as an insolvent debtor. On release he returned to practice at Newcastle where he also assisted Thomas Hillman of Newcastle apothecary 1707-?1764.

²⁸⁹ Amongst the debtors' prisons in London were: Clink Prison (in Stoney Street) (said to give rise to the expressions "in the clink" and "stoney broke"), Coldbath Fields Prison, Fleet Prison, Giltspur Street Compter, King's Bench Prison, Marshalsea Prison, Poultry Compter and Wood Street Counter.

(1755) (a prisoner, an insolvent debtor ?) Third Notice ... Richard Brittain late of Newcastle under Line ... surgeon and apothecary [The Gazette]

(16 May 1763) Thomas Hillman of Newcastle apothecary ... Mr Richard Brittain surgeon of Newcastle under Lyme the sum of ten pounds provided he chooses to accept it as a gratuity for the trouble I have given him in attending my business at several times my health requiring me to be absent Also on that condition I direct that debt standing against him in my book since his going to the fleet to this time be cancelled; but if this be not satisfactory to him but he choose to litigate it my executors will not be at a loss how to act, on which his unkind refusal I then annul this legacy. [will of Thomas Hillman of Newcastle, Staffs apothecary 1707-?1764]

Thomas Seacome of Betley surgeon e1760-....

1796

He was in practice at Betley by 1790 where in 1796 he was an insolvent debtor.

(11 Jun 1796) NOTICE TO CREDITORS The creditors of Thomas Seacome of Betley ... surgeon are hereby required forthwith to send a particular of their respective demands that they have against the said Thomas Seacome unto Mr Harding attorney in Betley ... as the said Thomas Seacome's trustees mean to meet at the Black Horse in Betley ... on Tuesday the 14th day of this instant June by eleven o'clock in the forenoon in order to make a distribution of his estate and effects; and in default thereof they will be excluded the benefit of the trust deed heretofore executed by the said Thomas Seacome. Betley, 5th June 1796. [STS:ADV]

Gregory Hickman of Burslem M.R.C.S. 1766-1816

1810

He may have commenced practice at Dudley, Worcs but by 1797 was at Burslem. Here in Mar 1810 as an insolvent debtor he made an assignment of his estate for the benefit of his creditors. An auction was to follow of all his personal property.

(10 Mar 1810) Notice is hereby given that Gregory Hickman of Burslem surgeon hath by indenture ... 28 Feb 1810 ... assigned over all his estate and effects to ... in trust ... equal benefit of creditors [STS:ADV]

(24 Mar 1810) Under a deed of assignment for the equal benefit of creditors. To be sold by auction by R. Johnson on the premises at Burslem ... on 25th, 27th and 28th days of March 1810 ... all the neat, modern and valuable household furniture, plate, linen, glass, books and other effects belonging to Mr Gregory Hickman surgeon comprising ... microscope complete in every respect ... [a very long list does not include any medical equipment] [STS:ADV]

Samuel Hudson of Kingswinford L.S.A. 1804-1854

1837

After he qualified L.S.A. in 1825 he practised as a "surgeon, apothecary and man-midwife" in Birmingham where he was a declared bankrupt in 1830. He then practised in Handsworth (perhaps about 1832), Liverpool and Wolverhampton where about 1837 he was assistant surgeon to Edward Hayling Coleman 1794-1871. Later that year he was imprisoned as an insolvent debtor (probably at Stafford).

(15 Jun 1830) (Hudson Samuel, Birmingham, apothecary, June 15, 1830) [a bankrupt, Elwick (1843)]

(19 Jul 1830) [Bankruptcy] Samuel Hudson of Birmingham ... apothecary, dealer and chapman ... [Aris's Birmingham Gazette] ... of Prospect Row, Birmingham

(4 Nov 1837) THE COURT FOR RELIEF OF INSOLVENT DEBTORS ... The matters of the Petitions and Schedules of the Prisoners hereinafter named (the same having been filed in Court) are appointed to be heard as follows: at the COURT HOUSE at STAFFORD ... on the 23rd day of November 1837 at the hour of ten in the morning precisely ... SAMUEL HUDSON heretofore of Coleshill Street, Birmingham ... afterwards of No 14 Old Square Birmingham ... surgeon, apothecary and man-midwife ... since of Well Head, Handsworth ... Bull Street, Birmingham ... 5 Haughton Street, Liverpool ... late of Wolverhampton assistant surgeon in the employ of Edward Hayling Coleman of Wolverhampton surgeon ... TAKE NOTICE 1. If any Creditor intends to oppose a prisoner's discharge, notice of such intention must be given to the said prisoner in writing, three clear days before the hearing ... [STS:ADV]

Robert Taylor of Stoke-upon-Trent M.R.C.S. 1784-1844 [OB]

1837

He was admitted sizar at St John's College, Cambridge on 14 Nov 1808 and graduated B.A. in 1813. That year he was ordained both deacon and priest. He subsequently held a number of anglican posts but after 1818 began to argue for and lecture on various non-traditional religious views which twice saw him imprisoned for blasphemy. In 1827 he was imprisoned in London as an insolvent debtor.

(25 Sep 1827) Insolvent Debtor's Court (This Day) Christian Evidence Society ... [argument over Taylor (then a Deist) being sworn on the New Testament ... The debt on which the insolvent was arrested was a bill for £700 passed to a person named May with whom the insolvent was about to commence a school near Bristol [Sun (London) 25 Sep 1827]

William Salter of Wolverhampton "surgeon" e1786-....

1837

His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered and he was probably "unqualified". He practised in several counties prior to about 1831 when he moved to Wolverhampton where he was an assistant to a surgeon, apothecary and accoucheur [i.e. man-midwife] and afterwards practised on his own account. Here also perhaps about 1833 he was sometime junior partner to Michael Hordorn Peake surgeon e1781-.... conducting business as Peake & Co "surgeons and dentists" (§D6.3). He is said to have been sometime "parish surgeon of Wolverhampton" and "surgeon, apothecary and accoucheur". He probably left Wolverhampton about 1835 and practised elsewhere before being imprisoned in London as an insolvent debtor in 1837.

(19 Jul 1837) The Court for Relief of Insolvent Debtors ... petitions and schedules of the prisoners ... Court-house Portugal Street Lincoln's-Inn-Fields ... William Salter, formerly of Chiselhurst, Kent, afterwards of Whitchurch, Herefordshire, near Monmouth, Monmouthshire, then of No 11 Wellington Terrace, Waterloo Road, Surrey then of Dartmouth Street, Westminster, Middlesex surgeon, apothecary and accoucheur, then of Lewisham afterwards of Lea, both in Kent, out of business, afterwards of Queen-street, Wolverhampton, Staffordshire, Assistant to a surgeon, apothecary and accoucheur, then of Bilston-street, afterwards of King-street, then of Stafford-street, all in Wolverhampton, surgeon, apothecary and accoucheur, part of the time of his residence at King Street and Stafford Street aforesaid, parish surgeon of Wolverhampton aforesaid, afterwards of Monmouth, Monmouthshire then of Redbrook, near Monmouth, then of the parish of Penalt, Monmouthshire, then of Upper Redbrook, Monmouthshire surgeon, apothecary and accoucheur during part of the period of his residence at Penlat and Monmouth aforesaid his wife residing at No 15 Duke-street, Adelphi, Strand, Middlesex and late of No 14 Queen Street, Soho, Middlesex, out of business, his wife residing at No 132 Jermyn Street, Saint James's Middlesex [London Gazette]

James William Stanley Lawton of Rowley Regis "surgeon" 1805-1848

1838

About 1838 he moved to Rowley Regis where that year he was an insolvent debtor.

(7 Nov 1838) [insolvent debtors] James William Stanley Lawton formerly of Hampstead-row, Handsworth ... surgeon, then of Lozells-lane, Handsworth surgeon & druggist, then of Soho-street, Handsworth surgeon & druggist late of Rowley Regis surgeon and retailer of drugs. Sued as William Lawton. [WTON:CHR]

Michael Hordorn Peake of Wolverhampton surgeon e1781-....

1841

At Wolverhampton, perhaps about 1831, he was an "assistant surgeon" and later, about 1833, senior partner to William Salter surgeon e1786-.... conducting business as Peake & Co "surgeons and dentists". He then practised in London and elsewhere. By 1841 he was an insolvent debtor.

(12 May 1841) INSOLVENT DEBTOR ... Court House Portugal Street Lincoln's Inn Fields ... Michael Hordorn Peake (sued and commonly known by the name of Michael Peake) formerly of Queen-street, Wolverhampton, assistant surgeon, then of King Street and Queen street,

Wolverhampton ... in copartnership with William Salter as surgeons and dentists carrying on business under the style of Peake and Co. and Salter and Peake ... etc etc ... many addressess mostly in London [WTON:CHR]

John Garner of Yoxall M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1793-1851

1842

In 1842 as an insolvent debtor he made an assignment of his estate for the benefit of his creditors. ...

(26 Feb 1842) Notice is hereby given that by Indenture ... 17 Feb 1842 ... John Garner of Yoxall surgeon and apothecary assigned all his estate and effects to ... Joseph Dester of Bramcote gentleman and John Poyser of Yoxall blacksmith upon trust for the equal benefit of his Creditors ... it is left at the office of ... solicitors in Lichfield for the signature of such of the said Creditors as may be willing to accept ... [STS:ADV]

(3 Jun 1843) In the matter of John Garner an insolvent debtor. All persons indebted to the Estate of John Garner of Yoxall surgeon and apothecary are required to pay the amounts of their respective debts forthwith to Mr Robert Tivey of Yoxall butcher the assignee of the Estate of the said insolvent [STS:ADV]

William Bane Lycett of Kingswinford surgeon 1799-1875

1843

By 1841 he was in practice as a surgeon at Brierley Hill in Kingswinford. In 1843 as "late of Brierley-hill, Staffordshire, Surgeon and Man Midwife" he was imprisoned as an insolvent debtor (probably at Stafford)..

(11 Aug 1843) Court for Relief of Insolvent Debtors ... The following prisoners whose estates and effects have been vested in the Provisional Assignee by order of the Court ... ordered to be brought up before a Commissioner ... at The Court House at Stafford ... 11 Aug 1843 ... William Bane Lycett, late of Brierley-hill, Staffordshire, Surgeon and Man Midwife, his wife a Schoolmistress, at Brierly-hill aforesaid. [The Gazette]

Rowland William Maxon of Wolverhampton L.S.A. 1813-1856

1848

Afterwards he moved to Wellington, Salop where he was an insolvent debtor in 1848.

(29 Jul 1848) By indenture [17 Jul 1848] estate and effects of ... Rowland William Maxon of Wellington surgeon and apothecary ... vested in trust ... benefit of creditors ... [STS:ADV]

William Walker of Yoxall surgeon c1814-....

1853

He claimed (probably without foundation) to have qualified M.R.C.S. in 1839. In 1841 he was in practice at Uppingham, Rutland where in 1843 he was (probably) a declared bankrupt. He subsequently practised in the London area, Hertfordshire and Leicestershire. By 1851 he was living at Yoxall where he became a Union Medical Officer. In 1853 he was imprisoned as an insolvent debtor (probably at Stafford) but was released that year in May.

(23 Aug 1843) Declarations of Insolvency ... William Walker, Uppingham, Rutland, surgeon and accoucheur [Globe]

(17 Oct 1843) Bankruptcy Court, Basinghall-street ... before Mr Commissioner Evans ... William Walker, Uppingham, surgeon, insolvent, examination at eleven [Morning Post]

(7 Nov 1843) Bankruptcy Court, Basinghall-street ... before Mr Commissioner Merrivale ... William Walker final order at half past two [Public Ledger and Daily Advertiser]

(30 Apr 1853) Insolvent debtor ... County Court of Staffordshire ... 11 May ... William Walker formerly of Uppingham (Rutland) surgeon, then in lodgings, first at Montpelier Square, Brompton; afterwards at Jermyn Street, Saint James's, and then at No 5 Trevor Square, Brompton, (all Middx), Surgeon, not practising; then of Sparrows Hearn, Bushey Heath, Bushey (Herts) surgeon, then of 11 Montpelier Street, Brompton (Middx) surgeon not practising, afterwards of Hallaton near Market Harbro' (Leics) and late of Yoxall surgeon and apothecary [Hertford Mercury and Reformer]

(8 May 1853) INSOLVENT DEBTORS Country Insolvents The following prisoners are ordered to be brought before a Judge at the County Court ... Stafford Wednesday May 11 William Walker, Yoxall surgeon [Bell's New Weekly Messenger]

(14 May 1853) William Walker, surgeon, of Yoxall, (on bail) applied for his discharge ... the insolvent was discharged ... [STS:ADV]

Charles Edwin Kettle of Sedgley surgeon 1810-1859

1854

From about 1846 Kettle was in partnership at Sedgley with Samuel Bill chemist & druggist c1810-.... but in 1854 he became an insolvent debtor and dissolved the partnership.

(29 Jul & 5 Aug 1854) Charles Edwin Kettle of Hall Green, Brierley, Sedgley surgeon do hereby give notice that the partnership between myself and Samuel Bill of the village of Brierley as surgeons and as a surgeon and druggist was dissolved by me ... 22 Jul 1854 [Birmingham Journal]

(10 Aug 1854) ... Charles Edwin Kettle ... now and for about twenty years last past residing at Hall Green ... surgeon ... apothecary ... for about eight years and four months ... in copartnership with Samuel Bill, an insolvent debtor [i.e. Kettle] [London Gazette]

(26 Aug 1854) In the county court of Worcestershire holden at Dudley ... petition of Charles Edwin Kettle now and for about twenty years last past residing at Hall Green ... Final Order on 29 Sep 1854 [Birmingham Journal]

William Hopkins of Handsworth L.R.C.P.E. 1828-....

1871

At Handsworth in 1871 he may have become an insolvent debtor and an auction "in liquidation" was advertised to include "200 Volumes of Medical and Other Books, Medical Instruments, contents of Surgery ...".

(25 Jul 1871) SALES BY AUCTION In Liquidation Re William Hopkins Gold's Hill Handsworth SUPERIOR HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE ... Tuesday next August 1st 200 Volumes of Medical and Other Books, Medical Instruments, contents of Surgery ... [Birmingham Daily Post]

G10.4 Bankruptcy

From an early period official notices of bankruptcy appeared in *The London Gazette*²⁹⁰. In 1827 William Hone published this poetic warning by an unknown author apparently reprinted from *The Times*:

FARMERS IN

1722

*Man to the plough;
Wife to the cow;
Girl to the sow;
Boy to the mow;
And your rents will be netted*

1822

*Man tally-ho;
Miss piano;
Wife silk an satin;
Boy Greek and Latin;
And you'll all be Gazetted*

Until 1861²⁹¹ only traders could become bankrupt. In any legal proceedings they would be styled by their name, residence and trade. The trade might be stated using the phrase "dealer and chapman" or might just include that phrase. In most cases this was simply a legal nicety and did not imply any *particular* trading activity.

²⁹⁰ The London Gazette (originally titled The Oxford Gazette) has been the principal official government newspaper since 1665.

²⁹¹ Under the Bankruptcy Act 1861 the distinction between bankrupts and insolvent debtors was ended and the jurisdiction of the Court for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors passed to the Court of Bankruptcy. [National Archives Guidance Notes]

Apothecaries who bought and sold medicines were obviously considered traders but so also were some surgeons such as Henry de Wint (1817) (§G10.5). Physicians seem to have been exempt except in cases where they were shown to have been involved in trade such as Thomas Head M.D. (1852) (§G10.5) who was bankrupted as an apothecary.

This excerpt from the *Oxford English dictionary* shows the development in the meaning of the word bankrupt. At all times its legal meaning and popular use might be at some variance.

BANKRUPT noun (1) The wreck or break-up of a trader's business in consequence of his failure to pay his creditors; or (in early use) his shutting up or desertion of his place of business without payment of his liabilities. ... 1543 Act 34 Hen. VIII, iv. [title] An act against suche parsons as do make bankrupt. ... (2) A merchant, trader, or other person, whose property and effects, on his becoming insolvent, are administered and distributed for the benefit of all his creditors, under that system of statutory regulations called the Bankrupt or Bankruptcy Laws. As these laws (which began in England with Acts 34 and 35 Henry VIII, c4) were originally directed against fraudulent traders, who absconded with the property of their creditors, or eluded the attempts of creditors to get at them, the earlier senses (In these senses the bankrupt was a criminal) were: (a) "A trader who secretes himself, or does certain other acts tending to defraud his creditors." Blackstone. (b) popularly. One who has brought himself into debt by reckless expenditure or riotous living; a fugitive from his creditors, a broken man in sanctuary or outlawry. ... By gradual extension of sense, and modifications of the statutes of bankruptcy: ... (c) in Law. Also, a trader, who did certain acts which had the effect of defeating his creditors of their property, without reference to any intention on his part. (d) in Modern Law. Any trader or other person insolvent, who, on the petition of a creditor or creditors, or on his own petition, to the Bankruptcy Court, is declared or adjudged bankrupt, and his estates administered as stated above. Formerly only a trader could be made a bankrupt; other persons became insolvent. ... (e) popularly. An insolvent debtor; one who is unable to meet his liabilities, whether he is in the Bankruptcy Court or not.

Some account of the bankruptcy Acts are briefly described below²⁹² and some further detail emerges in the notes on the cohort^x bankrupts (§G10.5).

In 1543, when *An act against such persons as do make bankrupt* {34 & 35 Henry VIII c4} was passed, bankrupts were considered to be of criminal intent choosing to hide themselves from and to defraud their creditors. Here was an important distinction between the bankrupt and the insolvent debtor. The Act runs:

"WHERE divers and sundry Persons craftily obtaining into their Hands great Substance of other Mens Goods, do suddenly flee to Parts unknown, or keep their Houses, not minding to pay or restore to any their Creditors, their Debts and Duties, but at their own Wills and Pleasures consume the Substance obtained by Credit of other Men, for their own Pleasure and delicate Living, against all Reason, Equity and good Conscience" Be it therefore enacted by Authority of this present Parliament, That the Lord Chancellor of England [and others] ... upon every, Complaint made to them in Writing by any Parties grieved concerning the Premises, shall have Power and Authority by Virtue of this Act, to take by their Wisdoms and Discretions, such Orders and Directions, as well with the Bodies of such Offenders aforesaid, wheresoever they may be had, or otherwise, as also with their Lands, Tenements, Fees, Annuities, and Offices, which they have in Fee-simple, Fee-tail, Term of Life, Term of Years, or in the Right of their Wives, as much as the Interest, Right and Title of the fame Offender shall extend or be, and may then lawfully be departed with, by the said Offender, and also with their Money, Goods, Chattels, Wares, Merchandises, and Debts, wheresoever they may be found or known. And to cause their said Lands, Tenements, Fees, Annuities, Offices, Goods, Chattels, Wares, Merchandises and Debts, to be searched, viewed, rented and appraised, and to make Sale of the same Lands, Tenements, Fees, Annuities and Offices, as much as the same Offender may then lawfully give, grant or depart with, or otherwise to order the same for true Satisfaction and Payment of the said Creditors: That is to say, to every of the said Creditors, a Portion Rate and Rate like, according to the Quantity of their Debts. And that every Direction, Order, Bargain, Sale, and other Things done by the laid Lords authorised, as is aforesaid, in Writing signed with their Hands, by Authority of this Act, shall be good and effectual in the Law to all Intents, Constructions and Purposes against the said Offenders, their Heirs and Executors for ever, as though the same Order, Direction, Bargain and Sale had been made by the said Offender or Offenders, at his or their own free Will and Liberty, by Writing indented enrolled in any the King's Courts of Record.

This Act was subsequently modified by a number of other Acts passed up to the year 1825. That year a new Act was passed (further below) which repealed most of the previous legislation. Amongst the modifying Acts were:

An acte touchyng orders for banckruptes {13 Elizabeth c7} (1570/1)

... THEREFORE bee yt enacted & established by the auctoritie of this present Pliament, That yf any Merchaunte or other pson using or exercysinge the Trade of Marchaundize by way of Bargaynyng Exchange Rechaunge Bartrie Chevisaunce or otherwise, in Grosse or by Ratayle, or seeking his or her Trade of lvyng by buyinge and sellenge, & being Subject borne of this Realme or of any the Queenes Domyinions, or Denizen, sithens the fyrst day of this psent Parliament, hath or at any tyme hereafter shall departe the Realme, or begyn to kepe his or her House or Houses, or otherwise to absent hym or her self, or take Sanctuary or suffer hym or her self wyllyngly to be arrested for any Debt or other Thing not growen or due for Monye delved Wares sold or any other just or lawfull cause or good consideration or purposes, hath or will suffer hym or her self to be outlawed, or yeld hym or her self to prysion, or depte from his or her Dwellyng House or Houses, to thentent or purpose to defraude or hynder any of his or her Credytors, being also a Subject borne as is aforesaid, of the just Debt or Duety of such Creditor or Creditors, shalbe reputed deemed and taken for a Banckrupt.

An acte for the better reliefe of the creditors againste suche as shall become banckrupts {1 James I c15} (1603/4)

.. such as wickedly and wilfullie become Banckrupt ... For Remedie whereof be it therefore enacted ... That all and everie suche person and persons usinge or that shall use the Trade of Merchandize, by way of Bargaynyng Exchange Bartrie Cheviance or otherwise, in grosse or by retaile, or seekinge his her or their Trade of livinge, by buyinge and sellenge, and bringe a Subjecte borne of this Realme or any the Kinge Dominions, or Denizen, who at any tyme sithence the first day of this present Parliament, or at any tyme hereafter leaving the Realme shall departe this Realme; or beginne to keepe his or her House or Houses, or otherwise to absent hym or her selfe, or take Sanctuarie; or suffer hym or her selfe willinglie to be arrested for any Debte or other Thinge nor growin or due for Money delivered Wares solde or any other juste or lawfull cause, or good Consideration or Purposes; or hath or will suffer hym or her selfe to be outlawed, or yeelde hym or her selfe to prison ; or willinglie or fraudulentlie hath or shall prcure hym or her selfe to be arrested, or his or her Goods Money or Chartels to le attached or sequestred; or departe from his or her Dwellinge Howse; or make or cause to be made any fraudulen Graunte or Conveyance departing from of his her or theire Landes Tenemente Goodes or Chattels, to the intente or wherebie his her or theire Creditors, bringe Subjecte borne as aforesaide, shall or may be defeated or delayed for the Recoverie of their juste and true Debts; or beinge arrested for Debte, shall after his or her Arreste lie in prison Sixe months or more upon that Arreste, or upon any other Arreste or Detention in prison for Debte, and lie in prison Sixe Moneths upon such Arrest or Detention, shall be accounted and adjudged a Banckrupte to all intent and purposes.

An act to prevent frauds frequently committed by banckrupts ... {4 & 5 Anne c4} (19 Mar 1705.6)

Whereas many persons do and have become banckrupt not so much by reason of Losses and unavoidable Misfortunes as to the Intent to defraud and hinder their Creditors of their just Debts and Duties ...

²⁹² Many of the complex issues involved are discussed in Emily Kadens "The last bankrupt hanged: Balancing incentives in the development of bankruptcy law in *Duke Law Journal* 59:7 (Apr 2010) p1230-1319.

As mentioned above, in 1825 (on 2 May), *An act to amend the laws relating to bankrupts* {6 George IV c16} was passed. This is a useful source regarding previous bankruptcy legislation as it lists many previous Acts (some omitted in the extract below) and then repeals them. Importantly it redefines those who can be made bankrupt to include any trader involved in the buying and selling of commodities and other items of value (with some exclusions). Although not named apothecaries and others involved in selling medicines would have been amongst those who could become bankrupt. Importantly this Act in Section VI allows traders themselves, rather than their creditors, to start proceedings for their own bankruptcy.

An act to amend the laws relating to bankrupts {6 George IV c16} (2 May 1825)

Whereas it is expedient to amend the Laws relating to bankrupts and to simplify the language thereof and to consolidate the same ... in one Act .. [the following Acts repealed 34 & 35 Hen VIII c4 "An act against such persons as do make bankrupt"; 13 Eliz c7 "An act touching orders for bankrupts"; 1 Jac I c15 "An act for the better relief of the creditors against such as shall become bankrupts"; 21 Jac I c19 "An act for the further description of a bankrupt, and relief of creditors against such as shall become bankrupts, and for inflicting corporal punishment upon the bankrupts in some special cases"; 13 & 14 Car II c24 "An act declaratory concerning bankrupts"; 10 Ann c15 "An act for repealing a clause in the above mentioned statute of the 21 Jac I c19 and for the explanation of the laws relating to bankruptcy in cases of partnership"; 7 Geo I c31 "An act for explaining and making more effectual the several acts concerning bankrupts"; 5 Geo II c30 "An act to prevent the committing of frauds by bankrupts"; 19 Geo II c32 "An act for amending the laws relating to bankrupts"; 4 Geo III. c33 "An act for preventing inconveniences arising in cases of merchants, and such other persons as are within the description of the statutes relating to bankrupts, being entitled to privilege of parliament, and becoming insolvent"; 46 Geo III c135 " An act to amend the laws relating to bankrupts"; 49 Geo III c121 "An act to alter and amend the laws relating to bankrupts"; 3 Geo IV c74 "An act to amend the laws relating to bankrupts under joint commissions"; 3 Geo IV c81 "An act to amend the laws relating to bankrupts" and lastly; 5 Geo IV c98 "An act to consolidate and amend the bankrupt laws."]

§II. And be it enacted, That all bankers, brokers, and persons using the trade or profession of a scrivener, receiving other men's moneys or estates into their trust or custody, and persons insuring ships or their freight, or other matters against the perils of the sea, warehousemen, wharfingers, packers, builders, carpenters, shipwrights, victuallers, keepers of inns, taverns, hotels, or coffee-houses, dyers, printers, bleachers, fullers, calenderers, cattle or sheep salesmen; and all persons using the trade of merchandize by way of bargaining, exchange, bartering, commission, consignment, or otherwise, in gross or by retail; and all persons who, either for themselves, or as agents or factors for others, seek their living by buying and selling, or by buying and letting for hire, or by the workmanship of goods or commodities, shall be deemed traders liable to become bankrupt: provided, that no farmer, grazier, common labourer, or workman for hire, receiver-general of the taxes, or member of or subscriber to any incorporated, commercial, or trading companies established by charter, or by or under the authority of any act of parliament, shall be deemed, as such, a trader liable by virtue of this act to become bankrupt.

§VI. And be it enacted that if any such trader shall file in the Office of the Lord Chancellor's Secretary of Bankrupts a Declaration in Writing ... that he is insolvent ...

On 20 Oct 1831 *An act to establish a Court in Bankruptcy* {1 & 2 William IV} included provision "to erect and establish a Court of Judicature which shall be called "The Court of Bankruptcy" ...".

On 12 Aug 1842 *An act for the amendment of the law of bankruptcy* {5 & 6 Victoria c122} included in section 59 provisions to create District Courts in Bankruptcy

§LIX ... to appoint ... Serjeants or Barristers at Law ... to be Commissioners of the Court of Bankruptcy ... to act in the Prosecutions of Fiats in Bankruptcy in the Country ... [they] shall and may form a District Court of Bankruptcy ... at such Place and in and for such District ...

G10.5 Cohort bankrupts

Below are listed in order of their bankruptcy 26 of the cohort* who were declared bankrupt between 1772 and 1868. Another man John Greene (1844) is also listed since he announced his (unfulfilled) intention to apply for a commission of bankruptcy.

The consequences of bankruptcy were sometimes severe. In five cases no further record of the men or their families has been found: John Slade (1773), Ralph Beech (1786), Thomas Smyth (1827), Alexander Pratt (1832) and James Weston (1833). In three cases the men emigrated: Isaac Attwood (1772), George Dalrymple Monteith (1832) who emigrated seven years later and William Poole Crewe (1834) who emigrated just before his bankruptcy. Edgar Ashe Spilsbury (1827) acknowledged in his will his brother's financial assistance. Both Samuel Hudson (1830) and William Walker (1843) later became insolvent debtors. John McNab Ballenden (1840) was in a partnership which was dissolved in the month after his bankruptcy.

The bankruptcy of Daniel Antrobus (1846) might have been connected to the separation from his wife. In the case of Thomas Head (1852) some interesting details of his precise financial circumstances are given.

Isaac Attwood of Wednesbury surgeon & apothecary 1748-c1800

1772

Time served in 1772 that year he was in practice at Wednesbury but later in the same year moved to West Bromwich where he was a declared bankrupt. He is said to have emigrated to America ...

(1772) ... commission of bankrupt against Isaac Attwood late of Wednesbury ... now of Westbromwich ... surgeon and apothecary surrender to commissioners 30-31 Dec & 2 Feb at Wolverhampton [The Gazette]

John Slade of Newcastle apprentice 1739-....

1773

In 1771 also at Chelsea he took apprentice for 5 years at £90 Richard Adams but two years later in 1773 was a declared bankrupt. No further record found.

(27 Aug 1773) BANKRUPTS: John Slade of Chelsea, Middlessex, surgeon and apothecary. To appear August 27 and Sept 28 at Guildhall [Derby Mercury]

1773 (a bankrupt, of St Luke's, Chelsea surgeon & apothecary) 1773 [Universal Magazine]

Possibly time served about 1772 he was in practice at Newcastle in 1784 and also in 1786 when he was a declared bankrupt. No further record found.

(of Newcastle-under-Lyme surgeon and apothecary, bankrupt) 13 May 1786 [Universal Magazine]

Ralph Poole of Stoke-upon-Trent apprentice 1761-?1831

1793

By 1793 he was trading at Hanley in Stoke-upon-Trent as a victualler in which year he was a declared bankrupt. He may have been buried, aged 70, on 9 Dec 1831 at Stoke-upon-Trent.

(14 Dec 1793) Ralph Poole, Hanley, victualler [bankrupt] [Ipswich Journal]
 (4 Nov 1794) Days appointed for making dividends. November 15. Ralph Poole late of Hanley victualler, dealer and chapman, at the Shakespear Tavern in Newcastle under Lyme [Manchester Mercury]
 (12 Apr 1796) [similar] final dividend [Kentish Gazette]
 (16 Apr 1796) BANKRUPTS ... Dividend ... May 10. Ralph Poole late of Hanley ... victualler at eleven at the Shakespeare Tavern, Newcastle under Lyme [STS:ADV]

Henry De Wint of Stone surgeon ?1781-1831

1817

Time served about 1802 he practised all his working life at Stone where in 1817 he was a declared bankrupt. At Stone he died, aged about 50, in Apr 1831 with burial there on 22 Apr.

(14 Jul 1817) Bankrupts to surrender in the country ... Henry De Wint, Stone, surgeon, Aug 21 at 11 at the Crown, Stone; Aug 23 at 12 at the Bear and Bell, Stone. Attornies Messrs Dent and Hopkins, Stone and Messrs Leigh and Co. New bridge-street [Public Ledger and Daily Advertiser]
 (19 Jul 1817) Henry de Wint of Stone surgeon bankrupt [STS:ADV]

Elwick's bankrupt directory²⁹³ of 1843 attempts to list all bankrupts between Dec 1820 and Apr 1843. Fourteen of the men below were bankrupt in that period and of these only William Dawes (1839) is not listed.

Thomas Avarne Saunders of Penkridge surgeon c1793-1835

1824

Perhaps time served about 1814 by 1818 he was in practice at Penkridge where he was a declared bankrupt in 1824 and where he was buried, aged 42, on 9 Feb 1835.

(25 May 1824) Sanders Thomas Avarne, Penkridge, Staffordshire, surgeon, May 25, 1824 [a bankrupt, Elwick (1843)]

Thomas Smyth of Bilston surgeon & apothecary c1787-....

1827

Whilst in practice as a surgeon & apothecary at Bilston he was a declared bankrupt in 1827. No further record found.

(1827) Whereas a commission of bankrupt ... against Thomas Smyth of Bilston surgeon and apothecary, dealer and chapman ... [London Gazette]
 (9 Jan 1827) Smith Thomas, Bilston, Staffordshire, surgeon and apothecary, Jan 9, 1827 [a bankrupt, Elwick (1843)]
 (10 Jan 1827) Bankrupts to surrender in the country ... Thomas Smyth, Bilston, Staffordshire, surgeon and apothecary, Jan 29 at 6, Jan 30 at 10, Feb 20 at 11, at the Jerningham Arams, Shiffnal. Attornies Mr Hunt, Craven-street, Strand or Mesrrs Willim[sic] and Son, Bilston [Public Ledger and Daily Advertiser]

Edgar Ashe Spilsbury of Walsall surgeon & apothecary 1780-1840

1827

... about 1818 when he moved to Walsall where in 1826 he was a declared bankrupt. He acknowledges in his will financial help from a brother George Green Spilsbury of Jubblepoor, Bengal M.D.

(1826) commission of bankrupt ... 18 Dec 1826 ... Edgar Ashe Spilsbury of Walsall apothecary, dealer in and vendor of medicine, dealer and chapman ... [London Gazette]

(9 Jan 1827) Spilsbury Edgar Ashe, Walsall, Staffordshire, apothecary, Jan 9, 1827 [a bankrupt, Elwick (1843)]

(10 Jan 1827) Bankrupts to surrender in the country ... Edgar Ashe Spilsbury, Walsall, apothecary Jan 19 at 3, Jan 20, Feb 20 at 11 at the George, Bewdley. Attornies Messrs Long & Co, Gray's Inn, or Mesrrs Hayes and Henchcliffe, Halesowen [Public Ledger and Daily Advertiser]

Samuel Hudson of Kingswinford L.S.A. 1804-1854

1830

After he qualified L.S.A. in 1825 he practised as a "surgeon, apothecary and man-midwife" in Birmingham where he was a declared bankrupt in 1830. He then practised in Handsworth (perhaps about 1832), Liverpool and Wolverhampton where about 1837 he was assistant surgeon to Edward Hayling Coleman 1794-1871. Later that year he was imprisoned as an insolvent debtor (probably at Stafford). By 1841 he had moved to Brierley Hill in Kingswinford where he probably died, aged 50, about Nov 1854. In his will he states that his first wife absconded about 1836. ...

(15 Jun 1830) (Hudson Samuel, Birmingham, apothecary, June 15, 1830) [a bankrupt, Elwick (1843)]

(19 Jul 1830) [Bankruptcy] Samuel Hudson of Birmingham ... apothecary, dealer and chapman ... [Aris's Birmingham Gazette] ... of Prospect Row, Birmgham

(4 Nov 1837) THE COURT FOR RELIEF OF INSOLVENT DEBTORS ... The matters of the Petitions and Schedules of the Prisoners hereinafter named (the same having been filed in Court) are appointed to be heard as follows: at the COURT HOUSE at STAFFORD ... on the 23rd day of November 1837 at the hour of ten in the morning precisely ... SAMUEL HUDSON heretofore of Coleshill Street, Birmingham ... afterwards of No 14 Old Square Birmingham ... surgeon, apothecary and man-midwife ... since of Well Head, Handsworth ... Bull Street, Birmingham ... 5 Houghton Street, Liverpool ... late of Wolverhampton assistant surgeon in the employ of Edward Hayling Coleman of Wolverhampton surgeon ... TAKE NOTICE 1. If any Creditor intends to oppose a prisoner's discharge, notice of such intention must be given to the said prisoner in writing, three clear days before the hearing ... [STS:ADV]

Edward Tylecote of Colwich L.S.A. 1805-1866

1830

... by 1829 had moved to Great Haywood in Colwich where he was a declared bankrupt in 1830. At Great Haywood Tylecote died, aged 61, on 17 Aug 1866 with burial on 22 Aug at Colwich.

(25 Jun 1830) Tylecote Edmund, Birch Hills, Walsall, surgeon & apothecary, June 25, 1830 [a bankrupt, Elwick (1843)]

John Steward of Wolverhampton F.R.C.P.E. 1796-1880

1831

At Stafford in 1831 he was a declared bankrupt. By 1834 he had settled at Wolverhampton in which year he was a founder and consulting surgeon of Wolverhampton Eye and Ear Infirmary.

(7 Oct 1831) Steward John, Stafford, late Great Haywood, surgeon, Oct 7 1831 [a bankrupt, Elwick (1843)]

George Alsop of Uttoxeter surgeon & apothecary ?1776-1847

1831

Here [Uttoxeter] he was junior partner to Thomas Morley 1783-1829 up to 1816 and senior partner to James Chapman ?1797-1857 in 1831. That year he was a declared bankrupt and apparently only discharged in 1842. At Uttoxeter he died, aged 71, on 29 Nov 1847.

(11 Nov 1831) Alsop George, Uttoxeter, Stafford, surgeon, Nov 11 1831 [a bankrupt, Elwick (1843)]

(12 Nov 1831) George Alsop of Uttoxeter surgeon and apothecary (copartner with James Chapman of the same place) ... declared a bankrupt [STS:ADV]

²⁹³ George Elwick *The bankrupt directory: Being a complete register of all the bankrupts; with their residence, trades, and dates when they appeared in the London Gazette; from December 1820 to April 1843 ...* (1843)

(1842) Date of Fiat 1831. ALSOP George of Uttoxeter surgeon and apothecary (copartner with James Chapman of the same place). final dividend [The Law Journal 1842]

George Dalrymple Monteith of Kingswinford L.S.A. c1808-1862 **1832**

he commenced practice at Brierley Hill in Kingswinford where in the same year he was for a few months junior partner to Robert Hawkins L.S.A. ?1796-1830. Here he was a declared bankrupt in 1832 but continued in practice until 1839 when he and his family emigrated to New Zealand.

(17 Jul 1832) Monteith Geo. Dalrymple, Brierley Hill, Staffordsh[sic], apothecary. Jul 17, 1832 [a bankrupt, Elwick (1843)]

(18 Jul 1832) MONTEITH George Dalrymple, Brierley-hill, Kingswinford apothecary [bankrupt] [London Evening Standard]

Alexander Pratt of Clent M.R.C.S. c1783-.... **1832**

By 1832 he was in practice at Redditch, Worcs in which year he was a declared bankrupt. No further record found.

(7 Dec 1832) (Pratt Alex., Redditch, Worcestershire, surgeon & apothecary, Dec 7, 1832 [a bankrupt, Elwick (1843)])

(14 Sep 1833) [Bankrupt Dividends] Alexander Pratt, Redditch, Worcestershire, surgeon and apothecary at the Crown Hotel, Worcester [STS:ADV]

James Weston of Stoke-upon-Trent surgeon & apothecary e1793-.... **1833**

In 1833 whilst practising as a surgeon and apothecary at Stoke-upon-Trent he was a declared bankrupt. No further record found.

(13 Aug 1833) Weston Jas., Stoke-upon-Trent, Staffordsh. surgeon & apoth., Aug 13, 1833 [a bankrupt, Elwick (1843)]

(17 Aug 1833) Dividends ... From Tuesday's Gazette ... James Weston of Stoke-upon-Trent apothecary Aug 27; Sept 24 at Newcastle [STS:ADV]

(31 Aug 1833) James Weston surgeon and apothecary, dealer and chapman [STS:ADV]

William Poole Crewe of Newcastle L.S.A. 1797-1861 **1834**

perhaps time served about 1818 commenced practice at Newcastle. ... In Jul 1834 he emigrated to Canada perhaps to avoid his creditors for the following Oct he was a declared bankrupt. Several freehold houses he owned in Newcastle were to be sold in 1836 to pay some of his debts. Crewe settled at Peel, Ontario where he died, aged 64, on 25 May 1861

(10 Oct 1834) Crewe William Poole, Newcastle-under-Lyme, surgeon, Oct 10, 1834 [a bankrupt, Elwick (1843)]

(9 Dec 1834) CREWE William Poole of Newcastle-under-Lyme [bankrupt] final dividend [Gazette]

(1836) THE Creditors who have proved their debts under a Fiat in Bankruptcy awarded and issued forth against william Poole Crewe, of the Town of Newcastle-under-Lyme, in the County of Stafford, Surgeon and Apothecary, Dealer and Chapman, are requested to meet the Assignees of the said Bankrupt's estate and effects, on Monday the 15th day of February next, at Eleven o'Clock in the Forenoon, at the Roe Buck Hotel, in Newcastle-under-Lyme, in the said County, in order to assent to or dissent from the said Assignees selling and disposing, to a person or persons and at a price to be disclosed at the said meeting, or to any other person or persons, by public auction or private contract, and at any other price or prices, the right, title, and interest of the said Bankrupt in and to certain freehold messuages or dwelling-houses and premises, situate in Pool-Lane, in Newcastle-under-Lyme aforesaid, and late in the occupations of John Hayes, Thomas Biddulph, Richard James, John Rogerson, ----- Hughes, and others; and on other special affairs. [London Gazette]

William Dawes of Stoke-upon-Trent L.S.A. 1800-1856 **1839**

he probably practised all his working life at Longton in Stoke-upon-Trent. Here he was a declared bankrupt in 1839 and here he died, as the result of an accident, aged 56, on 2 May 1856 with burial at Draycott-in-the-Moors.

(as of Lane End surgeon, a bankrupt) 1839 [London Gazette] [NOT LISTED in Elwick]

John McNab Ballenden of Sedgley M.D. ?1813-1895 **1840**

by 1840 he was in practice as a surgeon at Sedgley as junior partner to Anthony Tamlyn 1783-1867. In Oct that year he was a declared bankrupt and the next month his partnership with Tamlyn was dissolved. In 1847 he was admitted L.F.P.S.G. and in 1850 he both qualified L.S.A. and graduated M.D. from St Andrews. Thereafter he practised at Sedgley where he died aged 82, on 10 Jan 1895.

(9 Oct 1840) Ballanden John Mac Nab, Sedgley, Staffordshire, surgeon, Oct 9, 1840 [a bankrupt, Elwick (1843)]

(25 Nov 1840) [Partnership dissolved] Anthony Tamlyn and John M'Nab Ballenden of Sedgley surgeons and apothecaries ... 9 Nov 1840 [WTON:CHR]

William Hoare of Alstonfield L.S.A. 1805-1877 **1842**

he probably practised at Derby until about 1840 when he moved to Alstonfield ... At Alstonfield he was a declared bankrupt in 1842. About 1844 he moved again to Birmingham. He died, aged 72, on 12 May 1877 at Birmingham.

(6 Dec 1842) Hoare William, Alstonefield, Staffordshire, apothecary, Dec 6, 1842 [a bankrupt, Elwick (1843)]

William Walker of Yoxall surgeon e1814-.... **1843**

He claimed (probably without foundation) to have qualified M.R.C.S. in 1839. In 1841 he was in practice at Uppingham, Rutland where in 1843 he was (probably) a declared bankrupt. He subsequently practised in the London area, Hertfordshire and Leicestershire. By 1851 he was living at Yoxall where he became a Union Medical Officer. In 1853 he was imprisoned as an insolvent debtor (probably at Stafford) but was released that year in May. No further record found.

(23 Aug 1843) Declarations of Insolvency ... William Walker, Uppingham, Rutland, surgeon and accoucheur [Globe]

(17 Oct 1843) Bankruptcy Court, Basinghall-street ... before Mr Commissioner Evans ... William Walker, Uppingham, surgeon, insolvent, examination at eleven [Morning Post]

(7 Nov 1843) Bankruptcy Court, Basinghall-street ... before Mr Commissioner Merrivale ... William Walker final order at half past two [Public Ledger and Daily Advertiser]

(30 Apr 1853) Insolvent debtor ... County Court of Staffordshire ... 11 May ... William Walker formerly of Uppingham (Rutland) surgeon, then in lodgings, first at Montpelier Square, Brompton; afterwards at Jermyn Street, Saint James's, and then at No 5 Trevor Square, Brompton, (all Middx), Surgeon, not practising; then of Sparrows Hearn, Bushey Heath, Bushey (Herts) surgeon, then of 11 Montpelier Street, Brompton (Middx) surgeon not practising, afterwards of Hallaton near Market Harbro' (Leics) and late of Yoxall surgeon and apothecary [Hertford Mercury and Reformer]

(8 May 1853) INSOLVENT DEBTORS Country Insolvents The following prisoners are ordered to be brought before a Judge at the County Court ... Stafford Wednesday May 11 William Walker, Yoxall surgeon [Bell's New Weekly Messenger]

(14 May 1853) William Walker, surgeon, of Yoxall, (on bail) applied for his discharge ... the insolvent was discharged ... [STS:ADV]

John Greene of Brewood surgeon and apothecary 1771-1858 **1844**

Time-served about 1792 he probably commenced practice at Brewood where in Mar 1844 he announced his intention to apply for a commission of bankruptcy. In the event his affairs were otherwise settled. On census night 1851, styled surgeon, he was in the household of his son Thomas at Brewood.

(20 Mar 1844) BIRMINGHAM DISTRICT COURT OF BANKRUPTCY I JOHN GREENE for upwards of twenty years residing at Brewood in the county of Stafford and being a surgeon and apothecary and for the last two years residing at Brewood aforesaid out of business do hereby give notice that I intend to present a petition to a commissioner of the Birmingham District Court of Bankruptcy praying to be examined touching my debts estate and effects and to be protected from all process upon making a full disclosure and surrender of such estate and effects for payment of my just and lawful debts. And I hereby further give notice that the time when the matter of the said petition shall be heard is to be advertised in the London Gazette in the Staffordshire Advertiser and the Wolverhampton Chronicle newspaper one month at least after the date hereof. As witness my hand this sixth day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-four JOHN GREENE Signed in the presence of H. Bennet. [WTON:CHR]

(10 Apr 1844) In the matter of John Greene the elder of Brewood surgeon. Notice is hereby given that the intention of the said John Greene the elder to apply to the Birmingham District Court of Bankruptcy (as advertised in this paper on the 13th and 20th days of March last) has been abandoned, the affairs of the said John Green the elder having been settled in a different manner. [WTON:CHR]

Daniel Antrobus of Stoke-upon-Trent L.S.A. 1814-1872

1846

By 1841 he was at Audley where in 1846 he was a declared bankrupt. In 1851 he was at Penkhull in Stoke-upon-Trent but by 1859 had moved to Talk-on-the-Hill where he died, aged 58, on 1 Jun 1872 with burial on 4 Jun.

(1846) Daniel Antrobus, Audley, apothecary [bankrupt] [The Jurist]

James Smith Walters of Cheadle M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1803-1880

1846

1845 he was in practice at Bakewell, Derbys where he was a declared bankrupt in 1846 and where he died, aged 77, on 6 Nov 1880. His personal estate was valued under £3,000.

(1846) WHEREAS the Commissioner acting in the prosecution of a Fiat in Bankruptcy awarded and issued forth against James Smith Walters, of Bakewell, in the county of Derby, Surgeon and Apothecary, hath certified to the Court of Review in Bankruptcy, that the said James Smith Walters hath in all things conformed himself according to the directions of the Acts of Parliament made and now in force concerning bankrupts; this is to give notice, that, by virtue of an Act, passed in the fifth and sixth years of the reign of Her present Majesty Queen Victoria, intituled "An act for the amendment of the laws in bankruptcy," the Certificate of the said James Smith Walters will be allowed and confirmed by the said Court of Review in Bankruptcy, unless cause be shewn to the contrary, on or before the 16th day of October 1846. [London Gazette]

Thomas Head of Stoke-upon-Trent M.D. 1799-1886

1852

After qualification he practised in Northumberland but by 1841 had moved to Hanley in Stoke-upon-Trent. On 6 May 1845 whilst at Hanley he graduated M.D. from St Andrews and the following 5 Aug was elected F.R.C.P.E. Here in 1852 he was a declared bankrupt as an apothecary owing £505/4/4 to creditors but with potential assets of £470/17/10 leaving a deficiency of £34/6/6. About 1860 he moved north again to Cumberland where he was sometime Physician to Carlisle Dispensary ...

(19 Jun 1852) BANKRUPTCY COURT Monday [14 Jun] before Mr Commissioner Balguy In re Thomas Head of Hanley apothecary. A meeting for the last examination. The balance sheet prepared by Messrs. Peet and Puckle, accountants, showed the bankrupt as indebted to creditors to the amount of £505/4/4 to meet which he put down good debts £254/17/10 and property £216 leaving a deficiency of £34/6/6 only. The bankrupt, who was unopposed, passed, and the 12th day of July next was fixed for the certificate meeting. Mr Cowdell jun. of Hinckley appeared as solicitor to the estate. Official assignee, Mr Bittleston. [Birmingham Journal]

(13 Apr 1886) The will of Thomas Head of Cairn House Warwick Bridge, Cumbs M.D. who died 9 Jan 1886 at Cairn House was proved at Carlisle by Sarah Maria Head of Cairn House the daughter. personal estate £366/4/4.

George Bury of Handsworth M.R.C.S. c1811-1877

1856

by 1841 was practising at Handsworth where he was styled "surgeon-dentist" when a declared bankrupt in 1846. In 1851 he was living at Aston, Warwick but may have continued practice at Handsworth.

(8 Jul 1846) ENGLISH BANKRUPTS: George Bury surgeon-dentist Handsworth Staffordshire [The Scotsman]

John Wheatcroft of Cannock M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1821-?1867

1864

By 1845 he had commenced practice at Cannock where in 1864 he was a declared bankrupt. Shortly afterwards he was in practice in a partnership "as surgeons and apothecaries" at Fenton in Stoke-upon-Trent. A man of his name was a Union Medical Officer at Nottingham when he was buried, aged 46, on 4 Jan 1867. As late as Jan 1868 a meeting regarding his bankruptcy was announced. His widow Lucy was living at Cannock in the household of their son Thomas Charles Crook Wheatcroft M.R.C.S. in 1871.

(11 Jan 1868) A Dividend meeting of the creditors of John Wheatcroft formerly of Cannock ... surgeon and apothecary but now of Fenton in the parish of Stoke-upon-Trent carrying on business in co-partnership with Robert Henry Hayes as surgeons and apothecaries who was adjudicated bankrupt on 25 Feb 1864 will be held pursuant to the "Bankruptcy Act, 1861" sec. 174 [detail of proceedings] [Aris's Birmingham Gazette]

Charles Edward Eliot Welchman of Lichfield M.R.C.S. 1822-1877

1868

In 1868 he was a declared bankrupt. At Lichfield he died, aged 55, on 14 Apr 1877. His effects were valued under £450.

(13 Mar 1869) Charles Edward Eliot Welchman ... was adjudicated bankrupt on the 14th September 1868 ... [Aris's Birmingham Gazette]

G11 Medicines (invention)

In 1745 whilst in London Robert James invented "James's Fever Powder" which was patented in 1747. John Altree claimed to have discovered the secret of its preparation but, on James's account, is more likely to have manufactured an imitation powder which may have hastened his own death in 1751.

Robert James of Lichfield M.D. 1703-1776

In 1745 he invented "James's Fever Powder" which was patented in 1747 and widely taken by the upper classes. However over time it became subject to much suspicion. His book *A vindication of the fever powder, and a short treatise on the disorders of children* was only published in 1778.

John Altree of Wolverhampton M.D. 1701-1751

Altree is said to have died as a result of unsuccessfully treating a fever he had contracted with a fever powder he had himself invented in imitation of "James's Fever Powder" which had been patented in 1747.

Mr Altree a person I had some intimacy with when he practised as a surgeon, man-midwife and apothecary at Wolverhampton, some time after settled in London. He one day in conversation told me that he had certainly discovered the preparation of my Powders. ... The Doctor very certain that he was in the secret of my powder practised with it during a few months with success not much to be boasted of. But at last he himself contracted a fever. He did not fail to take his [powder] till in a few days he became delirious ... he very soon died by his own imprudence. [Robert James *A dissertation on fevers* ... (1778) p96]

At Staffordshire General Infirmary Thomas Fowler M.D. 1736-1801 was Physician from 1778 to 1791 and Richard Hughes c1739-1793 was Apothecary and Secretary from 1766 probably until his death. Together they were responsible for the development of "Fowler's Solution" (or, *Liquor potassae arsenitis*) as an improvement on the current "Tasteless Ague and Fever Drops". Some writers suggest that Hughes made the greater contribution.

Between 1780 and 1783 a popular patent ague specific, known as "Tasteless Ague and Fever Drops," had been used occasionally in the infirmary, and Fowler enlisted the services of Mr. Hughes [Richard Hughes c1739-1793], apothecary to the institution, to investigate its composition. In October, 1783, Hughes announced that the active ingredient was arsenic, and between them Fowler and Hughes devised a solution of arsenic to take the place of the patent "Drops." In 1786 appeared a pamphlet by Fowler on "The Effects of Arsenic in the Cure of Ague, etc." which was the means of introducing arsenical medication into modern medical practice. [*The spatula Volumes 29 & 30*]

The name of Fowler has been so intimately connected with the solution known as the *Liquor potassae arsenitis*, that a brief note of his connection with that preparation cannot but be interesting ... In plain, then, at the time when Fowler went to Stafford, there was being introduced into England a solution called "Dutch Drop," or "Tasteless Ague Drop." This solution was tried in Stafford in several cases of the prevailing disease [ague], and was found successful. At that time, Mr. Hughes [Richard Hughes c1739-1793], the grandfather of the present Mr. Robert Hughes, was House-Surgeon to the Stafford Infirmary, and he, having examined the "drop," determined that it contained arsenic. Upon this he set to work to find a means of dissolving arsenic, and succeeded by the use of potash. He showed his solution to Dr. Fowler, who tried it, adopted it, and reported upon it favourably, upon which the medicine came into general repute under the name of Fowler's solution. With the other applications of this solution Fowler had little to do. It was in ague only that he saw its value. Dr. Girdlestone, of Yarmouth, was the first Physician who used the solution in lepra. Dr. Beddoes was the first who used it as a tonic in phthisis. Mr. John Jenkinson, of Oxford, was the first who employed it in chronic rheumatism, and he was soon after followed by Samuel Fothergill, a London Physician, who resided in Leicester-square. Dr. Kinglake and Mr. White, of Bath, finally established the value of the arsenical solution in lepra, psoriasis, and other diseases of the skin. It is but just to the name of Mr. Hughes that this exposition of the discovery of Fowler's solution should be given ... [B.W. Richardson "The Medical History of England Stafford" in *The Medical Times and Gazette ... Volume I* (1864) p317-8]

In 1803 James Gregory of Stafford surgeon & apothecary 1778-.... continued the business of his uncle which included the manufacture of a "mephitic water".

(21 Jan 1804) The friends of the late Mr Fieldhouse are respectfully informed that the business of the shop in all its branches will be carried on by Mr James Gregory, his nephew. As Mr Gregory has entered on the undertaking with the approbation and under the sanction of Mr Ward he flatters himself that he shall give satisfaction to the numerous friends of his late uncle and will use his utmost endeavours to merit the continuance of their favours. N.B. The Mephitic water so much approved in the life time of Mr Fieldhouse is made by the same receipt and may be had in any quantity. [STS:ADV]

H Medical society members and medical writers

H1 Medical societies and their members

H1.1 Introduction; H1.2 English medical societies; H1.3 Scottish medical societies; H1.4 Irish medical societies; H1.5 Other medical societies; H1.6 Midlands medical societies

H1.1 Introduction

A number of medical societies were formed in the British Isles from 1771 onwards. Most of the national societies were based in the cities of London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dublin and Belfast. There were also some regional societies. The precise purpose and membership policy of each society might have varied over time. Some societies were open only to qualified men or only to students. Several societies distinguished *regular* members from *corresponding* members who, usually living at a distance from the society base, were unable to attend meetings and communicated by *correspondence*. A senior member might be termed a *fellow*.

In 1846 Aris's Birmingham Gazette²⁹⁴ carried an article on London's learned societies and mentions ten societies connected with medicine.

(26 Oct 1846) LEARNED SOCIETIES OF THE METROPOLIS ... Pathological Society [Pathological Society of London] ... The science of medicine has nine devoted to its especial cultivation - the Westminster [Westminster Medical Society], London [Medical Society of London], South London [South London Medical Society], and North London Medical [North London Medical Society], with the Medico-Chirurgical [Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society of London], Physical [Guy's Hospital Physical Society], Hunterian [Hunterian Society], Harveian [Harveian Society of London] and London Homoeopathic [British Homeopathic Society] Societies [Aris's Birmingham Gazette]

Medics resident in Staffordshire could not easily attend meetings in any of the major cities. However some of the cohort* were fellows, members or corresponding members of the London societies. Additionally quite a few men who had trained or studied in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dublin and Belfast were connected with societies in those cities. Parkinson Oates M.D. 1818-1885 was a member of a Parisian Medical Society whose discussions took place in English.

In 1822 the society of "Associated Apothecaries and Surgeon-Apothecaries of England and Wales" was formed from an organisation which had roots going back to 1812. The large number of medics who joined the society suggest it was held in high esteem and in acknowledgment of this the fact of membership has been included amongst "qualifications" in the Register [SDH3].

In 1830 a North Staffordshire Medical Students' Society was proposed but it is not known if it ever came into being. Twelve years later, in 1842, the Birmingham and Midland Counties' Pathological Society was founded and still met in 1849. The Wolverhampton Medical Book Society was founded in 1847 and early on housed their library in the South Staffordshire General Hospital. By 1849 a North Staffordshire Medical Book Society was in existence. In 1849 the first professional Staffordshire society was formed - the North Staffordshire Medical Society - which

294 A fuller extract from this newspaper article is given in §L2

had 31 members by 1869. In 1874 the society was merged into a newly formed Staffordshire Branch of the British Medical Association²⁹⁵. The first meeting of the North Staffordshire Medical Association was held at Stoke-upon-Trent in 1852 with nearly 30 medics present but no further record has been discovered. About 1854 the earlier [Birmingham] Queen's College Debating Society was renamed the Midland Medical Society and underwent a further re-organisation in 1860. In 1859 the Birmingham and Midland Counties Medical Registration Society was formed to facilitate the compilation of the new medical registers. It may still have been active in 1869. Finally a Wolverhampton and South Staffordshire Medico-Ethical Society was in existence in 1859.

In the sections below some brief accounts (each only intended as a general guide) are given of these societies (in order of foundation) - and of the cohort^x medics who were members. Details of the journals and transactions of some of the societies are given in the bibliography (§Z4.4).

H1.2 English medical societies

H1.2.1 "London Physical Society" 1771-?1781 then Guy's Hospital Physical Society ?1781-1852

The Physical Society of Guy's Hospital was founded in 1771, and London's first medical society. It was not initially associated with Guy's Hospital, but met in the theatre of Dr Lowder in Southwark, a private teacher of midwifery as well as lecturer at St Thomas's and Guy's Hospitals. The first meeting was held at Guy's Hospital between 1780 and 1782. The society met weekly from October to May to hear and discuss a dissertation and exchange medical news and cases. ... The society was open to physicians, surgeons, apothecaries and pupils, and members largely comprised the officers of the Guy's and Thomas's Hospitals and practitioners in the area. On the establishment of other medical societies in London its popularity declined, and the society closed in 1852. [Internet]

H1.2.2 Medical Society of London (1773-....)

The Society was founded in 1773 by the quaker physician and philanthropist John Coakley Lettsom 1744-1815 to "give the practitioners in the healing art frequent opportunities of meeting together, and conferring with each other concerning difficult or uncommon cases which may have occurred; or communicating any new discoveries in medicine which may have been made at home or abroad". In 1805 a group of members, having failed in an attempt to reform the Society, founded the Medical and Chirurgical Society of London (below). About 1851 it absorbed the Westminster Medical Society. In 1873 the Society moved to Lettsom House, Chandos Street. The *Transactions of the Medical Society of London* have been published since 1872.

Hugh Davies of Stoke-upon-Trent M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1809-1891	Fellow [2] Henry Day of Stowe M.D. c1810-1881
Thomas Fowler of Stafford M.D. 1736-1801	Member [4] Fielding Best Fynney of Leek surgeon & apothecary 1744-1805
Philip Henry Harper of Bilston F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1822-1883	Edward Wilson of Newcastle M.D. 1803-1858
Gregory Hickman of Burslem M.R.C.S. 1766-1816	Corresponding Member [3] Trevor Jones of Lichfield M.D. ?1752-1832
John Whateley of Burton-upon-Trent M.R.C.S. ?1769-1808	

From about 1784 the Society awarded a gold medal, the Fothergillian Medal, for a medical essay. This may sometimes have been styled the Lettsomian Medal or perhaps this was a separate award.

Lettsomian Medallist (1)

Henry Day of Stowe M.D. c1810-1881

H1.2.3 Royal Jennerian Society (1803-1813)

The Royal Jennerian Society was founded in 1803. It was amalgamated with the London Vaccine Institution (below) in 1813.

(15 Feb 1803) Jennerian Society for the Extermination of the Small-Pox ... subscribers requested to attend [meeting] 17th inst ... to prepare a plan for its future regulation ... [British Press]

(18 Feb 1803) Royal Jennerian Society for the Extermination of the Small-Pox ... Patron The King ... [British Press]

H1.2.4 Medical and Chirurgical Society of London (1805-1834) then Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society of London (1834-1907) then Royal Society Of Medicine (1907-....)²⁹⁶

In 1805 a group of former members of the Medical Society of London, who had failed to reform that Society, founded the Medical and Chirurgical Society of London. Initially meetings were held at Gray's Inn and then at Lincoln's Inn Fields. In 1834 the Society received a Royal Charter and added "Royal" to its title. In the same year it moved to Berners Street. The Society moved in 1905 to 20 Hanover Square. The initial purposes of the Society were "for conversation on professional subjects, for the reception of communications [and] for the formation of a library". A key policy was with regard to uniting the various branches of the profession. Admission to membership was by personal nomination followed by a ballot. There was a six guinea admission fee followed by an annual subscription of three guineas. Many early members were connected with Guy's Hospital, the Great Windmill Street School, and London Hospital and Medical School. By the 1840s membership had considerably broadened. *Medico-Chirurgical Transactions*, the Society's journal, first appeared in 1809 and continued until 1907. The *Proceedings of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society of London* were officially published from 1856.

The Society merged with seventeen other medical societies in 1907 to become the Royal Society of Medicine. These were: Pathological Society of London (1846-1907); Epidemiological Society of London (1850-1907); Odontological Society of Great Britain (1856-1907); Obstetrical Society of London (1858-1907); Clinical Society of London (1867-1907); Dermatological Society of London (1882-1907); British Gynaecological Society (1884-1907); Neurological Society of London (1886-1907); British Laryngological Rhinological and Otological Association (1888-1907); Laryngological Society of London (1893-1907); Society of Anaesthetists (1893-1908); Dermatological Society of Great Britain and Ireland (1894-1907); British Balneological and Climatology Society (1895-1909); Otological Society of the United Kingdom (1899-1907); Society for the Study of Diseases in Children (1900-1908); British Electrotherapy Society (1901-1907); Therapeutical Society (1902-1907).

William Birch of Barton-under-Needwood F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1801-1869	Fellow [8] George Edwardes of Wolverhampton F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1808-1859
Philip Henry Harper of Bilston F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1822-1883	Henry Thomas Lomax of Stafford M.R.C.S. c1818-1873
George Bellasis Masfen of Stafford M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1825-1864	[?] Shirley Palmer of Tamworth M.D. 1786-1852
James Spark of Newcastle F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1798-1872	John Maule Sutton of Stone M.D. 1829-1886
Francis Sacheverel Darwin of Lichfield M.D. 1786-1859	Member [3] William James Kite of West Bromwich M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1823-1872
John Masfen of Stafford F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1795-1854	

²⁹⁵ see below

²⁹⁶ see Penelope Hunting *The history of the Royal Society of Medicine* (2001)

H1.2.5 London Vaccine Institution (1806-....)

The London Vaccine Institution was formed on 25 Aug 1806 and absorbed the Royal Jennerian Society (above) in 1813.

Honorary Member [1]

Peter Stanton of Kingswinford surgeon c1781-1858

H1.2.6 Westminster Medical Society (1809-?1851)

The Westminster Medical Society²⁹⁷ was founded in 1809 when it absorbed the membership of the dormant Lyceum Medicum Londinense which had been founded in 1785. Founded by Benjamin Brodie and Sir Charles Mansfield Clarke it was primarily a medical discussion group. About 1851 it merged with the Medical Society of London.

H1.2.7 Hunterian Society (1819-....)

The Hunterian Society was founded in 1819 in honour of the Scottish surgeon John Hunter 1728–1793 [OB]. Ordinary members generally lived within seven miles of London particularly in the City itself and the eastern suburbs. Those living further away were corresponding members. Meetings are said to have been held over a dinner which preceded a medical lecture or debate.

(18 Apr 1820) Hunterian Society ... The members and friends of this Society (which derives its designation from the late celebrated anatomist and surgeon John Hunter) partook of an excellent dinner at the London Tavern, Bishopgate ... [members particularly] resident in the City and eastern parts of London; and this Society was organized somewhat more than twelve months ago ... Ordinary Members, resident within seven miles of London, are expected to pay one guinea per annum; beyond that distance, Practitioners are associated with the Society as *Corresponding Members* who make no pecuniary contribution but are expected occasionally to transmit some medical or physical communication. [Public Ledger]

Corresponding Member [2]

John McNab Ballenden of Sedgley M.D. ?1813-1895 (?Corresponding)

John Howells Thornhill of Darlaston M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1817-1885

H1.2.8 Associated Apothecaries and Surgeon-Apothecaries of England and Wales (A.A.S.A.) (1822-?1844)

The Society traces its roots to a meeting held on 3 Jul 1812 but was only named the Associated Apothecaries and Surgeon-Apothecaries of England and Wales in 1822. A membership list was included in the first volume of its Transactions published in 1823 which contains very roughly 1,150 names. The list has some duplication of names and many misspellings. A total of 78²⁹⁸ Staffordshire men have been identified in the list. Of these Robert Bentley died on 4 Oct 1822 and Thomas Phillips on 29 Oct 1822. It then seems likely that the membership list actually dated to 1822²⁹⁹. A meeting held on 28 Dec 1844 might have been the last. The large number of medics who joined the Society suggest it was held in high esteem and in acknowledgment of this the fact of membership has been included amongst "qualifications" in the Register [SDH3]³⁰⁰.

(28 Dec 1844) THE NEW MEDICAL BILL Last evening a meeting of the Associated Apothecaries Society of England and Wales, formed in 1812, and medical practitioners generally, was held at The Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand to take into consideration the provisions of Sir James Graham's Medical Bill ... [report of meeting] ... it was suggested that the Society should unite with the recently formed National Society of General Practitioners of Medicine, Surgery and Midwifery and a special meeting is to be called to take the subject into consideration. [Morning Advertiser]

H1.2.9 "London Obstetrical Society" (1825-1828)

The Society was founded in 1825 at a meeting held at the home of Bozzi Granville. In the three years of its existence it influenced the Society of Apothecaries to introduce examinations in midwifery; the Royal College of Physicians to permit Licentiates practising midwifery to become Fellows; and The Royal College of Surgeons to allow Members who were accoucheurs to be examiners.

H1.2.10 Harveian Society of London (1831-....)

The first meeting of the Harveian Society of London³⁰¹ was held at the Western General Dispensary in Marylebone on 3 Oct 1831.

H1.2.11 Provincial Medical and Surgical Association (1832-1856) then British Medical Association (1856-....)

The Association was founded by Sir Charles Hastings on 19 Jul 1832 at a meeting held at Worcester Infirmary. Fifty medics heard Hastings propose the inauguration of an Association both friendly and scientific for the sharing of knowledge between members. In 1853 membership was extended to London and in 1856 it became the British Medical Association. A journal was published known as the *Provincial Medical and Surgical Journal* from 1844-1852, the *Association Medical Journal* from 1853-1856 and the *British Medical Journal* from 1857 onwards. In 1874 a Staffordshire Branch was formed which absorbed the North Staffordshire Medical Society³⁰².

Provincial Medical and Surgical Association (1832-1856)

Member (3)

George Edwardes of Wolverhampton F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1808-1859

John Hayes of Stone L.R.C.P.E. 1823-1887

Peter Stanton of Kingswinford surgeon c1781-1858

British Medical Association (1856-....)

Member (20)

Daniel Ball of Burslem F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1799-1895

John Cromwell Blackford of Stone apprentice 1822-1898

George Chapman of Kingswinford assistant surgeon c1824-1926

Henry Collins of Wolverhampton M.D. 1828-1914

Henry Day of Stowe M.D. c1810-1881

William Chancellor Garman of Wednesbury ass. surgeon 1831-1928

Robert Garner of Stoke-upon-Trent M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1808-1890

Thomas Holyoake of Kinver M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1811-1889

William Hopkins of Handsworth L.R.C.P.E. 1828-....

William James Kite of West Bromwich M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1823-1872

David Smith Moore of Walsall M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1820-1885

Parkinson Oates of Alrewas M.D. 1818-1885

Samuel Partridge of Darlaston M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1827-1907

Thomas Roberts of Ashley M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1826-1887

Michael Ryan of Newcastle M.D. c1816-1899

Charles Somerville of Bloxwich M.D. 1815-1868

John Maule Sutton of Stone M.D. 1829-1886

Spencer Thomson of Clifton Campville M.D. c1817-1886

Samuel Mayer Turner of Newcastle F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1818-1864

Charles Edward Eliot Welchman of Lichfield M.R.C.S. 1822-1877

H1.2.12 British Homeopathic Society (1843-....)

The British Homeopathic Society was founded about 1843 by Frederic Hervey Foster Quin 1799-1878 who became its first President. He was instrumental in the founding of the London Homeopathic Hospital in 1850.

H1.2.13 Sydenham Society (1843-1858) then New Sydenham Society (?1858-....)

297 D. Zuck "The Westminster Medical Society 1809–1850" in *The History of Anaesthesia Society Proceedings* 42 (2010) p9-25

298 Database [SDH4] c79

299 Also listed is "Price, Mr. R. Bilstone" this likely refers to Richard Price of Bilston thought to have died in 1820 and not included in 78 total.

300 There M.A.A.S.A.

301 Originally it was to be called the West London Medical Society.

302 see below

The Sydenham Society was founded in 1843 to publish medical literature. It was succeeded about 1858 by the New Sydenham Society.

(15 Sep 1843) THE SYDENHAM SOCIETY A new Society, under the above title, and on the plan of the Parker Society has been established for the purpose of a more extensive diffusion of medical literature ... It number 1,200 members. ... [Essex Standard]

Member (3)

Henry Bateman of Burton-upon-Trent apprentice 1806-1880
Charles Edward Eliot Welchman of Lichfield M.R.C.S. 1822-1877

Michael Ryan of Newcastle M.D. c1816-1899

H1.2.14 Pathological Society of London (1846-1907)³⁰³

The Society was founded in 1846 for the "cultivation and promotion of Pathology by the exhibition and description of specimens, drawings, microscopic preparations, casts or models of morbid parts." In Feb 1847 at its first meeting 106 members were enrolled. In 1907 it became part of the Royal Society of Medicine. The *Pathological Society of London Transactions* were published in 58 volumes between 1846 and 1907.

Member (2)

John Hayes of Stone L.R.C.P.E. 1823-1887

Edward Lloyd of Tamworth M.D. 1820-1882

H1.2.15 North London Medical Society (a1846-p1875)

In existence by 1846³⁰⁴ this society was still in existence in 1875.

(26 Apr 1875) William B. Kesteven F.R.C.S.Eng. has been appointed president of the North London Medical Society [London Evening Standard]

H1.2.16 South London Medical Society (a1846-p1849)

In existence by 1846³⁰⁵ this society held a meeting in Sep 1849 but may have been disbanded shortly after.

(15 Sep 1849) last Thursday week ... meeting of the South London Medical Society [Kentish Independent]

H1.2.17 Epidemiological Society of London (1850-1907)

The Society was founded in 1850 "to institute rigid examination into the causes and conditions which influence the origin, propagation, mitigation, and prevention of epidemic diseases ... original and comprehensive researches into the nature and laws of disease ... [and] to communicate with government and legislature on matters connected with the prevention of epidemic diseases."

For the first ten years of its existence the society's activities were reported in *The Lancet*, the *British Medical Journal*, the *Medical Times* and the *Sanitary Review*. From 1859 to 1907 the proceedings were reported in the *Epidemiological Society of London Transactions*.

Fellow (1)

Henry Day of Stowe M.D. c1810-1881

H1.2.18 Odontological Society of Great Britain (1856-1907)

The Society was founded in 1856 for the study of dentistry and allied subjects. In 1907 it became part of the Royal Society of Medicine. The *Transactions of the Odontological Society of Great Britain* were published from 1858. The first volume covering the years 1856-7 was entitled *Transactions of the Odontological Society of London[sic]*. It contained a list of about 85 members none of whom have a Staffordshire address.

H1.2.19 Obstetrical Society of London (1858-1907)³⁰⁶

The Society was founded in 1858 "for the promotion of knowledge in all that relates to obstetrics and the diseases of women and children". By the 1870s there were about six hundred members. In 1887 an offshoot organisation the British Gynaecological Society was founded. In 1907 both societies became part of the Royal Society of Medicine. The *Transactions of the Obstetrical Society of London* were published from 1860 to 1908.

Member (1)

Philip Henry Harper of Bilston F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1822-1883

Fellow (9)

Samuel Palmer Goddard of Stoke-upon-Trent M.D. 1818-1866

Arthur Neville Hawthorne of Eccleshall F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1819-1866

George Lowe of Burton-upon-Trent F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1813-1892

Parkinson Oates of Alrewas M.D. 1818-1885

Michael Ryan of Newcastle M.D. c1816-1899

Charles Somerville of Bloxwich M.D. 1815-1868

John Maule Sutton of Stone M.D. 1829-1886

Thomas Underhill of Tipton M.D. 1824-1916

Charles Edward Eliot Welchman of Lichfield M.R.C.S. 1822-1877

H1.2.20 British Gynaecological Society (1884-1907)

The Society was founded in 1884 as an offshoot of the Obstetrical Society of London. In 1907 it became part of the Royal Society of Medicine. The *British Gynaecological Journal* was first published in 1886.

H1.3 Scottish medical societies

Medical Society (of Edinburgh) (1737-1778) then Royal Medical Society (of Edinburgh) (1778-....)

The Medical Society, conceived by a group of students in 1734, was established at Edinburgh in 1737. It added "Royal" to its name in 1778 when it was granted a royal charter. Membership may, at times, have been confined to students.

President (2)

Robert Arrowsmith of Cannock M.D. 1793-1848 (c1828)

Charles Holland of Penkridge M.D. 1801-1876

Fellow (1)

Edward Knight of Stafford M.B. 1780-1862

Member (6)

William Birch of Barton-under-Needwood F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1801-1869

John Colclough Bourne of Cheadle M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1804-1861

Thomas Fowler of Stafford M.D. 1736-1801

Michael Hutchinson of Wolverhampton M.D. c1762-1797

William Wallman Pattison of Lichfield surgeon 1794-1842

Edward Wilson of Newcastle M.D. 1803-1858

Physico-Chirurgical Society (of Edinburgh) (1771-....) then Physical Society (of Edinburgh) (....-1778) then Royal Physical Society of Edinburgh (1778-....)

The Physico-Chirurgical Society was founded at Edinburgh in 1771. By 1778 it was known as the Physical Society and that year added the name "Royal" on being granted a royal charter. It absorbed a number of other societies including the Edinburgh Medico-Chirurgical Society (for

303 see H.R. Dean "The Pathological Society of London" in *Royal Society of Medicine Proceedings* (Oct 1946)

304 Aris's Birmingham Gazette (26 Oct 1846)

305 Aris's Birmingham Gazette (26 Oct 1846)

306 see Humphrey G. Arthure "The London Obstetrical Society" in *Royal Society of Medicine Proceedings* (1969)

students) in 1782, the American Physical Society in 1796, the Hibernian Medical Society in 1799, the Chemical Society in 1803, the Natural History Society in 1812 and the Didactic Society in 1813.

Member (1)

William Birch of Barton-under-Needwood F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1801-1869

Glasgow Medical Society (1814-....)

The Glasgow Medical Society³⁰⁷ was founded in 1814. The Society amalgamated with the Medico-Chirurgical Society of Glasgow in 1866.

Medico-Chirurgical Society of Edinburgh (1821-....)

The Medico-Chirurgical Society of Edinburgh was founded on 2 Aug 1821 after Robert Hamilton had obtained the signatures of 52 colleagues, signifying their approval of the objects and constitution of the Medical and Chirurgical Society of London and their willingness to cooperate in the formation of a similar institution in Edinburgh.

Hunterian Medical Society of Edinburgh (1828-....)

The Hunterian Medical Society of Edinburgh was in existence by 1828.³⁰⁸

Member (2)

Charles Thomas Davenport of Wolstanton M.R.C.S. 1818-1864

George John Wood of Newcastle M.D. 1816-1862

Edinburgh Obstetrical Society (1840-....)

The Edinburgh Obstetrical Society was founded in 1840.

Corresponding Member (1)

John Burton of Walsall M.D. c1805-1891

Medical-Chirurgical Society of Glasgow (1844-....)

The Medical-Chirurgical Society of Glasgow was founded in 1844. In 1866, retaining the same name, it was amalgamated with the older Glasgow Medical Society.

H1.4 Irish medical societies

Belfast Medical Society (1806-1818) then Belfast Medical Society (1822-1862)

The Belfast Medical Society was founded in 1806 but failed about 1818. A successor of the same name was founded in 1822. In 1862 it amalgamated with the Belfast Clinical and Pathological Society to form the Ulster Medical Society.

Member (1)

Robert Little of Wolverhampton M.D. c1802-1889

Dublin Obstetrical Society (1838-....)

The Dublin Obstetrical Society was founded about Nov 1838.

(15 Nov 1838) ... report of the first meeting of the Dublin Obstetrical Society held in the Rotunda last evening ... [Dublin Evening Packet]

Member (1)

Michael Ryan of Newcastle M.D. c1816-1899

Belfast Clinical And Pathological Society (1853-....)

The Belfast Clinical and Pathological Society was founded in 1853. In 1862 it amalgamated with the Belfast Medical Society to form the Ulster Medical Society.

Ulster Medical Society (1862-....)

The Ulster Medical Society was formed on 30 Apr 1862 principally³⁰⁹ through the amalgamation of the Belfast Medical Society and the Belfast Clinical and Pathological Society.

H1.5 Other medical societies

Parisian Medical Society (1838-....)

The Parisian Medical Society was founded about 1838. Discussions took place in English.

PARISIAN MEDICAL SOCIETY An English Medical Society bearing the above name has been recently instituted at Paris and already includes on its list between ninety and one hundred members ... discussions take place in the English language. These meetings are peculiarly interesting as medical men from London, Edinburgh, Dublin and different parts of America join in the proceedings ... [*The Lancet* (1838-9)]

Member (1)

Parkinson Oates of Alrewas M.D. 1818-1885

H1.6 Midlands medical societies

The North Staffordshire Medical Students' Society (1830-....)

A North Staffordshire Medical Students' Society was proposed in 1830 but no other mention of it or its members has been discovered.

(10 Apr 1830) ... At a meeting of the medical students resident in Newcastle and the Potteries on Thursday the 25th March last it was resolved that a society be formed bearing the cognomen "The North Staffordshire Medical Students' Society". The object of the society is to excite among its members a spirit of emulation and enthusiasm to promote discussion principally on medical subjects and to propagate information in the form of occasional lectures on chemistry &c. [signed] A Medical Student. [STS:ADV]

Birmingham and Midland Counties' Pathological Society (1842-....)

The Birmingham and Midland Counties' Pathological Society was founded in 1842.

³⁰⁷ Initially styled "Glasgow Medical and Surgical Society"

³⁰⁸ George Brock, M.D. Junior president of that society and member of the Royal Medical and Royal Physical Societies of Edinburgh *An address delivered before the Hunterian Society of Edinburgh on closing the session, 1828-9* Edinburgh (1829)

³⁰⁹ The Ulster Medical Protective Association founded in 1859, perhaps not strictly a medical society, is said to have amalgamated at the same time.

(17 Jan 1842) A meeting was held at the Waterloo Rooms on the evening of Saturday se'nnight, Dr Booth in the chair, when a society was formed for the prosecution of pathological inquiry to be called the "Birmingham and Midland Counties' Pathological Society". Several of the resident physicians were present all of whom enrolled their names as members. Dr Fletcher and W.D. Crompton Esq were appointed Secretaries and Mr W.H. Partridge accepted the office of Treasurer. [Aris's Birmingham Gazette]

Report of the Secretaries and Treasurer of the Birmingham and Midland Counties' Pathological Society. 1849. The Birmingham Pathological Society has now been in existence upwards of eight years; its original establishment being we believe in a great measure dependent on the exertions of a distinguished provincial physician Dr Bell Fletcher ... [*Monthly Journal of Medical Science* 9 (1849) p762]

Member (1)

Abraham Hoskins of Uttoxeter M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1822-1910

Wolverhampton Medical Book Society (1847-....)

The Wolverhampton Medical Book Society was founded in 1847 and early on housed their library in the South Staffordshire General Hospital.

(3 Apr 1850) At a meeting of the members of the Wolverhampton Medical Book Society in connexion with the South Staffordshire General Hospital held on Tuesday 2d April Dr Topham in the chair. It was proposed by Mr Edwardes and seconded by Mr Cartwright: That the president be requested to transmit to Lord Wrottesley the cordial thanks of the members of the above society for his munificent donation of £50. [WTON:CHR]

(6 Apr 1850) Wolverhampton Medical Book Society ... The society had only existed for a period of three years and had already by the localization of its library within the walls of the [South Staffordshire General Hospital] assured a certainty of its permanent establishment. [STS:ADV]

North Staffordshire Medical Society (1849-1874)³¹⁰

The North Staffordshire Medical Society was founded in 1849. A *Report of the Proceedings of the North Staffordshire Medical Society* appeared for 1857-8³¹¹. Presidents appear to have served yearly terms. In 1874 the Society was merged into a newly formed Staffordshire Branch of the British Medical Association³¹².

(18 Dec 1858) [North Staffordshire Medical Society] Annual Meeting .. 25 November ... [president] Joseph Walker ... [secretary] James Yates ... [next year] president B. Boothroyd ... vice-president J. Walker ... [STS:ADV]

(8 Dec 1866) ... [North Staffordshire Medical Society] recently held its fourteenth annual meeting ... elected for the ensuing year President: Mr Walter Acton

(20 Nov 1869) [North Staffordshire Medical Society] Annual Meeting ... retiring president R. Garner ... society now numbers thirty-one members Mr John Alcock elected president for the ensuing year [STS:ADV]

President (6)

Edward Wilson of Newcastle M.D. 1803-1858	1849
Thomas Goddard of Stoke-upon-Trent surgeon c1792-1872	1850
Joseph Walker of Burslem M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1806-1875	1858
Benjamin Boothroyd of Stoke-upon-Trent M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1808-1886	1859
Samuel Mayer Turner of Newcastle M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1818-1864	18??
- <i>Walter Acton of Newcastle M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1827-.... [1851 C in Essex]</i>	1866
Robert Garner of Stoke-upon-Trent M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1808-1890	1869
- <i>John Alcock of Burslem M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. (qualified 1857)</i>	1870

Member (2)

William Haslam Davis of Stoke-upon-Trent apprentice 1833-1875
Samuel Goddard of Burslem M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1803-1876

North Staffordshire Medical Book Society (?1849-....)

The North Staffordshire Medical Book Society was probably founded about 1849.

(26 Dec 1855) Dinner and testimonial to Joseph Barnard Davis members of the North Staffordshire Medical Book Society ... [he had been] Honorary Secretary ... six years ... [presented with an ink tray dated December 26, 1855] [*Medical Times* (1856)]

(18 Nov 1876) NEWCASTLE Testimonial Mr Acton of this town has been presented with a handsome massive silver goblet in appreciation of his services (on retirement) as honorary secretary to the North Staffordshire Medical Book Society during fifteen years. A deputation consisting of Mr. Garner (chairman of the committee), Dr Arlidge, Mr Yates, Mr Orton and Mr Goodall (honorary secretary) made the presentation. [STS:ADV]

Member (1)

Joseph Barnard Davis of Stoke-upon-Trent M.D. 1801-1881

North Staffordshire Medical Association (1852-....)

The North Staffordshire Medical Association was founded in 1852 but no member's names have been discovered.

(18 Sep 1852) NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE MEDICAL ASSOCIATION The first meeting of this society was held last Thursday evening [16 Sep] at the Station Hotel, Stoke-upon-Trent, and was attended by nearly thirty of the practitioners of the neighbourhood. ... The objects of the society are, the advancement of medical science generally, the facilitating friendly intercourse among the members of the profession, and also the discountenancing, and, if necessary, suppressing, by proper means, the unprincipled proceedings of modern charlatanism. ... We understand these reunions are for the future to be held quarterly. [STS:ADV]

Midland Medical Society (?1854-....)

The Queen's College Debating Society formed in 1841 was about 1854 renamed the Midland Medical Society. In 1860 it underwent a further re-organisation.

(1854) Midland Medical Society Centenary. On October 13 the Midland Medical Society ... celebrated the centenary of its first president Dr James Johnstone who assumed office in 1854. The origins of the Society appear to go back to 1841 when a group of doctors formed the Queen's College Debating Society with the avowed object of advancing the knowledge of medicine and surgery ... Later the name of the Society was changed to the Midland Medical Society. The history of the early days has been recorded by Professor A.P. Thomson ... in an article published 30 years ago in the *Midland Medical Journal* [*British Medical Journal* (16 Oct 1954)]

310 Robert A. Keane *A centenary record of the North Staffordshire Medical Society 1849-1949* (?1949) [unseen]

311 J.A. Nixon "Provincial Medical Journals" in *Bristol Medico-Chirurgical Journal* (1932)

312 see §Y.1874

(3 Nov 1860) MIDLAND MEDICAL SOCIETY This society has been re-organised under the presidency of Dr Fleming with the view of affording to the profession in the Midland Districts the means of contributing to the advance of the science of medicine and an opportunity of access to its literature. Meetings are held twice a month (October to May inclusive) at the Birmingham Library, Union Street Further information will willingly be given by the President Mr Duncalfe of West Bromwich [Aris's Birmingham Gazette]

Member (2)

John Cromwell Blackford of Stone apprentice 1822-1898

John Hayes of Stone L.R.C.P.E. 1823-1887

Birmingham and Midland Counties Medical Registration Society (1859-...)

This society was formed in 1859 to facilitate the compilation of the new Medical Registers. It may still have been active in 1869.

(22 Aug 1859) Proposed Medical Registration Association. A meeting for gentlemen favourable to the formation of a Medical Registration Society for Birmingham and the Midland Counties was held on Saturday evening last at the Dispensary, Union Street. Among those present were ... Messrs W. Underhill (Tipton) ... [Long account] [Aris's Birmingham Gazette]

(23 Apr 1860) The new Medical Act and unregistered practitioners. On Tuesday Mr Alfred Walter, solicitor to the Birmingham and Midland Counties Medical Registration Society attended at the Rushall Petty Sessions ... information ... against John Thomas Theed of Bloxwich ... convicted ... opinion of the Court above ... [Aris's Birmingham Gazette]

(22 Apr 1869) ... degree of Doctor of Medicine of the Medical College of Pennsylvania, was summoned at the instance of the *Birmingham Medical Registration Society*, for practising as a surgeon without being duly licensed according to the English law. The prosecution rested ... [Birmingham Daily Post, ? not seen, was it a current case ?]

Member (1)

William Lees Underhill of Tipton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1814-1894

Wolverhampton and South Staffordshire Medico-Ethical Society (1859)

There was a Wolverhampton and South Staffordshire Medico-Ethical Society in existence in 1859 but no other details are known.

(7 Dec 1859) At a Council Meeting of the Wolverhampton and South Staffordshire Medico-Ethical Society held December 1st 1859 ... testify their respect for the memory of the late Richard Sandford ... W. Millington M.D. President, C.A. Newnham M.R.C.A. and F.A.C.[sic] Secretary. [WTON:CHR]

H2 Medical writers and their writings

H2.1 Introduction

In §H2.2 is a chronological list of 38 of the cohort^x who were medical writers together with the medical books which they wrote or contributed to. Many of the men have entries in the *Oxford dictionary of national biography* [OB] where their literary output is discussed. A large number of these books were written by men when they were not living in Staffordshire. Some of the men were also non-medical writers (see §L3). Medical papers are listed in §H2.3 and published medical theses in §H2.4. More details can be found in the Register [SDH3].

H2.2 Medical writers and their books

Sir John Floyer of Lichfield Knight M.D. 1649-1734 [OB]

1687-1726

Floyer wrote a number of medical books: *The touch-stone of medicines* ... (1687 & 1690); *An enquiry into the right use and abuses of the hot, cold, and temperate baths in England* ... (1697); *A treatise of the asthma* ... (1698); *The ancient psychrolousia revived, or an essay to prove cold bathing both safe and useful* (1702); *The physician's pulse-watch* ... (1707 & 1710); *Medicina gerocomica* (1724); *A comment on forty-two histories of epidemics described by Hippocrates* (1726) and *Advice to a young physician*, a manuscript not published until 2007. This last item was a set of instructions for the education of his grandson at school and university and in clinical medicine. Sadly the grandson died, in 1720, at the tender age of four years. See also §L3.

Richard Cromwell of Lichfield chirurgion e1645-1691

1691

At Lichfield (where he appears to have practised as a chirurgion for a short period) he died - (presumably) hanged for murder - perhaps aged about 46, on 3 Jul 1691. His book *The happy sinner* ... was published in 1691 by the Lichfield publisher Michael Johnson (father of Samuel Johnson the lexicographer). It contains his last words and prayers together with several medical recipes including a water with which "he cured a boy in Leichfield that had been blind three years".

Richard Cromwel *The happy sinner: or, the penitent malefactor. being the prayers and last words of one Richard Cromwel (some time a souldier and chyrgurion in the late D. of Monmouth's army, and since of their present Majesties) who was executed at Leichfield for murder, on the 3d. day of July, 1691. Wherein are not only contained his prayers, (draun up by his own hand, which (with a little variation) may fitly be used by most christian people) but also his last speech, which is a very pious and godly exhortation to all christian people, to forsake sin and wickedness, and to turn to god, before he overtake them with his just judgments for their wickedness. And also, his legacy to his county, of choyce, physical, and chyrgurgical receipts, viz. I. A balsome for wounds, bruises, pains, aches, stiches, and sprains. II. A very extraordinary receipt for the worms. III. Two several receipts for that tormenting distemper, the wind collick. IV. A cure for all colds or coughs, new or old. V. A purge for the head, which cures those pains, and helps the eye-sight. VI. A general purge, carrying off all flegme, choller, melancholly, from all parts of the body thereby curing or preventing many diseases. VII. A most excellent plaister for all pains. And lastly, directions to make two several waters for the eyes, with the last of which he cured a boy in Leichfield that had been blind three years. Together, with a strange and wonderful account of three ravens flying against the walls of his chamber, which he esteemed as sent by god to give him notice of his approaching death. Licensed and entred according to order.* London, printed for R. Clavell, at the Peacock in St. Pauls church yard, and are to be sold by Mich. Johnson, bookseller in Leichfield (1691)

William Westmacott of Newcastle physician c1650-1721

1694

In 1694 Westmacott published a major work entitled *Theolobotanologia, sive historia vegetabilium sacra, or, a scripture herbal* ... (see §L3) and, in the same year, an interesting medical book, or pamphlet, entitled *A short account of Blurton-Spaw-Water, with some plain directions, and necessary rules for the more efficacious drinking of it*. This included a short letter from +Sir John Floyer of Lichfield Knight M.D. 1649-1734. Blurton lay roughly midway between Newcastle and Stone and it was an apothecary from Stone +William Bateman e1660-1705 who actually published the pamphlet.

Thomas Garlick of Wolverhampton surgeon c1677-1737

1719-1729

was the author of three medical books. *A mechanical account of the cause and cure of a virulent gonorrhoea in both sexes* ... (1719) was sold in conjunction with a curative preparation (which cost £1/4/0) - likewise *An essay on the gout* ... (1729). The third book entitled *Praxis chyrgurgiae rationalis* remained in manuscript.

- Richard Wilkes of Willenhall physician 1691-1760 [OB]** 1730-1747
 Wilkes published three medical books: *A treatise on dropsy* (1730), *A letter ... on the treatment of the distemper ...* (1743) and *An essay on the smallpox* (1747). Other material survives in manuscript including *Original collections for the history of Staffordshire*.
- John Swan of Newcastle M.D. c1702-1768** 1742
 He styled himself M.D. when his medical book, a translation of Thomas Sydenham's medical writings, was published as *The entire works of Dr Thomas Sydenham. Newly made english from the [latin] originals: Wherein the history of acute and chronic diseases, and the safest and most effectual methods of treating them, are faithfully, clearly and accurately delivered, To which are added, explanatory and practical notes, from the best medicinal writers. By John Swan M.D.* (1742). This work was dedicated to Peter Shaw M.D. 1694-1763 [OB] whose father was master of Lichfield school.
- Robert James of Lichfield M.D. 1703-1776 [OB]** 1743-1778
 James wrote nine medical books - two of which were translations. The first was *A medicinal dictionary ... Together with a history of drugs ...* (1743) to which Samuel Johnson had made some contributions. This was followed by *A treatise on the gout and rheumatism ...* (1745), *A translation of Rammazini de morbis artificum, &c.* (1746), *The presages of life and death in diseases, translated from the latin of Prosper Alpinus* (1746), *A dissertation on fevers and inflammatory distempers* (1748), *Pharmacopœia universalis; or, a new universal english dispensatory* (1752), *The practice of physick* (1760), *A treatise on canine madness* (1760) and *A vindication of the fever powder, and a short treatise on the disorders of children* (1778).
- John Buchanan of Stafford M.D. 1710-1767** a1767
 He wrote a medical book *Regimental practice or a short history of diseases common to His Majesties Own Royal Regiment of Horse Guards when abroad (commonly called The Blews)*. This was not published but survives in manuscript.
- William Withering of Stafford M.D. 1742-1799 [OB]** 1779-1785
 also wrote two medical books: *An account of the scarlet fever and sore throat; or scarlatina aniginosa: Particularly as it appeared at Birmingham in the year 1778* (1779) and *An account of the foxglove, and some of its medical uses: With practical remarks on dropsy, and other diseases* (1785). Withering was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society (F.R.S.) about 1784. He was a Freemason and an abolitionist. See also §L3.
- Thomas Fowler of Stafford M.D. 1736-1801** 1785-1795
 Fowler wrote three medical books: *Medical reports, of the effects of tobacco, ...* (1785), *Medical reports of the effects of arsenic ...* (1786) and *Medical reports of the effects of blood-letting [etc] in the cure of ... rheumatism* (1795) - also four medical papers.
- Bryan Higgins of Eccleshall M.D. c1740-1818 [OB]** 1786-1788
 Higgins was of national importance as a chemist and wrote several scientific books (see §L3) ... He also wrote two medical books regarding mineral waters: *An analysis of the Tilbury alternative water at West Tilbury Hall ...* (1786) and *Synopsis of the medicinal contents of the most noted mineral waters ...* (1788).
- George Hoggart Toulmin of Wolverhampton M.D. 1754-1817** 1789-1810
 Toulmin wrote *The antiquity and duration of the world* (1780) (see §L3). Afterwards he wrote two medical books: *The instruments of medicine ...* (1789) and *Elements of the practice of medicine ...* (1810).
- William Meyrick of West Bromwich surgeon ?1763-p1800** 1790
 He styled himself "surgeon" on the 1790 title page of his medical book *The new family herbal; or, domestic physician: enumerating, with accurate descriptions, all the known vegetables which are any way remarkable for medical efficacy;...* He also wrote *Miscellaneous botany* (1794) (see §L3).
- William Simmons of Stone M.R.C.S. c1763-1830** 1798
 his medical book *Reflections on the propriety of performing the Caesarean operation ...* (1798) was published.
- John Whateley of Burton-upon-Trent M.R.C.S. ?1769-1808** 1800
 Whateley wrote a letter dated 10 Dec 1800 regarding (smallpox) vaccination which was published in the Derby Mercury on 18 Dec and was also apparently published as a medical book or pamphlet *An account of cow vaccine or kine pox* (1800).
- Thomas Bakewell of Stone mad-doctor 1761-1835** 1805-1815
 Bakewell wrote two medical books: *The domestic guide, in cases of insanity. ...* (1805) and *A letter to the Select Committee on Madhouses* (1815). See also §L3.
- Philip Parry Price Myddelton of Stafford "physician" c1758-1830** 1807-1825
 Myddelton wrote two medical books: *An essay on gout ...* (1807) and *A preliminary dissertation illustrative of a new system of pulmonary pathology...* (1825).
- Michael Ward of Uttoxeter apprentice 1761-1834** 1809-1829
 He wrote two medical books: *Facts establishing the efficacy of the opiate friction ...* (1809) and *A new method of treating burns & scalds ...* (1829).
- Charles Salt of Stafford M.D. 1779-1860** 1817
 Probably after 1811 he moved to London and had graduated M.D. before his medical book was published *An essay on the mode by which constitutional diseases are produced by inoculation* (1817).
- Benjamin Granger of Burton-upon-Trent M.R.C.S. 1783-1846** 1821
 wrote a medical paper published in 1817 and a medical book *Address to the public, relative to some supposed failures of the cow-pox, at Repton and its neighbourhood, with observations on the efficacy and general expediency of vaccination, and on the injurious consequences of inoculation for the small-pox* Burton-upon-Trent (1821).
- Radulphus Palin of Newcastle apprentice ?1775-1828** 1822
 wrote *Iphotelle, or, the longing fit, a poem* (1812) (see §L3) and a medical book *Observations on the influence of habits and manners, national and domestic, upon the health and organization of the human race: and particularly on the effect of that influence as it relates to the present state of English females, in the higher and middle classes of life* (1822).
- Shirley Palmer of Tamworth M.D. 1786-1852 [OB]** 1829-1845
 He also wrote two medical books: *Popular illustrations of medicine* (1829) and *A pentaglot dictionary of the terms employed in anatomy ...* (1845). He was co-editor of *New Medical and Physical Journal* (1814-6), *Medico-Chirurgical Transactions* (1816-8) and *Medical Repository* (1819-21). And see §L3.
- John Burton of Walsall M.D. c1804-1891** 1832

co-wrote the medical book *Observations on the history and treatment of cholera asphyxia as it appeared at Haddington ...* (1832).

- James Wilkes of Stafford F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1811-1894** 1832
William Hammond of Handsworth M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1807-1858 1832
 Wilkes and Hammond both studied at Birmingham Queen's College where in 1833 their essays were published in a medical book. *ESSAYS I On the anatomy, physiology and pathology of the great sympathetic nerve, by Mr James Wilkes; II On the anatomy of inguinal hernia, by Mr William Hammond. To which were adjudged the prizes of the Birmingham School of Medicine and Surgery, for the year 1832* Birmingham (1833)
- William Brodum Dickinson of West Bromwich M.D. c1801-1866** 1833
 translated a medical book, from the French, Rayer's *Traité théorique et pratique des maladies de la peau* (1827) which was published as *Treatise on diseases of the skin...* (1833).
- Joseph Barnard Davis of Stoke-upon-Trent M.D. 1801-1881 [OB]** 1836
 wrote a medical book *A popular manual of the art of preserving health ...* (1836).
- Robert Little of Wolverhampton M.D. c1802-1889** 1836-1842
 wrote a medical book *Treatise on the prevention and cure of pulmonary consumption* published in 1836. By 1842 he had emigrated to Australia and settled at Sydney in New South Wales where that year he published another medical book *Practical observations on the treatment of the epidemic scarlet fever recently so prevalent and fatal in New South Wales.*
- Charles Thornhill of Darlaston L.S.A. 1807-1862** 1840
 He wrote a medical book *Physical effects of intemperance* (1840).
- Allan Webb of Tamworth M.R.C.P. 1808-1863** 1844-1855
 Whilst in India he held several important offices, edited a medical journal and wrote four medical books: *Pathologica Indica ...*(1844), *The historical relation of ancient Hindu with Greek medicine...* (1850), *Ready rules for operations in surgery* (e1850) and *Elephantiasis orientalis* (1855).
- Spencer Thomson of Clifton Campville M.D. c1816-1886** 1848-1860
 Thomson wrote six medical books: *British cholera, its nature and causes ...* (1848), *On pisiform concretions in urine* (1848), *Temperance and total abstinence: Or the use and abuse of alcoholic liquors in health and disease* (1850), *A dictionary of domestic medicine and household surgery* (1852), *The structure and functions of the eye, illustrative of the power, wisdom, and goodness of god* (1857) and *Health resorts of Britain and how to profit by them* (1860) - also two medical papers.
- James Muter Turnbull of Wolverhampton M.D. 1818-1897** 1853-1859
 Turnbull was an authority on diseases of the chest. He wrote some medical papers and three medical books: *A report on the progress of improvement in the treatment of consumption and other pulmonary and laryngeal disease, and on some new remedial means* (1853); *A practical treatise on disorders of the stomach with fermentation; the causes and treatment of indigestion; and on diet* (1856) and *An inquiry into the curability of consumption ... Third edition* (1859).
- George Allarton of West Bromwich M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. ?1811-1875** 1854-1863
 wrote three medical books including two on lithotomy: *Lithotomy simplified ...* (1854), *Mysteries of medical life, or doctors and their doings, being a sketch of medical men generally ...* (1856) and *Treatise on median lithotomy ...* (1863).
- Robert Garner of Stoke-upon-Trent F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1808-1890** 1855
 wrote one medical book *Eutherapeia; Or, an examination of the principles of medical science, with researches in the nervous system* (1855). His major work was *The natural history of the county of Stafford ...* (1844) (see §L3). [His] books are dwarfed by the one hundred or more medical papers and other papers he published most of which are listed in Simms (1894) from information he himself supplied.
- Henry Day of Stowe M.D. c1809-1881** 1866-1874
 wrote three medical books *Clinical histories with comments* (1866), *Historical steps of modern medicine ...* (1872) and *Brain injuries* (1874) and three medical papers.
- Joseph Walker of Burslem M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1806-1875** [1135]
 published five medical papers between 1861 and 1866 and compiled a medical book *Annual reports of the sanitary condition of the borough of Hanley* (1867).
- Stephen Shute Alford of Stoke-upon-Trent F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1821-1881** 1875-1879
 wrote three medical books on alcoholism: *A few words on drink craving* (1875), *Dipsomania; Its prevalence, causes and treatment* (1877) and *The Habitual Drunkards Act of 1879; How it may be administered with an account of a recent visit to the American inebriate homes (?1879).*
- Michael Ryan of Newcastle M.D. c1816-1899** 1875
 In 1864 he published a medical paper "On the successful use of the forceps in 1206 midwifery cases" in *Dublin Quarterly Journal of Medicine*. Eleven years later, that paper evidently revised and enlarged was published as a medical book *On the successful use of the forceps in 2200 midwifery cases* (1875).

H2.3 Medical papers

Medical papers written by members of the cohort[✶] are listed below by journal and year of publication. Lists of British medical journals are given in §Z4.4 and Midlands medical journals in §Z4.5. In the list that follows there are likely to be errors in the precise detail.

Birmingham Health Lectures (1 1883; 2 1884; 3 1886)

John Maule Sutton "Day nurseries, and their bearing upon public health" in [?] *Birmingham Health Lectures Series 3* (1886) p123-46]

British Medical Journal (1857-....)

Philip Henry Harper "Successful ovariectomy" in *British Medical Journal* (1860)

Dublin Quarterly Journal of Medicine

Michael Ryan "On the successful use of the forceps in 1206 midwifery cases" in *Dublin Quarterly Journal of Medicine* (1864)

Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal

Benjamin Granger, Surgeon, Burton-upon-Trent "On a particular fracture of the inner condyle of the humerus" in *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal 14* (1818) [paper is dated December 26, 1817]

Journal du Médecine, Chirurgie et Pharmacie

John Warburton Moseley "Des cas de retention du placenta et son traitement" in [?] *Journal du Médecine, Chirurgie et Pharmacie*] (1858)

The Lancet (1823-....)

Thomas Head "On purpura haemorrhagica" in *The Lancet* (1827)

George Walter James "On the internal compression of abdominal aorta in uterine haemorrhage" in *The Lancet* (1827)

- George Walter James "Case of viper bite" in *The Lancet* (1831)
- James Chapman "Treatment of pruritus ani" in *The Lancet* (1841)
- James Gatis "Pressure during parturition" in *The Lancet* (1841)
- Charles Cheselden Higgins "Traumatic tetanus treated by means of free bleeding" in *The Lancet* (1842)
- Samuel Palmer Goddard "Case of perforation of the stomach" in *The Lancet* (1843)
- Charles Hodgkins M.R.C.S. & Bilston "Enormous enlargement of the prostate" in *The Lancet* (1843)
- Henry Bateman "Case of lyssa (or hydrophobia)" in *The Lancet* (1844)
- Samuel Palmer Goddard "Case of placentia proenia" in *The Lancet* (1845)
- James Muter Turnbull "Lectures on plethora and anaemia and on functional disorders dependent upon the state of the blood" in *The Lancet* (1846)
- Charles Hawthorn "On the surgical and mechanical treatment of spina bifida" in *The Lancet* (1846) p582-3 [signed Sandon Nov 1845]
- William James Kite "On a case of puerpal convulsions successfully treated by inhalation of chloroform" in *The Lancet* (1848)
- William James Kite "Cases of asphyxia the result of sewer accident" in *The Lancet* (???)
- George Bellasais Masfen "On a case of cholera successfully treated" in *The Lancet* (1849)
- John Topham "Case of tracheitis in an adult" in *The Lancet* (1850)
- George Bellasais Masfen "Case of tapeworm treated by kouso" in *The Lancet* (1851)
- George Bellasais Masfen "Successful case of transfusion" in *The Lancet* (1851)
- John Topham "Case of softening of spinal cord" in *The Lancet* (1852)
- John Topham "Case of hypertrophy of heart with aortic aneurism" in *The Lancet* (1852)
- Joseph Walker "Excision of the two inner cuneiform bones of foot" in *The Lancet* (1866) [Hancock's Lecture]
- Henry Day "Cerebro-spinal meningitis, or, so-called spotted fever" in *The Lancet* (1867)
- Henry Day "On Ozone" in *The Lancet* (1868)
- Walter Fergus "On scarlatina" in *The Lancet* (1869)
- John Maule Sutton "On the treatment of the deodorization and the utilization of town's sewage" in *The Lancet* (1871)
- Spencer Thomson "Rapid Relief of Neuralgic Pain" in *The Lancet* (1875)
- London Journal of Medicine (1849-1852)**
- Mr. G. Lowe "Fungus cerebri" in *London Journal of Medicine* (1850)
- London Medical Gazette**
- Charles Manley Ashwin "A case showing effect of external application of camphor" in *London Medical Gazette* (1832)
- Henry Bateman "On strangulated hernia" in *London Medical Gazette* (1832)
- Robert Arrowsmith "Account of the Coventry Self-supporting Dispensary" in *London Medical Gazette* 12 (1833) p426-9
- London Medical Repository and Review**
- T.G. Coombe, Newcastle, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons London "A Case of Hernia Cerebri" in *London Medical Repository and Review* 7 (1817) p273-4
- F. Weaver of Walsall surgeon "A case of catalepsis verminosa, cured by oleum terebinthinoe [?terebinthinoe] rectificatus" in *London Medical Repository and Review* 8 (1820)
- Medical and Philosophical Commentaries (by a Society in Edinburgh) (1773-1778)**
- Mr Fielding Best Fynney, Surgeon at Leek in Staffordshire "The history of a case of imperforate hymen" in *Medical and Philosophical Commentaries (by a Society in Edinburgh)* 3 (1775)
- Fielding Best Fynney "An account of the extirpation of a polypous excrescence from the os uteri" in *Medical and Philosophical Commentaries (by a Society in Edinburgh)* 4 (1776) p228-31
- Mr Thomas Fowler, Member of the Medical Society of Edinburgh "The history of two cases from the poisonous effects of the seeds of the thorn apple" in *Medical and Philosophical Commentaries (by a Society in Edinburgh)* 5 (1777) p161
- Mr John Gardner Surgeon at Betley, Staffordshire "The history of a case in which there occurred a very uncommon presentation of a child, to whose neck there was attached a tumour nearly about the size of the child's head" in *Medical and Philosophical Commentaries (by a Society in Edinburgh)* 5 (1777)
- T. Fowler "A remarkable case of the morbid effects of lightning successfully treated" in *Medical and Philosophical Commentaries (by a Society in Edinburgh)* 6 (?1778)
- Medical and Physical Journal**
- Dr Bourne "Further account of the case of abstinence contained in our last with the physiological and pathological remarks of Dr Bourne" in *Medical and Physical Journal* 20 (1808)
- John Spencer Harrison, Esq. Surgeon, Alstonefield, Staffordshire "On a powerful and convenient apparatus for locally applying steam" in *Medical and Physical Journal* 32 July/December 1814 (1815)
- Medical and Surgical Journal (1832-....)**
- Henry Bateman "On cancer" in *Medical and Surgical Journal* 1 (1832) p595
- Medical commentaries for the year (1780-1795)**
- Dr Thomas Fowler, physician at Stafford "The history of a case of rheumatism cured by the volatile leixir of guaiacum" in *Medical commentaries for the year 1780* 7 (?1781) p94
- T. Fowler "Observations and experiments on the effects of different anthelmintics applied to earth-worms" in *Medical commentaries for the year 8 1781* (?1782) p336-45
- Medical Gazette**
- Edw. Selleck Hare M.R.C.S. House-Surgeon to the Stafford County General Infirmary "Tumor involving certain nerves" in *Medical Gazette* (1838) [A letter dated September 11 1838]
- Medical Repository**
- Shirley Palmer [co-editor] *Medical Repository* (1819-21)
- Medical Times (1839-1851)**
- Henry Bateman "Successful operation on a hare-lip four hours after birth" in *Medical Times* (1850)
- Medical Times and Gazette (1851-1885)**
- James Muter Turnbull "Clinical Lectures on aneurism, dropsy and tubercular peritonitis" in *Medical Times and Gazette* (1852)
- Joseph Walker "Removal of a piece of bacon from the bladder" in *Medical Times and Gazette* (1861)
- George Lowe "Case of quadruple external aneurism" in *Medical Times and Gazette* (1862)
- Joseph Walker "Case of successful ovariectomy" in *Medical Times and Gazette* (1864)
- Joseph Walker "On a new earthenware pessary" in *Medical Times and Gazette* (1864)
- Joseph Walker "Successful operation for vesico-vaginal fistula" in *Medical Times and Gazette* (1864)
- Henry Day "The spinal origin of rheumatism" in *Medical Times and Gazette* (1867)
- Phineas John Kendrick "Case of perforation of basilar process of occipital bone by wooden crochet needle" in *Medical Times and Gazette* (18??)
- Medico-Chirurgical Journal and Review (1816-1818)**
- Richard Bird, jun. surgeon "Notes of a case of uterine polypus terminating in fatal sphacelation" in *Medico-Chirurgical Journal and Review* (1816)
- Edward Bourne M.D. "Case of disordered action of the heart, with dropsical effusion, relieved by blood-letting" in *Medico-Chirurgical Journal and Review* 4 (1817)
- Medico-Chirurgical Transactions (1809-1907)**
- Shirley Palmer [co-editor] *Medico-Chirurgical Transactions* (1816-8)
- William Birch "History of two cases of laceration of the uterus during labour, after which one of the women survived nearly eight weeks, the other perfectly recovered" in *Medico-Chirurgical Transactions* (1827)
- Midland Quarterly Journal of the Medical Sciences**
- David Bolton "On encephaloid disease of bone" in *Midland Quarterly Journal of the Medical Sciences* 1 (1858) p44

David Bolton "On diffused popliteal aneurism" in *Midland Quarterly Journal of the Medical Sciences* 2 (1858) p211

Monthly Journal of Medical Science

Spencer Thomson "Case of peculiar vesicles observed in urine" in *Monthly Journal of Medical Science* 2 (1848) p733

New Medical and Physical Journal

Shirley Palmer [co-editor] *New Medical and Physical Journal* (1814-6)

Philosophical Transactions

Erasmus Darwin, M.D. "An uncommon case of an haemoptysis [spitting of blood]" in *Philosophical Transactions* 51 (1759) p526-9

James Bent, Surgeon at Newcastle "An account of a woman enjoying the use of her right arm after the head of the os humeri was cut away" in *Philosophical Transactions* 64 Part 2 (1774) p353-6

Fielding Best Fynney "The case of Ann Davenport" in *Philosophical Transactions* 67 (?1777)

Erasmus Darwin, M.D., F.R.S.: "A new case in squinting" in *Philosophical Transactions* 68 (1778) p86-96

Practitioner

Walter Fergus "On sulphur and sulphurous acid" in *Practitioner* (1877)

Provincial Medical and Surgical Journal (1844-1852)

George Edwardes "Case of amputation of the thigh under the influence of aether" in *Provincial Medical and Surgical Journal* (1847)

William Gill, M.D. Physician to the Nottingham Dispensary, and Consulting Physician to the Union Hospital, Nottingham "On a new and successful mode of treating fever" in *Provincial Medical and Surgical Journal* (1847)

[Joshua Seddon] J. Seddom[sic] M.D., F.R.C.S., &c lately one of the Surgeons to the North Staffordshire Infirmary "Case of exostosis of the tibia, and operation" in *Provincial Medical and Surgical Journal* (1847) p70

Joshua Seddon "Retroversion of uterus at sixth months of pregnancy" in *Provincial Medical and Surgical Journal* (1848) p205

Charles Manley Ashwin "Reply to questions respecting influenza" in [*Provincial Medical and Surgical Journal* 6 (?1849)]

Ryan's Medical Journal

William Hallam "Treatment of fractures" in *Ryan's Medical Journal* (1836)

St Bartholomew's Hospital Reports (1865-1939)

Thomas Head "Practical observations on obstruction of the bowels and on constipation" in *St Bartholomew's Hospital Reports* 3 (1867)

George Lowe "Two cases of complete dislocation of the knee forwards with rupture of the popliteal vessels, requiring amputation" in *St Bartholomew's Hospital Reports* 5 (1869)

Transactions of the Obstetrical Society of London (1860-1908)

Philip Henry Harper "The more frequent use of the forceps as a means of lessening both maternal and foetal mortality" in *Transactions of the Obstetrical Society of London* 1 (1860)

Robert Sherratt Tomlinson "Uterine tuberculosis" in *Transactions of the Obstetrical Society of London* 5 (1864)

H2.4 Medical theses

§D2 (under each university) contains details of cohort \times medical theses written to obtain medical degrees. Of these only three are known to have been published.

Archibald Campbell of Stafford M.D. c1738-1805

1765

Archibald Campbell [thesis] *Dissertatio medica inauguralis de vermibus ... pro gradu doctoratus ... Archibaldus Campbell Anglus Ad diem 16 Novembris ...* Edinburgh: Apud Auld et Smellie Typographo (1765)

George Hoggart Toulmin of Wolverhampton, Staffs M.D. 1754-1817

1779

Georgius Hoggart Toulmin [thesis] *Disputatio medica inauguralis de cynanche tonsillari* Edinburgh MDCCLXXIX (1779)

Robert Arrowsmith of Cannock M.D. 1793-1848

1828

Robert Arrowsmith [thesis] *A medico-legal essay on infanticide. translated from the author's latin inaugural dissertation, composed on that subject, and submitted to the faculty of medicine in Edinburgh, preparatory to receiving the degree of M.D. in the present year by Robert Arrowsmith, M.D. President of the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh* Edinburgh (1828)

L Non-medical material

L1 Careers (non-medical)

L1.1 Introduction; L1.2 National offices; L1.3 Town council offices; L1.4 Clergymen; L1.5 Schoolmasters; L1.6 Chemists & druggists; L1.7 Business proprietors and investors; L1.8 Farmers; L1.9 Miscellaneous careers

L1.1 Introduction

As well as practising medicine cohort \times men may have served in National offices (§L1.2) or Town council offices (§L1.3). Others may have supplemented their income or changed their career by working as clergymen (§L1.4), schoolmasters (§L1.5), chemists & druggists (§L1.6), business proprietors and investors (§L1.7), farmers (§L1.8) or other miscellaneous careers (§L1.9).

L1.2 National offices

L1.2.1 Deputy lieutenants

A deputy lieutenant is an assistant to the lord lieutenant of an English county - both are appointed by the Crown. Five cohort \times men served as deputy lieutenants: Charles Holland of Penkrige M.D. 1801-1876, Edward Knight of Stafford M.B. 1780-1862 and Thomas Rowley of Lichfield M.D. 1790-1863 for Staffordshire, Francis Sacheverel Darwin of Lichfield M.D. 1786-1859 for Derbyshire and John Maule Sutton of Stone M.D. 1829-1886 for Pembrokeshire.

L1.2.2 Magistrates

Magistrates (or justices of the peace³¹³) were lay law officers, usually unpaid, who might be appointed to serve a county or a town council. In the Register (SDH ---) the terms "Staffordshire magistrate" or, for instance, "Lichfield magistrate" are used but in some cases their exact status is not always clear. At least 32 cohort \times men served as magistrates of whom 16 served Staffordshire. Nine men served various county towns (§L1.3.6) or in a few cases other counties or abroad.

313 The titles magistrate and justice of the peace are mostly synonymous and in this work the title magistrate is preferred.

L1.2.3 Land tax commissioners

Three cohort^x men were land tax commissioners in 1702³¹⁴ when it is said that the necessary qualification was an income of at least £100 from land. They were - for Staffordshire: Sir John Floyer of Lichfield Knight M.D. 1649-1734 - and for Lichfield: Richard Burnes of Lichfield apothecary 1661-1733 and George Hector of Lichfield surgeon c1676-1743.

Later Henry Jesson of Wolverhampton surgeon 1764-1841 was said to be a "commissioner for tax" and Richard Sutton of Cheadle M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1800-1883 was said to be a "commissioner of taxes".

L1.2.4 Inspectors of nuisances

An "inspector of nuisances" is recorded in Dublin in 1802³¹⁵ and another at Bristol in 1808³¹⁶. From 1820 there are many references to the office. In 1850 the local board of health at Newcastle included an inspector of nuisances. The nuisances may primarily have been those endangering the general health of a neighbourhood but not specifically medical. Of the cohort^x only one man, Thomas John Warburton 1825-1863, is recorded as such an inspector and this was at Market Drayton in Shropshire.

(1851) (Newcastle) The LOCAL BOARD OF HEALTH, established in August, 1850, consists of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Councillors. Thomas Fenton, is the clerk; Mr. Robert Chapman, surveyor; George John Wood, Esq., M.D., medical officer; and Mr. J. T. Blood, inspector of nuisances. [White]

L1.2.5 Receiver-generals

A receiver-general might have been accepting payments due to the government and making payments on behalf of the government. Thomas Spendelow of Newcastle apothecary c1660-1701 died in office as Receiver-General of Staffordshire.

(19 Jan 1701.2) Mr Thomas Spendelow, deceased, late Receiver for the County of Stafford; The names of his security are Ralph Sneyd of Keele Esquire, John Lawton of Cheshire Esq; Thomas Spendelow of Tilly, Salop gentleman, William Rowley deceased late of Newcastle gentleman, Peter Spendelow of Norbury gentleman. This receiver's debt was £4,369; but there has lately been paid by him and Security, the sum of £1,700; so there remains of this debt, on the Third Three Shillings Aid the sum of £2,669. [Journals of the House of Commons]

L1.2.6 Registrars (from 1837)

Thirteen men (below) are recorded as registrars (of births, marriages and deaths). Registration commenced in 1837 and the principal³¹⁷ Staffordshire registration districts were then: Burton-upon-Trent, Cheadle, Leek, Lichfield, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Penkridge, Seisdon, Stafford, Stoke-upon-Trent, Stone, Tamworth, Uttoxeter, Walsall, West Bromwich, Wolstanton and Wolverhampton³¹⁸.

Charles Nelson Bromley of Stafford, Richard Cordon of Stoke-upon-Trent, Joseph Barnard Davis of Stoke-upon-Trent, Henry Edwards of Tutbury, Thomas Goddard of Stoke-upon-Trent, Richard Harding of Stoke-upon-Trent, Charles Cheselden Higgins of Abbots Bromley, John Matthews Lister of Penkridge, William Jackson Perrin of Castle Church, John Ritchie of Checkley, Charles Short of Betley, JohnWilliam Thompson of Sedgley and Edward Tylecote of Great Haywood in Colwich

An early letter of recommendation for the first registrar of Audley district survives:

(1837) Letter from Weston Yonge, of Charnes Hall, Stafford, to the Poor Law Commission, recommending Mr Short [Charles Short] of Betley, Surgeon, for the office of registrar of the union about to be formed [Newcastle under Lyme]. Annotated: Mr Short's name had been inserted as Registrar for the Audley District, but the appointment had not yet been declared. Mr Short's Christian name was required. Paper Number: 5658/C/1837. Poor Law Union Number 421. Counties: Staffordshire. [MH 12/11363/28 Folios 41-42]

L1.2.7 Poor law auditors (by 1845)

By 1845 the Poor Law Commissioners were appointing auditors for Staffordshire. One auditor covered parts of Staffordshire and Worcestershire (including Birmingham) - another parts of Staffordshire and Derbyshire. The annual salary for the latter was £370. Thomas Stonor Simkiss of Wolverhampton surgeon 1793-1868 was appointed auditor for Staffordshire and Worcestershire in 1845.

(23 Apr 1845) I ... being an Assistant Poor Law Commissioner, determined by the Poor Law Commissioners to conduct the Election of an Auditor for the Staffordshire and Derbyshire Audit District ... office is now vacant ... The auditor of the above district will be required to audit the accounts of the several unions mentioned below... half-yearly, after Lady-day and Michaelmas; and the salary is £370 per annum. April 19 1845 [WTON:CHR]

(2 Jun 1845) Poor Law Commissioners ... had appointed Mr Simkiss of Wolverhampton Auditor for the Staffordshire and Worcestershire district including the parish of Birmingham [Aris's Birmingham Gazette]

(11 Jun 1845) The election of auditor for the Staffordshire and Derbyshire district has terminated in the appointment of Mr. Richard Stone, of Derby, to the office. [WTON:CHR]

³¹⁴ *Statutes of the realm VIII*

³¹⁵ *Morning Post* 28 Jan 1802

³¹⁶ *Bristol Mirror* 30 Jan 1808

³¹⁷ Registration districts did not respect county boundaries so that some parts of Staffordshire are included in neighbouring county districts and vice versa.

³¹⁸ These may be compared with the poor law unions (§B4.2).

L1.2.8 Commissioners in lunacy (1845)

The lunacy act (8 & 9 Victoria c100) (1845) established Commissioners in lunacy to oversee lunatic asylums. Only one cohort^x man held the office. James Wilkes of Stafford F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1811-1894 was appointed in 1855 and undertook an inquiry into the state of the Irish Asylums.

L1.3 Town council offices

Prior to the *The municipal corporations act* of 1835 (below) the existing corporations (§B3.2) of Lichfield, Newcastle, Stafford, Tamworth and Walsall each had a council typically elected by members of the corporation who were often styled burgesses. Each council consisted of a mayor, aldermen and councillors. The councils also appointed various officials - amongst whom - assessors, auditors, bailiffs, constables, coroners, magistrates (or justices of the peace), sheriffs, town clerks and treasurers. At Lichfield men often served first as as a sheriff (a junior position) before perhaps serving as as junior bailiff and then as a senior bailiff. Many of the elected and appointed officers would have also been burgesses. At Lichfield men also served as trustees and wardens of the Lichfield Conduit Lands.

After the passing of *The municipal corporations act (5 & 6 William IV c76}* (9 Sep 1835) the organisation of municipal boroughs was to a large extent standardised. Under this act the burgesses (primarily adult male householders of three years standing) were to choose councillors and aldermen who would, in turn, elect from their ranks a mayor. The council (mayor, aldermen and councillors) might then appoint two auditors, two assessors, a town clerk, a treasurer, a coroner and arrange for the Crown to appoint magistrates (or justices).

An act to provide for the regulation of municipal corporations in England and Wales (aka The municipal corporations act) (5 & 6 William IV c76} (9 Sep 1835)

§6 Corporation to be styled mayor, aldermen and burgesses

§9 Burgesses to be "every male person of full age who shall have occupied [various premises for three years] and have been an inhabitant householder within or within seven miles

§25 Mayor, aldermen and councillors to be chosen [by burgesses] who together shall constitute the council of the borough

§37 Elections of two auditors and two assessors

§49 Council to elect Mayor every year from the councillors

§58 Power to council to appoint town clerk and treasurer etc

§62 In every borough in which there is a separate Court of Quarter Sessions of the Peace to appoint a coroner

§65 Power to remove [existing] bailiff, treasurer or chamberlain

§99 Councils may make byelaws on which the Crown may appoint salaried justices.

In the following years other places acquired municipal status including Wolverhampton in 1849 and Hanley in 1857.

L1.3.1 Mayors

Men that were mayors would often have served as aldermen and in turn aldermen might have served as councillors. Seventeen cohort^x men served as mayors - at Walsall (1), Stafford (7), Newcastle (4), Lichfield (2) and Hanley (1) and two in other counties.

George Turnpenny of Walsall barber surgeon ?1630-1700	Walsall	a1676
Sampson Birch of Stafford apothecary ?1632-?1713	Stafford	1682
Thomas Spendelow of Newcastle apothecary c1660-1701	Newcastle	1698
Lewis Dickenson of Stafford surgeon & apothecary 1713-1775	Stafford	1755
Francis Stanier of Newcastle surgeon 1737-1805	Newcastle	1771
Francis Newbold of Uttoxeter apprentice 1766-1828	Macclesfield (Cheshire)	1800
William Fieldhouse of Stafford surgeon & apothecary 1749-1803	Stafford	1803
Robert Bentley of Newcastle surgeon 1778-1822	Newcastle	1820
Edward Knight of Stafford M.B. 1780-1862	Stafford	1822
Francis Hughes of Stafford surgeon 1769-1837	Stafford	1828
John Masfen of Stafford F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1795-1854	Stafford	1836
Major Butler Morgan of Lichfield M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1802-1874	Lichfield	1847
Halford Wotton Hewitt of Lichfield M.D. 1805-1893`	Lichfield	1842
Edward Wilson of Newcastle M.D. 1803-1858	Newcastle	1851
Benjamin Boothroyd of Stoke-upon-Trent M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1808-1886	Hanley	c1861
Henry Thomas Lomax of Stafford M.R.C.S. c1818-1873	Stafford	1860s
John Maule Sutton of Stone M.D. 1829-1886	Tenby (Pembrokeshire)	1860s

L1.3.2 Aldermen

Another eleven men also served as aldermen in their own town:

Richard Brittain of Newcastle surgeon & apothecary ?1705-1785, Bernard Coombe of Newcastle surgeon 1757-1833, William Cotton of Lichfield surgeon & apothecary 1715-1796, James Gatis of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1811-1872, Richard Greene of Lichfield surgeon & apothecary 1716-1793, Richard Hammond of Lichfield apothecary 1679-1739, Thomas Stonor Simkiss of Wolverhampton surgeon 1793-1868, John Swan of Newcastle apothecary c1675-1721, Matthew Worswick of Stafford "physician" ?1606-1658, Richard Wright of Lichfield M.D. 1777-1820 and Thomas Wayne Wright of Lichfield medical assistant 1782-1805.

L1.3.3 Councillors

Many of the men that were aldermen and mayors would have earlier been councillors. Edward Francis Dehane of Wolverhampton F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1804-1869 and John Hawthorn of Stafford M.R.C.S. c1791-1837 (Stafford) also served on their local councils.

L1.3.4 Bailiffs and sheriffs

At Lichfield nine cohort^x men served as sheriff - (s), junior bailif - (jb) and senior bailiff - (sb):

George Curitall of Lichfield apothecary c1553-... (s/jb/sb); Richard Drafgate of Lichfield apothecary e1584-1667 (s/jb/sb); Henry Boylston of Lichfield apothecary c1620-1690 (jb/sb); Edmund Hector of Lichfield chirurgeon c1640-1709 (s/jb/sb); John Marten of Lichfield apothecary 1674-1745 (s); George Hector of Lichfield surgeon c1676-1743 (jb); Richard Hammond of Lichfield apothecary 1679-1739 (jb/sb); Benjamin Hector of Lichfield surgeon 1682-1757 (s); Richard Greene of Lichfield surgeon & apothecary 1716-1793 (s/jb/sb)

And at Tamworth five men were bailiffs:

Samuel Shaw of Tamworth M.D. c1666-1730; John Meacham of Tamworth surgeon ?1699-1747; Richard Bird of Tamworth surgeon & apothecary c1754-1836; William Flamank Blick of Stone apprentice 1783-1838; Shirley Palmer of Tamworth M.D. 1786-1852;

L1.3.5 Coroners

Four men served as coroners. George Allarton of West Bromwich M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. ?1811-1875 was a West Bromwich deputy coroner, Arthur Augustus Fletcher of Walsall M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.D. 1811-1884 a Walsall coroner, John Theophilus Heeley of Stone medical assistant 1830-1910 a Victoria (Australia) deputy coroner and George Dalrymple Monteith of Kingswinford L.S.A. c1808-1862 a Wellington (NZ) coroner.

L1.3.6 Magistrates (or justices of the peace)

Nine cohort^x men were appointed as magistrates for two councils - four at Lichfield and one apiece at Burton-upon-Trent, Hanley, Stafford, ?Tipton and Walsall.

Benjamin Boothroyd of Stoke-upon-Trent M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1808-1886 (Hanley), William Cotton of Lichfield surgeon & apothecary 1715-1796 (Lichfield), John Day of Walsall M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1811-1889 (Walsall), Richard Drafgate of Lichfield apothecary e1584-1667 (Lichfield), Richard Hammond of Lichfield apothecary 1679-1739 (Lichfield), George Hector of Lichfield surgeon c1676-1743 (Lichfield), Henry Thomas Lomax of Stafford M.R.C.S. c1818-1873 (Stafford), George Lowe of Burton-upon-Trent F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1813-1892 (Burton-upon-Trent), William Lees Underhill of Tipton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1814-1894 (?Tipton),

L1.3.7. Town clerks

Robert Croxton physician ?1619-1675 was the Newcastle town clerk when he took the oath of allegiance to Charles I on 1 Oct 1664.

L1.3.8 Constables

In 1661 Henry Wood barber chirurgeon e1622-1668 was Constable of Walsall:

Henry Wood, the Constable of the Borough, and a Royalist who was appointed a Capital Burgess by the King's Commissioners on 22 September 1662 ... The particular situation in Walsall can be seen from "The Account of Henry Wood, Constable of Walsall Borough, made ye twenty-fourth of November, on what he hath disbursed for the Towne from October 1661 until October 1662 ... "hire of a horse six days to Stafford when I went in with souldiers 6/0; paid to the souldiers for their pay for eight days £2/8/0; for getting the cuckstoole out of ye towne brooke 0/6; for removing ye stockes out of ye crosse 1/2; to 45 clubmen yt walked ye faire: for a horse 7/6; two dayes more when I went to give in a presentment at Stafford of those that had been actually in armes against his majesty 2/0" ... It would no doubt give Henry Wood considerable pleasure to complete his assignment at Stafford. As the town barber he would be in a position to know all the Roundheads and he was rewarded for his loyalty by being nominated by the King's Commissioners as 'chirurgeon to ye poore' [Ernest James Homeshaw *The Corporation of the Borough and Foreign of Walsall* (1960) p37 44-45 where sources are quoted]

L1.3.9 Burgesses

Burgesses at Lichfield, Newcastle, Stafford, Tamworth and Walsall were entitled to vote at council elections and it is likely that most of the elected and appointed officers were of their number. How a man qualified as a burgess might have varied in each place.

On 22 Sep 1662 Henry Wood barber chirurgeon e1622-1668, then Constable of Walsall (§L1.3.8), was "appointed a Capital Burgess by the King's Commissioners". Phineas Fowke of Norton-under-Cannock M.D. 1639-1711 was admitted as a Shrewsbury capital burgess in 1684. Samuel Shaw of Tamworth M.D. c1666-1730 was elected a Tamworth capital burgess and bailiff in 1722 whilst Gervase Wilder of Walsall chirurgeon & apothecary e1678-1733 was appointed a Walsall capital burgess in 1731. Phineas Fowke of Norton-under-Cannock M.D. 1639-1711 took the oath of a burgess at Macclesfield, Cheshire in 1794.

In 1816 Isaac Faulkner [of Rugeley apprentice] 1768-1856 appears to have resigned as a capital burgess at Congleton, Cheshire.

(1816) Also in 1816, Isaac Faulkner, yet another capital burgess, had for several years "omitted to attend" the public meetings or assemblies of the corporation and had told the Mayor that his professional engagements as a surgeon "render his attendance at such meetings very inconvenient". He'd resigned and asked the borough to accept this, which the corporation did. [Internet]

In 1835 *The municipal corporations act* ruled:

§9 Burgesses to be "every male person of full age who shall have occupied [various premises for three years] and have been an inhabitant householder within or within seven miles".

L1.3.10 Lichfield Conduit Lands

Percy Laithwaite in *The history of the Lichfield Conduit Lands Trust 1546 to 1946* Lichfield (1947) outlines the main features of this trust and provides lists of some of the trustees - who appear to have been appointed for life - and of wardens - appointed annually. Five cohort \times men were trustees (of whom one was also a warden) - and another man was just a warden. (It is uncertain who appointed these men).

L1.4 Clergymen

Eleven cohort \times men appear to have been clergymen. Only Wilkes (1714) was a clergyman before becoming a medic - the other 10 qualified medically first. Long (1662) was a presbyterian convert, Williams (1850) was an independent. Purcell (a1715) was a roman catholic and Palmer (1855) a roman catholic convert. The other seven men were born into and ordained in the anglican church except Beddow (1846) who was an independent convert. Taylor (1813) was later a deist. Curiously Rooker and Thornhill who were both ordained in 1845 were contemporaries whilst in practice at Darlaston and later when students at Cambridge.

George Long of Newcastle M.D. c1628-1712

1662

Long was the son of a London anglican. He was admitted sizar at Trinity College, Cambridge on 2 Jun 1646 and was a Fellow until 1660. He was briefly Minister of Newcastle but, presumably as a presbyterian convert, did not subscribe to the Act of Uniformity and was thus ejected on 24 Aug 1662. He was admitted as a medical student at Leyden on 4 Jul 1668 and from there graduated M.D. on 12 Jul 1688 with the thesis "*De convulsione et motibus convulsivis*". For the rest of his life he appears to have practised as a physician and served as a presbyterian clergyman at Birmingham, in Ireland and at Leicester, Newcastle (possibly in the 1680s) and latterly at Bristol, Glos where he died, aged about 84, on 26 Dec 1712.

Richard Wilkes of Willenhall physician 1691-1760

1714

Wilkes was the son of a Staffordshire anglican gentleman. He was educated at Trentham and Sutton Coldfield, Warwicks under Mr Saunders. He was admitted pensioner at St John's College, Cambridge on 13 Mar 1709.10 and from there graduated B.A. in Jan 1713.4 and M.A. in 1717. On 19 Sep 1714 he was ordained a deacon by the Bishop of Lichfield and served briefly as a Stipendiary Curate at Stowe (near Stafford). From 1717 to 1723 he was a Fellow of St John's College and in 1718 appointed there as Linacre lecturer (in medicine). Returning to Willenhall (or perhaps Wolverhampton) he commenced practice as a physician on 12 Feb 1720 and remained there for the rest of his life.

Philip Purcell of Stafford surgeon c1672-?1751

a1715

Purcell was the son of a Shropshire roman catholic gentleman. About 1696 he was admitted to Lisbon College and later ordained as a roman catholic priest. His record of apprenticeship as a surgeon is undiscovered. Between 1715 and the 1730s he was a chaplain and manorial agent at Arundel and other Sussex towns.

Robert Taylor of Stoke-upon-Trent M.R.C.S. 1784-1844

1813

By 1808 he was living, but no longer practising, at Longton (or, Lane End) in Stoke-upon-Trent and from there wrote a letter regarding the notorious case of Ann Moore of Tutbury. That year influenced by a local clergyman he decided to train for the anglican church. He was admitted sizar at St John's College, Cambridge on 14 Nov 1808 and graduated B.A. in 1813. That year he was ordained both deacon and priest. He subsequently held a number of anglican posts but after 1818 converted to deist and began to argue for and lecture on various non-traditional religious views which twice saw him imprisoned for blasphemy.

James Yates Rooker of Darlaston L.S.A. 1812-1887

1845

Rooker was the son of a Staffordshire anglican surgeon. After he qualified L.S.A. in 1833 he practised at Darlaston until about 1844. That year he was admitted pensioner at St Catharine's College, Cambridge but did not graduate. In 1845 he was ordained an anglican deacon and in 1846 priest. In 1848 he was appointed Perpetual Curate of Lower Gornal in Sedgley. From 1868 he was styled Vicar and was still in office when he died, aged 75, on 15 Mar 1887.

Charles Thornhill of Darlaston L.S.A. 1807-1862

1845

Thornhill was the son of a Staffordshire anglican draper. After he qualified L.S.A. in 1830 he probably commenced practice at Darlaston. He wrote a medical book *Physical effects of intemperance* (1840). About 1843 he ceased practice and his younger brother John Howells Thornhill M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1817-1885 doubtless took over his practice. The same year he was admitted pensioner at Queens' College, Cambridge. In 1845 he changed career when he was ordained both deacon and priest and was appointed Perpetual Curate of Coventry St Peter- a benefice he held for the rest of his life. Additionally from 1854 to 1857 he was Vicar of Burwell, Cambs

George Beddow of West Bromwich M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1814-a1855

1846

Beddow was the son of an Essex independent. Around 1832 he was a pupil of Thomas Silvester of West Bromwich surgeon 1787-1864 when he was also studying at Birmingham School of Medicine and Surgery. He was living at West Bromwich in 1835 but probably moved to Birmingham before 1840. About 1846 he converted to anglican and was ordained in the Church of England. In 1851 he was Curate of Birmingham St Mary. He emigrated to Australia in 1852 and settled in Melbourne where he is said to have practised as a surgeon for a few years before his death there, aged about 41, by 1855.

Richard Williams of Burslem [? L.S.A.] 1817-1851

1850

Williams was the son of a Gloucestershire independent banker. He was educated in Yorkshire and at Dursley under John Glanville minister. He studied at London University College and trained at London Hospital before he qualified (probably L.S.A.) in May 1841. He commenced practice in Norfolk but, perhaps about 1845, moved to Burslem where a married sister had settled. In 1850, as their catechist, he joined an expedition organised by the Patagonian Missionary Society to Terra Del Fuego an archipelago at South America's southernmost tip. Tragically all the men aboard the ship had died of starvation by the end of Sep 1851 in which month Williams himself died, aged 34.

John George Brighton of Kinver M.D. 1816-1901

1851

Brighton was the son of a Worcestershire anglican. By 1840 he was living at Kinver. In 1849, two years after he graduated M.D. at Giessen, he became an anglican theology student and was ordained deacon in 1851 and priest in 1852. He was for many years Rector of Broome, Norfolk but by 1901 had returned to his birthplace Ombersley, Worcs where he died, aged 85, about Aug 1901.

Charles Ferrers Palmer of Tamworth M.R.C.S. 1819-1900

1855

Palmer was the son of a Staffordshire anglican physician. He was educated at Tamworth Grammar School and studied at Birmingham Queen's College. In 1842 he converted to roman catholic. After he qualified M.R.C.S. in 1846 he practised at Tamworth until about 1853 when he entered Woodchester Monastery, Glos moving in 1866 to London St Dominic's Priory where he died, aged 81, on 27 Oct 1900 with burial at Kensal Green Cemetery. Palmer became a Dominican monk in 1855 taking the name Raymund and was in 1859 ordained a roman catholic priest.

William Lynes of Wednesbury medical pupil 1835-1905

1865

Lynes was the son of a Warwickshire anglican ribbon manufacturer. On census night 1851 he was a medical pupil in the household of William Best of Wednesbury surgeon 1790-1869 whose daughter he subsequently married. He trained at Guy's Hospital before he qualified L.S.A. and M.R.C.S. in 1857 and L.M. ("licensed man-midwife") in 1858. He graduated M.D. from St Andrews in 1859. On qualification he practised at

Wednesbury until just before 1865 when he was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Worcester. In 1866 he was ordained priest and then held various curacies before becoming Vicar of Cinderford, Glos where he died, aged 70, on 27 Oct 1905 with burial on 31 Oct.

L1.5 Schoolmasters

At least fifteen cohort^x men were sons of schoolmasters (§M1.3) but only one man is known to have also been a schoolmaster. Samuel Shaw of Tamworth M.D. c1666-1730 was from 1708 until his death Master of Tamworth Grammar School and published three books on the instruction of children in latin: *A short and plain syntax, for the instruction of children in the latin tongue ...* (1725), *A grammatical dictionary, containing the heteroclitics of the latin tongue ...* (1726) and *A new grammar composed out of the classic writers for the instruction of children in the latin tongue ...* (1730).

L1.6 Chemists & druggists

A few early chemists were purely scientists and not involved in their trade. Such was Higgins (1774) who opened a school of practical chemistry in London and Hill (1851) who was a lecturer on chemistry & toxicology at Birmingham Sydenham College.

Sixteen cohort^x medics were sometime tradesmen chemists or druggists. If styled chemist they might have been involved in preparing chemicals and drugs for sale whilst if styled druggist just involved in their sale. Many were styled "chemist & druggist". Woolrich (1803) was the son of a chemist & druggist and probably served an apprenticeship with his father. Jackson (1841), Hicks (1851) and Chapman (1861) appear to have started life as chemists and later qualified medically. Most of the other men served as medical apprentices or assistants but did not medically qualify. In 1841 Gorton (1828) was a member of Wolverhampton Central Association of Chemists and Druggists whilst by 1911 Owen (1860) was a *wholesale druggist*. Abercrombie (1881), who had his M.R.C.S. erased in 1866, was by 1861 a *medicine vendor*.

Bryan Higgins of Eccleshall M.D. c1740-1818

1774

He was admitted as a medical student at Leyden on 5 Oct 1765 and from there graduated M.D. on 12 Nov 1765 with the thesis "*Medicae inaugurales*". Soon after he was living in London where, in 1774, he opened a school of practical chemistry with a laboratory in Greek Street, Soho. At some time between 1780 and 1790 he is said to have travelled in Russia and there enjoyed the favour of the Empress Catherine. In 1794 he established "The Society for Philosophical Experiments and Conversations". ... Higgins was of national importance as a chemist and wrote several scientific books ... William Higgins chemist ?1763-1825 was a nephew.

Thomas Woolrich of Uttoxeter surgeon 1782-1851

1803

Woolrich was the son of a Staffordshire anglican chemist & druggist. His record of apprenticeship as a surgeon is undiscovered but he was likely apprenticed as a druggist to his father about 1796. Time served about 1803 he may be the man of this name who served as House Surgeon & Secretary to the North Staffordshire Infirmary (at Stoke-upon-Trent) in the period 1815-1818. He appears to have practised at Uttoxeter most of his working life both as a surgeon and a chemist & druggist.

William Jackson of West Bromwich surgeon c1777-1842

1818

He was apprenticed for 7 years at £84 to Nicholas Willett Chavasse of Walsall surgeon about 11 Feb 1793. Time served about 1800 by 1803 he was probably in practice at West Bromwich where in 1818 he was described as a "surgeon, chemist, druggist & grocer".

Alexander McNab of Newcastle apprentice c1780-....

1825

He apprenticed for 5 years at £50 to John Hadderton of Newcastle surgeon about 27 Dec 1796. He might be the man of that name who was of St Martin's Lane, London "chemist, druggist, apothecary" in 1825.

Robert Gorton of Wolverhampton surgeon & apothecary 1792-1861

1828

Possibly time served about 1813 he likely commenced practice at Wolverhampton where at first he practised as a surgeon and apothecary but from about 1828 may have worked primarily as a chemist. By 1841 he was a member of Wolverhampton Central Association of Chemists and Druggists.

James Frederick Jackson of Harborne M.R.C.S. c1812-1895

1841

In 1841 his partnership at West Bromwich with Charles James Smart as chemists and druggists was dissolved. After he qualified M.R.C.S. in 1846 he probably practised all his working life at Smethwick in Harborne ...

Charles Hicks of Harborne M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1808-1889

1851

By 1851 he was living at Smethwick in Harborne and that year is styled a surgeon in a directory and as a "chemist and Student of Medicine" in the census. After he qualified M.R.C.S. in 1859 and L.S.A. in 1860 ...

Alfred Hill of Stone apprentice 1826-1922

1851

He was educated at Walsall Queen Mary Grammar School and then articulated to his maternal uncle Joseph Heeley of Stone M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1792-1865 from 1842 to 1847. He studied at Birmingham Queen's College before he qualified L.S.A. and M.R.C.S. in 1850. By 1851 he was Lecturer on chemistry & toxicology at Birmingham Sydenham College. In 1854 he graduated M.D. from Aberdeen King's College. Thereafter Hill practised in Birmingham where he was prominent both as an academic and in public service. ... He published several medical papers concerning public health.

John Sherriff of Wolverhampton medical assistant 1816-1865

1851

On census night 1841 he was a medical assistant in the household of Edward Hayling Coleman of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1794-1871. By 1851 he was in business as a chemist in Garrick Street, Wolverhampton but by 1861 had retired perhaps due to ill health ...

Frederick Langman of Wolverhampton medical assistant 1820-1912

1851

On census night 1841 he was a medical assistant in the household of Edward Hayling Coleman of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1794-1871. By 1851 still at Wolverhampton he was an oil merchant, chemist and druggist employing 14 men. About 1854 he emigrated to America and settled in New York

Thomas Valentine of Tamworth apprentice 1825-1889

1851

On census night 1841 he was an apprentice in the household of Robert Cave Browne of Tamworth M.D. 1799-1866. He does not appear to have qualified. In 1848 he married in London but by 1851 was a chemist & druggist at Southampton. Later that year his second child was born in London and soon after, perhaps about 1853, he emigrated to Australia ...

George Thomas Owen of Wednesbury apprentice 1834-1914

1860

On census night 1851 he was an apprentice in the household of Joseph Hobbins of Wednesbury M.R.C.S. 1816-1894. By 1860 he was a chemist & druggist at Dudley where in 1911 he was described as a wholesale druggist.

George Chapman of Kingswinford medical assistant c1824-1926 **1861**
 On census night 1851 he was a medical assistant in the household of Peter Tertius Kempson M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1814-1890 at Brierley Hill in Kingswinford. By 1861 he was in business as a chemist and druggist in Kingswinford but then appears to have studied at Birmingham Queen's College before he qualified M.R.C.S. in 1866 and L.S.A. in 1868.

Thomas Godwin Salt of Rugeley M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1824-1888 **1861**
 by 1855 had moved to Derby and by 1861 to London where he worked as a chemist.

John William Thompson of Sedgley apprentice c1834-1895 **1861**
 By 1861 he had settled at Sedgley and subsequently worked as a chemist & druggist and also as a postmaster and general dealer.

George Tunnicliff of Barton-under-Needwood medical assistant 1819-.... **1861**
 On census night 1841 he was an apprentice in the household of William Birch of Barton-under-Needwood F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1801-1869. Ten years later he was still in this household now a medical assistant - styled "compounding assistant". By 1861 he was a dispensing chemist at Barton-under-Needwood.

Alexander Aeneas Shaw of Wolstanton medical assistant c1818-.... **1871**
 At the time of his second marriage in 1864 he was living at Burslem and styled himself surgeon (although not apparently qualified). From 1871 to 1882 whilst at Smallthorne (in Norton-in-the-Moors) he is variously described as druggist, apothecary, and chemist & druggist.

Robert Abercrombie of West Bromwich M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1825-1896 **1881**
 In 1866 his M.R.C.S. was erased for some unstated misbehaviour and he later returned to London and in 1881 was a medicine vendor (? *chemist*).

L1.7 Business proprietors and investors

Eight cohort \times men were large scale business proprietors or investors. Elwell (1831) and Russell (1851) ceased practice to become, respectively, manufacturers of tools and tubes. Both had personalities (§M5.5) of £90,000 - the largest figures of any cohort \times men. Field (1851) also ceased practice and ran businesses as a railway-contractor. Goddard (?1860s) had investments in collieries and ironworks. Gosling (1832), Silvester (1851) and Haines (1858) were iron-masters or coal-masters whilst Wyley (?1840s) was a partner in a wholesale druggists.

Edward Elwell of Walsall M.R.C.S. 1784-1869 **1831**
 By 1812 he had certainly qualified M.R.C.S. and was in practice as a surgeon at Walsall where he remained in practice until after 1823 but had probably retired by 1831. In that year he purchased Wednesbury Forge and became a full time tool manufacturer. His son Edward Elwell 1814-1857 succeeded to the business but on the son's early death Edward senior resumed control. ... His personalty was valued under £90,000. Elwell was one of the richest (cohort \times) medics but much of his wealth probably accrued from his business interests. He is said never to have recovered from the death of his son. He was involved in establishing the church of Wednesbury St James and provided a school for the children of his workmen.

Samuel Franceys Gosling of Biddulph M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1822-1885 **1832**
 In 1832, aged about 10, Gosling inherited his father's iron manufactory which was conducted by his father's executors until he came of age when he appointed a manager. However he appears to have carried on in medical practice until his death. Gosling was then an iron-master and also a coal-master.

Sometime in the next ten years Francis and his son George died and their estate was inherited by George's son Samuel Franceys Gosling who was born in 1823. As Samuel was a minor the forge was run by the executors of George's will, George Campbell and Samuel Franceys. Samuel was trained and qualified as a surgeon and when he took over responsibility for the forge he appointed a forge manager. ... In 1853 Samuel Gosling was working Biddulph Hall colliery on land owned by Lord Camoys who had inherited the Biddulph Hall estates in 1839. Gosling also worked Lee colliery which was situated directly in front of Lee House on his own land on Fold Lane. In 1863, the colliery was put up for sale and Samuel Gosling ceased mining in the area. Samuel Gosling died in 1885 but his brother-in-law, Robert Forrester, continued running the forge until 1907. ... Samuel Gosling's wife still continued to live at Lee House on Fold Lane until her death in 1912. With the death of Mrs. Gosling the family died out. The Gosling family had been in the upper Biddulph valley area since 1529. [Internet, Biddulph & District Genealogy & Historical Society]

Francis Wyley of Church Eaton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1811-1888 **?1840s**
 By 1841 he was living at Coventry, Warwicks where he practised for the rest of his life and where he died, aged 77, on 25 Oct 1888. His personalty was valued at £42,734/7/5. Wyley was one of the richest (cohort \times) medics but much of his wealth probably accrued from his business interests. He was a partner in a firm of wholesale druggists styled *Wyleys and Company*.

William Field of Rugeley M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1812-1894 **1851**
 After he qualified L.S.A. in 1835 and M.R.C.S. he practised at Rugeley until after 1844. On census night 1851 he was out of practice and a guest at a hotel in Shrewsbury. Thereafter he ran businesses as a railway-contractor sometimes in partnership with his wife's brother-in-law Thomas Brassey 1805-1870 [OB]. He died, aged 81, on 27 Jun 1894 in the Shrewbury area but was buried in Staffordshire. His personalty was valued at £37,892/17/7. Field was one of the richest (cohort \times) medics but much of his wealth probably accrued from his businesses.

Thomas Silvester of West Bromwich surgeon 1787-1864 **1851**
 His personalty was valued at £7,000. From 1851 Silvester was described as "surgeon and iron master" and his son Lucas appears to have succeeded to his business as an iron-master.

Edward Russell of Wednesbury M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1817-1875 **1855**
 In 1855 Russell ceased practice on becoming a manufacturer. That year he founded the Alma Tube Works a manufactory of iron tubes located in Walsall. ... His personalty was valued under £90,000. Russell was one of the richest (cohort \times) medics but much of his wealth probably accrued from his business interests.

Henry Haines of West Bromwich M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1816-1875 **1858**
 After his marriage in 1858 he lived at "Pool House", Astley, Worcs and his main occupation was that of coal-master and iron-master. His personalty was valued under £6,000.

Thomas Goddard of Stoke-upon-Trent surgeon c1792-1872 **?1860s**
 Time served about 1813 he may have commenced practise at Longton in Stoke-upon-Trent where in his household on census night 1841 was his eldest son Samuel Palmer Goddard M.D. 1818-1866 as an assistant surgeon. About 1860 he moved to Caverswall. At Caverswall he died, aged 80, on 14 Jun 1872 with burial on 21 Jun. His personalty was valued under £35,000. Goddard was one of the richest (cohort \times) medics but much of his wealth probably accrued from business investments for it is said that he had "for several years prior to his death a large interest in extensive collieries and ironworks in the neighbourhood".

L1.8 Farmers

Any medic who owned or rented land might have also worked as a farmer and many such men will be undiscovered. A few men known to be farmers are mentioned below. Warburton (c1788) started his working life as a farmer before becoming an unqualified surgeon. Lewis (?1794) farmed at Penkridge - his wife was the writer of five pseudonymous novels. Bakewell (1804) was a farmer before briefly becoming a mad-doctor. Parton (1820), Broomhall (1851) and Lassetter (1860) combined medicine and farming whilst Cartwright (1851) at first combined medicine and farming but later ceased practice. Holland (1851) and Beard (1856) both ceased practice before becoming farmers.

Arnold Warburton of Newcastle "surgeon" 1767-?1822

c1788

Warburton was the son of a Cheshire anglican farmer. Not apparently having served a proper apprenticeship Warburton was "unqualified" as a surgeon. He started his working life as a farmer but by 1804 having learned the rudiments of surgery from his brother-in-law and other "doctors" he commenced practice in Cheshire.

Augustus Fowle Lewis of Penkridge surgeon c1754-1819

?1794

By 1794 ... at Preston in Penkridge where Lewis practised for the rest of his life. In 1807 he inserted a notice in a local newspaper regarding his practice as a "surgeon and midwife [man-midwife]" and mentions a new partnership there. ... Lewis was also said to have been a farmer. Lewis's wife Alethea (née Brereton) 1749-1827 [OB] had from youth a keen interest in literature and was engaged to George Crabbe's friend William Springal Levett c1753-1774. Whilst at Penkridge she is thought to have published five novels between 1794 and 1810. The first two books were anonymous whilst the others used the pseudonym Eugenia de Acton.

James Bakewell of Stone mad-doctor ?1765-1826

1804

Bakewell was the son of a Staffordshire anglican skinner. He was not medically qualified. In 1804 he was a farmer at Kingstone. With his brother Thomas Bakewell 1761-1835 he was joint proprietor of Spring Vale Asylum at Stone from its foundation in 1808 until 1810.

Richard Parton of Norbury M.R.C.S. 1781-1857

?1820

Time served about 1803 and perhaps qualified M.R.C.S. about 1804 he commenced practised at Eccleshall but moved back a few years later (say about 1820) to Norbury where he had inherited a small estate at Weston Wood. Here he both practised and was a farmer until about 1851 when he lost his sight and consequently retired.

(5 Sep 1857) DEATH OF MR RICHARD PARTON OF WESTON WOOD Our obituary of to-day announces the death of one of the oldest medical practitioners in the county. ... but having inherited a patrimonial estate at Weston Wood, in the parish of Norbury, in this county, and being fond of the pursuit of farming, and also of the pleasures of the gun, he took the novel step of being a true country doctor, for he lived on his estate, five miles from any town, and combined the three occupations - surgeon, farmer and sportsman. It speaks much for the ability of the doctor that he established a very lucrative practice among his neighbours, and the good old age of 71 found Mr Parton an active medical practitioner. ... [STS:ADV]

Thomas Taylor Broomhall of Stone M.D. 1803-1888

1851

From about 1850 he lived in Beech Cliffe in the Tittensor district of Stone ... At Beech Cliffe, Broomhall was also a farmer from 1851 to 1871.

Cornelius Cartwright of Trysull L.S.A. 1805-1876

1851

In 1851 he was a surgeon and farmer at Bromsgrove, Worcs. Thereafter he appears to have ceased practice but continued farming.

Charles Holland of Penkridge M.D. 1801-1876

1851

By 1851 he had ceased practice and was living at Rodbaston Hall in Penkridge where he was a farmer. Before 1855 he moved to Lichfield where he died by suicide, aged 75, on 21 Mar 1876 at Stowe House.

Joseph Downes Beard of Ashley surgeon 1826-1901

1856

About 1856 he returned to England and settled at Holt, Denbighshire as a farmer.

Richard Lassetter of Uttoxeter M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1806-1873

1860

By 1860 he had moved to Bramshall where he married, aged 54, his only wife. Here he appears to have also worked as a farmer and here he died, aged 67, on 13 Jul 1873.

L1.9 Miscellaneous careers

George Dalrymple Monteith of Kingswinford L.S.A. c1808-1862 emigrated to New Zealand in 1839 and, perhaps in the 1840s, worked as a hotel proprietor for two years.

At the time of the 1851 census three men may have been supplementing their incoming. Henry Edwards of Tutbury M.R.C.S. 1789-1863 had two young girl scholars in his household (and one in 1861), John Masfen of Stafford F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1795-1854 had a patient and Thomas Taunton of Rugeley M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1812-1900 had a male "inmate" perhaps a patient under treatment.

L2 Academic societies (non-medical) and their members

L2.1 Introduction

Most of the national academic societies were based in the cities of London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dublin and Belfast. There were also some regional societies. The precise purpose and membership policy of each society might have varied over time. Some societies were open only to qualified men or only to students. Several societies distinguished regular "Members" from "Corresponding Members" who, usually living at a distance from the society base, were unable to attend meetings and communicated by "correspondence". A senior member might be termed a "Fellow".

In 1846 *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* carried an article on London's learned societies and mentions a large number of societies including ten connected with medicine which are discussed in §H1.

(26 Oct 1846) LEARNED SOCIETIES OF THE METROPOLIS The meetings of the various learned Societies in the metropolis which have partially commenced in the present month will come into full activity the first week in November and continue so until June. There will then assemble periodically no fewer than forty Societies for reading papers and the discussion of the

various matters of science, art, and literature which they respectively embrace, in addition to twenty-one for the delivery of lectures and which hold occasional soirées. Of the learned Societies seven hold their meetings weekly, nineteen twice a month, and fourteen monthly. As the parent of the whole stands the Royal Society embracing the wide range of the various departments of mathematics, natural philosophy, and natural history. There are four devoted to antiquities - the Society of Antiquaries established in 1717; the Numismatic Society, the British Archaeological Association and the Antiquarian Institute of Great Britain. Natural history in its various departments is cultivated by eleven - the Linnaean, Zoological, Entomological, Horticultural, Royal Botanic, Botanical, Medico-Botanical, Floricultural, Microscopical, and now the Pathological Society; whilst the Royal Agricultural Society also holds monthly meetings for the discussion of matters connected with the science and practice of agriculture. The science of medicine has nine devoted to its especial cultivation - the Westminster, London, South London, and North London Medical; with the Medico-Chirurgical, Physical, Hunterian, Harveian and London Homoeopathic Societies. For the cultivation of chemistry there are three - the Pharmaceutical and Chemical Societies, and the Royal College of Chemistry. The study of the heavens embraces the resources of two - the Royal Astronomical and Meteorological Societies; whilst three devote their attention to the earth, its structure and inhabitants, in the Royal Geographic, Geological and Ethnological Societies. Addressed to specific objects there are the Statistical, Syro-Egyptian, and Royal Asiatic Societies; and for the prosecution of literature there are two - the Royal Society of Literature and the Philological Society in addition to nine which hold no public meetings with the exception of their anniversaries and are confined to republishing the works of the earlier writers. These are the Camden, Parker, Percy, Cavendish, Ray, Shakspeare, Sydenham, and Handel Societies with the Oriental translation fund. The useful arts and the kindred subjects of architecture and engineering embrace the services of three - the Society of Arts, Institute of Civil Engineers, and Royal Institute of British Architects. ... [Aris's Birmingham Gazette]

In §L2.2 are details of those cohort \times men who were members of national academic societies whilst in §L2.3 are details of two Staffordshire societies.

L2.2 Members of national academic societies

Seven cohort \times men were elected³¹⁹ Fellows of the Royal Society (F.R.S.) which was founded on 28 Nov 1660 "for the improvement of natural knowledge" and was the leading learned society.

William Moreton Gilkes of Burton-upon-Trent M.D. 1676-1746	24 Apr 1735
Erasmus Darwin of Lichfield M.B. 1731-1802	9 Apr 1761
John Marten Butt of Lichfield M.D. 1738-1769	26 Feb 1767
William Withering of Stafford M.D. 1742-1799	24 Nov 1785
Joseph William Moss of Longdon M.B. 1803-1862	18 Feb 1830
Charles Holland of Penkridge M.D. 1801-1876	19 Jan 1837
Joseph Barnard Davis of Stoke-upon-Trent M.D. 1801-1881	4 Jun 1868

Four cohort \times men were Fellows of the Linnean Society (of London) (F.L.S.) which was founded in 1788 by Sir James Edward Smith 1759–1828 and took its name from the Swedish naturalist Carl Linnaeus 1707–1778 whose botanical, zoological and library collections were acquired by the society in 1829.

William Withering of Stafford M.D. 1742-1799	a1799
Richard Wright of Lichfield M.D. 1777-1820	a1820
Robert Woody of Tamworth M.R.C.S. 1770-1823	1824
Robert Garner of Stoke-upon-Trent F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1808-1890	1835

Men were also members of other societies. Charles Nelson Bromley of Stafford M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1817-1853 was a Member of the Botanical Society of London. Philip Henry Harper of Bilston M.R.C.S. 1822-1883 was a Member of the Entomological Society of London, the Entomological Club and the Zoological Society of London. Joseph Hobbins of Wednesbury M.R.C.S. 1816-1894 was a Fellow of the Geological Society of London and a Corresponding Member of the Royal Horticultural Society of England. Benjamin Miller of Rugeley M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1824-1875 was a Member and Fellow of the Royal Microscopic Society and a Member of the Quekett Microscopical Club. Spencer Thomson of Clifton Campville M.D. 1817-1886 was a Member and Fellow of the Botanical Society of Edinburgh and later of the Torquay Natural History Society and Devonshire Association. Richard Wright of Lichfield M.D. 1777-1820 was probably a Member of Geological Society of London. Thomas Wynter of West Bromwich surgeon 1785-1845 was probably a Fellow of the Geological Society.

L2.3 Staffordshire academic societies

L2.3.1 North Staffordshire Naturalists' Field Club (1865-....)

The North Staffordshire Naturalists' Field Club³²⁰ was founded in April 1865 in order to study the natural history, geology, industrial history, folklore and local history of the region. The first annual meeting was held on 23 Mar 1866 and at that time the membership was 127 including 25 married women and five unmarried. Amongst the members were the following 22 medics of whom seven (marked # below) were members of the the cohort \times .

Alcock John, M.R.C.S., Burslem; Arlidge J.T. [John Thomas], A.M., M.B., Lond., Newcastle, Vice-President; Ashwell M.H., M.R.C.S., Stoke; Barnes George L.R.C.P., Newcastle; Davis W.H., M.R.C.S., Hanley [#William Haslam Davis of Stoke-upon-Trent apprentice 1833-1875]; Dawes W.J. [William Joseph], M.R.C.S., Longton; Folker W.H. [William Henry], F.R.C.S., Hanley; Garner R., F.R.C.S.,F.L.S., Stoke, Vice-President [#Robert Garner of Stoke-upon-Trent M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1808-1890]; Goodall R., M.R.C.S., Silverdale; Greatrex A.B. [Adolphus Burnell], M.D., Kidsgrove; Hayes J., L.R.C.P., Beech Cliff [#John Hayes of Stone L.R.C.P.E. 1823-1887]; Heaton C., L.R.C.P., Leek [#Charles Heaton of Leek L.R.C.P.E. 1816-1880]; Orton C, L.R.C.P., Newcastle; Ritchie, J.J. [John James], M.R.C.S., Leek; Scott, J., M.R.C.S., Hanley [#John Scott of Stoke-upon-Trent

319 The election dates are taken from the website of the Royal Society.

320 Its exact title varies. Information is taken from their early publications. See also Rupert Simms *Coming of age of the North Staffordshire Archaeological and Naturalists' Field Club, 1865-1885 ... Bibliography of its publications*. Newcastle. Godwins. (1886). [not seen]

M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1811-?1866]; Senior, C, M.R.C.S., Hanley; Spanton, W.D. [W. Dunnett], M.R.C.S., North Staffordshire Infirmary, Secretary; Turner, F.H., North Staffordshire Infirmary; Walker, J., M.R.C.S., Burslem [#Joseph Walker of Burslem M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1806-1875]; Warrington, F.W., M.D., Congleton; Webb, E.C., North Staffordshire Infirmary; Yates, J., M.R.C.S., Newcastle [#James Yates of Newcastle M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1824-1910]

STAFFORDSHIRE Archaeological and Naturalists' Field Club (The North). Established April, 1865, at the Old Infirmary, East Vale, where a meeting was convened by Dr. Spanton of gentlemen interested in antiquarian pursuits. ... Objects. "The practical Study of Natural History and the cultivation of a fuller knowledge of the antiquities of the neighbourhood." ... Its first President was James Bateman, Esq., then of Biddulph Grange; Vice-Presidents: Dr. Arlidge, J. E. Davis, Stipendiary of Potteries (since dead), The Rev. S. T. Nevill (now Bp. of Dunedin), Dr. Garner (since dead), and "W. S. Roden, Esq. (since dead); Treasurer: Alderman Dickenson, of Stoke; Secretaries: The Rev. T. W. Daltry, M.A., and W. D. Spanton, Esq. Out of 117 [actually 127 including 25 married women and five unmarried] names enrolled as members in 1865–66, in 1885 eight-seven were not connected with the Society. The Society has published reports nearly yearly, as follows:— North Staffordshire Naturalists' Field Club and Archaeological Society. Annual Report. . . . 1866. In all 27. (In 1867 no report was issued). All uniformly 8vo. Mostly with plates. The North Staffordshire Field Club. Annual Addresses, Papers, &c., with Illustrations. Hanley: Printed for the Publication Committee by William Timmis. 1875. 8vo., pp. xvii., 266. [A complete set is now difficult to obtain.] [Simms (1894) p432]

L2.3.2 William Salt Archaeological Society (1879-....)

The William Salt Archaeological Society³²¹, named after William Salt 1808-1863 [OB], was founded on 17 Sep 1879 with the principal object of "the editing and printing of original documents relating to the County of Stafford". In 1879-1880 there were about 200 members amongst whom were a sprinkling of medics including Robert Garner. In the following years the society published *Collections for a history of Staffordshire* some detail of which appears in §Z4.3.2.

L3 Writers (non-medical) and their books

L3.1 Introduction

Below is a chronological list of 28 of the cohort \times who were non-medical writers together with the 72 non-medical books which they wrote or contributed to. Many of the men have entries in the *Oxford dictionary of national biography* [OB] where their literary output is discussed. A large number of these books were written by men when they were not living in Staffordshire. Some of the men were also medical writers (see §J2). More details can be found in the Register [SDH3] where some non-medical papers are also listed.

As might be expected many of the books concern science and natural history but also theology and local history. Several of the cohort \times were also poets. The wife of Edward Pinder Fordham of Stoke-upon-Trent surgeon 1780-1836 wrote the words and music for *Here's a health to fair Victoria. A national ballad* published in 1835³²².

Dud Dudley ALIAS Tomlinson of Tipton physician c1599-1684 [OB] 1665
Dudley was the illegitimate son of a Worcestershire anglican nobleman. He claimed to have attended Balliol College, Oxford before, in 1619, returning to Worcestershire to manage some ironworks that belonged to his father. Here over many years he experimented in the manufacture of iron using pit coal. In 1665 he published *Dud Dudley's Metallum martis* ... which gives some account of those years.

Richard Leigh of Wolverhampton M.D. c1650-1728 [OB] 1673-1675
Leigh was the son of a Staffordshire anglican gentleman. He matriculated from Queen's College, Oxford on 23 Mar 1665.6 and graduated B.A. in 1669. In 1673 he published two books in that city: *The transproser rehearsed, or, the fifth act of Mr. Baye's play: Being a postscript to the animadversions on the preface to Bishop Bramhall's vindication ... shewing what grounds there are of fears and jealousies of popery* Oxford (1673) and *The censure of the rota on Mr. Dryden's conquest of Granada* Oxford (1673). Leigh is then said to have become a London actor. In 1675 *Poems upon several occasions, and to several persons* was published in London.

William Westmacott of Newcastle physician c1650-1721 1694
In 1694 Westmacott published a major work entitled *Theolobotanologia, sive historia vegetabilium sacra, or, a scripture herbal* ... and, in the same year, an interesting medical book, or pamphlet ... (see §J2).

Sir John Floyer of Lichfield Knight M.D. 1649-1734 [OB] 1696-1722
Floyer wrote a number of medical books ... (see §J2) he also wrote *The praeternatural state of animal humours described by their sensible qualities* (1696), *The Sibylline Oracles translated from the best Greek copies* ... (1713), *Two essays | The first essay concerning the creation, aetherial bodies, and offices of good and bad angels | The second essay concerning the Mosaic system of the world which being fully explain'd, is preferable to all other systems* Nottingham (1717), *An exposition of the Revelations* ... (1719), *The prophecies of the second book of Esdras amongst the Apocrypha* (1721) and *An essay to restore the dipping of infants in their baptism* ... (1722)

Richard Hamersley of Walsall barber chirurgion c1649-?1733 1702-1719
He was in practice at Walsall as a barber chirurgion by 1702 when he published his first book *Advice to Sunday barbers, against trimming on the Lord's day*. A second book *A help against sin in our ordinary discourse* ... (1719) was one of the earliest to be printed in Birmingham.

Thomas Congreve of Wolverhampton M.B. 1663-1720 1717
He is said to have commenced practice at Wolverhampton in 1709 and was there in 1717 when he published *A scheme or, proposal for making a navigable communication between the rivers of Trent and Severn, in the county of Stafford*.

Samuel Shaw of Tamworth M.D. c1666-1730 1725-1730
He was Master of Tamworth Grammar School from 1708 until his death and published three books on the instruction of children in latin: *A short and plain syntax, for the instruction of children in the latin tongue* ... (1725), *A grammatical dictionary, containing the heteroclitics of the latin tongue* ... (1726) and *A new grammar composed out of the classic writers for the instruction of children in the latin tongue* ... (1730).

Bryan Higgins of Eccleshall M.D. c1740-1818 [OB] 1776-1800

³²¹ SHC (1880)

³²² Mrs. Edward Pinder Fordham *Here's a health to fair Victoria. A national ballad, the words and melody by Mrs. E. P. Fordham, with symphonies and accompaniment by J. T. Craven* (1835)

Higgins was of national importance as a chemist and wrote several scientific books including: *A philosophical essay concerning light. Volume I* (1776), *Duines Barrington The Probability of reaching the North Pole discussed ...* (1776), *Syllabus of Doctor Higgins's course of philosophical, pharmaceutical and technical chemistry* (1778), *Experiments and observations made with the view of improving the art of composing and applying calcareous cements, and of preparing quicklime ...* (1780), *Experiments and observations relating to ... subjects of chemical philosophy* (1786), *Minutes of the Society for Philosophical Experiments and Conversations* (1795) and *Observations and advices for the improvement of the manufacture of Muscovado sugar and rum* (1797 & 1800). He also wrote two medical books ... (see §J2).

William Withering of Stafford M.D. 1742-1799 [OB] **1776-1795**
Withering wrote *A botanical arrangement of all the vegetables naturally growing in Great Britain ...* (1776) and was subsequently a Fellow of the Linnean Society. He also published *Outlines of Mineralogy; Translated from the original of Sir Torbern Berman ...* (1783) and *A chemical analysis of the water at Caldas da Bainha Lisbon* (1795). After his death another book was edited by his son William *The miscellaneous tracts of the late William Withering, M.D. F.R.S. ... To which is prefixed a memoir of his life, character and writings ...* (1822). Withering also wrote two medical books ... (see §J2).

George Hoggart Toulmin of Wolverhampton M.D. 1754-1817 **1780**
Toulmin wrote *The antiquity and duration of the world* (1780). In it he proposed several novel geological ideas later taken up by other researchers. Afterwards he wrote two medical books ... (see §J2).

Erasmus Darwin of Lichfield M.B. 1731-1802 [OB] **1783-1803**
Darwin published at least two medical papers, in 1759 and 1778, and several scientific papers published in *Philosophical Transactions*. His major books mainly concern natural history. He was co-author of the two important Linnean translations published by the Lichfield Botanical Society (above): *A system of vegetables, according to their classes orders genera species ... in two volumes ...* (1783) and *The families of plants, with their natural characters, according to the number, figure, situation, and proportion of all the parts of fructification ...* (1787). Darwin alone wrote *Zoonomia* (1794 and 1796) and *Phytologia ...* (1800) along with three poetic works: *The loves of the plants* (1789), *The botanic garden* (1791) and *The temple of nature ...* (1803). After the death of his first wife Darwin fathered two daughters on his family governess Mary Parker who were later to run a private girls' school. In this connection Darwin wrote *A plan for the conduct of female education, in boarding-schools* (1797).

William Meyrick of West Bromwich surgeon ?1763-p1800 **1794**
He styled himself "surgeon" on the 1790 title page of his medical book *The new family herbal...* (see §J2). He also wrote *Miscellaneous botany* (1794).

Richard Wright of Lichfield M.D. 1777-1820 **1805**
That year he arranged the publication of *An account of the life of Dr. Samuel Johnson from his birth to his eleventh year, written by himself...* (1805).

Thomas Bakewell of Stone mad-doctor 1761-1835 [OB] **1807-1820**
Bakewell wrote two medical books ... (see §J2). He also wrote *The moorland bard; or, poetical recollections of a weaver ...* (1807) and *Remarks on a publication by James Loch, esq. entitled "An account of the improvements on the estates of the Marquis of Stafford, in Staffordshire and Shropshire, and on the estates in Sunderland"* (1820). Bakewell also contributed to the *Monthly Magazine* and later the *Imperial Magazine*.

Radulphus Palin of Newcastle apprentice ?1775-1828 **1812**
Palin wrote *Iphotelle, or, the longing fit, a poem* (1812) and a medical book ... (see §J2).

Edgar Ashe Spilsbury of Walsall surgeon & apothecary 1780-1840 **1823**
He has been described as "a fairly clever landscape and animal painter" and in 1823 contributed illustrations to John Landseer *Twenty engravings of lions, tigers, panthers, & leopards ...*

Shirley Palmer of Tamworth M.D. 1786-1852 [OB] **1824-1832**
Palmer wrote *The Swiss exile, a poem* Lichfield (1824) and *Popular lectures on the vertebrated animals of the British Isles. Part first: On the British Mammifera ...* (1832). He also wrote two medical books ... (see §J2).

Joseph William Moss of Longdon M.B. 1803-1862 [OB] **1825**
Moss wrote *Manual of classical bibliography* (1825).

Edward Bevan of Stoke-upon-Trent M.D. 1770-1860 [OB] **1827-1851**
By 1827 when his book *The honey-bee: Its natural history, physiology and management* was published he was retired and living at Bridstow, Herefs. ... In 1833 he was a Founder Member of the Entomological Society. His second book *Hints on the history and management of the honey bee; being the substance of two lectures ... 1850-51* was published at Hereford in 1851.

Robert Taylor of Stoke-upon-Trent M.R.C.S. 1784-1844 [OB] **1827-1848**
... after 1818 converted to deist and began to argue for and lecture on various non-traditional religious views which twice saw him imprisoned for blasphemy. He wrote (or contributed to) a book regarding one of the trials *Trial of Reverend Robert Taylor A.B. M.R.C.S. upon a charge of blasphemy, with his defence ... before the Lord Chief Justice ...* (1827) and the same year was imprisoned in London as an insolvent debtor. Between 1827 and 1831 when he had become a figure of national importance he published four books mostly regarding alternate theology: *The holy liturgy, or divine service on the principles of pure deism ...* (1827), *Syntagma of the evidence of the christian religion* (1828), *The diegesis being a discovery of the origin, evidences, and early history of christianity ...* (1829), and *Swing: or, Who are the incendiaries? A tragedy in five acts, in prose and in verse ...* (1831). Another book followed *Thirteen astro-theological sermons ... selected from the Devil's pulpit ...* New York (1848).

James Rawson of Lichfield M.D. c1800-1878 **1840**
In 1840 he published anonymously *An inquiry into the history and influence of the Lichfield waters ...*

Robert Garner of Stoke-upon-Trent F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1808-1890 **1844-1871**
Garner wrote one medical book ... (see §J2). His major work was *The natural history of the county of Stafford; comprising its geology, zoology, botany, and meteorology: also its antiquities, topography, manufacturers etc.* (1844) to which a supplement was issued in 1860. His other books include: *Figures illustrating the structure of various invertebrate animals ... Stoke-on-Trent* (1860), *Supplement to the natural history of the county of Stafford ...* (1860), *Holiday excursions* (1867) and *North Staffordshire tracts* Staffordshire Advertiser Office (1871). These books are dwarfed by the one hundred or more medical papers and other papers he published most of which are listed in Simms (1894) from information he himself supplied.

George Walter James of West Bromwich M.D. 1802-1865 **1845**
Between 1827 and 1831 he published several medical papers and in 1845 he published *The Sark guide; comprising an historical notice of the island ...*

Charles Ferrers Palmer of Tamworth M.R.C.S. 1819-1900 [OB] **1845-1884**

Palmer became a Dominican monk in 1855 taking the name Raymund and was in 1859 ordained a priest. Palmer wrote three books regarding Tamworth: *The history of the town and castle of Tamworth ... Tamworth and London* (1845), *The history and antiquity of the collegiate church of Tamworth ... Tamworth*: J. Thompson (1871) and *History of the baronial family of Marmion, lords of the castle of Tamworth ... Tamworth*: J. Thompson (1875). He also wrote four books on roman catholic history: a translation *Life of Beato Angelico da Fiesole, of the order of Friar-Preachers ...* (1865), *The Dominican tertiary's guide. Volume one*. Derby: Richardson & Son (?1867), *The life of Philip Thomas Howard, O.P., Cardinal of Norfolk, Grand Almoner to Catherine of Braganza, Queen Consort to King Charles II. . . .* 1867) and *Obituary notices of the Friar-Preachers, or Dominicans, of the English Province, from the year of our Lord 1650 ...* (1884). In addition to his books Palmer wrote an enormous number of papers on local and roman catholic history.

Francis Paul Palmer of Walsall M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1808-1872

1846

In 1846 he was co-author of the book *The wanderings of a pen and pencil*.

John Ferguson Hulbert of Walsall M.R.C.S. 1786-1848

1848

he died, aged 62, about August 1848. His book *Wisdom, and other poems* (1848) was published the same year.

Spencer Thomson of Clifton Campville M.D. c1816-1886

1863

Thomson wrote six medical books ... (see §J2). He also wrote *Wild flowers: Where to find and how to know them* (?1863).

Charles Harwood Greene of Brewode L.F.P.S.G.,L.S.A. 1812-1884

1865

He wrote *Random readings in racy rhyme: a repast for the recluse, a refreshment for the railway reader, and written and arranged for rehearsal* Hanley, Keates & Ford (1865).

L4 Interests (non-medical)

In the previous sections §L2 and §L3 some cohort members are mentioned with non-medical interests which are evident from their membership of various academic societies or their published work. A few other men are noticed below who had other non-medical interests.

L4.1 Lichfield Museum

The museum was conducted by Richard Greene of Lichfield surgeon & apothecary 1716-1793 from about 1748 until his death in 1793. By 1805 his grandson Richard Wright of Lichfield M.D. 1777-1820 had opened a new museum which incorporated some of the earlier material.

From about 1748 Greene collected items which he placed in his celebrated "Lichfield Museum" in the old diocesan register office at Lichfield. On 23 Mar 1776 Samuel Johnson and James Boswell visited and Boswell later wrote "It was, truly, a wonderful collection, both of antiquities and natural curiosities, and ingenious works of art. He had all the articles accurately arranged, with their names upon labels, printed at his own little press; and on the staircase leading to it was a board, with the names of contributors marked in gold letters. A printed catalogue of the collection was to be had at a bookseller's."³²³ In an advertisement of 22 January 1782 Greene gave a description of the museum's contents³²⁴ under the headings: animals, shells, stones, woods, roman and other coins, casts, and metals, dresses and ornaments of the natives of Otaheite [Tahiti], English and foreign weapons, remains of antiquity, roman missals, and an uncommon musical altar clock: model of Lichfield cathedral, &c. In 1798 Stebbing Shaw in the first volume of *The history and antiquities of Staffordshire* pages 312-3 gives a fairly full description of the museum and its contents and prints a view of it shown below. Shaw writes "The view meets the eye of the spectator, when he stands with his back to the organ; the scale is rather too small to do justice to the articles, nor does it include the more rare and valuable. It consists of two rooms connected with each other by an elliptical arch ..."



After Greene's death in 1793 the collection was dispersed. In 1799 the fossils and minerals were sold to the fossil hunter Sir John St Aubyn 5th Baronet 1758-1839 [OB], the armour and Tahitian material went to William Bullock c1773-1849 [OB], who displayed them in his purpose-built Egyptian Hall on Piccadilly, and Walter Honeywood Yate of Gloucester purchased much of the remainder.

By 1805 one of Greene's grandsons, Richard Wright of Lichfield M.D. 1777-1820, had recovered much of the collection sold to Yate and together with new material was exhibiting it in a new Lichfield Museum initially located

³²³ James Boswell *The life of Samuel Johnson* (1833) p709

³²⁴ Shaw (1798) p331

on the south side of the Cathedral Close but later in Dam Street. In Apr 1821 after Wright's death the contents of his house and museum were to be sold by auction.

In the geological collection of Richard Wright, M.D., F.L.S., and M.G.S., are specimens of fossils, &c, found in the bed of gravel on the Birmingham road; amongst which are swine stone, containing fossils of organised bodies, similar to the Somnutes of Scirpi, Toad stone, Almond stone, Pudding stone, Obsidian or Volcanic glass, a beautiful specimen of native Orpiment, Madriporites, Tubiporites similar to the tubipora musica, entrochi, specimens of argilicious stones, having the arborescent appearance of the mocha stone; chalcedonic agates in a state of decomposition, &c, &c. Dr Wright was the first who observed the last mentioned substance, specimens of which he shewed to Mr Aikin, who was thence induced to search in the pits from whence they were taken, ... In the same collection are specimens of the phosphate of iron found in the mud of Minster and Stowe pools. [Thomas George Lomax *A short account of the city and close of Lichfield* (1819) p106-7]

(31 Mar 1821) Auction ... Henshaw and Smith ... sometime in April ... elegant and modern household furniture, valuable library and pictures, an extensive collection of minerals, rare fossils, philosophical and chemical apparatus &c &c lately belonging to Richard Wright M.D. of Lichfield deceased. Particulars will appear in a future paper. [STS:ADV]

L4.2 Fossil collectors

Richard Spooner Cooper of Bilston M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1808-1890

He formed a notable collection of fossils which he sold to Daniel Jones 1836-1918.

He has been described as 'a clever antiquarian collector and critic' ... His fossil collection was well advanced by 1842 when 'Mr Cooper of Bilston' was noted as one of the original team who had lent their collections for the fine Museum set up in Dudley for the first General Meeting of the Dudley and Midland Geological Society on 17 January 1842 ... Palmer and Crowquill (1846, p.26) also recorded the 'innumerable fossils, electrotypes [casts] and local curiosities' in the 'antiquarian snuggerly' of Cooper's Bilston home. This became a powerful magnet for the young schoolboy Daniel Jones who, in his journal for 25 October 1855, describes another visit as follows: 'This morning I went to see Dr Cooper of Bilston. He has a most splendid collection of fossils and has offered them to me for £30 - case into the bargain. I am sure they are cheap at £100. I do not know whether I shall be able to buy it. It is rich in Ammonites, Belemnites, Encrinital heads and steams [stems]. Also some fossil nautili. His vegetable remains from the Carboniferous formation is very fine. He has a most beautiful fish, one of the finest specimens in Europe from the Silurian L'Stone of Dudley. ... Daniel's father, however, would not provide the money, so Daniel next day wrote to Cooper offering him £25 for the collection on his own account. Daniel was to have bought a new scarlet coat and top boots, which his journal records would have cost £10 with the expense of going to London, but he decided to defer the purchase and added 'I shall hold hard my outgoings until I have paid this £25. There is a satisfaction in doing this. The collection is quite of county notoriety' ... [*The geological curator* 4:8:2 (1986) p496-7]

L4.3 Music

Knight was an eminent fiddle player whilst Oates and Steward both designed musical instruments.

Edward Knight of Stafford M.B. 1780-1862

A contemporary obituary remarks that he was "one of the best amateur fiddlers the county has produced, understanding music deeply, and combining with natural art those studied graces which mark the true musician". His third daughter Mary Elizabeth became a "vocalist".

Joseph Pimlott Oates of Lichfield M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1808-1883

Oates was of an inventive mind and designed a brass musical instrument - the "cornutum or drawing room corneopean"- industrial machinery and a spoon moustache guard.

John Steward of Wolverhampton F.R.C.P.E. 1796-1880

In 1829 he read a dissertation "An essay on the formation or proximate cause of sound explained on a new principle" before the Royal Society of Edinburgh and developed an interest in music - in 1841 he patented the euphonic "a novel upright pianoforte" an example of which was said to be at South Kensington Museum. His eldest daughter Mary Louisa Steward (later Page) c1824-1919 was a "Professor of Music".

(1841) Great use of iron was made by Dr. Steward (still living at Handsworth near Birmingham) in a novel upright pianoforte which he called the Euphonic, and brought out in London in 1844. His patent (No. 9023), which is dated July 1841, includes a complete metal framing, and separate soundboards, three in number. The instruments were of elegant appearance, and the long strings, in harplike form, were exposed to view.[1] Though unsuccessful, the Euphonic should not be forgotten. There is one in South Kensington Museum in the musical instrument collection. [Page *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians Volume 2* p721]

L4.4 Artists

Spilsbury was a landscape and animal painter whilst Webb won a prize for anatomical drawing.

Edgar Ashe Spilsbury of Walsall surgeon & apothecary 1780-1840

He has been described as "a fairly clever landscape and animal painter" and in 1823 contributed illustrations to John Landseer *Twenty engravings of lions, tigers, panthers, & leopards* ... c1823

Allan Webb of Tamworth M.R.C.P. 1808-1863

Webb was the son of a Staffordshire anglican artist. ... Next he qualified M.R.C.S. in 1833 (F.R.C.S., 1861). About this period the Society of Artists awarded him a medal for anatomical drawing. c1833

L4.5 Inventors

Oates and Steward (§L4.3) were inventors in the musical field. Oates also invented industrial machinery and a spoon moustache guard. Allarton was also an industrial inventor.

George Allarton of West Bromwich M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. ?1811-1875

He evidently had an interest in industry for in 1842 he registered "certain improvements in the method of balling and blooming iron". 1842

L5 National mutual benefit societies and their members

L5.1 Introduction; L5.2 Freemasons; L5.3 Oddfellows; L5.4 Foresters; L5.5 Nelsonic Crimson Oaks Society

L5.1 Introduction

National³²⁵ mutual benefit societies generally had a membership of men of above average wealth which might include medics. Such medics might also be appointed to provide medical services to their societies.

Three major societies were dominant in Staffordshire - the Freemasons, the Oddfellows and the Foresters (which are all discussed below). However an extract from the *Staffordshire Advertiser* of 9 Aug 1845 describes some other organisations. These include the "Modern Druids" and the "Order of Gardeners". Some societies organised by and for women are also mentioned which are discussed in §F7.1. Finally there is a note on the Nelsonic Crimson Oaks Society.

(9 Aug 1845) Stoke Wakes Week is the time when many of the Odd Fellows societies and other clubs in the district hold their anniversary meetings. At Hanley the members of the Grand Provincial Lodge of Staffordshire (London Order) assembled on Monday morning and walked in procession with their regalia preceded by a band of music through Hanley and Shelton and afterwards attended divine service at Hanley church when an appropriate discourse was delivered by the Rev. W.D. Lamb. An excellent dinner was provided at the Angel Inn at which about 120 of the members sat down. On the same day the members of the ancient order of Foresters assembled at the Sneyd's Arms, Sneyd Green, and after walking in procession through several of the neighbouring townships returned to the Sneyd's Arms where a substantial dinner was served up in a spacious tent. At Longton on Tuesday several Female Friendly Societies held their anniversaries and amongst them was a new society designated the "Odd Women's" or Social Sisters' Society. About one hundred and thirty of the sisterhood joined in a procession and afterwards dined at the Furnace Inn. On Wednesday a procession connected with the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows took place at Longton composed of the members of three lodges in the town amounting to upwards of 350 members each lodge being preceded by an excellent brass band and the orphans of the deceased members riding on ponies led by two of the brothers and bearing small banners with appropriate mottoes upon them. The procession after moving through the principal streets of the town went to Mount Zion Chapel where an excellent and appropriate sermon was preached by brother Palmer. After divine service the members adjourned to their respective lodges namely the White Lion, the Hare and Hounds, and the Rose and Crown public houses where substantial dinners were provided in the good old English style which reflected great credit upon the hosts and hostesses who provided them. After dinner the different lodges were entertained by toasts, songs and recitations: and during the intervals were enlivened with the music of the bands. At Fenton a lodge of the Modern Druids dined at the Duke of Wellington on Monday. And on the same day a Lodge of the Order of Gardeners in the Fenton district sat down to dinner provided at the Black Swan. On Wednesday day the Fenton Lodge in connection with the London Order dined at the Angel Inn. About 100 sat down to dinner. The Cobridge Catholic Sick Club preceded by a band of music went through Hanley and Shelton and afterwards enjoyed an excellent dinner at the Dolphin Inn. This club was established in 1816 and numbers about 180 members. [STS:ADV]

L5.2 Freemasons³²⁶ (1646)

The earliest surviving documentary evidence for modern freemasonry is to be found in a manuscript diary kept by Elias Ashmole 1617-1692 [OB]. Ashmole who was born in Lichfield was an eminent alchemist, astrologer and antiquarian and best known as the founder of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford which opened in 1683. He records³²⁷:

1646 Oct: 16 4h 30' P.M. I was made a Free Mason at Warrington in Lancashire, with Coll: Henry Mainwaring of Karinchham in Cheshire. The names of those that were then of the Lodge Mr. Rich Penket Warden, Mr. James Collier, Mr. Rich Sankey, Henry Littler, John Ellam, Rich: Ellam & Hugh Brewer

March 1682 10: About 5h: P.M. I recd: a Summons to app'r at a Lodge to be held the next day at Masons Hall London ... 11: Accordingly I went, & about noone were admitted into the Fellowship of Free Masons, Sr: William Wilson Knight, Capt. Rich: Borthwick, Mr. Will: Woodman, Mr. Wm Grey, Mr. Samuell Taylour & Mr. William Wise. I was the Senior Fellow among them (it being 35 years since I was admitted) There were p'sent, beside my selfe, the Fellowes after named. Mr: Tho: Wise Mr: of the Masons Company this p'sent yeare. Mr: Thomas Shorthose, Mr: Thomas Shadbolt, [erasure] [space] Waindsford Esqr Mr: Nich: Young. Mr: John Shorthose, Mr: William ffarmor [? Hamon], Mr: John Thompson, & Mr: Will: Stanton. We all dyned at the halfe Moone Taverne in Cheapeside, at a Noble Dinner prepared at the charge of the New=accepted Masons.

Robert Plot 1640-1696 [OB] was sometime Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum. He provides the next mention of freemasonry in *The natural history of Stafford-shire* published in 1686 but researched a little earlier. Some of his account (on pages 316-8) may be based on information provided by Ashmole. It reads:

§85. To these add the Customs relating to the County, whereof they have one, of admitting Men into the Society of Free-masons, that in the moorelands of this County seems to be of greater request, than any where else, though I find the Custom spread more or less all over the Nation; for here I found persons of the most eminent quality, that did not disdain to be of this Fellowship. Nor indeed need they, were it of that Antiquity and honor that is pretended in a large parchment volum they have amongst them, containing the History and Rules of the craft of masonry. [a long extract follows]

§86. Into which Society when any are admitted, they call a meeting (or Lodg as they term it in some places) which must consist at lest of 5 or 6 of the Ancients of the Order, whom the candidates present with gloves, and so likewise to their wives, and entertain with a collation according to the Custom of the place: This ended, they proceed to the admission of them, which chiefly consists in the communication of certain secret signes, whereby they are known to one another all over the Nation, by which means they have maintenance whither ever they travel: for if any man appear though altogether unknown that can shew any of these signes to a Fellow of the Society, whom they otherwise call an accepted mason, he is obliged presently to come to him, from what company or place soever he be in, nay tho' from the top of a Steeple, (what hazard or inconvenience soever he run) to know his pleasure, and assist him; viz. if he want work he is bound to find him some; or if he cannot doe that, to give him mony,

³²⁵ Comparison might be made with friendly societies (see Section F7) which were generally independent mutual benefit societies whose members were mostly drawn from ordinary working families. Typically a local medic would be appointed to provide medical services to the members of a friendly society but was himself unlikely to be a member.

³²⁶ In 1905 Frederic W. Willmore wrote *A history of Freemasonry in the Province of Staffordshire* and this is the primary source for this account. He noted that little documentary or other evidence survived for the period before 1851 partly on account of the arcane nature of the organisation. In 1969 H. Wilson Keys (Provincial Grand Master of Staffordshire) wrote a 19 page booklet *From Masonry to Freemasonry*. A paper which gives an interesting personal view of the general development of Freemasonry.

³²⁷ These entries are transcribed from copies of the originals posted on the internet.

or otherwise support him till work can be had; which is one of their Articles; and it is another, that they advise the Masters they work for, according to the best of their skill, acquainting them with the goodness or badness of their materials; and if they be any way out in the contrivance of their buildings modestly to rectify them in it; that masonry be not dishonored: and many such like that are commonly known: but some others they have (to which they are sworn after their fashion) that none know but themselves, which I have reason to suspect are much worse than these, perhaps as bad as this History of the craft it self than which there is nothing I ever met with, more false or incoherent.

§87 & §88. [long discussion of the extract above] ... 'tis still to be feared these Chapters of Freemasons do as much mischief as before, which if one may estimate by the penalty, as anciently so great, that perhaps it might be usefull to examin them now.

In Section 86 Plot's description of the free-masons suggest that they were operative craftsmen whilst in Section 85 he mentions free-masons of a higher status (perhaps including such as gentlemen, merchants, clergymen and medics). This apparent contradiction might reflect a change from freemasonry as a "craft guild" to a "mutual benefit society". Whatever the case Plot's final remarks suggest he personally was not in favour of freemasonry.

In 1717 the Grand Lodge of England was formed by the union of the five or six lodges then operating in London. Confusingly members of this Grand Lodge came to be known as the "Moderns". Later in 1751 the "Ancients", also known as the "Athole Masons", constituted a separate Grand Lodge which became known as the Grand Lodge of Four Degrees³²⁸. Both Moderns and Ancients constituted their own lodges throughout England until 27 Dec 1813 when they joined together to become the United Grand Lodge of Ancient Freemasons. The following year (1814) all the lodges were renumbered.

At first lodges were known by the names of the hostelries at which they were held. In 1723 the first lists were commenced in which lodges were numbered. At various times all the lodges were renumbered and some might have had four (or more) different numbers. Later many lodges adopted particular titles. Since lodges might move from one hostelry to another (sometimes in a different town), might bear several numbers and might change their titles it is not always easy to distinguish them.

In the table below an attempt has been made to list all the Staffordshire lodges constituted up to 1851. They are listed by place (parish), title (one is supplied in "---" for those not known), dates³²⁹ constituted and erased, first known hostelry and lastly the lodge numbers.

The first recorded Staffordshire lodge was the [1] Wolverhampton "Bell & Raven Lodge" (1732-1754) constituted by the Moderns in 1732. John Ward 1st Viscount Dudley and Ward 1704-1774 [CP] was its Worshipful Master. He had joined the masons in 1730 and was Grand Master of England 1742-4. The lodge was erased in 1754. In 1763 the Ancients constituted [2] Newcastle "Crown Inn Ancient Lodge" (1763-1766) and in 1764 [3] Wolverhampton "Swan Inn Ancient Lodge" (1764-1765). Next the Moderns constituted three new lodges. Two of these at Wolverhampton were curiously conducted from the same hostelry but on different days. The three lodges were [4] Wolverhampton "Swan Inn Modern Lodge No 1" (1766-1772), [5] Newcastle "Crown Inn Modern Lodge" (1767-1775) and [6] Wolverhampton "Swan Inn Modern Lodge No 2" (1786-1811). At Lichfield a lodge was constituted by the Ancients in 1784 and titled [7] Lichfield St John's Lodge (1784-1813) and in the same city another by the Moderns in 1787 titled [8] Lichfield Lodge of Unity (1787-1809).

In 1791 the Moderns appointed the first Provincial Grand Master of Staffordshire thus creating a Staffordshire Province. This was Francis Henry Egerton 8th Earl of Bridgewater 1756-1829 [CP] who only succeeded to his title on the death of his brother in 1823. On appointment Egerton was a Shropshire clergyman and was already Provincial Grand Master of Shropshire.

Another five lodges were founded before 1800. These were [9] Handsworth Union Soho Lodge (1793-1794), [10] Newcastle Friendly Brothers Lodge [No 1] (1793-1801), [11] Tamworth St Bartholomew's Lodge (1795-1803), [12] Tamworth Lodge of Harmony (1796-1809), [13] Newcastle Friendly Brothers Lodge [No 2] (1799-1828). Of these the last was an Ancient lodge. Willmore³³⁰ comments (about 1905) "out of the total number of thirteen [lodges founded before 1800] not one is existent at the present time, nor with the exception of the old Minute Book and relics preserved by Noah's Ark³³¹ are there any traces now known of them except in the brief records of Grand Lodge". From 1800 to the end of 1813 when the Moderns and Ancients combined eight more lodges were constituted, two Modern and six Ancient: [14] Stoke-upon-Trent Etruscan Lodge (1803-1847), [15] Stoke-upon-Trent United Pottery OR Potters' Lodge (1805-1829), [16] Stoke-upon-Trent Independent Lodge of the United Pottery (1805-1828), [17] Burslem St Martin's Lodge (1805-p1905), [18] Stoke-upon-Trent Lodge of Stability (1805-1827), [19A] Burton-upon-Trent "King's Head Inn Lodge" (1810-....), [19B] Longnor Lodge of Unity (1811-1829) and [20] Tipton Lodge of Freedom (1813-1828). At the start of 1814 there were open only a total of eight Lodges being the seven formed since 1800 and [13] Newcastle Friendly Brothers Lodge [No 2].

In 1814 and 1815 there were three new lodges: [21] Stafford {Royal Chartley} Lodge of Fortitude (1814-1850), [22] Leek & Lichfield Jedidiah OR St John's Lodge (1814-1850) and [23] Wolverhampton & Bilston Noah's Ark Lodge (1815-p1905). No new lodges were constituted in the years 1816 to 1833 but in 1831 Washington Shirley 8th Earl Ferrers 1790-1842³³² [CP] was appointed Provincial Grand Master and served until 1837. At Stafford in 1833 the foundation stone of a Provincial Grand Lodge was laid after an impressive ceremony (see below). In the event it was never constructed. It will be noticed that Edward Knight of Stafford M.B. 1780-1862 who was then a Physician at Staffordshire General Infirmary was then appointed Provincial Junior Grand Warden. In 1837 Hon. George Anson 1797-1857 was appointed Provincial Grand Master but was not installed until 1843.

(14 Sep 1833) MASONIC HALL, STAFFORD On Tuesday the tenth instant, the Right Honourable Washington Earl Ferrers, Provincial Grand Master for the counties of Stafford and Warwick held a Provincial Grand Meeting in the Shire Hall in this

³²⁸ Ordinarily lodges might have three degrees (or ranks). The fourth degree was the arcane "Royal Arch".

³²⁹ The dates are in the form YEAR/MONTH/DAY thus 1732 03 28 is 28 Mar 1732.

³³⁰ Willmore (1905)

³³¹ see below

³³² "He d. at Chartley Castle, of erysipelas, having been paralysed for 8 years". [CP]

town. It was attended by the Brethren of the Royal Chartley Lodge of Fortitude, Stafford; the Noah's Ark Lodge, Bilston; the Saint Martin's Lodge, Burslem; the Etruscan Lodge, Stoke ... The chair was taken at ten o'clock by the Provincial Grand Master ... [who appointed] John Mee Mathew, Deputy Provincial Grand Master; The Honourable John Henry Chetwynd Lord Viscount Ingestre, Provincial Senior Grand Warden; Edward Knight Esq. M.D., Provincial Junior Grand Warden ... [procession to church] ... The sum of nearly £40 was collected at the doors ... towards the erection of a Masonic Hall. The Procession then moved to the ground ... when the impressive ceremony of laying the foundation stone was performed ... altogether formed one of the most grand and imposing scenes ever witnessed in this county to the surprise and gratification of nearly 20,000 spectators. [STS:ADV, this is a brief extract is from a very long detailed account]

(1845) A meeting of Provincial Grand Lodge ... The collection amounted to £11/1/11 which was given to the Asylum for Aged Freemasons [Willmore (1905) p91]

(1849) On June the 11th the Provincial Grand Master intimated to the Lodge of Honour that it was his intention to hold the Provincial Grand Lodge at Wolverhampton but the request was made to him not to do so on account of the prevalence of cholera at the time in that town. [Willmore (1905) p99]

(1851) ... and in 1833, the late Earl Ferrers laid the first stone of a Provincial Grand Lodge, but for want of funds, the building was not erected. ... [White]

Between 1834 and 1847 a further 11 lodges were formed: [24] Wolverhampton St Peter's Lodge (1834-1905), [25] Stoke-upon-Trent Menturia Lodge (1834-1905), [26] Stafford Staffordshire Knot Lodge (1836-1851), [27] Burslem Sutherland Lodge (1838-1905), [28] Uttoxeter Forresters' Lodge (1838-1905), [29] Newcastle Sutherland Lodge of Unity (1839-1905), [30] Handsworth St James's Lodge (1842-1905), [31] Longnor Derbyshire Lodge (1842-1866), [32] Wolverhampton Lodge of Honour (1846-1905), [33] Walsall St Matthew's Lodge (1847-1905) and [34] Stoke-upon-Trent Etruscan Lodge [No 2] (1847-1905). In 1851 there were 13 lodges open being [17] Burslem St Martin's Lodge, [23] Wolverhampton & Bilston Noah's Ark Lodge and the eleven above mentioned.

Not noticed above are two special "military lodges" held at Lichfield. The 17th Regiment of Light Dragoons met from 1801 to 1803 and the 1st Regiment of East Devon Militia 1812 to 1817. It seems probable that there were others.

Of the cohort* only 16 men have been discovered to be Freemasons but doubtless a great many more were. William Withering of Stafford M.D. 1742-1799 is the earliest known Freemason but his lodge is not discovered. Edward Knight of Stafford M.B. 1780-1862 (also of an unknown lodge) was appointed Provincial Junior Grand Warden in 1833. Joseph Pimlott Oates 1808-1883 became a member at Sutton Coldfield, Warwicks and George Nott of West Bromwich M.R.C.S. 1820-1872 in Australia. The men below are listed under their respective lodges: Bilston Noah's Ark Lodge: John McNab Ballenden of Sedgley M.D. ?1813-1895; Burslem Sutherland Lodge: Samuel Goddard of Burslem M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1803-1876; Handsworth St James's Lodge: William Hopkins of Handsworth L.R.C.P.E. 1828-....; Newcastle Sutherland Lodge of Unity: Richard King of Newcastle L.R.C.P.E. 1822-1865; Stafford Staffordshire Knot Lodge: Cornelius Waddell of Stafford M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1813-1861; Stoke-upon-Trent Etruscan Lodge [No 2]: Samuel Palmer Goddard of Stoke-upon-Trent M.D. 1818-1866; Uttoxeter Forresters' Lodge: George Alsop of Uttoxeter surgeon & apothecary ?1776-1847 and Richard Lassetter of Uttoxeter M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1806-1873; Walsall St Matthews' Lodge: John Burton of Walsall M.D. c1805-1891 (also a Deputy Provincial Grand Master) and Frederick Atcherley Edwards of Walsall M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1809-1868; Wednesbury St Bartholomew's Lodge: James Bailey of Wednesbury M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1823-1859; West Bromwich Dartmouth Lodge: William James Kite of West Bromwich M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1823-1872.

•Freemasons' lodges to 1851							
	Location (parish)	Title	Constit.	Erased	Hostelry	Type	Numbers
1	Wolverhampton	"Bell & Raven Lodge"	17320328	17541129	Bell & Raven (?Blackbird), Rotten Row	Mod	88 77
2	Newcastle	"Crown Inn Ancient Lodge"	176302	1766	Crown Inn, Penkhull Street	Anc	nk
3	Wolverhampton	"Swan Inn Ancient Lodge"	17641006	1765	Swan Inn, High Green	Anc	130
4	Wolverhampton	"Swan Inn Modern Lodge No 1"	1766	1772	Swan Inn, High Green	Mod	149 134 83 69
5	Newcastle	"Crown Inn Modern Lodge"	17670630	17750428	Crown Inn, Penkhull Street	Mod	398 333
6	Wolverhampton	"Swan Inn Modern Lodge No 2"	1768	18110206	Swan Inn, High Green	Mod	77
7	Lichfield	St John's Lodge	17840310	1813	Scales, Market Lane	Anc	224
8	Lichfield	Lodge of Unity	17870724	1809	Three Crowns Inn, Bread Market St	Mod	502
9	Handsworth	Union Soho Lodge	17930110	1794	NK	NK	
10	Newcastle	Friendly Brothers Lodge [No 1]	17930410	18011125	Roebuck, High Street	NK	523
11	Tamworth	St Bartholomew's Lodge	17950806	1803	White Lion, Coleshill Street, Fazeley	NK	547
12	Tamworth	Lodge of Harmony	17961105	18090210	Dudley's Coffee House, George Street	NK	558
13	Newcastle	Friendly Brothers Lodge [No 2]	17991221	18280305	Roebuck, High Street	Anc	133
14	Stoke-upon-Trent	Etruscan Lodge [No 1]	1803	1847	Bridge Inn, Lord Street, Etruria	Anc	327 417 285
15	Stoke-upon-Trent	United Pottery OR Potters' Lodge	18050424	1829	White Lion, Church Street, Lane End	Anc	134 60
16	Stoke-upon-Trent	Independent Lodge of the United Pottery	18050499	18280305	White Lion, Church Street, Lane End	Mod	550 459 516
17	Burslem	St Martin's Lodge	18050730	1905	Masonic Arms Inn, St John's Square	Anc	130 154

							115 98
18	Stoke-upon-Trent	Lodge of Stability	18050924	18271205	Swan Inn, Market Square, Hanley	Anc	124 149
19A	Burton-upon-Trent	"King's Head Inn Lodge"	18101112		King's Head Inn, Market Place	Anc	
19B	Longnor	Lodge of Unity	18110725	18290603	White Horse Inn, Town End	Mod	411 492
20	Tipton	Lodge of Freedom	1813	18280305	Green Dragon, Park Lane	Anc	246 310
21	Stafford	{Royal Chartley} Lodge of Fortitude	18140629	1850	White Lion, Lichfield Road, Forebridge		652
22	Leek & (1833) Lichfield	Jedidiah OR St John's Lodge	18141231	1850	Crown Inn, Church Street		657 431
23	Wolverhampton & (1828) Bilston	Noah's Ark Lodge	18151127	1905	Red Cow, Dudley Street		668 435
24	Wolverhampton	St Peter's Lodge	18341006	1905	Star and Garter Hotel, Victoria Street		607 419
25	Stoke-upon-Trent	Menturia Lodge	18341022	1905	Albion Inn, Albion Street, Hanley		606 418
26	Stafford	Staffordshire Knot Lodge	18360105	18511203	George Hotel, Market Square		626
27	Burslem	Sutherland Lodge	18380816	1905	Legs of Man Inn, Market Place		660 451
28	Uttoxeter	Forresters' Lodge	18381227	1905	Black Swan Inn, Market Street		670 456
29	Newcastle	Sutherland Lodge of Unity	18390726	1905	Castle Hotel, High Street		674 460
30	Handsworth	St James's Lodge	18420425	1905	Crockett's Hotel "Hen Inn", Holyhead Road		707 482
31	Longnor	Derbyshire Lodge	1842	18660307	Crow and Harper's Arms Inn, Market Square		165 201 143 122
32	Wolverhampton	Lodge of Honour	18460425	1905	The Lodge Room, Market Place		769 526
33	Walsall	St Matthew's Lodge	18470416	1905	Assembly Rooms, George Hotel		786 539
34	Stoke-upon-Trent	Etruscan Lodge [No 2]	18471118	1905	Crown and Anchor Inn, Market Place, Lane End		803 546
	Lichfield	17th Regiment of Light Dragoons	1801	1803		Anc	285
	Lichfield	1st Regiment of East Devon Militia	1812	1817		Anc	216

L5.3 Oddfellows (1730)

A lodge of Oddfellows in London known as the "Loyal Aristarcus Lodge No. 9" is said to have been in existence in 1730. The Oddfellows were organised as a "fraternity" which over time split into various factions³³³.

In 1810 the Independent Order of Oddfellows Manchester Unity (or Union) was established. In 1817 they opened Needwood Philanthropic Lodge at Uttoxeter which was probably the first lodge in their Uttoxeter District. In the following years other lodges were opened mostly of the Manchester Unity and mostly in the north of the county. Known lodges were at Hanley in Stoke-upon-Trent (1822), Burton-upon-Trent (1826), Audley (1829-....), Cheadle (1840), Madeley (1840), Biddulph (1841), Sandon (c1841), Checkley (1842), and Stone (London Unity) (1843-....). By 1851 there were also lodges at Burslem, Leek, Stafford, Wednesbury and Wolverhampton. Doubtless there were a great many more.

From the notices below it would appear that most of the lodge meetings took place in local inns. Each year they held special anniversary meetings which included a parade, a service at the local anglican church and then a dinner with fellow members and friends at their favoured inn.

One of the objects of the Oddfellows was to support their members when in need of medical attention and to this end lodges appointed surgeons (who might well also have been members).

Only five of the cohort^x have been identified as either surgeons or members of the Oddfellows but it is probable there were many more. The five include two men who emigrated and were overseas members. They were Henry Hulme Warburton 1819-1903 in America and George Nott 1820-1872 in Australia.

Details of the discovered lodges with their known surgeons and members are given below by date of foundation.

Uttoxeter (1817-....)

The Oddfellows (Manchester Unity) Needwood Philanthropic Lodge opened in 1817 and celebrated its eleventh anniversary in 1828. In 1851 there were three active lodges.

(28 Mar 1818) On Monday last the Needwood Philanthropic Society of Odd Fellows assembled at their lodge in Uttoxeter ... A sumptuous dinner was provided at the White Horse Inn for the Odd Fellows and their friends amounting in number to about 120 ... [STS:ADV]

(10 Apr 1819) The second anniversary of the Uttoxeter Needwood Philanthropic Lodge of Odd Fellows (No 49) will be held at the house of Mr Upton at the White Horse Inn on Thursday the 15th April ... [STS:ADV]

³³³ Here no attempt is made to consider the development of the Oddfellows since their various factions were quite diverse and not well documented.

(8 Jun 1822) The fifth anniversary of the Uttoxeter Philanthropic Lodge of Independent Odd Fellows will be held at the House of Brother John Twigg, the White Horse Inn, on Monday the 24th day of June instant; when the company of any Brother or Friend, will be esteemed a favor. Dinner on the table precisely at two o'clock. N.B. Divine Service will commence at 11 o'clock. [STS:ADV]

(17 Jun 1826) Loyal and Independent ORDER OF ODD-FELLOWS The members of the Needwood PHILANTHROPIC LODGE No 1 of the Uttoxeter District intend to celebrate their Eighth[sic, ?ninth] Anniversary on Monday the 26th instant. They will proceed to Church at eleven o'clock after which the usual Procession will take place. A Dinner will be provided by Host TWIGG, the White Horse Inn, to which all Brothers of the Independent Order are respectfully invited. Dinner on the Table at 2 o'clock. [STS:ADV]

(14 Jun 1828) Independent Order of Odd Fellows. The member of the Needwood Philanthropic lodge, Uttoxeter, purpose celebrating their eleventh anniversary on Monday the 23rd inst. ... A dinner will be provided by Host Twigg, the White Horse Inn ... [STS:ADV]

(1851) Here are three Lodges of Oddfellows, a Lodge of Foresters, ... [White]

Stoke-upon-Trent (1822)

The Oddfellows (Manchester Unity) Hanley St Peter's Victory Lodge (in Stoke-upon-Trent) opened in 1822 and celebrated its thirteenth anniversary in 1835. By 1845 there were three Manchester unity lodges at Longton and probably also a London Unity Lodge at Hanley.

(6 Jun 1835) ... THE ST PETERS' VICTORY LODGE of the LOYAL AND INDEPENDENT Order of ODD-FELLOWS of the Manchester Unity will hold their Thirteenth Anniversary on Whit-Tuesday the 9th instant when they will proceed to perambulate the town on their way to St Mark's Church, Shelton and afterwards dine at Host WM HALL'S George and Dragon, New Street, Hanley. N.B. The procession to start precisely at ten o'clock as service to commence at eleven o'clock. St Peter's Victory Lodge, Hanley [STS:ADV]

(9 Aug 1845) Stoke Wakes Week is the time when many of the Odd Fellows societies and other clubs in the district hold their anniversary meetings. At Hanley the members of the Grand Provincial Lodge of Staffordshire (London Order) assembled on Monday morning and walked in procession with their regalia preceded by a band of music through Hanley and Shelton and afterwards attended divine service at Hanley church when an appropriate discourse was delivered by the Rev. W.D. Lamb. An excellent dinner was provided at the Angel Inn at which about 120 of the members sat down. [STS:ADV]

(9 Aug 1845) On Wednesday a procession connected with the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows took place at Longton composed of the members of three lodges in the town amounting to upwards of 350 members each lodge being preceded by an excellent brass band and the orphans of the deceased members riding on ponies led by two of the brothers and bearing small banners with appropriate mottoes upon them. The procession after moving through the principal streets of the town went to Mount Zion Chapel where an excellent and appropriate sermon was preached by brother palmer. After divine service the members adjourned to their respective lodges namely the White Lion, the Hare and Hounds, and the Rose and Crown public houses where substantial dinners were provided in the good old English style which reflected great credit upon the hosts and hostesses who provided them. After dinner the different lodges were entertained by toasts, songs and recitations: and during the intervals were enlivened with the music of the bands. [STS:ADV]

(1851) [Stoke-upon-Trent] ... and here are lodges of Odd Fellows and Foresters, ... [Longton] Longton ... and in the town are lodges of Odd Fellows, &c., ... [White]

Burton-upon-Trent (1826)

The Oddfellows (Manchester Unity) Burton-upon-Trent "Talbot Inn" Lodge was to be opened in 1826 in 1851 their Uxbridge Lodge was meeting at the Rising Sun.

(8 Apr 1826) INDEPENDENT ORDER OF ODD-FELLOWS Mr Wm Shird of the Talbot Inn, Burton-upon-Trent, begs to inform the public in general that he intends to open a Lodge of Odd-Fellows on Tuesday the 18th instant at seven in the evening, under the Uttoxeter district, as incorporated with Manchester, and he respectfully solicits the attention of those friends who may be disposed to join the Order. [STS:ADV]

(1851) Among other provident institutions in the town [Burton-upon-Trent] are several Friendly Societies and Secret Orders. One of the latter is the Uxbridge Lodge of Odd Fellows, held at the Rising Sun, and belonging to the Manchester Union. [White]

Audley (1829-....)

The Oddfellows (Manchester Unity) Audley Lodge was opened in 1829. It met at Scot Hay and later Alsagers Bank. A second lodge met at the "Butcher's Arms" in Audley village from 1840. [VCH XI p56-7]

Cheadle (1840)

The Oddfellows (Manchester Unity) Cheadle "Rising Sun" Lodge was opened in 1840.

(11 Jan 1840) Cheadle Lodge of Odd-Fellows. On Wednesday last a new Lodge was opened at the Rising Sun, Cheadle, promising benefits to the neighbourhood. It appears by the laws of this society, that the members bind themselves firmly to unite, sincerely to love, and inflexibly to stand by each other in sickness or health; in poverty or in competence; in prosperity or affliction. It appears that 800 Lodges have been added to the fraternity during the last two years and that from 15 to £20,000 have been given since the commencement of the fraternity to different charitable institutions; £300 were lately given to the Blind Institution at Manchester; consequently the Grand Master of the Order there has the right of presentation of several children to that Institution. [Staffordshire Gazette]

Madeley (1840)

The Oddfellows (Manchester Unity) Wrinehill Widows' Lodge (at Madeley) was formed in 1840 and still in existence in 1876. Three other Oddfellows Lodges were established there in 1848, 1855 and 1864. [VCH XI p115-6]

Biddulph (1841)

(1851) At Bradley Green [in Biddulph] is an Odd Fellows' Hall built in 1841. [White]

Sandon (c1841)

(1851) There is a Lodge of Oddfellows at Sandon established about ten years ago ... [White]

Checkley (1842)

The Oddfellows (Manchester Unity) Upper Tean Mountfort Lodge (in Checkley) was opened in 1842.

(5 Nov 1842) ODDFELLOWSHIP On Monday the 17th October a new Lodge of the Independent Order of Oddfellows was opened at the Roebuck Inn in upper Tean ... by the name of the Mountfort Lodge. This name was given to it as a token of respect for the very essential services rendered to the cause of Oddfellowship by H. Mountfort of Beamhurst Hall near Uttoxeter ... After the ceremony of opening the Lodge had been gone through about forty respectable persons sat down to an excellent dinner ... On the withdrawal of the cloth the usual public and loyal toasts were given and the company separated at an early hour. [STS:ADV]

Stone (1843-....)

The Oddfellows (L.U.) Stoke Edward Jervis Lodge (in Stone) was opened in 1843.

(31 Aug 1844) The Hon. Edward Jervis's Lodge of Loyal and Independent Order of Odd fellows (London Order), Stoke near Stone. On Monday the 19th inst. the members of this society held their first anniversary at the Three Crowns Inn, Mr Shardlows, Stoke ... the worthy Surgeon, Edwin Daniel Esq. in the chair [STS:ADV]

Member

Edwin Daniel of Stone L.S.A. 1793-1873

Burslem (1851)

(1851) [Burslem] several Friendly Societies and Lodges of Oddfellows. [White]

Leek (1851)

(1851) Among the other institutions of the town are a number of Friendly Societies; a Lodge of Foresters, (with 350 members,) and several lodges of Odd Fellows. [White]

Stafford (1851)

(1851) Stafford has ... several lodges of Odd Fellows and other secret orders, ... [White]

Wednesbury (1851)

The Oddfellows (Manchester Unity) Wednesbury Good Samaritan Lodge made a presentation to their surgeon David Morgan on his departure from the town in 1851.

(26 Jul 1851) [Wednesbury] PRESENTATION TO A SURGEON ... members of the Good Samaritan Lodge, Manchester Unity [Independent Order of Oddfellows Manchester Unity] ... presented to Mr David Morgan, surgeon, on the occasion of his leaving the town to reside in Stourbridge a handsome silver snuff-box ... [with inscription] "Presented to Mr D Morgan by the voluntary subscriptions of the members of the Good Samaritan Lodge No 2888 Manchester Unity held at the White Lion Inn, Wednesbury as a token of their esteem for his skill and attention to the members during the time he was surgeon of the lodge. July 1851" [STS:ADV]

Surgeon

David Morgan of Wednesbury M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1810-.....

Wolverhampton (1851)

(1851) Among the PROVIDENT INSTITUTIONS of the town, are ... Lodges of Odd Fellows, &c. [White]

Ellastone (1875)

The Oddfellows Ellastone Lodge was open in 1875.

Surgeon

William Brown Weston of Ellastone M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1814-1895

L5.4 Foresters (1834)

The Ancient Order of Foresters was founded in Aug 1834 at Rochdale when over 300 branches of an earlier Royal Foresters Society were united. By 1837 there were at least two of their courts in Cheshire at Congleton and Church Lawton. Officers from those places opened a court at Newcastle in 1837. Others followed, all in the north of the county, at Leek in 1837, Stoke-upon-Trent by 1840 and Burslem by 1845.

As with the Oddfellows (above) annual meetings were held at local inns and it is likely that the courts also appointed surgeons to care for members in need.

Only one of the cohort^x has been discovered to be a Forester and this was George Nott 1820-1872 who was a member after he emigrated to Australia. It is likely several other medics were members.

(8 Apr 1837) Ancient Order of Foresters. A court of this ancient and honourable order was opened on Easter Monday at the Red Bull Inn, Church Lawton, by a deputation of members from Congleton court ... It must be highly gratifying to the order to find its numbers so rapidly rising. [STS:ADV] [Both Church Lawton and Congleton were in Cheshire]

Newcastle (1837)

The Foresters Newcastle "Red Lion Inn" Court was opened on 16 May 1837 by officers from Cheshire courts.

(20 May 1837) Ancient Order of Foresters. A court of this excellent Society (St. Clement's) was opened on Tuesday last [16 May] at the house of Mr John Nunns, the Red Lion Inn, Newcastle, by the following officers from Court Eaton, Congleton ... [and] brothers from Court Lawton ... [STS:ADV]

(9 Jun 1838) Ancient Order of Foresters. The first anniversary of the Benevolent Institution was held at the Red Lion Inn, Newcastle, on Tuesday last [5 Jun], on which occasion a most excellent dinner was provided by Mr John Nunns for the offices and members of the Institution. [STS:ADV]

Leek (1838)

The Foresters Leek "Cock Inn" Court opened about Oct 1838 and celebrated its second anniversary in 1840. By 1851 it had 350 members.

(17 Oct 1840) The Ancient Order of Foresters, Court No. 545, intend holding their second anniversary on Monday the 19th of October instant at the house of brother Samuel Lassetter, the Cock Inn, in Derby Street, Leek, when a procession will commence walking at 11 o'clock through the principal streets of the town. Dinner will be on the table at one o'clock when the company of any brother of the order, or friend, will be esteemed a favour. Tickets 2s. 6d. each. [STS:ADV]

(1851) Among the other institutions of the town ... a Lodge of Foresters, (with 350 members,) ... [White]

Stoke-upon-Trent (1840)

The Foresters Stoke-upon-Trent Duchess of Sutherland Court was open in 1840 and it or another court was open in 1851.

(8 Aug 1840) The Ancient Order of Foresters. The members of the Duchess of Sutherland Court, No 877, of the above order intend having a procession on Monday the 17th day of August. A dinner will be provided by host Samuel James at the Swan-with-two-Necks, Trent Vale [Stoke-upon-Trent] to which all brothers of the order together with any friends are respectfully invited. Dinner on the table at two o'clock ... [STS:ADV] (1851) [Stoke-upon-Trent] ... and here are lodges of Odd Fellows and Foresters ... [White]

Burslem (1845)

The Foresters Sneyd Green Court (at Burslem) was open in 1845.

(9 Aug 1845) On the same day the members of the ancient order of Foresters assembled at the Sneyd's Arms, Sneyd Green, and after walking in procession through several of the neighbouring townships returned to the Sneyd's Arms where a substantial dinner was served up in a spacious tent. [STS:ADV]

L5.5 Nelsonic Crimson Oaks Society (?1846)

This society formed by 1847 was registered in 1896 and is probably identical with the "order of Nelsonics".

(7 Aug 1847) LODGE ANNIVERSARY On Monday the "Loyal Crimson Lodge" of the order of Nelsonics held their anniversary at Mrs Okes's the Level, Brierley Hill. ... Mr Wright's resignation as surgeon to the lodge was announced, that gentleman having left the neighbourhood, when Mr Samuel Hudson was proposed and unanimously elected in his stead. [Birmingham Journal]

Nelsonic Crimson Oaks Society 1849-1924 was registered a a Friendly Society under the Friendly Societies Act of 1896 [NA FS 15/613]

(17 May 1856) The Annual Anniversary of Nelsonic Crimson Oaks Society was held at Mr. J. Rollinson's CASTLE INN, Brierley Hill, when the members sat down to an excellent dinner, which was served up in a most satisfactory manner, and a very pleasant and convivial evening was spent, duly enlivened with some excellent singing. [Brierley Hill Advertiser, unseen, quoted on internet]

Surgeon

[?] Thomas Wright of Cannock M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1815-1888
Samuel Hudson of Kingswinford L.S.A. 1804-1854

....-1847
1847-....

M Family material

M1 Birth and christening; M2 Marriages, children and marital breakdown; M3 Mental illness; M4 Death and burial; M5 Wills, administrations and estate valuations; M6 Will bequests; M7 Auctions

M1 Birth and christening

M1.1 Introduction; M1.2 Birthplace; M1.3 Father's status or occupation; M1.4 Religion at birth

M1.1 Introduction

A record of the birth or christening of most of the cohort has been discovered. The youngest of the cohort[×] was born in 1836 and most children born before that date were christened within a few days of birth. In this work where no birth record has been found the christening record of each man is taken to also indicate his date and birthplace (§M1.2), his father's status or occupation (§M1.3) and his religion at birth (§M1.4).

M1.2 Birthplace

Of the cohort[×] the birthplace of 992 men has been discovered³³⁴. Twelve men were probably born abroad. Clarvetto (c1594) was likely born to Italian parents and Dalgairns and Utermarck to Channel Islanders whilst the others were probably of British parentage. A 13th man Mackenzie was born in England of parents who had emigrated to Jamaica (see §P1.1). The remaining 980 men were born in the British Isles: England (940), Ireland (15), Scotland (18) and Wales (7).

Of the 940 men born in England the greatest number were unsurprisingly born within Staffordshire (565) and a further 214 in the five neighbouring counties of Warwickshire (62), Shropshire (46), Derbyshire (42), Cheshire (32) and Worcestershire (32). The remaining 161 men were born in: London (21), Leicestershire (16), Lancashire (14), Herefordshire (10), Nottinghamshire (9), Kent (8), Yorkshire West Riding (8), Somerset (7), Suffolk (7), Surrey (7), Essex (6), Lincolnshire (6), Middlesex (5), Norfolk (5), Gloucestershire (4), Northamptonshire (4), Wiltshire (3), Yorkshire East Riding (3), Berkshire (2), Devon (2), Hampshire (2), Oxfordshire (2), Bedfordshire (1), Buckinghamshire (1), Cumberland (1), Durham County (1), Hertfordshire (1), Huntingdonshire (1), Northumberland (1), Sussex (1), Westmorland (1) and Yorkshire North Riding (1).

M1.3 Father's status or occupation

Of the cohort[×] the styles or occupations of the fathers of 729 men have been discovered³³⁵. These are considered below under the general headings of gentleman (168), clergyman (74), medic (206), other professional (54), businessman (219) and employee (8). It is not surprising that nearly all these men were relatively wealthy because the cost of the apprenticeship, training or study required to qualify as a medic was beyond the poorer classes. Where possible the style or occupation of the father is chosen to reflect his position at the birth of his cohort[×] son. Naturally in the course of any man's life his style or occupation might vary³³⁶.

Gentleman (168): The style gentleman is particularly vague but is here taken to mean a man with an income that was (probably) generated from property, investments or annuities. In this category are included one nobleman³³⁷ and one Baronet³³⁸ (each the father of an illegitimate medic), one Knight³³⁹ and 165 other gentlemen.

Clergyman (74): Of the clergymen 65 were anglican, one was a congregationalist, three were independent, two were presbyterian, two were Wesleyan methodist and one was of an unknown church

Medic (206): The medics may be divided into physicians (19) - physician (15), physician & surgeon (2) M.D. (2) - surgeons & apothecaries (45) - surgeon & apothecary (43) and M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. (2) - surgeons (only) (105) - barber-chirurgeon (2), barber-surgeon (2), chirurgeon (3), surgeon (87), F.R.C.S. (1), M.C.S. (2) and M.R.C.S. (8) - apothecaries only (29) - apothecary (24) and L.S.A. (5) - and mad-doctors (8).

Other professional (54): Professional is here taken to mean a man who earned a living through an intellectual rather than a practical skill and would include clergymen and some medics. The other professions were: administrator (6), agent (2),

³³⁴ Database [SDH4] c31

³³⁵ Database [SDH4] c32-3

³³⁶ For instance the father of Joseph Hobbins of Wednesbury M.R.C.S. 1816-1894 was in 1816 a labourer, by 1819 a stock-taker, by 1823 a book-keeper and from 1838 a pawn-broker.

³³⁷ Dud Dudley ALIAS Tomlinson of Tipton physician c1599-1684 was the illegitimate son of Edward Dudley 5th Baron Dudley 1567-1643.

³³⁸ William Mannix of Wolverhampton M.D. c1797-1873 was the illegitimate son of Sir Henry Mannix of Richmond, co Cork 1st Baronet c1740-1822.

³³⁹ Benjamin Thornborough of Seighford M.D. c1627-1690 was the 2nd son of Sir Benjamin Thornborough of Swinden, Yorks WR Knight c1600-1635

commission agent (1), mine agent (1), barrister (1), civil engineer (3), exciseman (4), lawyer (8), notary public (1), Army officer (5), Navy officer (2), schoolmaster (15), solicitor (3) and surveyor (2).

Businessman (219): In this category are included men who were (or are thought to have been) the proprietor of any business of a practical kind. These might include the owners of large manufactories, men with a few employees and some sole traders. In most cases it is impossible to discover the scale of these businesses. A large range of these businesses has been discovered: artist (2), baker (1), banker (2), barber (2), bookseller (3), brassfounder (2), bucklemaker (1), butcher (6), butcher & grazier (2), carpenter (1), carrier (1), chandler (3), chemist (1), chemist & druggist (3), coal-master (2), cooper (1), cooper & victualler (1), currier (2), draper (7), druggist (5), factor (2), factor cheese (1), farmer (32), grazier (3), grocer (2), grocer & draper (1), grocer master (1), gun lock filer (1), hatter (2), husbandman (2), innkeeper (9), iron-master (6), ironmonger (9), japanner (1), joiner (2), maltster (3), manufacturer (1), bag manufacturer (1), brick manufacturer (1), cotton manufacturer (1), gun lock manufacturer (1), machine manufacturer (1), paper manufacturer (1), pottery manufacturer (5), ribbon manufacturer (1), shoe manufacturer (1), soap manufacturer (1), mason (1), mercer (7), merchant (8), cloth merchant (1), coal merchant (1), timber merchant (1), wine merchant (5), merchant's clerk (1), miller (1), moulder (1), musician (1), painter (1), pawnbroker (1), planter (2), plumber & brazier (1), printer (1), saddler (1), saddler's ironmonger (1), silkman (1), silver plater (1), skinner (2), stationer (1), stonemason (3), tallow chandler (1), tanner (2), toymaker (1), undertaker (1), victualler (4), victualler & maltster (1), wheelwright (1), and yeoman (24).

Employee (8): Only eight men had fathers in fairly modest circumstances. They may have had relations or family friends who were able to help in the cost of their medical tuition. The eight occupations were: labourer (3), lathe-cleaver (1), shoemaker (1) and writing-clerk (3).

M1.4 Religion at birth

Of the cohort^x the religion at birth of 887 men has been discovered³⁴⁰. The overwhelming majority of men were born anglican (825: 93%) - others were born into other churches: independent (18: 2%), roman catholic (18: 2%), Wesleyan methodist (8: 0.9%), quaker (5: 0.6%), new connexion methodist (4: 0.5%), presbyterian (4: 0.5%), baptist (2: 0.2%), congregationalist (1: 0.1%), Countess of Huntingdon's connexion (1: 0.1%) and unitarian (1: 0.1%). More detail of church membership is given in §N1.

M2 Marriages, children and marital breakdown

M2.2 Marriages; M2.3 Children; M2.4 Cohabitant marriages and illegitimate children; M2.5 Separation; M2.6 Adultery; M2.7 Divorce

M2.2 Marriages

Of the cohort^x 836 men are known to have been married³⁴¹ at least once, 134 men married twice, 13 married three times and three married four times.

At the time of their first marriage the average age was 29.6 years - that of the 127 physicians was 31.1 years and that of the 709 other medics 29.3 years. These figures may be compared with those of the cohort of 1851³⁴² when the overall average age was 30.1 - of physicians 32.4 and others 29.7.

In 1853 Edward Russell of Wednesbury was successfully sued for breach of promise of marriage (§N3.1853).

Eight men probably married under the age of 21 which was then the age of consent. Three of these men married women who at the time were carrying their first child. Aged only 18 the youngest was Charles Somerville of Bloxwich M.D. 1815-1868. Of the other men two were probably 19 and four were 20.

Thomas Williamson of Lichfield surgeon 1635-?1667	1654
He may only have been aged 19 when in Jun 1654 he married a woman who was then carrying their first child born by the following Jan.	
George Boylston of Lichfield apothecary c1654-1694	1674
In Jul 1674 aged 20 he married his first wife.	
George Hector of Lichfield surgeon c1676-1743	1696
In Oct 1696 at the age of 20 he married by licence.	
Richard Warner of Uttoxeter apothecary ?1724-?1775	1744
In Jul 1744 aged only 20 he married ... who was then carrying their first child born by the following October.	
Samuel Partridge of Handsworth surgeon ?1777-1840	1797
In 1797 he may have married aged 20.	
Edgar Ashe Spilsbury of Walsall surgeon & apothecary 1780-1840	1800
Time served in 1800 he then, in May aged 20, married his first wife.	
Charles Somerville of Bloxwich M.D. 1815-1868	1833
In Dec 1833 aged only 18 Somerville married his first wife who was then aged about 22 and carrying their first child who was born by the following Feb. These dates suggest an early indiscretion but this marriage seems to have been successful as he had six further children by this wife.	
Daniel Antrobus of Stoke-upon-Trent L.S.A. 1814-1872	1833
Antrobus may have married, aged only 19, in 1833 at London where he may have been training. He appears to have separated from his wife at some time between 1841 and 1851.	

340 Database [SDH4] c34

341 Database [SDH4] c36-40. This figure includes cohabitant marriages.

342 Williams (2018) §10A

Fifteen men probably first married aged 50 or above of whom only two subsequently had children - one boy and one girl. All these men were aged from 50 to 58 bar James Frederick Jackson who, at the age of 78, married his housekeeper. Congreve (1716) and Jones (1782) were the only two early examples. All the other men were married between 1834 and 1890 perhaps suggesting a change in societal views of late marriages.

Thomas Congreve of Wolverhampton M.B. 1663-1720 In 1716 Congreve may have married, aged 53, his only wife.	1716
William Jones of Burton-upon-Trent M.D. 1782-1862 In 1836 he was living at Stapenhill in Burton-upon-Trent when he married, aged 54, his only wife.	1782
Robert Taylor of Stoke-upon-Trent M.R.C.S. 1784-1844 [OB] In 1834, aged 50, he married a wealthy widow but, having previously promised to marry another woman, was successfully sued for breach of promise.	1834
Robert Wilson Lishman of Shenstone M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1793-1857 In 1844, aged 51, he married his only wife.	1844
John Thompson of Tamworth M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1795-1871 On census night 1841 he was certainly in practice at Tamworth and in 1847, aged 52, married there his only wife.	1847
Thomas Ward of Stafford F.R.C.S., L.S.A. 1808-1865 In 1859, aged 52, Ward married his only wife	1852
Richard Lassetter of Uttoxeter M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1806-1873 By 1860 he moved to Bramshall where he married, aged 54, his only wife.	1860
Charles Hicks of Harborne M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1808-1889 In 1863 he married, aged 55, his first wife.	1863
Edward Acworth (of Stoke-upon-Trent) M.D. ?1809-1874 In 1864, aged 55, he married his only wife.	1864
James Edward Male of West Bromwich M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1815-1871 Male married, aged 54, in 1869 his only wife <u>by whom he had one child - a daughter.</u>	1869
James Muter Turnbull of Wolverhampton M.D. 1818-1897 In 1869, aged 51, he married his only wife.	1869
William Davies of Harborne M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1819-1882 In 1872 he married, aged 53, his only wife.	1872
William Guille Dalgairns of Stoke-upon-Trent M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. ?1822-1879 In 1871 he emigrated to Australia where in 1873, aged 51, he married his only wife <u>by whom he had one child - a son.</u>	1873
John Adams Palin of Wednesbury M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1818-1876 By 1874 he had moved to Southampton where that year, aged 56, he married his only wife.	1874
James Frederick Jackson of Harborne M.R.C.S. c1812-1895 Jackson was aged about 78 when in 1890 he married his only wife Elizabeth Powell who had been his housekeeper for many years.	1890

Robert Lyons Campbell of Trysull c1817-1891 married for a second time, aged 68, to a woman of 26 and had a son by her the following year. Charles Hicks 1808-1889 appears to have married a second time at the age of 78 but the age of his wife has not been discovered.

Joseph Barnard Davis of Hanley 1801-1881 married for a third time, aged 77, in 1878 to a woman fifty years his junior. This marriage may have been contracted to protect his estate from his son.

(26 Feb 1864) At Burslem Police Court on Tuesday (22 Feb) Mt. Joseph Barnard Davis jun. the son of Mr J.B. Davis of Albion Street, Hanley was brought up under a warrant threatening to injure his father. The defendant who is thirty years of age is a portrait painter by profession ... has been allowed £40 a year by his father to keep him from starvation ... [falsely] accused his father of shamefully ill treating his mother [evidently then dead] ... ordered to keep the peace [Birmingham Daily Post]

"After the death of his first wife Davis married, on 31 July 1878, Emma Moorhouse (b. 1851), a woman who was fifty years his junior. This led to friction with his son Joseph, and in his will he provided that this son of his first marriage should receive his annuity only if he resided outside the county of Staffordshire, and that the executors must ensure that his debts were not charged to the estate." [OB] [The court case of 1864 shows that the friction already existed.] [

M2.3 Children

Of the 1,266 cohort men 667 (53%) are known to have had children³⁴³ leaving 599 (47%) not discovered to have children of whom many may have been childless. Of the total of 3,263³⁴⁴ children known to be born to the 667 men 1,630 were boys and 1,633 girls - a very even distribution.

Of those who had families the number of their children varied between 1 and 26. Only 13 men had families of 13 or more children and their particular circumstances are discussed further below (§M2.3.2).

As can be seen from the chart and tables below the number of men and their family size steadily declined from one (106 men) to twelve (9 men) with two exceptions - men with five children (55) and men with ten children

343 The figures include acknowledged illegitimate children.

344 Database [SDH4] c41-43

(18). The dip at ten children reflects quite a small sample but that at five based on a large sample may require explanation. Average family size was 4.89.

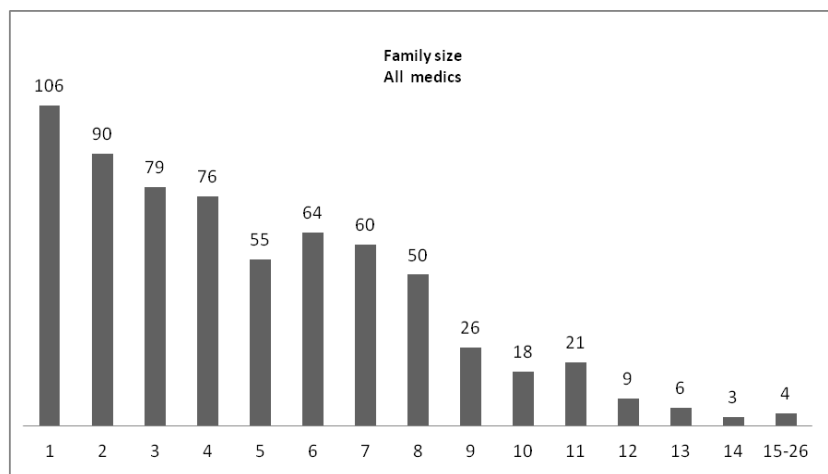
A total of 97 (of 162) (60%) physicians had children and their average family size was 5.36 - so that they both were more likely to have children and to have larger families than the average. The number of children in their families does not follow the overall pattern perhaps because of their relatively small number.

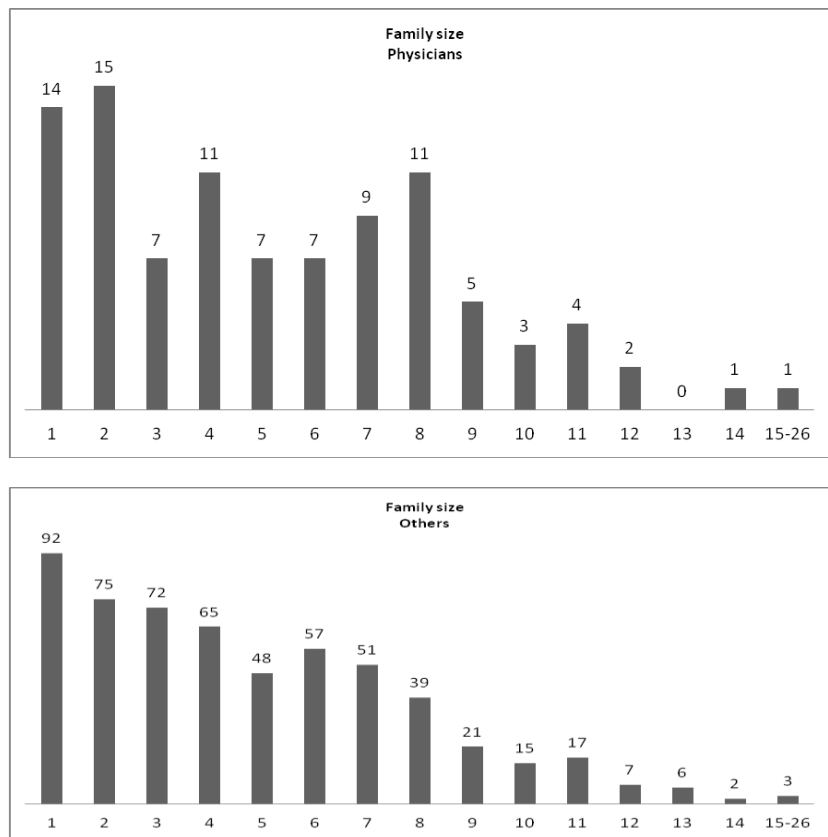
Of the other medics - mostly surgeons and apothecaries - a total of 534 (of 1,104) (52%) had children and their average family size was 4.81. The number of children in their families does follow the overall pattern and exhibits the same dips at five and ten children.

That physicians were more likely to both have families and also have larger families. This may reflect their greater ability to financially provide for them.

Of the cohort of 1851 which consisted of 274 men - 194 men (71%) are known to have had children leaving 80 (29%) not discovered to have children of whom many may have been childless. The 194 men fathered 1,099 children so that their average family size was 5.67. That 71% of the 1851 men are known to have had children compared to the overall average of 53% probably only reflects the available evidence. That their family size of 5.67 was greater than the overall average of 4.89 may evidence a trend toward larger families over time.

•Family size												
	All				Physicians				Others			
	No	%	Total	No	%	Total	No	%	Total			
All	1266			162			1104					
Childless	599	47%		65	40%		534	48%				
Children	667	53%	3263	97	60%	520	570	52%	2743			
1	106	16%	106	14	14%	14	92	16%	92			
2	90	13%	180	15	15%	30	75	13%	150			
3	79	12%	237	7	7%	21	72	13%	216			
4	76	11%	304	11	11%	44	65	11%	260			
5	55	8%	275	7	7%	35	48	8%	240			
6	64	10%	384	7	7%	42	57	10%	342			
7	60	9%	420	9	9%	63	51	9%	357			
8	50	7%	400	11	11%	88	39	7%	312			
9	26	4%	234	5	5%	45	21	4%	189			
10	18	3%	180	3	3%	30	15	3%	150			
11	21	3%	231	4	4%	44	17	3%	187			
12	9	1%	108	2	2%	24	7	1%	84			
13	6	1%	78	0	0%	0	6	1%	78			
14	3	0%	42	1	1%	14	2	0%	28			
16	1	0%	16	0	0%	0	1	0%	16			
17	1	0%	17	0	0%	0	1	0%	17			
25	1	0%	25	0	0%	0	1	0%	25			
26	1	0%	26	1	1%	26	0	0%	0			
Average	4.89			5.36			4.81					





Only 13 men had families of 13 or more children. By far the most prolific were the physician Rupert Chawner (26) and the mad-doctor Thomas Bakewell (25). Of the other 11 men (17-13) one was a physician and the others surgeon or apothecaries. The oldest men to become fathers were Chawner and Bakewell (each 67) and Bateman (66) and the youngest was Underhill (38). Evidently the fertility of a marriage depended on the condition of both father and mother - perhaps more heavily on that of the mother. Large numbers of children might often be born to more than one wife so that five of the largest families were born to two or three child-bearing wives. Chawner (2), Bakewell (3), Kempson (2), Warburton (2) and Darwin (3). Seven of the remaining eight families were born to men with only one child-bearing wife. The exception was Greatrex (2).

Rupert Chawner of Burton-upon-Trent M.D. 1750-1836

26

Chawner had 26 children (12 sons and 14 daughters). Of these 9 were born to his first wife between 1777 and 1787 and 17 to his 2nd wife between 1792 and 1817 (when he was aged 67).

Thomas Bakewell of Stone mad-doctor 1761-1835 [xOB]

25

Bakewell had 25 children (probably 13 sons and 12 daughters). Of these 9 were born to his first wife between 1783 and about 1795, 3 were born to his second wife between 1801 and 1804 and 13 were born to his third wife between 1810 and 1828 (when he was aged 67).

Peter Tertius Kempson of Kingswinford M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1814-1890

17

Kempson had 17 children (8 sons and 9 daughters). Of these 9 were born to his first wife between 1837 and 1851 and 8 were born to his second wife between about 1853 and about 1864 (when he was aged 50).

John Warburton of Betley L.S.A. 1792-1878

16

Warburton had 16 children (9 sons and 7 daughters). Of these 11 were born to his first wife between 1818 and 1835 and 5 were born to his second wife between 1840 and about 1857 (when he was aged 65).

Erasmus Darwin of Lichfield M.B. 1731-1802

14

Darwin had 14 children (8 sons and 4 daughters). Of these 5 were born to his first wife between 1758 and 1767, 2 were born to his second cohabitant wife in 1772 and 1774 (see §M2.4) and 4 were born to his third wife between 1782 and 1790 (when he was aged 59).

Charles Hawthorn of Stafford L.S.A. 1798-1856

14

Hawthorn had 14 children (6 sons and 8 daughters) born to his only wife between 1825 and 1844 (when he was aged 46).

John Spendelow of Lichfield apothecary ?1667-....

14

Spendelow had 14 children (7 sons and 7 daughters) born to his only wife between 1692 and 1710 (when he was aged about 47).

Henry Bateman of Burton-upon-Trent apprentice [M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.] 1806-1880

13

Bateman had 13 children (2 sons and 11 daughters) all born to his second wife between 1846 and 1872 (when he was aged 66).

William Dawes of Stoke-upon-Trent L.S.A. 1800-1856

13

Dawes had 13 children (9 sons and 4 daughters) born to his only wife between 1831 and 1854 (when he was aged 54).

William Downes of Handsworth M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1800-1880

13

Downes had 13 children (7 sons and 6 daughters) born to his only wife between 1827 and 1845 (when he was aged 45).

Christopher John Greatrex of Eccleshall surgeon 1792-1880

13

Greatrex had 13 children (8 sons and 5 daughters). Of these 6 were born to his first wife between 1816 and 1824 and 7 were born to his second wife between 1827 and 1840 (when he was aged 48).

Thomas Underhill of Tipton M.R.C.S. 1791-1853

13

Underhill had 13 children (4 sons and 7 daughters) born to his only wife between 1814 and 1829 (when he was aged 38).

Charles Edward Eliot Welchman of Lichfield M.R.C.S. 1822-1877

13

Welchman had 13 children (8 sons and 5 daughters) born to his only wife between 1847 and 1868 (when he was aged 46).

M2.4 Cohabitant marriages and illegitimate children

Men and women who were not legally married but cohabited (that is to say, lived with each other as man and wife) might be styled *cohabitants*³⁴⁵. A woman who did not live with a man but had an enduring sexual relationship with him might be styled a *mistress*. Both a woman cohabitant and a mistress might become a mother to children of the union. In either case these *natural* children would be legally considered illegitimate.

In most cases it is impossible to decide whether a woman was in fact a cohabitant or a mistress and in the register if a man had illegitimate children by a woman they are considered to have had a *cohabitant marriage* signified by the abbreviation *cohab*.

Twelve men are known (or thought) to have had cohabitant marriages all of which resulted in the birth of illegitimate children except in the case of Samuel Hudson (1841). The earliest was Robert James M.D. (1756) whilst the next and most famous was Erasmus Darwin (1771) whose two illegitimate daughters later ran a private girls' school. Only one man Richard Crewe (1789) later formally married his cohabitant wife.

Robert James of Lichfield M.D. 1703-1776 [OB]

1756

About 1756 probably had a cohabitant marriage with Ann Stephens who was became the mother of his five (presumably) illegitimate children - 3 sons and 2 daus. In his will she is called his "wife Mrs Ann James otherwise Stephens".

(27 Jul 1774) Robert James of Bruton Street, Saint George Hanover Square, Middx Doctor in Physick ... wife Mrs Ann James otherwise Stephens... son Robert Harcourt James by the said Mrs Ann James [etc] ... [son] George James ... [son] Pinkstan James ... [dau] Frances Ann James ... [dau] Elizabeth Anne James ... [Will]

Erasmus Darwin of Lichfield M.B. 1731-1802 [OB]

1771

After the death of his first wife Darwin may, about 1771, have had a cohabitant marriage with Mary Parker, his family governess. By him she was the mother of two illegitimate daughters who were later to run a private girls' school. In this connection Darwin wrote *A plan for the conduct of female education, in boarding-schools* (1797).

William Hassell of Wolverhampton surgeon 1752-1795

1781

About 1781 Hassell may have had a cohabitant marriage with a woman who became the mother of his illegitimate daughter Mary.

(19 Feb 1795) William Hassell of Wolverhampton surgeon ... natural daughter Mary Hassell ... [Will (PCC)]

Edmund Walker of Stafford apprentice ?1752-?1789

1786

[He] provided in his will for a young girl probably his illegitimate daughter by a cohabitant marriage of about 1786.

(11 Jun 1789) Edmund Walker of Eccleshall gentleman ... Sarah Blakeman ... maintenance and education of Mary Blakeman (natural daughter of Sarah) ...[will]

Richard Crewe of Newcastle surgeon ?1768-1819

1789

Crewe had a cohabitant marriage about 1789 with Mary Cook who became the mother of his illegitimate daughter Catherine. In 1807 Crewe and Mary Cook were married.

(11 Jun 1819) Richard Crewe of Newcastle surgeon ... wife Mary ... ?reputed daughter Catherine Cook by my said wife Mary ... under £1,500
(16 Dec 1826) Mary Crewe of Newcastle widow ... [all] to her daughter Catherine Cook otherwise Crewe of Newcastle spinster ... under £300

George Knutton of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S. 1762-1807

1789

In 1795 Knutton appears to have styled himself M.D. and it is possible that he had trained as a physician in Paris. About 1789 Knutton may have had a cohabitant marriage with a woman (perhaps a Parisian) who became the mother of his illegitimate son George who also lived in Paris for some time.

(8 & 10 Jul 1807) George Knutton of Wolverhampton surgeon... natural son George Knutton late of Paris but now of London apprentice to Messrs ?Phancox and son tailors ... [Will]

James Bennett of Lichfield M.R.C.S. e1763-?1823

1804

His cohabitant wife had an illegitimate daughter, Jane Taylor, christened at Lichfield in 1804 where they had likely settled.

(29 Jan 1822) James Bennett now residing in the city of Lichfield doctor of physick my library of books I give and bequeath to my friend William Wallman Pattison of Lichfield surgeon ... natural daughter Jane Taylor now residing with Mrs ?Nevill of Chebsey

Thomas Salt of Abbots Bromley surgeon ?1749-1817

1805

After the death of his first wife he may have had a cohabitant marriage about 1805 with Elizabeth Cope who subsequently had three illegitimate daughters likely fathered by him.

(29 Jun 1813) Thomas Salt of Abbots Bromley surgeon ... Elizabeth Cope now with me ... [her three children] Elizabeth, Charlotte and Mary Ann Salt Cope ... [Will]

Walter Ward of Lichfield surgeon 1783-1830

1823

About 1823 Ward had a cohabitant marriage with Martha Wilkinson who became the mother of his three illegitimate children - the last born posthumously. They were christened as Mary, Walter and Henry Wilkinson but in his will and subsequently all were known as Ward Wilkinson.

(2 Oct 1830) Walter Ward of Lichfield surgeon ... Martha Wilkinson and Mary Ward Wilkinson and Walter Ward Wilkinson the two illegitimate children children of Martha Wilkinson and the child or children she may be ensient with ... [Will]

(1850) Plaintiffs: Walter Ward Wilkinson (otherwise Walter Ward) ... Defendants: Henry Ward Wilkinson... [NA] C 14/1192/W45

John Cooke Chawner of Stoke-upon-Trent surgeon ?1793-1860

1831

³⁴⁵ Or, cohobitees. A cohabiting couple might sometimes be said to have a *common law marriage* and be styled *common law husband* and *common law wife*. These styles are not generally found in use in publications much before the 1850s but by the mid 20C were commonplace. English law never did recognise common law marriage.

He was living at Holborn, Middx in 1818 when he married his first wife from whom he separated. He had probably settled at Hanley in Stoke-upon-Trent by 1831 when he entered into a second cohabitant marriage with a midwife who was 23 years his junior. They subsequently appear to have had six illegitimate children but it is possible that some were adopted.

Samuel Hudson of Kingswinford L.S.A. 1804-1854 **1841**

By 1841 he was living with a cohabitant wife, Sarah Nicholds, whom he later married in 1848.

William Palmer of Rugeley M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1824-1856 **1855**

About 1855 Palmer had a cohabitant marriage with a woman who became the mother of his illegitimate son Alfred Tharme.

M2.5 Separation

Ten men are known (or thought) to have separated from their wives after about 1831. Others may have done - but evidence for separation is most often found in the censuses which only identify individuals from 1841.

John Cooke Chawner of Stoke-upon-Trent surgeon ?1793-1860 **1831**

He was living at Holborn, Middx in 1818 when he married his first wife from whom he separated. He had probably settled at Hanley in Stoke-upon-Trent by 1831 when he entered into a second cohabitant marriage with a midwife who was 23 years his junior.

Charles William Alsop of Ipstones surgeon 1806-1872 **1841**

Alsop, who married in 1829, appears to have separated from his wife at some time between 1841 and 1851.

Daniel Antrobus of Stoke-upon-Trent L.S.A. 1814-1872 **1841**

Antrobus may have married, aged only 19, in 1833 at London where he may have been training. He appears to have separated from his wife at some time between 1841 and 1851.

James Hancox Culwick of Sedgley M.R.C.S. 1781-1864 **1841**

Culwick, who married in 1806, appears to have separated from his wife probably before 1841.

Henry Duffort of Stoke-upon-Trent surgeon 1789-1855 **1841**

Duffort, who married in 1812, appears to have separated from his wife before 1841. In his will he made significant bequests to his housekeeper Lydia Bate and her daughter Emma suggesting a close attachment.

Joseph Froysell of Willenhall L.R.C.P.E. c1806-1869 **1846**

Froysell, who married in 1833, appears to have separated from his wife before he moved in 1846 to Willenhall

Henry John Perry of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1804-1864 **1851**

Perry, who married in 1829, may have separated from his wife who was living in London with two daughters in 1851.

Edward Smith Walters of Leek M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1813-1867 **p1851**

Walters, who married in 1844, may have separated from his wife some time after 1851.

William Warham of Newcastle surgeon 1803-1885 **1851**

Warham, who married in 1835, separated from his wife perhaps before 1851 and may have divorced about 1867.

Benjamin Miller of Rugeley M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1824-1875 **1866**

When Miller married a second time in 1856 a marriage settlement provided for his wife to receive the interest of £8,000 for her own separate use. In 1866 she separated from her husband, alleging cruelty, and he subsequently sued "for the restitution of conjugal rights". On the court deciding in his favour his wife went abroad and probably died there.

(21 May 1870) By the marriage settlement of Benjamin Miller and Maria Mary Babington, widow, a sum of £8,000 was assigned to Rowland Miller (brother of Benjamin Miller) and Alfred Jones, upon trust to invest the same as therein mentioned, and pay the income thereof to Maria Mary Babington for her life for her separate use, ... The settlement was dated the 30th of July, 1856, and the marriage took place the same day. The sum of £8,000 was, shortly after the execution of the settlement, paid to Rowland Miller and Alfred Jones, and invested by them in pursuance of the trusts of the settlement. ... Benjamin Miller and his wife did not live happily together. In the month of November, 1866, Mrs. Miller left her husband's house, and from that time lived apart from him. On the 11th of March, 1868, Benjamin Miller instituted a suit for the restitution of conjugal rights. Mrs. Miller, in her answer, charged her husband with numerous acts of cruelty towards her. The suit came on for hearing before the Judge Ordinary and a special jury on the 14th of July, 1869, when a verdict was found on all the issues raised for Benjamin Miller, and the Judge Ordinary at once pronounced a decree directing Mrs. Miller to return to her husband. Immediately after the decree was pronounced, Mrs. Miller withdrew herself from the jurisdiction of the Court, and she has ever since remained abroad. [There follows a long account of subsequent legal and financial wranglings] [Weekly Reporter XVIII]

M2.6 Adultery

Evidence of adultery is naturally hard to find. John Smith (c1772) was accused of displaying "an example of irregularity" which might have been adultery. Dale (1856), a bachelor, was successfully sued at the Stafford Assizes³⁴⁶ for "criminal conversation" [adultery]. Willington (1861) divorced his wife on the grounds of her adultery. Glover (1864) committed adultery with a patient. Finally Abercrombie (1896) appears to have died the day after he stayed the night at a hotel with a mistress described as "a lady supposed at the time to be his wife".

John Smith of Walsall surgeon & apothecary c1718-?1783 **c1772**

In an 1802 obituary of his apprentice Thomas Foxall, Smith (identified only as Foxall's "master") was accused of displaying "an example of irregularity" (? adultery) during the apprenticeship (1772/9).

(1802) OBITUARY. Mr Thomas Foxall of Walsall.... At a proper age he was apprenticed to an eminent surgeon and apothecary at Walsall; under whom Mr Foxall had every advantage of obtaining a thorough knowledge of his profession. This, at the same time, was unhappily balanced by an example of irregularity, which, when exhibited in a master, seldom fails to propagate its influence upon his observing dependents ... [Evangelical Magazine X 1802 p406-8, with details of his religious development]

James Dale of Stoke-upon-Trent M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1817-1860 **1856**

(4 Apr 1856) Mr Rogers, an actor, sued Mr James Dale, surgeon, Hanley, at the Stafford assizes last week to recover damages for criminal conversation with his (plaintiff's) wife. Mrs Rogers' maiden name was Catherine Donovan. [The Rogers ran the Saracen's Head Hotel] ...

³⁴⁶ See also §N3.1856

[Witnesses] all declared they had seen Mrs Rogers and Mr Dale go into the bed-room together ... [evidence that Rogers had mistreated his wife] ... The jury gave the plaintiff £50. [Derby Advertiser]

Alfred Gilbert Willington of Handsworth M.D. 1821-1901

1861

Willington, who married his first wife in 1849, divorced her in 1861 on the grounds of her adultery.

(18 Jun 1861) Court for Divorce and Matrimonial Causes June 14 (Abridged from the Times's Report) WILLINGTON v WILLINGTON AND DALRYMPLE ... Theophilus Alfred Gilbert Willington prayed for a dissolution of his marriage with Mary Lauderdale Willington on the ground of her adultery with William Dalrymple ... became acquainted with the respondent whose maiden name was Blaikie at Edinburgh about 1847 and after about two years courtship married her on the 26th July 1849. She had some property which was settled upon her. They lived happily together for seven or eight years but she then took to drinking ... in December 1857 Mrs Willington had passed a night on her way from Scotland [where her mother lived] to Birmingham at an hotel at the Beattock Railway Station with Mr Dalrymple, a Writer to the Signet in Edinburgh ... [A letter dated 5 Dec 1859 from Willington to his mother in law, states] ... "Ever since Dalrymple seduced her she has given way to such awful tempers. She swears at me, calls me a ---- fool and a ---- liar and names I cannot write to you." ... [much other evidence is printed] ... The Judge-Ordinary in summing up said the only questions for the jury were whether adultery had been committed at Beattock in December 1857 and at Edinburgh between February and April 1860. The jury answered both questions in the affirmative ... His Lordship granted a decree nisi with costs against the co-respondent. [Dundee, Perth and Cupar Advertiser]

William Short Glover of Wolverhampton medical assistant 1818-1866

1864

About 1864 whilst an assistant to a "Dr Thomas" at Wolverhampton he committed adultery with a patient, a married woman. On this misbehaviour being discovered he left the area with his family.

(15 Jun 1867) DISSOLUTION OF A MARRIAGE In the Divorce Court the cause of Steen v Steen and Glover has been tried. The petitioner who is a printer and stationer at Wolverhampton ... married the respondent ... and had some children. In 1861 they made the acquaintance of William Short Glover a surgeon who attended the petitioner's family ... He was a married man with a family ... In October 1864 ... Mrs Steen ... confessed to her husband ... adultery with Mr Glover ... She repeated the confession to Dr Thomas ... Mr Glover and his family soon after left the neighbourhood ... and he has since died. Mr Glover had formerly been the assistant of Dr Thomas ... [Judge] pronounced a decree nisi for the dissolution of the marriage [Walsall Free Press]

Robert Abercrombie of West Bromwich M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1825-1896

1896

He died of apoplexy, aged 71, on 21 Jul 1896 in the Great Western Hotel at Cardiff where he had stayed the night before with "a lady supposed at the time to be his wife" and had presumably committed adultery.

(1 Aug 1896) SUDDEN DEATH OF A LONDON DOCTOR AT CARDIFF Shortly after noon on Tuesday a doctor named Robert Abercrombie of Claremont Square, Pentonville Road, London was discovered dead in a bedroom of an hotel at Cardiff. It appears that he and a lady supposed at the time to be his wife arrived from Bristol at the hotel at about ten o'clock on Monday evening. They gave the names of Mr and Mrs Tomlinson. When the body was discovered a number of cards were found in one of the pockets one bearing the following "Robert Abercrombie, Senior Medical Official in 1858 to Hulme's Institution for the Cure of Diseases of the Chest, Cancer, Tumour &c. 10 Claremont Square, London N." The deceased was about sixty years of age, the lady being apparently under thirty. She had left the hotel before the body was found by servants. The deceased was almost entirely dressed when discovered, and it is thought he had been seized with a fit while dressing and had lain on the bed where he was found quite cold at noon. The deceased wore some valuable jewellery which was intact. Dr. Mullin who was called in gave it as his opinion that apoplexy was the cause of death. [The Illustrated Police News]

M2.7 Divorce

Prior to 1857 a private act of parliament was required to obtain a divorce. Between 1700 and 1857 there are said to have been 314 acts each of which might have cost £200 thus limiting divorce to the very wealthiest classes. In 1857 the *The matrimonial causes act* {20 & 21 Victoria c85} allowed for the creation of a new civil court in London to handle all divorce cases. The cost was now reduced to about £40. Both men and women could sue for divorce on the ground of adultery additionally wives could allege cruelty and desertion. In 1878 further changes were introduced which allowed local justices of the peace some powers.

Three cohort³⁴⁷ men may have divorced:

Alfred Gilbert Willington of Handsworth M.D. 1821-1901

1861

Willington, who married his first wife in 1849, divorced her in 1861 on the grounds of her adultery.

(18 Jun 1861) Court for Divorce and Matrimonial Causes June 14 (Abridged from the Times's Report) WILLINGTON v WILLINGTON AND DALRYMPLE ... Theophilus Alfred Gilbert Willington prayed for a dissolution of his marriage with Mary Lauderdale Willington on the ground of her adultery with William Dalrymple ... became acquainted with the respondent whose maiden name was Blaikie at Edinburgh about 1847 and after about two years courtship married her on the 26th July 1849. She had some property which was settled upon her. They lived happily together for seven or eight years but she then took to drinking ... in December 1857 Mrs Willington had passed a night on her way from Scotland [where her mother lived] to Birmingham at an hotel at the Beattock Railway Station with Mr Dalrymple, a Writer to the Signet in Edinburgh ... [A letter dated 5 Dec 1859 from Willington to his mother in law, states] ... "Ever since Dalrymple seduced her she has given way to such awful tempers. She swears at me, calls me a ---- fool and a ---- liar and names I cannot write to you." ... [much other evidence is printed] ... The Judge-Ordinary in summing up said the only questions for the jury were whether adultery had been committed at Beattock in December 1857 and at Edinburgh between February and April 1860. The jury answered both questions in the affirmative ... His Lordship granted a decree nisi with costs against the co-respondent. [Dundee, Perth and Cupar Advertiser]

John Theophilus Heeley of Stone medical assistant 1830-1910

?1866

Heeley married his first wife in 1859 but in 1862 emigrated to New Zealand without her or his children. In 1864 he re-emigrated to Australia where he settled in Victoria but by 1880 had moved to New South Wales where he died, aged 80, on 16 Jun 1910. In Australia Heeley is said to have married a second wife in 1866. It is not known if he had by then divorced his first wife. His second marriage may have been a cohabitant marriage or possibly bigamous.

William Warham of Newcastle surgeon 1803-1885

1867

Warham, who married in 1835, separated from his wife perhaps before 1851 and may have divorced about 1867.

Court for Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Anne WARHAM v William WARHAM (endorsed dismissed 26th November 1868) 23 Nov 1867 Petition filed for alimony ... respondent do pay £73 per annum [and other longer documents]

M3 Mental illness³⁴⁷

³⁴⁷ Some account of Staffordshire mad-doctors and madhouses is given in §D6.

Four (or five) men who appear to have suffered mental illness were amongst the six (or seven) men known to have died by suicide (see §M4.2.2). Henry Pitt (1808) hanged himself at Proud's Madhouse at Bilston but it is unclear whether he was a visitor or a patient; James Bent (1812) "was of a peculiar mental organization" and may have committed suicide; Thomas William Ransom (1868) was "liable to fits of temporary insanity"; Charles Holland (1876) in his final years "suffered such terrible pain as to produce suicidal mania" and George Smith (1878) "committed suicide by drowning himself while in a state of temporary insanity".

Henry Pitt of Walsall surgeon & apothecary 1761-1808

1808

(6 Aug 1808) "Saturday, August 6th, 1808. I took a walk with Mr John Marlow to Darlaston, Bilston, Wednesbury and Bromwich, and this same day a friend, Mr Henry Pitt, Surgeon, hanged himself at Proud's Madhouse – a dreadful deed! The only supposed inducement to the horrid fact was the love of money although he was very rich. May God have mercy on him and protect us. [Internet, blackcountrybugle]

James Bent of Newcastle M.D. 1741-1812

1812

Bent was of a peculiar mental organization, and unfortunately committed suicide; but the immediate cause of the act is thought to have been gout, retrocedent to the brain, from placing the inflamed foot in cold water. He was the son of W. Bent, brewer, of Newcastle, and father of Dr. Richard Bent, who succeeded him. He was also uncle of Sir J. Bent, brewer, of Liverpool; and the respected Dr. Bent, of Derby, was of the same family, and unfortunately of the same morbid constitution of mind just alluded to. [LANGFORD, but NOTE James Bent was not son of W. Bent. James was father of Dr [Thomas] Bent of Derby. That James Bent committed suicide has not been found reported elsewhere.]

Thomas William Ransom of Darlaston F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. ?1814-1868

1868

(26 Sep 1868) DISTRESSING SUICIDE OF A DARLASTON SURGEON ... enquiry ... death of Thomas William Ransom of the firm of Ransom and Latham surgeons. ... On Tuesday [22 Sep] morning about a quarter to 10 o'clock ... [maid and mistress] ... dining room ... found the deceased lying on the hearth rug ... prussic acid ... liable to fits of temporary insanity ... singular coincidence that deceased committed suicide on the same day of the month, at the same hour of the day and with the same drug as his assistant Mr W.H. Johnson who eight years before committed suicide in the same house ... [Birmingham Journal]

Charles Holland of Penkridge M.D. 1801-1876

1876

(25 Mar 1876) THE LATE DR. HOLLAND On Tuesday night an inquest was held at the Chequers Inn, Stowe Street, touching the death of Dr. Charles Holland. ... He was 74 years of age had long been invalided and latterly had suffered such terrible pain as to produce suicidal mania ... [He hanged himself] ... Dr. Wainwright the half brother of the deceased ... He had been married three[sic] times, but had no issue ... He was a magistrate for the county of Stafford. [STS:ADV]

George Smith of Dilhorne M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1813-1878

1878

(22 Jun 1878) Melancholy Suicide of a Gentleman. On Saturday afternoon [15 Jun] ... an inquest at the Town Hall ... George Smith, aged 65, who committed suicide on the previous day [14 Jun] ... body of a man in the water ... in the side pockets of the coat he discovered some stones and portions of bricks ... Mr George Kirby Smith surgeon deposed that his father resided with him in Sheep street ... verdict ... deceased committed suicide by drowning himself while in a state of temporary insanity. [Northampton Mercury]

Another ten men are also known or thought to have suffered mental illness. At the trial for murder of Thomas Milward Oliver (1797) evidence was introduced that he suffered mental illness but in the event he was convicted. John Howe was a patient at Staffordshire County Lunatic Asylum (at Stafford) from 1819 to 1824. Thomas Phillips (1821) was the subject of a commission of lunacy in 1821 and this might be the long and afflicting illness he suffered before his death the following year. Alfred James Simkins (1859) died at Coton Hill (where he might have been a patient at the Lunatic Asylum). Walter Scott (1860) was a patient at Coton Hill Lunatic Asylum at Stafford until his death. George Bagnall (1871) was a patient at Burman House Lunatic Asylum, Henley-in-Arden, Warwicks from 1871 until his death. Bryan Nelson (1872) was admitted to Haydock Lunatic Asylum in 1872 and probably died there, aged 63, on 24 Aug 1876. Charles Oakley (1875) was a private patient at Northampton Lunatic Asylum during his last year. Edwin Bishop (1877) was a patient at (?Northampton) Lunatic Asylum from 1874 until his death and Charles Augustus Cripps (1891) was that year a patient at Powick District Pauper Lunatic Asylum, Worcs.

Thomas Milward Oliver of Burslem surgeon & apothecary 1767-1797

1797

At Burslem he formed an attachment for a daughter of John Wood whose family were his patients. Wood forbid the relationship and in retaliation Oliver mortally wounded him. During his court case, at Stafford Assizes, evidence was introduced that he and his family suffered from mental illness but the jury found him guilty of murder and he died - hanged for murder - on 28 Aug 1797, aged 30, at Stafford County Gaol. Following the custom of the time his body was, the same day, taken to Stafford General Infirmary and anatomised. He was buried on 29 Aug at Old Swinford. A detailed account of the trial was published soon after as *Trial of T. Milward Oliver, at Stafford Summer Assizes, 1797, before the Honourable Baron Perryn for the murder of Mr John Wood, an eminent potter, at Brownhill in the county of Stafford: Stafford, printed and sold by J. Drewry, at the office of the Staffordshire Advertiser.*

John Howe of Wolverhampton surgeon c1783-1861

1819-1824

... that year [1819 he] was admitted as a lunatic to Staffordshire County Lunatic Asylum (at Stafford). He was still ill in 1824 when his mother mentions in her will "my son John Howe ... during such time as he shall continue lunatic".

Thomas Phillips of Wolverhampton surgeon & apothecary ?1773-1822

1821

Phillips was the subject of a commission of lunacy in 1821 and this might be the long and afflicting illness he suffered before his death.

Alfred James Simkins of Alstonfield M.R.C.S. 1816-1859

1859

On 15 Mar 1859 he died of a long illness, aged 43, at Coton Hill (where he might have been a patient at the Lunatic Asylum). His effects were valued under £50.

Walter Scott of Newcastle M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1811-1860

1860

In Aug 1854 a few months after the death of an infant daughter he appears to have become mentally ill and was admitted to Coton Hill Lunatic Asylum at Stafford and there he died, aged 48, on 19 Apr 1860.

George Bagnall of West Bromwich M.D. 1806-1875

1871

... in 1871 he was confined as a lunatic at Burman House Lunatic Asylum, Henley-in-Arden, Warwicks. He died, aged 69, on 12 Mar 1875 probably at the asylum.

Bryan Nelson of Rugeley medical assistant 1813-1876

1872

He was admitted to Haydock Lunatic Asylum in 1872 and probably died there, aged 63, on 24 Aug 1876 with burial on 30 Aug at his birthplace Bolton-le-Sands.

Charles Oakley of Willenhall L.R.C.P.E. 1817-1875**1875**

... he was a Physician Extraordinary to the Salop Infirmary. He appears to have become mentally ill and on 7 Jan 1875 was admitted as a private patient to Northampton Lunatic Asylum where he died, aged 57, on 17 Apr 1875.

Edwin Bishop of Wolverhampton apprentice 1817-1877**1877**

About 1864 he moved to Culworth Hall, Northants where he and subsequently his wife appear to have conducted a private lunatic asylum. He was himself confined in (?Northampton) Lunatic Asylum from 1874 until he died of general paralysis of the insane (GPI), aged 60, on 1 May 1877.

Charles Augustus Cripps of Newcastle medical assistant 1830-1906**1891**

At Worcester Police Court in 1875 Cripps was charged with being disorderly but was discharged with a caution. This misbehaviour might have been an indication of incipient mental illness for he was by 1891 a lunatic patient at Powick District Pauper Lunatic Asylum. He died, aged 76, about May 1906 in or near Upton-on-Severn, Worcs.

M4 Death and burial

M4.2 Causes of death; M4.3 Gravestones and monuments

M4.2 Causes of death

The circumstances of the death of 105 men are known from obituaries in local newspapers and other sources³⁴⁸. Many simply mention a long illness (24), a short illness (9) or that they died suddenly (14).

Three men were hanged for murder (§M4.2.1), six committed suicide (§M4.2.2) and ten died in accidents (§M4.2.3). A further 40 men died of specified conditions. Of these, three were medics who died as a result of their medical duties - one of gaol fever and two of cholera (§M4.2.4).

M4.2.1 Hangings

Three cohort* men were hanged for murder. Richard Cromwell of Lichfield surgeon 1645-1691 was the author of *The happy sinner: or, the penitent malefactor. being the prayers and last words of one Richard Cromwel* (see §H2). Thomas Milward Oliver of Burslem surgeon & apothecary 1767-1797 was hanged at Stafford County Gaol for the murder of one of his patients John Wood. Following the custom of the time his body was, the same day, taken to Stafford General Infirmary and anatomised (see §N3.1797). William Palmer of Rugeley M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1824-1856 was, on 26 May 1856, found guilty in a court case at the Central Criminal Court, Old Bailey, London of the poisoning of John Parsons Cook of Lutterworth, Leics at Rugeley on 21 Nov 1855. He was hanged, aged 32, on 14 Jun 1856 at Stafford County Gaol. Palmer who became known as "the Rugeley poisoner" was involved in many different criminal activities (see §N3.1856a).

M4.2.2 Suicide

Six (or seven) men are known to have died by suicide. Henry Pitt (1808) and Charles Holland (1876) hanged themselves. Richard Croft (1818) died in London after having unsuccessfully attended Princess Charlotte in childbirth and George Smith (1878) died in Northampton. The other five men died in Staffordshire in 1808, 1812, 1864, 1868 and 1876. As the reports below show the suicides were often suffering from mental illness.

Henry Pitt of Walsall surgeon & apothecary 1761-1808**1808**

(6 Aug 1808) "Saturday, August 6th, 1808. I took a walk with Mr John Marlow to Darlaston, Bilston, Wednesbury and Bromwich, and this same day a friend, Mr Henry Pitt, Surgeon, hanged himself at Proud's Madhouse – a dreadful deed! The only supposed inducement to the horrid fact was the love of money although he was very rich. May God have mercy on him and protect us. [Internet, blackcountrybugle]

James Bent of Newcastle M.D. 1741-1812**1812**

Bent was of a peculiar mental organization, and unfortunately committed suicide; but the immediate cause of the act is thought to have been gout, retrocedent to the brain, from placing the inflamed foot in cold water. He was the son of W. Bent, brewer, of Newcastle, and father of Dr. Richard Bent, who succeeded him. He was also uncle of Sir J. Bent, brewer, of Liverpool; and the respected Dr. Bent, of Derby, was of the same family, and unfortunately of the same morbid constitution of mind just alluded to. [LANGFORD, but NOTE James Bent was not son of W. Bent. James was father of Dr [Thomas] Bent of Derby. That James Bent committed suicide has not been found reported elsewhere.]

Richard Croft of Tutbury M.D. 1762-1818 [OB]**1818**

He attended the Princess Charlotte who died in childbirth on 6 Nov 1817. Affected by this circumstance he died by suicide in London, aged 56, on 13 Feb 1818.

Frederick Young Trigg of Newcastle "surgeon" ?1823-1864**1864**

(23 Jan 1864) A SAD CONCLUSION {Newcastle} ... Frederick Young Trigg generally known as "Dr Trigg" ... [for] a long time past both himself and family had been suffering from poverty caused in great measure by his intemperate habits ... went into a beerhouse [near his] house in York Street ... [at 8.30 am on 20 Jan] ... [told landlady] he had taken four pills of extract of opium ... [went home at midday] ... he sank and a little before six o'clock the same evening he died. On the evening of the next day [inquest jury found that] deceased had died from poison administered by his own hand while in a sound state of mind. The deceased was 45 years of age and has left a family of six children. [STS:ADV]

Thomas William Ransom of Darlaston F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. ?1814-1868**1868**

(26 Sep 1868) DISTRESSING SUICIDE OF A DARLASTON SURGEON ... enquiry ... death of Thomas William Ransom of the firm of Ransom and Latham surgeons. ... On Tuesday [22 Sep] morning about a quarter to 10 o'clock ... [maid and mistress] ... dining room ... found the deceased lying on the hearth rug ... prussic acid ... liable to fits of temporary insanity ... singular coincidence that deceased committed suicide on the same day of the month, at the same hour of the day and with the same drug as his assistant Mr W.H. Johnson who eight years before committed suicide in the same house ... [Birmingham Journal]

Charles Holland of Penkridge M.D. 1801-1876**1876**

(25 Mar 1876) THE LATE DR. HOLLAND On Tuesday night an inquest was held at the Chequers Inn, Stowe Street, touching the death of Dr. Charles Holland. ... He was 74 years of age had long been invalided and latterly had suffered such terrible pain as to produce suicidal mania ... [He hanged himself] ... Dr. Wainwright the half brother of the deceased ... He had been married three[sic] times, but had no issue ... He was a magistrate for the county of Stafford. [STS:ADV]

³⁴⁸ Examination of the death certificates of men who died after registration was introduced in 1837 would reveal fuller information.

George Smith of Dilhorne M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1813-1878 1878
 (22 Jun 1878) Melancholy Suicide of a Gentleman. On Saturday afternoon [15 Jun] ... an inquest at the Town Hall ... George Smith, aged 65, who committed suicide on the previous day [14 Jun] ... body of a man in the water ... in the side pockets of the coat he discovered some stones and portions of bricks ... Mr George Kirby Smith surgeon deposed that his father resided with him in Sheep street ... verdict ... deceased committed suicide by drowning himself while in a state of temporary insanity. [Northampton Mercury]

M4.2.3 Accidents

Of the ten men who died by accident four were horse riding (1796, 1834, 1841 and 1882) and two were in horse carriages (1838 and 1856). One man was killed in a railway accident (1881), one by drowning (1849), one by a domestic fall (1843) and one by a medication overdose (1888).

Francis Goodwin of Lichfield apprentice 1766-1796 1796
 (11 Aug 1796) On Sunday [7 Aug] morning, in the prime of life (in consequence of a fall from his horse the preceding evening, by which his skull was fractured and his body much bruised in different parts) Mr Francis Goodwin surgeon and apothecary of Ashborne in this county [Derby Mercury]

Charles Bingham of Lichfield L.S.A. c1794-1834 1834
 (29 Nov 1834) On Tuesday night last [25 Nov] in the prime of life Mr Charles Bingham of Boar-street, Lichfield surgeon. The unfortunate gentleman's death was occasioned by his horse falling on the previous Sunday week ... [STS:ADV]

William Flamank Blick of Stone 1783-1838 1838
 (24 Aug 1838) INQUEST ... On the 20th at Wathamstow on the body of William Flamanke Blicke Esq M.D. who was thrown from his gig on Saturday last [18 Aug] on his return from London and killed upon the spot. Verdict: Accident Death.

Joseph Brindley of Leek L.S.A. ?1801-1841 1841
 (1 May 1841) FATAL ACCIDENT AT LEEK ... [inquest, Tuesday week] Joseph Brindley surgeon ... [Monday night] was at the Abbey Bowling Green Inn, Leek and left between nine and ten o'clock for his residence mounted on a spirited horse ... bottom of Mill Street ... thrown with great violence to the ground, whereby his head was fractured and death almost instantly ensued. A verdict of "accidental death" was returned. [Sheffield Independent]

John Rice of Eccleshall M.R.C.S. 1788-1843 1843
 (2 Oct 1843) On Tuesday last [26 Sep] at Eccleshall, aged 55, John Rice Esq surgeon. Mr Rice's death was occasioned by a melancholy accident. It is supposed that, in the night of Tuesday, feeling unwell, he rose from bed, and was about to proceed downstairs, but owing to the darkness, unfortunately mistook his way, and was precipitated head foremost over the banisters, which were exceedingly low, and falling with violence on the stone pavement below, dislocated his spine. His death was instantaneous. [Aris's Birmingham Gazette]

John Eld of Wolverhampton c1788-?1849 1849
 (5 Sep 1849) August 30, at Trysull, John Eld Esq. aged 61. In attempting to wash his hands in a pool on the estate of H. Jesson Esq. Mr Eld fell into the water and was drowned before assistance could be procured. Mr Eld was a gentleman of great attainments, benevolent and ever earnest to promote the happiness of others. His memory will be long revered by a numerous circle of friends and acquaintance. [WTON:CHR]

William Dawes of Stoke-upon-Trent L.S.A. 1800-1856 1856
 (10 May 1856) THE LATE MR DAWES. ... death of William Dawes Esq. who was going through Fenton about five weeks ago when it is supposed his horse set his foot upon some substance which threw him down and the deceased gentleman fell upon the dashboard ... brought on his death on the 2nd instant at the age of 36[sic, recte 56]. [Staffordshire Sentinel]

Stephen Shute Alford of Stoke-upon-Trent F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1821-1881 1881
 (railway accident)

Edward Lloyd of Tamworth M.D. 1820-1882 1882
 (14 Dec 1882) Dr Lloyd formerly of Castella Fawr, Llantrisant, Glamorganshire has just died near Rhyl, North Wales, It seems that Dr Lloyd died from the results of a surgical operation which had become necessary owing to the effects of an accident sustained by falling from his horse at Castella several years ago. [Western Mail]

James Bell Jardine of Stoke-upon-Trent M.D. 1807-1888 1888
 (15 Sep 1888) JBJ ... death ... at Chatham on August 24th ... 81. Nearly half a century ago he settled at Chatham where he remained in active practice until a few days before his death from an overdose of [self-administered] morphine [British Medical Journal (15 Sep 1888) p645]

M4.2.4 Specified conditions

Forty men died of the following specified conditions: apoplexy (10), burst blood-vessel (2), chest condition (1), cholera (2), consumption (1), pulmonary consumption (1), decline (2), diphtheria (1), erysipelas (1), fever (2), fever after cholera (1), gaol fever (1), gout (1), GPI - general paralysis of the insane (1), heart attack (1), heart disease (3), liver disease (1), lung disease (2), post-operation (1), sunstroke (1), syncope (1) and typhus (3).

Of these men three died as a result of their medical duties and a fourth perhaps as a result of taking his own preparation of medicine (see §G11). The 1832 Bilston cholera outbreak is discussed in §Y.1832.

John Altree of Wolverhampton, Staffs M.D. 1701-1751 1751
 Mr Altree a person I had some intimacy with when he practised as a surgeon, man-midwife and apothecary at Wolverhampton, some time after settled in London. He one day in conversation told me that he had certainly discovered the preparation of my Powders. ... The Doctor very certain that he was in the secret of my powder practised with it during a few months with success not much to be boasted of. But at last he himself contracted a fever. He did not fail to take his [powder] till in a few days he became delirious ... he very soon died by his own imprudence. [Robert James: A dissertation on fevers ...: 1778 p96] [Bo83]

Richard Hughes of Stafford surgeon & apothecary c1739-1793 1793
 Hughes is said to have died of gaol fever (probably contracted at Stafford County Gaol) with burial, aged about 54, on 14 Jun 1793 at Stafford St Mary.

Thomas Marson Waterhouse of Sedgley L.S.A. 1799-1832 1832
 On 6 Aug 1832 he was appointed a Member of the Bilston Board of Health for Cholera Outbreak and employed to assist. Later that month he contracted that disease and died of cholera, aged 33, at Bilston with burial on 24 Aug 1832 at Sedgley.

Frederic Charles Proctor of Bilston surgeon 1803-1832 1832
 By 1824 he was in practice in the Bilston area where on 6 Aug 1832 he was appointed a Member of the Bilston Board of Health for Cholera Outbreak and employed to assist. Tragically later that month he contracted that disease and died of cholera, aged 29, with burial on 23 Aug.

In 1823 an inquest was held regarding John Thompson of Wolverhampton L.S.A. 1797-1823 who died of apoplexy whilst studying in London.

(20 Aug 1823) SUDDEN DEATH An Inquest was held last night at the Marlborough Inn Blenheim-street ... on the body of John Thompson about 27 years of age. George Waite surgeon dentist Burlington street knew the deceased and attended lectures with him at Mr Brooke's; deceased called upon witness on Tuesday after attending Mr Brooke's lectures; he then appeared well ... taken ill in the Dissecting Room ... expired in a few minutes after he was removed into the parlour. Verdict "Natural Death". [Morning Post]

(20 Aug 1823) CORONER'S INQUEST ... body of John Thompson aged 22 late a pupil under Dr Brookes the anatomist at the house of that gentleman in Blenheim Street ... [Thompson] in an epileptic fit ... The deceased was considered a sedulous student and his intense application might have afflicted his mind. He had passed an examination and was about to undergo another in a very short time which caused his mind to be in a very anxious state ... Verdict "Died in a fit of apoplexy" [Morning Advertiser]

M4.3 Gravestones and monuments

The surviving families of most of the cohort men were wealthy enough to have a gravestone or more expensive monument³⁴⁹ erected and inscribed to their memory. Some such gravestones and a very few monuments have been discovered but a great many probably lie undiscovered and a great many will have been destroyed. For the most part the inscriptions simply record names and dates but a few give greater insights such as the three examples below. Blick was one of the few men to have a coat of arms (§N4.2) and this is displayed on his monument.

John Audley of Alrewas surgeon c1700-1763

(Alrewas, M.I.) To the Memory | of John Audley | late of Orgreave Surgeon | who died August ye 28th | 1763 aged 63 | Mourn not for me spectator dear | I am not dead but sleeping here | My debt is paid my grave you see | Wait but awhile you'll follow me 1763

John Marten Butt of Lichfield M.D. 1738-1769

(M.I., Bath) Sacred to the memory of Dr. John Marten Butt, F.R.S. who was born in the City of Litchfield Oct 14th 1738 died in this City Oct 18th 1769 & what was mortal of him is interr'd in an adjacent vault. He was a friendly, popular, & successful Physician. As a writer he was easy, elegant, methodical, animated, & ingenious. In conversation inexpressibly candid, never oppressive, more inclin'd to hear than to be heard, yet quick in invention, fluent in elocution, & endued with a peculiar liveliness, & social sensibility. In his moral character he was a sincere Christian, & was equally led by the finest affections as well as the purest principles to discharge the several charities & duties of life, he fulfilld them all with equal beauty and energy & therefore died Universally lamented, "Reader May the Father of all mercies grant That at his awefull Tribunal thou mayst appear With the same joy & confidence which shall then be felt By this amiable & excellent Man". [Internet and *The original Bath guide* (1811), exact wording varies] 1769

William Flamank Blick of Stone apprentice 1783-1838

(Walthamstow, M.I.) In affectionate memory of | WILLIAM FLAMANK BLICKE, Esq M.D., | Staff Surgeon in the British Army ; | and for the last 16 years an active, useful, | and charitable member of this congregation. | He was suddenly summoned on the 18th of August 1838 | (it is humbly hoped through the merits of his Saviour) | to join "the assembly of just men made perfect." | in the 55 year of his age and the 30 of his marriage. | Also of MARY LESTER BLICKE, relict | of the above who died on the 15th of Dec 1866. | Aged 79. Arms.— Upon a chevron between three leopards' heads, three pierced mullets [Blicke] impaling a fess. [*Monumental inscriptions Walthamstow Part II* (1932)] 1838

M5 Wills, administrations and estate valuations

M5.1 Introduction; M5.2 Courts of probate; M5.3 Estate valuations ; M5.4 All personalties; M5.5 Personalities - £25,000 and above; M5.6 Personalities of under £50

M5.1 Introduction

A man's *estate* consists of his *realty* (real estate, immoveables, interest in land and buildings) and his *personalty* (personal estate, moveables, money and goods - personal and business). Additionally he might both owe and be owed money. On his death assets might be valued and then distributed to qualifying parties who might be immediate or more distant relations but also business partners, creditors, mortgagees and others.

If a will had been made the testator's instructions within would largely dictate the distribution of his estate but if he died *intestate* (without making a will) other rules applied.

Wills made in an earlier period would often have a religious prologue granting the testator's soul to god and requesting a christian interment perhaps in a named burial ground. He might *devise* realty and *bequeath* personalty. The testator had also to appoint one or more executors and might appoint overseers and trustees. On his death the executor took the will to a court of probate who would examine it and if it was found to be valid³⁵⁰ would issue a "grant of probate" to the executor whose duty was then to distribute the estate according to the terms of the will.

In a case of intestacy the distribution of a man's estate would follow established legal rules and would likely descend to his living relatives with precedence to his wife, his children, his parents, his siblings (and their children), his grandparents, his aunts and uncles (and their children, i.e. his cousins). Thereafter his estate might devolve to the Crown. On an intestacy that person who was first in precedence might apply to a court of probate for "letters of administration" of the estate.

M5.2 Courts of probate

From its inception in the early 16C the anglican church had jurisdiction over nearly all wills and administrations mostly through their diocesan organisation. All of Staffordshire³⁵¹ lay in the diocese of Lichfield except Clent and Rowley Regis which were in the diocese of Worcester. Most Staffordshire wills and

³⁴⁹ There is no clear distinction between a monument and a gravestone but monuments were normally grander and were most often erected inside a church or other building.

³⁵⁰ In 1837 the *Wills Act* required, inter alia, that a testator be aged 21, that he and two witnesses sign the will all in the presence of each other, that the witnesses or their spouses could not be beneficiaries and that both realty and personalty could be disposed of.

³⁵¹ see §B1.1

administrations were then processed at Lichfield.³⁵² However a few wills and administrations were processed at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (often abbreviated as PCC). This court mainly dealt with estates which lay in more than one diocese and also, it might appear, in the estates of the wealthier classes.³⁵³

From 1 Jan 1858 *The Court of Probate act* {20 & 21 Victoria c77} (1857) replaced all the ecclesiastical courts with lay courts. The *Principal Probate Registry* was in London and there were large numbers of *District Probate Registries*. From the same date a National Probate Calendar³⁵⁴ has been kept which is a list of all wills and administrations with the name, residence, and occupation of the deceased - also recorded are the date and place of their death, the date of probate, their executors (or administrators) and an estate valuation.

M5.3 Estate valuations

Estate valuations can be obtained from inventories and wills (as briefly described below) but these generally only provide a guide to a man's personalty ignoring his realty which of course in many cases would have a greater value than his personalty.

From the mid 16C to the mid 18C inventories of the goods of the deceased were sometimes drawn up. These often include personalty (personal estate) and also debts owed to him. However they do not include realty (real estate) nor normally do they include debts that he owed to others.

From the late 18C many wills were ecclesiastically endorsed on probate with an estate valuation usually in the form "under £XXX" sometimes rendered "sub £XXX" or simply "sub XXX". It is said that these valuations included personalty and the value of leasehold lands but not of debts. As with inventory valuations they do only provide a partial estate valuation.

Wills proved from 1 Jan 1858 by the new lay registries continued to include an estate valuation in the form "Effects under £XXX". The figure is said to represent "the ceiling or upper figure of the tax band in which the gross personal estate [was] valued". It did then closely correspond to the former ecclesiastical valuations.

However from 1 Jun 1881 the estate valuation was now given as an exact figure in pounds, shillings and pence. This was a gross valuation before payment of debts and funeral expences and still excluded all realty. From 1898 the value of unsettled property was included and from 1926 much settled property.

It does then appear that all these (*personalty*) estate valuations from the mid 16C to 1897 are *roughly* comparable when the value of money over time has also been taken into consideration.

M5.4 All personalties

A total of 362 personalties have been discovered between the years 1620 and 1928 which range in value from £5 to £90,000. They total £2,148,500 and average £5,952. Before the lay registration of wills in 1858 discovery of personalties is serendipitous. After 1858 it is considerably easier.

Figures of typical personalties over time are now calculated but are only offered as a very general guide. Excluded, as *atypical*, are the 24 highest personalties of (just below) £25,000 or more and the 14 lowest (£50 and below). The individual men concerned are described below in §M5.5 and §M5.6.

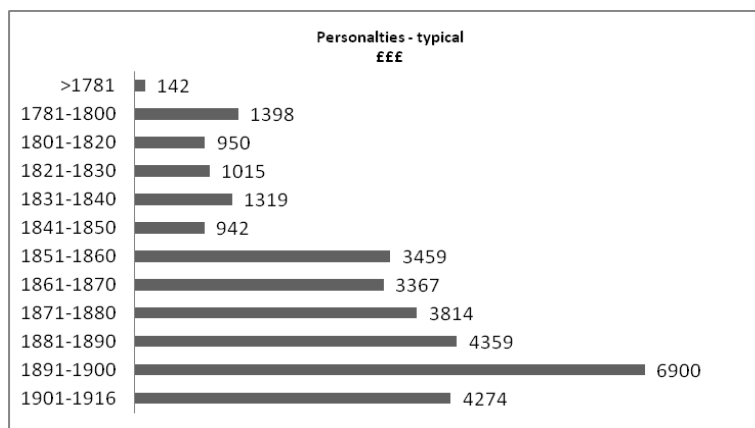
Remaining are the 324 *typical personalties* between the years 1655 and 1916. These total £1,029,888 and average £3,179. They are shown in the table and chart below.

•Personalities - typical		
Period	No	Average £
>1781	12	142
1781-1800	10	1398
1801-1820	21	950
1821-1830	17	1015
1831-1840	18	1319
1841-1850	13	942
1851-1860	27	3459
1861-1870	70	3367
1871-1880	57	3814
1881-1890	51	4359
1891-1900	20	6900
1901-1916	8	4274

³⁵² At Lichfield there were also some "peculiar" or special courts such as the Peculiar Court of the Dean of Lichfield, the Court of the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield and the prebendal courts of Alrewas and Weeford; Colwich; Eccleshall; Hansacre and Armitage; High Offley and Flixton; Longdon; Prees otherwise Pipe Minor; Whittington and Baswich. Also scattered across Staffordshire were three courts of royal peculiars at Penkridge, Tettenhall and Wolverhampton and two manorial courts at Burton-upon-Trent and Gnosall.

³⁵³ Many of the wills probated at both Lichfield and Canterbury survive as originals or contemporary copies as does some associated documentation.

³⁵⁴ Available on Ancestry®.



The figure for before 1781 is fairly meaningless and that for 1901-1916 may be affected by the old age of the men involved. Between 1781 and 1850 personalities seem to be fairly stable and average £1,103. The large increase in the next decade 1851-1860 is unexplained but, as stated above, until 1858 discovery of personalities was serendipitous. In the next three decades there is generally a slow increase in values but the large increase in the last decade of the 19C (1891-1900) is again unexplained.

M5.5 Personalities - £25,000 and above

Twenty-four medics had personalities assessed at £25,000 or more and were then amongst the richest of the cohort*. Such wealth is unlikely to have accrued directly from their medical work (see §G2) and in several cases the men are known to have had other business interests. All 24 men are listed in the table below ranked by the value of their personality. As can be seen they all died in the period 1869 to 1914. Ranked joint first Elwell and Russell both owned manufactories. Wyley was a wholesale druggist, Turnbull worked in life insurance, Field was a railway contractor and Goddard had investments in collieries and ironworks. The other men might have had undiscovered business interests or may have married into or inherited wealth. Holland, Greaves and Swinson do seem likely to have inherited their wealth.

•Personalities of £25,000 or above					
Name		Place	Died	£	Notes
Edward	Elwell	Walsall	1869	90000	tool manufacturer
Edward	Russell	Wednesbury	1875	90000	tube manufacturer
John	Topham	Wolverhampton	1887	89453	
Benjamin	Boothroyd	Stoke-upon-Trent	1886	81955	
Charles	Holland	Penkridge	1876	70000	inheritance
Robert Sherratt	Tomlinson	Burton-upon-Trent	1877	50000	
William	Moxon	Stafford	1906	48042	
Abraham	Hoskins	Uttoxeter	1910	47330	
James	Wilkes	Stafford	1894	46696	
William Henry	Pope	Wolverhampton	1890	46088	
Francis	Wyley	Church Eaton	1888	42734	wholeale druggist
George	Greaves	Burton-upon-Trent	1886	40903	inheritance
James Muter	Turnbull	Wolverhampton	1897	38671	life insurance/marriage
William	Field	Rugeley	1894	37892	railway contractor
Alexander	McBean	Stoke-upon-Trent	1888	36068	
Thomas	Goddard	Stoke-upon-Trent	1872	35000	collieries & ironworks
John James	Bunch	Wolverhampton	1896	34698	
William Chancellor	Garman	Wednesbury	1928	32886	
Henry	Swinson	Handsworth	1900	31980	inheritance
Richard	Vernon	Audley	1914	27169	
Richard Pope	Jeston	Stafford	1901	25750	
David	Bolton	Bilston	1878	25000	
Edward Francis	Dehane	Wolverhampton	1869	25000	
William	Stuart	Stoke-upon-Trent	1879	25000	

Edward Elwell of Walsall M.R.C.S. 1784-1869

£90,000

By 1812 he had qualified M.R.C.S. and was in practice as a surgeon at Walsall and remained until after 1823 but had probably retired by 1831. In that year he purchased Wednesbury Forge and became a full time tool-manufacturer. His son Edward Elwell 1814-1857 succeeded to the business but on the son's early death Edward senior resumed control. By 1841 Elwell was living at Wednesbury where he died, aged 85, on 28 Nov 1869. His personality was valued under £90,000. Elwell was one of the richest (cohort*) medics but much of his wealth probably accrued from his business interests.

Edward Russell of Wednesbury M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1817-1875

£90,000

By 1845 he was in practice at Walsall but by 1850 was living at Wednesbury. In 1853, when he is said to have been earning £400 to £500 annually from his medical practice, he had to pay £100 damages to settle a lawsuit for breach of promise of marriage. Russell ceased practice when in 1855 at Walsall he founded the Alma Tube Works a manufactory of iron tubes. His personality was valued under £90,000. Russell was one of the richest (cohort*) medics but much of his wealth probably accrued from his business interests. Also in earlier life Russell is said to have received a legacy from a wealthy banker. In his will he bequeathed £1,000 to the Walsall Cottage Hospital.

John Topham of Wolverhampton M.D. 1821-1887**£89,453/16/2**

In 1845 he was appointed Physician to Wolverhampton Dispensary and continued in office at (its successor) South Staffordshire General Hospital until 1860 when he resigned and was appointed a Consultant Physician. That year he went to Rome for the sake of his wife's health and practised there. He had returned to England by 1875 when he was living at Torquay. He subsequently moved to Kensington where he died "after a long and painful illness", aged 66, on 16 Jun 1887. His personalty was valued at £89,453/16/2. Topham was one of the richest (cohort*) medics but the source of his wealth is not known. He is said to have been "Endowed with an ample fortune" and whilst in London "indulged his love for science and music".

Benjamin Boothroyd of Stoke-upon-Trent M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1808-1886**£81,955/6/5**

He qualified M.R.C.S. and L.S.A. in 1831 and then commenced practice at Hanley in Stoke-upon-Trent. ... Boothroyd died, aged 78, on 29 Sep 1886 at Hanley. His personalty was valued at £81,955/6/5. Boothroyd was one of the richest (cohort*) medics but the source of his wealth is not known.

Charles Holland of Penkridge M.D. 1801-1876**£70,000**

Subsequently he practised in London where he was sometime Physician to Islington Dispensary. By 1851 he had ceased practice and was living at Rodbaston Hall in Penkridge. Before 1855 he moved to Lichfield where he died by suicide, aged 75, on 21 Mar 1876 at Stowe House. His personalty was valued under £70,000. Holland was one of the richest (cohort*) medics but a good part of his wealth was likely inherited. ... [He was a] Deputy Lieutenant for Staffordshire.

Robert Sherratt Tomlinson of Burton-upon-Trent M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1806-1877**£50,000**

he qualified L.S.A. in 1827 and M.R.C.S. in 1828. By 1835 he was in practice at Burton-upon-Trent where in 1850 he was senior partner to George Lowe F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1813-1892. He was practising and living on High Street in 1841 and still practising on High Street in 1851 but by then was living at Winhill in the Derbyshire part of Burton. At Winhill he died, aged 71, on 7 Jan 1877. His personalty was valued under £50,000. Tomlinson was one of the richest (cohort*) medics but the source of his wealth is not known.

William Moxon of Stafford apprentice 1833-1906**£48,042/19/1**

After he qualified L.M. ("licensed man-midwife"), L.S.A. and M.R.C.S. in 1854 he practised at Northampton where he died, aged 73, on 15 Jan 1906. His personalty was valued at £48,042/19/1. Moxon was one of the richest (cohort*) medics but the source of his wealth is not known.

Abraham Hoskins of Uttoxeter M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1822-1910**£47,330**

Hoskins was the son of a Derbyshire anglican gentleman. He qualified L.S.A. in 1844 and M.R.C.S. in 1845 in which year he was in practice at Uttoxeter but by 1851 had moved to Birmingham where he held several medical offices. Before 1890 he had moved again to Sutton Coldfield, Warwicks where he probably died, aged 88, on 8 Oct 1910. His personalty was valued at £47,330. Hoskins was one of the richest (cohort*) medics but the source of his wealth is not known.

James Wilkes of Stafford F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1811-1894**£46,696/15/3**

By 1841 he was a Surgeon at Birmingham Dispensary but that year was appointed House Surgeon, Apothecary & Superintendent to Staffordshire Lunatic Asylum (at Stafford). In 1855 he was appointed a Commissioner in Lunacy and undertook an inquiry into the state of the Irish Asylums. Thereafter he lived in London. He died, aged 83, on 8 Dec 1894 in the Paddington district. His personalty was valued at £46,696/15/3. Wilkes was one of the richest (cohort*) medics but the source of his wealth is not known.

William Henry Pope of Wolverhampton L.R.C.P.E. ?1821-1890**£46,088/5/6**

From 1844 to 1853 he served as House Surgeon, Apothecary & Secretary to the Wolverhampton Dispensary and (its successor) the South Staffordshire General Hospital. In 1853 he was appointed a Surgeon to the same institution and thereafter practised for the rest of his life at Wolverhampton. In 1873 he further qualified L.M. ("licensed man-midwife") and was admitted L.R.C.P.E. He died, aged 69, on 4 Mar 1890 at his birthplace, Cleobury Mortimer, Salop, with burial there on 8 Mar. His personalty was valued at £46,088/5/6. Pope was one of the richest (cohort*) medics but the source of his wealth is not known.

Francis Wyley of Church Eaton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1811-1888**£42,734/7/5**

By 1841 he was living at Coventry, Warwicks where he practised for the rest of his life and where he died, aged 77, on 25 Oct 1888. His personalty was valued at £42,734/7/5. Wyley was one of the richest (cohort) medics but much of his wealth probably accrued from his business interests. He was a partner in a firm of wholesale druggists styled *Wyleys and Company*.

George Greaves of Burton-upon-Trent L.S.A. 1806-1886**£40,903/9/6**

Greaves was the son of a Staffordshire anglican gentleman. He trained at Dublin before he qualified L.S.A. in 1830 and probably practised all his working life at Burton-upon-Trent where he died, aged 80, on 10 Dec 1886. His personalty was valued at £40,903/9/6. He was one of the richest (cohort*) medics but a good part of his wealth may have been inherited.

James Muter Turnbull of Wolverhampton M.D. 1818-1897**£38,671/12/6**

From 1841 to 1843 he was Physician at Wolverhampton Dispensary. About 1844 he settled in Liverpool where he held several hospital appointments. Subsequently he was elected M.R.C.P. in 1859 and F.R.C.P. in 1873. He retired, due to ill health, in 1881 and about 1886 moved to Tunbridge Wells, Kent where he died, aged 79, on 6 Sep 1897. His personalty was valued at £38,671/12/6. Turnbull was one of the richest (cohort*) medics. Much of his wealth might have accrued from his work in life insurance and his marriage to the daughter of a Liverpool merchant.

William Field of Rugeley M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1812-1894**£37,892/17/7**

After he qualified L.S.A. in 1835 and M.R.C.S. he practised at Rugeley until after 1844. On census night 1851 he was out of practice and a guest at a hotel in Shrewsbury. Thereafter he ran businesses as a railway-contractor sometimes in partnership with his wife's brother-in-law Thomas Brassey 1805-1870 [OB]. He died, aged 81, on 27 Jun 1894 in the Shrewsbury area but was buried in Staffordshire. His personalty was valued at £37,892/17/7. Field was one of the richest (cohort) medics but much of his wealth probably accrued from his businesses.

Alexander McBean of Stoke-upon-Trent M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1810-1888**£36,068/16/6**

He qualified M.R.C.S. in 1829 and then served as an East India Company Surgeon. By 1835 he was in practice at Hanley in Stoke-upon-Trent where he further qualified L.S.A. in 1849 and where he died, aged 78, on 11 Feb 1888 and was buried. His personalty was valued at £36,068/16/6. McBean was one of the richest (cohort*) medics but the source of his wealth is not known.

Thomas Goddard of Stoke-upon-Trent surgeon c1792-1872**£35,000**

About 1860 he moved to Caverswall. At Caverswall he died, aged 80, on 14 Jun 1872 with burial on 21 Jun. His personalty was valued under £35,000. Goddard was one of the richest (cohort) medics but much of his wealth probably accrued from business investments for it is said that he had "for several years prior to his death a large interest in extensive collieries and ironworks in the neighbourhood".

John James Bunch of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1820-1896**£34,698/6/11**

About 1885 he retired to London where he died "after a long and painful illness" aged 77, on 21 Dec 1896 with burial on 26 Dec at London St Pancras. His personalty was valued at £34,698/6/11. Bunch was one of the richest (cohort*) medics but the source of his wealth is not known.

William Chancellor Garman of Wednesbury assistant surgeon 1831-1928**[410]**

He died, aged 97, on 31 Dec 1928 at Abberley, Worcs. His personalty was valued at £32,886/15/8. Garman was one of the richest (cohort \times) medics but the source of his wealth is not known.

Henry Swinson of Handsworth M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1800-1900

£31,980/13/8

Shortly afterwards he moved to Aston, Warwicks and then before 1881 to Stoke Prior, Worcs where he had a new house built in the Finstall district. There he died, aged 100, on 2 Jan 1900. His personalty was valued at £31,980/13/8. Swinson was one of the richest (cohort \times) medics but a good part of his wealth was likely inherited.

Richard Vernon of Audley M.D. 1817-1914

£27,169/3/9

He probably practised at Audley all his working life. In 1856 he further graduated Ch.M. at Glasgow. At Audley he died, aged 97, on 15 Sep 1914. His personalty was valued at £27,169/3/9. Vernon was one of the richest (cohort \times) medics but the source of his wealth is not known. Vernon continued in the Wesleyan methodist church and gifted land on which to build a local manse.

Richard Pope Jeston of Stafford M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1826-1901

£25,750/15/11

On 24 May 1853 he was appointed an East India Company Assistant Surgeon but resigned on 20 Aug 1857 and returned to England where he settled at his birthplace Henley-on-Thames. Here he died, aged 75, on 10 Oct 1901. His personalty was valued at £25,750/15/11. Jeston was one of the richest (cohort \times) medics but the source of his wealth is not known.

David Bolton of Bilston F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1806-1878

£25,000

By 1839 he had moved to Birmingham and later moved to Gloucestershire where he died at Cheltenham, aged 72, on 23 Nov 1878. His personalty was valued under £25,000. Bolton was one of the richest (cohort \times) medics but the source of his wealth is not known. Bolton had a distinguished medical career being sometime Professor of Anatomy at Birmingham Queen's College.

Edward Francis Dehane of Wolverhampton F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1804-1869

£25,000

Dehane was the son of a Kent anglican clergyman. He was apprenticed at Shifnal, Salop and trained at Middlesex Hospital. He qualified L.S.A. in 1826 and M.R.C.S. 1827 (F.R.C.S., 1852) ... He practised all his working life at Wolverhampton where he died probably of a heart attack, aged 65, on 8 Sep 1869. His personalty was valued under £25,000. Dehane was one of the richest (cohort \times) medics but the source of his wealth is not known.

William Stuart of Stoke-upon-Trent M.D. 1812-1879

£25,000

By 1840 he had returned to his birthplace Woolwich, Kent. In 1859 he both graduated M.D. from Erlangen and was admitted L.R.C.P.E. Whilst at Woolwich, Stuart was a Royal Navy Surgeon, a public vaccinator, a Police Surgeon and a visiting surgeon at three Lock Hospitals. At Woolwich he died, aged 67, on 13 Apr 1879 with burial at Charlton Cemetery. His personalty was valued under £25,000. Stuart was one of the richest (cohort \times) medics but the source of his wealth is not known.

M5.6 Personalities of under £50

Fourteen cohort \times men had personalities assessed at under £50. For reasons discussed in §M5.3 this does not necessarily place these men amongst the poorest in the cohort \times . Eight of the men died before 1720 and three of these were members of the Turnpenny family. Zachary Turnpenny's personalty did not include debts owed to him. In the cases of Cumberlege and Purcell administration of their estates passed to a creditor. Three men were known property owners, Gervase Gent, George Turnpenny (d 1703) and James Proud Johnson who was sometime Sheriff of Montgomeryshire and likely a wealthy man.

Stephen Parker of Colwich surgeon & apothecary 1789-1818 appears to have died in straitened circumstances and his widow was subsequently forced to apply for poor relief from Colwich where Parker had previously been employed by the parish to treat paupers.

•Personalities of under £50					
Name		Place	Died	£	Notes
John	Cumberlege	Newcastle	1720	43	creditor
George	Turnpenny	Walsall	1700	33	
Zachary	Turnpenny	Wolverhampton	1695	28	debts owed
Francis	Bridges	Burton-upon-Trent	1717	24	
Richard	Collier	Lichfield	1620	23	
William	Bevins	Abbots Bromley	1798	20	
James Hancox	Culwick	Sedgley	1864	20	
James Proud	Johnson	Stafford	1860	20	property
Robert	Prettie	Uttoxeter	1780	20	
Philip	Purcell	Stafford	1751	20	creditor
Gervase	Gent	Leek	1690	19	property
Michael	Stanley	Handsworth	1711	12	
George	Turnpenny	Walsall	1703	10	property
William	Jennings	Burton-upon-Trent	1770	5	

John Cumberlege of Newcastle M.B. 1652-1720

£43/19/0

His wife's first husband was William Tatton of Newcastle gentleman-1675. In his inventory Tatton is said to have had debts due of more than £2,000 and Cumberlege doubtlessly benefited from this circumstance. By 1680 he [Cumberlege] was claiming to hold a coat of arms "Barry of six ermine and sable on a canton or a fleur-de-lis gules" and on his death his inventory lists "Sixteene Scutchions and Coats of Armes [valued at] £1/10/0". At Newcastle Cumberlege was buried, aged 68, on 27 Oct 1720. In his inventory, which included the sum of £10 for his books, his personalty was valued at £43/19/0. This was one of the lowest (cohort \times) valuations. Cumberlege may have led an extravagant life. His son Thomas Cumberlege was obliged to renounce administration of his father's estate to his half-sister Elizabeth Tatton who was the principal creditor of her stepfather.

George Turnpenny of Walsall barber chirurgion ?1630-1700

£33/9/6

At Walsall Turnpenny was buried, aged about 70, on 27 Jan 1669.1700. His personalty was valued at £33/9/6. This was one of the lowest (cohort \times) valuations.

Zachary Turnpenny of Wolverhampton barber chirurgion 1666-1695

£28/11/9

His inventory is very detailed and includes items connected with his trade valued at £4/0/5. His personalty was valued at £28/11/9. This was one of the lowest (cohort \times) valuations but it does not include "In money and debts hopefull and doubtful ... £104/7/3".

Francis Bridges of Burton-upon-Trent apothecary c1645-1717 £24/4/8
 Bridges may have been in practice at Burton-upon-Trent by 1676 and was buried there, aged about 72, on 17 Nov 1716. His personality was valued at £24/4/8. This was one of the lowest (cohort*) valuations. His inventory included "A box of surgeons instruments 10/0 ... [and] in the back study one hundred and twenty bookes £3/10/0 ...".

Richard Collier of Lichfield chirurgion e1581-1620 £23/9/1
 Perhaps by 1611 he was in practice at Lichfield but apparently moved to Uttoxeter shortly before he died, perhaps aged about 39, in Feb 1619.20. In his inventory which included "Apothecaries potts & druggs £2" his personality was valued at £23/9/1. This was one of the lowest (cohort*) valuations.

William Bevins of Abbots Bromley surgeon & apothecary 1771-?1798 £20
 He likely practised at Abbots Bromley from about 1791 until his death, aged 27, probably in 1798. His estate was administered on 7 Jan 1799 when his personality was valued at £20. This was one of the lowest (cohort*) valuations.

James Hancox Culwick of Sedgley M.R.C.S. 1781-1864 £20
 By 1818 he was practising at Sedgley where he died, aged 83, on 20 Jun 1864. His personality was valued under £20. This was one of the lowest (cohort*) valuations.

James Proud Johnson of Stafford apprentice 1784-1860 £20
 Johnson was Physician to the Salop Infirmary from 1814 to 1839 and retired from practice in 1841. He died, aged 76, on 17 Jan 1860 at Brussels but was buried on 24 Jan 1860 at Shrewsbury St Chad. His personality was valued under £20. This was one of the lowest (cohort*) valuations. Perhaps some of his personality was in Brussels. He was probably a fairly wealthy man for in 1837 he was Sheriff of Montgomeryshire in which county he owned property.

Robert Prettie of Uttoxeter surgeon ?1747-1780 £20
 Perhaps time served about 1778 he likely practised all his working life at Uttoxeter where he was buried, aged about 33, on 4 Jul 1780. His personality was valued under £20. This was one of the lowest (cohort*) valuations.

Philip Purcell of Stafford surgeon e1672-?1751 £20
 In 1740 he was working as a surgeon at Stafford County Gaol. He died, aged about 79, probably shortly before 17 Sep 1751 at Stafford. In his inventory his personality was valued under £20. This was one of the lowest (cohort*) valuations. Administration of his estate was granted to a creditor.

Gervase Gent of Leek "surgeon & apothecary" c1630-1690 £19/8/1
 His inventory list "all druggs with the bottells 3/0 ... opium 1/0 ... one urinall & 3 glyter[sic] pipes 1/0 ... books £3 ... some instruments for chyrurgery 3/6" together with many other drugs, herbs and spices and on this basis he might be supposed to have been a surgeon and apothecary although in his will he styles himself "yeomon[sic]". His personality was valued at £19/8/1. This was one of the lowest (cohort*) valuations. Gent was also a land owner and after his death, in 1694, his daughters sold some land at Overton Bank to the Quaker church.

Michael Stanley of Handsworth apothecary c1640-?1711 £12/7/0
 On the death of an elder brother in 1701 he appears to have been his heir and may then have inherited some family property. He was probably buried, aged about 61, on 4 Oct 1711 at Handsworth. In his inventory which included "about twenty bookes [at] £1/5/0" his personality was valued at £12/7/0. This was one of the lowest (cohort*) valuations.

George Turnpenny of Walsall barber chirurgion 1669-1703 £10/17/0
 His father bequeathed him "my now dwelling house ... [and] all my chirurgery books with the presse they stand in and all the implements and instruments belonging the chirurgery trade (except ...) ... all my razors and instruments belonging to the barber trade. Turnpenny's inventory included "In the shoppe one looking glasse gally potts bottles & cupboard & one chair 5/0" ... and "In the middle chamber one joined presse with some bookes & instrmnts in it and alsoe a box and some other instruments in it £2/0/0". His personality was valued at £10/17/0. This was one of the lowest (cohort*) valuations. But as noted above he also inherited his father's house.

William Jennings of Burton-upon-Trent surgeon & apothecary e1729-?1770 £5
 By 1759 he was in practice at Burton-upon-Trent ... He subsequently (say, about 1765) moved to Wolverhampton where he was probably buried, aged about 41, on 13 Jun 1770. His personality was valued at under £5. This was one of the lowest (cohort*) valuations.

M6 Will bequests

Here are some extracts of wills which mention medical matters. Most are also noticed in §G7.2 (shops & stock) and §G8.1 (books) where some detail from inventories is also included. Thornton (1653) provides for the future of an apprentice, Tombes (1721) bequeaths £400 to train a great nephew as a surgeon and apothecary, Deakin (1765) bequeaths £400 to erect and support a county infirmary (see §F5.2), Dickinson (?1781) hopes his son will train at a London hospital whilst White (1786) desires that his nephew be offered his shop and stock for £40.

Thomas Cope of Lichfield apothecary e1574-1641 1641
 (3 Mar 1640.1) Thomas Cope of Lichfield apothecary ... Henry Boylston my said wifes nephew having beene by mee trayned and brought upp in my trade from his infancy shall ... take to wife niece Elizabeth Cope ... [bequeaths them] all the wares belonging to my trade which nowe are in my shopp ... together with the shelves chests and boxes in my shoppe or belonging to my trade ... Mr Doctor Hewett £5

Richard Thornton of Lichfield chirurgion c1610-1653 1653
 (25 Jul 1653 to 6 Aug 1653) Richard Thornton of Lichfield ?chirurgion ... I give and bequeath unto my brother Thomas Thornton all my books on Phisick and Chirurgery belonging to my profession of what nature or quality soever they bee Also my will and mind is that if it please God I depart this life before George Dawes my apprentice hath served out his terme that then the said George Dawes shall be turned over to serve the remaynder of his apprenticeship with my said brother Thomas Thornton (if my executrix and my said brother shall thereto agree otherwise my executrix to repay of the money I had with him at the discretion of two honest and indifferent neighbours).

Humphrey Bennet of Lichfield chirurgion e1610-1660 1660
 (30 May 1660) Humfry Bennet of the city of Lichfield chirurgion to Humfry Bennet their son and my godson my new case of instrumts with all my silver instrumts & razors tipt with silver ... I give to Edmond Hector my apprentice my ??? case of instrumts (except my tipt razors with silver) to have them after his time of apprenticeship is expired ... my executrix give to my two apprentices Arthur Shirrad and Richard Gladwin five shillings apiece & each of them two lancets ... Alsoe I give to the above named Humfry Bennet my godsonn two printed books of chirurgery called Woodall & Read with all my receipts of chirurgery

John Sharratt of Wolverhampton barber surgeon e1621-1685 1685
 (11 Aug 1685) John Sharratt of Wolverhampton barber-chirurgion ... unto my apprentice Walter Grey [executor] all the instruments and tools & vissills which are in my house and shop which belong to my trade and all things which belong unto the shop as linnens, salves and all other

materials which belong to the shop and are usefull to my trade as barber-chyrurgion to be delivered to him within one month of my decease But in case the aforesaid Walter Grey not contented with the above said legacy then my will is that instead thereof ... the sum of five pounds ...

- John Tombes of Stafford M.D. c1663-1721** 1721
(16 Jul 1721) John Tombes of Stafford M.D. ... kinsman [great nephew] John Robins alias Tombes son of Edmond Robins of Salisbury the sune of four hundred pounds to be payd to him in manner following (that is to say) such sune part therof shall be necessary to put him out apprentice to an apothecary and to be instructed in the art and ministry of chirurgeon ...
- Thomas Garlick of Wolverhampton surgeon c1677-1737** 1736
(17 Dec 1736) Thomas Garlick of Wolverhampton surgeon ... unto my son Robert Garlick all the goods belonging the shop and all my books and instruments and every other thing belonging to the business ...
- James Smith of Uttoxeter surgeon c1670-1741** 1741
(18 Dec 1741) James Smith of Uttoxeter surgeon ... unto my said son Vere Smith all my instruments and medicines whatsoever with appurt's belonging to the physick or surgery ...
- John Bailey of Uttoxeter apothecary ?1686-1759** 1759
(17 Oct 1759) John Bailey of Uttoxeter, Staffs apothecary ... one half of my medicines, utensils of trading tools bottles and potts to my grandson William Warner to whom I also give my watch, lancets and case and all my wearing apparel ... [other half of medicines etc] grandson John Bailey Madeley [executor]
- William Deakin of Wolverhampton surgeon & apothecary c1721-1765** 1765
(2 Mar 1765) William Deakin of Wolverhampton surgeon and apothecary four hundred pounds towards erecting or supporting an infirmary in and for the county of Stafford
- Benjamin Wetwood of Stafford apothecary c1718-1781** 1771
(18 Sep 1771) Benjamin Wetwood of Stafford apothecary ...[to] son William Wetwood ... my shop and all my drawers boxes shelves and other utensills made use of in my business together with all my drugs and stock in trade ...
- Jeremiah Addenbrooke of Kingswinford apothecary 1701-1773** ?1771
(28 Oct ?1771) Jeremiah Addenbrooke of Kingswinford, Staffs apothecary all that my messuage or tenement with the shop ...
- John Hassard of Penkridge surgeon & apothecary 1721-1776** 1776
(5 Apr 1776) John Hassard of Penkridge gentleman ... unto Samuel Perks [brother of John] my ..cett case and all my physical books which are in the desk in the little parlour in case he is brought up an apothecary ... [very long will]
- Christopher Ley of Burton-upon-Trent surgeon & apothecary 1698-1779** 1777
(15 Oct 1777) Christopher Ley of Burton upon Trent surgeon and apothecary... dwelling house [where he lives] in Catt Street, Burton ... son William ... to rent same ... [to son William] all my shop goodes drugs instruments and untensils whatsoever in my business as surgeon and apothecary ... he paying to the druggists all such money as I shall owe them on accountt thereof ...
- John Dickinson of Bilston surgeon & apothecary c1738-1782** ?1781
(27 Sep ?1781) John Dickinson of Bilston in Wolverhampton surgeon ... I give and bequeath all my fixtures in the shop and instruments belonging to my business of a surgeon and apothecary together with all my books appertaining to surgery physick and midwifery and all my stock of drugs unto my son William Dickinson ... wife Mary ... two sons William and John (under 21) ... placing and continuing my son William Dickinson ... convenient and usual time in some one or more of the London hospitals to be there instructed in the several arts of surgery physick and midwifery and attending all usual proper lectures ...
- Thomas White of Wolverhampton surgeon & apothecary 1728-1787** 1786
(9 Dec 1786) Thomas White of Wolverhampton surgeon ... whereas my said nephew, William White's eldest son, Thomas White is now an apprentice to a surgeon I desire that my said nephew ... shall have the shell of my shop and all my druggs and medicines together with all my anatomical preparations at the price of forty pounds ... in case my [underage] son James White shall ... follow the business of a surgeon and apothecary then I give him all my library of books which relate to physick or surgery and my chirurgical instruments
- William Wetwood of Stafford surgeon 1746-1790** 1790
(23 Feb 1790) Wm Wetwood of Stafford surgeon ... devise unto my said mother all my drawers, boxes, shelves and other utensils made use of in my business together with all druggs & stock in trade & book debts ... either convert the same into money or to let the premises as shall be thought proper ...
- William Hassell of Wolverhampton surgeon 1752-1795** 1795
(19 Feb 1795) William Hassell of Wolverhampton surgeon ... Mr Joseph Jones of Wolverhampton surgeon all my books relating to physick surgery anatomy and medical botany and also all my surgical instruments of every sort ... money arising and payable from a Society in Wolverhampton called the Philanthropic Society of which I am now a member ...
- Isaac Cope of Leek surgeon & apothecary c1717-1801** 1801
(29 Aug 1801) Isaac Cope of Leek surgeon ... son George all my stock of drugs chymicals and Compounds with the counters shelves drawers and other pots instruments with all other appendages appertaining to the business of a surgeon and apothecary and which shall be found in my shop [and] books as relate to my profession ...
- Edward Taylor of Wednesbury surgeon c1749-1810** 1810
(5 Apr 1810) Edward Taylor of Wednesbury surgeon ... grandson Thomas Edward Russell all my surgical instruments and the shell of my shop complete ...
- Charles Chadwick of Leek surgeon 1789-1836** 1832
(9 Mar 1832) Charles Chadwick of Leek surgeon unto my assistant Joseph Brindley all my drugs medicines shop fixtures medical books and surgical instruments ...
- William Chawner of Cheadle surgeon 1786-?1833** 1833
(8 Jun 1833) William Chawner of Cheadle surgeon ... to my brother Thomas all my surgical instruments and books relating to my profession ...
- William Bourne of Cheadle surgeon 1766-1836** 1836
(16 Jun 1836) William Bourne of Cheadle surgeon ... I give to my said son my Encyclopedia Britannica all my medical library or stock of medical books and all other books in which I already have or may hereafter write his name ...
- John Foster of Tamworth surgeon c1788-1849** 1849
(12 Apr 1849) John Foster of Fazeley surgeon ... son John Foster all my surgical instruments, drugs, shop fixtures and books ...

James Percival Prettie Chambers of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1821-1844 [1849]

(27 Apr 1849) James Chambers of Wolverhampton gentleman ... unto James Percival Pretty[sic] Chambers son of Jabez Chambers of Cheltenham grocer all my books and also all the books and diplomae of my late son and also the gold medal and watch now in the possession of the Misses Prettys ... [NOTE: This is the will of his father]

Thomas Henry Sharples of Tamworth M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1815-1856 1855

(18 Aug 1855) Thomas Henry Sharples of Tamworth surgeon ... brother Wiliam Sharples of Horncastle [Lincs] surgeon all my books relative to medicine and surgery and also all my surgical instruments ...

M7 Auctions

Newspaper advertisements for auctions to dispose of the effects of medics are frequently found. Most often they took place after their death but on some occasions they were held on a medic's removal to a new residence or because they were insolvent debtors. In the examples below Gregory (1806) and Chawner (1829) were removing whilst Hickman (1810) and Hopkins (1871) were debtors. In Hickman's advertisement no medical equipment is listed. Chadwick (1842) is noted to have been fastidious "The furniture, saddlery, and books are the greater part new of prime quality and first-rate condition many of the articles having been scarcely ever used except for the purpose of cleaning them and from the known eccentricity of the late worthy and lamented proprietor and his judgment in selection present an opportunity to parties desirous of purchasing really first rate articles seldom to be met with ." At the auction of Tomkinson (1876) "A purchaser would have the option of taking the drugs and the fixtures in the surgery at valuation."

Archibald Campbell of Stafford M.D. c1738-1805 1805

(14 Dec 1805) [Auction] On the premises on Monday the 30th day of December 1805 and the following two days ... the greater part of the household furniture, valuable library of books and other effects of the late Archibald Campbell esq. M.D. of Stafford deceased [STS:ADV]

James Gregory of Stafford surgeon & apothecary 1778-.... 1806

(5 Apr 1806) Furniture to be sold by auction by Mr Henshaw on Monday the 14th day of April 1806 ... household furniture, shop fixtures and other effects belonging to Mr James Gregory surgeon and apothecary, Stafford, who is removing his situation. [STS:ADV]

Gregory Hickman of Burslem M.R.C.S. 1766-1816 1810

(24 Mar 1810) Under a deed of assignment for the equal benefit of creditors. To be sold by auction by R. Johnson on the premises at Burslem ... on 25th, 27th and 28th days of March 1810 ... all the neat, modern and valuable household furniture, plate, linen, glass, books and other effects belonging to Mr Gregory Hickman surgeon comprising ... microscope complete in every respect ... [a very long list does not include any medical equipment] [STS:ADV]

Richard Wright of Lichfield M.D. 1777-1820 1821

(31 Mar 1821) Auction ... Henshaw and Smith ... sometime in April ... elegant and modern household furniture, valuable library and pictures, an extensive collection of minerals, rare fossils, philosophical and chemical apparatus &c &c lately belonging to Richard Wright M.D. of Lichfield deceased. Particulars will appear in a future paper. [STS:ADV]

Robert Bentley of Newcastle surgeon 1778-1822 1822

(19 Oct 1822) [Auction, Newcastle] ... All the handsome household furniture ... valuable medical and other books (amongst which is Rees's Encyclopaedia in ninety parts), good saddle horses ... the property of the late Mr Robert Bentley [STS:ADV]

Samuel Proud of Bilston surgeon 1759-1828 1828

(19 May 1828) [Auction at Bilston, 21-23 May] ... Household furniture and other miscellaneous effects of the late Samuel Proud, Esq. Mount Pleasant, Bilston, deceased ... thirty-one goose and feather beds ... a library of about 200 volumes of books, in which will be found Hume's History of England (Bowyer's Edition) 5 vols, royal folio, cost price 90 guineas; Engravings of the Marquis of Stafford's Gallery of Pictures, proof impressions, 4 vols, bound in two, cost price 45 guineas, Shaw's History of Staffordshire etc. [Aris's Birmingham Gazette]

Rupert Chawner of Burton-upon-Trent M.D. 1750-1836 1829

(21 Oct 1829) TO BE SOLD BY AUCTION, By Mr. TITTERTON, Upon the Premises, Horninglow Street, Burton-upon-Trent, On Monday the 2d of November, 1829, and the four following days, at ten each day; All the Genteel HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE, and other Effects, the property of Dr. CHAWNER, (changing his Residence) Comprising [long list of furniture] quantity of good hops, oak counters and surgery fixtures, valuable paintings and prints, medical and other books, surgical instruments and other valuable effects. N.B. The Paintings, Prints, Medical and other Books, and Surgical Instruments, consisting of 200 Lots, will be sold on Friday, the last day of sale. ... THE DWELLING HOUSE, GARDEN, CROFT & PREMISES (which are Freehold for ever,) will be sold by Private Contract [Derby Mercury 21 Oct 1829]

William Simmons of Stone M.R.C.S. c1763-1830 1830

(23 Oct 1830) [Auction] Valuable Medical and Miscellaneous Library, surgical instruments, framed engravings and Share in the Exchange Library ... [detailed list follows] ... [Manchester Courier]

John Spencer Harrison of Alstonfield surgeon 1773-1831 1831

(2 Apr 1831) Sale by Auction at Alstonefield ... property of the late John Spencer Harrison surgeon ... comprising the whole of the household furniture ... medical and surgical works by the most approved authors, superior surgeon's instruments, in separate mahogany cases, for amputating, trephining, dissecting, resuscitating, paracentesis, cupping, couching, midwifery, tooth instruments, dressing cases, electrical and galvanic instruments, glass retorts and receivers, assay scales &c, [STS:ADV]

Thomas Chadwick of Stoke-upon-Trent surgeon c1775-1841 1842

(18 Jun 1842) LONGTON ... late Thomas Chadwick surgeon ... Auction ... June 28th 1842 ... household furniture, handsome phaeton ... medical books, instruments etc ... Queen Street, Vauxhall, Longton and contiguous to his late residence which is now in the occupation of his successor Mr George Bakewell ... The furniture, saddlery, and books are the greater part new of prime quality and first-rate condition many of the articles having been scarcely ever used except for the purpose of cleaning them and from the known eccentricity of the late worthy and lamented proprietor and his judgment in selection present an opportunity to parties desirous of purchasing really first rate articles seldom to be met with ... [STS:ADV]

Samuel Swinnerton of Betley L.S.A. 1807-1855 1855

(17 Nov 1855) [Auction, 29 Nov 1855] ... farming stock ... medical and other books, surgical and chemical instruments, drugs, bottles, surgery fixtures &c late the property of Samuel Swinnerton deceased on the premises Shropshire Street, Market Drayton [STS:ADV]

William Hallam of Newcastle M.D. ?1814-1863 1863

(23 May 1863) SALE by AUCTION ... 27th and 28th May ... HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE, PIANOFORTE, MEDICAL LIBRARY consisting of about 300 volumes; SURGICAL INSTRUMENTS ... the late William Hallam M.D. [STS:ADV]

William Hopkins of Handsworth L.R.C.P.E. 1828-....

1871

(25 Jul 1871) SALES BY AUCTION In Liquidation Re William Hopkins Gold's Hill Handsworth SUPERIOR HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE ... Tuesday next August 1st 200 Volumes of Medical and Other Books, Medical Instruments, contents of Surgery ... [Birmingham Daily Post]

Richard Tomkinson of Cheadle M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1812-1876

1876

(4 Nov 1876) Auction ... 16 Nov 1876 ... A capital message with out-offices ... in High Street ... Cheadle ... The house contains ... a commodious surgery ... nine bedrooms ... one of the best residences in the town of Cheadle ... A purchaser would have the option of taking the drugs and the fixtures in the surgery at valuation. [Staffordshire Sentinel]

N Societal material

N1 Churches and their members; N2 Social class; N3 Lawsuits and court cases (non-medical); N4 Honours, coats of arms and portraits

N1 Churches and their members

N1.1 Introduction; N1.2 Roman catholic church; N1.3 Anglican church; N1.4 Baptist churches; N1.5 Congregationalist churches; N1.6 Independent churches; N1.7 Presbyterian church; N1.8 Quaker church (Society of Friends) ; N1.9 Wesleyan methodist church; N1.10 Unitarian church; N1.11 Countess of Huntingdon's connexion churches; N1.12 New connexion methodist church; N1.13 Primitive methodist church; N1.14 Deist

N1.1 Introduction

It is not possible to assert with confidence the actual religious beliefs of members of the cohort^x except perhaps in the case of those who were sometime ministers of religion or expressed opinions by other means. For this reason this work is mainly limited to considering their *traditional* religious beliefs as indicated by their church membership. This is mainly discovered by considering their, or their families, choice of place of christening and to a lesser extent that of marriage and burial. Occasionally other sources survive which are mentioned below.

In the British Isles for perhaps a thousand years prior to 1851 virtually the entire population was traditionally christian. Although schisms existed most christians were members of the roman catholic church (§N1.2) (owing allegiance to the Pope) until about the year 1534 when *The act of supremacy* {26 Henry VIII c1} was passed which officially proclaimed Henry VIII as head of the church in England. Then, by default, the larger part of the English population became members of the anglican church (§N1.3). During the reign of Queen Mary (1554-1558) roman catholicism was briefly restored.

Subsequently anglican churches were joined by a number of nonconformist churches. Amongst these were from about 1612 the baptist churches (§N1.4) which rejected infant baptism and also from the early 17C the congregationalist churches (§N1.5) and the independent churches (§N1.6) which were organised by their own congregations in an independent manner.

Between 1644 and 1660 the presbyterian church (§N1.7) replaced the anglican church as the governing body of the church in England.

By 1650 the quaker church (§N1.8) which had been founded by George Fox and others had become an important new movement.

The anglican church having been restored in 1660 has remained the established church in England to the present time.

In 1744 the Wesleyan methodist church (§N1.9) held their first major conference. Splitting from them were the new connexion methodists in 1797 (§N1.12) and the primitive methodists in 1810 (§N1.13).

The first English unitarian church was built in 1774 (§N1.10) whilst in 1783 the Countess of Huntingdon's connexion churches (§N1.11) make an appearance. Finally a deist (§N1.14) is found in 1818.

In the table below discovered church memberships of the cohort^x after 1548 are shown with the numbers of men born into and converted to each church³⁵⁵. Next are the numbers that converted out to another church. In the final column are the numbers of men connected with the various churches but not known to be members.

The table shows that anglican men hugely predominate with the roman catholics and independents leading the minority churches. Unsurprisingly the greater numbers of conversions out (20) were from the anglican church but this only represented 2.4% of the whole membership. Conversions out from the independents (9) represented about 50% of the whole. Because of the small numbers involved it is hard to say whether this is of any significance.

The individual churches and their memberships are outlined below.

•Church membership after 1548																		
Church		Born		Convert	Total	Convert to another church										Other		
		No.	%			RC	A	C	I	P	Q	WM	U	NM	D		tot	
Roman catholic	RC	18	2.0%	5	23		1									1	9	
Anglican	A	825	93.0%	11	836	5			3	3	2	3	1	2	1	20		
Baptist	B	2	0.2%		2		1										1	
Congregationalist	C	1	0.1%	1	2												0	
Independent	I	18	2.0%	3	21		7	1					1			9	1	
Presbyterian	P	4	0.5%	2	6		2										2	
Quaker	Q	5	0.6%	3	8												0	3
Wesleyan methodist	WM	8	0.9%	3	11												0	2
Unitarian	U	1	0.1%	2	3												0	1
Countess of Huntingdon's connexion	CH	1	0.1%		1												0	
New connexion methodist	NM	4	0.5%	2	6												0	2

Deist	D		0.0%	1	1													0
Subtotal		887		33	920													
not known	nk	379									1							1
Total		1266				5	11	1	3	3	3	3	2	2	1	34		18

N1.2 Roman catholic church

Virtually the entire population of the British Isles were traditional members of the roman catholic church until about the year 1534 when *The act of supremacy* {26 Henry VIII c1} was passed which renounced papal authority and proclaimed Henry VIII as head of the church in England. Then, by default, the larger part of the English population became anglican. The 23 religious houses and 12 hospitals founded in Staffordshire before 1534 which all belonged to the roman catholic church are all discussed in §B5. During the reign of Queen Mary (1554-1558) roman catholicism was briefly restored.

After 1534 a significant minority of the population chose to remain roman catholic and over the years were subject to considerable discrimination. From an early date Oxford and Cambridge Universities (and later Dublin University) were not open to roman catholics and those wishing to pursue an academic career had to attend various of the continental universities (see §D2.2 and §D2.3).

On 26 Jun 1657 *An act for discovering, convicting and repressing of popish recusants* was passed and allowed for the confiscation of two thirds of the estates of popish recusants. These were persons that refused to take the following oath:

I ... do Abjure and Renounce the Popes Supremacy and Authority over the Catholique Church ... And I do believe the Church of Rome is not the true Church; And that there is not any Transubstantiation³⁵⁶ in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, ... there is not any Purgatory³⁵⁷; And that the Consecrated Hoast, Crucifixes or Images ought not to be worshipped, ... And I also believe that Salvation cannot be merited by Works; ... So help me God. ... Persons making default, shall be adjudged Popish Recusants convict.

After the restoration *An act for preventing dangers which may happen from popish recusants (aka The test act)* (25 Charles II c2} (4 Feb 1672.3) was passed. This disqualified from office persons serving the Crown³⁵⁸ who refused to take oaths of supremacy and allegiance. One oath was:

I ... do declare that I do believe that there is not any transubstantiation in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, or in the elements of the bread and wine, at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever.

A final clause exempted inferior offices:

Provided alsoe That this Act or any thing therein contained shall not extend to the Office of any High Constable, Petty Constable, Tythingman, Headburrough, Overseer of the Poore, Churchwardens, Surveyour of the Highways or any the like inferiour Civill Office

A list³⁵⁹ of December 1680 headed "Returnes of the Papists" noticed three cohort^x men: "Robert Cotton of Burton, Chyrurgion (Surgeon)", "Michael Stanley of Handsworth, apothecary" and Benjamin Thornbury [Thornburgh] of Stafford, Physician.

In 1733 John Atree of Wolverhampton [M.D.] 1701-1751 is probably the "Mr Altery" who christened "in his mothers womb" a child who was born dead. The father was a roman catholic gentleman - Peter Giffard of Chillington in Brewood. Atree appears to have been an anglican.

(11 Mar 1732.3, Chillington Roman Catholic) On the 11th of march was Baptised in his mothers womb by mr Altery the man midwife john Gifford son to Peter Gifford esq & Hellena Roberts his wife The child was born dead.

Severe restrictions continued in force against roman catholics until towards the end of the 18C when they were gradually lifted and catholics were allowed more freedom.

In 1791 *An act to relieve, upon conditions and under restrictions, the persons therein described from certain penalties and disabilities to which papists or persons professing the popish religion are by law subject* {31 George III c32} was passed:

WHEREAS by divers Laws now in force, divers Penalties and Disabilities have been imposed on Papists or Persons professing the Popish Religion or holding Communion with the See of Rome, ... That, from and after the twenty fourth Day of June One thousand seven hundred and ninety one, it shall be lawful for Persons professing the Roman Catholick Religion personally to appear in any of Majesty's Courts of Chancery, King's Bench, Common Pleas or Exchequer, at Westminster, or in any Court of General Quarter-Sessions of and for the County, City or Place, where such Person shall reside, and there, in open Court, ... subscribe the following Declaration and Oath: I do hereby declare, That I do profess the Roman Catholick Religion [and] do sincerely promise and swear, That I will be faithful and bear true Allegiance to His Majesty King George the Third, ...

In subsequent sections both roman catholic churches and schools were to be permitted provided they were registered at the Quarter Sessions and were not locked during services.

By *An act for the relief of His Majesty's roman catholic subjects* {10 George IV c7} (13 Apr 1829) further restrictions on roman catholics in public life were removed. In the first section it is stated:

WHEREAS by various Acts of Parliament certain Restraints and Disabilities are imposed on the Roman Catholic Subjects of His Majesty, to which other Subjects of His Majesty are not liable: And Whereas it is expedient that such Restraints and Disabilities shall be from henceforth discontinued: And Whereas by various Acts certain Oaths and certain Declarations, commonly called the Declaration against Transubstantiation, and the Declaration against Transubstantiation and the Invocation of Saints and the Sacrifice of the Mass, as practised in the Church of Rome, are or may be required to be taken, made, and subscribed by the Subjects of His Majesty, as Qualifications for sitting and

³⁵⁶ Transubstantiation is a belief that consecrated bread and wine transmute into the body of the son of god.

³⁵⁷ Purgatory is a premised state or place that souls may migrate to after death before entering heaven.

³⁵⁸ This may have only applied to those living within 30 miles of London.

³⁵⁹ SRO D4038/J/104

voting in Parliament, and for the Enjoyment of certain Offices, Franchises, and Civil Rights: Be it enacted ... That from and after the Commencement of this Act all such Acts relating Parts of the said Acts as require the said Declarations, or either to Declarations of them, to be made or subscribed by any of His Majesty's Subjects, as a Qualification for sitting and voting in Parliament, or for the Exercise or Enjoyment of any Office, Franchise, or Civil Right, be and the same are (save as herinafter provided and excepted) hereby repealed.

Twenty-four of the cohort^x were roman catholic. Nineteen men might have been, were, or probably were, born into and christened in that church. Five men apparently converted to roman catholic. Only one man Brian Higgins appears to have converted out - to anglican. Another nine men had a connection. William and Thomas Pendrill Rock appear to have had an anglican father (and likely were anglican) but had a roman catholic mother and were solely christened roman catholic on that account whilst the other seven men had other links.

In post-reformation Staffordshire roman catholicism was strongest in the centre and south of the county with Brewood, Wolverhampton and Walsall being notable centres. In his will Richard Leigh c1650-1728 makes bequests to the "poor catholicicks of Walsall ... poor catholicicks of Wolverhampton". Only two of the men practised in the north of the county: Thomas Robinson (at Alton) and William Joseph Dawes (at Stoke-upon-Trent).

Two men became roman catholic priests: Philip Purcell of Stafford surgeon e1672-?1751 and Charles Ferrers Palmer of Tamworth M.R.C.S. 1819-1900 who became a Dominican monk in 1855 before being ordained a priest in 1859. Another two men died in Italy presumably whilst travelling. William Rayment c1734-1800 died at Rome "His death is supposed to have been hastened by his alarm of the French, who broke in upon him and plundered him of his effects" whilst John Brickdale Morgan of Colton M.R.C.S. e1784-1869 died at Pisa.

Oxford, Cambridge and Durham Universities only became fully open to non-anglicans in 1871 (see §D2.2.1). Of the four M.D.'s below Richard Leigh and William Rayment likely graduated at a European university whilst Bryan Higgins did graduate at Leyden (§D2.3.6) as did John Underhill at the roman catholic Louvain University (§D2.3.7).

Robert Cotton of Burton-upon-Trent surgeon e1620-1689

e1620

Cotton is of unknown (? roman catholic) parentage. His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. By 1666 he was practising at Burton-upon-Trent. Cotton was a roman catholic - in 1667 he was indicted for non-attendance at church and in 1680 was included in a list of Staffordshire roman catholics. At Burton-upon-Trent he was buried, aged about 69, on 4 Sep 1689. William Cotton e1650-.... was probably his son and if so likely apprenticed to his father about 1664.

William Cotton of Burton-upon-Trent surgeon e1650-....

e1650-1710

b e1650 [? son of Robert Cotton of Burton-upon-Trent surgeon e1620-1689] ... Cotton was probably the son of a Staffordshire roman catholic surgeon. If so, he was likely apprenticed to his father about 1664. He is recorded in practice at Burton-upon-Trent in 1707 and 1710 and remained a roman catholic.

Philip Purcell of Stafford surgeon e1672-?1751

e1672

Purcell was the son of a Shropshire roman catholic gentleman. About 1696 he was admitted to Lisbon College and later ordained as a roman catholic priest. His record of apprenticeship as a surgeon is undiscovered. Between 1715 and the 1730s he was a chaplain and manorial agent at Arundel and other Sussex towns. In 1740 he was working as a surgeon at Stafford County Gaol. He died, aged about 79, probably shortly before 17 Sep 1751 at Stafford. One of Purcell's brothers, John Purcell of Madeley, Salop M.D. c1674-1730 was a medical writer and dedicated one of his books to Charles Talbot 1st Duke of Shrewsbury 1660-1718 (also born a roman catholic) to whom he claimed to be related (perhaps through his mother).

Michael Stanley of Handsworth apothecary e1640-?1711

1680

Stanley was the son of a Staffordshire (? roman catholic) gentleman. His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. He was in practice at Handsworth in 1680 and in 1680 was included in a list of Staffordshire roman catholics. On the death of an elder brother in 1701 he appears to have been his heir and may then have inherited some family property. He was probably buried, aged about 61, on 4 Oct 1711 at Handsworth. In his inventory which included "about twenty bookes [at] £1/5/0" his personalty was valued at £12/7/0. This was one of the lowest (cohort^x) valuations.

Benjamin Thornborough of Seighford M.D. e1627-1690

1680

Thornborough was the son of a Yorkshire West Riding man. He may have graduated M.D. from an undiscovered university about 1657. By 1663 he was in practice at Seighford where he was taxed on a house of six hearths in 1666 and was buried, aged about 63, on 19 Feb 1689.90. His practice area would have centred on the neighbouring town of Stafford. In 1680 Thornborough was included in a list of Staffordshire roman catholics.

Peter Callous of Talk-on-the-Hill surgeon e1691-1728

1721

Callous is of unknown (? roman catholic) parentage. Probably styled "of Audley" He was licensed to practise surgery in the diocese of Lichfield in 1723. In 1727 he was living at Talk-on-the-Hill but, probably aged about 37, was buried at Audley on 20 Nov 1728. His marriage in 1721 was at London Lincoln's Inn Roman Catholic Chapel which was used by both local and foreign roman catholics. Callous might then have been of foreign birth. His name is spelt Calleous in the Audley parish register.

Edward Collins of Brewood surgeon & apothecary e1722-1773

e1722

Collins was the son of a Staffordshire (? roman catholic) plumber & brazier. His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. In 1764 he was practising at Brewood but by 1769 was living at Newport, Salop when he took apprentice his cousin William Collins. In 1771 he also took apprentice Jervis Waidley.

Richard Leigh of Wolverhampton M.D. e1650-1728

1726

He matriculated from Queen's College, Oxford on 23 Mar 1665.6 and graduated B.A. in 1669. In 1673 he had two books published in that city. Leigh is then said to have become a London actor. In 1675 his book *Poems upon several occasions, and to several persons* was published in London. Richard Leigh had an elder brother Edward Leigh of Wisbech, Cambs M.D. c1641-1690 who also attended Oxford University and, by 1672, had graduated M.D. probably at a European university. Richard might also have graduated M.D. from a European university about 1680. When he wrote his will in 1726 he styles himself "of Wolverhampton Doctor of Physic" and appoints one of Edward's sons, Richard Leigh (Rector of Wymondham, Leics) 1677-1738, as his executor. He makes bequests to the "poor of Rushall ... poor catholicicks of Walsall ... poor catholicicks of Wolverhampton". Leigh likely remained an anglican but may have had some sympathy with roman catholic views. He was buried, aged about 78, on 2 Sep 1728 at Rushall.

William Rock of Brewood apothecary e1697-1752

1727

By 1727 he was in practice at Brewood where he was buried, aged about 55, on 17 Aug 1752. He likely took apprentice his first son William Rock 1728-1753 about 1742 and his 2nd son Thomas Pendrill Rock ?1729-1815 about 1743. Rock was an anglican but married a roman catholic and his children were likely all christened as roman catholics. In 1727 he was a witness to the marriage of a local catholic man to Mary Rock, a daughter of Thomas Rock (Rector of Elmley Lovett, Worcs) c1664-?1749, who might be a kinsman.

William Rock of Brewood apothecary 1728-1753**1728**

Rock was the son of a Staffordshire anglican apothecary (and likely was anglican) but because his mother was a roman catholic was christened in that church. He was likely apprenticed to his father about 1742.

Thomas Pendrill Rock of Brewood surgeon ?1729-1815**?1729**

Rock was the son of a Staffordshire anglican apothecary (and likely was anglican) but because his mother was a roman catholic was probably christened in that church. He was likely apprenticed to his father about 1743. Time served about 1750 he may have practised at Brewood as an assistant to his father and then to his brother William Rock 1728-1753. On 25 Dec 1753 the family business was advertised for sale in Aris's Birmingham Gazette by Thomas but in the event he appears to have succeeded to the practice and remained there until he was buried, aged about 86, on 28 Nov 1815. ... After 1752 Rock adopted the middle name "Pendrill" in recognition of his ancestors the Penderel family of Boscobel, Salop who assisted Charles II during the civil war.

William Rayment of Wolverhampton M.D. c1734-1800**c1734-1800**

Rayment was probably the son of a roman catholic. He was apprenticed for 7 years at £49 to Augustine Perry of Newport, Salop surgeon about 13 Jun 1748. Perhaps time served about 1755 he might about 1760 have graduated M.D. from a European university. In 1766 he was styled "of Wolverhampton M.D.". He died, aged about 66, on 20 Jun 1800 at Rome. A contemporary obituary states "His death is supposed to have been hastened by his alarm of the French, who broke in upon him and plundered him of his effects".

Bryan Higgins of Eccleshall M.D. c1740-1818**1740-?1772**

Higgins was the son of a co Sligo Irish roman catholic physician. He was admitted as a medical student at Leyden on 5 Oct 1765 and from there graduated M.D. on 12 Nov 1765 with the thesis "*Medicæ inaugurales*". Soon after he was living in London where, in 1774, he opened a school of practical chemistry with a laboratory in Greek Street, Soho. Between 1780 and 1790 he is said to have visited Russia and enjoyed the favour of the Empress Catherine. In 1794 he established "The Society for Philosophical Experiments and Conversations". Between 1796 and 1801 he was employed in Jamaica by the Jamaica House of Assembly.

William Sharrocks of Lichfield surgeon e1749-....**e1749-1793**

Sharrocks is of unknown (? roman catholic) parentage. His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. He is said to to have lived and practised at Lichfield as a physician, surgeon and midwife from 1783 until he emigrated to America in 1793. Whilst at Lichfield he was one of "About a dozen people from Lichfield [who] attended the [roman catholic] chapel at Pipe Hall in the early 1790s".

John Underhill of Stafford M.B. c1753-1809**c1753-1809**

Underhill was of unknown (but likely roman catholic) parentage. He graduated M.B. from the roman catholic Louvain University before 1779 with the thesis "*De pleuritide*". In that year and until at least 1783 he was a Physician at Staffordshire General Infirmary (at Stafford). By 1789 and in 1790 he was in practice at Bridgnorth, Salop but by 1797 and until about 1804 was in practice at Tettenhall. In 1805 he was living at Manchester where he died, aged about 56, but burial was at Wolverhampton St Peter & Paul Roman Catholic on 9 Jan 1809.

Philip Hickin of Sedgley surgeon c1780-1868**c1780-1868**

Hickin was the son of a Staffordshire (? roman catholic) farmer. He was apprenticed for 7 years at £21 to Thomas Baker of Wolverhampton surgeon about 10 May 1794. Time served about 1801 he probably practised at Wolverhampton until he moved to Lower Gornal in Sedgley about 1830. Here he probably practised until he died, aged about 88, on 24 May 1868 with burial at Sedgley Roman Catholic. Hickin was probably born into a roman catholic family and appears to have remained in that church.

John Brickdale Morgan of Colton M.R.C.S. e1784-1869**e1784-1869**

Morgan was the son of a Surrey (? roman catholic) M.D. He was probably brought up and remained a roman catholic. He qualified M.R.C.S. in 1807 and practised at Lambeth until 1828. Shortly after he moved to Colton where he was still living in 1837. Morgan died, aged 85, on 21 Nov 1869 at Pisa, Italy.

David Bolton of Bilston F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1806-1878**c1806**

Bolton was probably the son of a Staffordshire roman catholic draper. Whilst at Bilston he was a pupil of Thomas Marson Waterhouse L.S.A. 1799-1832, studied at Birmingham School of Medicine and qualified L.S.A. in 1833. He may then have practised at Bilston before he further qualified M.R.C.S. in 1839 (F.R.C.S., 1854). By 1839 he had moved to Birmingham ...

Francis Paul Palmer of Walsall M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1808-1872**1808**

Palmer was the only child of a Worcestershire roman catholic attorney-at-law. He was educated at the roman catholic Sedgley Park School and trained at Guy's Hospital before he qualified L.S.A. in 1830 and M.R.C.S. in 1831. In 1832 he was House Surgeon to Birmingham Cholera Hospital

Thomas Taunton of Rugeley M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1812-1900**c1812-1900**

Taunton was the son of a Devon roman catholic. He was educated at Bonham Private School and at Bath Downside College, both Soms, and then apprenticed to Mr Worman of Bath. He trained at St Bartholomew's Hospital and at Paris. After he qualified L.S.A. and M.R.C.S. in 1835 he commenced practice in London where he was for a period House Surgeon to London Lying-in Hospital. In 1842 he was invited to set up practice in Brussels but was eventually refused permission to practice by the Belgian medical authorities. On his return to London his health declined and he sought a country practice. About 1850 he moved to Rugeley where he practised for the rest of his life. On census night 1851 he had a male "inmate" in his household presumably a patient under treatment. He died, aged 88, on 5 Nov 1900 at Rugeley. His effects were valued at £127/0/9. Taunton remained roman catholic and in his final years is said to have read, perhaps the whole, of the *Summa Theologica* of Thomas Aquinas.

Thomas Robinson of Alton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1818-1873**1818-1873**

Robinson was the son of a Yorkshire East Riding roman catholic farmer. He studied at London University College before he qualified L.S.A. and M.R.C.S. in 1841. Robinson may have commenced practice in Yorkshire East Riding but by 1850 had moved to Alton where he died, aged 55, on 13 Apr 1873. Both Robinson and the lord of the manor of Alton were roman catholics.

Thomas Stonor Simkiss of Wolverhampton surgeon 1793-1868**1819**

Although christened as an anglican Simkiss likely converted to roman catholic after his 1819 marriage perhaps because his wife was of that church.

Thomas Crean of Brewood L.K&Q.C.P.I. c1827-1875**c1827**

Crean was the son of an Irish (? roman catholic) man. He studied at Dublin University and trained at Dublin Rotunda Lying-in Hospital. If he was born about 1827 as the record indicates he was only aged about 18 when in 1845 he qualified L.M. ("licensed man-midwife") and the same year qualified L.R.C.S.I. He practised in Dublin until 1847. About 1848 he moved to Brewood Crean married in 1857 in a roman catholic church and may have been born into that religion.

John Steward of Wolverhampton F.R.C.P.E. 1796-1880**1827**

Steward was the son of a Warwickshire anglican. He trained at Guy's Hospital and St Thomas's Hospital before he qualified L.S.A. in 1817 and M.R.C.S. in 1818. Steward practised in London before moving to Staffordshire about 1827 where he lived briefly at Great Haywood in Colwich and then at Stafford from about 1829 to 1833. ... By 1827 Steward had converted to roman catholic.

William Dawes of Stoke-upon-Trent L.S.A. 1800-1856**1830-1856**

Dawes was the son of a Derbyshire anglican farmer. After he qualified L.S.A. in 1824 he probably practised all his working life at Longton in Stoke-upon-Trent. Here he was a declared bankrupt in 1839 and here he died, as the result of an accident, aged 56, on 2 May 1856 with burial at Draycott-in-the-Moors. Probably after his marriage in 1830 he converted to roman catholic.

William Joseph Dawes of Stoke-upon-Trent apprentice 1831-....**1831-....**

Dawes was the son of a Staffordshire roman catholic L.S.A. In 1851 he was apprenticed to his father at Longton in Stoke-upon-Trent. He qualified M.R.C.S. in 1854 and L.M. and L.S.A. in 1855.

Henry Paget of Burslem surgeon ?1776-1835**1835**

Paget was probably the son of a Worcestershire anglican. His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. Perhaps time served in 1797 by 1802 he was in practice at Burslem but about 1828 moved to Walsall where he died, aged about 59, on 24 Apr 1835 with burial on 30 Apr at Walsall St Mary Roman Catholic where his grandson was christened a few weeks later.

Henry Leigh Paget of Walsall L.S.A. 1807-1840**1835**

Paget was the son of a Staffordshire anglican surgeon. He qualified L.S.A. in 1829 and then probably went into partnership at Walsall with his father who recorded in his 1835 will "I have already made over to my son Henry my business and everything thereunto belonging". .. In 1835 Paget's father was buried and his son was christened at Walsall St Mary Roman Catholic. It is unclear how long the family followed that church.

Charles Ferrers Palmer of Tamworth M.R.C.S. 1819-1900**1842-1900**

Palmer was the son of a Staffordshire anglican physician. He was educated at Tamworth Grammar School and studied at Birmingham Queen's College. In 1842 he converted to roman catholic. After he qualified M.R.C.S. in 1846 he practised at Tamworth until about 1853 when he entered Woodchester Monastery, Glos moving in 1866 to London St Dominic's Priory where he died, aged 81, on 27 Oct 1900 with burial at Kensal Green Cemetery. Palmer became a Dominican monk in 1855 taking the name Raymund and was in 1859 ordained a priest. Early in life he wrote a history of his native Tamworth which was published in 1845. Subsequently he was a prolific writer on local history and roman catholic history.

John Talbot Cartwright of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1810-1872**1860**

In his household on census night 1851 was a medical assistant Daniel Shelswell c1830-1864 who was later to become his son-in-law. ... When his daughter married Shelswell in 1860 the marriage took place at Wolverhampton Roman catholic church probably indicating one of them was of that denomination. Indeed Cartwright himself might have been a roman catholic.

Daniel Shelswell of Wolverhampton medical assistant c1830-1864**1860**

Shelswell was the son of a Gloucestershire farmer. On census night 1851 he was a medical assistant in the household of John Talbot Cartwright of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1810-1872 who was to become his father-in-law in 1860. ... His marriage took place at Wolverhampton Roman catholic church presumably indicating that either he or his wife were of that denomination.

Richard Spooner Cooper of Bilston M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1808-1890**1881**

Cooper was the son of a Staffordshire anglican iron-master. He qualified L.S.A. and M.R.C.S. in 1830 and probably commenced practice at Bilston where on 6 Aug 1832 he was appointed a Member of the Bilston Board of Health for Cholera Outbreak and employed to assist. In his household on census night 1841 were John Vinall surgeon 1817-1889 and Francis Paul Palmer M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1808-1872 (who married his sister a few days later). ... Francis Paul Palmer was a roman catholic and Cooper's third marriage in 1881 was in a roman catholic church.

John Meredith of Tutbury M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1810-1897**1897**

Meredith was the son of a Herefordshire anglican farmer. After he qualified L.S.A. and M.R.C.S. in 1837 he probably commenced practice at Leominster where he was still living in 1842. For a period before 1850 he was junior partner at Tutbury to Henry Edwards of Tutbury M.R.C.S. 1789-1863. By 1851 he had moved to Oswestry, Salop where he was still living about 1855. In 1871 he was living in retirement in Somerset and in 1881 at Tunbridge Wells, Kent. By 1891 he had returned to Somerset. He died, aged 87, on 6 Aug 1897 at Cheltenham, Glos. ... A newspaper obituary calls him "a faithful son of the Catholic Church" so he must have converted from anglican to roman catholic.

N1.3 Anglican church (1534)

In 1534 *The act of supremacy* {26 Henry VIII c1} was passed which officially proclaimed Henry VIII as head of the church in England. Thus, by default, the larger part of the English population became members of the newly constituted anglican church³⁶⁰.

Albeit the king's Majesty justly and rightfully is and ought to be the supreme head of the Church of England, and so is recognized by the clergy of this realm in their convocations, yet nevertheless, for corroboration and confirmation thereof, and for increase of virtue in Christ's religion within this realm of England, and to repress and extirpate all errors, heresies, and other enormities and abuses heretofore used in the same, be it enacted, by authority of this present Parliament, that the king, our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England, called *Anglicana Ecclesia*; and shall have and enjoy, annexed and united to the imperial crown of this realm, as well the title and style thereof, as all honors, dignities, preeminences, jurisdictions, privileges, authorities, immunities, profits, and commodities to the said dignity of the supreme head of the same Church belonging and appertaining; and that our said sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall have full power and authority from time to time to visit, repress, redress, record, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offenses, contempts and enormities, whatsoever they be, which by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction ought or may lawfully be reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended, most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue in Christ's religion, and for the conservation of the peace, unity, and tranquility of this realm; any usage, foreign land, foreign authority, prescription, or any other thing or things to the contrary hereof notwithstanding.

During the reign of Queen Mary 1554-1558 roman catholicism was briefly restored by various acts.

On the succession of Queen Elizabeth *The act of supremacy* {1 Elizabeth c1} (1558) was passed which overturned most of Mary's legislation and once again enacted that "All foreign spiritual jurisdiction [be] abolished [and] all spiritual jurisdiction [be] united to the crown"³⁶¹.

From February 1644 until 29 May 1660 the anglican church was replaced by the presbyterian church (see §N1.7 below).

In the years after 1660 various acts of parliament were passed to strengthen the position of the anglican church throughout the community. Four of these acts - *The corporation act* (1661), *The act of uniformity* (1662), *The conventicle act* (1664) and *The five mile act* (1665) became known as the "Clarendon Code" named (subsequently) after Edward Hyde 1st Earl of Clarendon 1604-1675 [CP] [OB] who served as Lord Chancellor to Charles II. These acts are briefly described below.

³⁶⁰ That is to say members of the Church of England.

³⁶¹ *Church acts and measures ... Third Edition* (1969) p45

Under *An act for the well-governing and regulating of corporations (aka The corporation act)* {13 Charles II stat2 c1} (1661) men serving in municipal government were to attest loyalty to the Crown and were to be members of the anglican church.

§4. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid That all persons who upon the four and twentieth day of December one thousand six hundred sixty and one shall be mayors, aldermen, recorders, bailiffes, town-clerks, common council-men and other persons then bearing any office or offices of magistracy or places or trusts or other employment relating to or concerning the government of the said respective cities corporations and boroughs and cinque ports and their members and other port-towns shall at any time before the five and twentieth day of march one thousand six hundred sixtie and three when they shall be thereunto required by the said respective commissioners or any three or more of them take the oathes of allegiance and supremacy and this oath following. §5. I A.B. do declare and beleive that it is not lawfull upon any pretence whatsoever to take arms against the king and that i do abhor that traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person or against those that are co[m]missioned by him so helpe me god. §6. And alsoe att the same time shall publicly subscribe before the said commissioners or any three of them this following declaration. I A.B. do declare that i hold that there lyes no obligation upon me or any other person from the oath commonly called the solemn league and covenant and that the same was in it selfe an unlawfull oath and imposed upon the subjects of this realm against the knowne laws and liberties of the kingdome. ... §12. Provided also ... no person or persons shall for ever hereafter be placed, elected or chosen, in or to any of the said offices aforesaid .. that shall not have within one year next before such election or choice taken the sacrament of the Lord's supper according to the rites of the church of England ...

The following year was passed *An act for the uniformity of publique prayers and administracion of sacraments & other rites & ceremonies and for establishing the form of making ordaining and consecrating bishops preists and deacons in the church of england (aka The act of uniformity)* {14 Charles II c4} (1662). The preamble to this act recited that in the first year of Queen Elizabeth there was one uniform order of Church service compiled ... set forth in "The Booke of Common Prayer ..." and that under §1 ministers in churches etc were to use it and §2 Parsons, vicars etc were publicly to read and declare their assent to the use of it and §3 refusal to assent was to result in deprival from office. The Act was to take full effect on St Bartholomew's Day, 24 Aug 1662, when it is said up to 2,000 clergymen were ejected.

An act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles (aka The conventicle act) {16 Charles II c4} (1664) states:

For providing further and more speedy Remedies against the growing and dangerous practices of Seditious Sectaries and other disloyall Persons who under pretence of tender Consciences have or may at their Meetings contrive Insurrections (as late experience hath shewen) Bee it enacted ... That if any person of the Age of Sixteene years or upwards being a Subject of this Realme at any time after the Tenth day of May next shall be present at any Assembly Conventicle or Meeteing under colour or pretence of any Exercise of Religion in other manner then according to the Liturgy and practice of the Church of England ... at which Conventicle, Meeting or Assembly there shall be five persons or more assembled together over and besides those of the same Household, ... it shall and may be lawfull to and for any one or more Justices of the Peace [etc] ... [they] respectively shall impose on every such Offender soe convict as aforesaid a Fine of Five shillings for such first Offence

The next year is *An act for restraining non-conformists from inhabiting in corporations (aka The five mile act)* {17 Charles II c2} (1665).

§2. And all such person and persons as shall take upon them to preach in any unlawfull Assembly Conventicle or Meeting under colour or pretence of any Exercise of Religion contrary to the Lawes and Statutes of this Kingdome shall not at any time from and after the [24 Mar 1665.6] unlesse onely in passeing upon the Road come or be within Five miles of any City or Towne Corporate or Burrough that sends Burgesses to the Parlyament ... or within Five miles of any Parish Towne or Place wherein he or they have since the Act of Oblivion beene Parson Viccar Curate Stipendary or Lecturer ... upon forfeiture of every such offence the summe of [£40] the one Third part thereof to His Majestie and His Successors, the other Third part to the use of the poore of the Parish where the offence shall be committed and the other Third part thereof to such person or persons as shall or will sue for the same ... §3. ... not be lawfull for any person or persons restrained ... to teach any Publick or Private School

On 24 May 1689, shortly after William and Mary succeeded to the throne, was passed *An act for exempting their Majesties protestant subjects, dissenting from the Church of England, from the penalties of certain laws (aka The toleration act, or, The act of toleration)* {1 William & Mary c18}. To benefit from the provisions of the act the two oaths (below) were to be sworn. The act granted some freedom of worship to most nonconformists but the wording of the oaths excluded roman catholics, non-trinitarians³⁶² and atheists.

I A. B. do sincerely promise and solemnly declare before God and the world, that I will be true and faithful to King William and Queen Mary; and I do solemnly profess and declare, that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and renounce, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position, That princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any authority of the See of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I do declare, that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have, any power, jurisdiction, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority ecclesiastical or spiritual within this realm.

I A. B. profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ His eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, one God blessed for evermore, and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by divine inspiration.

Unsurprisingly the cohort^{*} was predominantly anglican. Of the 886 men whose religion at birth is known 824 were anglican representing 93.1% of the whole. Eleven men converted to anglican and 19 converted out (see table above). Details of all these men are given in the Register [SDH3].

N1.4 Baptist churches (c1612)

From about 1612 various baptist churches were formed. Baptists were nonconformist and rejected infant baptism in favour of baptism at an age when people might assert their own beliefs. Sometimes full immersion was required.

Kent was probably born a baptist and Stuart was born a baptist but later converted to anglican.

³⁶² A trinitarian believed in the doctrine of the trinity - that is the unity of father, son and holy ghost.

Kent was the son of a Berkshire (? baptist) schoolmaster. He was apprenticed for 5 years to an Oxford apothecary in 1824. In 1831 he graduated M.D. from Edinburgh with the thesis "*De gangliis nervi sympathetici*" and in 1835 he qualified L.S.A. ... he died, aged about 56, on 25 Nov 1864 at London with burial at Ryde Cemetery.

William Stuart of Stoke-upon-Trent M.D. 1812-1879 **1812-1837**
Stuart was the son of a Kent baptist administrator. He trained at Guy's Hospital before he qualified L.S.A. in 1834 and M.R.C.S. in 1836. After qualification he practised at Longton in Stoke-upon-Trent where he was, until 1837, junior partner to James Bell Jardine M.D. 1807-1888. On his marriage in 1837 he may have converted to anglican. By 1840 he had returned to his birthplace Woolwich, Kent. ...

N1.5 Congregationalist churches (early 17C)

From the early 17C various congregationalist churches were formed. Congregationalists were nonconformists and each church was intended to be governed by its own congregation.

Two of the cohort* were congregationalist. Samuel Stringer was born into that church and Samuel Hallett Griffith was a convert.

Samuel Stringer of Newcastle M.D. c1691-1759 **c1691**
Stringer was the son of a Cheshire (? congregationalist) minister. A man of his name was admitted as a medical student at Leyden on 22 Sep 1718. Stringer had probably graduated M.D. before his marriage in 1723 in which year he was living at Newcastle. In 1725 he had moved to Raunds, Northants but by 1739 was back at Newcastle ... He was a maternal uncle of Josiah Wedgwood master potter 1730-1795 [OB].

Samuel Hallett Griffith of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1819-1859 **1846-1859**
Griffith was the son of a Somerset independent. He was educated at the nonconformist Mill Hill Grammar School in Hendon, Middx. After school he at first studied theology but then turned to medicine and trained at London St George's Hospital before he qualified L.S.A. and M.R.C.S. in 1842. ... At some period, perhaps about 1846, Griffith appears to have converted to congregationalist and whilst in London as a noted congregationalist he contributed religious papers to various journals.

N1.6 Independent churches (early 17C)

From the early 17C various independent churches were formed. Independents were nonconformists and each group of their churches was intended to be governed by their joint congregations.

Twenty-one of the cohort* were, or may have been, independents. Eighteen were born or probably born into that church. Three were converts. A surprisingly large number of men (nine) converted out - seven to anglican, one to congregationalist and one to unitarian. Nine of the men were from the neighbouring towns of Darlaston, Walsall, West Bromwich and Wolverhampton.

Thomas Foxall of Walsall surgeon ?1757-1801 **1785**
Foxall was the son of a Shropshire ?anglican innkeeper. He was apprenticed for 7 years at £100 to John Smith of Walsall surgeon & apothecary about 20 Apr 1772. Time served about 1779 he practised briefly at Ellesmere, Salop but by 1780 was living at Walsall where he practised for the rest of life and where he died of apoplexy, aged 44, on 30 Nov 1801. By 1785 he and his wife had converted to independent and had joined Walsall Independent Chapel where he became a deacon. His obituary in *Evangelical Magazine* includes details of his religious development.

(1851) [Walsall] The Independent chapel in Bridge Street was built in 1790 in lieu of an old chapel which stood in Dudley Street. It is a large and handsome building with about 1,200 sittings. [White] [NOTE: Registers relating to this church are at Walsall Local History Centre (Baptisms & other information 1759-1876) and at National Archives RG5 2702 (Baptisms 1785-1837)]

David Fry of Stafford surgeon 1785-1814 **1785-1814**
Fry was the son of an Essex independent minister. His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. Perhaps time served about 1806 by 1809 he was in practice at Stafford where in 1813 he fell ill and his younger brother Bernard Fry surgeon c1786-1827 (below) came to assist him.

Bernard Fry of Stafford surgeon c1786-1827 **c1786-1814**
Fry was the son of an Essex independent minister. His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered but he claimed to have trained at the London hospitals. He moved to Stafford about 1813 and assisted his elder brother David Fry of Stafford surgeon 1785-1814 (above) who was then ill. After his brother's death he took over his practice. Perhaps about this time he converted to unitarian. In 1822 he (with others) offered his gratuitous services to Staffordshire General Infirmary but they were all declined. Fry wrote a vitriolic letter to the Staffordshire Advertiser complaining about his treatment. In 1827 there was an outbreak of typhus fever in Stafford poor house which Fry attended. He was infected and died, aged 41, on 28 Jan 1827 with burial on 31 Jan at St Mary. His estate was valued under £1,000. His gravestone carries a poetic eulogy.

Abel Rooker of Darlaston surgeon 1787-1867 **1787-1811**
Rooker was the son of a Staffordshire independent nonconformist. He was apprenticed for 7 years at £20 Francis Watkin Weaver of Walsall surgeon &c about 26 Jan 1803. Both Rooker and his master were members of the Walsall Bridge Street Independent Chapel. Time served about 1810 Rooker likely commenced practice at Darlaston and perhaps at the time of his marriage in 1811 converted to anglican. ...

Abraham Denston of Wolverhampton surgeon ?1763-1790 **1788**
His only child was christened in an independent church in 1788.

Robert Gorton of Wolverhampton surgeon & apothecary 1792-1861 **1792-1816**
Gorton was the son of a Lancashire independent. His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. Possibly time served about 1813 he likely commenced practice at Wolverhampton where at first he practised as a surgeon and apothecary but may subsequently have worked primarily as a chemist. Perhaps on his marriage in 1816 Gorton converted to anglican. ...

Thomas Davidson of Newcastle M.D. 1794-1839 **1794**
Davidson was the son of a Shropshire independent civil-engineer (of Scottish heritage). He was apprenticed surgeon in Oswestry, Salop about 1808. Perhaps time served about 1815 he practised at Breaston, Derbys until 1830. He may have graduated M.D. about 1834 since early in 1835 he was appointed Physician to the North Staffordshire Infirmary (at Stoke-upon-Trent). Whilst at the Infirmary Davidson appears to have lived in Newcastle. ...

William Wallman Pattison of Lichfield surgeon 1794-1842 **1794-1825**
Pattison was the son of an Essex independent. His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. He may well have trained or studied at Edinburgh. Probably time served in 1815 by 1822 he was in practice at Lichfield where he was senior partner to John Allport of Lichfield M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1799-1853 for a period before Dec 1827. Perhaps at the time of his marriage in 1825 Pattison converted to anglican. ...

Samuel Barnett of Rugeley M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. ?1796-1848 **1796-1823**
Barnett was probably the son of a Staffordshire independent. He qualified L.S.A. in 1819 and then commenced practice at Rugeley. Perhaps on his marriage in 1823 he converted to anglican. At Rugeley he further qualified M.R.C.S. in 1843 and here he died, aged 52, on 6 May 1848.

Benjamin Bellin of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1797-1868 **1797-1828**

Bellin was the son of a London nonconformist (possibly an independent). He qualified M.R.C.S. in 1821 and L.S.A. in 1823. From about 1824 to 1826 he was House Surgeon, Apothecary & Secretary at Wolverhampton Dispensary. On his marriage in London in 1828 he may have converted to anglican. ...

John Mitchell Davidson of Stoke-upon-Trent M.D. 1797-1843 **1797**

Davidson was the son of a Denbighshire Welsh independent civil-engineer (of Scottish heritage). He was educated at Inverness Grammar School and trained at Guy's Hospital before 1818 when he graduated from Edinburgh with the thesis *De asthmate*. After qualification in 1818 he practised at Hanley in Stoke-upon-Trent until moving to Nottingham in 1824 where he became a Physician at Nottingham General Hospital and at Nottingham Lunatic Asylum. At Nottingham he died of a lung disease, aged 46, on 13 Jun 1843.

Joshua Seddon of Stoke-upon-Trent M.D. 1797-1862 **1797-1862**

Seddon was the son of a London nonconformist (possibly an independent). He trained at Guy's Hospital and St Thomas's Hospital before he qualified M.R.C.S. (F.R.C.S., 1844) and L.S.A. in 1819. In 1820 he was appointed House Surgeon & Secretary to North Staffordshire Infirmary (at Stoke-upon-Trent) but resigned in 1836 doubtless to marry. ... Seddon graduated M.D. from St Andrews in 1845.

William Cooke of Wolverhampton L.S.A. 1802-1834 **1802-1824**

Cooke was the son of a Staffordshire independent chemist & druggist. He trained in London before he qualified L.S.A. in 1823 when he was living at Wolverhampton. Cooke may have converted to anglican on his marriage in 1824. He then continued his training in Paris and returned to England about 1826 ... but was practising in Wolverhampton when he died, aged 32, on 22 Nov 1834 with burial on 28 Nov at St Peter.

William Gill of Wolverhampton M.D. 1805-1854 **1805**

Gill was the son of a Nottinghamshire independent commission-agent. He qualified M.R.C.S. and L.S.A. in 1829. By 1838 he was in practice as a surgeon at Wolverhampton where on census night 1841 a surgeon Edward Russ M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1815-1849 and an apprentice Edwin Bishop 1817-1877 were in his household. He probably left Wolverhampton before 1843 in which year he graduated M.D. from Halle. In 1844 he was elected M.R.C.P. and subsequently practised as a physician at Nottingham. Whilst there he further graduated M.D. from St Andrews in 1851 and there he died, aged 49, on 1 Dec 1854 at Bramcote, Notts.

Francis Watkin Weaver of Walsall surgeon 1775-1822 **1803-1822**

Weaver was the son of a Herefordshire anglican surgeon. He was likely apprenticed to his father about 1789. Time served about 1796 by 1803 he was in practice at Walsall and about that time converted to independent and joined the Walsall Bridge Street Independent Chapel. In the year 1803 he took apprentice for 7 years at £20 Abel Rooker 1787-1867 also a member of the Independent Chapel. At Walsall he died of a decline, aged 47, on 9 Feb 1822 with burial on 15 Feb.

William Hammond of Handsworth M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1807-1858 **1807-1858**

Hammond was the son of a Staffordshire independent clergyman. He studied at London University College and at Birmingham Queen's College before he qualified L.S.A. in 1830 and M.R.C.S. in 1831. He probably lived and practised all his working life at Handsworth. Additionally he practised at Smethwick in Harborne for a period around 1850/1. However he died, aged 51, on 14 Mar 1858 at Duddeston, Warwicks.

George Beddow of West Bromwich M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1814-?1855 **1814-1846**

Beddow was the son of an Essex independent. About 1832 he was a pupil of Thomas Silvester of West Bromwich surgeon 1787-1864 when he was also studying at Birmingham School of Medicine and Surgery. He qualified L.S.A. in 1835 whilst living at West Bromwich but probably moved to Birmingham before 1840. He further qualified M.R.C.S. in 1843. About 1846 he converted to anglican and was ordained in the Church of England. ...

John Keen Maurice of Harborne L.S.A. 1814-1837 **1814-1837**

Maurice was the son of a Staffordshire independent. After he qualified L.S.A. in 1836 he practised for less than two years at Smethwick in Harborne where he died, aged 23, about November 1837.

Richard Williams of Burslem (? L.S.A.) 1817-1851 **1817-1851**

Williams was the son of a Gloucestershire independent banker. He was educated in Yorkshire and at Dursley under Rev. John Glanville. He studied at London University and trained at a London hospital before he qualified (probably L.S.A.) in May 1841. He commenced practice in Norfolk but, perhaps about 1845, moved to Burslem where a married sister had settled. In 1850, as their catechist (religious teacher), he joined an expedition organised by the Patagonian Missionary Society to Terra Del Fuego an archipelago at South America's southernmost tip. Tragically all the men aboard the ship had died of starvation by the end of Sep 1851 in which month Williams himself died, aged 34.

William Lord Grundy of Wolverhampton L.S.A. 1819-1849 **1819-1849**

Grundy was the son of a Leicestershire independent. By 1839 he was working as a druggist but qualified L.S.A. in 1846. He then commenced practice at Wolverhampton where he died of typhus fever, aged 30, on 18 May 1849 with burial on 21 May at St George. He had contracted the fever from "a pauper patient recently arrived from Ireland".

Samuel Hallett Griffith of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1819-1859 **1846-1859**

Griffith was the son of a Somerset independent. He was educated at the nonconformist Mill Hill Grammar School in Hendon, Middx. After school he at first studied theology but then turned to medicine and trained at London St George's Hospital before he qualified L.S.A. and M.R.C.S. in 1842. ... At some period, perhaps about 1846, Griffith appears to have converted to congregationalist and whilst in London as a noted congregationalist he contributed religious papers to various journals.

John Swift of Walsall "surgeon" 1796-1837 **1832-1837**

Swift was the son of a Staffordshire anglican currier. His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. He appears to have lived in Surrey for a period before returning to Walsall about 1832 at which time he appears to have converted to independent. Here he practised as a surgeon until he died after a long illness, aged 41, on 2 Jul 1837 with burial on 3 Jul at the nonconformist Walsall Bath Street Burial Ground. His estate was valued under £100.

N1.7 Presbyterian church (1644)

In Aug 1642 the English Civil War commenced. On 12 Jun 1643 Parliament passed an ordinance to create the *Westminster Assembly* which was to consist of about 120 theologians and 30 parliamentary observers. This assembly devised the *Solemn league and covenant* which seems to have been accepted by the House of Commons on 25 Sep 1643 and contained the following section:

§2. That we shall in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of Popery, prelacy (that is, Church government by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy), superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness, lest we partake in other men's sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues; and that the Lord may be one, and His name one in the three kingdoms.

Under this edict in Feb 1643.4 the episcopacy, that is to say the control of the church by bishops, was abolished. Control was now to be exercised by ordained men of a lower rank sometimes styled presbyters. The new system was then *presbyterian*. Serving anglican clergymen who would not sign the *Solemn league and covenant* were ejected and those who did sign continued in their benefices as presbyterian ministers.

After the execution of Charles I on 30 Jan 1648.9 the presbyterian system was maintained until shortly after Charles II was restored to the throne. He was proclaimed King on 5 May 1660 and arrived back in the country on 29 May 1660.

Seven of the cohort^x were presbyterian. Four were born into that church and three were converts. Two of the men later converted to anglican. Of these John Turton must have converted to anglican before he was conferred a Cambridge degree (see §D.2.2.1). Thomas Gyles was instrumental in persuading William Westmacott to move to Stafford in 1673.

William Westmacott of Newcastle physician c1650-1721

1650-1721

Westmacott was the son of a Worcestershire presbyterian clergyman and probably remained in that church all his life. ... From birth he was in the care of Welsh speaking relatives but was likely living at Cropthorne, Worcs about 1662 when his father was ejected as Minister there. The family moved within the county to Pershore and then to Defford (where a brother later held a small estate). Probably in 1668 he served about six months of an apprenticeship to an apothecary and chirurgion at Bromsgrove, Worcs but then received training and studied all branches of medicine at Stratford-upon-Avon, Warwicks; Loughborough, Leics; Fairfield, Glos; Faringdon, Berks; Bristol, Glos and finally Bath, Soms. In 1671 Westmacott probably came of age. The next year he moved to Shrewsbury and the following year to Stafford "ther to succeed old Dr Fyge [--- Fyge of Stafford physician e1602-?1673] in practice of physicke being solicited thereunto by Mr Thomas Giles the apothecary [Thomas Gyles of Stafford apothecary c1642-1688 (also a nonconformist)] & came thither in September 1673". His final move was in 1676 when he went to Newcastle where Robert Croxton ?1619-1675 had just died. ... Theodore Westmacott (Presbyterian Minister of Chalford Bottoms, Glos) e1677-1728 was a younger brother

George Long of Newcastle M.D. c1628-1712

?1660-1712

Long was the son of a London anglican. He was admitted sizar at Trinity College, Cambridge on 2 Jun 1646 and was a Fellow until 1660. He was briefly Minister of Newcastle but, presumably as a presbyterian convert, did not subscribe to the Act of Uniformity and was thus ejected on 24 Aug 1662. He was admitted as a medical student at Leyden on 4 Jul 1668 and from there graduated M.D. on 12 Jul 1688 with the thesis "*De convulsione et motibus convulsivis*". For the rest of his life he appears to have practised as a physician and served as a presbyterian clergyman at Birmingham, in Ireland and at Leicester, Newcastle (possibly in the 1680s) and latterly at Bristol, Glos where he died, aged about 84, on 26 Dec 1712.

Thomas Gyles of Stafford apothecary c1642-1688

1682-1688

Gyles was the son of a Worcestershire anglican gentleman. About 1656 he was first apprenticed at Worcester but there fell ill and returned to his widowed mother's home at Kidderminster, Worcs. Recovering from his illness he was reapprenticed for seven years to John Allen of Kidderminster apothecary. Time served in about 1664, he probably practised all his working life at Stafford. Perhaps about 1670 he issued a halfpenny token bearing the apothecaries' arms and a Staffordshire knot with the inscription "THO GYLES APOTHECARY IN STAFFORD HIS HALF[E] PENY". In 1673 he solicited the presbyterian William Westmacott physician c1650-1721 to come to Stafford to practice. Gyles himself converted to presbyterian for in 1682 the Mayor of Stafford, Sampson Birch of Stafford apothecary ?1632-?1713, wrote a letter to a government official "enclosing information about Gyles and commenting on Gyles's nonconformity, conventicling and dispersing news tending to sedition; instances his extolling and sending abroad that base libel called Lord Shaftesbury's speech". Gyles was buried, aged about 46, on 10 Aug 1688 at St Mary with burial requested in the chancel.

John Turton of Wolverhampton M.B. c1703-1764

c1703-1728

Turton was the son of a Staffordshire presbyterian ironmonger. He was admitted, aged 23, as a medical student at Leyden University on 19 Sep 1726. Turton must have converted to anglican before he was conferred by Cambridge University Senate an M.B. (*by courtesy* M.D.) in 1728. He probably commenced practice at Wolverhampton but by 1740 had moved to Birmingham where he was buried, aged 61, on 18 Feb 1764. ...

Ralph Eddowes of Eccleshall apothecary 1714-1750

1714-1750

Eddowes was the son of a Shropshire presbyterian ironmonger. He was apprenticed for 7 years at £30 to George Davison of Newcastle apothecary about 2 Sep 1730. Time served about 1737 he may have practised all his working life at Eccleshall where he was buried, aged 36, on 13 Mar 1749.50.

Abraham Harper of Wolverhampton surgeon ?1732-....

1768

Harper was probably the son of a Warwickshire anglican. When he married in 1761 he was a Birmingham druggist. By 1765 he had moved to Wolverhampton where, still a druggist, he took an apprentice. By 1768 Harper had converted to presbyterian. ... About 1798 a directory lists him as a Wolverhampton surgeon.

Walter Fergus of Stafford M.D. c1820-1886

c1820-1849

Fergus was the son of a Northumbrian presbyterian clergyman (of Scottish heritage). He studied at London King's College. In 1842 he graduated M.D. from Edinburgh with the thesis "*On contributions to the vital statistics of English paupers*" and in 1843 qualified L.S.A. and M.R.C.S. He served as House Surgeon & Secretary to Staffordshire General Infirmary (at Stafford) from 1844 to 1848. About 1849 Fergus probably converted to anglican for he practised as medical officer to (the anglican) Marlborough College from 1849 until early 1886 and in 1850 married a daughter of the Rector of Stafford. ...

N1.8 Quaker church (Society of Friends) (1650)

The quaker church formally known as the Society of Friends is said by one of its early leaders George Fox 1624-1691 [OB] to have acquired the name after a Derbyshire magistrate called them "quakers"³⁶³ in 1650:

When the morning came, he rose, and went to the justices, and told them, "that he and his house had been plagued for my sake": and one of the justices replied (as he reported to me), that the plagues were on them too for keeping me. This was Justice Bennet of Derby, who was the first that called us Quakers, because I bid them tremble at the word of the Lord. This was in the year 1650. [*Journal of George Fox ... Seventh Edition Volume I* (1852) p85]

Fox believed that religious beliefs should stem not only from the bible but from an inner spiritual guide. He rejected the doctrine of the trinity - that is the unity of father, son and holy ghost. On a practical level he opposed

³⁶³ Two early pamphlets were by John Gilpin *The Quakers shaken* ... Newcastle (1653) and Richard Baxter *One sheet against the quakers* (1657)

the legal practice of oath-taking and the payment of church tithes. In 1651 Fox visited Lichfield as he recounts in his Journal.

(1651) Afterwards I went near Burton upon Trent, where some were convinced; and to Bushel-house, where I had a meeting. ... As I was walking with several friends, I lifted up my head, and saw three steeple-house spires, and they struck at my life. I asked them what place that was? They said, Litchfield. Immediately the word of the Lord came to me, that I must go thither. ... I stepped away, and went by my eye over hedge and ditch till I came within a mile of Litchfield; where, in a great field, shepherds were keeping their sheep. Then was I commanded by the Lord to pull off my shoes. ... Then I walked on about a mile, and as soon as I was got within the city, the word of the Lord came to me again, saying; Cry, "Woe to the bloody city of Lichfield !" So I went up and down the streets, crying with a loud voice, WOE TO THE BLOODY CITY OF Lichfield! It being market-day, I went into the market-place, and to and fro in the several parts of it, and made stands, crying as before, WOE TO THE BLOODY CITY OF LICHFIELD! And no one laid hands on me. As I went thus crying through the streets, there seemed to me to be a channel of blood running down the streets, and the marketplace appeared like a pool of blood. ... for what reason I should be sent to cry against that city, and call it THE BLOODY CITY! For though the parliament had the minster one while, and the king another, and much blood had been shed in the town during the wars between them, yet that was no more than had befallen many other places. But afterwards I came to understand, that in the emperor Dioclesian's time a thousand christians were martyr'd in Lichfield. So I was to go, without my shoes, through the channel of their blood, and into the pool of their blood in the market-place, that I might raise up the memorial of the blood of those martyrs, which had been shed above a thousand years before, and lay cold in their streets. [A Journal ... of ... George Fox ... Third Edition (1765) [p48-9]

In 1660 Fox writes in a pamphlet *A declaration from the harmles & innocent people of God called Quakers. ... This declaration was given unto the King, upon the 21. day of the 11th month, 1660:*

Our principle is, and our practice has always been, to seek peace and ensue it and to follow after righteousness and the knowledge of God, seeking the good and welfare and doing that which tends to the peace of all. We know that wars and fightings proceed from the lusts of men (James 4:1-3), out of which lusts the Lord hath redeemed us, and so out of the occasion of war. The occasion of which war, and war itself (wherein envious men, who are lovers of themselves more than lovers of God, lust, kill, and desire to have men's lives or estates) ariseth from the lust. All bloody principles and practices, we, as to our own particulars, do utterly deny, with all outward wars and strife and fightings with outward weapons, for any end or under any pretence whatsoever. And this is our testimony to the whole world.

Subsequently the quaker movement embraced pacifism and was gradually to become anti-slavery. Some members adopted a formal speech pattern, plain dress and became teetotal. In England the quakers were involved in the foundation of several banks including Barclays (1690) and Lloyds (1765) and of three major confectioners, Cadbury at Birmingham, Fry at Bristol and Rowntree at York.

Eight of the cohort^x were quakers. Five were born into that church whilst three were converts. Another three men had a quaker connection. The earliest cohort^x quaker is Gervase Gent of Leek c1639-1690 who likely converted about 1660. Richard Morris of Rugeley ?1664-1716 was a quaker by 1699 when he married a co-religionist. Late in life he wrote a quaker tract only published in 1798. He probably took apprentice his 2nd son Morris Moses 1705-1742 about 1719. In turn Morris Moses took apprentice three men: Richard Sutcliffe c1715-?1755 in 1729, Thomas Crosby c1718-.... in 1736 and John Ford e1726-.... in 1742. All three of these men were probably from quaker families. Charles Chorley of Leek M.D. 1723-1764 married a Leek heiress but later practised in London. Robert Key of Leek M.D. ?1707-1761 may have converted about 1736 but moved away about 1747. In 1789 Trevor Jones of Lichfield M.D. ?1752-1832 married a woman of quaker birth. Thomas Fowler of Stafford M.D. 1736-1801 was not a quaker but in 1796 he was appointed the first physician at the quaker York Retreat and was buried in a London friends burial ground. The birth of Parkinson Oates of Alrewas M.D. 1818-1885 was recorded at a quaker meeting but his parents were then "not in membership".

Gervase Gent of Leek "surgeon & apothecary" c1630-1690

c1660-1690

Gent is of unknown parentage. His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. He likely converted to quaker before 1660 about which year the eldest of his three daughters Christian, Joyever and Charity was born. He was then one of the earliest quakers in Staffordshire. Gent probably practised at Leek where he likely died but was buried in Jan 1690, perhaps aged about 60, at Basford Friends Burial Ground in Cheddleton.

(1 Jul ?1689) Gervase Gent of Leeke yeomon[sic] ... to be buried amongst the people called Quakers ... granchild William Hulme ... daughter Christian Bagshaw my lands in America ... [mentions many relatives] ... Inventory 11 Feb 1689.90 includes ... for all druggs with the bottells 3/0 ... opium 1/0 ... one urinall & 3 glyter[sic] pipes 1/0 ... books £3 ... some instruments for chyrurgery 3/6 ... [Total £19/8/1] [The long inventory includes many other drugs, herbs and spices]

Richard Morris of Rugeley apothecary ?1664-1746

a1699-1746

Morris was probably the son of a Staffordshire anglican. His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. By 1699 he had converted to quaker when he married a co-religionist from Chesterfield, Derbys. There he appears to have lived for a few years before 1711 by when he was practising as an apothecary at Rugeley. He died, aged 82, on 28 Nov 1746. Moses Morris of Rugeley apothecary 1705-1742 was his 2nd son and had likely been apprenticed to his father about 1719. Late in life Morris wrote a quaker tract "*Some animadversions on the supposition of the scriptures being the only principal and perfect rule to salvation ...*" which was published many years after his death in 1798.

Moses Morris of Rugeley apothecary 1705-1742

1705-1742

Morris was the son of a Derbyshire quaker apothecary. His father was in practice at Rugeley (where he was probably born) from 1711 so that it was here that Moses was likely apprenticed to his father about 1719. Probably time served about 1726 he practised all his working life at Rugeley where he took three men apprentice who were probably all from quaker families: for 7 years at £50 Richard Sutcliffe c1715-?1755 in 1729, for 3 years at £120 Thomas Crosby c1718-.... in 1736 and for 5 years at £105 John Ford e1726-.... in 1742. Ford only served a few months of his apprenticeship for Morris died, aged 37, on 26 Sep 1742 with burial on 29 Sep at Stafford Friends Burial Ground.

Richard Sutcliffe of Rugeley apprentice c1715-?1755

c1715-1755

Sutcliffe was probably the son of a Lancashire quaker apothecary. He was apprenticed for 7 years at £50 to a fellow quaker Moses Morris of Rugeley apothecary about 25 Jun 1729. He was in practice at Clitheroe by 1743 when he took apprentice for 3 years at £40 Edmond Bowden. He likely died, aged about 40, shortly before Jul 1755. His (probable) father is claimed to be the celebrated author of *The quakers tea table overturned: an eighteenth-century moral satire* which was published anonymously in 1717.

Thomas Crosby of Rugeley apprentice e1718-....

e1718-....

Crosby was probably the son of a London quaker. As son of Joshua Crosby of London merchant he was apprenticed for 3 years at £120 to (a fellow quaker) Moses Morris of Rugeley apothecary & chemist about 8 Oct 1736. By 1746 Joseph Crosby and his nephew Thomas Crosby, both unmarried quakers, had emigrated to Jamaica but that year emigrated again to America settling in Philadelphia. Subsequently they both contributed to the building of the Pennsylvania Hospital and Joseph was a manager there. Doubtless only one pair of Crosby men are here noticed but their precise relationship is uncertain.

JOSHUA CROSBY, and nephew THOMAS CROSBY, both unmarried "late of this Island but now in Philadelphia." Dated Feb. 9, 1746, from Jamaica. Original on file. At Phila., 6 mo. 29, 1746. [Internet]
By 27 Jun 1751 ... Pennsylvania Gazette ... hospital ... elected managers included Joshua Crosby a Quaker merchant [J. A. Leo Lemay The Life of Benjamin Franklin, Volume 3]

Charles Chorley of Leek M.D. 1723-1764

1723-1764

Chorley was the son of a Cheshire quaker gentleman. He probably graduated M.D. before his marriage in 1755 to an heiress from Leek where he may have practised briefly. He died of a fever, aged 41, on 3 Apr 1764 in London with burial on 8 Apr at Bunhill Fields Friends Burial Ground. Edwood Chorley of Doncaster, Yorks M.D. 1757-1831 was his second son.

John Ford of Rugeley apprentice e1726-....

e1726-....

Ford was the son of a Staffordshire (? quaker). He was apprenticed for 5 years at £105 to (a quaker) Moses Morris of Rugeley apothecary about 16 Jun 1742. Ford only served a few months for his master Morris died, aged 37, on 26 Sep 1742.

Robert Key of Leek M.D. ?1707-1761

?1736-1761

Key was probably the son of a Staffordshire anglican. He was admitted as a medical student at Leyden on 24 Sep 1734 and from there graduated M.D. with the thesis "*De haemoptysi*" on 3 Sep 1736. He likely commenced practice at Leek where he was still living in 1747. Later he may have moved to London and did move to Manchester where he was normally resident at the time of his death. However he died, aged about 54, on 12 Oct 1761 at Bristol with burial on 14 Oct, in that city, at Radcliffe Pit Friends Burial Ground. William Key of Leek ?1704-...., probably Robert's brother, had converted to quaker by 1736 and Key himself may have converted to quaker about that year on his return from Leyden. In 1747 John Fothergill 1712-1780 [OB], a fellow quaker physician, addressed a letter to him at Leek as "Dear Friend". Robert Key's library removed from his Manchester house was to be sold in 1763.

Trevor Jones of Lichfield M.D. ?1752-1832

1789

His wife appears to have been born into a quaker family but their marriage and their children's christenings were all anglican. Jones was a Corresponding Member of the Medical Society of London.

Thomas Fowler of Stafford M.D. 1736-1801

1796-1801

Fowler was the son of a Yorkshire West Riding man. His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. Probably time served about 1757 he practised as an apothecary at York from 1760 until 1774 ... In 1774 he moved to Edinburgh to study. From there he graduated M.D. in 1778 with the thesis "*De variola*". Probably in the same year he was appointed a Physician to the Staffordshire General Infirmary (at Stafford). In 1791 he returned to practice in York. Here in 1796 William Tuke founded a quaker lunatic asylum called the York Retreat and Fowler became its first physician. He died, aged 65, on 22 Jul 1801 whilst on a visit to London. Although not a member he was buried in London Bunhill Fields Friends Burial Ground on 26 Jul.

Parkinson Oates of Alrewas M.D. 1818-1885

1818

Oates was the son of a Yorkshire West Riding (? anglican) merchant. His birth was recorded by a local quaker meeting when his parents were said to be "not in membership" presumably indicating that they had previously been members. In 1821 he and three siblings (two elder and one younger) were christened together as anglicans. Oates was admitted as a medical student at Leyden on 25 Sep 1839 and from there graduated M.D. on 8 Oct 1839 with the thesis "*De gastritide*".

N1.9 Wesleyan methodist church (1744)

The principal founder of the Wesleyan methodism church was an anglican priest John Wesley 1703-1791 [OB] the son of Samuel Wesley (Rector of Epworth, Lincs). He graduated B.A. from Christ Church, Oxford in 1724 was ordained deacon in 1725 and became a Fellow at Christ Church in 1726. He further graduated M.A. in 1727 and was ordained priest in 1728. Over the following years he was involved both at home and abroad in a variety of religious groups and experiments culminating with the development of methodism.

A methodist conference held in Jun 1744 might be said to mark the formal foundation of the Wesleyan methodist church. Subsequently the conference headed a number of districts which were divided and sub-divided into circuits, classes and societies. In the early years Wesley himself together with appointed lay preachers governed the church largely to the exclusion of the laity. For many years the methodists saw themselves as a branch of the anglican church. Methodist services were to be conducted outside anglican hours and priests were to be ordained anglicans. This traditional system of methodism came to be styled Wesleyan or old connexion.

From 1797 there were formed a number of new methodist churches amongst which new connexion (or Kilhamite) in 1797 (§N1.12), primitive methodist in 1810 (§N1.13), Bryanite (or bible christian) in 1815, Wesleyan methodist association in 1834, Wesleyan methodist reformers in 1849 and free methodist in 1871. There were also Calvinistic methodists.

Eleven of the cohort^α were Wesleyan methodist. Eight were born into that church whilst three were converts. Another two men had a Wesleyan methodist connection. The earliest convert was John Turner of Wednesbury whose house and shop was attacked by a mob in 1743. Unsurprisingly he moved away to London.

John Turner of Wednesbury apothecary 1713-....

1743

Turner was the son of a Staffordshire anglican gentleman. He was apprenticed to Gabriell Rousseau of London citizen & apothecary about 15 May 1724. Probably time served about 1734 he was in practice at Wednesbury in 1743 and had presumably converted to Wesleyan methodist. That year John Wesley records on 19 Jun "The same day, they came to John Turner's house [at Wednesbury] and after they had broken all the windows, casements and ceiling, one of them cried out 'I suppose now you will go to your dear Jesus's wounds and see them opened for you.' Another of them took Mr Hands, of Wednesbury, by the throat, swore he would be the death of him, gave him a great swing round, and threw him upon the ground. As soon as he rose, one Equal Baker gave him a blow on the eye, and knocked him down again. In about half a hour the mob came to his house, and broke all the windows, except about twenty panes. The kitchen windows they cleared, lead, bars and all, broke the window-posts, and threw them into the house, The shop was shut up (he being an Apothecary:) but they quickly broke it open, broke all the pots and bottles in pieces, and destroyed all his medicines. They broke also the shelves and drawers in the shop to pieces and many of his household goods." By 1762 he was in practice in London.

Leonard Ledbrook of Tipton L.S.A. ?1797-1881

?1797

Ledbrook was probably the son of a Warwickshire Wesleyan methodist. It is unclear if he remained of that church. He qualified L.S.A. in 1817 and likely commenced practice at Swerford, Oxon but by 1822 was in practice at Wolverhampton and by 1824 at Tipton. About 1835 he moved to Worcester (where he was sometime Sheriff). In 1845 he and his family emigrated to America ... If his father is correctly identified he was in early life a peripatetic Wesleyan methodist preacher but later settled at Harbury, Warwicks.

Richard Cooper of Leek M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1803-1872

1811

Cooper was the son of a Staffordshire anglican. He appears have converted to Wesleyan methodist about 1811 together with his family. Cooper himself is reported to have been a "staunch Wesleyan methodist". He trained at Guy's and St Thomas's Hospitals before he qualified L.S.A. in 1824 and M.R.C.S. in 1825. He likely practised all his working life at Leek where he died, aged 69, on 23 Jun 1872.

Richard Vernon of Audley M.D. 1817-1914

1817-1914

Vernon was the son of a Cheshire Wesleyan methodist farmer. He trained at Birmingham Hospital. In 1846 he qualified L.S.A. and graduated M.D. from Glasgow. He probably practised at Audley all his working life. In 1856 he further graduated Ch.M. at Glasgow. At Audley he died, aged 97, on 15 Sep 1914. ... Vernon continued in the Wesleyan methodist church and gifted land on which to build a local manse. He was said to be "the first nonconformist to be elected a governor of the Audley Endowed Schools".

(19 Sep 1914) The death took place on Tuesday morning of Mr Richard Vernon M.D. in his 98th year. ... [he] had been associated with Audley for 70 years. He was appointed public vaccinator in 1848, had held the position of medical officer of health for 20 years and medical officer to the Guardians for 40 years. He was the first nonconformist to be elected a governor of the Audley Endowed Schools ... had served for several years as a member of the Urban District Council ... illuminated address by the Wesleyan Methodists ... gift of a valuable piece of land in Wilbraham's Walk on which the Wesleyan manse has been erected. [STS:ADV]

William Davies of Harborne M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1819-1882

1819

Davies was the son of a Breconshire Welsh Wesleyan methodist minister. After he qualified L.S.A. and M.R.C.S. in 1842 he practised most of his life at Smethwick in Harborne where he was also Factory Surgeon to Chance Brothers Glassworks. He was still resident in Smethwick in 1881 but shortly thereafter moved to West Bromwich where he died, aged 63, on 25 Sep 1882 with burial at Smethwick Old Churchyard.

John James Bunch of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1820-1896

1820

Bunch was the son of a Staffordshire Wesleyan methodist writing-clerk. He studied at Birmingham Queen's College before he qualified L.S.A. in 1843. He may then have commenced practice at Wolverhampton where in 1851 he was a medical assistant living in the household of Edward Hayling Coleman 1794-1871. In 1859 he further qualified M.R.C.S. ...

John Williams Davies of West Bromwich M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1820-1870

1820

Davies was the son of a Shropshire Wesleyan methodist minister. He qualified L.S.A. in 1842 and M.R.C.S. in 1843. By 1845 he was in practice at West Bromwich but in 1851 was living in the household of an elder brother William Davies M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1819-1882 at Smethwick in Harborne. He was still in practice at West Bromwich in 1855 ...

John Wheatcroft of Cannock M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1821-?1867

1821

Wheatcroft was the son of a Derbyshire Wesleyan methodist merchant. He qualified L.S.A. in 1842 and M.R.C.S. in 1843. By 1845 he had commenced practice at Cannock where in 1864 he was a declared bankrupt. Shortly afterwards he was in practice in a partnership "as surgeons and apothecaries" at Fenton in Stoke-upon-Trent.

Henry Joseph Stormont of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1829-1890

1829

Stormont was the son of a Worcestershire Wesleyan methodist schoolmaster. He trained at Guy's Hospital before he qualified L.S.A. and M.R.C.S. in 1850 and L.M. in 1853. On census night 1851 he was an assistant surgeon in the household of Thomas Henry Fowke of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1804-1861.

Robert Hayes of Stoke-upon-Trent L.S.A. 1795-1853

1830

Hayes was the son of a Staffordshire anglican hatter. ... About 1830 one of his daughters was christened Wesleyan methodist.

John Lockley Hickman of Willenhall apprentice 1830-1859

1830

Hickman was the son of a Staffordshire Wesleyan methodist farmer. On census night 1851 he was an apprentice medical pupil in the household of Jeremiah Hartill of Willenhall L.S.A. 1804-1888. ... Hickman was christened Wesleyan methodist but his younger siblings were all christened anglican.

Frederic Charles Proctor of Bilston "surgeon" 1803-1832

1832

Proctor was the son of a Staffordshire anglican. He may not have been qualified. By 1824 he was in practice in the Bilston area where on 6 Aug 1832 he was appointed a Member of the Bilston Board of Health for Cholera Outbreak and employed to assist. Tragically later that month he died of cholera, aged 29, with burial on 23 Aug. Proctor was an anglican and might have been buried with his wife, who predeceased him, at Bilston anglican churchyard. In the event the burial was at Bilston Wesleyan Methodist due to circumstances connected with the cholera outbreak.

Joseph Walker of Burslem M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1806-1875

1833

Walker was the son of a Nottinghamshire anglican farmer. He trained at Derbyshire Infirmary and at a Dublin Hospital before he qualified L.S.A. in 1832. By 1833 he was living at Burslem in which year he married and probably converted to Wesleyan methodist. Here he practised for the rest of his life.

N1.10 Unitarian church (1774)

The first unitarian church in England opened in London in 1774. Early unitarians denied the trinity but accepted the humanity of Jesus Christ. Joseph Priestley 1733-1804 [OB] was a prominent advocate. Under *The doctrine of the trinity act* {53 George III c160} (21 Jul 1812) toleration was extended to unitarians.

Three men were unitarian. George Swinson may have only briefly converted and his son Henry Swinson may have had only a tenuous connection. John Day was born into that church and Bernard Fry was a convert.

George Swinson of Handsworth M.R.C.S. 1764-1850

1789

Swinson was the son of a Staffordshire anglican gentleman. After he qualified M.C.S. in 1787 (M.R.C.S., 1800) he probably commenced practice at Birmingham but by 1841 had moved to Handsworth where he died, aged 85, on 11 Feb 1850. Swinson may have briefly converted to unitarian for in 1789 his eldest son George Newton Swinson of Birmingham M.R.C.S. 1789-1865 was christened in that church. However in 1800 his two younger sons were both christened as anglicans. In his will Swinson bequeathed £25 to Birmingham Queen's Hospital. Henry Swinson M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1800-1900 was his 3rd son and is said (perhaps incorrectly) to have been brought up as a unitarian.

Henry Swinson of Handsworth M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1800-1900

1800

Swinson was the son of a Warwickshire anglican M.R.C.S. (who may earlier have briefly converted to unitarian). He qualified L.S.A. in 1824 and M.R.C.S. in 1825. ... Swinson's eldest brother was christened as a unitarian. At Henry's anglican funeral it was said of him (perhaps incorrectly) that "in his early days [he] was brought up a Unitarian but he fought his way to Christianity left the darkness and came to the true light".

John Day of Walsall M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1811-1889

1811-1889

Day was the son of a Staffordshire unitarian. After he qualified M.R.C.S. and L.S.A. in 1835 he practised all his working life at Walsall. At Walsall he died, aged 78, on 13 Nov 1889. Day was a borough Magistrate.

Bernard Fry of Stafford surgeon c1786-1827

1814-1827

Fry was the son of an Essex independent minister. His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered but he claimed to have trained at the London hospitals. He moved to Stafford about 1813 and assisted his elder brother David Fry of Stafford surgeon 1785-1814 ... Perhaps about this time he converted to unitarian. In 1822 he (with others) offered his gratuitous services to Staffordshire General Infirmary but they were all declined. Fry wrote a vitriolic letter to the Staffordshire Advertiser complaining about his treatment. In 1827 there was an outbreak of typhus fever in Stafford poor house which Fry attended. He was infected and died, aged 41, on 28 Jan 1827 with burial on 31 Jan at St Mary. His estate was valued under £1,000. His gravestone carries a poetic eulogy.

N1.11 Countess of Huntingdon's connexion churches (1783)

This small group of Calvinist methodist churches was founded in 1783 by Selina Hastings Countess of Huntingdon 1707-1791 [CP].

Only one man was born into the Countess of Huntingdon's connexion.

Benjamin Miller of Rugeley M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1824-1875

1824

Miller was the son of a Surrey Countess of Huntingdon's connexion gentleman but it is not known if he continued in that church. In 1841 he was serving an apprenticeship with George Newth of Surrey and later trained at St Thomas's Hospital before he qualified L.S.A. and M.R.C.S. in 1846. Perhaps later that year he became junior partner to William Creswell Webb M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1808-1865 at Rugeley which partnership was dissolved on 31 Dec 1849. ...

N1.12 New connexion methodist church (1797)

In 1797 secessionists from the Wesleyan methodists (§N1.9) formed the new connexion methodist church also known as the Kilhamite church after an early advocate Alexander Kilham 1762-1798 [OB]. Their first conference was held that year at Leeds and they are said to have had a membership of 5,000 in their first year and about 20,000 in 1846. The new connexion methodist church had its own churches and appointed their own lay preachers.

Six of the cohort[✕] were new connexion methodist. Four were born into that church whilst two were converts. Another two men may have considered conversion. All these men were members of churches in the Stoke-upon-Trent district.

John Allbut of Stoke-upon-Trent L.S.A. 1801-1846

1801-1846

Allbut was the son of a Staffordshire new connexion methodist stationer. He was living at Hanley in Stoke-upon-Trent when he qualified L.S.A. in 1822 but is not known to have practised there. By 1838 he had moved to Leeds where he died, aged 45, on 22 Dec 1846.

George Ridgway of Stoke-upon-Trent L.S.A. 1804-1851

1804-1851

Ridgway was the son of a Staffordshire new connexion methodist pottery-manufacturer. After he qualified L.S.A. in 1825 he practised all his working life at Shelton and Hanley, both in Stoke-upon-Trent, and died there, aged 47, on 5 Dec 1851.

John Scott of Stoke-upon-Trent M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1811-?1866

1811-?1866

Scott was the son of a county Durham new connexion methodist cordwainer. He trained at Westminster Hospital before he qualified L.S.A. in 1838. By 1850 he was in practice at Hanley or Shelton in Stoke-upon-Trent where he further qualified M.R.C.S. in 1859 and in which district he probably died, aged 54, about Aug 1866.

Richard Harding of Stoke-upon-Trent surgeon c1789-1842

1817-1819

Harding is of unknown parentage. His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. Perhaps time served about 1810 by 1816 he was in practice at Stoke-upon-Trent probably at Hanley. From 1821 to 1825 he was Parish Surgeon at Madeley but then returned to Hanley. Here he died, aged 53, on 11 Nov 1842. He married in an anglican church and most of his children were christened in that church. In 1817 his first child was christened new connexion methodist as was the next child in Feb 1819. However two years later that second child was re-christened anglican. Harding may then have only considered a conversion. In the Madeley parish register he is called "Richard Sutton Harding, surgeon".

John Adams of Wolstanton L.S.A. 1801-1856

1827

Adams was the son of a Staffordshire anglican surgeon. When he qualified L.S.A. in 1823 he was living at Burton-upon-Trent but by 1827 had moved to Tunstall in Wolstanton where he probably practised for the rest of his life. Probably on his marriage in 1827 Adams converted to new connexion methodist. His first two children were christened at Shelton in Stoke-upon-Trent. Adams died of a sunstroke, aged 55, on 3 Aug 1856 at Hatton.

Joseph Barnard Davis of Stoke-upon-Trent M.D. 1801-1881 [OB]

1829-1881

Davis was the son of a Yorkshire West Riding anglican woollen-draper and tailor. Prior to qualification he was a surgeon on a whaling ship in the Arctic seas. He was living in Lancashire when he qualified L.S.A. in 1823 but by 1828 had moved to Shelton in Stoke-upon-Trent where he practised for the rest of his life. By 1829 Davis seems to have converted to new connexion methodist. He qualified M.R.C.S. in 1843 and graduated M.D. from St Andrews in 1862. ...

Richard Ash Cordon of Stoke-upon-Trent surgeon 1797-1878

1833

Cordon was the son of a Staffordshire anglican schoolteacher. His record of apprenticeship is undiscovered. He appears to have lived in Ireland in the late 1820s but by 1833 had moved to Stoke-upon-Trent where he is styled a "landlord" when a daughter was christened new connexion methodist in 1833. Cordon may not have converted for he and his wife were buried as anglicans. In 1841 he was in practice as a surgeon at Fenton in Stoke-upon-Trent where he died, aged 80, on 8 Apr 1878 with burial on 11 Apr.

William Haslam Davis of Stoke-upon-Trent apprentice 1833-1875

1833

Davis was the son of a Staffordshire new connexion methodist physician. In 1851 he was apprenticed to his father and studied at London University College before he qualified M.R.C.S. in 1856 and L.S.A. in 1857. He probably practised all his working life at Hanley in Stoke-upon-Trent but died, aged 43, in or near Torrington, Devon. He was a Member of the North Staffordshire Medical Society and the North Staffordshire Naturalists' Field Club.

N1.13 Primitive methodist church (1810)

Hugh Bourne and William Clowes were two of the principal founders of the Primitive methodist church which was formed to return the Wesleyan methodist church to some of its earlier or primitive practices. Hugh Bourne 1772-1852 [OB] was born in Stoke-upon-Trent and trained as a millwright and builder. He became a Wesleyan methodist in 1799 and shortly after became a local preacher. He had a chapel built at Harseahead in 1802. William Clowes 1780-1851 was born at Burslem and trained as a potter. After a brief spell as a dancer he converted to Wesleyan methodist in 1805 and was appointed a local preacher in 1808.

From 1807 Bourne, Clowes and others organised outside meetings at nearby Mowcop and other places in the district. These meetings were forbidden by Wesleyan methodist conference but were continued. As a result Bourne

was expelled by the Burslem circuit's quarterly meeting on 27 Jun 1808 and Clowes was expelled in Sep 1810. The two men and several others formed a new church which formed its first society (or class) on 14 Mar 1810 at Stanley near Bemersley with ten members. In 1811 their first chapel was built and their first general meeting was held at Tunstall. The formal name primitive methodist was adopted on 13 Feb 1812. By 1850 the movement is said to have had 104,762 members.

No members of the cohort \times have been discovered with a connection to this church.

N1.14 Deist (1818)

Deists held various non-traditional religious views.

Only one cohort \times medic was a deist and he was a convert. Robert Taylor was likely born into an anglican family and after an early medical career was ordained as an anglican priest in 1813.

Robert Taylor of Stoke-upon-Trent M.R.C.S. 1784-1844 [OB]

1818

Taylor was the son of a Middlesex (?anglican) ironmonger (the son of a Shropshire anglican). He was apprenticed for 4 years at £170 to Samuel Partridge, then a surgeon at Birmingham Hospital, about 24 Jul 1801. He later trained at Guy's Hospital and St Thomas's Hospital. Having qualified M.R.C.S. in 1807 he applied unsuccessfully in November to become Apothecary & Secretary to the Staffordshire General Infirmary (at Stafford). By 1808 he was living, but no longer practising, at Longton (or, Lane End) in Stoke-upon-Trent and from there wrote a letter regarding the notorious case of Ann Moore of Tutbury. That year influenced by a local clergyman he decided to train for the anglican church. He was admitted sizar at St John's College, Cambridge on 14 Nov 1808 and graduated B.A. in 1813. That year he was ordained both deacon and priest. He subsequently held a number of anglican posts but after 1818 converted to deist and began to argue for and lecture on various non-traditional religious views which twice saw him imprisoned for blasphemy.

N2 Social class

N2.1 Introduction; N2.2 Christian names; N2.3 Name gentrification

N2.1 Introduction

A man's social class might commonly be determined by two common criteria. First the status of his immediate family - particularly his parents and grandparents - and second his occupation and income. It is beyond the scope of this work to analyse all the data presented in the biographies in the Register [SDH3]. However it will be noticed that extended families of medics often included physicians, surgeons and apothecaries. The occupations of the medics' fathers are listed in §M1.3. Here it can be observed that the overwhelming majority of fathers were from the wealthier classes as might be expected because of the cost of the apprenticeship, training or study required to qualify as a medic. Generally the medics with the highest incomes (see §G4) were the physicians followed by the surgeons and apothecaries but individual circumstances produced substantial variations.

William Mannix of Wolverhampton M.D. c1797-1873 was the only cohort man known to be of illegitimate birth but the fact that his father was a baronet may have compensated for any stigma.

N2.2 Christian names

The upper classes appear to have introduced the practice of giving two christian names. Camden made the following observation in 1605:

But two Christian names are rare in England, and I only remember now his Majesty who was named Charles James, as of the Prince his sonne Henry Frederic [b 1594], and among private men, Thomas Maria Wingfield [b c1516], and sir Thomas Posthumus Hobby [b 1566]. Although it is common in Italie, to adjoyne the name of some Saint, in a kinde of devotion to the Christian name, as Johannes Baptista Spinula, Johannes Franciscus Borhomeus, Marcus Antonius Flarninius: and in Spaine to adde the name of the Saint on whose day the childe was borne. [[William Camden] *Remaines of a greater work* ... (1605) p32-3]

The earliest cohort man with two christian names was Haken Alexander Fridrick physician (b e1660) who is of unknown parentage but was likely born on the continent. The next four men had a second name which was in origin a surname: William Moreton Gilkes (b e1676), Gustavus Mackworth Yonge (b 1723), Thomas Pendrill Rock (b ?1729) and William Phillips Hadley (b 1732). It was only about 1752 that Rock adopted the middle name "Pendrill" in recognition of his ancestors the Penderel family of Boscobel, Salop who assisted Charles II during the civil war. Yonge was named Mackworth after a great grandmother whilst Hadley was name Phillips after his mother. In most cases the surnames used as additional names were those of mothers or grandmothers. Excluding Fridrick (above) the first two cohort men to have a second christian name - not a surname - were Robert William Skerrett (b c1750) and James Henry Gresley (b 1753).

The first four men with three christian names were George Augustus Stuckley Byng (b 1758), Philip Parry Price Myddelton (b e1758), Georgius Adolphus Frederick Fynney (b 1788) and Thomas Trevor Latham Holland (b 1796). Myddelton was originally named Philip Price or Philip Parry Price and it was only about 1794 that he added Myddelton.

Of the 1851 cohort of 274 men - 103 men had two christian names and two had three names, John William Harris Mackenzie and Charles Edward Eliot Welchman. Many men had children, both boys and girls, with multiple christian names. Charles Oakley named his son Charles Stapleton Oakley apparently from the Shropshire village where he (the father) was born.

A few men were named after figures of national importance such as Horatio Girdlestone:

(4 Jan 1845) At Burnham, Horatio Girdlestone Esq of Hanley, Staffordshire, great nephew of the late Adml. Lord Nelson to Ellen Catherine youngest daughter of the late Capt. Sir William Bolton R.N. [Bristol Mercury]

N2.3 Name gentrification

John Smith of Uttoxeter surgeon & apothecary 1741-1813 and his son John Smith of Uttoxeter M.B. 1771-1815 were by 1795 spelling their surname Smyth perhaps to signify their perceived social class. Thomas Taylor

Broomhall of Stone M.D. 1803-1888 was perhaps born "Broomer" and his surname only later changed to Broomhall - a better sounding name.

N3 Lawsuits and court cases (non-medical)

Legal trials or proceedings generally fall into two categories - civil and criminal. Civil trials take place in civil law courts and are generally styled *lawsuits*. In a lawsuit the *plaintiff* (sometimes called the *complainant*) brings a civil action for wrong-doing against the *defendant* and requests a legal or equitable remedy such as damages or injunctions. Criminal trials take place in criminal law courts and are generally styled *court cases*. In a court case the Crown brings proceedings against the defendant for breach of stated laws with their stated penalties.

N3.1 Introduction

Lawsuits and court cases of a non-medical nature are discussed in this section. Those of a medical nature are discussed in §F13.

N3.1788 Court case - Crown versus Augustus Fowle Lewis

Augustus Fowle Lewis of Penkridge surgeon c1754-1819 is said to have served a sentence of transportation before 1788 but details of any court case are undiscovered.

N3.1795 Lawsuit - Docksey versus Stephen Panting, fraud

In 1795 Stephen Panting of Lichfield surgeon & apothecary 1767-1830 appears to have attempted to defraud Peter Garrick, a brother of the actor and playwright David Garrick 1717-1779 [OB], of his entire personal estate said to be worth nearly £30,000. Panting had become apothecary to Peter Garrick in 1793 and appears to have exerted undue influence over him. An account of the lawsuit at Stafford Assizes was published the following year. Subsequently Panting was Surgeon to the Forces and Inspector of Hospitals in West Indies

(1796) At Stafford assizes, a remarkable cause was tried, in which Mrs Docksey, sister and heir at law of the late Peter Garrick esq. of Lichfield (brother to the celebrated David Garrick) was plaintiff and Mr Panting, surgeon of that town, defendant. The defendant claimed all the real and personal property of the deceased (nearly £30,000) under deeds of conveyance executed by Mr Garrick at the advanced age of 85, to the total disinherison of all his relations and their families and in derogation of many wills made in their favour, the last dated in 1791. Mr Erskine led the cause for the plaintiff; and after a most eloquent and impassioned opening of the case, which lasted upwards of two hours, and the examination of several witnesses, the cause was relinquished on the part of the defendant. [*Annual register* (1796)]

... [Panting] defendant was employed by Mr Garrick in his old age ... had employed [as apothecary] a Mr Green of Lichfield [Richard Greene of Lichfield surgeon & apothecary 1716-1793], after whose death he continued to employ his son [Thomas Webb Greene of Lichfield, Staffs surgeon & apothecary 1763-1842]; this younger Mr Green was called to attend the militia (I believe) in 1793; at that time, and on that account, he took this Mr Stephen Panting as a partner, and in March 1793, he wrote a letter to Mr Garrick, recommending Panting to him; ... this was the first time Mr Panting ever saw Mr Garrick ... on the 20th of January, 1795 ... Stephen Panting ... took from Mr Garrick a promissory note to this effect "I promise to pay upon demand to Mr Stephen Panting £525 with interest for the same as a mark of my gratitude for the benefits he has conferred on me and my family" ... [A codicil is added to Garrick's will] I Peter Garrick of the city of Lichfield esq. ... do make this codicil to my last will and testament whereby I do revoke all my will so far as relates to my personal estate and confirm it so far as relates to my freehold ... He afterwards gives all his money securities and all his personal estate to Stephen Panting. This will is dated the 27th of January 1795 and of this he makes two parts. 13th December 1795 ... Mr Thomas Panting, the attorney, was there, who produced the deeds, codicil and will under which his brother claimed ... [*The trial between Mrs Docksey (sister of the late David Garrick, esq.) plaintiff, and Mr Stephen Panting of the city of Lichfield, ... apothecary, ... defendant, in ejectment, before Baron Thomson and a special jury at Stafford Lent Assizes, 1796, to which is prefixed, the speech of the honourable Thomas Erskine on the part of the plaintiff.* Stafford, printed and sold by Joshua Drewry, at the office of the Staffordshire Advertiser ...]

N3.1797 Court case - Crown versus Thomas Milward Oliver, murder

On 28 Aug 1797 Thomas Milward Oliver of Burslem surgeon & apothecary 1767-1797 was hanged at Stafford County Gaol for the murder of one of his patients John Wood. Following the custom of the time his body was, the same day, taken to Stafford General Infirmary and anatomised. At Burslem Oliver had formed an attachment for a daughter of John Wood whose family were his patients. Wood forbid the relationship and in retaliation Oliver mortally wounded him. During the court case, at Stafford Assizes, evidence was introduced that he and his family suffered from mental illness but the jury found him guilty of murder. A detailed account of the trial was published soon after (below).

Trial of T. Milward Oliver, at Stafford Summer Assizes, 1797, before the Honourable Baron Perryn for the murder of Mr John Wood, an eminent potter, at Brownhill in the county of Stafford: Stafford, printed and sold by J. Dreury, at the office of the Staffordshire Advertiser. Counsel for the Prosecution. Mr Leycester, Mr Knowles and the Hon. R. Ryder; attorney, Mr T. Sparrow, Newcastle: Counsel for the Prisoner: Mr Plumer, Mr Mills and Mr Jervis; attorney, Mr Brettell, Stourbridge ... [Indictment by Mr Ryder] ... The deceased was Mr John Wood, who resided at Burslem in this county - a good, an amiable, a worthy and benevolent man - About 5 years ago the prisoner (Mr Oliver) came to Burslem to settle as a surgeon and apothecary; he came well recommended - as a man of character ... Mr Oliver attended the family of Mr Wood in his professional capacity ... one daughter attracted the attention of the prisoner - he wished to pay his addresses to her; - this was not agreeable to Mr Wood's family ... about twelve months before Mr Wood's death Mr Oliver was requested to discontinue his visits ... he sent a servant to Mr Oliver's for his bill that he might pay it, and that all communication with the family might entirely cease ... on [Sunday] the 22d of January last ... Mr Oliver applied to a Mr Lakin a near neighbour and requested the loan of a pair of pistols ... On Friday the 27th ... Mr Oliver came to Mr Wood's about eight o'clock in the morning ... Mr Oliver said to Mr Wood "You have made my life miserable" ... threw down his bill ... Oliver then presented a pistol to Mr Wood ... [intending a duel] ... Mr Wood refused the pistol - Without saying another word he immediately discharged the pistol at Mr Wood the ball struck him on the breast ... unfortunate gentleman languished till the Monday following, three days after the wound was given - Mr Coombe a neighbouring surgeon was sent for; he did not attempt to extract the ball ... he must be, and is guilty of murder ... [the bill was for £2/16/0] ... Rev. Dr. Luke Booker (examined by Mr Jervis) ... [had known Oliver] about 12 years ... curate of the parish where his father lived ... Old Swinford .. He was apprentice to Mr Causer a surgeon of Stourbridge ... I went to seem him while he was at Rugby ... Rev. Mr Sleath (examined by Mr Plumer) ...[knew him] between three or four years all the time he was at Rugby ... after his apprenticeship he went to Rugby ... Mr John Causer (examined by Mr Mills) ... a surgeon and apothecary at Stourbridge ... [Oliver was his] apprentice ... five years ... [he knew] Mr Milward, Mr Oliver's maternal grandfather ... Miss Elizabeth Milward [an aunt] ... [sister] Miss Mary Oliver (examined by Mr Mills) ... [much of the foregoing evidence was intended to show madness in Oliver and his family] ... His Lordship stated the indictment to the jury ... In justification of the prisoner, it is said, that he acted, not of himself, or according to his own will, but at the time was insane, and acted under the dominion of madness. ... The jury consulted together about a quarter of an hour, and brought in the verdict -

GUILTY. ... Stafford, Sept. 2 ... On Monday morning [28 Aug] at half past ten o'clock, the platform erected over the entrance to the New Gaol for the execution of criminals ... Mr Thomas Millward Oliver for the murder of Mr John Wood ... His body about noon was conveyed to the Infirmary; it was opened according to the sentence of the law by Mr Hughes one of the surgeons at the hospital in the presence of Mr Fowke the apothecary and other medical assistants; and such persons as were desirous to see it were admitted through the gates of the Infirmary for that purpose.

N3.1806 Lawsuit - Philip Parry Price Myddelton versus Francis Hughes, slander

On 22 Dec 1806 an action for slander was heard at the Guildhall, London before Sir James Mansfield (Chief Justice of the Common Pleas) 1734-1821 [OB] and a special jury of merchants. Philip Parry Price Myddelton of Stafford "physician" c1758-1830 accused Francis Hughes of Stafford surgeon 1769-1837 of slander and estimated his damages at £1,000.

Myddelton had earlier been found guilty of "seducing a manufacturer and artificer to go out of this kingdom to Kentucky" and was fined £500 and sentenced to one year's imprisonment. In 1805 He was appointed Physician to the Staffordshire General Infirmary (at Stafford) only to be removed in 1806 when the governors discovered his involvement in the Kentucky affair. Myddelton continued in practice at Stafford.

In 1802 a handbill was published in London:

TEN GUINEAS REWARD. Whereas on Saturday night last, or early on Sunday morning, Dr. Philip Parry Price Myddelton, and other persons, clandestinely took away from the possession of the Sheriff of Middlesex, at No. 19, Cowley-street, Westminster, divers articles of plate and linen. Any person giving such information as may lead to the apprehension of the said Doctor Myddelton, shall receive, on application to Mr. Watkins, of No. 27, Cursitor-street, five guineas reward, and the further sum of five guineas on the recovery of the property. Doctor Myddelton is a thin man, about 5 feet 10 inches high, with high cheek bones, of rather genteel appearance, has a little of the yankee dialect (being an American) and generally wears a light coloured coat.

During 1806 Hughes was told about the handbill and had made comment to several people in Stafford "that Dr. Myddelton had gone away from his lodgings, and taken away part of the plate". This was the substance of the alleged slander. In summing up the Chief Justice had asked the jury to consider whether "this apothecary at Stafford [Hughes], can reasonably be expected to be such a master of language, as to distinguish technically like a special pleader, between the legal inferences of the [handbill and his comment]. After a short consultation, the jury found a verdict for the defendant.

A fuller account of the case, given in §Y.1806, includes some interesting remarks by the Chief Justice on the role of the College of Physicians and the universities regarding authority to practice as a physician. It was claimed that Myddelton had graduated at Edinburgh but no "diploma" was produced.

N3.1816 Court case - Crown versus Bryan Higgins, assault

Bryan Higgins of Eccleshall M.D. c1740-1818 retired to Walford in Eccleshall where in 1816 he committed some minor assaults being then described as "an eccentric old gentleman".

(Apr 1816) Case against Bryan Higgins of Eccleshall, esquire, charged with assaulting George Bedson [SRO Q/SB 1816 E/192]
 (27 Apr 1816) The King v Bryan Higgins Esq. This was an indictment against a gentleman residing at Walford, for an assault upon Geo. Bedson. It appeared that the defendant having taken in the prosecutor's cow to ley, for the season, when it came to be paid for, the defendant insisted upon receiving as for a three years' heifer, the prosecutor contending it was only a two years. The prosecutor took away the cow by force, upon which the defendant drew a sword, which he often wears, and struck at him. The defendant is an eccentric old gentleman, of upwards of seventy years of age. The sword touched the prosecutor's coat. The defendant was taken about a mile to the Magistrates' in a cart, and then brought back to his own house, where the constable and several others stayed all night. The prosecutor was not present at this outrage, and the Court reprehended the conduct of the Constable in committing it. The defendant was found guilty of the assault, and sentenced to pay a fine of 1s. and find security of the peace, himself in £100, and security in the like sum. [STS:ADV]
 (Jul 1816) Draft order relating to the case of Bryan Higgins of Walford, found guilty of assault, Jul 1816 [SRO Q/SB 1816 T/203]
 (18 Jul 1816) Articles by Thomas Pearson of Walford, farmer and maltster, against Bryan Higgins of Walford, esquire, who had threatened him with a sword and had earlier threatened to shoot him [SRO Q/SB 1816 T/270]

N3.1820 Court case - Crown versus James Altree, firing a pistol

In 1820 James Altree surgeon 1766-1839, then living at Tettenhall, was, in a court case of 25 Nov 1820, "fined in the mitigated penalty of 50s for firing a pistol in the public streets of Wolverhampton".

(30 Nov 1820) CAUTION - On Saturday last [25 Nov] Mr James Altree of Tettenhall was fined in the mitigated penalty of 50s for firing a pistol in the public streets of Wolverhampton on the night of Thursday the 16th instant [Birmingham Chronicle]

N3.1827 ?Lawsuit - Richard Gaunt versus Richard Gould, assault

In 1827 Richard Gaunt of Leek silk merchant appears to have prosecuted Richard Gould of Leek surgeon for assault. Gould was said to be "a very wild and disorderly person, very fond of fighting and low company"

(1827) Brief for the prosecution. Staffordshire Michaelmas Sessions 1827: Rex on the prosecution by Richard Gaunt of Leek, silk merchant, against Richard Gould of Leek, surgeon, for assault. Gould was said to have been apprenticed to a surgeon and was practising as such although he had not been admitted at the College of Surgeons. On Tuesday 25th September 1827 at about half past ten at night, Gaunt left the house of Mrs. Morley in Spout Street, Leek ... When Gaunt accused him, Gould apologised in front of the William Alcock, the Constable. Gould was described as "a very wild and disorderly person, very fond of fighting and low company and has repeatedly been brought before the magistrates on similar charges. A possible reason for the attack was that Gaunt had laid information against two of Gould's nephews for trespassing and sporting in their estates without qualification or permission. [Bednall Collection BC2/48]

N3.1841 Lawsuit - Joseph Jackson versus Thomas Webb, slander

On 22 May 1841 a farmer Joseph Jackson paid for a letter to be published in the *Staffordshire Advertiser* retracting a slander on Thomas Webb of Barton-under-Needwood c1800-1876 and announcing the withdrawal of a lawsuit.

(22 May 1841) Whereas as I the undersigned Joseph Jackson of Tatenhill ... farmer ... have stated publicly that Mr Thomas Webb of Barton under Needwood surgeon owed me a considerable sum of money though I well knew such was not the fact but that on the contrary I was and still am indebted to him ... [had commenced action now withdrawn and was to pay expences of the insertion of this letter] ... 12 May 1841 [STS:ADV]

N3.1853 Lawsuit - Sarah Ann Adcock versus Edward Russell, breach of promise of marriage

Edward Russell of Wednesbury M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1817-1875 had to pay £100 damages to settle a lawsuit at Stafford Lent Assizes in 1853 for breach of promise of marriage.

(19 Mar 1853) Staffordshire Lent Assizes BREACH OF PROMISE OF MARRIAGE Adcock v Russell: The damages were laid at £1,000. ... Miss Sarah Ann Adcock ... defendant Mr Edward Russell was a member of the medical profession residing ... at Wednesbury ... [Jun 1852] proposed marriage ... Mr Russell was of a very respectable family engaged in an honourable profession from which he was in receipt of from £400 to £500 annually and in addition had very considerable expectations being in fact one of the legatees of Mr Addison a very wealthy banker who had recently died leaving a very large sum behind him. ... letter ... dated Jan. 10th 1853 [broke engagement ... reference to a report spread abroad concerning him by a Mrs Guest] ... verdict for the plaintiff damages £100 [STS.ADV, gives a very detailed account]

N3.1856 Lawsuit - Rogers versus James Dale, adultery

In an 1856 lawsuit James Dale of Hanley 1817-1860, a bachelor, was successfully sued at the Stafford Assizes for "criminal conversation" [adultery] and, even though evidence was given that the plaintiff, Mr Rogers, had mistreated his wife, Dale had to pay damages of £50.

(4 Apr 1856) Mr Rogers, an actor, sued Mr James Dale, surgeon, Hanley, at the Stafford assizes last week to recover damages for criminal conversation with his (plaintiff's) wife. Mrs Rogers' maiden name was Catherine Donovan. [The Rogers ran the Saracen's Head Hotel] ... [Witnesses] all declared they had seen Mrs Rogers and Mr Dale go into the bed-room together ... [evidence that Rogers had mistreated his wife] ... The jury gave the plaintiff £50. [Derby Advertiser]

N3.1856a Court case - Crown versus William Palmer, murder

William Palmer of Rugeley M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1824-1856 [OB] was, on 26 May 1856, found guilty in a court case at the Central Criminal Court, Old Bailey, London of the poisoning of John Parsons Cook of Lutterworth, Leics at Rugeley on 21 Nov 1855. He was hanged, aged 32, on 14 Jun 1856 at Stafford County Gaol. Palmer who became known as "the Rugeley poisoner" was involved in many different criminal activities. He may also have murdered his wife and children. Many articles and books have been written regarding his trial and life.

N3.1859 Court case - Crown versus William Mannix, abusive language

William Mannix of Wolverhampton M.D. c1797-1873 was the illegitimate son of a co Cork Irish baronet and a County Magistrate for Staffordshire. In 1859 he was fined in a court case at Wolverhampton Petty Sessions for using abusive and insulting language [abuse].

(20 Aug 1859) A COUNTY MAGISTRATE FINED ... At the Wolverhampton Petty Sessions, Dr. William Mannix, one of the county magistrates, ... using abusive and insulting language ... "The account was one of 20s. for potato pots an amount which he refused to pay having never given more than 19s. for the same articles" ... [court] there must be a conviction and inflicted a penalty of 1s. and costs" [Western Daily Press]

N3.1795 Court case - ?Crown versus Charles Augustus Cripps, disorderly conduct

At Worcester Police Court in 1875 Charles Augustus Cripps of Newcastle 1830-1906 was charged with being disorderly but was discharged with a caution. This misbehaviour might have been an indication of incipient mental illness for he was by 1891 a lunatic patient at Powick District Pauper Lunatic Asylum.

(20 Feb 1875) [Worcester Police Court] ALLEGED DISORDERLY CONDUCT Charles Augustus Cripps, 44, ... formerly a wine merchant was charged with being disorderly ... he lodged at Moor Street ... discharged with a caution [Worcester Journal]

N4 Honours, coats of arms and portraits

N4.1 Honours; N4.2 Coats of arms; N4.3 Portraits

N4.1 Honours

Two cohort^x men were knighted - on 24 Jan 1684.5 at Whitehall John Floyer of Lichfield M.D. 1649-1734 apparently for local political service and in 1820 Francis Sacheverel Darwin of Lichfield M.D. 1786-1859.

In 1850 Stephen Woolrich ?1770-1856 (who had served an apprenticeship in Staffordshire) was an Inspector-General of Army Hospitals by 1830 and in 1850 was made a Companion of the Order of the Bath³⁶⁴ in the Military Division.

N4.2 Coats of arms

Mention has been found of five cohort^x men who used a coat of arms:

John Cumberlege of Newcastle M.B. 1652-1720 bore *Barry of six ermine and sable on a canton or a fleur-de-lis gules* and on his death his inventory lists "Sixteene Scutchions and Coats of Armes [valued at] £1/10/0".

Sir John Floyer of Lichfield Knight M.D. 1649-1734 bore *Sable a chevron argent between three arrows points downward argent [Floyer] impaling Argent a lion rampant sable between three fleur-de-lis sable 2 & 1 [Archbold]*³⁶⁵.

Walter Stubbs of Wolverhampton surgeon & apothecary 1733-1797 made a bequest in his will of "my silver three pint cup on which is engraved my *coat of arms*."

³⁶⁴ Founded by George I on 18 May 1725 members were styled Knight Companion (K.B.) until 1815 when three new classes were introduced - Knight Grand Cross (G.C.B.), Knight Commander (K.C.B.) and Companion (C.B.). In 1847 Queen Victoria introduced military and civil divisions.

³⁶⁵ In 1686 Robert Plot dedicated one of the plates (or tables) in his *The natural history of Stafford-shire* to "the right Worsqll[sic] Sr JOHN FLOYER Kt & Dr of PHYSICK" and displays his arms - *Sable a chevron argent between three arrows points downward argent [Floyer] impaling Argent a lion rampant sable between three fleur-de-lis sable 2 & 1 [Archbold]*.

William Flamank Blick 1783-1838 had on his gravestone "----- on a chevron ----- between three leopards heads ----- three pierced mullets [Blicke] [impaling] ----- a fesse -----".

William Bamford of Rugeley surgeon & apothecary 1776-1859 bore *Argent a fesse wavy between three crosses crosslet fitchy gules Crest: A lions head erased proper*³⁶⁶.

N4.3 Portraits

Portraits of some cohort^x men survive and are displayed on various internet sites such as Ancestry[©] and OB. They are not reproduced here in case of breach of copyright.

A portait of William Downes 1800-1880 said to have been painted by his brother James Downes (Vicar of Stonnall) 1803-1893 is [2017] at Shire Hall Gallery of the Staffordshire Arts & Museum Service.

P Overseas material

P1 Overseas birth; P2 Overseas work, travel and death; P3 Emigrants

P1 Overseas birth

Twelve of the cohort^x were probably born abroad. Clarvetto (c1594) was likely born to Italian parents and Dalgairns and Utermarck to Channel Islanders whilst the others were probably of British parentage. A 13th man Mackenzie was born in England of parents who had emigrated to Jamaica.

William Clarvetto of Lichfield "M.D." c1594-1656	Italy
Henry De Wint of Stone M.D. ?1750-1807	America
Henry Stephens Belcombe of Newcastle M.D. c1790-1856	East Indies
Thomas Mackenzie of Newcastle M.D. c1794-1849	West Indies ?
John Burton of Walsall M.D. c1804-1891	America
Alexander Aeneas Shaw of Wolstanton medical assistant c1818-....	Canada
Robert Alexander William Westley of Alstonfield apprentice 1821-1894	East Indies
William Guille Dalgairns of Stoke-upon-Trent M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. ?1822-1879	Channel Islands
Charles Edward Eliot Welchman of Lichfield M.R.C.S. 1822-1877	East Indies
Thomas Pretious Heslop of Tipton apprentice 1823-1885 [OB]	West Indies
George Utermarck of Stoke-upon-Trent medical pupil 1832-1871	Channel Islands
Edward Denniss Moore of Kingswinford "pupil" c1833-1864	East Indies

John William Harris Mackenzie of Penkridge M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1824-1899 ... born in England but parents had emigrated to ... West Indies

P2 Overseas work, travel and death³⁶⁷

Clarvetto (a1619) who was born in Italy claimed to have practised surgery in Italy, France, Spain & Germany before arriving in England in 1619. Atree (1787) worked as a ship's surgeon to convicts on the convict ship *Lady Penrhyn* (which had been built in 1786 as a slave ship) whilst Meyrick (1799) was a ship's surgeon on the slave ship *Alexander*. Earlier Hill (1756) died on Bunce Island (Sierra Leone) which housed a castle used in the slave trade - but he was not known to have worked in that trade.

Cromwell (a1689) probably travelled in Spain posing as a novitiate Dominican friar. Higgins (e1785) travelled in Russia and enjoyed the favour of the Empress Catherine. Withering (1792/3) wintered in Portugal for health reasons. Darwin (1808-1810) travelled through Spain, the Mediterranean and the near East. Moseley (1845) travelled in Germany.

Seven men appear to have died whilst travelling abroad: Hill (1756) in Africa, Pattisson (1842) in France, Russ (1849) in Africa, Waddell (1861) in France, Glover (1866) in France, Morgan (1869) in Italy and Steventon (1881) in Portugal.

William Clarvetto of Lichfield "M.D." c1594-1656

a1619

Clarvetto was born abroad in Italy. He claimed to have graduated M.A. (perhaps intending M.D.) from Padua (with possible incorporation at Cambridge) and to have practised surgery in Italy, France, Spain and Germany before arriving in England in 1619.

Richard Cromwell of Lichfield chirurgeon e1645-1691

a1689

He served as a soldier and chirurgeon in the army of the protestant James Scott 1st Duke of Monmouth 1649-1685 [CP] who was beheaded for treason (after attempting to overthrow his uncle James II). He then lived or travelled in Spain posing as a novitiate Dominican friar before returning to England to serve in the army of King William and Queen Mary after their accession in 1689.

Bryan Higgins of Eccleshall M.D. c1740-1818 [OB]

e1785

At some time between 1780 and 1790 he is said to have travelled in Russia and there enjoyed the favour of the Empress Catherine.

Thomas Hill of Cannock surgeon e1714-?1756

1756

He was a surgeon at Cannock when he made his will on 4 Jun 1753. Perhaps whilst travelling he died, aged about 42, in 1756, on Bunce Island in Africa. Bunce Island, now in Sierra Leone, housed a castle used in the slave trade but Hill is not known to have been involved in that trade.

John Turnpenny Atree of Wolverhampton apprentice c1763-1805

1787

Probably time served about 1784 he was appointed ship's surgeon to the 101 female convicts on the convict ship *Lady Penrhyn*, built in 1786 as a slave ship, when in 1787 it sailed from Portsmouth to Sydney, New South Wales, Australia. It is said that he was "unequal to the task" and when he fell ill during the trip he was replaced by another surgeon. No other record of his life has been found. He was buried, aged about 42, on 1 Apr 1805 at Wolverhampton.

³⁶⁶ BAMFORD, [Colton, Staffordshire] ar. a fesse, wavy, betw. three cross crosslets, fitchée, gu. - Crest, a lion's head erased, ppr. [Borne by William Bamford, Esq. of Rugeley, Staffordshire, 1825] [*Encyclopaedia heraldica Vol 2* (1828)]

³⁶⁷ Men who worked abroad as Royal Navy, Merchant Navy, Army, East India Company and Militia Surgeons are discussed in §F6. Some men attended European Universities (§D2.3) or trained in Paris (§E3).

23. Lady Penrhyn (1786 ship) – Lady Penrhyn was built on the River Thames in 1786 as a slave ship. Lady Penrhyn left Portsmouth on 13 May 1787, at [?for] Port Jackson, Sydney, Australia and she carried 101 female convicts, and three officers and 41 other ranks of the New South Wales Marine Corps, as well as her crew. She was part of a convoy of ships, the so-called First Fleet, which brought over 1000 convicts, marines. John Turnpenny Altree was surgeon to the convicts, and Arthur Bowes Smyth was surgeon to the crew, Bowes Smyth then took charge of the prisoners on the ship when Altree fell ill at Tenerife and in Governor Arthur Phillip's opinion had proved unequal to the task. [Internet]

William Withering of Stafford M.D. 1742-1799

1792/3

In 1790 Withering suffered an attack of pneumonia with pleurisy from which he never fully recovered. For health reasons he spent the winter of 1792/3 in Portugal.

William Meyrick of West Bromwich surgeon ?1763-p1800

1799

From about 1789 to 1799 he practised at West Bromwich. In the latter year he became ship's surgeon on the slave ship *Alexander*, which sailed from Liverpool to the coast of Africa and on to Jamaica in the West Indies. The ship returned to England in 1800 with Meyrick's luggage but he had failed to board and was never heard of again.

Francis Sacheverel Darwin of Lichfield M.D. 1786-1859

1808-1810

In 1808-10 he travelled through Spain, the Mediterranean and the near East.

William Wallman Pattison of Lichfield surgeon 1794-1842

1842

Probably whilst travelling he died, aged 48, on 19 Jan 1842 in France at Boulogne (Pas de Calais) with burial there on 28 Jan.

John Warburton Moseley of Norton-in-the-Moors M.D. 1809-....

1845

About 1845 he and his wife may have been travelling in Germany for a son was born there.

Samuel Hallett Griffith of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1819-1859

1846

In 1846 he worked as a medic in the East Indies and the West Indies but returned to England later that year and settled in London

Richard Williams of Burslem [? L.S.A.] 1817-1851

1850

In 1850, as their catechist, he joined an expedition organised by the Patagonian Missionary Society to Terra Del Fuego an archipelago at South America's southernmost tip. Tragically all the men aboard the ship had died of starvation by the end of Sep 1851 in which month Williams himself died, aged 34.

Edward Russ of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1815-1849

1849

Whilst travelling Russ died, aged 34, on 17 Jan 1849 at "Harding's Hotel", Grahamstown then in the Cape of Good Hope in the south of Africa.

Died on the 17th January 1849 at Harding's Hotel, Graham's Town (at which place he had arrived from the country the previous day) Dr Edward Russ ... [Grahamstown Journal]

Cornelius Waddell of Stafford M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1813-1861

1861

Probably whilst travelling Waddell died, aged 48, on 11 Nov 1861 in France at Boulogne.

William Short Glover of Wolverhampton medical assistant 1818-1866

1866

About 1864 whilst an assistant to a "Dr Thomas" at Wolverhampton he had an affair with a patient, a married woman. On this misbehaviour being discovered he left the area with his family. He died, aged 48, on 24 Jun 1866 in France.

John Brickdale Morgan of Colton M.R.C.S. c1784-1869

1869

Morgan died, aged 85, on 21 Nov 1869 in Italy at Pisa. It is not known if had emigrated to Italy or was then travelling.

William Steventon of Uttoxeter medical assistant 1829-1881

1881

Probably whilst travelling he died, aged 52, on 8 Jun 1881 in Portugal at Oporto with burial there on 10 Jun.

P3 Emigrants

P3.1 Introduction, P3.2 Europe, P3.3 East Indies (India), P3.4 America (USA), P3.5 Canada, P3.6 West Indies, P3.7 South America, P3.8 Africa, P3.9 Australia, P3.10 New Zealand

P3.1 Introduction

Between 1746 and 1882 47 of the cohort^x emigrated³⁶⁸ to nine different regions. Nine of these men re-emigrated either to the same region (5, indicated by a + in the list) or to a different region (4). So that there was a total of 54 emigrations - to Europe (10+3), East Indies (India) (1), America (USA) (12+1), Canada (6), West Indies (4), South America (1), Africa (2), Australia (13+1) and New Zealand (2).

P3.2 Europe

Between 1800 and 1882 ten of the cohort^x emigrated to Europe. Of these seven emigrated to France (including Myddelton who had previously emigrated to America, Spark who had previously emigrated to Italy and James who had previously emigrated to the Channel Islands) whilst two men emigrated to the Channel Islands and one man to Italy. Gooday (c1844) returned to England in 1848 due to the French revolution of that year.

William Rayment of Wolverhampton M.D. c1734-1800

1800

He may have emigrated to Italy for he died, aged about 66, on 20 Jun 1800 at Rome. A contemporary obituary states "His death is supposed to have been hastened by his alarm of the French, who broke in upon him and plundered him of his effects".

Philip Parry Price Myddelton of Stafford "physician" c1758-1830

1802

In 1802 ... He then apparently re-emigrated to France to live with his second wife, a French woman. He returned to England in 1805

Augustus Frederick Gooday of Newcastle M.D. 1815-1873

c1844

Perhaps in 1844 he appears to have emigrated to France where he practised until 1848 when the French Revolution of that year caused him to return to England.

George Walter James of West Bromwich M.D. 1802-1865

c1840 & c1845

About 1840 he emigrated to the Channel Islands where he lived on Sark until about 1845 he re-emigrated to France where he practised in Brittany before he graduated M.D. from Paris in 1847. By 1851 he was living at Handsworth.

³⁶⁸ This figure includes probable emigrations.

Robert Taylor of Stoke-upon-Trent M.R.C.S. 1784-1844**a1844**

In 1834 he married a wealthy widow but, having previously promised to marry another woman, was successfully sued for breach of promise. Before the end of the trial he left the country and subsequently emigrated to France where he settled at Tours, Indre-et-Loire. Here he again practised as a surgeon and died, aged 60, on 5 Jun 1844.

George Gretton of Betley L.S.A. 1799-a1877**1850**

By 1829 he was at Whitchurch, Salop where he lived until about 1850 when he emigrated to the Channel Islands and settled first in Jersey and then in Guernsey where in 1871 he was in retirement. He died in or before 1877.

James Spark of Newcastle F.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1798-1872**1850 & 18??**

After 1850 (when he also spent some time in London) he appears to have emigrated to Italy and then re-emigrated to France where he settled at Nice. Here he died, aged 74, on 25 Feb 1872.

John Warburton Moseley of Norton-in-the-Moors M.D. 1809-....**1860s & 18??**

During the 1860s he emigrated to France and settled in Paris but returned to England. From 1870 to 1872 he was living in London holding the office of Resident Physician for the National Hospital for Diseases of the Heart which was an institution involved in various irregularities. No record of Moseley or his family has been found after 1872. He may then have re-emigrated with his family or perhaps changed his name. Moseley wrote a medical paper in French which was published in France 1858 ...

William Creswell Webb of Rugeley M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1808-1865**1861**

Later he emigrated to the Channel Islands where by 1861 he was living at St Helier, Jersey. Here he died, aged 57, about Aug 1865.

Michael Ryan of Newcastle M.D. c1816-1899**1882**

He emigrated to France about 1882 but returned to England before about 1887

P3.3 East Indies (India)

Between 1817 and 1859 seven men (below) of the cohort^x served as medics in the East India Company (see §F6.5).

Edward Hayling Coleman of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1794-1871	1817-1821
Alexander McBean of Stoke-upon-Trent M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1810-1888	1829-1835
Augustus Frederick Gooday of Newcastle M.D. 1815-1873	1839-1843
Allan Webb of Tamworth M.R.C.P. 1808-1863	1835-1859
George Turner of Longton in Stoke-upon-Trent M.R.C.S. 1815-1848	1839-1848
Richard Pope Jeston of Stafford M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1826-1901	1853-1857
Joseph Froysell of Willenhall [L.R.C.P.E.] c1806-1869	1831-1833

Only one other man is known to have emigrated to the East Indies.

George Bellasis Masfen of Stafford M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1825-1864**1856**

Perhaps about 1856 he emigrated to the East Indies where he was a surgeon with the Bengal Civil Service and died, aged 39, on 6 Dec 1864 at Gondah in Oude.

P3.4 America (United States of America) (USA)

Between 1746 and 1870 13 of the cohort^x emigrated to America. Crosby (1746) had previously emigrated to Jamaica, Mallett (p1757) provided medical support during the American War of Independence (1775-1783)³⁶⁹ whilst Kennedy (1773) re-emigrated to the West Indies to avoid that war. Lewis (1789) only stayed in America for a year or so, Bakewell (1792) stayed about three years, Myddelton (1792) about two years and Hobbins (1841) about four years but later re-emigrated (1854). Bakewell was a tape-weaver while in America and Langman (1854) was not a medic. From 1860 to 1865 the American Civil War³⁷⁰ may have deterred some would-be emigrants. Kempson (1870) had earlier emigrated to Canada. After his return to England Myddleton claimed to have got possession of lands in Kentucky but his scheme to settle those lands ended with his imprisonment (see §Y.1806).

Thomas Crosby of Rugeley apprentice c1718-....**1746**

By 1746 Joseph Crosby and his *nephew*(?) Thomas Crosby, both unmarried quakers, had emigrated to the West Indies and settled on Jamaica but that year re-emigrated to America where they settled at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Subsequently they both contributed to the building of the Pennsylvania Hospital and Joseph Crosby was a manager there

Benjamin Kennedy of Walsall surgeon 1743-?1781**1773**

About 1773 he emigrated to America where he continued practice in Maryland and Virginia, but, having been caught up in the American War of Independence (1775-1783), re-emigrated to the West Indies ...

Jonathan Mallett of Lichfield apprentice 1729-1806**p1757**

Probably time served about 1750 by 1757 he was a Regular Army Surgeon in America (46th Foot). Perhaps after his army service he emigrated to America for by 1765 he was living in New York. During the American War of Independence (1775-1783) he provided medical support at the siege of Bunker Hill (1775) and was subsequently Chief Surgeon at Boston Hospital and an Administrator of Hospitals in North America and the West Indies.

Isaac Attwood of Wednesbury surgeon & apothecary 1748-c1800**c1785**

He is said to have emigrated to America (say about 1785) and to have died there about 1800.

369 The American War of Independence commenced on 19 Apr 1775 with fighting between the Massachusetts militia and the British army stationed at Boston. On 14 Jul 1776 thirteen colonies - Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina and Virginia - declared independence from Britain to form the United States of America. The war ended on 3 Sep 1783 when the Treaty of Paris was signed by the United States of America and Britain.

370 In Nov 1860 Abraham Lincoln, who supported the abolition of slavery, won the presidential election. Subsequently eleven southern states broke away from the United States of America "the Union" (then consisting of 34 states) to form the Confederate States of America "the Confederacy" who supported the continuation of slavery. The ensuing American Civil War between the Union and the Confederacy, which may be considered to have started on 12 Apr 1861 and ended on 9 May 1865, was won by the Union. Well over half a million soldiers are said to have died in the conflict. Slavery was then abolished.

- Augustus Fowle Lewis of Penkridge surgeon c1754-1819** **1789**
It is said that he served a sentence of transportation. At the time of his marriage in 1788 he appears to have been in practice at Peasenhall, Suffolk. The next year 1789 he and his wife emigrated to America and settled in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania but returned about the following year and lived briefly in Lancashire. By 1794 they were living at Preston in Penkridge where Lewis practised for the rest of his life.
- Thomas Bakewell of Stone mad-doctor 1761-1835** **1792**
... apprenticed as a tape-weaver and time served continued in that trade until at least 1807. About 1792 he emigrated to America but returned home about 1795.
- Philip Parry Price Myddelton of Stafford "physician" c1758-1830** **1792**
Perhaps about 1792 he emigrated to America and practised medicine in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. In 1794 on the death of a relative he returned to England. About this time he added "Myddelton" to his name. By 1796 Myddelton claimed to have come into possession of a large tract of land in Kentucky and wanted people to settle in that land. In this connection he commissioned a token from the Soho Mint in Birmingham with, on the obverse, a family being welcomed by the goddess Liberty and BRITISH SETTLEMENT KENTUCKY around and, on the reverse, the seated figure of Britannia head downcast in sorrow and PAYABLE BY P. P. P. MYDDELTON. His settlement scheme fell foul of the law and Myddelton was found guilty of "seducing a manufacturer and artificer to go out of this kingdom to Kentucky" and was fined £500 and sentenced to one year's imprisonment. In the event he spent three years in Newgate Gaol and was released in Nov 1799. It was claimed, probably in error, that Myddelton graduated M.D. from Edinburgh about 1802 for he is not in the register of graduates. In 1802 Myddelton illegally removed property from his rented accommodation in London and a hand-bill was issued offering a reward for his apprehension in which he was described as "a thin man, about 5 feet 10 inches high, with high cheek bones, of rather genteel appearance, has a little of the yankee dialect (being an American) and generally wears a light coloured coat". He then apparently re-emigrated to France to live with his second wife, a French woman.
- William Sharrocks of Lichfield surgeon c1749-....** **1793**
He is said to have lived and practised at Lichfield as a physician, surgeon and midwife [man-midwife] from 1783 until 1793 when he emigrated to America and practised in Baltimore, Maryland and Richmond, Virginia.
- Joseph Hobbins of Wednesbury M.R.C.S. 1816-1894** **1841 and 1854**
He was in practice at Wednesbury in 1841 but perhaps later in the year emigrated to America where he settled in Massachusetts returning to Wednesbury about 1845. ... In 1854 he re-emigrated to America with his family where he settled in Wisconsin. Here he died, aged 78, on 24 Jan 1895 in the town of Madison.
- Henry Hulme Warburton of Betley apprentice 1819-1903** **1844**
He trained at London Hospital but may not have qualified. On census night 1841 he was an apprentice surgeon in the household of his father at Betley and thereafter assisted his father at Betley until 1844 when he emigrated to America and settled in New York. Between 1845 and 1847 he was a Merchant Navy Surgeon on the *Corea* a whaling vessel. In 1848 he moved to Santa Clara, California where he practised medicine until he died, aged 84, on 9 Feb 1903. Whilst in America he was a member of the Methodist Episcopal church and member of the Oddfellows.
- Leonard Ledbrook of Tipton L.S.A. ?1797-1881** **1845**
In 1845 he and his family emigrated to America and settled in Illinois. Here he continued in medical practice and died, aged 83, on 28 Jan 1881. His son Leonard Ledbrook became a druggist at Chatham, Sangamon, Illinois.
- Frederick Langman of Wolverhampton medical assistant 1820-1912** **1854**
On census night 1841 he was a medical assistant in the household of Edward Hayling Coleman of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1794-1871. By 1851 still at Wolverhampton he was an oil merchant, chemist and druggist employing 14 men. About 1854 he emigrated to America and settled in New York where he was later styled a broker. Here he died, aged 92, on 5 May 1912.
- Peter Tertius Kempson of Kingswinford M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1814-1890** **1870**
About 1852 he emigrated to Canada and settled at Fort Erie in Ontario where he was living in 1861. By 1870 he had re-emigrated to America where he settled in New Jersey. Here he died, aged 76, on 25 Sep 1890 at Metuchen.
- P3.5 Canada**
Between 1831 and 1853 six of the cohort^x emigrated to Canada³⁷¹ all to the western provinces of Manitoba, Ontario and Quebec. The two Crewes (1834 and 1847) were probably brothers. Kempson (1852) re-emigrated to America. A seventh man Hopkins may have emigrated in 1872.
- Thomas Slade Robinson of Stone L.S.A. 1801-....** **1831**
... about 1831 emigrated to Canada where he practised at Quebec City, Quebec and later at Toronto, Ontario. Robinson and his wife were both listed in the 1881 Canada census.
- William Poole Crewe of Newcastle L.S.A. 1797-1861** **1834**
In Jul 1834 he emigrated to Canada perhaps to avoid his creditors for the following Oct he was a declared bankrupt ... Crewe settled at Peel, Ontario where he died, aged 64, on 25 May 1861 and was buried. In 1871 Henry Crewe L.S.A. c1808-1874, probably his brother, was living in the household of his widow and her second husband at Peel.
- Henry Crewe of Newcastle L.S.A. c1808-1874** **1847**
About 1847 he probably emigrated to Canada where, in 1871, he was living in the household of the widow of William Poole Crewe 1797-1861 (probably his brother) and her second husband at Peel, Ontario, where he was buried, aged about 66, on 24 Jul 1874.
- Peter Tertius Kempson of Kingswinford M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1814-1890** **1852**
About 1852 he emigrated to Canada and settled at Fort Erie, Ontario where he was living in 1861. By 1870 he had re-emigrated to America where he settled in New Jersey.
- George Thompson Cooper of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1816-1861** **1853**
perhaps the next year 1853 he emigrated to Canada and likely settled at Chatham, Ontario where he died, aged 45, about Nov 1861.

³⁷¹ Canada now comprises ten provinces - of which the the first four combined on 1 Jul 1867 - and three territories the last of which only joined in 1999. They are (with their principal cities and dates): Ontario (Toronto - 1 Jul 1867), Quebec (Quebec City, Montreal - 1 Jul 1867), Nova Scotia (Halifax - 1 Jul 1867), New Brunswick (Fredericton, Moncton - 1 Jul 1867), Manitoba (Winnipeg - 15 Jul 1870), British Columbia (Victoria, Vancouver - 20 Jul 1871), Prince Edward Island (Charlottetown - 1 Jul 1873), Saskatchewan (Regina, Saskatoon - 1 Sep 1905), Alberta (Edmonton, Calgary - 1 Sep 1905) and Newfoundland and Labrador (St. John's - 31 Mar 1949), and the territories: Northwest Territories (Yellowknife - 15 Jul 1870), Yukon (Whitehorse - 13 Jun 1898) and Nunavut (Iqaluit - 1 Apr 1999).

Thomas Wright of Cannock M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1815-1888**1853**

... probably in 1853, emigrated to Canada where he lived in Ontario at Woodstock and Toronto and then at Mountain Marquette, Manitoba. He died, aged 73, on 27 Apr 1888 at Beaconsfield, Manitoba with burial at Old Norquay Cemetery.

William Hopkins of Handsworth L.R.C.P.E. 1828-....**?1872**

... about 1872 he may have emigrated to Canada where a daughter married in 1907.

P3.6 West Indies

Between 1746 and 1783 four men emigrated to the West Indies and settled on Jamaica. Crosby re-emigrated to America whilst Kennedy had previously emigrated to America and having been caught up in the American War of Independence re-emigrated here. In 1864 a fifth man Steventon emigrated here and settled first on Montserrat and then on Jamaica.

Thomas Crosby of Rugeley apprentice c1718-....**1746**

By 1746 Joseph Crosby and his *nephew(?)* Thomas Crosby, both unmarried quakers, had emigrated to the West Indies and settled on Jamaica but that year re-emigrated to America where they settled at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Benjamin Kennedy of Walsall surgeon 1743-?1781**1775**

About 1773 he emigrated to America where he continued practice in Maryland and Virginia, but, having been caught up in the American War of Independence (1775-1783), re-emigrated to the West Indies and settled on Jamaica where he probably died about 1781.

Bryan Higgins of Eccleshall M.D. c1740-1818 [OB]**1796**

He emigrated to the West Indies and settled on Jamaica where he was employed by the Jamaica House of Assembly from 1796 to 1801.

James Becket Shepherd of Walsall apprentice 1739-....**1783**

He was apprenticed for 7 years at £40 to Charles Hassall of Walsall surgeon about 17 Dec 1755. By 1783 he had emigrated to the West Indies where he settled and practised in Kingston, Jamaica. Another of Hassall's apprentices Jonathan Mallett 1729-1806 also worked in the West Indies.

William Steventon of Uttoxeter medical assistant 1829-1881**1864**

In 1864 he graduated M.D. from St Andrews. Subsequently he emigrated to the West Indies and settled first on Montserrat and then, by 1874, on Jamaica. On both islands he was a medical officer. By 1880 he had returned to England and was living at Teignmouth, Devon.

P3.7 South America

Only one man emigrated to South America. Beard (1852) spent about four years in Buenos Aires but it is not known if he practised medicine.

Joseph Downes Beard of Ashley surgeon 1826-1901**1852**

By 1852 he had emigrated to South America and settled at Buenos Aires, Argentina but it is not known if he practised medicine. About 1856 he returned to England and settled at Holt, Denbighshire as a farmer.

P3.8 Africa

Batcheler may have emigrated to Aboh, probably in modern Nigeria, whilst Hare emigrated to Cape Colony.

John Godfrey Batcheler of Alstonfield M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1814-1859**c1851?**

In 1850 he was at Alstonfield but by 1851 was "out of practice" and living in Brighton, Sussex. He may have emigrated to Africa for he died, aged 45, on 1 Jan 1859 at Aboh on the western coast (? in modern Nigeria).

Henry Woodroffe Hare of Aldridge M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1816-1874**c1856**

... moved to Aldridge where he was probably still living in 1856. Shortly after he appears to have emigrated to Africa where he settled in the Cape Colony. In 1866 he was appointed District Surgeon at Knysna where he died, aged 58, on 22 Nov 1874.

P3.9 Australia

Thirteen of the cohort³⁷² emigrated to Australia between 1839 and 1871. Little (1842) emigrated twice and Heeley (1864) had earlier emigrated to New Zealand. Three men settled in New South Wales, three in South Australia, one in Queensland and five in Victoria. The twelfth man Heeley moved from Victoria to New South Wales.

Benjamin Archer Kent of Walsall M.D. c1808-1864**1839**

In Nov 1839 he emigrated to Australia and settled at Port Adelaide, South Australia where he first set up in business as a brick-maker and miller but later continued medical practice. He returned permanently to England in 1858

Robert Little of Wolverhampton M.D. c1802-1889**1842 & 1862**

By 1842 he had emigrated to Australia and settled at Sydney in New South Wales where that year he published another medical book *Practical observations on the treatment of the epidemic scarlet fever recently so prevalent and fatal in New South Wales*. He returned to England and for a few years about 1851 practised at Wolverhampton. By 1860 he was at Manchester before he re-emigrated to Australia where he lived in Scone in New South Wales from about 1862 to 1866.

George Nott of West Bromwich M.R.C.S. 1820-1872**1850**

... he emigrated to Australia in 1850. By 1852 he was living at Gawler, South Australia where he died aged 52 on 9 Dec 1872 with burial on 11 Dec at Willaston Cemetery. He was the publisher of the local newspaper the "Gawler Bunyip". In Australia Nott became a Freemason, Oddfellow and Forester.

Edward Fielding Palmer of Tamworth M.R.C.S. 1823-1875**1850**

he emigrated to Australia in 1850. He settled and practised at Maryborough, Queensland where he died, aged 52, on 4 Mar 1875.

George Beddow of West Bromwich M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1814-?1855**1852**

³⁷² Australia is divided into six states and two territories: Australian Capital Territory (ACT), New South Wales (NSW), Northern Territory (NT), Queensland (QLD), South Australia (SA), Tasmania (TAS), Victoria (VIC) and Western Australia (WA). In 1901 the six states, whilst retaining their own governments, formed the Commonwealth of Australia and a federal government.

He emigrated to Australia in 1852 and settled in Melbourne, Victoria where he is said to have practised as a surgeon for a few years before he died there, aged about 41, probably in 1855.

James Stokes of Wednesbury M.R.C.S. 1824-1914 **1853**
... until 1853 when he emigrated to Australia with his wife and son. He settled at Prahran, Victoria where he was the local Health Officer and where he died, aged 90, on 23 Nov 1914 with burial on 28 Nov at St Kilda Cemetery.

Thomas Valentine of Tamworth apprentice 1825-1889 **1853**
He does not appear to have qualified. In 1848 he married in London but by 1851 was a chemist and druggist at Southampton. Later that year his second child was born in London and soon after, perhaps about 1853, he emigrated to Australia where he died, aged 64, on 6 Jul 1889 with burial at Melbourne, Victoria.

James Burn Malcolm of Wolstanton medical assistant c1826-1885 **1854**
In 1852 he qualified in surgery L.F.P.S.G. Probably about 1854 he emigrated to Australia where he settled at Vaughan, Victoria. Here he practised and assisted in local government before moving by 1875 to Castlemaine in the same state where he died, aged about 59, on 20 Aug 1885 with burial at the General Cemetery. Malcolm was a Magistrate for Victoria.

William Brodum Dickinson of West Bromwich M.D. c1801-1866 **1855**
About 1855 he emigrated to Australia and settled at Gawler, South Australia where his stepson George Nott was already established. He died, aged about 65, at Gumeracha, South Australia on 18 Dec 1866.

William Taylor Walmsley of Willenhall medical assistant 1825-1863 **1857**
About 1857 he emigrated to Australia and settled at Chewton, Victoria later moving to Maldon in the same state. He died, aged 38, on 27 Oct 1863 and was buried at Chewton. In 1881 when his daughter married he was styled "the late Dr. William Taylor Walmsley" but it is not known if he was qualified.

Joseph Knight Barnett of Stafford apprentice c1832-1885 **1858**
In 1855 he qualified M.R.C.S. and in 1857 he graduated M.D. from St Andrews. The following year 1858 he emigrated to Australia and settled in New South Wales where he practised at Albury and later moved to Tintalra where he died, aged about 63, on 4 Jan 1885.

John Theophilus Heeley of Stone medical assistant 1830-1910 **1864**
He qualified L.S.A. in 1858 and was admitted L.R.C.P.E. in 1860. In 1862 he emigrated to New Zealand without his wife or children but in 1864 re-emigrated to Australia where he settled in Victoria but by 1880 had moved to New South Wales where he died, aged 80, on 16 Jun 1910.

William Guille Dalgairns of Stoke-upon-Trent M.R.C.S., L.S.A. ?1822-1879 **1871**
In 1871 he emigrated to Australia. He was living in Windsor, New South Wales when he died, aged 57, on 30 Aug 1879.

P3.10 New Zealand

Only two men emigrated to New Zealand. Monteith (1839) travelled out on the *Duke of Roxburgh* and settled at Wellington whilst Heeley (1862) emigrated here but in 1864 re-emigrated to Australia.

George Dalrymple Monteith of Kingswinford L.S.A. c1808-1862 **1839**
... until 1839 when he and his family emigrated to New Zealand on the *Duke of Roxburgh*. He settled at Wellington where, apart from two years spent as a hotel proprietor, he was in practice until 1859 when he fell ill with epilepsy and retired. He died, aged 54, on 1 Jul 1862 at Wellington with burial at Bolton Street Cemetery. Monteith was a Superintendent at Wellington Colonial Hospital. In New Zealand he assisted in some early operations using anaesthetic and conducted some criminal post-mortem examinations.

John Theophilus Heeley of Stone medical assistant 1830-1910 **1862**
In 1862 he emigrated to New Zealand without his wife or children but in 1864 re-emigrated to Australia.

Q National material

Q1 Medical titles (historical); Q2 Medical regulations (national); Q3 Medical regulatory bodies - physicians; Q4 Medical regulatory bodies - surgeons; Q5 Medical regulatory bodies - apothecaries; Q6 National institutional hospitals; Q7 Medical schools

Q1 Medical titles (historical)

Q1.1 Introduction; Q1.2 Leech; Q1.3 Physician; Q1.4 Chirurgeon and surgeon; Q1.5 Midwife ; Q1.6 Apothecary; Q1.7 Doctor; Q1.8 Man-midwife, accoucheur and obstetrician; Q1.9 Mad-doctor; Q1.10 Surgeon-apothecary; Q1.11 General practitioner; Q1.12 "Gentlemen and tradesmen"

Q1.1 Introduction

Up to 1851 medical practitioners or *medics* had, perhaps for all time, fulfilled five principal roles: supply of medical advice, surgery, preparation and sale of medicines, midwifery and care of the insane. Much of this activity required that patients also received adequate nursing and domestic care. For the most part, mostly by convention but sometimes by regulation, only men were able to be educated, trained or qualified for medical practice. Thus women although involved in midwifery and the care of the insane and also providing most of the nursing and domestic care were mainly³⁷³ excluded from the other roles.

Over a thousand years or so medics described themselves and were ascribed by others with a variety of *titles* intended to indicate their medical role. Some titles eventually became archaic or obsolete and some changed their meaning over both time and context. At different times various laws, regulations and codes set out to define what titles medics might use and what roles they might fulfill. Common usage might in time change to suit but there was always possible confusion between actual usage and official practice. Below follows a brief summary of titles found up to 1851 commencing with the earliest. Examples are given of common usage which when not otherwise credited are to be found in the *Oxford English dictionary*.

This section ends with a brief Shakespearian quote regarding social distinctions between "Gentlemen and Tradesmen".

³⁷³ On occasion the widow of a medic was permitted to continue in practice (see §B3 (Lichfield)) or to act as master to an apprentice (see John Parker of Lichfield apothecary 1655-1711).

Q1.2 Leech (c900)

Leech is found in use about 900 and into the early 17C. During this time it might refer to any sort of medic and was probably synonymous with physician §Q1.3. By the mid 17C and thereafter it usually meant a veterinary practitioner.

(c900) laece; (c1225) fisiciens & licomes leches [licomes refers to a human body]; (1484) I am a leche and with al a good phesyen; (1508) In medicine the most practianis, Lechis, surriganis, and phisicianis; (1590) Where many skillful leaches him abide, To salve his hurts, that yet still freshly bled. [Edmund Spenser *The faerie queene* (1590)]; (1612) the more learned sort are justly stiled by the title of Physicians, and the more experienced sort are called Chirurgions, or Surgeons; ... amongst the Latines, Medicus, he was termed a Leech: and all those denominations signifie no other thing but one and the same, viz. A curer of diseases, sicknesses, wounds, apostmues, ulcers, &c. [John Woodall *The surgeons mate* (1612)]; (1660) They that come and tell you what you are to believe, what you are to do, and tell you not why, they are not Medici, but Veterinarii, they are not Physicians, but Leaches [John Hales *Sermons preach'd at Eton* (1660)]

Q1.3 Physician (c1225)

Aesculapius Trifrons

Intrantis medici facies tres esse videntur

Aegrotanti, Hominis, Daemonis, atq[ue] Dei:

Quamprimum accessit medicus, dixitq[ue] salutem,

En Deus, aut Custos angleus, aeger ait.

Cû morbû medicina fugaverit, Ecce homo, clamat:

Cum posoit medicus praemia, Vade Satan.

[*Epigrammatum Johannis Ovven Cambro-Britanni Libri tres ... Elbingae* (1616) No 95]

By the 12C in mediaeval Latin the words *medicus* and *archiater* were used to signify a physician. From the early 13C into the early 17C the title "physician" might refer to any sort of medic and was probably synonymous with leech §Q1.2. However following on the legislation and regulation introduced in the 16C (see §Q2) the title was more frequently used of a man who had graduated with a medical degree, or, had a bishop's licence to practise physic, or, was a member of a college of physicians. In contrast by the start of the 19C in America physician was apparently used as a title for any medic.

(c1225) fisiciens & licomes leches [licomes refers to a human body]; (c1380) fisicians; (c1400) O Lord, whi is it so greet difference betwixe a cirurgian & a phisician; (1484) I am a leche and with al a good phesyen; (1508) In medicine the most practianis, Lechis, surriganis, and phisicianis; (1540) ... forasmuche as the science of phisicke dothe comprehend include and conteyne the knowlege of surgery as a speciall membre and parte of the same [*The Physicians Act of 1540*]; (1612) the more learned sort are justly stiled by the title of Physicians, and the more experienced sort are called Chirurgions, or Surgeons [John Woodall *The surgeons mate* (1612)] (full quote above); (1809) Physician is the title of all medical practitioners in the United States

Q1.4 Chirurgeon and surgeon (1297)

In mediaeval Latin the words *chirurgus* and *sirurgus* were used for chirurgeon and surgeon. Chirurgeon, in the form *cirurgian*, and surgeon are both found in use by the early 14C. By the end of the 18C the use of the word chirurgeon was archaic. At all periods the two titles appear synonymous and might refer to a medic who practised surgery and also supplied medical advice.

(1297) cirurgian; (1338) surgien; (1386) sirurgien; (1508) In medicine the most practianis, Lechis, surriganis, and phisicianis; (1535) chirurgeane; (1551) surgean; (1612) the more experienced sort are called Chirurgions, or Surgeons; [John Woodall *The surgeons mate* (1612)] (full quote above); (1613) the artes of the apothecarie and chirurgian; (1653) I must have the opinion of surgon and doctor both; (1708) chirurgeon ... chyrurgeon

Q1.5 Midwife (1303)

Midwives are mentioned in a manuscript of about 1303 composed by Robert Mannyng of Brunne-p1338 [OB]

Mydwyuës þat wyþ wymmen wone, | Alle þe poyntes, behoueþ hem kone; | Prestes shuld teche hem þe ordynaunce, | what þey shuld sey and do yn chaunce, | And examyne her what she couthe, | what she shuld do, and seye with mouþe | Y shal þow telle of a mydwyfe, | Þat loste a chylde, boþe soule & lyfe. | he tolde hyt yn hys sermoun, | And 3aue here ofte hys malysoun. | Þys mydwyfe, whan þe chylde was bore, | She helde hyt on here lappe before; | And whan she sawe þat hyt shulde deye, | She bygan, loudë for to crye, | And seyde, "God and seynt Ione | Crysten þe chylde, boþe flesshe and bone." | Þys mydwyffe noghte ellës seyde, | And yn þe cherche-þerde þey wulde hyt haue leyde, | As a-nouþer chyld shuld ha be | Þat hade receyuede þe solempte. | Þe prest askede þe mydwyffe, | "3yfe hyt were cristenede whan hyt hade lyffe, | And who hyt cristened, and on what manere, | And what was seyde, þat any myghte here." | Þe mydwyffe seyde unto þe prest, | "Þys herde þey þat stode me nest, | Þat God almyghty and Seynt Ioun | 3yue þe chylde cristendom yn flesshe and boun." | Þan seyde þe preste, "God and seynt Iame | 3yue þe boþe sorow and shame, | And Crystys malysun haue þou for-þy, | And alle þe ouþer þat were þe by! | Yn euyl tymë were þou bore, | For yn þy defeute, a soule ys lore." | She was commaunded she shuld no more | Come eftesones þere chyldryn were bore. | Mydwyues, y tolde thys tale for þow, | Þat 3yf þe kunnat, lerneþ how | To sauë þat, God bo3t ful dere, | Þe poyntes of bapteme y rede þow lere; | Mydwyfe ys a perylus þyng | But she kunne þe poyntes of crystenyng;

Q1.6 Apothecary (1366)

In mediaeval Latin the words *pharmacopeus* and *pharmacopola* were used for apothecary. The term *apothecary* is found in use in the mid 14C and at all periods mostly referred to a medic who prepared and sold drugs for medicinal purposes usually from a shop premises and often supplied medical advice. From about 1700 men just preparing and selling drugs might be styled chemist or druggist thus distinguishing themselves from apothecaries whose role in supplying medical advice was by then enhanced.

(1366) The marchauntis and the apotecaries countrefeten it [bawme]; (c1386) Full redy hadde he hise apothecaries. To send him drugges.; (1466) I toke of ... the potekary a lytel baryl of water for the sekeness; (1474) The pawn .. signefyeth the physicien, spicer, apotiquare; (1535) All maner spyces of the Apotecary; (1578) Many Poticaries who doe bring in to the market oyntments, sirops, waters, and other drugges; (1613) the

artes of the apothecarie and chirurgian; (1709) Modern 'Pothecaries taughte the art by Doctors bills to play the Doctors part; (1813) Who are the Apothecaries of Great Britain? Are they persons practising pharmacy only; or are they persons who join with the pharmaceutical art the practice of physic, surgery, and obstetrics? Those who practise pharmacy alone are few in number, compared with those who exercise all the branches of the profession.

Q1.7 Doctor (1377)

Doctor of physic meaning the holder of a university degree of *Doctor in phsyic or medicine* is found in the late 14C. In the 17C the word "doctor" is in use but it is unclear whether it is shorthand for doctor of medicine. From the 17C men holding a degree in medicine usually an M.D. or M.B. might style themselves "Doctor of physic" or physician. In the 18C surgeons at sea were commonly called doctors. The modern common usage of the word "doctor" for any medic may only date from the late 19C.

(1377) doctor of deth; (c1386) doctur of phesike; (1598) Shall I loose my doctor? No he gives me the potions and the motions [Shakespeare: Merry Wives of Windsor]; (1653) I must have the opinion of surgon and doctor both; (1787) ... our doctors themselves (so we call the surgeons at sea) ... [Daniel De Foe *Voyage Round the World Volume 2* (1787) p122] [? First published 1724]; (1871) a common country doctor [George Eliot *Middlemarch Vol I* (1871) p251-2]

An epigram current in 1730 (below) was later often recycled but with "Doctor" substituted for "Soldier".

Our God and Soldier we alike adore,
Just at the brink of Danger, not b[e]fore;
After Deliv'rance, they're alike requited,
Our God's forgotten, and our Soldier's slighted
[*The third volume of the works of Mr Thomas Brown; being amusements ... the seventh edition ...* (1730) p51]

God and the doctor we alike adore,
When sickness seizes us, but not before.
The danger past, both are alike requited,
God is forgotten, and the doctor slighted.
[*The poetical farrago ... Volume the First* (1794) p35]

Q1.8 Man-midwife, accoucheur and obstetrician (1625)

The terms man-midwife, accoucheur and obstetrician seem to be synonymous and the midwifery role unambiguous. Man-midwife appears in 1625, accoucheur in English in 1741 (although in French in 1595) and obstetrician as late as 1812.

(1595) ACCOUCHEUR. f. m. Qui aide à accoucher. [*Le grand dictionnaire de l'Académie Française* (1595)]; (1625) PROLOGUE. Nay, start not Ladies, these carry no fire-workes to fright you, but a Torch i' their hands, to give light to the businesse. The truth is, that there are a set of gamesters within, in travell of a thing call'd a Play, and would fame be deliver'd of it: an they have intreated me to be their Man-Midwife, the Prologue; for they are like to have a hard labour on't. [Ben Jonson *The staple of newes; a comedie acted in the yeare, 1625*]; (1741) But whence survive mankind the natal day? | Or meet they, rather, first, the genial ray?- | To heav'n alone our warmest vows are due, | Our fire, accoucheur, and physician too! [Sayer Rudd *On Sir Richard Manningham's infirmary for lying-in-women* (1741)]; (1805) Yet I do all to tempt them into sickness | Have I not, in the jaws of bankruptcy, | And to the desolation of my person, | Painted my shop, that it looks like a rainbow?- | New double-gilt my pestle and my mortar, | That some, at distance, take it for the sun? | And blaz'd in flaming letters oe'r my door, | Each one a glorious constellation, | Surgeon, apothecary, accoucheur-| (For midwife is grown vulgar)? [Lampedo (a surgeon) speaks in John Tobin *The honey moon* (1805)]; (1812) Considered as an obstetrician, his talents and success peer above all competition; and he formed a distinguished exception to the truth of the general observation, that all accoucheurs are superstitious. ["Biographical Sketch of the late Maxwell Garthside M.D. ..." in *The Philosophical Magazine* 39 (1812) p333]

Q1.9 Mad-doctor (c1702)

Private lunatic asylums were called madhouses by the later 17C and the term mad-doctor was used in a play about 1702 but with the meaning according to the OED of "a physician who treats mental diseases". By 1765 it was also being used to refer to the proprietor of a madhouse.

(15 Jun 1687) Magdalen colledge in Oxford appeared before the ecclesiastical commissioners, and gave in an answer why they had not admitted Mr. Farmer; and one Dr. Fairfax was very bold there, for which he was severely reprimanded, and told he was fitter for a madhouse. [Narcissus Luttrell *A brief historical relation of state affairs ... Volume I* (1857) p406]

(c1702) I promis'd my endeavours to cure your sister; no mad doctor in Christendom could have done it more effectually. Take her into your charge; and have a care she don't relapse; if she should, employ me not again, for I am no more infallible than others of the faculty; I do cure sometimes. [George Farquhar *Inconstant, or The way to win him. Act IV*. The precise quote given here is from a later edition.]

(1765) and if a writ of *habeas corpus* were obtained and served, the person might be immediately removed to another madhouse, whereupon the mad doctor, upon whom the writ had been served, might make a return, *that no such person was in his custody* [*The London magazine, or, Gentleman's monthly intelligencer* (1765) p91]

Q1.10 Surgeon-apothecary (1753)

From an early period medics who practised as surgeons and apothecaries were styled simply "surgeon and apothecary". The alternative style "surgeon-apothecary" is found in a Scottish obituary of 1753 but was not in general use until the start of the 19C. Samuel Foart Simmons does not use the term in his medical directories published between 1779 and 1783 (see §Y.1779). In 1800 James Lucas published *A candid inquiry into the education, qualifications, and offices of a surgeon-apothecary ...* The style is used by Robert Masters Kerrison in 1814 and 1815. In the latter year he explains his *specific* use of it in a footnote. Subsequently the term is often found in use.

(1753) [deaths] At Elgin in the 79th year of his age, Mr Kenneth Mackensie, surgeon-apothecary [*Scots Magazine* 14 (1753) p53]

(1814) ... a body of men, who are ready to give proof having acquired sufficient knowledge to enable them to do the duty of physicians, in ordinary cases, at a rate of charge better suited to the ability of their patients to bear. And these persons, the Surgeon-Apothecaries, are rather compensated by the multiplicity of practice, than by the expense to individuals; they have thus become the general practitioners throughout England and Wales ... [Robert Masters Kerrison *An inquiry into the present state of the medical profession in England ...* (1814) p31-2]

(1815) It is now more than two years since a general meeting of Apothecaries and Surgeon-Apothecaries was convened in London ... [a footnote reads] The term Surgeon-Apothecary is intended to designate those who practise as Apothecaries, and are also Members of the Royal College of

Surgeons. They are now the most numerous part of the Profession in Town and Country. [Robert Masters Kerrison *Observations and reflections of the bill now in progress ... for the "Better regulating the medical profession" ...* (1815) p5]

Q1.11 General practitioner (1802)

The title general practitioner may first have been used in America where, as noted above, the term physician was extended to cover any medic. In England in 1802 the term is used in a newspaper advertisement and later in the medical journals. In the 1841 census medics describe themselves as "surgeon" or "apothecary" but at the 1851 census³⁷⁴ a great many describe themselves as general medical practitioner or general practitioner. It would seem that it is from about this latter year that the term came in to common usage and remains with us in the modern form *G.P.*.

(1729) Physician. Young man who is interested in general practitioner work. Must be willing to begin with village and country work. [The Pennsylvania Gazette]

(1780) The committee shall consider the relationship between the general practitioner and the specialist practitioner in medicine as a guide in the definition of "consultant". [*Senate Bill*]

(24 May 1802) As a MEMBER OF THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF SURGEONS ... no disorders are more important than the Venereal Disease and Debility, they certainly require abilities fully equal, and attention with less remission than can possibly be spared by general Practitioners. ... Mr. B--- may be consulted ... near Temple Bar. [London Courier]

(1804) ... the particular road of my enquiry has conducted me through some intricacies which have escaped the general practitioner. Joseph Adams. Worcester. August 9, 1804. [*London Medical and Physical Journal* 12 p193]

(29 Apr 1813) MEDICAL PROFESSION Wanted immediately as an Assistant to a general Practitioner in the Country a Gentleman who has attended the Hospitals and who is in other respects well educated. ... Mr Abel, Surgeon, Halesworth, Suffolk [London Courier]

(25 Dec 1813) On the First of January 1814 will be Published ... No 1 ... of THE LONDON MEDICAL, SURGICAL AND PHARMACEUTICAL REPOSITORY ... Edited by ... assisted by a Society of General Practitioners. [Oxford University and City Herald]

(1813) Every city, every town, and almost every village, in England and Wales, presents one or more of these general practitioners: but will they be legally designated by the term apothecary? [*London Medical and Physical Journal* 29 (1813) p3]

(1842) In country practice, the functions of the surgeon are much more frequently exercised by the general practitioner than in London. [J.C. Hudson *The parent's hand-book* ... (1842) p70-1]

Q1.12 "Gentlemen and tradesmen"

Many writers considered that physicians were *gentlemen* and the social equals of those wealthy enough to pay their fees whilst other medics were *mere* tradesmen. Much has been written on the subject and the following Shakespearian quotation³⁷⁵ of about 1599 from "*The tragedy of Julius Caesar*" illustrates its complexity. Later commentators suggest that the author incorrectly transferred the "trade" customs of his day to ancient Rome. Important to note are the niceties of the use of the words profession, trade and workman.

FLAVIUS: Hence! Home, you idle creatures, get you home! Is this a holiday? What! Know you not being mechanical, you ought not walk upon a laboring day without the sign of your profession? Speak, what trade art thou?

FIRST CITIZEN: Why, sir, a carpenter.

MARULLUS: Where is thy leather apron and thy rule? What dost thou with thy best apparel on? You, sir; what trade are you?

SECOND CITIZEN: Truly, sir, in respect of a fine workman, I am but, as you would say, a cobbler.

MARULLUS: But what trade art thou? Answer me directly.

SECOND CITIZEN: A trade, sir, that, I hope, I may use with a safe conscience, which is indeed, sir, a mender of bad soles.

MARULLUS: What trade, thou knave? Thou naughty knave, what trade?

SECOND CITIZEN: Nay, I beseech you, sir, be not out with me; yet, if you be out, sir, I can mend you.

MARULLUS: What mean'st thou by that? Mend me, thou saucy fellow!

SECOND CITIZEN: Why, sir, cobble you.

FLAVIUS: Thou art a cobbler, art thou?

SECOND CITIZEN: Truly, Sir, all that I live by is with the awl; I meddle with no tradesman's matters, nor women's matters, but with awl: I am indeed, sir, a surgeon to old shoes; when they are in great danger, I re-cover them. As proper men as ever trod upon neat's-leather have gone upon my handiwork.

FLAVIUS: But wherefore art not in thy shop today? Why dost thou lead these men about the streets?

SECOND CITIZEN: Truly, sir, to wear out their shoes to get myself into more work. But indeed, sir, we make holiday to see Caesar and to rejoice in his triumph.

Q2 Medical regulations (national)

Q2.1 Introduction

National medical regulation was introduced and amended by a number of acts of parliament³⁷⁶, petitions, royal charters, lawsuits etc the more important of which are here described (in date order).

Q2.1421 A parliamentary petition to regulate physicians (1421)

In 1421 a petition was presented to parliament to regulate physicians throughout England. It brought about a response concerning both physicians and surgeons which granted powers to the King's Council who, in the event, do not seem to have exercised them. Beneath are extracts from the petition and the response (in French)³⁷⁷. Here a clear distinction is drawn between physicians and surgeons. Physicians were to have studied medicine at a university and graduated with a medical degree whilst the surgeons were to have been trained by existing practitioners.

[To parliament etc] ... many un cunning and unapproved in the foresaid Science practises, and especially in Physic, so that in this Realm is every man, be he never so lewd, taking upon him practise, be suffered to use it, to great harm and slaughter of many men: Where if no man practised therein but all only cunning men and approved sufficiently learned in art, philosophy, and physic, as it is kept in other lands and realms, there should many men that dies, for default of help, life, and no man perishes by un cunning. ... make in Statute perpetually to be straightly used and

³⁷⁴ This statement is based on the Staffordshire censuses.

³⁷⁵ The original orthography is not maintained.

³⁷⁶ Some other acts of parliament not principally of a medical nature are included in the index (§Z5).

³⁷⁷ These are taken from John H. Raach *A directory of English country physicians 1603-1643* (1962) p7-9 16 quoting "*Rotuli Parliamentorum* IV 158 130". He also adds that "The response may also be found in Latin in the British Museum Additional Manuscripts 5843 fol. 255".

kept, that no man, of no manner, estate, degree, or condition, practise in Physic, from this time forward, but he have long time used the Schools of Physic within some University, and be graduated in the same; that is to say, but he be Bachelor or Doctor of Physic having Letters testimonials sufficiency of one of those degrees of the University in the which he took his degree in; under pain of long imprisonment, and paying £40 to the King; and that no Woman use the practise of Physic under the same pain;

.. C'est assavoir, ceux de Fisik en les Universities, & les Surgeons entre les Mestres de cell arte. ...

Q2.1428 A royal charter to refound the London Grocers' Company (1428)

In London apothecaries might be members of the London Grocers' Company (§Q4.5) which was refounded by a royal charter of 1428. However in 1617 they split when the Society of Apothecaries was founded (see below).

Q2.1511 An act concerning physicians and surgeons {3 Henry VIII c11} (1511)

In 1511, *An act concerning physicians and surgeons* {3 Henry VIII c11} was passed which, reserving the privileges of Oxford and Cambridge Universities, required that physicians and surgeons be examined and approved before practising. The examiner for those in London and seven miles around was the Bishop of London or the Dean of St Paul's whilst for the rest of the country he was the local diocesan bishop or his vicar-general. Once a man had been examined and approved by the examiner he was to be issued with appropriate letters testimonial. These letters testimonial became known as a "bishop's licence" and men might be said to have been "licensed to practise physic and/or surgery in the diocese of xxxxx" or "in the province of Canterbury or York". Subsequently, in theory, all physicians and surgeons, not qualified by Oxford or Cambridge University, should have held a bishop's licence. The following is the whole text of that act.

[Preamble] To the king, our sovereign lord, and to all the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled. Forasmuch as the science and cunning of physick and surgery (to the perfect knowledge whereof be requisite both great learning and ripe experience) is daily within this realm exercised by a great multitude of ignorant persons, of whom the greater part have no manner of insight in the same, nor in any other kind of learning; some also can no letters on the book, so far forth. that common artificers, as smiths, weavers, and women, boldly and accustomedly take upon them great cures, and things of great difficulty, in the which they partly use sorcery and witchcraft, partly apply such medicines unto the disease as be very noxious, and nothing metely thereof, to the high displeasure of God, great infamy to the faculty, and the grievous hurt damage and destruction of many of the King's liege people, more specially of them that cannot discern the uncunning from cunning."

§1. Be it therefore (to the surety and comfort of all manner people) by the authority of this present Parliament enacted, That no person within the City of London, nor within seven miles of the same, take upon him to exercise and occupy as a physician or surgeon except he be first examined approved and admitted by the Bishop of London, or by the Dean of Paul's, for the time being, calling to him or them four doctors of physic and for surgery other expert persons in that faculty; and for the first examination such as they shall think convenient, and afterward alway four of them that have been so approved, upon the pain of forfeiture for every month that they do occupy as physicians or surgeons, not admitted nor examined after the tenour of this act, of five pounds, to be employed the one half thereof to the use of our sovereign lord the King, and the other half thereof to any person that will sue for it by action of debt, in which no wager of law or protection shall be allowed.

§2. And over this, that no person out of the said city, and precinct of seven miles of the same, except he have been, (as is said before) approved in the same, take upon him to exercise and occupy as a physician or surgeon, in any diocese within this realm but if he be first examined and approved by the bishop of the same diocese, or, he being out of the diocese, by his vicar-general; either of them calling to them such expert persons in the said faculties, as their discretion shall think convenient and giving their letters testimonials under their seal to him that they shall so approve, upon like pain to them that occupy contrary to this act (as is above said) to be levied and employed after the form before expressed.

§3. Provided alway, that this act, nor any thing therein contained, be prejudicial to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, or either of them, or to any privileges granted to them.

Q2.1518 A royal charter to found the Royal College of Physicians of London (1518)

On 23 Sep 1518 the Royal College of Physicians of London was founded by a royal charter issued by Henry VIII. The charter is written in Latin and recites that the King has determined to found a "Collegium perpetuum doctorum et gravium virorum qui medicinam in urbe nostra Londino et Suburbii, intraque septem millia passuum". This is later styled "unum corpus et Communitas perpetua sive Collegium perpetuum" and "Collegii seu Communitatis facultatis Medicinae London". The charter thus limited the College to control over the practice of physicians in London and seven miles around. An (uncredited) English translation of the charter is printed in *The charter and bye-laws of the Royal College of Physicians of London and the Acts of Parliament especially relating thereto* (1972). Below is an extract:

HENRY, by the Grace of God, King of England and France ... to curb the audacity of those wicked men who shall profess medicine more for the sake of their avarice than from the assurance of any good conscience, ... Therefore, partly imitating the example of well governed cities in Italy and many other nations, and partly inclining to the petition of the grave men, Doctors John Chamber, Thomas Linacre, Fernandez de Victoria, our physicians, Nicholas Halsewell, Giovanni Franceschi, and Robert Yaxley, physicians, and especially of ... Archbishop of York, and our very dear Chancellor of England, ... We will and command to be instituted a perpetual College of learned and grave men who shall publicly exercise medicine in our City of London and the suburbs, and within seven miles from that City on every side ... That they and all men of the same Faculty of and in the City shall be in deed and in name one body and perpetual Commonalty or College: And that the same Commonalty or College every year for ever shall be able to elect and make out of that Commonalty some prudent man and expert in the Faculty of Medicine as President of the same College or Commonalty, to oversee, superintend, and govern for that year the College or Commonalty aforesaid, ... WE HAVE also granted to the same President and College or Commonalty, and their successors, that no one in the said City, or for seven miles in circuit of the same, shall exercise the said Faculty, unless he be admitted thereto by the said President and Commonalty, or their successors for the time being, by letters of the same President and Commonalty, sealed with their common seal, under pain of one hundred shillings for every month during which not having been admitted he has exercised the same Faculty; ... four men shall be yearly elected by themselves, who shall have the oversight and scrutiny, correction and government of all and singular physicians of the said City using the Faculty of Medicine in the same City, and of other foreign physicians whomsoever in any manner frequenting and using that Faculty of Medicine within the same City, and the suburbs thereof, or within seven miles in circuit of the same City, and the punishment of the same for their defaults in not well executing, doing, and using it: And also the oversight and scrutiny of all manner of medicines and their receipts to be given, applied, and used by the said physicians ... WITNESS ourself at Westminster on the twenty-third day of September, in the tenth year of our reign.

Q2.1523 An act concerning the privileges and authority of physicians in London {14 & 15 Henry VIII c5} (1523)

In 1523 *An act concerning the privileges and authority of physicians in London* {14 & 15 Henry VIII c5} was passed. This mainly concerns London but in the last clause (below) men wishing to practice as physicians outside London are required to pass an examination by the President and three Elects of the College of Physicians and to

acquire confirmatory letters testimonial. However graduates of Oxford and Cambridge were specifically exempt. The act does not indicate whether men submitting to examination did in fact need to be graduates. This clause does not appear to have been compatible with the rules concerning the granting of bishop's licences as outlined in the 1511 act (above). However it does seem to be the basis of the later practice when the College of Physicians created extra licentiates.

And where that in dioceses in England, out of London, it is not light to find alway men able sufficiently to examine (after the statute) such as shall be admitted to exercise physick in them, that it may be enacted in this present parliament, that no person from henceforth be suffered to exercise or practice in physick through England, until such time as he be examined at London, by the said president, and three of the said elects; and to have from the said president or elects, letters testimonials of their approving and examination, except he be a graduate of Oxford or Cambridge, which hath accomplished all things for his form, without any grace.

Q2.1540 *The physicians act* {32 Henry VIII c40} (1540)

In 1540 *The physicians act* {32 Henry VIII c40} was passed. It consisted of three sections all printed below.

[§1 *Fellowship of Physicians in London to be exempt from various city offices*] In moste humble wise shewen unto your Majestie your true and faithfull subjectis and liege men the President of the corporation of the Comminaltie and felowship of the science and facultie of Phisicke in your Cittie of London and the Comons and fellowes of the same; That wheras divers of them, manny tymes having in cure aswell some of the lordis of youre most honorable counsaile and divers tymes many of the nobilitie of this Realme as many other of your faithfull and liege people, cannot geve their attendaunce to them and other their patientes with suche diligence as their duety were and is to doo, by reason they be many tymes compellid aswell within the Citie of London and suburbes of the same as in other townes and villages to kepe watche and warde, and be chosen to thoffice of Constable and other offices within the said Citie and suburbes of the sam' as in other places within this your Realme, to their greate fatigation and unquieting and to the p'ill of their patientes by reason they cannot be conveniently attended; It may therefore pleas your moste excellent Majestie with thassent of your lordis sp'uall and temporall and the Comons in this p'sent p'lament assembled and by thautoritie of the same, to enacte ordeyne and stablish that the p'sident of the said commynaltie and felowship for the tyme being, and the Comons and fellowes of the same, and ev'y fellowe therof that nowe be or at any tyme herafter shalbe, their successours and the successours of ev'y of them, at all tyme and tymes afre the making of this p'sent acte shalbe discharged to kepe any watche or warde in your said Cittie of London or the suburbes of the same or any parte therof; And that they nor any of them shalbe chosen constable or any other officer in the said Cittie or suburbes: And that if at any tyme herafter the said P'sident for the tyme being or any of the said Comons or fellowes for the tyme being by any waies or meanes be appointed or ellectid to any watche or warde, office of Constable or any other office within the said Cittie or suburbes [of the same] the same appointment or election to be utterly voide and of none effecte; any ordre custume or lawe to the contrarie bfore this tyme used in the said Cittie notwithstanding.

[§2 *Fellowship of Physicians in London to yearly elect four officers with powers to inspect apothecaries' stocks of drugs etc, to destroy defective material and to fine obstructive apothecaries £5. Officers who refuse to serve to be fined £2.*] AND that it may please your moste Roiall Majestie by thautoritie aforesaid that it may be further enacted ordeynid and established for the comon welth and suertie of your loving subjectis of this your Realme in and for thadministration of medecynes to suche of your said subjectis as shalhave neede of the same, that from hensfurth the said President for the tyme being comons and fellowes and their successours may yerely, at suche tyme as they shall thincke moste mete and convenient for the same, electe and chuse foure p'sons of the said comons and fellowes of the best larned wisest and mooste discrete suche as they shall thincke convenient and have experience in the said facultie of Fisticke; And that the saide foure p'sonnes so elected and chosen, afre a corporall othe to them ministred by the said posident or his deputie, shall and may by vertue of this p'sent acte have full auctoritie and power, as often as they shall thincke mete and convenient, to entre into the house or houses of all and evy Poticary nowe or any tyme herafter using the myterie or crafte of a Poticary within the said Cittie onely to serche viewe and see suche Poticary wares drugges and stufes as the said poticaries or any of them have or at any tyme herafre shalhave in their house or houses; And all suche wares drugges and stufes as the said foure p'sonnes shall then fynde defective corruptid and not mete nor convenient to be m'strid in any medecynes for the helth of mens body the same iijj p'sonnes, calling to them the warden of the said mystery of Poticaries within the said Cittie for that tyme being or one of them, shall cause to be brent or otherwise destroye the same as they shall thincke mete by their discretion: And if the said Potycaries or anny of them at any tyme herafre doo obstinately or willinglye refuse or denye the said foure psonnes, yerely elected and chosen as is biforesaid, to entre into their said house or houses for the causes intent and purpose bfore rehersed, That then they and evy of them so offending contrarie to this acte for evy tyme that he or they doo so offende to forfait an Cs [one hundred shillings], thone half to your Majestie and thother half to him that will sue for the same by action of dett bill playnt or information in anny of the Kinges Courtis wherin no wager of lawe essoynne or protection shalbe allowed: And if the saide foure psonnes or anny of them so elected and chosen as bfore is said, doo refuse to be sworne, or afre his saide othe to him or them administred doo obstinately refuse to make the said serche and viewe ones in the yere at suche tyme as they shall thincke moste convenient by their discretions, having no lauffull impedymnt by secknes or otherwise to the contrarie, That then for everie suche wilfull and obstinate defaulte evy of the said foure psonnes making defaulte to forfait xls [forty shillngs]

[§3 *Fellowship of Physicians in London may practise all branches of physic (including surgery) in London and elsewhere in the realm*] AND forasmuche as the science of phisicke dothe comprehend include and conteyne the knowlege of surgery as a speciall membre and parte of the same, therefore be it enacted that anny of the said company or felowship of Phisitions, being hable chosen and admitted by the said p'sident and feliship of Phisicians, may from tyme to tyme aswell within the Citie of London as elswhere within this Realme practise and exercise the said science of Phisick in all and ev'y his membres and partes, any acte statute or provision made to the contrarie notwithstanding.

Q2.1540a *The Company of Barbers & Surgeons act* {32 Henry VIII c42} (1540)

In London from about 1300 two bodies were responsible for the organisation of surgeons and barbers - the London Company of Barbers which was incorporated in 1462 and the London Guild of Surgeons which was unincorporated. In 1540 *The Company of Barbers & Surgeons act* {32 Henry VIII c42} was passed to unite the two bodies as the London Company of Barber-Surgeons which then became one of the city of London livery companies and trade guilds. The act was divided into seven sections. Section I united the two bodies into a new incorporated body; II allowed them yearly the bodies of four malefactors for dissection; III regarded titles; IV stated that [in London and a mile around] barbers were not to practice as surgeons nor surgeons as barbers but that barbers my draw teeth and that surgeons should display shop signs; V stated barbers must be freemen and appointed overseers; VI required members should pay lot and scot and VII allowed householders to keep barbers and surgeons as servants. Extracts are given below.

[King with advice of parliament] ... [Section I] it is very expedient and needefull to provide for men experte in the science of fisticke and surgery and for the helth of man's body when infirmities and secknes shal happen, for the due exercise and mainten'nce wherof good and necessarie actis be already made and provided; Yet nevertheles forasmuche [at] within the Citie of London, where men of great experience aswell in speculation as in practice of the science and [facultie] of surgery be abiding and inhabiting, and have more comonly the daily exercise and experience of the same science of surgery then is had or used within other p'tes of this Realme, And by occasion therof manny expert p'sonnes be brought up undre them as their serv'ntis apprentices and other, who by therexercise and diligent information of [the] said maistres aswell nowe as herafter shall exercise the said science within divers other p'tes of this Realme to the greate relief comforte and soccour of muche people and to the sure savegard of their bodily helth their hymmes and lyves; And forasmuche as within the said Citie of London there be nowe twoo severall and distincte companyes of surgeons occupying and exercising the said science and facultie of surgery, thone company being called the Barbouris of London and thother company called the Surgeons of London, whiche company of Barbouris be incorporated to sue and be sued by the name of

Maistres or Governours of the mistery and comynaltie of the Barbour of London, by vertue and auctoritie of the tres patentis undre the greate seale of the late King of famous memory Kinge Edwarde the iijth dated at Westm' the xxiiijth day of February in the first yere of his reigne [1461.2] ... And thother company called the Surgeons be not incorporate nor have anny maner of corporation; whiche twoo severall and distincte companyes of surgeons were necessary to be unyted and made one body incorporate, to thintent that by their unyon and often assemble to githers the good and due ordre exercise and knowlege of the said science or facultie of surgery shulde be aswell in speculation as in practise bothe to them selfis and all other their said serv'ntes and apprentices nowe and herafter to be brought up undre them and by their larnings and diligent and ripe informations more p'fett speedy and effectuall remedy shuld be ... that the said twoo sev'all and distynct companyes of Surgeons, that is to say both the Barbour and the Surgeons and evy person of them being a freeman of either of the said companyes after the custume of the Cittie of London and their successours, from hensfurth ymmediately be unyted and made one entier and hole body corporate and one comynaltie p'petuall, whiche at all tymes herafter shalbe called by the name of maistres or gownours of the mistery and comynaltie of Barbour and Surgeons of London for ev' more and by none other name... And that all p'sonnes of the said company nowe incorporate by this P'sent acte and their successours, that shalbe lafully admitted and approved to occupy surgery after the fo'me of the statute in that cace ordeynid and provided, shalbe exempt for bearing of armure or to be put in anny watchis or inquestis: And that they and their successours shalhave the serche oversight punyshement and correction aswell of freemen as of forreyne for suche offences as they or anny of them shall comitt or doo against the good ordre of Barbery or Surgery, as afore this tyme amonge the said mistery and company of barbour of London hath ben used and accustomed, according to the good and politike rules and orden'nces by them made, and approved by the Lordis Chauncelour Treasurer and twoo chief Justices of either benche or anny three of them, afre the fourme of thestatute in that cace ordeynid and provided. [Section II] ... and may have and take without contradiction fower p'sonnes, condemned adjudged and put to death for felony by the due ordre of the Kinges lawes of this Realme, for anathomyes, ... and to make incision of the same deade bodies or otherwise to ordre the same ... for their further and better knowlege instruction insight lerning and experience in the said science or facultie of surgery. [Section IV] ... no maner of p'sonne within the Cittie of London, suburbes of the same and one myle compas of the said Cittie of London, after the feast of the Nativitie of our Lorde God next comyng, using [barbary] or shaving, or that herafter shall use any barbary or shaving within the said Citie of London suburbes or one myle circuite of the same Citie of London, he nor they nor none other for them to his or their use shall occupy any surgery letting of bludde or any other thing belonging to surgery, drawing of teth onely except; And furthermore in like maner who soever that usith the mystery or crafte of Surgery within the Circuite aforesaid, as longe as he shall fortune to use the said mistery or crafte of Surgery, shall in no wise occupye nor exercise the feate or crafte of barbarye or shaving ... And moreover that all maner of psonnes using surgery for the tyme being aswell freemen as forrens aliens and straungers, within the said Cittie of London the suburbes therof and one myle compas of the same Cittie of London, bifore the feast of Sainte Michael tharchaungell next co'myng shalhave an open signe on the strete side ...

Q2.1617 A royal charter to found the Society of Apothecaries (1617)

In London apothecaries might be members of the London Grocers' Company which was refounded by a royal charter of 1428. However in 1617 they split when the Society of Apothecaries was founded by another royal charter³⁷⁸ of King James I dated 6 December 1617 wherein it is stated: .

Grocers are but merchants, the business of the Apothecary is a Mistery wherefore I think it fitting that they be a Corporation of themselves.

The new society was also a livery company. Members were styled freemen and they were normally admitted after serving a seven year apprenticeship to an existing member. Sons of existing members might be admitted "by patrimony" having effectively served an apprenticeship with their father. Other special concessions also existed. Freemen might work for a master and would then be known as journeymen; later they might become masters themselves. A higher rank was occupied by liverymen.

Q2.1629 A royal charter regarding the Company of Barber-Surgeons (1629)³⁷⁹

In 1629 Charles I issued a charter or letters patent regarding the London Company of Barber-Surgeons (§Q4.4). This allowed for an increase in the area over which they had jurisdiction from one to seven miles around the city, the appointment of examiners in surgery, the licensing of surgeons to practice anywhere in England, and the right to preventing unqualified men practising in London. A further provision was made that all ships sailing from British ports must have on board a surgeon ³⁸⁰ ³⁸¹ approved by the Company. However this charter was not confirmed by statute.

Q2.1642 Civil War Legislation (1642)

In Aug 1642 the civil war commenced and by 1644 the offices of archbishop, bishop and the whole apparatus of diocesan government were abolished. This prevented the issuing of bishop's licences until the restoration.

Q2.1704 Lawsuit - Royal College of Physicians of London *versus* William Rose (1704), practising without a licence

About 1701 in the Queen's Bench Division the College of Physicians sued William Rose, a London apothecary, "for practising Physic for One Month, within Seven Miles of the City of London, without the Licence of the Plaintiffs" and wished him to pay a penalty of £5 per month. Rose was said to have "made up and administered proper medicines to [John Seal, Seale or Seals, a butcher]; but without any license from the faculty, and also without the direction of any physician, and without taking or demanding any fee for his advice". The College quoted from their Charter and after three hearings the Court found that Rose had been "practising Physic, within the said Charter" and should pay the penalty. However Rose brought "a writ of error returnable in Parliament" against the College. When the case was heard in the House of Lords on 17 Mar 1703.4 the judgment was reversed. It should be noted that this court judgment simply found that Rose had *not been "practising Physic, within the said Charter"*³⁸².

378 C.H.B. Barrett *The history of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London* (1905) is said to quote the charter in full.

379 The original charter has not been found and these notes need confirmation.

380 These navy surgeons must have practised as physician, surgeon and apothecary.

381 The *Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology* (1966) under surgeon has "medical officer in the forces XVI".

382 Two accounts of the case (not seen by this writer) were published in the same year. (a) *The Case of the College of Physicians London, wherein they are defendants, in a writ of error returnable in Parliament, brought by one William Rose an apothecary in London, on a judgment obtained against him by the College in Her Majesty's Court of Queen's Bench, for practising physick within seven miles of London without licence [1704]* [Text consists of three pages] and (b) *Observations upon the case of William Rose, an apothecary, as represented by him to the most honourable the House of Lords, upon his bringing the case before the said House by a writ of error, in order to have the judgment obtain'd against him by the College of Physicians, in the Queen's-Bench, reversed.* (1704)

Contemporary accounts of the second hearing are given below followed by a statement said to have been made by John Seal.

Cases in Parliament. Case 21. William Rose, Plaintiff - The College of Physicians, London, Defendants. In Error. 15th March 1703.383

In the 10th year of Hen. 8. [1518-9] the defendants were incorporated; and in the letters patent granted for that purpose, which were confirmed by stat. 14 and 15 Hen. 8. [1523] c. 5. is, inter alia, the following clause:

"Concessimus etiam eisdem praesidenti et collegio, seu communitati, et successoribus suis, quod nemo in dicta civitate, aut per septem millia in circuitu ejusdem, exerceat dictum facultatem, nisi ad hoc per dict. praesidentem et communitatem, seu successores eorum qui pro tempore fuerint, admissus sit per ejusdem praesidentis et collegii literas sigillo suo communi sigillatas, sub poena centum solidorum pro quolibet mense, quo non admissus eandem facultatem exercuit, dimidium inde nobis et haered. nostris, et dimidium dicto praesidenti et coll. applicandum."

The plaintiff, who was an apothecary, and freeman of London, attended one Seale, a butcher, in the parish of Saint Martin in the Fields, and made up and administered proper medicines to him; but without any license from the faculty, and also without the direction of any physician, and without taking or demanding any fee for his advice.

The defendants, apprehending this conduct to be an infringement of their privileges, brought their action against the plaintiff, to recover the penalty of £5 per month, under the above clause in their charter; and on their trial, the jury found a special verdict, stating the charter, the confirmatory statute, and the facts of the case; and submitted to the Court, whether the defendant Rose did practise physic, within the intent of the letters patent and acts of parliament. And, after this verdict had been three several times argued in the Court of Queen's Bench, the Judges were unanimously of opinion, that the facts found, did amount to the practising physic, within the meaning of the act of Parliament, and gave judgment accordingly.

(S. Dodd) Hereupon, a writ of error in Parliament, was brought to reverse this judgment; and, on behalf of the Plaintiff in error, it was argued, that the consequences of it would not only ruin him, but all other apothecaries; as, in case of the affirmance of this judgment, they could not exercise their profession, without the license of a physician. That the constant usage and practice, which had always been with the apothecary, was conceived to be the best expounder of this charter; and, that therefore, the selling a few lozenges, or a small electuary, to any person asking a remedy for a cold, or in other ordinary or common cases, where the medicines had a known and certain effect, could not be deemed unlawful; or practising as a physician, when no fee was taken or demanded for the same. That the physicians, by straining an act made so long ago, endeavoured to monopolize all manner of physic solely to themselves; and if they should succeed in this attempt, it would be attended with many mischievous consequences: For, in the first place, it would be laying a heavy tax on the nobility and gentry, who, in the lightest cases, and for their common servants, could not have any kind of medicine, without consulting and giving a fee, to a member of the college: It would also be a great oppression upon poor families, who, not being able to bear the charge of a fee would be deprived of all kind of assistance in their necessities: And, it would prove extremely prejudicial to all sick persons, who in case of sudden accidents, or new symptoms happening in the night time, generally send for the apothecary; but who should not dare to apply the least remedy, without running the hazard of being ruined.

(F. Brown) On the other side, it was contended, that by several orders of the college, its members were enjoined to give their advice to the poor gratis; and that not only to such as could come to them for it; but every physician, in his neighbourhood, was obliged to visit the sick poor, at their own lodgings; and therefore the objection, that, if the apothecaries could not administer physic but by the prescript of a physician, the poorer sort of people would be lost for want of proper remedies; had not the least foundation. And, when these orders were observed not to have their full intended effect, on account of the high prices, which the apothecaries generally demanded for the remedies prescribed, whereby the poor were deterred from consulting the physician, for fear of the charge of the physic; the college, by a joint stock, erected several dispensaries in town, where, after the physicians had given their advice gratis, the patients might have the physic prescribed, for a third, and generally less, of what the apothecaries used to exact for it; by which expedient, many hundred persons of mean condition, received their cures at a very small expence, and without one farthing profit arising to the physicians. That in cases of sudden and immediate necessity, not only apothecaries, but any other person, might do his best to relieve his neighbour, without incurring the penalty of the law; but there was no reason why the apothecaries, under that pretence, should be permitted to undertake, at leisure, all dangerous diseases; and especially where, as in the city at least, a skilful physician may be as soon had as an apothecary. That, in common or trifling indispositions, the patients themselves were in general their own physicians and would of course, send for any medicine, of which there had been common experience, for their cure, and which the apothecary might lawfully make up and sell; but, for the apothecary to be permitted to judge of diseases in their beginning, whether Night or not, and to order medicines for the same; would prove both dangerous, and more chargeable. Dangerous, because the most malignant distempers usually begin with apparently inconsiderable symptoms; and are many days before they appear in their proper colours; and, as apothecaries are not bred to have suitable skill, the management thereof ought not to be left to their judgment. And more chargeable, because, be the disease ever so slight, the apothecary will be sure to prescribe largely enough; and should he chance to mistake, then that distemper, which, by the discreet advice of a physician, might, by one proper medicine, have been eradicated at the beginning, runs out into great length, to the extreme hazard, and great expence of the patient.

JUDGMENT reversed {Jour. vol. 17. p.482.} But, after hearing counsel, on this writ of error, it was ORDERED and ADJUDGED, that the judgment given in the Queen's Bench, for the President and College, or Commonalty of the faculty of Physic, London, against the said William Rose, should be reversed.

(15 Mar 1703.4) Rose versus College of Physicians in Error: After hearing Counsel, to argue the Errors assigned upon the Writ of Error brought into this House, the Eighteenth Day of February One Thousand Seven Hundred and Three, from Her Majesty's Court of Queen's Bench, wherein Judgement is entered, for the President and College or Commonalty of the Faculty of Physic, London, Qui tam, &c. against William Rose Apothecary, for Five Pounds, for practising Physic for One Month, within Seven Miles of the City of London, without the Licence of the Plaintiffs under their Common Seal contrary to their Charter, and an act of the 14 and 15 H. VIII; and it being found specially by the Jury, on the Trial of that Cause, "That the Defendant was an Apothecary, and a Freeman of the City of London, and, not being licensed by the Plaintiffs, without the Advice of any Physician, and without any Fee for Advice taken by him, did, at the Request of John Seale[sic], a sick Person, make up and compound several Medicines: (videlicet) Boluses, Electuaries, and Julaps and sold and delivered the same to him, to be drunk and taken as proper for his Distemper" and the same being adjudged by the Court of Queen's Bench to be as practising Physic, within the said Charter; and due Consideration had of what was offered thereupon. Judgement reversed: It is ORDERED and Adjudged, by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, That the said Judgement given in the Queen's Bench, for the President and College or Commonalty of the Faculty of Physic, London, against the said William Rose, shall be, and is hereby, reversed. The Tenor of which Judgement, to be affixed to the Record to be remitted, is as followeth: (videlicet) [a long statement in Latin] [Journals of the House of Lords]

May the 15th, 1704. These are to certify, that I, John Seal[sic], being sick and applying myself to this Mr. Rose, the Apothecary for his directions and medicines, in order for my cure, had his advice and medicines from him a year together; but was so far from being the better for them, that I was in a worse condition than when he first undertook me, and, after a very expensive bill of near £50, was forced to apply myself to the Dispensary at the College of Physicians where I received my cure in about six weeks' time, for under 40/0 charge in medicines. Witness my hand, 'JOHN SEALS[sic]' [quoted in An exposition of the state of the medical profession in the British dominions ... (1826) p93] [NOTE: Perhaps date should be March]

Q2.1745 *An act for making the surgeons of London and the barbers of London two separate and distinct corporations* {18 George II c15}

§1 ... Union and Incorporation of the Barbers and Surgeons of London ... after [24 Jun 1745] ... dissolved ... surgeons ... constituted a separate and distinct body corporate, and commonalty perpetual, ... called by the name of "Master, Governors and Commonalty of the Art and Science of Surgeons of London"

§9 ... After [1 Jul 1745] examiners of the company ... examine ... candidates ... to serve as a surgeon, a surgeon's mate of any regiment, troop, company, hospital or garrison of soldiers in the service of his majesty .. in like manner as they do ... any surgeon ... to be appointed to serve on board any ship or vessel

Q2.1752 *An act for better preventing the horrid crime of murder (aka The murder act)* {25 George II c37} (1752)

The murder act enacted that, from Easter 1752, the bodies of all convicted murderers be anatomised. In some cases the bodies could first be hung in chains. In London and Middlesex the anatomy was to take place at the hall of the College of Surgeons of London (§Q4.6) whilst in the provinces it was to be at the direction of the courts. This practice was abolished in 1832 (see §Q2.1832).

§1. WHEREAS horrid crime of murder has of late been more frequently perpetrated than formerly, .. That from and after the first day of Easter term, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and fifty two, all persons who shall be found guilty of wilful murder, be executed according to law, on the day next but one after sentence passed [unless a Sunday then] on the Monday following.

§2. That the body of such murderer ... in the county of Middlesex, or within the city of London ... conveyed ... to the hall of the Surgeons Company, ... shall be dissected and anatomized by the said Surgeons, ... in any other county or other place in Great Britain, ... the body of such murderer ... to such surgeon as such judge or justice shall direct for the purpose aforesaid.

§5. Provided also, That it shall be in the power of any such judge or justice to appoint the body of any such criminal to be hung in chains: but that in no case whatsoever the body of any murderer shall be suffered to be buried; unless after such body shall have been dissected and anatomized as aforesaid; ...

Q2.1782 *An act for the better relief and employment of the poor (aka Gilbert's act)* {22 George III c83} (1782)

Commonly known as Gilbert's act after its proposer Thomas Gilbert 1720-1798 [OB] it allowed, amongst other provisions, for parishes to unite to provide poor relief. Such unions became known as Poor Law Incorporations or Gilbert Unions.

Q2.1806 *A plan for better regulating the practice of physic in its different branches* (1806)

On 9 Aug 1806 Edward Harrison 1759-1838 [OB] proposed *A plan for better regulating the practice of physic in its different branches*³⁸⁴.

(APPENDIX E) Soho Square, August 9th, 1806. At a numerous Meeting of the Faculty, held this Evening at the House of the Right Honorable Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. K. B. President of the Royal Society, & c. Dr. Harrison laid upon the Table, the Answers he had received to the different Circular Letters transmitted to the Public Bodies, and individual Practitioners of the United Kingdom, in pursuance of a former Resolution. He then presented the following Plan for better regulating the Practice of Physic in its different Branches; which, being read, and considered, the subsequent Resolutions were entered into:

PLAN.

[§1] That no person shall practise as Physician unless he be a graduate of some university in the United Kingdom, and has attained the age of twenty-four years. That he shall have studied the different different branches of physic in a university, or other respectable school or schools of physic, during the space of five years, at least two of which shall have been passed in the university where he takes his degree.

[§2] That no person shall practise as Surgeon under three and twenty years of age, nor until he has obtained a diploma or licence from some one of the royal colleges of surgeons or other chirurgical corporations of the United Kingdom. That he shall have served an apprenticeship of five years to a practitioner in surgery, and afterwards have spent at least two years in the study of anatomy and surgery in a reputable school or schools of physic.

[§3] That no person shall practise as an Apothecary until he shall have served an apprenticeship of five years to some regular apothecary, or surgeon practising as an apothecary; that he shall have studied the different branches of physic in some reputable school or schools during the space of at least one year, and shall have attained the age of twenty-one years.

[§4] That no man shall practise Midwifery, unless he has attended anatomical lectures twelve months, and received instructions for the same term from some experienced accoucheur, and shall have assisted at real labours, And that no female shall practise midwifery without a certificate of fitness and qualification from some regular practitioner or practitioners in that branch.

[§5] That no person shall follow the business of a retail Chemist or Druggist, unless he shall have served an apprenticeship of five years to that art

[§6] That none of these restrictions be construed to affect persons at present regularly practising, in the different branches of medicine.

[§7] Whether physicians shall be entitled to recover their fees by the usual legal means?

[§8] That a register shall be kept of all medical practitioners in the United Kingdom, and every person in future entering upon the practice of any branch of the profession shall pay a fine on admission, the amount and disposition of which to be settled and specified hereafter.

Q2.1808 *A proposed act for the regulation of medicine* (1808)

About 1808 the Royal College of Physicians of London circulated outline proposals for An act for the regulation of medicine³⁸⁵. Medical practice throughout the whole country was to be regulated by the three Colleges (London, Dublin and Edinburgh). England was to be divided into 16 districts each under the control of a District Physician (on a salary not above £500). Licensed medics were to pay an annual fee of £2/2/0. Further detail is given below:

The following extracts from the outline of a bill for the regulation of medicine, circulated, as is affirmed,... by the college of physicians, though not published by authority of that body, may excite very serious reflections, (which I shall not presume to anticipate), as well on the remedy proposed in the provisions as on the evil described in the preamble.

Whereas many and great inconveniences have arisen from the ignorance of persons styling themselves physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries, and others known under the appellations of chemists, druggists, and venders of medicine, who are settled in divers parts of the united kingdom,

³⁸⁴ Edward Harrison *An address delivered to the Lincolnshire Benevolent Society ... in 1809* (1810) p52-4

³⁸⁵ Thomas Beddoes M.D. *A letter to ... Sir Joseph Banks ... on the causes and removal of the prevailing discontents, imperfections, and abuses, in medicine* (1808) p133-6

and who practise their several callings without previous authority derived from regular education, or other legitimate and proper sources, to the great detriment of his Majesty's subjects, and the great scandal of the medical profession, be it enacted,

§1. That no physician, who is not a regular graduate, having personally performed his academical exercises, and been admitted to his degree without grace, either in the universities of England, of the university of Ireland, or in those of Scotland (except as is hereinafter provided), shall be permitted to practise in the united kingdom.

§5. That physicians, having no authority by their particular degrees to practise in that part of the united kingdom where they have fixed their abode, shall be licensed so to do by the Royal college within the jurisdiction of which such abode is situated,

§11. That no physician who hath not attained his thirty-sixth year, and who hath not been a fellow of the royal college of physicians of London seven years, can be appointed by the royal college of London a physician to any district in England.

§14. That each and all of the several royal colleges shall nominate to the districts in their respective parts of the united kingdom, that is to say, the college of London to the districts in England, the college of Dublin to those in Ireland, and the college of Edinburgh to those in Scotland; and the senior physician of such respective college (such physician not being in the enjoyment of any district appointment) shall be nominated resident physician in any district then vacant; and, in case of his refusal to accept such nomination, the next of the fellows, in order of seniority as they stand in the catalogue, shall then be: nominated, and so on; and, as often as any vacancy shall occur, the same order of nomination shall be strictly observed, Beginning always with the first upon the list, or senior fellow, provided, however, that the president for the time being unless he really be the senior fellow) shall not, according to any construction, be held to be such, and he is hereby not accounted the senior fellow.

§16. That each district physician shall reside within the district to which his college hath appointed him; that he shall have authority to call upon all physicians, practising within his district, to exhibit their diplomas and licences to practise; that he shall, either by himself or with his assessors, examine every surgeon, apothecary, chemist, druggist, or vender of medicine except such as have heretofore, by proper authorities and privileges, been permitted to practise), touching their qualifications and abilities in their several branches and professions; that he shall once in every year, or oftener if he thinks fit, examine in the day time such houses or shops as dispense medicines, and that he shall report to the quarter sessions, or to the judge at the summer assize, the result of his visitation.

§17. That the district physician shall visit and examine all places licensed for the reception of lunatic or insane persons; that he shall report upon the number and treatment of the persons confined, and upon the state and condition of the houses wherein they are kept; and that he shall lay the result of his visitation before the justices in quarter sessions, or the judge at the summer assize.

§18. That the district physician shall enquire into and examine the state of the parochial work-houses, or poor-houses and report upon their salubrity and internal economy to the justices in quarter sessions, or to the judge at the summer assize.

§19. That the district physician shall be empowered to grant licences to all such surgeons, apothecaries, chemists, druggists and venders of medicine, as shall have been examined as aforesaid, settled within his limits, and who may not by proper authorities be otherwise privileged to act in their respective professions and occupations; that he shall exhibit to the clerk of the peace, or other proper officer, at the general quarter sessions, a list of such surgeons, apothecaries, chemists, druggists, and venders of medicine, with their respective residences, as appear to him qualified to act in their several branches, in order that the clerk, or other officer, may receive the payment of their annual licence from all such as, by especial authority and privilege, are not exempted therefrom; and that he shall transmit a similar list to the college of physicians.

§20. That each person shall pay for his annual licence two pounds two shillings, and one shilling to the clerk of the peace for registering and inserting a notification of the same in a list to be published after the summer assizes in the county news paper.

§21. That two or more persons acting in partnership shall pay for two or more licences.

§22. That persons acting in any of the departments of medicine without licence or authority shall forfeit £30.

§25. That England be divided into sixteen districts.

§28. That for each district physician each royal college shall draw annually upon the receivers-general of the counties for a salary not exceeding £500.

§29. That the salary shall be paid by the college, and commence from the quarter day next succeeding the appointment of the physician, and be paid up to the day of death or resignation.

Q2.1815 *An act for the better regulating the practice of apothecaries throughout England and Wales (aka The new apothecaries' act) {55 George III c194} (12 Jul 1815)*

The new apothecaries' act, which came into force on 1 Aug 1815, introduced a number of sweeping changes including the following provisions³⁸⁶:

§1. It is by section 1. Enacted, That the Charter, except such parts thereof as are by the Act altered, should be declared to be in full force and virtue.

§2. Enacts, That so much of the Charter as directs that the Society might enter into any Shop or House of any Apothecary within seven miles of London, to search if any Medicines, &c. be wholesome; and so much of the Charter as directs that the said Society should have power to examine all persons in the profession within the limits prescribed, touching their skill, and to prohibit all those from the practice thereof, who should be found unskilful, and all the unwholesome Medicines, &c. to burn before the offenders' doors, and to impose fines, &c. shall be repealed.

§3. Enacts, That in lieu thereof, the Society, or any of the Assistants thereof, consisting of two persons at least, shall, at all seasonable and convenient times, in the day time, enter into any Shop of any Apothecary in England, or Wales, to search if any Medicines, &c. be wholesome, and to burn or destroy all such as shall be found unwholesome, and to report the names of such persons to the Society, who are to impose fines upon them, for the 1st offence £5, 2nd £10, 3rd, and every other offence £20.

§4. Enacts, That no person to be appointed a Member of the Court of Examiners, thereafter nominated (Section 9), or to enter into any Shop, &c. within thirty miles of the City of London, shall be qualified, unless he has been a Member of the Society ten years; nor shall any person be qualified to be nominated and appointed to enter any Shop, &c. or to be appointed one of the five Apothecaries thereafter mentioned, for examining assistants, except he has been an Apothecary in actual practice for ten years at least.

§5. Imposes a penalty on Apothecaries wilfully refusing to prepare or sell any Medicines, or negligently mixing any medicinale compositions, as directed by any prescription of any Physician, signed with his initials; for the 1st offence £5, 2nd £10, 3rd, a Forfeiture of their Certificate. Offender deprived of his Certificate, to be rendered incapable of holding any fresh Certificate, unless he shall faithfully promise and give sufficient security, that he will not in future be guilty of the like offence. Complaint to be made within twentyone days by the Physician before a Magistrate.

§6. Enables the Master and Wardens to appoint Deputies, and remove them at pleasure.

§7. Appoints the Master, Wardens, and Society of Apothecaries, to carry the Act into execution, and to enforce the provisions thereof.

§8. Enacts, That no Act of the Society shall be valid (except as therein mentioned,) unless done at a Meeting in the Hall of the Society; and that all the powers by the Act granted to the Master, Wardens, and Society, shall be exercised by the Master, Wardens, and Assistants; the number present not being less than thirteen, of which the Master shall always be one.

§9. Enacts, That so far as regards the examination of Apothecaries and their Assistants, twelve persons, qualified as aforesaid, shall be chosen by the Society, who, or any seven of them, shall be called the Court of Examiners of the Society of Apothecaries, who are thereby authorized to examine all Apothecaries throughout England and Wales, and to grant or refuse Certificates; as they may deem expedient; and to meet once every week in the Hall of the Society, for the purpose of such Examination.

§10. A Chairman at such Meeting to be appointed, and to have the casting vote.

§11. Contains the Oath to be taken by Examiners.

§12. Examiners to remain in office one year, unless removed. Society may re-appoint any person going out of office to be an Examiner.

§13. In case of death, &c. of Examiners, others to be appointed in their stead.

³⁸⁶ see *Abstract of the New Apothecaries' act commencing August 1, 1815* Printed for E. Cox and Son (1815)

§14. Enacts, That after the first of August, 1815, no person (except persons already in practice) to practice as an Apothecary in any part of England or Wales, unless examined by the Court of Examiners, and a Certificate of Qualification obtained; and the Court of Examiners are empowered to examine all persons applying to them, to ascertain their skill and ability, and to reject or grant Certificates, as they may think proper. No person to be examined under twentyone years of age.

§15. No person to be examined unless he has served an Apprenticeship of five years to an Apothecary. Testimonials of a sufficient medical education, and of good moral conduct to be produced.

§16. Persons intending to qualify, to give notice to the Clerk of the Society, and the persons so intending to qualify, shall present themselves at the Meeting held by the Court of Examiners next succeeding, such notice to undergo the Examination.

§17. After the said first of August, no, person (except persons then acting as Assistants to Apothecaries, and except persons who have served an Apprenticeship of five years to an Apothecary) shall act as an Assistant to an Apothecary without examination by the Court of Examiners, or by five Apothecaries, and obtaining a Qualification.

§18. Enables the Master, and Wardens, or Court of Examiners, to appoint five Apothecaries in any County in England or Wales (except in London, or within thirty miles thereof) to act for such County, or any other County near or adjoining thereto, to examine all Assistants to Apothecaries, and to grant or refuse Certificates of ability. And enacts, That a meeting of the Apothecaries shall be held monthly in the County Town of some one of the Counties for which they shall have been appointed. Acts done at such meetings only to be valid, and the Chairman to have the casting vote. Majority of the Apothecaries present to act and sign Certificates.

§19. Ten pounds ten shillings to be paid for Certificates by every person intending to practice in or within ten miles of the City of London, and six pounds six shillings elsewhere. No person having obtained a Country Certificate shall practice in London, or within ten miles thereof, until the further sum of four pounds four shillings is paid, and a receipt for the same indorsed on the Certificate, two pounds two shillings to be paid by every Assistant.

§20. Penalty of twenty pounds on any person (except present Practitioners), acting as an Apothecary after said first of August without Certificate. Penalty of five pounds on any person (except such as are then acting as such, and excepting persons who have actually served an Apprenticeship as aforesaid) acting as an Assistant, without having obtained a Certificate.

§21. Apothecaries not to recover their Charges in a Court of Law, unless duly licensed.

§22. Persons being refused an Apothecary's Certificate, may apply again for the same, six months after the first examination. Assistants may apply again in three months after such refusal.

§23. Annual list of Apothecaries, qualified, with their addresses, to be published by the Apothecaries' Company.

§24. Society to appropriate the Monies paid for Certificates, as they may deem expedient.

§25. Penalties to be paid, one half to the Informer and the other to the Society.

§26. Recovery of fines and penalties.

§27. Distress for the same not to be deemed unlawful for want of form.

§28. Act not in any way to affect Chemists and Druggists.

§29. Saving clause. Saving the Rights of the two Universities of Oxford or Cambridge, the Royal College of Physicians, the Royal College of Surgeons, or the said Society of Apothecaries.

§30. Actions to be commenced within six calendar months after the fact committed.

§31. Act to be deemed a public Act.

Q2.1832 An act for regulating schools of anatomy (aka The anatomy act) {2 & 3 William IV c75} (1st Aug 1832)

The anatomy act recognised that an insufficient supply of bodies for anatomy had resulted in recent crimes and murders to supply the deficiency. It enacted that from 1 Aug 1832 certain types of medic and medical students could be licensed to practise anatomy and that, subject to objections from the deceased or his family, bodies could be provided for anatomy. However it also prevented the anatomy of executed criminals (see §Q2.1752).

§1. Whereas a knowledge of the causes and nature of sundry diseases ... cannot be acquired without the aid of anatomical examination ... legal supply of human bodies ... insufficient ... crimes have been committed, and lately murder, for the single object of selling for such purposes the bodies ... to grant a licence to practise anatomy to any fellow or member of any College of Physicians or Surgeons, or to any graduate or licentiate in medicine, ... any professor or teacher of anatomy, medicine or surgery or to any student attending any school of anatomy ...

§7. [Persons having lawful custody of bodies may permit them to undergo anatomical examination in certain cases] ... unless ... [deceased] expressed his desire ... not undergo such examination [or] ... the surviving husband or wife, or any known relative ... shall require the body to be interred without such examination

§16. ... whereas under [act {9 George IV c31} (1828)] the body of every person convicted of murder shall after execution either be dissected or hung in chains ... [dissection] hereby repealed

Q2.1848 An act for promoting public health (aka The public health act) {11 & 12 Victoria} (31 Aug 1848)

In 1842 Sir Edwin Chadwick 1800-1890 [OB] produced the *Report on the sanitary condition of the labouring population of Great Britain*. Its publication led to the passing of *The public health act* in 1848 which was introduced to combat both the poor sanitary conditions across the country and a contemporary cholera outbreak. It established the General Board of Health which, in turn, was empowered to establish local boards of health. After 1858 its functions were transferred to the Privy Council. The act is very long and detailed and comprises 152 sections.

Q2.1858 An act to regulate the qualifications of practitioners in medicine and surgery (aka The medical act) {21 & 22 Victoria c90} (2 Aug 1858)

On 2 Aug 1858 was passed *An act to regulate the qualifications of practitioners in medicine and surgery* {21 & 22 Victoria c90} commonly styled *The medical act* which was to take effect from 1 Oct 1858. Its principal purpose was to legally distinguish qualified from unqualified practitioners. Amongst its provisions were the creation of "The General Council of Medical Education and Registration of the United Kingdom" commonly styled the "General Council" which was to have 24 members. Single members represented the 17 bodies listed below, six persons were to be nominated by the Crown and Privy Council and a President was to be elected by the council members.

Royal College of Physicians; Royal College of Surgeons of England; Apothecaries Society of London; University of Oxford; University of Cambridge; University of Durham; University of London; College of Physicians of Edinburgh; College of Surgeons of Edinburgh; Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow; University of Edinburgh and the two Universities of Aberdeen collectively; University of Glasgow and the University of Saint Andrew's collectively; King and Queen's College of Physicians in Ireland; Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland; Apothecaries Hall of Ireland; University of Dublin; Queen's University in Ireland

The General Council was to appoint a Registrar and to oversee the appointment of Registrars for Scotland and Ireland. Amongst the duties of the Registrars was the keeping of registers of persons qualified before 1 Jan

1859 (who were to pay a fee not above £2) and thereafter qualified (to pay a fee not above £5). Schedule A of the act provided the following permissible qualifications.

- Fellow, Licentiate, or Extra Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians of London
- Fellow or Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh
- Fellow or Licentiate of the King's and Queen's College of Physicians of Ireland
- Fellow or Member or Licentiate in Midwifery of the Royal College of Surgeons of England
- Fellow or Licentiate of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh
- Fellow or Licentiate of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow
- Fellow or Licentiate of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland
- Licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries, London
- Licentiate of the Apothecaries Hall, Dublin
- Doctor, or Bachelor, or Licentiate of Medicine, or Master in Surgery of any University of the United Kingdom; or Doctor of Medicine by Doctorate granted prior to passing of this act by the Archbishop of Canterbury
- Doctor of Medicine of any Foreign or Colonial University or College, practising as a Physician in the United Kingdom before the First Day of October 1858, who shall produce Certificates to the Satisfaction of the Council of his having taken his Degree of Doctor of Medicine after regular Examination, or who shall satisfy the Council, under Section Forty-five of this act, that there is sufficient Reason for admitting him to be registered (also)
- persons practising in England before 1st August 1815 were entitled to be registered (on payment of an unspecified fee).

A yearly register of qualified persons "The Medical Register" was to be published. Members might be "struck off" for reasons including criminal conviction or infamous medical conduct. A further section stated that after 1 Jan 1859 "no Person shall be entitled to recover any Charge in any Court of Law for any Medical or Surgical Advice, Attendance, or for the Performance of any Operation, or for any Medicine which he shall have both prescribed and supplied, unless he shall prove upon the Trial that he is registered under this act." Also a "British Pharmacopoeia" was to be published from time to time under their direction. It was to be "a Book containing a List of Medicines and Compounds, and the Manner of preparing them, together with the true Weights and Measures by which they are to be prepared and mixed, and containing such other Matter and Things relating thereto as the General Council shall think fit".

Q3 Medical regulatory bodies - physicians

Q3.1 Introduction; Q3.2 Royal College of Physicians of London; Q3.3 Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh; Q3.4 King and Queen's College of Physicians of Ireland; Q3.5 Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons in Glasgow

Q3.1 Introduction

Four collegiate bodies regulated British physicians. These were in order of their foundation: the Royal College of Physicians of London (1518), the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh (1681), the King and Queen's College of Physicians of Ireland (1692) (at Dublin) and the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons in Glasgow (c1700). Each body's main jurisdiction was confined to a specific area. In the case of London and Dublin this was up to seven miles from the centre. However each body had influence over the whole of their respective countries. Qualifications issued by all these bodies were recognised under *The medical act* (1858). These colleges often maintained that only men licensed by them could properly be called "physician" but this was contested by the universities who themselves maintained that only the holder of a medical degree could properly be styled "Doctor of Medicine" or even "Doctor".

Q3.2 Royal College of Physicians of London (1518)

On 23 Sep 1518 the College of Physicians³⁸⁷ of London was founded by a royal charter issued by Henry VIII (§Q2.1518). The charter is written in Latin and recites that the King has determined to found a "Collegium perpetuum doctorum et gravium virorum qui medicinam in urbe nostra Londino et Suburbii, intraque septem millia passuum". This is later styled "unum corpus et Communitas perpetua sive Collegium perpetuum" and "Collegii seu Communitatis facultatis Medicinae London". The charter thus limited the College to control over the practice of physicians in London and seven miles around.

This was followed in 1523 by *An act concerning the privileges and authority of physicians in London* (14 & 15 Henry VIII c5) (§Q2.1523). This mainly concerns London but in the last clause (below) men wishing to practice as physicians outside London are required to pass an examination by the President and three Elects of the College of Physicians of London and to acquire confirmatory letters testimonial. Graduates of Oxford and Cambridge were specifically exempt. The act does not indicate whether men submitting to examination did in fact need to be graduates. This last clause does not appear to have been compatible with the rules concerning the granting of bishop's licences as outlined in the 1511 Act (above). However it does seem to have provided authority for the College of Physicians to create Extra Licentiatees to practice outside London.

And where that in dioceses in England, out of London, it is not light to find alway men able sufficiently to examine (after the statute) such as shall be admitted to exercise physick in them, that it may be enacted in this present parliament, that no person from henceforth be suffered to exercise or practice in physick through England, until such time as he be examined at London, by the said president, and three of the said elects; and to have from the said president or elects, letters testimonials of their approving and examination, except he be a graduate of Oxford or Cambridge, which hath accomplished all things for his form, without any grace.

In 1540 *The physicians act* {32 Henry VIII c40} (§Q2.1540) contained the section, below, which allowed members of the College of Physicians of London to practice all branches of physic (including surgery) in London and elsewhere in the realm.

³⁸⁷ From the mid 17C the College has often been styled the Royal College of Physicians. A usage which was confirmed by The Royal College of Physicians of London Act (1960).

AND forasmuche as the science of phisicke dothe comprehend include and conteyne the knowlege of surgery as a speciall membre and parte of the same, therefore be it enacted that anny of the said companny or felowship of Phisitions, being hable chosen and admitted by the said p'sident and feliship of Phisicians, may from tyme to tyme aswell within the Citie of London as elsewhere within this Realme practise and exercise the said science of Phisick in all and ev'y his membres and partes, any acte statute or provision made to the contrarie notwithstanding.

About 1701 in the Queen's Bench Division the College of Physicians sued William Rose, a London apothecary, "for practising Physic for One Month, within Seven Miles of the City of London, without the Licence of the Plaintiffs" and wished him to pay a penalty of £5 per month³⁸⁸. Rose was said to have "made up and administered proper medicines to [John Seal, Seale or Seals, a butcher]; but without any license from the faculty, and also without the direction of any physician, and without taking or demanding any fee for his advice". The College quoted from their Charter and after three hearings the Court found that Rose had been "practising Physic, within the said Charter" and should pay the penalty. However Rose brought "a writ of error returnable in Parliament" against the College. When the case was heard in the House of Lords on 17 Mar 1703⁴ the judgment was reversed. It should be noted that this court judgment simply found that Rose had *not been "practising Physic, within the said Charter"*. It is unclear why the original judgment was reversed. Because the facts of the case were not in dispute the reversal must have been based on a "point of law". Perhaps there was a belief that to practise physic "within the charter" was to "practise in return for payment". Rose of course was accepted to have practised "without taking or demanding any fee for his advice". Subsequent to this case it was generally accepted that apothecaries might offer unpaid medical advice without fear of prosecution.

On 6 Oct 1783 the College of Physicians resolved that licences be granted to (male) practitioners in midwifery. Between 1783 and 1788 they apparently only issued nine licences with a tenth issued in 1800. These are discussed in §D5.4.1.

"1783, Octr. 6. The College having taken into consideration the Practice of Midwifery resolved that Licences be granted to Practitioners in Midwifery." [Annals, vol. xv, p. 35. quoted by Munk© under entry for Thomas Denman]

Qualifications

Men might become "*Collegers*" by being admitted as a Candidate (C.R.C.P.), an Extra Licentiate (Ext.L.R.C.P.), a Licentiate (L.R.C.P.) or a Member (M.R.C.P.). A further accolade would be to be elected a Fellow (F.R.C.P.). It would appear that a Candidate was a junior form of Licentiate. An Extra Licentiate was licensed to practise outside London whereas a (full) Licentiate was licensed to practise anywhere in the kingdom. Members apparently had a superior rank to Licentiates but lower than that of Fellows.

C.R.C.P. Candidate of the Royal College of Physicians	
Ext.L.R.C.P.	Extra Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians
F.R.C.P.	Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians
L.R.C.P.	Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians (perhaps includes L.M.)
M.R.C.P.	Member of the Royal College of Physicians

Q3.3 Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh (1681)

The Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh³⁸⁹ was formed by a royal charter granted in 1681. *The universities (Scotland) act (1858)* resulted in several items from the college's charter becoming obsolete and they obtained a further charter on 31 October 1861.

Qualifications

From its foundation men might be admitted as a Licentiate (L.R.C.P.E.) or elected a Fellow (F.R.C.P.E.). On 20 Apr 1859 the College approved new "Regulations for the conferring of the License"³⁹⁰. Younger men were to undergo an examination whilst on a temporary basis "exemption from examination applied only to practitioners of mature age". Subsequently some Licentiates are specifically said to have been admitted *by examination* and others may have been. After the 1861 charter most Fellows were first admitted as a Member (M.R.C.P.E.).

F.R.C.P.E.	Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh
L.R.C.P.E.	Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh
M.R.C.P.E.	Member of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh

Q3.4 King and Queen's College of Physicians of Ireland (1692)

In 1654 John Stearne, a professor and registrar of Trinity College, Dublin, founded the Fraternity of Physicians of Trinity Hall in a building of that name given by Trinity College. Charles II issued a royal charter in 1667 and William and Mary issued another charter in 1692 as a result of which it became known as the King and Queen's College of Physicians of Ireland³⁹¹. The College was then given the right of granting licences in medicine and midwifery to practice within a radius of seven miles of the city of Dublin.

(1740) In spite of its distaste for Midwifery, the College was empowered under its Charter to control Midwifery practice in Dublin, and to award the Licentiate in Midwifery of the College to those whom they considered competent to receive it. [Bartholomew] Mosse decided to specialise in Midwifery, and travelled to Europe sometime in 1739 or 1740 to gain knowledge of the subject with a view to taking the Licentiate of Midwifery. This he obtained in 1740, and thus became not only a licensed surgeon, but also a licensed man-midwife. [History of the Rotunda Hospital, Internet, unsourced]

(1837) The College of Physicians was first incorporated in the reign of Chas II., but the charter being found insufficient, was surrendered in 1692, and a more ample charter was granted by William and Mary, under the designation of the King and Queen's College of Physicians in Ireland. This charter, which conferred considerable privileges, was partly confirmed by successive acts - of parliament, which gave the society authority to summon all medical practitioners for examination, to inspect the shops and warehouses of apothecaries, druggists, and chymists, and to destroy all articles for medical use which are of bad quality: it has also a principal share in the superintendence of the School of Physic. No person can be a member of the College who has not graduated in one of the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, or Dublin. The officers of the college consist of a president, vice-president, four censors, a registrar, and a treasurer; the members hold their meetings at Sir Patrick Dun's

³⁸⁸ A fuller account is given in §Q2.1704.

³⁸⁹ See *Historical sketch and laws of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh from its institution to 1925* (1925) [NOTE: On pages 1-28 are lists of Fellows and some other office holders] and W.S. Craig *History of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh* (1976)

³⁹⁰ Craig (1976) p448-9

³⁹¹ In 1890 Victoria issued a further royal charter after which it became known as the Royal College of Physicians of Ireland.

Hospital, of whose bequests for the promotion of medical science they are trustees. The School of Physic is partly under the control of the Board of the University, and partly under that of the College of Physicians; the professorships of anatomy, chymistry, and botany being in the appointment of the University, who elect the professors, thence called University professors; those of the practice of medicine, the institutes of medicine, and of the materia medica, called King's professors, derive their appointment and their salaries from the College of Physicians, being chosen by ballot from among the members of that body. The University professors deliver their lectures in Trinity College, and the King's professors in Sir Patrick Dun's Hospital. No candidate is qualified for a degree in medicine until he has attended the six courses, and six months at Sir Patrick Dun's clinical hospital. [Samuel Lewis *A topographical dictionary of Ireland* (1837)]

Qualifications

L.K&Q.C.P.I.
L.M., K&Q.C.P.I.

Licentiate of the King and Queen's College of Physicians of Ireland
Licensed Man-Midwife, King and Queen's College of Physicians of Ireland

Q3.5 Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons in Glasgow (c1700)

In 1599 the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons in Glasgow was founded by a Royal Charter of 1599 but was only styled thus by the end of the 17C. In 1909 the name was prefixed "Royal" and in 1962 became the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow. It is said that the Faculty offered a licence for *surgeons* from 1785³⁹² "which served as a basic medical qualification". See also §Q4.5.

Qualifications

L.F.P.S.G.

Licentiate of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons in Glasgow

Q4 Medical regulatory bodies - surgeons

Q4.1 Introduction; Q4.2 London Company of Barbers; Q4.3 London Guild of Surgeons; Q4.4 London Company of Barber-Surgeons; Q4.5 Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons in Glasgow; Q4.6 Royal College of Surgeons of England; Q4.7 Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh; Q4.8 Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland

Q4.1 Introduction

It is said that surgery was largely undertaken by the clergy until the Council of Tours in 1263 when an edict was passed by Pope Alexander III forbidding this practice³⁹³. It is also said that barbers assisted the clergy until 1263 and then took over the role of surgeon. In 14C London there was a Company of Barbers (§Q4.2), founded prior to 1308, and a Guild of Surgeons (§Q4.3) which in 1540 were united as the Company of Barber-Surgeons (§Q4.4). In 1745 the Royal College of Surgeons succeeded the barber-surgeons. The other British colleges were preceded by similar guilds.

After 1700 four collegiate bodies regulated British surgeons. In order of their foundation they were the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons in Glasgow (c1700) (§Q4.5), the Royal College of Surgeons of England (1745) (§Q4.6), the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh (1778) (§Q4.7) and the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland (1784) (§Q4.8). Qualifications issued by all these bodies were recognised under *The medical act* (1858).

Q4.2 London Company of Barbers (a1308-1540)

The London Company of Barbers was founded prior to 1308 with members who worked both as barbers and surgeons. On 24 Feb 1462 Edward IV granted them a Charter of Incorporation. In 1540 the Company of Barbers & Surgeons act {32 Henry VIII c42} (§Q2.1540a) united the Company of Barbers with the Guild of Surgeons to form the Company of Barber-Surgeons (below).

BARBERS. THE Barbers, long before they were united with the Chirurgeons, were an ancient Company of themselves; being incorporated in the first Year of the Reign of King Edward IV. Febr. 24. at Westminster. And their Company confirmed by King Henry VII. and King Henry VIII by sundry Letters Patents. These Barbers anciently practised Surgery also. ... Thomas Colard, Citizen and Barber, by his Will dated Anno 1467, gave his Book of Fysyk and Surgery, called Rosse and Constantine, to the Hall of Barbers, to be laid into the Library. ... Robert Scot, Citizen and Barber of London, by his Will dated Decemb. 1490, gave to the Fellowship of the Craft of Barbers, his Tenements in the Parish of St. Barthomew the Less; and to their Successors for ever. [John Strype *A survey of the cities of London and Westminster* (1735)]

Below are some extracts from Sidney Young *The annals of the barber-surgeons of London* (1890) which well illustrate the development of the company.

The origin of the Barbers' Guild partook of a religious character; and the meeting together of men of the craft for religious observances, for attending the funerals and obits of deceased members and their wives, and for feasting once a year, gradually transformed a semi-social and religious guild into what ultimately became a purely secular or "trade guild." ... The Barbers having been accustomed to assist the monks in the surgical operations performed by them in early times, acquired a degree of proficiency which enabled them to practise as Surgeons themselves. Up till about the 12C the practice of Surgery and Medicine was however almost wholly confined to the Clergy, who seem to have enjoyed the double privilege of curing men's bodies as well as their souls. In 1163 the Council of Tours, under Pope Alexander III, considering that a practice which involved in its operations the shedding of blood, was incompatible with the holy office of the clergy, forbade them to interfere in any matter of Surgery; the consequence of this edict was that they gave over the operations of Surgery but continued to practise the healing art of Medicine. As already said, the Clergy very frequently employed the Barbers as their assistants, and committed to them the preparation of the medicated baths and the performance of sundry minor surgical operations. No doubt the Edict of Tours was hailed with joy by the Barbers, who thus found a lucrative practice thrown in their way, and seized the opportunity of practising as Surgeons "on their own account," calling themselves Barber-Surgeons, and practising both Barbbery and Surgery.

(c1307) DE BARBOURS. Et que nul barbier ne soit se ose ne si hardy qil mette sank en leur fenestres en apiert ou en view des gentz, mais pryvement le facent porter a Thamise sur peine des doux souldz rendre al oeps des Viscountz. ... "CONCERNING BARBERS. And that no barbers shall be so bold or so hardy as to put blood in their windows, openly or in view of folks, but let them have it privily carried unto the Thames, under pain of paying two shillings to the use of the Sheriffs." [Letter-Book D. 157B]

1308 Ric's LE BARBOUR ex oppoito eccleie omñi sco4 parue elect' est et p'sentat po Barbitonsores london die Mar' p'x' p't fñ Sçe Lucie virgis Anno R. E. fit R. E. sçdo coram dñis Nicho de ffarndon tãc maiore london Johñe de Wengũue cet'isqz Aldermis ad custodiend' officiiu Barbitonso 4 &c. Et admisus est et jur' q'd quolibet mense faciet scrutiniũ p totũ officiiu suũ et si quos inven'it lupanar' id alio mo inhonestos et in scandalũ officii &c. eos distringat & distriaõem in cam'am apportari faciet &c. ... "RICHARD LE BARBOUR dwelling opposite to the Church of Allhallows

³⁹² Apparently a double qualification in medicine and surgery, established with the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, was instituted in 1859 and was replaced by a triple qualification in 1884.

³⁹³ *But see* Darrel W. Amundsen "Medieval canon law on medical and surgical practice by the clergy" in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 52:1 (Spring 1978) p22-44

the Less, was chosen and presented by the Barbers of London, on Tuesday next after the feast of Saint Lucy the Virgin (13th December) in the second year of the reign of King Edward, son of King Edward, before Sir Nicholas de Farndon, then Mayor of London, John de Wengrave and other Aldermen, to have supervision over the trade of the Barbers &c. And he was admitted and made oath that every month he would make scrutiny throughout the whole of his trade, and if he should find any among them keeping brothels, or acting unseemly in any other way, and to the scandal of the trade, he was to distraint upon them, and cause the distress to be taken into the Chamber (of London) &c." [Letter-Book C. 96] 1312 The earliest admission of a Surgeon (not a Barber Surgeon) to the freedom is that of " Magister Johés de Suthwerk chirurgicus," who was sworn on Friday before the feast of St. Barnabas, 5th Edward II, and who paid nothing for his freedom, being admitted at the instance of Hugh de Waltham, Town Clerk.

1376 In the 50th Edward III, the Barbers made a complaint to the Mayor and Aldermen against unskilled practitioners in Surgery, and prayed that two Masters should be yearly appointed to inspect and rule the craft, and that none should be admitted to the freedom of the City, but upon due examination of their skill; and this was granted by the Court, entered of record and Lawrence de Weston and John de Grantone were chosen Masters. The following is a translation of the original record concerning this matter ... "To the honourable Lords, and wise, the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, shew the good folks, the Barbers of the same city, that whereas from one day to another there resort men, who are barbers, from uppelande' unto the said city, who are not instructed in their craft, and do take houses and intermeddle with barberie, surgery, and the cure of other maladies, while they know not how to do such things, nor ever were instructed in such craft; to the great damage, and in deceit, of the people, ..."

1424 MEMORANDUM. That on Friday the 10th day of November in the third year of the reign of Henry the Sixth from the Conquest before John Michell, Mayor, Thomas Knolles and other Aldermen, and Simon Seman and John Bithewater, Sheriffs of the City of London, It was granted and ordained that the Masters of the faculty of Surgery within the craft of Barbers of the same city, do exercise the same faculty even as fully and entirely as in the times of Thomas Fauconer late Mayor, and other Mayors, it was granted unto them, notwithstanding the false accusation (calumpnia) which the Rector and Supervisors of Physic and the Masters of Surgery³⁹⁴ pretend concerning a certain ordinance made in the time of William Walderne late Mayor (1423) and entered in the letter book K, folio 6, the which, they now endeavour to enjoin upon the said Barbers. [Letter-Book K. 27]

1462 [Charter of Incorporation] (E)DWARDUS dei grā (R)ex (A)nglie ... (S)ciatis qd nos considerantes qualif Dicit nōb pbi & liōi hoies mistere Barbitonsou Cuiutatis nie london vtenes mistera siue facultate Sirurgico4 tam circa vulnia plagas lesiones & alias infirmitates ligeox nroy ibidem curand & Sauand ... TestE me ipo apud Westi vicesimo quarto die ffebruarii Anno regni nii primo. ... "EDWARD by the grace of God, King of England ... Know ye, that we considering how our beloved, honest, and free men of the Mystery of Barbers of our City of London, exercising the Mystery or Art of Surgery, as well respecting wounds, bruises, hurts, and other infirmities of our liegemen, and healing and curing the same, as in letting blood, and drawing the teeth of our liege men, ... WITNESS myself at Westminster the twenty-fourth day of February in the first year of our reign."

1493 On the 12th July in this year, an agreement was entered into between the Barbers' Company and the Surgeons' Guild which would indicate that the two bodies were now on amicable terms, working harmoniously for the increase of the credit of the profession, and for the correction of inexperienced surgeons and empirics. This "Composition" ... did not unite the two bodies any way beyond this, that they agreed to follow the same rules and practice with regard to the government of all Surgeons; that each guild was to choose two Wardens, and that the four so chosen were to act in a conjoint capacity as masters in matters surgical, and thus comprehend all Surgeons, whether of the Barbers' Company, the Surgeons' Guild, or "foreyns."

1540. This year is one of the most memorable in the annals of the Barber-Surgeons, as it witnessed the union of the unincorporated Guild of Surgeons, with their more accredited fellow-craftsmen, the incorporated Company of Barbers. ... [that is] another body of Surgeons who were incorporated, and practised under the name of "Barbers" in conjunction with actual working Barbers.

Q4.3 London Guild of Surgeons (?a1354-1540)

The Guild of Surgeons may have been founded prior to 1354 when three master surgeons gave evidence in a London court case. Master surgeons were appointed in 1369 and 1390. However the earliest discovered specific mention of a guild as the "crafte of surgeons of London" is in 1492. In 1540 the Company of Barbers & Surgeons act {32 Henry VIII c42} (§Q2.1540a) united the Company of Barbers with the Guild of Surgeons to form the Company of Barber-Surgeons (below).

SURGEONS. THE Surgeons were not incorporated till the Reign of Henry VIII yet they were a Society long before. And there was an Act of Parliament³⁹⁵ for them 3 Hen VIII [1511] viz. That none should practise Surgery, no more than Physick, but first to be examined and approved upon pain of £5 for every Month. In the beginning of the said King Henry, there were but twelve Persons that were Surgeons in the City of London (though in former times many more) and yet they consisted of a Warden and a Fellowship, called Of the Craft and Mystery of Surgeons, infranchised in the City of London. In the 5th of Henry VIII [1513/4] they had an Act made in their Favour, to be discharged of Quests, Watch, or other Office; whereby they should use or occupy any defensible Armour, or Geer of War. And the Cause assigned of this was, because time out of mind, as well in London as in other Cities and Boroughs of the Realm, they had been exempt and discharged from all such Offices and Business; for their continual Service and Attendance, that they daily and nightly, at all Hours and Times, gave to the King's liege People. But they were not as yet incorporated. [John Strype *A survey of the cities of London and Westminster* (1735)]

Below are some extracts from D'Arcy Power (Ed.) *Memorials of the craft of surgery in England from materials compiled by John Flint South ...* (1886) wherein are fuller details of the deeds quoted.

(3 Mar 1353.4) Be it remembered, that on the Monday next after the Feast of St. Matthias the Apostle in the 28th year, etc., the Prior of Hogges, Master Paschal, Master Adam de la Poletrie, and Master David de Westmerland, surgeons, were sworn before the Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, to certify them as to a certain enormous and horrible hurt on the right side of the jaw of Thomas de Shene appearing; whether or not such injury was curable at the time when John le Spicer of Corn hulle took the same Thomas under his care to heal the wound aforesaid. Who say upon their oath that if the aforesaid John le Spicer at the time when he took the said Thomas under his care had been expert in his craft or art, or had called in counsel and assistance to his aid, he might have cured the injury aforesaid; and they further say, that through want of skill on the part of the said John le Spicer the said injury under his care became apparently incurable."

(5 Feb 1368.9) On the Monday after the Feast of the Purification of the blessed Mary, in the forty-third year of the reign of King Edward the Third after the conquest, Master John Dunheued, Master John Hyndstoke, and Nicholas Kyldesby, surgeons, were admitted at full hustings before Simon de Morden [Mayor] and the Aldermen, and were sworn as Master Surgeons of the City of London, to deserve well and truly of the people in doing their cures, to take from them reasonable payment, and truly to practise their craft, and to report as often as need be to the Mayor and Aldermen the faults of those who undertook cures. To take charge of the hurt or wounded, and to give true information to the officers of the City about such persons whether they be in danger of death or not, etc., and to act uprightly in all other things belonging to their calling

(10 Apr 1390) On Monday the tenth day of April, in the thirteenth year of King Richard the Second, Master John Hynstok, Master Geoffrey Grace, Master John Brademore, and Master Henry Suttone surgeons were admitted in the court of Guildhall in London, before William Geoffour, Mayor, and the Aldermen. They were sworn as Masters Surgical of the aforesaid city, well and truly to serve the people in working their cures, taking of them reasonable recompense, etc. To practise truly their trade, and to make faithful oversight of all others, both men and women, occupied in cures or using the art of surgery, presenting their lack both in practice and medicines so often as needs be to the aforesaid Mayor and Aldermen. They shall be ready when warned thereto to take charge of the hurt or wounded, etc., and to give faithful information to the servants of the City of such hurt or wounded as are in danger of death or not.

³⁹⁴ Later this was sometime styled a "Conjoint College of the Physicians and Surgeons".

³⁹⁵ *An act concerning physicians and surgeons* {3 Henry VIII c11} (1511) (see §Q2.1511)

(1492) The zere of owre lord, MCCCCLXXXII att the goyng ovyr the see of oure soueyn lord kyng Harry the VIIth in to Fraunsse. Thes armys were geuen on to the crafte of surgeons of London the vith zere of his reynge in the tyme of Hewe" Clopton, Mayor ...

Q4.4 London Company of Barber-Surgeons (1540-....)

In 1540 the *Company of Barbers & Surgeons act* {32 Henry VIII c42} (§Q2.1540a) united the Company of Barbers (§Q4.2) with the Guild of Surgeons (§Q4.3) to form the London Company of Barber-Surgeons. This became one of the city of London livery companies and trade guilds. The Company's members were styled freemen and they were normally admitted after serving a seven year apprenticeship to an existing member. Sons of existing members might be admitted "by patrimony" having effectively served an apprenticeship with their father. Other special concessions also existed. Freemen might work for a master and would then be known as journeymen; later they might become masters themselves. A higher rank was occupied by liverymen. The functions of barber and surgeon were distinct within the company. Initially the barbers were the senior members but in time the surgeons became more respected and sought to establish their own identity. In 1629 Charles I issued a charter or letters patent (§Q2.1629) regarding the London Company of Barber-Surgeons. This allowed for an increase in the area over which they had jurisdiction from one to seven miles around the city, the appointment of examiners in surgery, the licensing of surgeons to practice anywhere in England, and the right to preventing unqualified men practising in London. A further provision was made that all ships sailing from British ports must have on board a surgeon approved by the Company. However this charter was not confirmed by statute. On 2 May 1745 the King signed an act which separated the surgeons from the barbers and formed the College of Surgeons of London (§Q4.6) who held their first meeting on 1 Jul 1745.

BARBERS and SURGEONS. IN the 32. of Henry VIII there was an Act passed for the Barbers and Surgeons; importing, That whereas there were two distinct Companies of Surgeons, occupying the Science of Surgery; the one Company commonly called The Barbers of London, the others called The Surgeons of London; it being judged necessary that both Companies should be united and made one Body Corporate, by the said Act they were both united, and made one intire and whole Body Corporate, and one Commonalty perpetual, to be called by the name of Masters or Governours of the Mystery and Commonalty of Barbers and Surgeons of London, for evermore. By this Act those of the Company that occupied Surgery were to be exempt from bearing of Armour, or from being put in any Watches or Inquests. And that they might take every Year four Persons condemned and put to Death for Felony, for Anatomies, at their discretions and pleasures. And that none of the Company that used Barbery and Shaving, should occupy Surgery, letting of Blood, or any other thing belonging to Surgery, except only drawing of Teeth. Nor he that used the Mystery of Surgery, should exercise the Feat or Craft of Barbery or Shaving. The Surgeons afterwards were complained of, as well for their Ignorance in their Craft, oftentimes hurting their Patients instead of doing them good; as also for taking great Sums of Money, and doing little therefore. And that it was well known, that the Surgeons admitted, would do no Cure to any Person, but where they knew to be rewarded with a greater Sum than the Cure extended to. For many rotted and perished to Death for lack of help of Surgery, and daily died. And that they troubled others well disposed, that ministered for God's sake to poor People that had sore Breasts, Pin and Web in the Eye, Scalding, Burning, sore Mouth, the Stone and Strangury, Saucelime and Morphew. In Consideration whereof, and for the Comfort and Relief of the King's poor Subjects, it was ordained, in the 34th and 35th of Hen. VIII That it should be lawful to every Person, having Knowledge and Experience in the Nature of Herbs, Roots and Waters, or of the Operation of the same, to practise and minister to any outward Sore, uncome Wound, Apostemations, outward Swelling, or Disease, any Herbs, Ointments, Bath, Pultes and Emplaisters, according to their Cunning and Experience. This Company (besides divers Priviledges of several kinds by their Charter granted unto them) have Power at any time to command the Body of any Malefactor executed at Tyburn, (except a Traitor's) to anatomize the same: which they commonly do, and exercise their Skill thereupon in private at their Hall. And commonly once in every Year (and that in the Time of Lent) they command such a Body. Which being brought from the Place of Execution to their Hall, is cleansed, and laid out upon a Table, in their publick Theatre built for that purpose; where the next Day, a learned Doctor of Physick, meets the chief Members of the Company. And the Doctor sitting in a Chair against the Body, and the rest sitting on a Bench about it, reads a Lecture about some Part or Member; and two of the Company (called at time Masters of the Body) standing by the Table upon which the Body lies, having all necessary Instruments to put in Practice what the Doctor reads and dictates; the Galleries above being filled with young Students in Physick and Chirurgery, to hear and see the Method and Manner thereof, for the Increase of their Knowledge. These Lectures do commonly last three Days: And then they bury the mangled Body, in a Place in the Parish Church-Yard. But sometimes they make a Skeleton of the Body, or otherwise; and many Pieces of Art of that kind are preserved, and stand erected about their Theatre. [John Strype *A survey of the cities of London and Westminster* (1735)]

Q4.5 Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons in Glasgow (c1700)

In 1599 the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons in Glasgow was founded by a Royal Charter of 1599 but was only styled thus by the end of the 17C. In 1909 the name was prefixed "Royal" and in 1962 became the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow. It is said that the Faculty offered a licence for *surgeons* from 1785³⁹⁶ "which served as a basic medical qualification". See also §Q3.5.

Qualifications

L.F.P.S.G.

Licentiate of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons in Glasgow

Q4.6 Royal College of Surgeons of England (1745)³⁹⁷

In 1540 the *Company of Barbers & Surgeons act* {32 Henry VIII c42} (§Q2.1540a) united the Company of Barbers (§Q4.2) with the Guild of Surgeons (§Q4.3) to form the London Company of Barber-Surgeons (§Q4.4). On 2 May 1745 the King signed *An act for making the surgeons of London and the barbers of London two separate and distinct corporations* {18 George II c15} (§Q2.1745) which separated the surgeons from the barbers and formed the College of Surgeons of London who held their first meeting on 1 Jul 1745. The new college built a new hall with an anatomy theatre near Newgate Gaol so it could both teach and dissect the bodies of executed criminals. Membership of the new body was only possible after an examination which led to the award of a "grand diploma in, or, of surgery". Successful examinees were styled Members of the College of Surgeons (M.C.S.). Over the next fifty years or so the role of apprenticeship declined. In 1796, the Surgeons bought properties in Lincoln's Inn Fields and applied for a new constitution that would modernise its organisation.

A charter of 22 Mar 1800 created a successor organisation the Royal College of Surgeons of London whose inaugural meeting was held on 10 Apr 1800. Men might now be styled Member of the Royal College of Surgeons of London (M.R.C.S., London). In 1799 the government had bought the museum of the late surgeon and scientist John

³⁹⁶ Apparently a double qualification in medicine and surgery, established with the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, was instituted in 1859 and was replaced by a triple qualification in 1884.

³⁹⁷ This account is partly based on Zachary Cope *The Royal College of Surgeons of England: A history* (1959).

Hunter 1728-1793 [OB] and gave custody of it to the Company of Surgeons on condition that they opened the museum to medics and students. A new building was erected at Lincoln's Inn Fields and the Hunterian Museum opened in its new home in 1813. The Museum was a key part of the College which steadily increased in size and importance.

The "Court of Examiners", the body that oversaw the membership examination, made further regulations³⁹⁸ on 19 Mar 1824 which included:

- (1) The Court will only recognise the schools of surgery of London, Dublin, Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen.
- (2) The Court will only accept certificates of attendance (of lectures, dissections etc) from the appointed professors of anatomy and surgery in the universities of Dublin, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen; or from persons teaching in a school connected with, and accredited by the medical establishment of one of the "recognised hospitals"; or from persons being physicians or surgeons to any of such hospitals.
- (3) The recognised hospitals were: London: St Bartholomew's Hospital; London: St Thomas's Hospital; London: Westminster Hospital; London: Guy's Hospital; London: St George's Hospital; London: London, Hospital; London: Middlesex Hospital; Dublin: Richmond Hospital; Dublin: Stevens' Hospital; Dublin: Meath Hospital; Edinburgh: Royal Infirmary in Edinburgh; Glasgow: Royal Infirmary in Glasgow; Aberdeen: Royal Infirmary in Aberdeen

It appears that these regulations were seen to be prejudiced against many other places of medical education and were soon abandoned.

In 1839 the following observations were made regarding the College examinations:

The Royal College of Surgeons requires every candidate to produce testimonials of having studied anatomy and physiology, by attendance on lectures and demonstrations, and by dissections, during two anatomical seasons. An anatomical season extends from October to April inclusive; and is understood to comprise at least one hundred and forty lectures in anatomy and physiology, occupying not less than one hour each, given on separate days; and at least one hundred demonstrations of the like duration, given in a similar manner; exclusive of dissections, of which distinct certificates are required. Testimonials are also required of having attended at least two courses of lectures on surgery, delivered at two distinct periods, or seasons, each course to comprise not less than sixty lectures; of having attended lectures on the practice of physic, on chemistry, and midwifery, during six months, comprising not less than sixty lectures respectively; and on botany and materia medica, during three months; and of having attended, during twelve months, the surgical practice of a recognized hospital in London, Dublin, Edinburgh, Glasgow, or Aberdeen; or, for six months, at any one of such hospitals, and twelve months in any recognized provincial hospital. [Richard Jones *Observations on medical education with a view to legislative interference* (1839) p6-7]

On 14 Sep 1843 a further charter changed the college name to the Royal College of Surgeons of England and expanded their remit outside the city of London. Men might now be styled Member of the Royal College of Surgeons of England (M.R.C.S., England). The charter allowed for the creation of a higher status qualification - that of Fellow or F.R.C.S. Initially fellowship was of an honorary nature and 300 fellows were "elected" or "created by nomination" on 11 Dec 1843 and another 240 on (or about) 26 Aug 1844. Thereafter fellowship was only to be obtained by examination until in 1852 nominations were again considered for any member of twenty years standing as of 1843. From Dec 1852 the college also issued licences in man-midwifery.

House of Commons ... Thursday, May 15, 1845 ... Medical Reform ... Mr Wakley rose to move ... That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the Management of the Royal College of Surgeons of England ... by virtue of a charter ... 1843 ... the Council were empowered to select from among the members ... to confer upon them the dignity and title of "Fellows" together with the privilege of electing the Council in future ... the charter requires that all [other] existing members of the College shall undergo another examination, or be for ever excluded from the honour and privileges of the fellowship .. [a clause in the charter] "*That from henceforth no member of the said College, who shall not also be a fellow of the same, shall be eligible as member of the council ... nor shall any fellow be so eligible whilst practising midwifery or pharmacy at any time during the five years next preceding the day of election ...*" ... The College was empowered ... to elect 300 members, to be called Fellows, within three months from the time of the charter - the 14th of September 1843. No condition was laid down as to the mode of exercising that power - it was perfectly arbitrary. Between December 1843 and September 1844 they were also empowered to elect any other number of persons into the class of Fellows ... after having elected 300 Fellows ... they elected 240 more ... [and] thirty-nine admitted by examination in December 1844 and April 1845 ... [Hansard]

The College published a *List of the fellows and members of the Royal College of Surgeons August 31, 1845*. This commences with an alphabetical list of fellows. There follows a list of members "whose places of residence have been reported since the year 1840" with their exact date of admittance; and ends with a list of members "who have made no return of their respective places of residence in compliance with the request of the council"³⁹⁹.

Qualifications

M.C.S.	Member of the College of Surgeons (1745-1800)
M.R.C.S.	Member of the Royal College of Surgeons
M.R.C.S.,London#	Member of the Royal College of Surgeons of London (1800-1843)
M.R.C.S.,England#	Member of the Royal College of Surgeons of England (1843-....)
# <i>In this work just styled M.R.C.S.</i>	
F.R.C.S.	Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of England (1843-....)
F.R.C.S., Honorary	Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, Honorary (1843-4) (1852-....)
F.R.C.S., by examination	Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, by Examination (1844-....)
L.M.,R.C.S.	Licensed Man-Midwife of the Royal College of Surgeons of England (1852-....)

In 1868 there were said⁴⁰⁰ to be 15,000 members and 1,400 fellows. It was estimated that over 12,000 of these men lived in the United Kingdom with the remainder resident abroad. The 1871 census records a United Kingdom population of 31.5 million - England (21.5 million), Wales (1.2), Scotland (3.4) and Ireland (5.4). England then had a 68% population share. If the members and fellows were roughly distributed by population then they numbered about 8,200 in England. About a tenth of the 1871 population lived in or near London which might have

³⁹⁸ The regulations as cited here are based on Cope (1959) p44 and an article in *The Westminster Review* 26 (1837) p83.

³⁹⁹ In the Register [SDH3] entries are in the form "DATE (of admittance) [REG1845, with residence about that year ...]"

⁴⁰⁰ *British Medical Journal* 1 (1870) p441

attracted 820 men. The remaining 7,380 men might have been distributed over the 40 or so traditional English counties - about 185 in each county. In 1851 in Staffordshire there were 176 members⁴⁰¹.

Q4.7 Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh (1778)⁴⁰²

On 1 Jul 1505 by the grant from Edinburgh Council of a seal of cause the barbers and surgeons of the borough were united and constituted as a craft of the Burgh. In 1722 the surgeons separated and became known as the Edinburgh Incorporation of Surgeons. By a royal charter of George III dated 22 May 1778 the body became known as the Royal College of Surgeons of the City of Edinburgh. From their foundation apprentices and later diplomates, or licentiates, had to pass an examination in order to qualify. Men might also become fellows. Creswell comments:

Until the year 1817, no particular designation had been assigned to the diplomates of the College they being simply referred to as "those holding diplomas of the College." In the year in question, however, in consequence of a Bill before Parliament limiting the eligibility to the charge of certain hospitals to "members" of the three Colleges of London, Dublin, and Edinburgh, it was apparent that something would have to be done to bring the diplomates of the Edinburgh College in line with the diplomates, or "members" as they were called, of other bodies. The Act referred to was meant, of course, to include all who held the licence of any of the Colleges, and although an understanding was come to by all concerned, it raised the question of adopting a title for those holding diplomas of the College. The decision was that in future those who held the diploma of the College should be known as Licentiates. [Creswell (1926) p186]

In 1752 the Incorporation of Surgeons granted its first licence to practise (female) midwifery (§D5.2) and in 1769 it sought an opinion from counsel regarding the practise of (male) midwifery (§D5.3).

Qualifications

Dip.R.C.S.E.	Diplomate of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh (....-1817)
L.R.C.S.E.	Licentiate of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh (1817-....)
F.R.C.S.E.	Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh

Q4.8 Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland (1784)⁴⁰³

There were several precursors of the Royal College. The Dublin Guild of St Mary Magdalen was founded by a charter of Henry VI on 18 Oct 1446. It had a membership of barbers, surgeons, apothecaries and wig-makers. Further charters followed in 1577 and 1687. Two societies were also formed in Dublin: the Independent Surgeons of Dublin in 1721 and the Dublin Society of Surgeons on 29 Mar 1780.

The Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland was created by royal charter on 11 Feb 1784 and was open to both anglicans and roman catholics. They opened their School of Surgery shortly after their foundation.

In 1785 there was to be an election to fill three professorial chairs: in anatomy and physiology, in practice and operations of surgery; and in midwifery. The first two appointments were made later that year but a professor of midwifery was not appointed until 1789.

From its inception the college granted three qualifications. The first was a licence which involved examination in anatomy and physiology, theory and practice of surgery and surgical pharmacy. Men applying for the licence must have served an apprenticeship.

A second qualification was available for those wishing to become army surgeons or surgeon's mates (and from 1797 navy surgeons).

A third was a diploma in midwifery. This was only open to graduate physicians and "regularly educated" surgeons. However because the Royal College of Physicians of Ireland conferred their own licence in midwifery their fellows and licentiates were excluded⁴⁰⁴.

In 1828 a second royal charter was obtained (which ended the requirement for an apprenticeship) and a third in 1844 which instituted Fellowship by examination.

Qualifications

L.R.C.S.I.	Licentiate of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland (?1785-....)
L.M.,R.C.S.I.	Licensed Midwife of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland (?1789-....)
F.R.C.S.I.	Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland (1844-....)

(1837) The Royal College of Surgeons was incorporated in 1784, for the purpose of establishing a "liberal and extensive system of surgical education:" a parliamentary grant was afterwards conferred on it for providing the necessary accommodations. Sums amounting in the whole to £35,000 were granted for erecting and furnishing the requisite buildings; besides which, £6000, the accumulated excess of the receipts over the disbursements of the college, were expended in 1825 in the addition of a museum. The front of the building, which is situated on the west side of St. Stephen's-green, has a rusticated basement story, from which rises a range of Doric columns supporting a tier of seven large windows, the four central columns being surmounted by a triangular pediment, on which are statues of Minerva, Esculapius and Hygeia. The interior contains a large board-room, a library, an apartment for general meetings, an examination hall, with several committee-rooms and offices, four theatres for lectures, a spacious dissecting-room with several smaller apartments, and three museums, the largest of which, 84 feet by 30, with a gallery, contains a fine collection of preparations of human and comparative anatomy; the second, with two galleries, contains preparations illustrative of pathology and a collection of models in wax, presented by the Duke of Northumberland when lord-lieutenant; and the third, attached to the anatomical theatre, contains a collection for the illustration of the daily courses of lectures. The College consists of a president, vice-president, six censors, twelve assistants, secretaries, members, and licentiates. Candidates for a diploma must produce certificates of attendance on some school of medicine and surgery for five years, and of attendance at a surgical hospital for three years, and must pass four half-yearly examinations, and a final examination for letters testimonial in the presence of the members and licentiates on two days: rejected candidates have a right of appeal to a court constituted for the purpose, which is frequently resorted to. Attached to the school are two professors of anatomy and physiology, two of surgery, a professor of chymistry, one of the practice of medicine, one of materia medica, one of midwifery, and one of medical jurisprudence, with four anatomical demonstrators; the lectures commence on the last Monday in October, and close on the last day of April. [Samuel Lewis *A Topographical dictionary of Ireland* (1837)]

401 Williams (2018)

402 This account is partly based on Clarendon Hyde Creswell *The Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh historical notes from 1505 to 1905* (1926).

403 This account is partly based on J.D.H. Widdess *The Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland and its Medical School 1784-1966. Second Edition* (1967) particularly p13 43 45.

404 see §D5.4.2

Q5 Medical regulatory bodies - apothecaries

Q5.1 Introduction; Q5.2 London Grocers' Company; Q5.3 Society Of Apothecaries; Q5.4 Company of the Apothecaries' Hall of Ireland (1791)

Q5.1 Introduction

Regulation of apothecaries was largely in the hands of various guilds and their successors. Prior to 1617 London apothecaries might have been members of the London Grocers' Company (§Q5.2) but that year split to form the Society of Apothecaries (§Q5.3). The Company of the Apothecaries' Hall of Ireland (§Q5.4) founded in 1791 was also preceded by other guilds.

Q5.2 London Grocers' Company⁴⁰⁵ (a1365)

A fraternity of Pepperers which was formed before 1179 merged in 1345 with spice merchants and ropers. In a document of 1365 they are called the mystery of "Grossers, Pepperers, and Apothecaries" and elected the keeper of the Great Beam or *pesso grosso*. This organisation became the "Company of the Grocers" by 1373. Most members were ordinary shopkeepers and apothecaries who relied on their richer colleagues for supplies and credit. Other members were active as wool exporters. From 1423 they commenced building their own hall and in 1428/9 gained corporate status by a charter of Henry VI by the name *Custodes et communitas mysterii Groceriae Londini*. In 1617 the apothecaries split from the grocers to form the Society of Apothecaries (§Q5.3) which was founded by a royal charter of King James I dated 6 December 1617.

Q5.3 Society of Apothecaries (1617)

From an early period apothecaries might have been members of the London Grocers' Company which had roots extending back to the 12C. However in 1617 they split from the grocers. The Society of Apothecaries^{406 407} was founded by a royal charter of King James I dated 6 December 1617 (§Q2.1617) wherein it is stated:

Grocers are but merchants, the business of the Apothecary is a Mystery wherefore I think it fitting that they be a Corporation of themselves.

The new society was a livery company. Members were styled freemen and were normally admitted after serving a seven year apprenticeship to an existing member. Sons of existing members might be admitted "by patrimony" having effectively served an apprenticeship with their father. Other special concessions also existed. Freemen might work for a master and would then be known as journeymen; later they might become masters themselves. A higher rank was occupied by liverymen.

About 1701 in the Queen's Bench Division the College of Physicians sued William Rose, a London apothecary, "for practising Physic for One Month, within Seven Miles of the City of London, without the Licence of the Plaintiffs" and wished him to pay a penalty of £5 per month⁴⁰⁸. Rose was said to have "made up and administered proper medicines to [John Seal, Seale or Seals, a butcher]; but without any license from the faculty, and also without the direction of any physician, and without taking or demanding any fee for his advice". The College quoted from their Charter and after three hearings the Court found that Rose had been "practising Physic, within the said Charter" and should pay the penalty. However Rose brought "a writ of error returnable in Parliament" against the College. When the case was heard in the House of Lords on 17 Mar 1703.4 the judgment was reversed. It should be noted that this court judgment simply found that Rose had *not been "practising Physic, within the said Charter"*. It is unclear why the original judgment was reversed. Because the facts of the case were not in dispute the reversal must have been based on a "point of law". Perhaps there was a belief that to practise physic "within the charter" was to "practise in return for payment". Rose of course was accepted to have practised "without taking or demanding any fee for his advice". Subsequent to this case it was generally accepted that apothecaries might offer unpaid medical advice without fear of prosecution.

APOTHECARIES. THE Company of the APOTHECARIES, that have divided themselves from the ancient Society of Grocers, grew so highly favoured by our Sovereign Lord King James I. that (as I have heard) he called them His Company; and granted them Order for Incorporation the sixth Day of December, in the fifteenth Year of his Highness's Reign [1617]. The Office of the Men of this Mystery is to make up and prepare Physick for the Sick or Diseased, according to the Prescriptions and Directions of the Physician: And so are to be Men skilled in Plants and Herbs, in Roots and Druggs, and to understand and exercise Chymistry. And hereby they become Assistants to the Physician in helping Men in Pain and Misery, and in the Recovery of Life and Health. Which being, as a learned Physician writes, "*the most valuable thing in the World, that Art whereby the first may be prolonged, and the other preserved or restored, must needs challenge the Esteem and Regard of all. These are the proper and genuine Ends of the Art of Physick: An Art to which, under God, some owe their Conception, others their Birth; and which is helpful to Mankind in all the Periods of Life. It easeth the Pained, and comforteth the Sick and Languishing; it giveth Sight to the Blind, Hearing to the Deaf, and Feet to the Lame. It cheareth the Melancholick, restoreth the Use of Reason to the Distracted, and procureth Sleep and Quiet to the Restless. It extinguisheth the Flame of Feavers, draineth and drieth up the Deluge of Dropsies, and putteth Life and Beauty into the Faces of the Fair Sex. In short, it cureth Diseases almost innumerable; and if not all and always, 'tis because Sin, that hath made Death certain, must needs also make some Diseases incurable.*" But though this Commendation primarily belongeth to the Physician's Learning, yet the Apothecary's Art, which is so subservient, and such an Handmaid thereunto, must not be deprived of its Share in it. A Controversy happened of late between these Apothecaries and the Physicians; the Physicians complaining, that the Apothecaries did exceed their Office and Trade, in taking upon them to administer Physick; and so intruded into the Physicians Province: And also that they wanted some Skill, and some Care, in making and preparing their Physick. Wherefore they not long ago sued one Rose an Apothecary, for several Months Practice. In which time he had by his own Advice ministred Medicines to one Man, to a considerable Value. This was proved in Court. But yet the Jury hesitated, as to the finding it for the Plaintiff. Whereat the Court wondering, the Lord Chief Justice asked them, Whether they did not believe the Evidence? To which the Foreman replied, That the Defendant had done only what other Apothecaries did. Whereupon my Lord set the Jury right. And then they brought in a Verdict for the Plaintiff. It is thought by some, that London and the Suburbs are overstocked with

⁴⁰⁵This account is largely based on a review by David Nicholas in *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 75-2 (1997) p504-12 of Pamela Nightingale *A medieval mercantile community: The Grocers' Company and the politics and trade of London, 1000-1485* Yale University Press (1995)

⁴⁰⁶This account is partly based on W.S.C. Copeman *The Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London: A history 1617-1967* (1967)

⁴⁰⁷Over time the Society was variously called the Society of Apothecaries, the Apothecaries Society, the Company of Apothecaries, the Apothecaries Company & Apothecaries Hall. Sometimes the prefix Worshipful was used and sometimes the phrase "of London" was added.

⁴⁰⁸A fuller account is given in §Q2.1704.

Apothecaries; reputed the number of them to be near a thousand: Whereas in Paris there were but fifty one; in Stockholm and Copenhagen but four or five apiece; and in Hamburg but one Apothecary's Shop. For they say, that one Apothecary's Shop is sufficient to make up at least three Physicians Prescriptions, and they of good Business. In the 4th of King James I [1606/7] the King incorporated the Apothecaries with the Grocers, to be one Body Corporate and Politick. They were again divided from the Grocers, and made a Body Corporate of their own by a Charter of the same King, to wit, 13 Jac. I. May the 30th [1615]. In which Charter are all the Apothecaries Names inserted, beginning with William Besse, amounting to 104. Which we may conclude to be all of that Calling in London and the Suburbs. This Company have a Physick Garden in Chelsea, replenished with various Plants. Those that have the Privilege of going into it, have a Ticket given them, which hath the Impression of a Phœbus on it, and round it is this suitable Motto, Herbarum est subjecta potentia nobis; taken out of Ovid, and follows immediately after the Words the Company took for their Motto; viz. Opifèq; per Orbem dicor. Anno 10 Regin. Annæ, 1712, an Act passed for reviving and continuing several Acts therein mentioned. One whereof was, for exempting Apothecaries from serving the Offices of Constable and Scavenger, and other Parish and Ward Offices, and serving upon Juries. This Act referred to, was that made 6 & 7 Reg. Guliel. 3. which was to continue for the space of seven Years. Which Act was continued by an Act made 1 Regin. Annæ, for a further time of seven Years; and to be in force, after the Expiration thereof, for the space of eleven Years. [John Strype *A survey of the cities of London and Westminster* (1735)]

The Society passed a resolution in 1774 limiting their membership only to those apothecaries who were also giving medical advice. This excluded men only concerned with selling medicines. They were generally styled chemists or druggists and later would be members of the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain founded on 15 Apr 1841.

On 12 Jul 1815 was passed *An act for the better regulating the practice of apothecaries throughout England and Wales* (aka *The new apothecaries' act*) {55 George III c194} (§Q2.1815) which came into force on 1 Aug 1815 and introduced a number of sweeping changes including the new qualification of L.S.A. These are discussed in §D4.6.

Qualifications

M.S.A. Member of the Society of Apothecaries
L.S.A. Licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries

Q5.4 Company of the Apothecaries' Hall of Ireland (1791)

The Dublin Guild of St Mary Magdalen was founded by a charter of Henry VI on 18 Oct 1446. It had a membership of barbers, surgeons, apothecaries and wig-makers. In 1745 the apothecaries separated and formed the Dublin Guild of St Luke whose officers were to control the manufacture and sales of medicines in Ireland. This was succeeded by the Company of the Apothecaries' Hall of Ireland which was founded by Act of Parliament in 1791 to examine and licence apothecaries in Ireland. Holders of the licence were styled "Licentiates of the Company of the Apothecaries' Hall of Ireland" (abbreviated to L.S.A.D. - for Dublin). This was one of the recognised qualifications needed to practice medicine in the British Isles under *The medical act* {21 & 22 Victoria c90} (1858) (§Q2.1858). In 1837 a School of Medicine (§Q7.7) was established.

Qualifications

L.S.A.D. Licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries of Ireland (at Dublin)

(1837) DUBLIN APOTHECARIES' HALL. The School of Pharmacy. Previously to the company of the Apothecaries' Hall having been incorporated, the shops were supplied by the druggists, without any check on the quality of the medical articles supplied. To remedy this defect an act was passed, in 1791, incorporating a body under the title of the "Governor and Company of the Apothecaries' Hall," by whom a building was erected in Mary-street (a respectable edifice of brick, with a basement of hewn stone) for the preparation and sale of drugs, unadulterated and of the best quality, and for the delivery of courses of lectures on chymistry, the materia medica, pharmacy, botany, and the practice of physic, and for the examination of candidates for a diploma to practise as apothecaries. The establishment consists of a governor, deputy-governor, treasurer, secretary, and thirteen directors. Candidates for apprenticeship must undergo an examination in Greek and Latin, and those for the rank of master apothecary must produce certificates of attendance on a course of each of the following departments of medicine; chymistry, materia medica and pharmacy, medical botany, anatomy, and physiology, and the theory and practice of medicine. The diploma of the society of Apothecaries of London also, by the rules of the Dublin company, qualifies the holder to practise in Ireland. [Samuel Lewis *A topographical dictionary of Ireland* (1837)]

Q6 National institutional hospitals

Q6.1 Introduction; Q6.2 London institutional hospitals; Q6.3 Staffordshire and neighbouring county institutional hospitals; Q6.4 Scottish institutional hospitals; Q6.5 Irish institutional hospitals

Q6.1 Introduction

In this section brief historical accounts are provided, for guidance only, of some major national institutional hospitals grouped under London (§Q6.2), Staffordshire and neighbouring counties (§Q6.3), Scotland (§Q6.4) and Ireland (§Q6.5).

Intending medics sometimes became pupils of hospital physicians, surgeons and apothecaries. From these men they might have trained, mainly clinically, both by observation and discussion. At some of these hospitals other opportunities of study may have been available and perhaps mainly on this basis the hospitals are said to have hosted informal "medical schools". From the later 18C there was a greater demand for the opportunity to study, mainly theory, and this was at first provided on the informal basis described above, then by informal courses of lectures and finally by formal medical schools (see §Q6).

In 1824 the Court of Examiners of the Royal College of Surgeons of London compiled a list of 13 "recognised hospitals", seven in London, three in Dublin and one each in the Scottish cities of Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen (below). Soon after, the list was abandoned.⁴⁰⁹

London: St Bartholomew's Hospital, St Thomas's Hospital, Westminster Hospital, Guy's Hospital, St George's Hospital, London Hospital, Middlesex Hospital; Dublin: Richmond Hospital, Stevens' Hospital, Meath Hospital and Royal Infirmary in Edinburgh, Royal Infirmary in Glasgow and Royal Infirmary in Aberdeen

The medical calendar (1828) is an extensive guide for intending medical students and provides the data given for that year in the descriptions below.

Q6.2 London institutional hospitals

The seven major hospitals in London open in 1824 were then recognised by the (London) College of Surgeons.

•London institutional hospitals						
Name	Opened	School	1824	1828		
				Address	Beds	Instruction
St Bartholomew's Hospital	1123	1791	#	West Smithfield	500	Lectures
St Thomas's Hospital	1173	1550	#	High Street, Southwark	500	Lectures
Westminster Hospital	1719	1834	#	Buckingham Gate	80	
Guy's Hospital	1721	1825	#	Borough	400	Lectures
London St George's Hospital	1724	1834	#	Hyde Park Corner	200	
London Hospital	1740	1785	#	Whitechapel Road	280	Lectures
Middlesex Hospital	1745	1835	#	Berners Street, Oxford Street	180	
Charing Cross Hospital	1818	1822		Charing Cross	[12]	
London Royal Free Hospital	1828			16 Greville Street, Holborn		
London University College Hospital	1834					
London King's College Hospital	1840					
Great Ormond Street Hospital	1852					

St Bartholomew's Hospital was founded in 1123 by Rahere-1144 and refounded in 1546 by Henry VIII. A purpose-built lecture theatre was built in 1791. It was one of the seven London hospitals recognised by the (London) College of Surgeons in 1824. In 1828 it was located on West Smithfield and had 500 beds. Lectures were then held beginning in October. In 1843 a medical college was established.

St Thomas's Hospital was founded before 1173 and was named after St Thomas Becket-1173. It was closed in 1539 and reopened about 1550 in which year a medical school was established. It was one of the seven London hospitals recognised by the (London) College of Surgeons in 1824. In 1828 it was located on High Street, Southwark and had 500 beds. Lectures were then held beginning in October.

Westminster Hospital⁴¹⁰ was founded in 1719. It was one of the seven London hospitals recognised by the (London) College of Surgeons in 1824. In 1828 it was located on Buckingham Gate and had 80 beds. In 1834 a medical school was founded by George Guthrie.

Guy's Hospital was founded in 1721 by Thomas Guy but only opened in 1726. It was one of the seven London hospitals recognised by the (London) College of Surgeons in 1824. In 1828 it was located on Borough and had 400 beds. Lectures were then held. In 1825 a medical school was established.

London St George's Hospital was founded in 1733 by men previously connected with Westminster Hospital. The hospital was constructed within Lanesborough House (originally built 1719) at Hyde Park Corner. It was one of the seven London hospitals recognised by the (London) College of Surgeons in 1824. In 1828 it was still located on Hyde Park Corner and had 200 beds. In 1834 a medical school was established .

London Hospital⁴¹¹ was founded as the London Infirmary in 1740. In 1785 a purpose-built medical school, the first of its kind in England, was opened. It was one of the seven London hospitals recognised by the (London) College of Surgeons in 1824. In 1828 it was located on Whitechapel Road and had 280 beds.

Middlesex Hospital was founded as the Middlesex Infirmary in 1745. It was one of the seven London hospitals recognised by the (London) College of Surgeons in 1824. In 1828 it was located on Berners Street, Oxford Street and had 180 beds. In 1835 a medical school was established.

Charing Cross Hospital was founded as the West London Infirmary and Dispensary in 1818 at 16 Suffolk Street and shortly after became known as the Royal West London Infirmary. In 1821 it moved to Charing Cross and from 1829 was known as Charing Cross Hospital. In 1822 a medical school was established.

London Royal Free Hospital⁴¹² was founded as the London General Institution for the Gratuitous Care of Malignant Diseases in 1828 by William Marsden. By 1842 it was known as the London Royal Free Hospital.

London University College Hospital was founded as the North London Hospital in 1834 to provide clinical training for students at London University College.

London King's College Hospital was founded in 1840 to provide clinical training for students at London King's College. It opened in the disused St Clement Danes workhouse in Portugal Street close to Lincoln's Inn Fields and King's College.

Great Ormond Street Hospital was founded as the Hospital for Sick Children in 1852 at Great Ormond Street and very soon after became known as Great Ormond Street Hospital. It was the first dedicated children's hospital in England.

Q6.3 Staffordshire and neighbouring county institutional hospitals

Staffordshire. Prior to 1851 Staffordshire had three major institutional hospitals (see §F5) . Staffordshire General Infirmary at Stafford opened in 1766. The Pottery Dispensary at Stoke-upon-Trent opened in 1802 and in

⁴¹⁰ see W.G. Spencer *Westminster Hospital An outline of its history* (1924)

⁴¹¹ see Sheila M. Collins *The Royal London Hospital: A brief history* (1995)

⁴¹² Lynne A. Amidon *An illustrated history of the Royal Free Hospital. Edited by Andrew Northern* (1996)

1815 was succeeded by the North Staffordshire Infirmary. The Wolverhampton Dispensary opened in 1821 and in 1849 was succeeded by the South Staffordshire General Hospital.

Cheshire. Chester Infirmary was founded in 1755 and first opened in a part of the Bluecoat School on Northgate Street. A newly constructed hospital opened in 1761 which was remodelled in 1830 and later extended. It was renamed the Royal Chester Infirmary in 1913.

Derbyshire. Derbyshire General Infirmary opened in 1810 although a foundation committee had been active from 1803.

Shropshire. Salop Infirmary at Shrewsbury was opened in 1745 in a converted mansion "Broom Hall". It was completely rebuilt in 1830 and an additional wing added in 1870. It was renamed the Royal Salop Infirmary in 1914.

Warwickshire. Birmingham General Hospital opened on 20 Sep 1779 although a foundation committee had been active from 1765. It was located on what became known as Hospital Street. In 1897 it moved to Steelhouse Lane. Birmingham Queen's Hospital was founded in 1840 by a surgeon William Sands Cox to provide clinical training for students. Birmingham Children's Hospital was founded in 1861. Birmingham Jaffray Hospital was opened in 1885 and apparently completely funded by a Mr Jaffray. Warwick Dispensary "for the sick and poor of Warwick and its neighbourhood" opened in 1826 in a large 18C house on Castle Street. After 1859 it was known as the Warwick Provident Dispensary.

Worcestershire. Worcester Infirmary opened in 1746 on Silver Street. It re-opened on a new site at Castle Street in 1771. After a new wing was added in 1932 it was renamed The Royal Worcester Infirmary.

Q6.4 Scottish institutional hospitals

Three major hospitals in Scotland open in 1824 were then recognised by the (London) College of Surgeons.

•Scottish institutional hospitals						
Name	Opened	School	1824	1828		
Edinburgh						
				Address	Beds	Instruction
Edinburgh Royal Infirmary	1729		¶	Infirmary Street	300	lectures
Edinburgh Lunatic Asylum	1813			Morningside		
Edinburgh Eye Dispensary	1822			405 Lawn Market		
Edinburgh Eye and Ear Dispensary	1828			33 South Castle Street		
Aberdeen						
Aberdeen Royal Infirmary	1742		¶			
Glasgow						
Glasgow Royal Infirmary	1794		¶			

Edinburgh

The Edinburgh Royal Infirmary was the first purpose-built hospital in Scotland. A foundation committee had been active from 1725 which operated a small infirmary from 1729. The foundation stone of the new building was laid in 1738 and it was fully completed by 1748. However it opened to patients in 1741. It was recognised by the (London) College of Surgeons in 1824. In 1828 it was said "The Royal Infirmary can accommodate upwards of 300 patients, and may be divided into three great departments, the surgical wards, the ordinary medical wards and the clinical wards." The premises were modified and extended and new buildings were opened in 1853 which were again superceded about 1869.

Edinburgh Lunatic Asylum opened in 1813 in a purpose-built property "East House" at Morningside.

Edinburgh Eye Dispensary was established in 1822 and in 1828 was located on 405 Lawn Market. Edinburgh Eye and Ear Dispensary was open in 1828 at 33 South Castle Street whilst a separate Eye Infirmary is said to have opened in 1834.

Leith Hospital opened about 1850 in a purpose-built property on Mill Lane. It was formed by the amalgamation of a dispensary opened in 1815 and a casualty hospital opened in 1837.

Glasgow

"Glasgow Town's Hospital" opened in 1733. This is said to have been primarily a workhouse with limited medical accomodation.

The Glasgow Royal Infirmary obtained a royal charter in 1791 and a purpose-built property was opened beside the cathedral in 1794. Additional buildings were added in 1816. A fever block followed in 1829 and a surgical block in 1860. It was recognised by the (London) College of Surgeons in 1824. In 1828, after noticing it was recognised, it is added succinctly "The hour of attendance is one o'clock" with no further detail. St Mungo's College Medical School was opened in 1876.

Aberdeen

Aberdeen Royal Infirmary opened in 1742 in a purpose-built property at Woolmanhill whose foundation stone was laid in 1740. A foundation committee had been active from 1739. It provided 20 beds. It was recognised by the (London) College of Surgeons in 1824. In 1828, after noticing it was recognised, there is no further detail. The first property was replaced by a much grander building in 1840. Further extensions took place between 1887 and 1897.

Q6.5 Irish institutional hospitals

Between 1718 and 1811 nine major hospitals opened in Ireland. Of these eight were in Dublin, including St Patrick's, a lunatic asylum but only one in Belfast. Three of the Dublin hospitals were recognised by the Royal (London) College of Surgeons of London in 1824.

•Irish institutional hospitals						
Name	Opened	School	1824	1828		
				Address	Beds	Instruction
Dublin						
Dublin Charitable Infirmary	1718			Jervis Street		
Dr Steevens' Hospital	1720		¶	Kilmainham	200	clinical lectures
Dublin Mercer's Hospital	1734			William Street	50	lectures
Rotunda Lying-in Hospital	1745			Parnell Street		lectures in midwifery
Meath Hospital	1753		¶	Heytesbury Street		lectures
Dublin St Patrick's Hospital (lunatic asylum)	1757					
Sir Patrick Dun's Hospital	1792			Grand Canal Street	130	lectures
Richmond Surgical Hospital	1811		¶	North Brunswick Street	163	clinical instruction
Belfast						
Belfast Fever Hospital and General Dispensary	1799					

Dublin

Dublin Charitable Infirmary was preceded by an infirmary founded in 1718 by six Dublin surgeons on Cook Street with just four beds. This moved about 1724 to Anderson's Court and now had eight or nine beds. Its successor, now named Dublin Charitable Infirmary, was opened in 1728 in Inns Quay and provided 50 beds. By 1792 it had moved again to 14 Jervis Street and then in 1804 a new property was purpose-built. In 1828 it was located on Jervis Street.

Dr Steevens' Hospital, named for a physician Richard Steevens 1653-1710, was founded in 1720 by his sister Grizell with funds provided under his will. The hospital was purpose-built. In 1732 another physician Edward Worth bequeathed £1,000 and a very valuable medical library. It was one of the three Dublin hospitals recognised by the (London) College of Surgeons in 1824. In 1828 it was located on Kilmainham and had 200 beds. Clinical lectures were then held. In 1857 the Dublin School of Medicine was transferred here and renamed Steevens' Hospital Medical College.

Dublin Mercer's Hospital was named for Mary Mercer-1734 who had provided a girls' shelter from 1724. The shelter was converted into a hospital in 1734 by a group of surgeons. In 1828 it was located on William Street and had 50 beds. Lectures were then held. In 1884 the hospital was completely rebuilt. At that period it was one of the chief teaching hospitals.

Rotunda Lying-in Hospital was founded as the Dublin Lying-in Hospital in 1745 by a surgeon and man-midwife Bartholomew Mosse 1712-1759. Originally located on George's Lane it became known as the New Lying-in Hospital when it moved to a site on Great Britain Street (now Parnell Street) in 1757. From the late 18C it was often styled the Rotunda Lying-in Hospital. In 1774 formal courses of lectures on midwifery commenced. In 1828 it was located on Parnell Street. Lectures on midwifery were then held.

Meath Hospital was founded in 1753. In 1822 a new benefactor Thomas Pleasants enabled a move to a purpose-built property on Heytesbury Street where for the next twenty or so years it built a reputation as a centre of excellence. It was one of the three Dublin hospitals recognised by the (London) College of Surgeons in 1824. In 1828 it was located on Heytesbury Street. Lectures were then held.

Dublin St Patrick's Hospital, a lunatic asylum, was founded under the will of Jonathan Swift 1667-1745 [OB]⁴¹³. A property was purpose-built next to Dr Steevens' Hospital and opened with 50 beds on 19 Sep 1757.

Sir Patrick Dun's Hospital, named for a physician Sir Patrick Dun-1713 who was a benefactor of the King and Queen's College of Physicians of Ireland, was opened in 1792 in a house on Wellington Quay but shortly after moved to Lower Exchange Street. In 1808 a new purpose-built property on Grand Canal Street was opened. The initial purpose of the hospital was to provide clinical training. Perhaps later this included midwifery. In 1828 it was located on Grand Canal Street and had 130 beds. Lectures were then held.

The Richmond Surgical Hospital, named after Charles Lennox 4th Duke of Richmond 1764-1819 [CP], was opened in 1811 in an old convent (built in 1688) on North Brunswick Street. A lease on the building was obtained in 1810 and it was completely refurbished as a surgical hospital with 120 beds. A new operating theatre was built in 1816 and a museum established in 1838. It was one of the three Dublin hospitals recognised by the (London) College of Surgeons in 1824. In 1828 it was located on North Brunswick Street and had 163 beds. Clinical instruction was then provided. A new purpose-built hospital was opened in 1901.

Belfast

Belfast Fever Hospital and General Dispensary opened in 1797 on Factory Row. Earlier in 1792 a dispensary had opened. In 1799 it moved to West Street and in 1817 to Frederick Street. The hospital separated from the dispensary in 1847 and was renamed the Belfast Royal Hospital. In 1899 it was renamed the Royal Victoria Hospital. In 1903 it moved from Frederick Street to Grosvenor Road.

⁴¹³ The final lines in Swift's *Verses on the death of Dr. Swift ... written by himself*; Nov. 1731 read: He gave the little Wealth he had, | To build a House for Fools and Mad; | To shew by one Satyric Touch, | No Nation wanted it so much: | And since you dread no farther Lashes, | Methinks you may forgive his Ashes.

Q7 Medical schools

Q7.1 Introduction; Q7.2 London hospital medical schools; Q7.3 London private medical schools; Q7.4 London institutional medical schools; Q7.5 English provincial medical schools; Q7.6 Scottish medical schools; Q7.7 Irish medical schools

Q7.1 Introduction

Intending medics sometimes became pupils of hospital physicians, surgeons and apothecaries. From these men they might have trained, mainly clinically, both by observation and discussion. At some of these hospitals other opportunities of study may have been available and perhaps mainly on this basis the hospitals are said to have hosted informal "medical schools". From the later 18C there was a greater demand for the opportunity to study, mainly theory, and this was at first provided on the informal basis described above, then by informal courses of lectures and finally by formal medical schools (or colleges) which are the subject of this section. Medical schools might have been privately or publicly funded. Some may have started as private concerns and then become public.

In 1836 *The Lancet*⁴¹⁴ published an "Account of the London Hospitals and Schools of Medicine open for the instruction of students in the medical session commencing October 1st 1836". They gave very detailed accounts of the staff, fees and lectures and other matters for eleven medical schools attached to hospitals and nine private schools.

For guidance only, brief notes of some of these schools follow.

Q7.2 London hospital medical schools

St Thomas's is said to have had a medical school founded in 1550 which had become a more formal institution by the late 18C. In 1785 the first purpose-built medical school opened at London Hospital followed six years later in 1791 by the first purpose-built lecture theatre at St Bartholomew's - in a sense confirming the existence of a medical school. Charing Cross Hospital's medical school opened in 1822. Guy's medical school opened in 1825. In 1828 all of these hospitals (bar Charing Cross) were regularly holding courses of lectures often commencing in the month of October and all were amongst the seven hospitals which had been "recognised" by the Royal College of Surgeons in 1824. The other three "recognised" hospitals opened medical schools shortly afterwards - the Westminster (in 1834), St George's (in 1834), and the Middlesex (in 1835). All these hospitals are briefly described in §Q5.2.

•London hospital medical schools	
Name	Opened
St Thomas's Hospital	1550
London Hospital	1785
St Bartholomew's Hospital	1791
Charing Cross Hospital	1822
Guy's Hospital	1825
London St George's Hospital	1834
Westminster Hospital	1834
Middlesex Hospital	1835

Q7.3 London private medical schools

The Hunterian School of Medicine founded by the physician William Hunter 1718-1783 [OB] was open from 1769 to 1839 and in that period numerous private schools, lecture rooms and other educational facilities - some of a very fleeting nature - were in operation. These included schools of medicine on Aldersgate Street, Webb Street (owned by Richard Dugard Grainger) and Windmill Street.

•London private medical schools	
Name	Opened
Hunterian School of Medicine	1769
Aldersgate Street School of Medicine	
Webb Street School School of Medicine	
Windmill Street School of Medicine	

Q7.4 London institutional medical schools

These two schools (or colleges) became part of London University on its foundation in 1836.

Q7.4.1 London University College (1826-1836)

The college was founded on 11 Feb 1826 as "London University" and only changed its name to University College when on 28 Nov 1836 it became part of the new London University⁴¹⁵ (see §D2.2.5). It was secular and admitted men of any or no religious beliefs. A medical school commenced in 1828 for which in 1834 a teaching hospital was opened. This was originally known as the North London Hospital but later became known as London University College Hospital.

Q7.4.2 London King's College (1829-1836)

⁴¹⁴ *The Lancet* (1836) p3-16

⁴¹⁵ Officially "The University of London"

The college was established by royal charter in 1829 by King George IV and Arthur Wellesley 1st Duke of Wellington. By another charter of 28 Nov 1836 it became one of the two foundation colleges of London University (see §D2.2.5).

Q7.5 English provincial medical schools

Staffordshire had no medical schools. However at least twelve provincial schools of medicine were established between 1824 and 1851. These were at Manchester (1824), Birmingham (1828 and 1851), Sheffield (1828), Hull (1831), Leeds (1831), Bristol (1833), Nottingham (1833), Liverpool (1834), Newcastle-upon-Tyne (1834 and 1851) and York (1838). They are briefly described below.

•English provincial medical schools	
Name	Opened
Manchester School of Medicine and Surgery	1824
Birmingham School of Medicine and Surgery	1828
Sheffield Medical Insitution	1828
Hull and East Riding School of Medicine and Anatomy	1831
Leeds School of Medicine	1831
Bristol Medical School	1833
Nottingham Medical School	1833
Liverpool Royal Institution School of Medicine	1834
Newcastle-upon-Tyne School of Medicine and Surgery	1834
York Medical School	1838
Birmingham Sydenham College	1851
Newcastle-upon-Tyne College of Practical Science	1851

Manchester School of Medicine and Surgery was opened in 1824. Earlier Thomas Turner had taught medicine at a school on Pine Street. From 1836 to 1872 it was known as Manchester Royal School of Medicine and Surgery. Students might have trained at Manchester Infirmary (founded 1752).

Birmingham School of Medicine and Surgery⁴¹⁶ was founded by a surgeon William Sands Cox in 1828 as a residential college for medical students. From 1836 to 1843 it was called the Birmingham Royal School of Medicine. By a royal charter of 1843 it became Birmingham Queen's College. Initially the students may have trained at Birmingham General Hospital (founded 1779). Later in 1841 Cox founded the Queen's Hospital at Bath Row which thereafter provided training. From about 1838 Samuel Wilson Warneford 1763-1855 [OB], an eccentric anglican cleric, is said to have donated £25,000 to Birmingham Queen's College and Birmingham Queen's Hospital providing for chaplaincies, scholarships, a professorial chair in pastoral theology and new buildings. The school then became largely anglican and provided both medical and theological studies. He instituted the Warneford Prize Essay⁴¹⁷ in 1839 to help impose a more Christian character on the medical school and its students. The essays were to demonstrate "the pathway of God's wisdom, power and goodness as revealed by their anatomical and other studies".

Sheffield Medical Institution was opened in 1828. Students might have trained at Sheffield General Infirmary (founded 1792).

Hull and East Riding School of Medicine and Anatomy was opened in 1831. Students might have trained at Hull General Infirmary (founded 1782).

Leeds School of Medicine opened in 1831. It was preceded by Leeds School of Medicine and Surgery (?1826-1831) which may have been a private venture. Students trained at Leeds General Infirmary (founded 1771).

Bristol Medical School opened on the 14 Oct 1833. Earlier Bristol Theatre of Anatomy had opened in 1826 conducted by Henry Clark. Soon after it was styled the Bristol Medical and Surgical School - it may have been a private venture. Students trained at Bristol Infirmary (founded 1737), Clifton Dispensary (founded 1812) and Bristol General Hospital (founded 1832).

Nottingham Medical School opened in 1833 but appears to have closed in 1835 or shortly thereafter. Students might have trained at Nottingham General Hospital (founded 1792) but it has been suggested that the hospital forced the early closure of the school.

Liverpool Royal Institution School of Medicine opened in 1834. In 1844 it was attached to the Liverpool Infirmary (founded 1743) and in 1851 renamed Liverpool Royal Infirmary School of Medicine.

Newcastle-Upon-Tyne School of Medicine and Surgery was opened in 1834. In 1852 it was absorbed into the University of Durham as the College of Medicine.

York Medical School opened in 1838 and may have closed in 1868. Students trained at York County Hospital (founded 1740) and York Dispensary (founded 1788).

Birmingham Sydenham College was founded in 1851 by a group of physicians and surgeons from Birmingham General Hospital (founded 1779) led by Dr Bell Fletcher. It was a medical school for students who trained at the hospital and was named after Dr Thomas Sydenham M.D. 1624-1689 [OB]. It was open to non-conformists.

Newcastle-Upon-Tyne College of Practical Science had opened by 1851.

Q7.6 Scottish medical schools

There are numerous lecture halls and other facilities mentioned in *The medical calendar* (1828) including the Brown Square School of Medicine at Edinburgh.

⁴¹⁶ In this work it is referred to as Birmingham Queen's College even in the earlier period.

⁴¹⁷ Birmingham University Library has copies of the essays written from 1847 to 1852 [University Archive 2/11-37]

Q7.7 Irish medical schools

Dublin was a centre for medical education and hosted a number of medical schools⁴¹⁸.

The Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland opened a School of Surgery shortly after their foundation in 1784.

(17 Nov 1789) The schools of surgery, and practical anatomy, under the direction of the Royal College Of Surgeons Ireland, will open on Monday the 30th [Saunders's News-letter]

(19 Aug 1820) [Died] On the 9th inst the celebrated Miss Margaret McAvoy, whose faculty of distinguishing colours &c. by the touch, gave rise to much discussion in Liverpool and elsewhere about three years since. Her body was opened by Robert Harrison, Esq. A.B.M.R.C.S.L. and D. one of the Demonstrators of Anatomy, &c. to the School of Surgery, in Dublin ... [Lancaster Gazette]

(21 Sep 1820) School of Surgery, under the direction of the Court of Examiners of the Royal College of Surgeons of Ireland. The annual courses of lectures will commence at the Theatre of the College, St Stephen's Green ... The medical officers of the army and navy are privileged to attend the courses of lectures gratis. ... Dublin [Caledonian Mercury]

Dublin Richmond School of Medicine was founded by Richard Carmichael, Ephraim McDowell and Robert Adams in 1826.

The Company of the Apothecaries' Hall of Ireland opened a medical school in Cecilia Street, Dublin in 1837. In 1854 the building and its contents were sold. The following year it reopened as the Dublin Catholic University Medical School.

(1828) In Dublin there are two chartered medical schools: The complete School of Physic connected with the University, and with Sir Patrick Dunn's Foundation; and the School of Surgery, established by act of parliament, under the direction of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland. There are besides several Private Schools. [*The medical calendar* (1828) p125]

(1837) Private medical schools are numerous, and, combined with the public institutions, and with the extensive practice afforded by the city hospitals, have rendered Dublin a celebrated school of medicine, resorted to by students from every part of the British empire. ... The School of Anatomy, Medicine, and Surgery, in Park-street, Merrion-square, established in 1824 by a society of surgeons and physicians, contains a museum, a chymical laboratory, an office and reading-room, a lecture-room capable of accommodating 200 persons, a dissecting-room, and rooms for preparations. [Lewis (1837)]

In 1857 the Dublin School of Medicine was transferred to Dr. Steevens' Hospital and renamed Steevens' Hospital Medical College.

Y Appendices

Y.1623 Laws of the Lichfield Mercers' Company

This transcript is taken from "The Laws of the Mercers Company of Lichfield [1623]: Communicated and Transcribed from the Original Ms. by with an Introduction by the Rev. Professor Cunningham, D.D." in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 7 (December 1893) p109-25 [Reprinted as *Staffordshire Historical Monographs 1* Dragonby Press (2020) [NOTE: The location of the original manuscript is not stated.]

To all Christian people vnto whome this present writing shall come, John Allington and William Burnes the now Bayliffs of the Cittie of Lichfeild and one and twenty Bretheren of the Incorporacon of the said Cittie send greeting in our Lord God everlasting. Whereas it hath pleased our Sovereigne Lord King James, by his highnes letters pattents vnder the greate Seale of England bearing date at Westmonastre the fowre and twentieth daie of May in the one and twentieth yeare of his highnes raigne of England Fraunce and Ireland and of Scotland the six and fyftieth [24 May 1623], to graunt vnto the Bayliffs and the Cittizens of the said Cittie of Lichfeild and their Successors (emongest diuerse and sundrie other things) that the Bayliffs and the one and twentie Bretheren of the said Bayliffs of the aforsaid Cittie for the tyme being or the major parte of them should for ever from henceforth haue full power facultie and authoritie at their pleasures to make ordeyne constitute and appoint Lawes, Statutes, Constitucons, Orders and Ordinances in Writing vnder the Common Seale of the said Cittie for the good governing ordering and disposing of the said Cittie and of all and singuler the Cittizens, officers and ministers, Trades and Tradesmen, Fraternities and severall Companies or Societies of any Misterie or occupacon whatsoever within the aforsaid Cittie, the liberties and precinctes of the same; and how and in what manner and forme all and singuler the Cittizens, Artificers, Tradesmen, Fraternities and all and everie the severall Companies or Societies of any Misterie or occupacon within the said Cittie for the tyme being in their seuerall Trades, Misteries and occupacons shall vse, governe and behaue themselues within the said Cittie, the liberties and precinctes of the same And if any prson or prsons within the said Cittie, the precinctes and liberties of the same shall offend breake or neglecte any of the Lawes, Statutes, Orders and Ordinances soe to be made by vs the said Bayliffs and Bretheren of the said Cittie for the tyme being, that then wee shall and may punish everie prson which shall offend or breake any of the orders and ordinances which wee shall make by imprisonment, fyne or americiament of everie prson soe offending, as to vs the said Bayliffs and Bretheren for the tyme being shall seeme most fitt. And whereas alsoe by the said Letters Pattents it is graunted vnto the Bayliffs and Cittizens of the said Cittie of Lichfeild and their Successors that no prson or prsons, not being a freeman of the said Cittie, vnlesse he hath served seaven yeares apprenticeship within the said Cittie, shall sell or put to sale by retayle any wares or merchandizes within the said Cittie but victuals, vnless it be in tyme of Faies there, nor shall keepe any shopp, boothe or stall here to that purpose or vse any trade, misterie or manuall arte within the said Cittie, the liberties and precinctes of the same Cittie, without the speciall lycence of vs the Bayliffs and Bretheren of the Incorporacon of the said Cittie for the tyme being first had in writing vnder our Common Seal, vppon payne to pay vnto our vse such fyne or americiament as we shall taxe and assesse vppon him or them soe offending, as by the said letters pattents more plainlie it doth and may appeare And whereas also vppon good consideracon had and taken by vs the said Bayliffs and the one and twentie Bretheren of this Incorporacon it manifestlie appeareth that the estate of the Mercers, Grocers, Lynnen Drapers, Woollen Drapers, Silke men, Hosiers, Salters, Appothecaries and Haberdashers of small wares is mightilie decayed within the said Cittie, aswell for want of good orders and ordinances emongest them for the better governing and ordering of the said Trades and Tradesmen, as also for that many strangers and yong men which haue not served their apprenticeships within the said Cittie, and manie other which haue shifted abroad in the Countrie and haue not orderlie served any apprenticeship in any one place, haue hither repaired and sett vpp all or some of the aforsaid Trades, by meanes wherof the Freemen of the said Trades within the said Cittie are verie much hindred and impoverished; soe that they cann not mayntaine and haue such choise of wares and comodities as heretofore they haue had; which tendeth to the generall discredit of the whole Cittie For the reforming and amending of which abuses and inconveniencies, knowe yowe that wee the said Bayliffs and one and twentie Bretheren of the Incorporacon of this Cittie with one consent and agreement according to the power and authoritie given vnto vs by the said letters patents have devised, made, ordayne, and appoynted, and by these presents doe devise, make, ordayne, and appoynt all and singuler these Lawes Statutes Orders and Ordinances for the good and prosperous estate of the said Trades and Misteries and for the ordering ruling and governing of all and everie of the Tradesmen of the said Trades within the said Cittie of Lichfeild, the liberties and precincts of the same.

[S1] First, wee ordeyne and order that the Mercers, Grossers, Woollen Drapers, Lynnen Drapers, Silkmen, Hosiers, Salters, Appothecaries and Haberdashers of small Wares which now are Freemen of the said Trades within the said Cittie or hereafter shall be Freemen, and hath or shall have served seaven yeares apprenticeship vnto any Freeman of any of the said Trades within the said Cittie of Lichfeild, or shall compound for his

⁴¹⁸ T. Percy C. Kirkpatrick "The schools of medicine in Dublin in the nineteenth century" in *British Medical Journal* (1933) p109-12

Freedome in manner following, shall from henceforth be a Brotherhood or Companie called by the name of the Master, Wardens and Company of Mercers of the Cittie of Lichfeild.

[§2] Item, it is ordeyned and ordered that everie yeare, vppon the Wensdaie next after the feast of Saint James the Apostle, there shall be chosen and elected by the major part of the said Companie then present three good and sufficient men of the same Companie, the one of them to be the Master and the other two to be the Wardens of the said Companie for the yeare next following for the ruling and governing of the same Companie and for the redressing of all disorders therin and for the execuon of all ordinances and orders herin menconed And if any such Master and Wardens or any of therrj soe to be elected shall refuse to take vppon him his said office or place of Mastershipp or Wardenshipp, or shall after that he hath taken vppon him the said place be willfullie negligent and remisse in the due execuon of his said office (and he be therof soe judged) by the major part of the same Companie, vppon due examinacon therof, he shall forfeit to the vse of the said Companie for everie such refusall or willfull neglect and remissnes, 5*l* [*l*5]. And that everie one of the said Companie which hath not leaue of the Master of the said Companie to be absent, shall yearlie vppon the said daie of elecon attend in their gownes or cloakes vppon the Master and Wardens of the same Companie vntill the said elecon be fullie ended: And shall also vppon that day trewlie pay vnto the Wardens of the said Companie two shillings a peece in the name of their quartridge, to be employed at the discrecon of the said Master and Wardens then newlie elected vppon payne of everie one that shall faile or offend therin or in any part of this order shall forfeit to the vse of the said Companie for everie tyme that he soe faileth or offendeth tenn shillings.

[§3] Item, it is ordeyned and ordered that the two Wardens of the said Companie shall yearlie within seaven daies next after ther elecon into their said offices becom bound joyntlie or seuerallie by sufficient obligacon vnto three of the most Auncyentes of the said Companie, not being Master or Wardens, in the summe of fortie poundes of lawfull money of England with condicon for their trew accompt making to the next Master and Wardens vppon the day of their elecons or within tenn daies of all such money and other things as shall come to their handes during their yeare by reason of their Wardenshipp and for the payment of their arrerage, vppon paine that everie man soe fayling and refusing soe to enter into bond shall forfeit tenn poundes [*l*10] to the vse of the said Companie.

[§4] Item, it is ordeyned and ordered that the old Master and Wardens of the said Companie shall vppon the daie that a new Master and Wardens shall be elected or within tenn daies after not onelie make and deliuer vpp vnto the new Master and Wardens a trew and just accompt in writing vnder their handes of all such money, writings and other things whatsoever which by reason of their offices or places shall haue come to their handes, but alsoe shall then trewlie paie and deliver to the said new Wardens the Arrerags which shall be due vppon their accompt to the vse of the said Companie, vppon payne that everie one that shall offend or faile therin shall forfeit to the vse of the said Companie three poundes [*l*3]. But if it fall out and vppon their accompt it trewlie appeare that the said Companie shall be indebted to the Accomptants, then the Master and Wardens of the same Companie for that tyme being shall trewlie pay out of the common stocke of the said Companie vnto the said Accomptants their said debt, arreare and due vnto them by the said Companie vppon their accompt And if there be not stocke sufficient to satisfie the same, then such debt arreare to be raised by collection or contribucon emongest the rest of the said Companie.

[§5] Item, it is ordeyned and ordered that everie one of the said Companie shall conceale and keepe the Counsells of the said Companie (which are to be concealed and kept) and not disclose the same to any other not being of the said Companie: And that everie one of the said Companie shall, vppon reasonable warning given vnto him, appeare before the Master of the Companie for the tyme being at such place within the said Cittie where the said Master shall appoint for or about any business of the said Companie or for or about any prson or prsons of the same Companie: And also that everie prson of the said Companie shall duellie and respectuelie carrie and behaue himself towards the Master and Wardens of the said Companie for the tyme being without giving them or any of them evill or vnseemlie wordes or behaiours, vppon payne that everie one that shall doe any thing contrarie to this Ordinance and Order or any part therof shall for euerie such offence or neglect forfeit to the vse of the said Companie, six shillings eight pence [6/8]; and for not coming vppon warning, twelue pence [0/12].

[§6] Item, it is ordeyned and ordered that no prson that shall hereafter serue his Apprentishipp seaven yeares to any of the aforesaid trades in the said Cittie shalbe a Freeman of the said Companie or admitted to keepe open shopp or vse his trade in the said Cittie before he shall haue first binn approved by the Master and Wardens or the major part of the said Companie for his due service and apprentishipp; and vppon their approbacon shall take his Corporall Oath before the Bayliffs of this Cittie, or one of them, well and faithfullie to prforme and keepe all and everie of these ordinances and orders; and shall haue subscribed his name for the prformance of these Ordinances.

[§7] Item, it is ordeyned and ordered that no prson or prsons not having served an Apprentishipp in some of the trades aforesaid dulie and trulie to one of the said Companis in the said Cittie by the space of seaven yeares at the least shalbe made a Freeman of the said Companie without the consent of the Master and Wardens of the said Companie for the tyme being and of the major part of the other freemen of the said Companie; nor shall keepe open shopp nor vse the said trade of a Mercer nor any other of the said trades appertayning to the said Companie within the said Cittie, vppon payne that everie such prson that shall doe contrarie to this Ordinance and Order or any prte therof shall forfeit for everie moneth that he shall so offend to the vse of the said Companie, tenn poundes [*l*10]. And that no man of the said Companie shall colourable in or vnder his name suffer any prson not being free of the said Companie to vse the said Trades or any of them belonging to the said Companie within the said Cittie, vppon payne that everie prson soe offending shall forfeit to the vse of the said Company five poundes [*l*5] for everie moneth that he shall soe suffer or prmitt the same.

[§8] Item, it is ordeyned and ordered that it shall be lawful to and for the Master and Wardens of the said Companie for the tyme being or any two of them to enter from tyme to tyme into any howse or howses shopp or shoppes of any of the said offenders and ther to the vse of the said Companie to take and carrie away any goodes or chattells of everie such offender and the same to detayne and keepe to the vse of the said Companie vntill the forfeiture and forfeitures for which they or any of them shalbe so taken shalbe trewlie paid to the Master or Wardens of the said Companie for the tyme being to the vse of the said Company; or to sue or implead any of the said offenders in the Court of Record within this Cittie vppon an accon of Debt for any of the said forfeitures herin conteyned, at their discretion, or in any other Court of Record.

[§9] Item, it is ordeyned and ordered that if the partie offending whose goodes are so taken doe not redeeme them within tenn daies next after the taking therof by paying the forfeitures for which they were taken vnto the Wardens of the said Companie or one of them, that then and all tymes after it shalbe lawfull to the said Master or Wardens of the said Companie to cause the said goodes to be appriced in the Portmote Court of the said Cittie by the Burgesses of the Mannor of Lichfeild, according to the Custom there, for Pawnes; and if within fourteen daies after they be appriced the partie offending doe not satisfie vnto the said Wardens or to one of them the seuerall forfeitures for which the said goodes shalbe taken, that then and att all tymes after it shalbe lawfull for the Master and Wardens of the said Companie for the tyme being to sell the said goodes to any prson or prsons at that price they were appriced att, rendring to the prtie onelie the overplus if any be.

[§10] Item, it is ordeyned and ordered that the two Wardens for the tyme being shall yearlie before the Nativitie of Christ make diligent search and viewe thorough the whole Companie of all such weights and measures as are vsed by any of the said Companie, and the same to trie by the King's standard: And all such weights and measures as they shall find faultie to take and to carrie away and to bring them in before the Master and Companie at that next meeting. And if the said weightes or measures so brought before the said Master and Companie be judged by the Master and the greater parte of the Companie that shall be ther present to differ from the standard, or that any such prson or prsons shalbe found and adjudged to haue sold by any false or vntrue weight or measure, that then everie prson so offending with such false weightes or measures shall forfeit to the said Companie for the vse of the Poore of the said Cittie of Lichfeild for everie weight or measure that soe shalbe adjudged false, fortie shillings [*l*2]. And everie Warden neglecting and not prforming his dutie shall forfeit for everie such neglect tenn shillings [10/0] to the vse of the said Companie.

[§11] Item, it is ordeyned and ordered that no prson being free and belonging to this Companie shall receiue or take into his service any prson or prsons to be bound as an Apprentice and to be instructed in any of the said Misteries or Trades belonging to the said Companie vnder the tearme of nyne yeares fullie to be compleat, and everie Master that taketh an Apprentice shall cause the Indentures of the said Apprentice to be read and sealed in the presence of the Master or Wardens for the tyme being, and there to pay vnto the said Wardens for entering the same into their booke, twelve pence. And whosoever shall take or bynd any Apprentice contrarie to this ordinance shall forfeit and paie for every Apprentice so taken and bound, five poundes to the vse of the said Companie.

[§12] Item, it is ordeyned and ordered that what prson soever of this Companie which shall take a servant to be an Apprentice, he shall cause him to be bound and his Indentures to be sealed in manner and forme before menconed within one moneth or six weekes at the farthest after his coming vnto him, or else he shall forfeit and paie to the vse of the said Companie for everie moneth that he so keepeth him longer vnbound, contrarie to this Ordinance, six shillings eight pence [6/8].

[§13] Item, it is ordeyned and ordered that whatsoever prson being a Freeman of this Companie which shall take any Apprentice according to the Ordinance aforesaid, and shall suffer any such his Apprentice to depart from him vnder any pretence and collour whatsoever before he haue fullie accomplished the tearme of nyne yeares according to his Indentures, to the intent he should sett vpp or clayme any freedom to vse any of

the said Trades in this Cittie; everie such Master soe suffering his Apprentice to depart from him, without consent of the Master and Wardens of the said Companie for the tyme being, shall forfeit and paie for everie Apprentice which shall soe depart from him contrarie to this ordinance five poundes to the vse of the said Companie. ... And it is also ordeyned and ordered that if the Master of any Apprentice of this Companie happen to die before his Apprentice hath served out his yeares, then the said Apprentice or Apprentices shalbe putt over at the discrecon of the Master of the said Companie: And if it happen the Master to be dead, then at the discrecon of the Wardens to serue out the rest of the said tearme of his Indentures with some other freeman of the Companie, and not to be suffered to sett vpp or vse any of the said trades belonging to this Companie vntill he or they haue fullie served forth the whole tearme of his Indentures, or else shall agree and submitte himself to abide such Order and to pay such fyne as shalbe appointed and determined by the Master and Wardens or the greater prte of the said Companie. And that the executors or administrators of such Master as shall so die shall pay to such prson or prsons to whome such Apprentice or Apprentices shalbe so putt over so much of such summe or summes of money which such Master that soe dieth hath received or is to receive with such Apprentice as the said Master and Wardens or the greater parte of the said Companie shall appoint; and if such executors or administrators shall not within fourteen daies after such appointment made and notice therof given vnto them pay such summe or summes of money as shalbe so appointed, that then such executors or administrators shall loose double the value of such summe so appointed.

[§14] Item, it is ordeyned and ordered that no Milliner, Pedler, or Pettie Chapman or any other prson whatsoever which doth not now dwell and inhabitt within the said Cittie (except he hath served seaven yeares Apprentishipp dulie to some of this Companie within this Cittie) shall not at any tyme hereafter keepe any shopp booth or stall within this Cittie, but onelie in tyme of Faies heare, without the consent of the Master and Wardens or greater parte of the said Companie, nor shall sell or putt to sale within this Cittie (but onelie in tyme of Faies heare) any kind of Wares and Merchandizes belonging to any of the Trades of this Companie, vnless everie such forren Milliner, Pedler, or Pettie Chapman do well and trewlie pay vnto the Wardens of this Companie to the vse of the said Companie three pence [0/3] for everie markt day that he or shee shall keepe any such shopp booth or stall within this Cittie or offer to sell any such Wares or Merchandizes here the same to be paid vpon the opening of his or her Wares within everie of the Marketts here, vpon paine to forfeit to the vse of this Companie tenn shillings [10/0] for everie day that he or shee shall so offend. ... And that no Milliner, Pedler, or Pettie Chapman which now doth inhabitt or dwell within the said Cittie (except he hath served seaven yeares Apprentishipp dulie to som of this Companie within this Cittie) shall not at any tyme hereafter keepe any shopp booth or stall within this Cittie, but onlie in tyme of Faies here, without the Consent of the Master and Wardens or greater part of the said Companie, nor shall sell or putt to sale within this Cittie (but onelie in tyme of Faies heare) any kind of Wares and Merchandizes belonging to any of the Trades of this Companie vnless everie such Milliner, Pedler, or Pettie Chapman now inhabiting within the said Cittie doe well and trewlie pay vnto the Wardens of this Companie, to the vse of the said Companie, one penny [0/1] for everie Markt day that he or shee shall keepe any such shopp booth or Stall within this Cittie or offer to sell any such Wares or Merchandizes here the same to be paid vpon the opening of his or her Wares within everie of the Marketts here vpon paine to forfeit to the vse of this Companie tenn shillings [10/0] for everie day that he or shee shall so offend. ... And that no Milliner, Pedler, or Pettie Chapman, either forrenner or now inhabiting within this said Cittie, (except he hath dulie served seaven yeares Apprentishipp to some of this Companie within this Cittie) shall at any tyme hereafter sell or putt to sale at any tyme within this Cittie but onelie in tyme of Faies and Markt daies here, and there according to this ordinance, any kind of Wares and Merchandizes belonging to any of the Trades of this Companie without the consent of the Master and Wardens or the greater part of the said Companie, vpon paine to forfeit to the vse of this Companie fortie shillings [£2] for everie tyme that hee or shee shall so offend. ... Provided alwaies, that it shalbe lawfull to and for everie prson and prsons that shall make any huswiefes cloath either Lynnen or Woollen to sell the same here vpon the Markt Daies either by themselves their children or servants any thing in these ordinances conteyned to the contrarie therof notwithstanding.

[§15] Item, it is ordeyned and ordered that the Master and Wardens of the said Companie for the tyme being at any tyme hereafter shall and may enter into any warehowse, shopp, booth or stall either of freeman or forrenner within this Cittie to view and search and trie Fruit and all manner of Grosserie whether it be sweet wholsome and merchantable or not. And if the said Master and Wardens of the said Companie shall directlie know or vnderstand that either any freeman or forrenner att any tyme hereafter shall vtter or putt to sale any such fruit and grosserie within this Cittie which shalbe adjudged by the Master and Wardens or the major prte of the said Companie to be vnwholsom not sweet and merchantable; That then everie such prson that shall so offend contrarie to this ordinance shall forfeit for everie tyme he so offendeth to the vse of the poore inhabitants of this Cittie, twenty shillings [£1].

[§16] Item, it is ordeyned and ordered that everie prson and prsons that shalbe made a Freeman of this Companie according to the ordinances abouewritten shall, before the taking of his Oath for his freedom before the Bayliffs of this Cittie or the one of them, well and trewlie pay vnto the Wardens of the said Companie or to one of them to the vse of the said Companie twentie shillings [£1], to the Bayliffs of this Cittie for the tyme being, for giving the oathe, three shillings foure pence [3/4]; and to the Towne Clerke of this Cittie, for inrolling his name, three shillings foure pence [3/4]. Provided alwaies; And it is further ordained and ordered that George Dawes sonne of Thomas Dawes of this Cittie, deceased, Thomas Burnes now sonne of John Burnes of this Cittie vpholster, Mathew Bate the yonger of Derbie, Wollen Draper Walter Mathew now sonne of Humfrey Mathew of this Cittie, Tanner, Humfrey Jasson now sonne of Symon Jasson of this Cittie, gent., Robert Dilkes now sonne of James Dilkes of this Cittie, gent., Brute Thropp now sonn of William Thropp the elder of this Cittie, Mercer, Humfrey Dawes now sonn of John Dawes of this City, Tanner, William Smyth now sonne of Richard Smyth of this Cittie, Tanner, John Jotherell now sonne of John Jotherell of this City, Inholder, William Arrowsmyth now sonne of William Arrowsmyth of Wolluerhampton, John Perkins now sonn of Symon Perkins of this Cittie, Tanner, Thomas Burnes now sonne of William Burnes of this Cittie, vpholster, George Ashmoale now sonne of Thomas Ashmoale of this Cittie, Corvizer, John Holmes now sonne of George Holmes of this Cittie, Felmonger, and John Shorthose now sonne of Sampson Shorthose of this Cittie, Corvizer, nor any of them, shall not be hindred or debarred by any of these ordinances or orders; but that they and euerie of them shall and may sett vpp and vse any of the Trades of this Cittie or Companies within this Cittie, so as they haue served seaven yeares apprentishipp to the said Trade respectuelie for the same in any other Cittie or Towne, they and everie of them that wilbe free of this Companie taking his corporall oathe and paying twentie six shillings eight pence [£1/6/8] vpon his admittance to be free of this Companie in such manner and forme as is before in the last Ordinance contened; these ordinances or anything therein conteyned to the contrarie therof in any wise notwithstanding. In witnes wherof Wee the aforesaid Bayliffs and Bretheren of this Incorporacon haue for the better authoritie of all these Ordinances herunto putt the Common Seale of the aforesaid Cittie of Lichfeild; the seaventeenth day of Julie in the yeares of his said raigne of our said Sovereigne Lord James by the grace of god of England, Fraunce and Ireland, King, defender of the Faith &c. the one and twentieth, and of Scotland the six and fiftieth. [17 Jul 1623]

Y.1779 Medical registers of 1779, 1780 and 1783

The year 1779 saw an important innovation in the publication of *The medical register*. This was the first attempt to list all active medical practitioners in the whole of England, Wales and Scotland. The preface which is dated 13 Apr 1779 is reproduced in full below.

PREFACE, The editors cannot send the following work into the world, without acknowledging their many obligations to gentlemen of the medical profession, in different parts of Great Britain, who have favoured them with their assistance, and so kindly contributed to render it useful. It is, indeed, a very flattering circumstance to them that of upwards of one hundred practitioners, who have honoured them with their correspondence, only three letters have been received objecting to the propriety and utility of the plan. All the rest have contained useful information, and have in general expressed the fullest approbation of a work, which, to use the expressions of one of these obliging correspondnts, "promises to be both useful and interesting; useful, by facilitating medical correspondence, and interesting by gratifying professional curiosity" The chief objections made to the work have been grounded on the editors not making themselves known, and a fear lest some improper use might be made of the information sent to them. But the editors, who are influenced by no other motive than a desire of testifying their zeal and respect for their profession, have been anxiously careful, in the course of their work, to avoid giving cause of disgust to any individual, or to any body of men. Even in their catalogue of books the reader may observe, that although they have praised many, they have censured none. Their future publications will be conducted on the same liberal plan. With regard to the present register the editors beg leave to observe, that the variety of information they have been favoured with, from different counties at home, has made it necessary for them to defer several foreign lists till another year; it is for the same reason, likewise, that very few publications are mentioned after the names of authors in any of the foreign lists, excepting that of Holland. If this volume should be favourably received the medical register will be made an annual publication; and neither industry nor attention shall be wanting to render it every year more and more perfect. But as it is from the aid of others

that their work must derive its chief excellence, the editors flatter themselves, that the gentlemen who have already favoured them with communications, will continue their correspondence; and that others will be induced to follow their example. They are requested to transmit their letters to J. Murray, bookseller, at No 32, Fleet-street, on or before the 1st of November next. April 13, 1779.

On a page immediately prior to the main register is:

ADVERTISEMENT. The reader is requested to take notice that in the home lists, the names of the towns and villages, of which the editors have received accounts from their correspondents are printed in italics to distinguish them from those places of which their account is perhaps incomplete, and which are therefore printed in Roman letters. The Editors have not printed the name of any of the counties in italics, but they believe their lists of the following to be complete, viz. Cumberland, Derby, Dorset, Durham, Hereford, Leicester, Northumberland, Salop, Stafford, Warwick, Westmoreland, Worcester, Cardigan, Caermarthen, Glamorgan, and Pembroke. They likewise believe that only a very few places are omitted in the following, viz. Cornwall, Devon, Hants, Kent, Lancaster, Lincoln, Middlesex, Northampton, Nottingham, Oxford, Somerset, Suffolk, Sussex, and York. For the sake of brevity, this mark § is prefixed to the names of such practitioners as are Members of the Corporation of Surgeons of London,

The following year a second edition was published on 21 Aug with revision to 10 Jul 1780. The preface now extends to eight pages and contains the following observations:

PREFACE. The favourable reception The medical register for 1779 met with from the public, and the approbation with which it has been honoured by many respectable gentleman of the medical profession in different parts of the world are circumstances highly flattering to the editors. Amongst the great number of letters they have been favoured with ... "The medical register afforded me much entertainment; and under the head of utility I may add to what you have said, the assistance it will be of in detecting or preventing persons imposing themselves on the public as physicians, and giving the future medical history and biography of this country." ... Several correspondents have recommended it to the editor to give an index of names. This would no doubt be a useful addition to the work, but as it would greatly increase the bulk, and consequently the price of the volume, the editors have not ventured to engage in it at present. ... The county lists are much more correct than those published last year ... Such gentlemen as may be disposed to favour the editors with additions or corrections for this work are requested to transfer their letters, FRANKED, to Messr Fielding and Walker in Pater-Noster-Row ... some few copies of their prospectus were indeed sent without the postage paid, but this was by mistake ... [not dated]

A final edition was published in 1783 with a two page preface dated 3 Sep. This is here partly reproduced.

PREFACE. Although the sale of the two former editions of this register has been pretty extensive, yet the expence of collecting the materials, and of printing the work, was so considerable that a third edition would probably not have appeared if profit had been the object of the editors. After the publication of the second edition, in 1780, the making corrections and additions in an interleaved copy of the work served occasionally to employ a leisure moment. In the course of two years these alterations were become so numerous that the editors began to wish to see a more correct edition. They therefore made an offer to Mr Johnson, their present publisher, of their services in revising and superintending a new edition, on condition only that he should defray all the expences of the work. To this proposal Mr Johnson acceded and at the same time undertook to add an index of names. ... The person whom the publisher engaged in this task has executed it with a degree of accuracy which cannot fail to please the purchasers of the work. In the former editions the works of the medical writers were added to their names, these are omitted ... A catalogue of books ... is likewise now excluded .. partly because an account of all the new publications ... is to be found in the London Medical Journal ... The universities at which the different physicians mentioned in the work graduated and likewise the dates of their diplomas wherever these circumstances could be ascertained are added to their names in parentheses. ... London, Sept. 3 1783

The editors of the three volumes are nowhere named but reliable sources⁴¹⁹ state that the editor[sic] was in fact Samuel Foart Simmons of London M.D. 1750-1813:

Samuel Foart Simmons of London M.D. 1750-1813 [OB] [Munk©]

b 6 Mar 1749.⁵⁰ [OB] only son of Samuel Simmons of Sandwich, Kent town-clerk c1719-.... and his 1st wife Catherine Foart dau of Josiah Foart; m1 c1780 Susanna ----; 1 son; m2 London St Pancras: 24 Dec 1798 Susanna Lamb ----1820

M.D., Leyden, 25 Jun 1776 [Thesis *De rubeola*]; Ext.L.R.C.P., 1 Jul 1777; L.R.C.P., 30 Sep 1778

Foart was the son of a Kent anglican administrator. He was educated at a seminary in France before studying medicine at Edinburgh. In 1776 he graduated M.D. at Leyden with a thesis *De rubeola*. He was a sometime member of Paris Société Royale de Médecine, Edinburgh Royal Medical Society and other similar bodies. He was elected F.R.S in 1779 and a member of the Society of Antiquaries in 1791. Foart was Physician to Westminster General Dispensary and Bethlem Hospital and in 1804 was appointed Physician Extraordinary to George III and assisted during his mental illness. He himself was the proprietor of a private madhouse. Foart died, aged 63, on 23 Apr 1813 at London but was buried at his birthplace Sandwich.

Publications (a selection):

- [Samuel Foart Simmons (Ed.)] The medical register for the year 1779 London, printed for J. Murray, No 32, Fleet-Street (1779) [Preface dated 13 Apr 1779]
- [Samuel Foart Simmons (Ed.)] The medical register for the year 1780 London: printed for Fielding and Walker, No 10. Pater-Noster-Row (1780) [the last date in the deaths is 4 Jul 1780]] [The Salisbury and Winchester Journal of 21 Aug 1780 states it was published "this day" and "the whole is corrected to the 10th July 1780"]
- [Samuel Foart Simmons (Ed.)] The medical register for the year 1783 London. printed for Joseph Johnson No 72 St Paul's Church-Yard (1783) [Preface dated 3 Sep 1783]
- (Ed.) London Medical Journal (1791-1800)
- (Ed.) Medical Facts and Observations 1791-1800

Foart was then particularly well qualified to edit *The medical register* and would have had many useful connections throughout Britain and Europe.

That part of the register (1779) concerning the counties of England is headed "Medical Register. The Counties of England in alphabetical order with a list of the physicians, surgeons and apothecaries in each, and some account of the several county infirmaries and other medical charities." Throughout the three editions the medical

practitioners are divided between four major categories: "physicians", "surgeons and apothecaries", "surgeons" and "apothecaries".

Those men styled "physician" were easily classified as either members of a college of physicians or holders of university degrees.

Not so easily classified were the surgeons and apothecaries. In that period men styled themselves "surgeon" or "apothecary" or "surgeon and apothecary" more or less at will. However it might be stressed that the term "surgeon-apothecary" is not found in any of the directories and only came into common use after 1814 (see §Q1.10). In the county lists some headings state "SURGEONS and APOTHECARIES" perhaps thereby intimating that other non-physicians were "surgeons and/or apothecaries".

Staffordshire lists

Further below are transcriptions of the Staffordshire entries for 1779, 1780 and 1783. In the lists for 1780 and 1783 new or changed material is italicised and unused material is struck through. Each year the Tamworth entries are repeated under Warwickshire.⁴²⁰

Over the three years a total of 83 men are named⁴²¹. They are listed below arranged by place and with their status in the year 1781.

•Medical registers 1779-1783 - all men				•Medical registers 1779-1783 - all men			
Name	Place	1781		Name	Place	1781	
Thomas	Salt	Abbots Bromley	S	Thomas	Horton	Penkridge	x
John	Astbury	Barlaston	x	John	Tonks	Penkridge	x
Moses	Birch	Barton-under-Needwood	S	John	Webb	Penkridge	SA
John	Gardner	Betley	S	Joseph	Brittain	Rugeley	A
John	Greene	Brewood	SA	John	Fortescue	Rugeley	SA
William Perry	Hope	Brewood	SA	?????	Hall	Rugeley	A
Richard	Wright	Brewood	S	Richard	Adams	Stafford	S
?????	Bromley	Burslem	SA	Edward	Bage	Stafford	SA
Thomas	Burslem	Burton-upon-Trent	SA	Archibald	Campbell	Stafford	Ph
Rupert	Chawner	Burton-upon-Trent	S	William	Fieldhouse	Stafford	SA
Christopher	Ley	Burton-upon-Trent	x	Thomas	Fowler	Stafford	Ph
William	Ley	Burton-upon-Trent	x	Richard	Hughes	Stafford	SA
William	Newton	Burton-upon-Trent	S	John	Underhill	Stafford	Ph
John	Spender	Burton-upon-Trent	SA	John	Ward	Stafford	SA
Humphrey Perrott	Field	Cannock	SA	William	Wetwood	Stafford	S
John	Jefferys	Cheadle	M	Thomas	Wright	Stafford	S
George	Keates	Cheadle	x	Henry	DeWint	Stone	x
Howard	Moreton	Cheadle	SA	John	Hickin	Stone	SA
Nathaniel	Dean	Eccleshall	S	Thomas	Jefferys	Stone	S
William	Northen	Eccleshall	S	Thomas[?]	Jefferys	Stone	x
William	Fox	Kingswinford	x	John	Warrillow	Stone	S
John	Reeve	Kinver	SA	Gilbert	Bradgate	Tamworth	SA
Eli	Cope	Leek	S	William	Freer	Tamworth	S
George	Cope	Leek	SA	William	Gresley	Tamworth	M
Isaac	Cope	Leek	SA	Walter	Lyon	Tamworth	SA
Fielding Best	Fynney	Leek	SA	James	Oldershaw	Tamworth	S
William	Bailye	Lichfield	SA	Thomas	Spencer	Tutbury	S
Robert	Beaumont	Lichfield	SA	Francis	Goodall	Uttoxeter	S
William	Cotton	Lichfield	SA	John	Harrison	Uttoxeter	A
Erasmus	Darwin	Lichfield	Ph	John Bailly	Madely	Uttoxeter	S
Richard	Greene	Lichfield	SA	Richard	Riddlesden	Uttoxeter	S
Thomas	Hartwell	Lichfield	S	John	Smith	Uttoxeter	SA
?????	Hector	Lichfield	SA	John	Smith	Walsall	SA
Trevor	Jones	Lichfield	Ph	Thomas	Bishop	Wolverhampton	SA
Thomas	Salt	Lichfield	SA	Joseph	Jones	Wolverhampton	S
William Phillips	Hadley	Newborough	A	Robert	Morrison	Wolverhampton	Ph
Bagnall	Beech	Newcastle	S	Joseph	Palmer	Wolverhampton	S
James	Bent	Newcastle	SA	Gilbert	Stuart	Wolverhampton	x
Bernard	Coombe	Newcastle	S	Walter	Stubbs	Wolverhampton	SA
Blest	Hadderton	Newcastle	SA	Thomas	White	Wolverhampton	SA
Francis	Stanier	Newcastle	S	?????	Wright	Wolverhampton	x
				Edward	Lightwood	Yoxall	S

One man "Mr Teates" appears only in 1780 and is thought to be Georges Keates, a surgeon, who died in 1774.

Nine of these men were *styled* physicians⁴²². One man "Mr Dervent of Hanby Green" [Henry De Wint of Hanley] was a physician but was incorrectly styled surgeon and apothecary. There were then 10 physicians and 73 other medics. Two men, William Gresley and John Jefferys were flagged as M.C.S. One man Richard Hughes is specifically named as an apothecary.

420 Tamworth lay in both counties but in this work is treated as if wholly in Staffordshire. Of the six men listed in Staffordshire Oldershaw alone is not listed under Warwickshire. Gresley is marked as M.C.S. only under Warwickshire.

421 However no other record of four of these men has been found. These were: (1783) Dr Wright of Wolverhampton physician who might be confused with Thomas White of Wolverhampton surgeon and apothecary; (1783) Mr Bromley of Cobridge (in Burslem); (1779-1783) Mr Hall of Rugeley and (1779-1783) Mr Hector of Lichfield.

422 John Underhill M.D. is in error called Thomas Underhill.

In 1779 at Stafford, Abbots Bromley, Lichfield, Tutbury and Wolverhampton the heading "SURGEONS and APOTHECARIES" sometimes appears. Of the 21 men in these places 10 were *usually* styled "surgeon" and 11 "surgeon and apothecary" and of the other 37 men living elsewhere 13 were *usually* styled "surgeon", 20 "surgeon and apothecary" and 4 "apothecary". These figures go only to show that, in the case of non-physicians, the medical registers cannot be taken as evidence for a man's actual practice.

The first list of 1779 lists 65 men. In the following year 1780 the only two changes are the replacement of Gilbert Stuart who died in 1780 with Robert Morrison and the addition of "Mr Teates" (see above) - so 66 men. By 1783 there are 78 active men - an increase of 12. That year John Greene's move from Cannock to Brewood is noticed.

•Medical registers 1779-1783 - count			
Style	1779	1780	1783
Physician	5	5	7
M.C.S.	2	2	2
"Surgeon and Apothecary"	21	19	18
"Surgeon and/or Apothecary"	37	40	50
Apothecary	0	0	1
Surgeon	0	0	0
Surgeon and Apothecary	0	0	0
Total	65	66	78
Not listed	18	17	5
<i>Total</i>	<i>83</i>	<i>83</i>	<i>83</i>

Omitted Men

The registers appear to be quite accurate in their descriptions of the men listed but some men were omitted. In Staffordshire, in the year 1781, of the 99 men who were likely qualified to practice 72 are listed in at least one of the medical directories. Of the remaining 27 - three men are uncertain, five were probably retired and three were only just time served. These eleven men may then be omitted for a good reason. However 16 men seem to have been completely overlooked. Five men were practising in the south of the county at places not mentioned in the directory - at Bilston (3), at Wednesbury (1) and at West Bromwich (1). It could be said that the registers ought to have recorded 88 men, did record 72 men (82%) and omitted 16 men (18%).

•Medical registers 1779-1783 - men omitted				
Name		Place	Type	Comment
William	Bevins	Abbots Bromley	A	
Norris	Best	Bilston	S	
John	Dickinson	Bilston	SA	
Steward	Lowe	Bilston	SA	
Samuel	Proud	Bilston	S	? time served in 1781
Robert	Greene	Brewood	A	? retired
Thomas Pendrill	Rock	Brewood	S	
Rupert	Gettliffe	Cheadle	SA	? retired
Carey	Butt	Lichfield	A	? retired
William	Rowley	Lichfield	SA	
Richard	Brittain	Newcastle	SA	
Thomas	Coombe	Newcastle	S	? retired
Richard	Rivers	Newcastle	SA	
James	Brittain	Rugeley	S	? time served in 1781
Benjamin	Wetwood	Stafford	A	? retired
?????	Harris	Tamworth	S	uncertain
John	Bridgen	Uttoxeter	S	
James	Adams	Walsall	S	
Thomas	Foxall	Walsall	S	
Jonathan	Newcomb	Walsall	SA	
Edward	Taylor	Wednesbury	S	
Thomas	Geast	West Bromwich	SA	uncertain
Edward	Kenwick	West Bromwich	S	
John Turnpenny	Altree	Wolverhampton	S	
William	Hassell	Wolverhampton	S	
Robert	Prettie	Wolverhampton	A	uncertain
Samuel	Stubbs	Wolverhampton	S	? time served in 1780

The medical register for the year 1779

Stafford: An INFIRMARY was erected here a few years ago, for which the County is greatly indebted to the active humanity of Mr Eld of Seighford. It is a handsome brick building capable of containing about one hundred patients and (though erected and supported by the benefactions and subscriptions of the Gentlemen of this County) is open to objects of charity from any part of the kingdom provided they come recommended by a subscriber. Every subscriber may recommend one in-patient annually for every guinea subscribed, and one for every ten guineas given as a benefaction. No person can have more than one in-patient at a time but out-patients may be sent without limitation. Subscribers of two guineas annually and benefactors of ten guineas are trustees. It is attended gratis by the Physicians of the town but the two Surgeons have an annual salary of £30 each.

PHYSICIANS

Archibald Campbell, M.D. (Edinburgh) "Dissert. Inaug. de Vermibus" 8vo Edin. 1765

Thomas Underhill, M.B. (Louvain) "Dissert. Inaug. de Pleuritide" 4to

Thomas Fowler, M.D. (Edinburgh) "Dissert. Inaug. de Methodo medendi Variolam praecipue auxilio Mercurii" 8vo, Edin. 1778 "The History of two Cases, from the poisonous Effects of the Seeds of The Thorn Apple" Med. Comm. vol. V

SURGEONS and APOTHECARIES

Messrs Thomas Wright and Richard Adams

Messrs John Ward and William Fieldhouse

Mr William Wetwood

- Mr Adams and Mr Ward are Surgeons to the Infirmary

Abbots Bromley: SURGEON and APOTHECARY Mr Thomas Salte

Barton Underwood: Mr Birch

Brewood: Mr Richard Wright, Mr John Hope

Burton upon Trent: Mr Spinder, Mr Newton, Messrs Lee and Son

Cannock: Mr Green, Mr William Field

Cheadle: Mr Howard Mouton, §Mr John Jefferys

Eccleshall: Mr William Northen, Mr Nathaniel Dean

Leek: Messrs Cope and Son, Mr Fielding Best Fynney "A Case of imperforate Hymen" Med. Comm. vol III "An Account of the Extirpation of a polypous Excrescence from the Os Uteri" *ibid.* vol iv "The Case of Ann Davenport" Phil. Trans. vol LXVII (See our Catalogue of Books)

Lichfield:

PHYSICIAN

Erasmus Darwin, M.D. (Cambridge) F.R.S. Graduated about twenty years ago, and in his Thesis defended the doctrine that the movement of the heart and arteries are immediately produced by the stimulus of the blood.

- "An Attempt to confute the Opinion of Henry Eals concerning the Ascent of Vapour" Phil. Trans. vol. L. for 1758.

- "An Account of the Cure of a periodical Haemoptoe by keeping the patient awake" *Ibid.*

- "Experiments on animal Fluids in the exhausted Receiver" *Ibid.* vol. LXIV part II

Dr Darwin is now planting an extensive botanic garden.

SURGEONS and APOTHECARIES

Mr William Baylie, Mr William Cotton

Mr Richard Green (Mr Green has a Museum well worthy the inspection of the curious), Mr Hartwell

Mr Thomas Salt, Mr Hector

Mr Beaumont

Newcastle under Line:

Mr James Bent "An Account of a Woman enjoying the Use of her right arm after the head of the Os Humeri was cut away" Phil. Trans. vol. LXIV part II.

Mr Beech, in partnership with Mr Bent

Mr Stainer, Mr Hadderton

Newberry: Mr Hadley

Penkridge: Mr Thomas Horton, Mr John Webb

Rudgeley: Messrs Britain and Hall, Mr Fortescue

Stone: Mr John Hickin, Mr Thomas Jefferies

Tamworth: Mr J. Oldershaw, Messrs Lyon and Bates, Mr Bradgate, Mr William Greasley, Mr Freer

[Warwickshire: Messrs Walter Lyon and Edward Bage, Mr William Freer, §Mr William Gresley, Mr Gilbert Bradgate]

Tutbury: SURGEONS and APOTHECARIES Mr Spencer, Mr Chawner

Uttoxeter: Mr Smith, Mr Bayley Madeley, Mr Harrison

Walsall: Mr Smith

Wolverhampton:

PHYSICIAN

Gilbert Stuart M.D. (Edinburgh) "Dissert. Inaug. de Morbis et Mutationibus ex Aetate orienda" 8vo Edin 1751

SURGEONS and APOTHECARIES

Mr Jones, Mr White, Mr Stubbs, Mr Palmer, Mr Riddleston, Mr Bishop

Yoxall: Mr Lightwood

The medical register for the year 1780

Stafford: *The COUNTY INFIRMARY AT STAFFORD is a handsome brick building capable of containing one hundred patients. It is attended gratis by the Physicians of the town but the two surgeons have an annual salary of £30 each.*

PHYSICIANS

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Thomas Fowler, M.D. (Edinburgh) "Dissert. Inaug. de Methodo medendi Variolam praecipue auxilio Mercurii" 8vo, Edin. 1778 ; - "The History of two Cases, from the poisonous Effects of the Seeds of The Thorn Apple" Med. Comm. vol. V; - "A Case of the morbid Effects of Lightning successfully treated" *ibid* vol. VI; "A Case of Rheumatism cured by the Volatile Elixir of Guaiacum" *ibid* Vol VII

SURGEONS and APOTHECARIES

Messrs Thomas Wright and Richard Adams (Surgeon to the Infirmary)

Messrs John Ward (Surgeon to the Infirmary) and William Fieldhouse

Mr William Wetwood

Abbots Bromley: SURGEON and APOTHECARY Mr Thomas Salte

Barton Underwood: Mr Birch

Brewood: Mr Richard Wright, Mr John Hope

Burton upon Trent: Mr Spinder, Mr Newton, Messrs Lee and Son

Cannock: Mr Green, Mr William Field

Cheadle: Mr Howard Mouton, §Mr John Jefferys, *Mr Teates*

Eccleshall: Mr William Northen, Mr Nathaniel Dean

Leek: Messrs Cope and Son, Mr Fielding Best Fynney "A Case of imperforate Hymen" Med. Comm. vol III "An Account of the Extirpation of a polypous Excrescence from the Os Uteri" *ibid*. vol iv "The Case of Ann Davenport" Phil. Trans. vol LXVII (See our Catalogue of Books)

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Erasmus Darwin, M.D. (Cambridge) F.R.S. Graduated in 1759, and in his Thesis defended the doctrine that the movement of the heart and arteries are immediately produced by the stimulus of the blood.

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Trans. vol. L. for 1758.

- "An Account of the Cure of a periodical Haemoptoe by keeping the patient awake" *Ibid*.

- "Experiments on animal Fluids in the exhausted Receiver" *Ibid*. vol. LXIV part II

Dr Darwin has an extensive botanic garden.

footnote: ... of the following was written by his son ... Charles Darwin "Experiments establishing a criterion between Mucaginous and Purulent Matter] and An account of the retrograde motion [of the Absorbent Vessels of animal bodies] in some diseases 8vo Lichfield 1780

SURGEONS and APOTHECARIES

Mr William Baylie, Mr William Cotton

Mr Richard Green (~~Mr Green has a Museum well worthy the inspection of the curious~~), Mr Hartwell

Mr Thomas Salt, Mr Hector

Mr Beaumont

Newcastle under Line:

Mr James Bent "An Account of a Woman enjoying the Use of her right arm after the head of the Os Humeri was cut away" Phil. Trans. vol. LXIV part II.

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Mr Stainer, Mr Hadderton

Newberry: Mr Hadley

Penkridge: Mr Thomas Horton, Mr John Webb

Rudgeley: Messrs Britain and Hall, Mr Fortescue

Stone: Mr John Hickin, Mr Thomas Jefferies

Tamworth: Mr J. Oldershaw, Messrs Lyon and Bates, Mr Bradgate, Mr William Greasley, Mr Freer

[Warwickshire: Messrs Walter Lyon and Edward Bage, Mr William Freer, §Mr William Gresley, Mr Gilbert Bradgate]

Tutbury: SURGEONS and APOTHECARIES Mr Spencer, Mr Chawner

Uttoxeter: Mr Smith, Mr Bayley Madeley, Mr Harrison

Walsall: Mr Smith

Wolverhampton:

PHYSICIAN Gilbert Stuart M.D. (Edinburgh) "Dissert. Inaug. de Morbis et Mutationibus ex Aetate orienda" 8vo Edin 1751

Dr Morrison (succeeds the late Dr Gilbert Stuart)

SURGEONS and APOTHECARIES

Mr Jones, Mr White, Mr Stubbs, Mr Palmer, Mr Riddleston, Mr Bishop

Yoxall: Mr Lightwood

The medical register for the year 1783

Stafford: *The COUNTY INFIRMARY AT STAFFORD is a handsome brick building capable of containing eighty patients. It is attended gratis by two of the Physicians of the town but the two surgeons have an annual salary of £30 each. The Apothecary (Mr. R. Hughes) resides in the house.*

PHYSICIANS

Archibald Campbell, M.D. (Edin., 1765) formerly Physician to the Infirmary

Thomas Underhill, M.B. (Louvain) (Physician to the Infirmary)

Thomas Fowler, M.D. (Edin. 1778) (Physician to the Infirmary)

SURGEONS and APOTHECARIES

Messrs Thomas Wright and Richard Adams (Surgeon to the Infirmary)

Messrs John Ward (Surgeon to the Infirmary) and William Fieldhouse

Mr William Wetwood

Abbots Bromley: ~~SURGEON and APOTHECARY~~ Mr Thomas Salte

Barton Underwood: Mr Birch

Betley: Mr Gardener

Brewood: Mr Richard Wright, Mr John Hope, *Mr Green (removed hither from Cannock)*

Burton upon Trent: Mr Spinder, Mr Newton, Messrs Lee and Son, *Mr Burslem*

Cannock: ~~Mr Green,~~ Mr William Field

Cheadle: Mr Howard Moreton, §Mr John Jefferys, ~~Mr Teates~~

Cobridge: *Mr Bromley*

Eccleshall: Mr William Northen, Mr Nathaniel Dean

Hanby Green: *Mr Dervent*

Kinver: *Mr Reeve*

King-Swinford: *Mr Fox*

Lane-End: *Mr Cope*

Leek: Messrs Cope and Son, *Mr Fielding-Best Fynney*

Lichfield:

PHYSICIAN

~~[Erasmus Darwin etc]~~

Trevor Jones, (M.D., (Edin. 1779)

SURGEONS and APOTHECARIES

Mr William Baylie, Mr William Cotton

Mr Richard Green, Mr Hartwell

Mr Thomas Salt, Mr Hector

Mr Beaumont

[footnote] A BOTANICAL SOCIETY has lately been instituted at Litchfield to which the public are indebted for an excellent translation of the vegetable system of Linnaeus.

Newcastle under Line:

PHYSICIAN *John Astbury, M.D. (Edin. 1781)*

SURGEONS and APOTHECARIES

Mr James Bent, Mr Beech, ~~in partnership with Mr Bent.~~ Mr Stainer, Mr Hadderton, *Mr Coombe*

Newberry: Mr Hadley

Penkridge: ~~Mr Thomas Horton,~~ Mr John Webb, *Mr Tonks*

Rudgeley: Messrs Britain and Hall, Mr Fortescue

Stone: Mr John Hickin, ~~Thomas Jefferys~~ Messrs Jefferys, *Mr J. Warrillow*

Tamworth: Mr J. Oldershaw, Messrs Lyon and Bates, Mr Bradgate, Mr William Greasley, Mr Freer

[Warwickshire: Messrs Walter Lyon and Edward Bage, Mr William Freer, §Mr William Gresley, Mr Gilbert Bradgate]

Tutbury: Mr Spencer, Mr Chawner

Uttoxeter: Mr Smith, Mr Bayley Madeley, ~~Mr Harrison~~ *Mr Francis Goodall*

Walsall: Mr Smith

Wolverhampton:

PHYSICIANS: Dr Morrison (~~succeeds the late Dr Gilbert Stuart~~), *Dr Wright*

SURGEONS and APOTHECARIES

Mr Jones, Mr White, Mr Stubbs, Mr Palmer, Mr Riddleston, Mr Bishop

Yoxall: Mr Lightwood

Y.1803 Influenza

In May 1803 the Medical Society of London sent out a questionnaire in the form of a circular letter to their corresponding members regarding a current widespread epidemic of influenza. Of the 57 replies, three were from Staffordshire medics: Gregory Hickman of Burslem, Staffs surgeon 1766-1816, Trevor Jones of Litchfield, Staffs M.D. ?1752-1832 and John Whateley of Burton-upon-Trent, Staffs surgeon & apothecary ?1769-1808.

The questionnaire and the replies were printed in *Memoirs of the Medical Society of London ... 6* (1805) and appear below.

The following circular Letter having been transmitted to the Corresponding Members of the Medical Society, the Answers to the Queries are now published without Alteration or Comment. SIR, London, May 1803 The Medical Society of London, of which you are a Corresponding Member, convinced that every medical practitioner will consider the late Epidemical Disorder, commonly termed the Influenza, as an object peculiarly worthy of investigation, and wishing to collect for publication a complete history of the disease, earnestly request your Answer to all or any of the subjoined Questions.

(1) Has any Epidemical Disorder appeared in your neighbourhood during the present spring, which differed from the usual diseases of the season? (2) On what day did it first shew itself? (3) When was it at its greatest height? (4) When did it disappear? (5) What were its symptoms, particularly the most urgent? (6) Did they vary much in different individuals? Were they similar in members of the same family, in those of equal age, of similar constitutions, and of different sexes? (7) Has it been fatal when apparently unconnected with other diseases? (8) What proportion of fatality occurred? (9) What ages, classes, or constitutions, were most obnoxious to the disease, and felt it most severely or fatally? (10) Was the proportion of males or females greatest? (11) What did you find the best mode of treatment? (12) What effects followed bleeding, general or local, emetics, purgatives, opiates, sudorifics, blisters, or other remedies and in what circumstances were they employed? (13) What was the proper diet? (14) What temperature was the most beneficial? (15) What was the usual mode of its termination? (16) Were relapses frequent? (17) Were the symptoms of relapses similar to the original attack, and were they more or less severe? (18) Did convalescents recover speedily? (19) In what state were they left by the disease? (20) What was the best treatment during convalescence? (21) What were the concomitant disorders which appeared to combine with the epidemic, and were they severe and fatal? (22) Has the present influenza appeared to you to be contagious or not, and on what facts did you ground your opinion? (23) In manufactories, schools, public institutions, and other collections of people, how did it appear, and what was its progress? (24) Were a number of persons frequently affected in the same house, at the same period, or in succession and at what intervals? (25) What are the sites, and other local circumstances of the places in which you have made your observations? (26) To what winds are they particularly exposed? (27) What places in your neighbourhood were affected with the disease previous to that in which you reside, and what immediately afterwards and has the progress of the Epidemic in these cases appeared to be in any degree regulated by intercourse? (28) What meteorological remarks have you made previously to the rise, and during, the progress and decline of the epidemic? (29) Have you remarked whether the progress of the disease has in any degree followed the direction of the wind and if this has appeared to be the case, can any deviations from such uniformity of progress be accounted for from any remarkable intercourse between different places? (30) Did you see any of the former influenzas, and what are the analogies of the present with them? (31) Previously to, or during the prevalence of the disease, did you notice any epizootic complaint? (32) What other remarks have you made on this subject, which are not included under the present Queries?

The Society being desirous to ascertain whether the Epidemic be contagious or not, and to collect such meteorological observations as will throw light on the natural, as well as the medical history of the disease, particularly request your attention to these objects. They do not mean to limit the answers of their correspondents to their own observations, but will receive with pleasure any information relating to the above questions, which their corresponding members may have procured, and which they conceive authentic and valuable. Their Lordships the Post-master General, on an application made to them, considering it as a matter interesting to the community, and in the hope of the information obtained proving eventually of benefit to the human race, have, with the utmost liberality, consented, that the correspondence upon the specified objects of the foregoing queries shall be carried on free of expence, provided that the replies to them be sent addressed to the Medical Society of London, in letters not sealed, under cover to Francis Freeling Esq. London. It follows of necessity that the correspondence to be so franked, must be strictly confined to the subject of the queries. Signed by order of the Society, Secretary. Medical Society House, Bolt Court, Fleet Street.

From **Mr. Gregory Hickman, Burslem**, Staffordshire. July 3, 1803. (1) A catarrhal fever, with inflammation of the throat, trachea, and bronchia. (2) About the beginning of March 1803 (3) April 1803 (4) Beginning of May — same year. (5) All the symptoms of catarrh; with often, much dyspnoea, and sometimes the kind of wheezing observable in the croup, with sore throat; and often pain in the bowels, with constipation. (6) The symptoms pretty uniform, but varying in degree. (7) and (8) Very seldom, (9) Mostly grown up young people. (10) Rather most females. (11) Early emetics, blisters, and purges with calomel and rhubarb, in pretty full doses, generally proved successful. (12) I never saw a case where the pulse would admit the use of the lancet; and blisters I preferred to topical bleeding. (13) Barley water, milk and water, linseed tea; with imperial for common drink. (14) A moderate temperature was found best. (15) Sometimes an expectoration, but generally a gradual subsidence of the several symptoms, without any regular crisis. (16) They did sometimes happen. (17) The catarrhal symptoms much less distinct; disease resembled an attack of flow continued fever; and even, in a few instances, resembling typhus, (18) Where the disease was taken early, a single emetic, and subsequent dose of calomel and rhubarb, was often found sufficient for a cure; but on the contrary, the disease was often violent, and then the recovery extremely slow. (19) A state of debility, more than commensurate to the violence, or duration of the disease. (20) Nutritious diet, a little wine or porter, and when the tongue is become perfectly clear and moist yelow Peruvian bark. (21) Almost every occasional disorder, did more or less, assume the character of this, as is usual of other epidemics. (22) Not contagious; those exposed to its effluvia often escaped; while those apparently insulated, were often affected. (23) This place is the centre of that highly peopled district, the Staffordshire potteries, and I did not observe the disease to run through particular manufactories. (24) Sometimes two together; at others, at intervals, without any remarkable regularity of interval. (25) Remarkably high ground, diversified with hill and dale, but very little wood. Air strongly impregnated with sulphuric, and sometimes, marine acids, from the vast quantity of burning fuel (The coal is loaded with pyrites); and the use of common salt in some branches of manufacture. (26) W.N.W. nine months in the year. (27) The progress seemed to be from S.E. by S. to the opposite points: I did not remark that it arose from intercourse. (28) During last winter and spring, less snow, or fall of any kind happened, than has been known of many years. (29) During the existence of the disease, the wind varied between N. E. and W., but was never long stationary. (30) I very imperfectly remember the epidemic of 1782 (31) During the continuance of the disease, I do not recollect any; but the previous year many horses died, of what the farriers termed the mad staggers; but, which upon dissection, appeared to be occasioned by an inflammation of the lungs, and substance of the heart, proving fatal in 36 hours; and within these few weeks, this has reappeared; but less frequent, and infinitely milder. (32) This disease seems to have borne a strong analogy to that described by Sydenham as prevailing in 1675, which he called "epidemic cough," &c. It is remarkable, that numbers who have been afflicted with the late Influenza, have suffered from a very obstinate inflammation of the tarsi of the eyelids, which ultimately extends to the tunica conjunctiva, and then becomes very painful. Upon the whole, however, this country has suffered very little; the disease has almost always readily yielded to mild emetics, mercurial purges, and blisters.

From **Mr. Trevor Jones, Litchfield**, January 26, 1804. (1) Early last spring an epidemical catarrh, commonly called the Influenza, spread all over the midland counties; (2) And appeared in this neighbourhood about the tenth of March. (3) Was at its greatest height about the beginning of April, and (4) Disappeared about the end of that month, or beginning of May. (5) The symptoms that usually attended were chilliness, lassitude, weariness, and aking of the extremities; sneezing, great soreness and pain under the sternum, which were much aggravated by coughing, and a frequent pulse. (6) The symptoms varied little in either sex, but from the peculiar idiosyncrasy of the individual, from advanced age, or from previous debility. (7) In no instance did it prove fatal when unconnected with other diseases; (8) But in advanced age it sometimes terminated in peripneumonia notha, and death. (9) It prevailed so generally that no particular age, or class was exempted; but those previously disposed to catarrhal or pneumonic affections, had it most severely. (10) It did not appear to affect one sex more than the other. (11) The treatment I found most beneficial was, in the early stage of the disease, to give small doses of calomel and rhubarb every night, neutral salts,

saline draughts periodically, and constant dilution with tepid barley water, with gum arabic dissolved in it, To relieve dyspnoea, and promote expectoration in the second stage, or when the soreness and pain under the sternum, &c. were abated, I ordered lac amrooniacum, and tinctura scillae. When a copious expectoration, in a more advanced period, and incessant cough prevailed, tincture of digitalis, and tincture of opium hardly ever failed in removing them. ... (12) I had seldom occasion to advise bleeding, emetics, or blistering, and only in those subject to pneumonic inflammation. (13) While the oppressive symptoms in the beginning continued, an aqueous diet answered best, which was gradually changed, according to their abatement; and frequently a full diet, with wine, was allowed, with manifest benefit. (14) The temperature of the chamber was advised to be about 60° of Fahrenheit's thermometer. (15) The termination of the disease was generally attended with a copious puriform expectoration. (16) Some persons had frequent relapses, (17) But not attended with pain, fever, &c. as at the first attack; (18) Hence it will appear that convalescents did not always recover speedily, though they did in general. (19) Sometimes much languor and debility remained. (20) Convalescence was promoted by bark and myrrh, by opium, by digitalis, by air, and exercise. (21) Some individuals had diarrhæa soon after they were attacked with Influenza. I did not perceive any other concomitant disorder, and it was never severe. (22) I could not ascertain that it was contagious. (23) Having no large "collections" of people, I can give no answer to this question. (24) Two, three, and more persons in the fame house were affected, at or very nearly the same time. In other instances several days elapsed between the seizures. (25) Litchfield stands mostly in a valley, through which a brook runs; is built of brick upon a friable red rock; is subject to no particular disease, and is esteemed remarkably healthy. Upon a strict inquiry I made several years ago, it appeared, upon an average of ten years, that the deaths were one in forty-six. The water is excellent, conveyed from the neighbouring hills, by leaden pipes. (26) The south-west, and the north-east winds have most effect, by pasting along the valley. (27) I could not learn that there was much difference in the time of the Influenza appearing in Litchfield, and the neighbouring towns; but I believe that it began at Birmingham, S.S.W. of Litchfield first, and at Stafford after it had appeared in Litchfield. (28) I made no meteorological remarks, but I was informed that near the western coast, fresh meat became tainted in much less time, during the prevalence of the Influenza, than usual. (29) I cannot discover that the progress of the disease followed the direction of the wind (31) No particular complaint was observed, previous to, or during the time the disease prevailed.

From **Mr. John Whately, Burton-on-Trent**, August, 10, 1803. There has appeared no disease in this town, or its vicinity, the last spring, that materially differed from the disorders usually prevalent at that season. The report of a contagious catarrh, or Influenza, existing in various parts of the kingdom, called forth my greatest attention; and about the end of April, I met with a few instances of catarrh, in which the febrile symptoms were for a day or two severe, especially the pain of the head and back, but there was not the least shadow of possibility for my supposing them to arise from human contagion; and the whole was probably merely accidental. The cases of pneumonia that came under my treatment, were perhaps fewer than usual, but I thought bleeding in them of less service, and my patients recovered slowly. For many months the scarlatina had been pretty prevalent with us, in the mildest form, and attacking chiefly female children: the instances of severe disease that occurred to me could all be traced to contagion received from places where it was more violent and fatal. The whooping cough and measles were both common the last spring, but uniformly favourable. Burton on Trent has a low but dry situation. The river runs rapidly in a northwardly direction upon a gravel bottom; by actual admeasurement it is only 90 feet above high water mark, and there is no stagnant water. On the east and west are high lands, but where the situation was more elevated, I have met with no greater tendency to complaints. From the geological form of the country, the prevailing winds will naturally seem from the northward.

Y.1806 Lawsuit - Philip Parry Price Myddelton versus Francis Hughes, slander

Myddelton versus Hughes: Action for slander by Philip Parry Price Myddelton of Stafford "physician" e1758-1830 against Francis Hughes of Stafford surgeon 1769-1837⁴²³

COURT OF COMMON PLEAS: MYDDELTON v. HUGHES Sittings before Chief Justice Sir James Mansfield, and a special jury of merchants, in Guildhall, London, on Tuesday the 22d of December, 1806. This was an action for slander on the plaintiff's character, for which he estimated his damages at £1,000.

Mr Clifford [for the defendant] opened the pleadings, and stated, that the declaration charged the defendant, Francis Hughes, with having said of the plaintiff, Philip Parry Price Middelton, these words: "*I was at Mr. Sparrow's, yesterday, and I heard something again, against Dr. Myddelton, for Mr. Sparrow told me he had seen a hand-bill, that Dr. Myddelton had gone away from his lodgings, and taken away part of the plate.*"

Mr Serjeant Best [for the plaintiff]: I am also in this case, of counsel for the plaintiff. ... Gentlemen, the plaintiff is a regular doctor of physic, licensed to practice that art in England. The defendant is a medical man also, himself only a professor of surgery, but in partnership with a gentleman, (which whether regularly or not, is a matter with which I have nothing to do,) who likewise prescribes as a physician, and the fees and emoluments of their joint practice, are equally divided between them as partners — the one acting as a physician, and the other as a surgeon. The plaintiff from various circumstances, some of which will be touched upon in the course of this cause, has been a good deal beaten up and down in life, but at last he settled in Stafford, at which place the defendant and his partner, as I have said already, act in these two medical characters as partners; you will see therefore, from these circumstances, it was the object, (and I am sorry that a man in such a liberal profession should entertain such an object), of the defendant and of his partner, to destroy the credit of Dr. Myddelton, who had the additional advantage of being a gentleman regularly educated and licensed to practice in the profession of physic, and who therefore opposed the defendant in that practice, which, by the aid of his partner, he carried on there. ... [Defendant said:] "*I was at Mr. Sparrow's, yesterday, and I heard something again, against Dr. Myddelton, ... for Mr. Sparrow told me he had seen a hand-bill, that Dr. Myddelton had gone away from his lodgings, and taken away part of the plate and that five guineas had been offered for the apprehension of Doctor Myddelton.*" He [Myddelton] having considerable landed property in America, thought he had a right to take a person from this country to cultivate lands in America, for he had undoubtedly a considerable estate there; he therefore engaged with a person to go to that country for that purpose; this happens to be a thing prohibited by an Act of Parliament; upon this Act he was convicted, and punished; ...
Evidence for the plaintiff

Matthew Whalley. [Stated that Hughes had repeated the hand-bill statement] - Q. How long has Doctor Myddelton lived at Stafford? A. Twelve months last Midsummer. - Q. In what month was this — at the latter end of May, or beginning of June? A. In June. - Q. Before or after he ceased to be a physician to the Infirmary? A. A great while after that. - Q. Dr. Myddelton, however, had been physician to the Infirmary? A. He had. - Q. [Mr. Serjeant Shepherd] By order, and on the proceedings of the Governors and Directors, of which the noble Lord now in Court is one, Dr. Myddelton ceased to be physician to the Infirmary? A. He did.

Chief Justice: Does this gentleman describe himself, in his declaration, as a Physician? A. [Mr. Abbot] In his special damage he does, my Lord; for he states that he lost patients by reason of the words which were spoken of him by the defendant. We do not find that he is a physician, until we come to the very last sentence in his declaration. ... Chief Justice: I mention this now, since it has been some time in discussion, and should be attended to by gentlemen who draw declarations of this sort, and ought likewise be attended to in some other respects. There was a great question some time ago agitated in the Court of Common Pleas about producing a diploma. Now supposing the plaintiff to recover in this action, it will be a question hereafter, whether this declaration is worth a farthing in that part of it. You will find it said by the judges in the report of that case, that a diploma confers no sort of authority whatever, on the person holding it, to act as a physician. It is one of the strangest things in the world, that questions should be raised upon a subject which has been so fully agitated already, and on which the decision is clear. This diploma, supposing the plaintiff to have one, gives no authority whatever to him to practice as a physician. The law of Harry the 8th is as clear as law can be, which is, that no man can practice as a physician unless he has been examined, and has obtained a certificate in manner and form as prescribed by that act of parliament, which, I think, is the 14th of Harry the 8th, by which it is expressly provided that no man shall practice as a physician until he has undergone the examination, and met the approbation, expressed by certificate, of certain Members of the College of Physicians; and that if he does practice without it, he is liable to prosecution by indictment for certain penalties which he is thereby declared to have incurred, unless he be a Graduate of Oxford, or the other university. Now, the modern practice has been to get a diploma from a Scotch

⁴²³ This account is taken from *The trial before Chief Justice Sir James Mansfield and a special jury of merchants, at Guildhall, between Philip Parry Price Myddelton, plaintiff, and Francis Hughes, defendant; for slander taken in short hand by T. Jenkin: Printed by J. Drewry, and sold by A. Morgan, Stafford* [1807]

university, and which is obtained in a very easy way, without the performance of any exercise, or the undergoing of any examination at all; a mere grant of favor, without reference to any proof fitness in the object of it. And it is a favor which the English universities have no power to grant, if they were to attempt it; but it has been supposed, that there is some virtue in these Diplomas from the Scotch Universities, because the articles of Union have given them power to confer such a privilege according to their discretion; but there is no such thing; a diploma is an instrument which confers no authority whatever on the person possessing it.

Mr. Serjeant Best: I was perfectly aware of that, my Lord, and, certainly, it prevents Doctor Myddelton from recovering any thing upon the special damage, which is laid in the declaration.; Mr. Serjeant Williams: Your client has no pretensions to call himself a physician.; Mr. Serjeant Best: Hear what I have to say, and you, in your turns, shall say what you please. I understand that Doctor Myddelton has studied physic, and that he has regularly taken his degree at Edinburgh.; Mr. Serjeant Williams: At the University of Hereford?; Mr. Serjeant Best: No such thing.; Mr. Serjeant Williams: Yes, yes, it certainly is as I say.; Mr. Serjeant Best: We were not informed, in time, that this gentleman had not his certificate from the College of Physicians and therefore he is stiled in the declaration, "a Physician,;" we now find, that he has only taken a degree in one of the Scotch Universities, but he certainly has not the license which the law requires, to practice as a physician.; Mr. Serjeant Williams: I believe he was book-keeper to a very honest apothecary.; Mr. Serjeant Shepherd: The common way of granting a diploma from a Scotch university, is to grant it on the application of any person known there, and it may be to a person who never saw either Edinburgh or Glasgow.; Mr. Serjeant Best: They would grant it to a horse if he came with a £10 note in his mouth. At any rate they grant it, of course, to any one they think ought to have it.

Thomas Marsh (examined by Mr. Serjeant Best) [Stated that Hughes had repeated the hand-bill statement or similar] (cross examined by Mr Serjeant Williams) ... you are a farmer in Staffordshire ...

Francis Brokes (examined by Mr. Serjeant Best) ... Town Clerk of Stafford ... [Stated that Hughes had repeated the hand-bill statement or similar]

Mr Serjeant Shepherd [for the defendant]: Doctor Myddelton was advertised for "*clandestinely taking away from the possession of the Sheriff of Middlesex at No 19 Cowley-street, Westminster ... divers articles of plate and linen*". I know that the vindication of a character by a Special Jury of Merchants, in Guildhall, of London, is indeed very valuable to those who have any thing to do with them, but I am confident that I shall not offend you when I say, that if any man's character is attacked in a place where he has been some time living, and has taken up his abode there, that is the best place for such a man to set about vindicating his character, and therefore, Gentlemen, I say, without any disrespect for you, and you know me too well to suppose I can have any such meaning, the best place for Doctor Myddelton to have vindicated his character, thus mischievously, as he contends, attacked at Stafford, was Stafford. There he would have been, as he to-day, by his counsel tells you, perfectly known; there the poison is said to have been infused, and that is the place to administer the antidote. ... Doctor Myddelton became the subject of conversation of the Noblemen and Gentlemen who are the Trustees of the Infirmary, at Stafford, who called on Doctor Myddelton, who had not been there above a year and an half, and who had been appointed Physician to that Infirmary, to explain the nature of the charge which had been made upon him on account of what has been explained already, it being the opinion of many of them, that such a man was unfit for such an office; for which reason he was suspended from that office until he should have vindicated himself. [produces the hand-bill which read:]

TEN GUINEAS REWARD. Whereas on Saturday night last, or early on Sunday morning, Dr. Philip Parry Price Myddelton, and other persons, clandestinely took away from the possession of the Sheriff of Middlesex, at No. 19, Cowley-street, Westminster, divers articles of plate and linen. Any person giving such information as may lead to the apprehension of the said Doctor Myddelton, shall receive, on application to Mr. Watkins, of No. 27, Cursitor-street, five guineas reward, and the further sum of five guineas on the recovery of the property. Doctor Myddelton is a thin man, about 5 feet 10 inches high, with high cheek bones, of rather genteel appearance, has a little of the yankee dialect (being an American) and generally wears a light coloured coat.

Evidence for the defendant

Mr Sparrow: (examined by Mr. Serjeant Williams) ... Chairman of the Quarter Sessions at Stafford ... [repeated the hand-bill statement or similar to Hughes] ...

Q. And he said that he had gone to France, on account of his affairs? A. He might say France.- Q. Do you recollect who brought you that hand-bill? A. Mr. Carter. - Q. Who is Mr. Carter? A. Mr. Grindle, a druggist, in Pall Mall, a person I bought goods of, called on me - Mr. Carter was a person whose name had been made use of, as having brought a charge against Doctor Myddelton for a fraud in some money transactions, and on my coming to town I saw Mr. Grindle, and Mr. Grindle brought it to me, I understood from Mr. Carter. My enquiries were then directed to other objects; I had then no knowledge of this matter, but afterwards I wished to enquire into the truth of what had been asserted.- Q. Were not you solicited by Mr. Hughes and Mr. Ward, to make these enquiries? A. I had never spoken to them, then ...

Mr Watkins: (examined) - Q. Did you publish that hand-bill? A. I did. Q. You are a Sheriff's officer for Middlesex? A. I am sir.- Q. You had levied on these goods in Cowley-street, Westminster, and had left these goods in the possession of your man? A. Yes.- Q. Against whom had you levied? Doctor Myddelton? A. Yes.- Q. And afterwards when you went there, some of the goods were gone? A. Yes. - Q. And Doctor Myddelton was gone too? A. Yes. - Q. Where was this, at Villier's-street? A. At Cowley-street.- Q. He had a house where Madam Otto De Baijier, lived with him.- Q. Was Mad. Otto De Baijier with him at the house in Cowley-street, when you levied there? A. I did not see her.- Q. How did you know Mad Otto De Baijier? A. By my having a writ against her.- Q. You did not know her when she was in the King's Bench? A. No, I did not, I have heard she was there. She is living with Doctor Myddelton now, I do not know whether she was living with him then.; ...- Q. Mr. Dodd came afterwards and paid you the money. A. I was, at last, paid the money. I levied this execution on the 25th of June, 1802; and on the 2d of November, 1805, the money was paid.

Earl Talbot: (examined by Mr. Serjeant Shepherd) Q. I believe your Lordship is one of the Patrons and Directors of the Infirmary at Stafford? A. I am. Q. Was Doctor Myddelton, at any time, Physician to that Infirmary? A. He was. Q. When did he cease to be so, my Lord? A. I believe in the month of April last.

Sir James Mansfield (Chief Justice) [summing up] ... And in judging of that matter, you will consider whether this apothecary at Stafford, can reasonably be expected to be such a master of language, as to distinguish technically like a special pleader, between the legal inferences of the two sentences, that of: "*clandestinely taking away from the possession of the Sheriff of Middlesex, at No. 19, Cowley-street, Westminster, divers articles of plate and linen,*" which are the words of the advertisement; in which a reward is offered for apprehending Dr. Myddelton, and that of: "*Report says that a reward was offered for the apprehension of Doctor Myddelton, for having taking plate out of his lodgings*" which are the words used by the defendant.

After a short consultation, the jury found a verdict for the defendant.

Y.1807 Ann Moore - "the fasting woman of Tutbury"

From about 1807 to 1813 Ann Moore of Tutbury pretended to an abstinence from food and drink and attracted the attention of the public who supported her with large charitable donations. Two investigations were carried out by local "gentlemen" amongst whom were several medics. The first, in September 1808, failed to spot her methods of cheating but a better organised scientific investigation in April 1813 exposed her. Below are printed accounts by White (1851) and Simms (1894) with his bibliography. Then follow a letter by Robert Taylor of Stoke-upon-Trent M.R.C.S. 1784-1844 written on 28 Sep 1808 after the first investigation and some remarks on the 1813 committee.

White (1851)

ANN MOORE, the notorious impostor, who pretended to have lived without eating and drinking from 1807 till 1813, was a native and resident of Tutbury. This deception, which made so much noise in the world, was commenced for the purpose of exciting charity, and carried on for nearly six years with such extraordinary art and success, that it obtained the credulity of thousands, among whom were many medical, philosophical, and other distinguished visitors, who flocked hither to see the living wonder of the clay, whom they generally found propped up in bed with a bible before her. The laudable exertions of a committee of gentlemen, formed for the avowed purpose of investigating this extraordinary case, at length discovered the cheat, after subjecting her to two strict watchings, the first of which was in 1811 [actually September 1808], and continued

for 16 days and nights, but not with that strict scrutiny which was used in the second watch, which commenced April 21st, 1813, and continued till the 30th, a period of nine days. Her daughter and other accomplices carried her victoriously through the first ordeal, by administering nourishment to her in some manner unperceived by the watchers, and during the following summer she was enabled, by the exhibition of her person, to place the sum of £400 in the public funds! A few more such summers would have rendered all further fasting quite unnecessary; and like many similar impostors of former times, she would, as soon as her harvest had been gathered, have pretended that her appetite had been suddenly restored by some miraculous interposition. But the unconquerable scepticism of some of the faculty, caused the second watching to be instituted in such a manner as to prevent the slightest possibility of fraud. The Committee of Gentlemen (among whom were Sir O. Mosley, Dr. Garlick, and the Rev. Leigh Richmond, who took their turns in the watch,) first examined the room very minutely, and then placed her in a new bed, upon a Merlin's weighing machine, constructed with peculiar accuracy, in order to ascertain the variations of weight during the period of the watch. During the nine days the committee verified that she did not receive any nourishment. She, however, gradually grew feebler, her pulse became almost imperceptible, and on the ninth day she became so ill as to induce the gentlemen to suspend the watch. At this time she begged to have her mouth moistened with a wetted cloth, and her desire was complied with by applying to her lips a cloth dipped in vinegar and water; this was done several times, and the gentleman who administered it, declared he perceived her to swallow, although she strenuously denied it. The physician attending her, gave it as his opinion that she could not survive an hour; and yet at this period, with the immediate prospect of eternity before her, she, by her own desire, took an oath, drawn up in the clearest and strongest terms, that for more than four years past, she had not taken sustenance of any description! From the weighing machine upon which she was placed during the watch, it appeared that she had lost daily nearly 14 ounces in, weight! Nothing now remained to convince every one of her imposition, but her own confession, and this last proof her guilt she voluntarily made before a magistrate; after this confession, she took milk in the presence of several of the watchers, and soon afterwards recovered: but she died a few months afterwards, aged about 53 years. [White (1851) p588-9]

Simms (1894)

MOORE, Ann ("The Fasting Woman of Tutbury"); her maiden name was Pegg. b. Roston, Derbys., circa 1761, being at the time of her pretended fast about 48 years of age. When about 27 years old she m. James Moore, but soon separated from him and lived in service with a person by whom she had two children. She seems to have commenced her fasting on 7th July, 1807, and continued it more or less till 1813. During this period she was visited by hundreds of persons curious to see her, and was the subject of much literary effort [see below]. What became of her after her imposture had been discovered (1813) is not known, except that she was in Macclesfield and in Knutsford Gaol for robbing her lodgings. Doubts having arisen in some minds as to the genuineness of her abstinence, a watch was arranged (including Sir A. Mosley, Bart., Rev. L. Richmond, and Dr. Darwin, amongst others), lasting from 21st April to 4th May, 1813, when she confessed her deception and admitted she had taken nourishment [see Richmond's Statement]. [Simms (1894)]

- The Life and Extraordinary Abstinence of Ann Moore, of Tutbury. Attested by R. Tayler and Mr. Allen, Surgeon, Tutbury. London, 1808. 8vo.
- An Account of the Extraordinary Abstinence of Ann Moore, of Tutbury ... who has, for the space of two years, lived entirely without food. By J— — L—. Uttoxeter: Printed for the Author by R. Richards. 1809. 8to., pp. 39.
- The Life of Ann Moore, of Tutbury, in Staffordshire. Newcastle, n.d. (1809). 12mo. A Chapbook.
- A Faithful Relation, &c. Birmingham, 1810. 4th ed., 1811. 8vo.
- A Full Exposure of Ann Moore, the Tutbury Impostor. Printed and Sold by T. Wayte, Burton-on-Trent. 1811. 8vo., pp. 8. 3rd ed. 1813. 8vo., pp. 30.
- A Relation of the Extraordinary Abstinence of Ann Moore. Birmingham, n.d. (1813). 8vo.
- Some Account of Ann Moore. By James Ward, R.A. London, 1813. fol.
- A Statement of Facts. [See Richmond (Rev. L.), Granger (Dr.), Henderson (Dr. A.)]
- Ann Moore, by Cuthbert Bede [Leisure Hour (1869), 809, (1870) 155,156,160—62 ; Mosley's History of Tutbury; Edin. Med. & Chir. Jour. (1809 and April, 1813)]
- Account by Dr. Tayler [Lond. Med. & Physical Jour., XX., 402]; Notes on same, by Dr. Bourne, of Atherstone [527]; Letter from Dr. Allen, of Tutbury [XXI., 61]
- Letter on Extraordinary Case of Ann Moore [Med. Observer, V 163].

Robert Taylor to the editors of the Medical and Physical Journal⁴²⁴

GENTLEMEN, THOUGH I have declined the practice of my profession, I shall, ever consider it my duty to promote its interests, and to contribute the mite which Providence may put in my way for the good of Society, and, the advancement of science. I trust, I am solely actuated by this principle in eliciting, through the medium of your liberal Miscellany, the opinions and theories of my Medical brethren, on the remarkable facts which I have been engaged to ascertain. There is now living in the village of Tutbury, in Staffordshire, a woman named Ann Moore, in whom nature, appears to have established a mere circulating recumbent life, without the usual essential of nutritious juices. It, appears from her asseverations, which I am compelled to admit on the subsequent testimonies of actual demonstration, that this striking variety of constitution has been the work of many years. The consistency, of her whole narration, as to the main fact, is itself a forcible evidence of her integrity. But, I have taken pains to give it all the confirmation that a human circumstance could admit, or the, most determined incredulity suggest. All the persons formerly about her, have been removed, and she has been taken to the house of a most decided objector to her veracity; and two persons in succession have watched day, and night. Placards have been stuck up, maintaining these facts: and the sceptical invited to witness or take part in the investigation. It has been announced in the Derby paper, and the Medical men of that place are acquainted with it, both by letter and personal interview. But as to evidence, I need not affirm, than that it has not left an individual in the place unsatisfied, and remains at this time a notorious fact that continues to invite the enquiry, and challenges disproof before all the world. She had been declining in health a long time, and thinks she had not been an hour free from pain in her left side for nine years previous to her first attack of Anoxery; which she imputes to her washing out the linen of a person affected with scrofulous ulcers; in consequence of which she lost all desire of food, and yielded her work on the 4th of November, 1806. From that time till March, the amount of sustenance taken did not exceed. the ratio of an ounce per diem, her strongest drink being tea, but without milk or cream; whatever she took, recalled to her imagination the strong smell of corruption, which at first disordered her; and the slimy matter which she frequently vomited up from the mere recurrence of the idea, seemed to have the appearance and scent that had offended. In March, 1787[sic, ?1807] she was afflicted with strong fits, which usually left the cramp in her stomach; to remedy which she drank boiling hot gruel, which, though it scalded her lips, had no disagreeable effect on her stomach; and any thing of inferior heat gave a sense of cold, and caused rigors. She first took to her bed for a continuance, on the 14th of April, 1807. On the 20th of May following, she attempted to swallow a bit of biscuit, which was immediately rejected with dreadful vomiting and blood. In the latter end of June, she took the last substance she ever swallowed, being a few black currants. Her last evacuation, (erecto) was by diarrhoea, and took place on the 3d of August. Since which time, she has fallen off also in the quantity of fluids, omitting to take any (at times) two days together. Her common tea has been once varied for onion tea. Her strength she allows to have decreased, but her spirits and mental energy never have, though she is frequently taking cold from the slightest causes. Nor is her head ever free from pain. In the course of the first three days of the investigation, she swallowed in the whole about an ounce and an half of water; but happening to step into the room whilst she was swallowing it, the extreme misery of deglutition, and the violent rising of wind resisting its passage to a degree that almost seemed to threaten suffocation, induced me to dissuade her from taking any more, while the experiment that was to vindicate her veracity continued. She has followed my advice, and finds every good effect attained from the occasional cleansing her mouth with a moistened rag; as the former object had been only to relieve her of a sickly faintish taste in the mouth. There has lately been a slight appearance of the menses, which she had thought completely to have ceased. She renders an average of a pint of urine in two days; which is very offensive, and of a high colour: and her skin is always moist. But the greatest phaenomenon is her extreme emaciation, though she has less of the facies hipocratia than is common to consumptive patients, and is remarkably cheerful and urbane, possesses a far greater stock of ideas and intelligence, than is to be found commonly in her sphere of life.

424 printed [p11-3] in *A faithful relation of Ann Moore of Tutbury, Staffordshire, who for nearly four years, has, and still continues, to live without any kind of food, to which are added, reflections and observations. Published by her request. The fourth edition. ALSO A faithful account of Catharine Mewis, of Barton-under-Needwood, Staffordshire, aged 8 years, who since April 8th 1809 has been deprived of her eye sight, six days out of seven, and can only see on the Sabbath-day. Published by permission of her parents: Birmingham: Printed and published by B. Peart and Co. 38 Bull Street (January 1811)*

Her circumference, measured round the loins, is twenty inches and a half, across the chest twenty-eight inches and a half, and across the hips thirty inches. There is scarcely the trace of any viscus to be felt in the abdomen; the bladder, uterus, and its appendages, are sunk beneath the arch of the pubes, and every thing else (that might be) is drawn up under the ribs, so that it cannot be perceived. From the lowest rib, the integuments, descending to the ossa illii, form an empty cord-like folding, and at the umbilicus the flacid parietes abdominis may be readily rubbed over the lumbar vertebrae, and no kind of substance felt to intervene. The grand, trunk of the aorto may be traced by the finger from the place most immediately under the ensiform process of the sternum, where the loose integuments is drawn down upon it, nearly to its bifurcation. It may be drawn, a little from its situation over the spine, and thus by holding the skin, across it with my thumb and finger, I have been able to make it apparent to the bye-standers, as they thus, saw both its shape and pulsation. The watches have been faithfully kept, and (whatever may have wrought the difference, if it exists) she says she thinks she is better and stronger than, she has been these six months, and is certainly improved in health since her removal; her pulse has kept the standard of health, with daily exacerbations. She sleeps well, and enjoys a remarkable serene and happy, mind. Her voice is strong, and holds out the full female exercise of that faculty. Her muscular power is such, that she can conveniently raise and support herself in bed.

Thus, Gentlemen, the watch sitting at the time that I write, this, (which must cease tomorrow, as I engaged to see the woman safely returned to her habitation before I returned home) it is now the 16th day that she has been under the strictest scrutiny; and the 13th day that she has abstained from all fluids. She is now better in health than, when the examination was instituted; and as far as from the corroborating testimony, of this evidence, her veracity may be admitted, the fourteenth month that she has subsisted altogether without aliment. I have simply stated facts, which, in the hands of the exalted Lovers of Physiology that read, your Journal, may be in the way of rendering that assistance to Philosophical research, which will amply remunerate my labour. I would forbear myself offering any theory, being confident of my incompetence, and that even the pursuit of such an object, would rather lessen the validity in the eyes, of men of science, of what might have been better established by a fair and unbiassed narration. But in committing this to your care for publication, I shall anxiously wait for instruction from others, in the channel which it has so often flowed to me.

I am etc Robert Taylor Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, London. Lane End, Staffordshire, Sept. 28, 1808.

A meeting of gentlemen took place at Tutbury, on March 31st, 1813.

Mr Richmond stated to them the whole of what had passed on the subject, and requested their aid in forming a Committee to conduct the requisite proceedings⁴²⁵. ... Committee was immediately formed ... [which included] Sir Oswald Mosley of Rolleston 1st Baronet 1674-1751 and fourteen Staffordshire medics: John Adams of Burton-upon-Trent surgeon & apothecary ?1760-1829, John Allen of Tutbury surgeon & apothecary c1764-1830, John Allen of Tutbury surgeon & apothecary 1789-1828, George Alsop of Uttoxeter surgeon & apothecary ?1776-1847, William Birch of Barton-under-Needwood M.R.C.S. 1770-1836, Edward Foulkes Cleavin of Yoxall surgeon c1776-1859, Francis Goodall of Uttoxeter surgeon ?1753-1827, Benjamin Granger of Burton-upon-Trent M.R.C.S. 1783-1846, John Hawthorn of Uttoxeter surgeon 1772-1843, Trevor Jones of Lichfield M.D. ?1752-1832, William Allport Leedam of Burton-upon-Trent surgeon 1781-1863, John Rice of Eccleshall M.R.C.S. 1788-1843, John Spender of Burton-upon-Trent M.D. 1771-1847 and John Webster of Burton-upon-Trent surgeon and apothecary ?1780-1814.

Y.1819 Lawsuit - Society of Apothecaries versus John Warburton, practising without a certificate

On 15 Mar 1819 the Society of Apothecaries brought a lawsuit at the Stafford Lent Assizes against John Warburton of Betley [L.S.A.] 1792-1878 for practising as an apothecary contrary to §14 of *The new apothecaries' act* (1815) (below). The Society were said in court, by Warburton's lawyers, to be acting on behalf "of the apothecaries in the neighbourhood, who jealous of, and hurt by, the professional success of the defendant, wished to put an end to his practice by this action." The sum of £700 was sought in damages for 35 separate offences but in the event the Society reduced their claim to £20 for one specimen case.

§14. Enacts, That after the first of August, 1815, no person (except persons already in practice) to practice as an Apothecary in any part of England or Wales, unless examined by the Court of Examiners, and a Certificate of Qualification obtained; ...

§20. Penalty of twenty pounds on any person (except present Practitioners), acting as an Apothecary after said first of August without Certificate.

John Warburton admitted to practising as an apothecary but claimed to have been in practice before 1 Aug 1815 and to have served an apprenticeship with his father Arnold Warburton of Newcastle "surgeon" 1767-?1822. Arnold Warburton was called as a witness and admitted to having no formal medical education or training. Primarily on this basis the jury "almost instantly" returned a verdict for the plaintiffs with damages of £20. In 1826 John Warburton did qualify L.S.A. and appears to have had a long and successful practice at Betley where he died in 1878 leaving personalty of £14,000 and three medically qualified sons: James Pennington Warburton of Betley L.R.C.P.E. 1833-1900, Charles Wesley Warburton of Nantwich, Cheshire L.R.C.P.E. 1835-1805 and Edmund Samuel Warburton of Liverpool, Lancs M.R.C.S., L.S.A. 1845-1904.

The court case was heard on 15 Mar 1819 at the Stafford Lent Assizes and was fully reported in the *Staffordshire Advertiser* on 27 Mar 1819 and copied in the *Chester Chronicle* of 30 Apr 1819. An account, copied from the *Staffordshire Advertiser*, appeared in the *London Medical, Surgical and Pharmaceutical Repository* (1824) p168-75 (as below). Detailed testimony and cross-examinations appear in this account which sheds considerable light on contemporary attitudes to unqualified medical practice. Both the judge and other lawyers express opinions on unrelated medical matters.

Elsewhere⁴²⁶ it is reported that both the penalty of £20 and the taxed costs of £266/10/0 were recovered. Here is also a record of a similar case against the father Arnold Warburton but "this action discontinued, defendant having quitted his residence, and left practice".

The full report:

ANNALS OF QUACKERY

Our "Annals" would indeed be remiss if we did not register the following curious trial. It proves what sort of fellows those are who hold their qualifications merely from the toleration which the apothecaries act affords. Such is Mr. Zebedee Dunkin, the fellow we shewed up last week.

MEDICAL PRACTICE! STAFFORDSHIRE ASSIZE Apothecaries' Company v. Warburton.

At these assizes the following curious case came on; and we cannot resist the inclination of extracting a portion of it for our columns, as it affords one of the most ludicrous specimens of quack practice extant. We copy it from the *Staffordshire Advertiser*.

⁴²⁵ Legh Richmond *A statement of facts, relative to the supposed abstinence of Ann Moore of Tutbury, Staffordshire: And a narrative of the circumstances which led to the recent detection of the imposture: To which is subjoined an appendix, containing medical and other papers, illustrative of the statement: Compiled and published at the request of the committee, formed for the investigation of the case, by the Rev. Legh Richmond, A.M. Rector of Turvey, Bedfordshire: Burton-on-Trent: Printed and published by J. Croft, High Street ...* (1813)

⁴²⁶ Report from the Select Committee on Medical Education Part III (1834) (Appendix No 12) p105-9

Mr. Dauncey, in stating the case on the part of the plaintiffs, observed, that they were performing an unpleasant duty in bringing this action, but it was a duty they were bound to perform; it was necessary that they should not permit persons of the description of the defendant to administer to the lower and most ignorant class of people what they called relief. This defendant was the son of a man who, in the early part of his life, had been a gardener, but had since set up in the dignified and honourable profession of a cow-leech. The defendant continued as part of his father's family until after the year 1815, in which year an act was passed, intitled, *An act for the better regulating the practice of Apothecaries*, which began with reciting the charter granted by King James the First to the company of apothecaries, and which charter had been confirmed by an act of the 15th of the same king (James). And by the 14th section of an act passed in 1815, it was declared, that from and after the first day of August 1815, it should not be lawful for any person (except persons already in practice as such) to practice as an apothecary in any part of England and Wales, unless he or they should have been examined by the Court of Examiners in the act mentioned, and to have received the certificate directed by that act. He (Mr. Dauncey) believed the defendant in this cause had never been examined by that Court, nor did he at all expect such a defence would be set up. The result therefore would be, that if the defendant justified his practising at all, he must do it under the words except persons already practising as such. The question then would be, whether the defendant was or was not in practice as an apothecary before the first day of August 1815; and here he must observe, it was quite clear that the act in that exception contemplated persons only who were actually and bona fide acting as apothecaries before that period, and not such as practised as assistants to apothecaries; much less the case of the defendant, who before that time had merely acted as an assistant to his father, who was a cowleech. This action was, to the Company for whom he appeared, a most unpleasant duty, but it was a duty they considered themselves bound to perform. They were now to prove that the defendant had acted as an apothecary since August 1815; and to shew how many instances there were of his so acting, that it might be ascertained to how many penalties the defendant was liable: the charge against him was, that he had since August 1815, acted as an apothecary: and Mr. Dauncey said he should call witnesses to prove his having so acted, for each of which acts he was liable to a penalty of £20. From 1811 to 1815, the father was acting as a cow-leech, partly at Macclesfield and partly at Newcastle: at the end of 1815, the family of the father followed him to Newcastle, and the defendant continued part of that family until 1817, when he went to Betley, and had since acted as an apothecary. The question for the jury to decide would be. What was practising as an apothecary so as come within the meaning of the exception "except persons already practising as such?" and for the defendant to do this, he must prove he was acting as an apothecary, and not as an assistant to a cow-leech

Mr. Jervis. I see there are two counts on each case, and the whole penalties sought to be recovered go to £700. We rest our defence on the exception, and will admit the first count that the defendant has acted as an apothecary since 1815. This, I presume, is all you wish.

Mr. Dauncey. This is not a vindictive action, we shall be satisfied with one penalty; we only wish to shew that persons of this description will not be permitted to practise. Several witnesses were here called to prove the practice of the defendant. Mr. Jervis, for the defendant, commenced by observing on a joke made by Mr. Campbell, relative to Warburton, sen. judging of complaints by water, and said it was singular that the plaintiffs had thought it necessary, in the county of Stafford, to have a special jury to decide whether this defendant had practised as an apothecary prior to the 1st of August 1815; and (addressing himself to the tales) said, "If you, gentlemen of the common jury, should find yourselves incapable of deciding such a question, you will in this case have the aid of special jurymen." He had admitted (to save the valuable time of the Court) that he, defendant, had practised as an apothecary since the time mentioned by the act. The plaintiffs had expressed their wish not to ask for large penalties. The whole number of penalties sued for amounted to thirty-five of £20 each, making an aggregate of £700. The first penalty sued for was for administering medicines to one Owen Benyon. This fact he (Mr. Jervis) had admitted, but he should rest his defence on the exception, as had been suggested by his learned friend. They had heard of the defendant's father and his practice; if he was not entitled to act as an apothecary, the plaintiffs might have brought an action against him in this case. The jury were to look at the defendant, and what he had done, and not what his father had done. Mr. Dauncey had stated that the father was formerly a gardener, but there had been no proof this. There was proof that at Stockport, previous to 1811, he had practised as a grub-doctor, as he was called; from 1811 up to 1815, he had practised latterly and extensively as an apothecary at Macclesfield; it was in evidence that drugs amounting in price to £300 had been purchased by him in those three years from one druggist, besides what he had bought of others; for such a sum large quantities of drugs would be obtained. This action was brought in the name of the Apothecaries' Company, but it was not really their action; he would repeat that it was the action of the apothecaries in the neighbourhood, who jealous of, and hurt by, the professional success of the defendant, wished to put an end to his practice by this action. He thought he might venture to predict that they would find themselves mistaken, and that the best advertisement for the defendant, and which would add to the practice he had already obtained, would be a trial of this cause. Mr. Jervis said he wished he could bring the defendant himself before them, but they would recollect it was the abilities and practice of the young man, and not of his father, upon which they were called to decide. As to the joke, or rather attempt to joke, made by his learned friend (Mr. Campbell) on the father judging of diseases from the water of his patients, he would tell them that a very great man had made a large fortune from his success in that practice, and who always judged in that way; he meant Dr. Meyersbach. The Judge here interrupted the learned counsel, and desired he would not quote as an authority the most arrant quack that ever infested this or any country, who came over from Germany with a nostrum which he pretended would cure the tooth-ache, and which he for some time offered for one shilling, until some one said to him, if you continue to sell at a shilling, you will do no good; ask half a guinea, and people will believe that it may be efficacious. He did so, found it answer his purpose, and then, without knowledge enough to enable him to feel a pulse, he set up as a physician, and pretended to judge of the complaints of those who were fools enough to apply to him, by a sight of their water. On this subject there was a curious anecdote, which at some time he might, relate to them (the counsel.)

[Arnold Warburton]: The first witness called for the defence was: Mr. Arnold Warburton, the father of the defendant. He has followed the practice of medicine about fifteen years, first at Dunham, since at Stockport, afterwards at Macclesfield; went to the latter place in August 1811, took his son John to assist him in his business; should have put him to a manufacturer, but his son did not like the business. When he first went to Macclesfield, he took a house in Barn-street, from whence he removed into Water-courts; he there rented a house of Mr. Pickering; he left Macclesfield and went to Newcastle in February 1815; he could not at first meet with a house in Newcastle that would suit him; he continued for some time to lodge and have rooms at the Three Tuns, kept by Joseph Robinson; he was backwards and forwards between Newcastle and Macclesfield while he had the rooms at Robinson's; he thinks the time he first went there was in the week after "Castle races" which was the latter end of August or beginning of September, 1814; it was in February, 1815 that he went into the house he had taken; his son assisted him while he lived at Macclesfield; he practised there extensively as a surgeon, had a surgery in his house, and attended great numbers of people at his house, to whom he administered medicines; he went to some, and others came to him; he had sometimes large quantities of people with him, frequently more than fifty at a time. He afterwards married a daughter of the Rev. Mr. Pennington, at Betley, and afterwards settled at Betley; he settled there as soon as witness had taken an apprentice: he took young Mester Hayse, who had married his daughter, as an apprentice. Defendant attended witness's patients, and received money for them; his son had what part of the money he pleased to be pleased with; witness took no account of what money his son took; he was a very steady young man: when they were at Macclesfield, his son had taken great pains to acquire a knowledge of the business, and he had great opportunities of seeing a deal of business there; a great number of people whom witness attended were seen by defendant, afflicted with a variety of diseases, and thereby giving defendant an opportunity of seeing various treatment, and acquiring knowledge of his profession; he had similar opportunities at Newcastle. Witness went occasionally to Macclesfield after he went to reside at Newcastle, but he did not practise there after he gave up his house on the 29th October, 1814; he had no more to do with the business at Macclesfield after witness left; he did so afterwards at Newcastle, and has since at Betley. Witness did give medicines to cows, horses, and other animals, and practised besides extensively at Macclesfield.

Cross-examined by Mr. Dauncey, who asked if he had always been a surgeon? Witness appealed to the judge whether this was a proper answer; his lordship had not heard any answer; Mr. Dauncey had put a question. W - "Must I answer it?" Judge, "Yes, why do you object?" W - "I don't think it a proper answer." Judge, "I presume you mean question, and I differ in opinion." The witness not answering, Mr. Dauncey repeated, have you always been a surgeon? W - "I am a surgeon." Mr Dauncey, "Can you spell the word you have mentioned?" W - "My Lord, is that a fair answer?" Judge, "I think it a fair question." W - "S-y-u-r-g-u-n-t." Mr. Dauncey, "I am unfortunately hard of hearing; have the goodness to repeat what you have said, Sir." W - "S-u-r-g-e-e-n-d." Mr. Dauncey, "S —, what do you say next to S Sir?" W - "S-y-u-r-g-u-n-d." Mr. Dauncey, "Very well. Sir, I am perfectly satisfied." Judge, "As I take down the word Sur---, please to favour me with it once more." W - "Surgunt." Judge, "How, Sir? W - "S-e-r-g-u-n-d." Judge, "Very well." Mr. Dauncey, "Sir, have you always been what you say; that word, I mean, which you have just spelt?" [a long pause] Mr. Dauncey, "I am, afraid, Sir, you do not often take so much time to study the cases which come before you, as you do to answer my question." W - "I do not, Sir." [Mr. Dauncey] "Well, Sir, will you please to answer it: [a long pause, but no reply.] Well, what were you originally, Dr. Warburton?" W - "S-y-u-r-g-e-e-n-d." [Mr. Dauncey] When you first took to business, what was that business; were you a gardener, Dr. Warburton? "S-u-i-g-e-e-n-t." I do not ask you to spell that word again; but before you were of that profession, what were

you?" W - "*S-u-r-g-e-n-t.*" Mr. Dauncey, "My Lord, I fear I have thrown a spell over this poor man, which he cannot get rid of." Judge, "Attend, witness; you are now to answer the questions put to you; you need not spell that word any more." Mr. Dauncey, "When was you a gardener?" W - "*I never was.*"

The witness then stated that he never employed himself in gardening; he first was a farmer, his father was a farmer. He (witness) ceased to be a farmer fifteen or sixteen years ago; he ceased because he had then learnt another business, that business which he now is. "Who did you learn it off?" W - "*Is that a proper question, my Lord?*" "I see no objection to it." W - "*Then I will answer it; I learnt it of Dr. Hulme, my brother-in-law; he practised the same as the Whitworth Doctors, and they were regular physicians.*" Mr. Dauncey, "Where did they take their degrees?" W - "*I don't believe they ever took a degree.*" "Then were they regular physicians?" W - "*No, I believe they were not; they were only doctors.*" Only doctors! were they doctors in law, physic, or divinity?" W - "*They doctor'd cows and other things, and humans as well.*" "Doubtless as well; and you, I doubt not, you have doctor'd brute animals as well as human creatures?" W - "*I have.*"

Witness's son, the defendant, was first a manufacturer; that is, he went to learn to weave. Witness did not put him out, he went of his own accord, but he did not like the business, and left these nine or ten years ago, or more. His son is now twenty-six years of age; he was only a few weeks at each place; he went to two places, but liked neither, the last was Ratcliffe's; he was a very few weeks there; he left there before witness went to Macclesfield, and has been in witness's family ever since till his marriage, about twelve months back. Witness had sent for him in 1815, to come to Newcastle; he thinks it was in July, 1815, that he sent for his son. and he did not come for some time; it might be a month or five weeks, or three weeks after that time before he came; his daughter, Elizabeth, was the first that came to him of his children; that might be a fortnight after he sent for them; it might be a fortnight after that when his other daughter came; the latter and his son came together. Mr. Dauncey, "That of course would make it August when your son came?" W - "*I am not certain that I am correct as to the time; the house my son took at Macclesfield, was the one I had quitted belonging to Mr. Pickering.*"

Judge to Mr. Jervis. Can you, Mr. Jervis, give any account of this young man's education in his profession, so as to take him out of the hands of his father? I doubt whether his father has sufficient knowledge to ascertain the proportion of the several drugs to compound a medicine either by avoirdupois or apothecaries weight. Mr. Jervis: My Lord, we cannot shew his being placed in situations where he could receive medical instruction out of his father's family. We conceive it is sufficient to shew that he had been in practice as an apothecary prior to the 1st of August 1815. We did not think it necessary to shew that he was properly educated for the profession, but that he had practised before that time. Your Lordship is well aware that among all that practise, too many may be ignorant practitioners.

Judge to Witness. "Did you ever make up any medicine by the prescription of a physician?" W - "*I never did.*" "Do you understand the characters they use for ounces, scruples, and drachms?" W - "*I do not.*" "Then you cannot make up their prescriptions from reading them." W - "*I cannot, but I can make up as good medicines in my way, as they can in theirs.*" "What proportion does an ounce bear to a pound?" [A pause.] W - "*There are sixteen ounces to the pound, but we do not go by any regular weight, we mix ours by the hand.*" "Do you bleed?" W - "*Yes.*" "With a fleam or with a lancet?" W - "*With a lancet.*" "Do you bleed from the vein or from the artery?" W - "*From the vein.*" "There is an artery somewhere about the temples; what is the name of that artery." W - "*I do not pretend to have so much learning as some have.*" "Can you tell me the name of that artery?" W - "*I do not know which you mean.*" "Suppose then I was to direct you to bleed my servant or my horse (which God forbid) in a vein, say for instance in the jugular vein, where should you bleed him?" W - "*In the neck to be sure.*"

Judge to Counsel. Had this young man any part of his time unaccounted for, or if it could be shewn that he had been even a footman to an apothecary, and had afterwards practised before the time appointed, I would gladly have taken him to acquire a knowledge of his profession; but there is not a possibility of his attaining that knowledge here, in the situation in which he has been placed, and constantly continued. Where has been the capability of receiving instruction? This man appears evidently incapable of giving it. Look to the 5th sec. of this act, the recital of which sets forth that it is the duty of every person, using or exercising the art or mystery of an apothecary, to prepare with exactness, and to dispense such medicines as may be directed for the sick by any physician. Is it possible that this defendant could have done this with such an education? Mr. Puller. Your Lordship will admit there are many unlearned apothecaries among those who do practise. Judge I would take every thing as favourably for the young man as I properly can: but here we have ignorance greater perhaps than ever appeared in a court before, as the only medium of education which this defendant can possibly have received in his profession.

The Rev. Mr. Pennington. Is the curate of Betley; the Defendant married one of his daughters: he thinks the marriage took place in October, 1817, but is not certain. Betley is a perpetual curacy, not a vicarage or rectory. Defendant had been at witness's house, witness had seen him thereafter for twelve months or more before his marriage; had never seen him before he left Macclesfield. Did not consult him the first time he had medicine from him. Witness had been low and poorly for some time; the medicines he had received from regular medical men had not benefitted him, and his wife without his knowledge sent a labourer to Defendant, who sent a medicine which witness, though reluctant at first to do so, did take, and he fancied he received benefit from it; in fact it certainly did him good, and by persevering in taking such medicines as Defendant sent him, witness in about a month found himself perfectly well. Witness has never seen Defendant make up a prescription, but Defendant can make up. He has plenty of books, Bell's Surgery, and other medical book. Witness has known Defendant sit up till one or two in the morning reading such books; he resided in witness's house for some time after his marriage, and witness had frequent opportunities of seeing him read; he would probably have continued longer to reside with witness, but such great numbers of people came to him, that witness could not bear the frequent interruptions to his avocations, and defendant therefore took a house to himself in Betley, where he and his wife now reside. Defendant is now sufficiently acquainted with Latin to understand the names of drugs, he has their names on the drawers in his shop.

Cross-examined. Witness knows but little of medicines, he can read many physician's prescription but cannot read all. Defendant came directly from his father's house at Newcastle to the house of witness at Beley, He cannot say he ever saw defendant make up a physician's prescription during the first half year he was at Betley; witness assisted the defendant in learning the latin tongue; he began to learn defendant in 1818. Defendant had learned a little Latin before; witness believes had learnt the Latin grammar before he began to learn him but he began with him in grammar again; he seemed to have forgot what he had before learnt. Witness never heard defendant read a prescription; he put defendant to learn Latin as soon as defendant came to his house; can't say defendant has had many prescriptions to make up.

Re-examined. Witness was usher in Mr. Woolf's school at Dilhorn many years ago, and educated Sir John Fenton Boughy, till he went to the University. He knows Dr. Northen. Defendant has had prescriptions from Dr. Northen; he can't say they came immediately from the doctor, but the doctor attended patients of the defendant's, and they have delivered to him the doctor's prescriptions. Witness believes defendant has sufficient knowledge to make up a prescription now.

Many witnesses were called to prove defendant's practice before August 1st 1815.

Mr. Dauncey. If instead of twenty or thirty more witnesses they had produced ten times 10,000 who had bought medicines of defendant, it would only have proved there were so many fools in the neighbourhood. The defendant had also been produced (soon after the father had closed his evidence, the son had come into court and sat near the witness box, and was pointed out to the court and jury by his counsel) why he could not say, unless it was that his appearance was so youthful as almost to deny credibility to the document attesting his age. The father of the defendant had said, that he had given instruction to his son in medicine. Was it possible he could be instructed by that man? The jury had an opportunity of seeing the father they could judge of his ability for instructing his son by the exhibition of him in court. The act began to be operative from and after the 1st August 1815, but exempts those who had been practising as such before that period. In what way had this defendant been practising? They found from the evidence which defendant's counsel had laid before them, that the father went out on a voyage of discovery to Newcastle: he wishes to examine the state of the country before he embarks his family; he therefore takes only the wife of his bosom. They first take up their abode in a public-house; but when he finds that patients (he had almost let slip another word) are to the full as numerous at Newcastle as at Macclesfield, perhaps more so, as he gave it the preference, what does he then? Why he takes a house in Newcastle, and immediately sends for his son to Macclesfield. The son not having performed all that his father had left him to do, that is to collect in the debts, (for they had it in evidence, and that from his own mouth that this was the purpose for which he stayed in Macclesfield) he waits a month or six weeks longer, but one sister goes immediately, and the defendant and the other sister followed at the end of that time. The father tells you this was in July, the daughter tells you it was in April; it is no matter which; but good Mrs. Booth, whose son he attended at Macclesfield, says that it was in May, and all in the same year. The son would have the jury believe, he was emancipated when his father left Macclesfield, yet the father returns every now and then to see how they go on at Macclesfield, and as soon as he gets a house in Newcastle, the son and daughters (who had all been emancipated in a similar way) are sent for, and again form part of the father's family. But Mr. Pickering tells you, the defendant was emancipated, for he had made a collateral agreement with him for the house, forsooth. It is very probable the father might say to Mr. Pickering, Sir, I am going to Macclesfield, on a little roving expedition, but you need not be alarmed about your rent, for my son will be in the house; he is to collect the money due to me, and he will pay you out of it. It was very probable that such a collateral agreement as this might be made. When the taylor proved that the father found clothes for his son to September, 1817, his learned friend had said, that this was trumpery

evidence; was it so! Did not that circumstance clearly shew, that till that period he continued to be part of his father's family. There could not, he conceived, be the slightest doubt of his being part of that family from 1811, to the time of his marriage with the daughter of the Rev. gentleman, who had that day appeared as a witness for him. Could any one suppose, admitting for an instant that the defendant had really been emancipated from his father, that the following year such an one as that father could be acting as an apothecary in the meaning of that act? The act was passed for the purpose of preventing ignorant and improper persons, from acting as apothecaries, except persons already in practice as such. Was the succeeding a man who dealt out medicines to cows, horses, and dogs, as well (to-use his own words) as to humans, succeeding to the business of an apothecary? Even veterinary surgeons, of whom they had heard so high an eulogium, were they apothecaries under the meaning of this act? Much less a cow and dog doctor? This father says, that he practises by another method to that followed by medical men. They had heard that Doctor Warburton had pretended to cure people by seeing their water; he would take the liberty of relating to them an anecdote of the doctor, whose name had been mentioned by his learned friend: a person went to him with some water in a phial; the doctor looked at it, and said, why the person who made this is with child: the man simpered a little, and said that cannot be the case, the party who made that water is a male. No matter for that, said the doctor, the person who made this water is with child.

Judge. It is a pity that any part of that story should die lost; a very learned physician, who had heard of this quack pretending to judge of a complaint by a sight of the water, sent some which had been discharged from a stallion, and to expose his ignorance, had with the knowledge of several gentlemen, sent it to this pretended doctor, and the result was as you have stated.

Mr. Dauncey: His learned friend, the Staffordshire counsel, had seemed rather displeased that his learned friend, the Scottish counsel, should attempt a jest. The Scotch were naturally of a more serious mind than the English; but if any one of them should wish to forego a little of his natural gravity, and amuse himself with a harmless jest, he could not see why it should call down so severe a rebuke, unless indeed the Staffordshire counsel felt jealous of his province in the land of wit being invaded by his northern neighbour. The question was solely this, was the defendant previous to the 1st August 1815, practising as such an apothecary as the act contemplated? Whether or not the father permitted the son to receive part of his gains, still the family were maintained out of one fund. Were the daughters and sons emancipated by being left at Macclesfield? It was in evidence that the son had stopped there to get in the debts due to the father: it was as clear as noon day that there was no intention of the defendant becoming the head of a separate establishment from that of his father; the son and daughter continued at Macclesfield just so long as sufficed for the purpose for which he continued there, and till the father could have a house to receive them at Newcastle; no sooner is that taken, than the elder daughter is sent for, and rejoins her father; the son and the younger daughter stay a few weeks longer, and then follow the sister. Was the education received by the defendant before 1st August 1815 (for his subsequent acquirements were out of the question) such as to make it proper he should be turned loose on a public, already too much a prey to quacks and impostors?

The jury must believe that for the time he remained at Macclesfield after October 1814, he was acting as an apothecary on his own account; if they did so believe, they would give a verdict for the defendant; if they did not believe that he acted as an apothecary contemplated by that act, their verdict must under this act be for the plaintiffs in one penalty, which was all they asked, their object being merely to prevent improper persons from acting as apothecaries.

Mr. Baron Garrow: In summing up, observed, that this was a question of considerable importance to the defendant in the cause, on whose future prospects it must necessarily have great influence; and it was also one of the last importance to the public. The jury were called upon (and for the first time) to decide upon the question whether under this act the defendant was entitled to the exemptions in it. This could only be done in this case, by defendant's shewing that before the 1st of August 1815, he practised as an apothecary. His Lordship had no hesitation in saying, that every one who practised physic, by running about the country as a quack and empiric, was not entitled to claim the benefit of the exemption in the act. In his opinion, the father was not exempt under that act, but the son was in a different situation to the father, and the question they had to decide was, if the son acted as an apothecary before the 1st of August 1815. Pickering had stated, that on the 29th of October 1814, the father, who had previously rented his house, had on that day, given it up to his son, who had subsequently been tenant: that he also had attended him (Pickering) as his patient. There were other proofs of the son attending persons as his patients. The father had gone to Newcastle, and there his business had become such that he had sent for his son to Newcastle. It appeared that the son carried on the business at Macclesfield as the father had done. His Lordship could not lay down any such law as that no man must practise as an apothecary who was not extensively learned; but the jury must consider what was contemplated by that act as constituting an apothecary. The fifth section of the act recited it to be the duty of every person using or exercising the art and mystery of an apothecary to prepare, with exactness, and to dispense such medicines, &c. and the fourteenth section inflicts a penalty on such as practise without being properly qualified, (except persons already practising as such.) The question was, if the defendant was acting in such way as was intended by that act. He is the son of a man more ignorant than the most ignorant that they had ever before heard examined in any court. Talk to him of the proportionate parts of weight, he says he knows nothing of them, he acts by hand only. Was this man qualified for professing any science, more particularly one in which the health, and even the lives of the public were involved? Yet through such an impure medium alone had the defendant received his knowledge of this profession. There was not the least proof the defendant having for a single minute been in a situation to receive instruction from any one really acting as an apothecary. If the jury thought that the defendant had acted as an apothecary before the time mentioned in the act, they would find a verdict for him; but otherwise they would find for the plaintiffs in one penalty.

The jury almost instantly returned a verdict for the plaintiffs - damages £20.

Y.1826 Lawsuit - Society of Apothecaries versus Joseph Fernyhough, practising without a certificate

On 17 Jul 1826 the Society of Apothecaries brought a lawsuit at the Stafford Michaelmas Assizes against Joseph Fernyhough of Yoxall for practising as an apothecary contrary to §14 of *The new apothecaries' act* (1815) (below).

§14. Enacts, That after the first of August, 1815, no person (except persons already in practice) to practice as an Apothecary in any part of England or Wales, unless examined by the Court of Examiners, and a Certificate of Qualification obtained; ...

§20. Penalty of twenty pounds on any person (except present Practitioners), acting as an Apothecary after said first of August without Certificate.

Fernyhough first had notice of the case when he received a letter on 16 Dec 1825 from Edward Bacot the solicitor of the Society of Apothecaries. In his reply (below) the plaintiffs comment unfavourably on the orthography and grammar of this letter in which Fernyhough wrote ... as (for has) and it (for he) They also try to show that he was not fully conversant with latin which was needed to make up prescriptions. The judge shows that their comments regarding the letter were of no account and other testimony shows that Fernyhough had sufficient ability at latin to work as an apothecary.

Subsequent testimony shows that John Garner M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1793-1851 who qualified in 1816 and was in practice at Yoxall by 1818 was the real instigator of the case against Fernyhough⁴²⁷. The defence maintained that Garner "was the real plaintiff [and] was influenced by improper motives and had resorted to unworthy means to prove the disqualification of his client". Garner married at Yoxall on 24 Aug 1826 and practised there until his death in 1851. Curiously his name is not mentioned in the account of the case in *The Lancet*.

Joseph Fernyhough 1797-1843 was the son of John Ferney (ALIAS Fernyhough) of Hanbury. His father was described as a wheelwright on his marriage licence but was later a farmer. He was christened at Hanbury on 18 Feb

⁴²⁷ On 14 Aug 1826 Garner was peremptorily dismissed as "doctor" for the Yoxall New Friendly Society and replaced by Fernyhough (see §Y.1828).

1797 and was said to be aged 46 when he was buried at Yoxall in 1843. Giving evidence in court his mother states that he was now 33 years of age and had been born on Plough Monday [7 Jan] 1794. This was apparently stated to prove that he was of age, i.e. 21, in 1815. *The new apothecaries' act* required that newly qualified men be over 21 but did not require those exempted because already in practice to be of age.

Fernyhough is shown to have attended Hanbury village school and then a boarding-school at Doveridge and perhaps another at West Bromwich. In 1810 he was apprenticed to James Heap of Wolverhampton chemist & druggist and continued there until 1814 although the apprenticeship itself may have been cancelled. At the end of 1814 he became a member of the household of William Gaunt surgeon & apothecary ?1775-1829 probably at Longdon. Gaunt claimed that Fernyhough was his patient but other testimony shows that he was actually his medical assistant. In May 1815 Fernyhough maintained that he had entered a covert partnership with William James Sutton of Yoxall surgeon ?1773-1817 and produced articles of partnership whose authenticity was questioned by the plaintiffs. Two witnesses state that towards the end of his life Sutton was "addicted to liquor" and that Fernyhough had been the active partner.

After Suttons' death in Jul 1817 Fernyhough continued practice to assist Sutton's widow. Another medic a Mr Allsop, probably George Alsop of Uttoxeter surgeon & apothecary ?1776-1847 was also said to have been involved in the business but was not apparently called to testify. Thereafter Fernyhough practised on his own account and many witnesses testified to his competence.

We are told the Court "was crowded to excess ... by individuals anxious to hear the proceedings in this case; and amongst them we noticed an unusual number of members of the medical profession to whom the trial was of intense interest". The case commenced at 9am and ended at 6pm. Summing up the judge said "the only question, was, whether the defendant practised as an apothecary on his own account before the 1st of August, 1815 for if he did, then there was an end of the case, ... and their decision upon that fact entirely depended on the credit, which they attached to the testimony in support of the articles of partnership with Sutton." When the jury retired they took a mere 20 minutes to return a verdict for the defendant. The editorial in *The Lancet* states that the verdict was "followed by one of those spontaneous ebullitions of public feeling by which vexatious and oppressive prosecutions are commonly stigmatised - it was received with applause". In the extracts of the case, below, further details of the case emerge and it may seem to a modern observer that both parties to the dispute may have "embroidered" the truth. Fernyhough continued in practice until his death in 1843.

Accounts of the case are given in the *Staffordshire Advertiser* of 22 Jul 1826 and in *The Lancet X* (1836) p561-2. In *The Lancet* there is a two-page editorial, dated 29 Jul, which shows the editor in support of the verdict. Here it is stated that their account⁴²⁸ was "a brief extract of the case as reported in the *Morning Chronicle* of Jul 19th". Evidently this case was seen to be one of national importance.

A report shows that Fernyhough recovered his costs of £151/5/5 from the Society of Apothecaries.

1825[sic] Michaelmas Term - Soc. Apoth. versus Fernyhough - Staffordshire - verdict for defendant; costs paid to him £151/5/5 [*Report from the Select Committee on Medical Education Part III* (1834) (Appendix No 12) p105-9]

(22 Jul 1826) *Staffordshire Advertiser*

The Apothecaries Company v Fernyhough (Special Jury)

The Court was crowded to excess on Monday morning [17 Jul] by individuals anxious to hear the proceedings in this case; and amongst them we noticed an unusual number of members of the medical profession to whom the trial was of intense interest. The following ten special jurymen and two tales were sworn to "try the issue joined between the two parties" in the present case: viz. ... Mr Field opened the proceedings. This was an action of debt to recover penalties of the defendant for having practised as an apothecary not being at the time duly qualified. The defendant pleaded the general issue.

Case for the Plaintiff: Mr Taunton addressed the jury. He was counsel for The Worshipful the Company of Apothecaries, London in this suit which had been instituted for the recovery of several penalties of £20 each from the defendant under the Act of the 55th of his late Majesty which renders liable to penalty every apothecary practicing without a certificate from the said Company with the exception of persons who had been practicing *bone fide* on their own account before the 1st August 1815 ... only ask for one penalty ... it is required that every apothecary should be conversant with the latin language ... [Fernyhough] At eight years of age he was placed in a parish school where he was taught to read and write at the rate of three pence or six pence per week ... Here he continued for the space of four or six years ... at twelve years of age he is traced to the shop of a Mr Heap a chemist and druggist at Wolverhampton; there he had an opportunity of compounding medicines ... From Mr Heape rather for the sake of his health than any thing else he went to a Mr Gaunt a surgeon at Longdon ... [from] Christmas 1814 to Spring the following year ... In the month of May in that year he went into the service of Mr Sutton a surgeon then living at Yoxall; he remained with Mr Sutton until his death in 1817 when he continued to live with the widow for the purpose of assisting her in the business, a surgeon by the name of Allsop being allowed by Mrs Sutton to use his name. Since this period he has continued to practice ... The jury had to decide whether Mr Fernyhough was in actual practice before [1 Aug 1815] ... The learned counsel then read the following letter from Mr Fernyhough to the Solicitor for The Apothecaries Company ...

To Edmund Bacot, Esq. Apothecaries' Hall, London. Sir, I received yours on the 16th instant and was much surprised, on perusing the contents. The person who as given the information to the Master and Wardens of the Society of Apothecaries respecting my not being duly qualified to practise as an Apothecary is incorrect. If I had been called upon by that person, whoever it may be, I could soon have satisfied him that I had a legal right to act as an Apothecary, and he would have appeared more like a gentleman; but as the matter as proceeded so far, I beg to inform you that I was in practice as an Apothecary prior to the Act of Parliament passed for the better regulation of Apothecaries in England and Wales. I entered into partnership with a respectable medical gentleman the 1st day of June 1815 consequently the stamped article of agreement of copartnership which instrument is in my possession will clearly prove that I am legally authorised to practise as an apothecary; therefore your informant is in error in supposing that I was not duly qualified; but I understand there is a gentleman in the neighbourhood carrying on the medical practice, who is liable to the penalties imposed by the said Act. I am, Sir, your obedient servant, J. Fernyhough. Yoxall near Litchfield, Dec 19, 1825.

[Witness] Elizabeth Fox: ... Mr Fernyhough attended her in the years 1817 and 1818; several of the family were ill of a breaking out. Cross examined by Mr Jervis The breaking out was the itch (laughter) ... Witness delivered Mr Fernyhough's bill to Mr Garner who is an apothecary at Yoxall twelve months ago. Mr Garner did not give her a new gown ... [Witness] Dorothy Hurst: ... Mr Fernyhough attended her a great many times ... He sent her a bill in which Mr Garner had taken from her [Witness] Miss Jane Hall: ... was called to prove the handwriting of the defendant in accounts made out against these witnesses ... to the late Mr Sutton, or to Mr Allsop for Mrs Sutton ... [Witness] George Hinckley (a man considerably advanced in years and very deaf) ... formerly kept a school at Hanbury; Joseph Fernyhough was one of his scholars ... believes the defendant went to a boarding school at Doveridge after he left him in 1809 [Witness] Mr James Heap chemist and druggist of

⁴²⁸ The account in *The Lancet* adds nothing of substance to that in the *Staffordshire Advertiser*.

Wolverhampton: Defendant came to him about the year 1810 and left him in the year 1814 ... cross examined ... defendant had free access to witness's library, which consisted for the most part of medical books, he was very assiduous in reasoning; he dispensed medicines occasionally and made up physicians' prescriptions. He understood the hieroglyphic figures that apothecaries use. He understood the technical latin words used in physicians' prescriptions ... [Witness] Mr William Gaunt surgeon and apothecary, Longdon, near Lichfield: ... he was not witness's assistant; he was not very studious, witness never saw him with a book in his hand; he had not access to witness's library; his habits were those of a farmer's son; he employed his time in strolling about ... he did not visit Daniel Knott ... witness never told Knott that defendant was learning his business and would make a clever fellow [Witness] Mrs Gaunt, wife of last witness: recollected Mr Fernyhough coming to her husband's house as a patient 10 or 11 years ago ... [Witness] Mr Thomas Baker: ... had paid medical bills to Mr Fernyhough on behalf of the estate of Mr Sutton ... towards the close of his life Mr Sutton was much addicted to liquor and that the business chiefly devolved upon Mr Fernyhough who appeared to be very skilful and attentive. [Witness] Miss Jane Hall: ... keeps a school at Yoxall ... Mr Fernyhough made application [interest at school] on behalf of Mr Morley surgeon of Uttoxeter ... defendant never applied on his own behalf [Witness] Edward Fern: ... he knew defendant when he assisted Mr Gaunt [and] Mr Sutton ... he gave great satisfaction; and he would call him sooner than any other gentleman ...

Case for the Defendant: Mr Jervis for the defendant proceeded to address the jury ... defendant who had the misfortune of being persecuted and prosecuted by the Worshipful Company ... Mr Fernyhough had carried on business as a surgeon and apothecary ... until at length a Mr Garner a rival apothecary of Yoxall had gone about and scraped together the bills of Mr Fernyhough's patients with a view to prove that Dr F had been practising contrary to the Act ... Mr Garner who was the real plaintiff was influenced by improper motives and had resorted to unworthy means to prove the disqualification of his client ... after he left the school at Hanbury he had gone to a boarding school at Doveridge and subsequently had gone to one at Westbromwich ... [discussion of lost "h" in has and use of the word "it" rather than he in the letter, above] ... [Witness] Mrs Mary Fernyhough the mother of the defendant: ... who was now 33 years of age, said he was born on Plough Monday 1794 [7 Jan 1794] but not christened till the year 1797. She described the progress of his education from the village to the boarding-school at Doveridge and Westbromwich; afterwards tracing him to Mr Heap's, Mr Gaunt's and Mr Sutton's to the last of whom she had furnished £100 for her son to be admitted into partnership with him. She also deposed that he went to Mr Gaunt as an assistant and was quite well at the time. [Witness] Mr Wm Cooper, brother-in-law of the defendant: proved that he saw the defendant repeatedly assisting Mr Gaunt in surgical operations in Mr Gaunt's surgery as well as making up medicine for him. He also saw the article of partnership executed at Mr Sutton's in May 1815 and the payment of the £100 by Mr Fernyhough. Sutton was very much addicted to liquor and known by the people around to be so and after the partnership the whole of the active conduct of the business devolved upon the defendant. [Witness] Mr Heap of Wolverhampton: being recalled proved that the defendant had paid him £100 upon his signing his indentures which were afterwards cancelled in consequence of disagreements between the parties. The indentures with Mr Heap and articles of partnership with the late Mr Sutton were then read in evidence. [Witness] George Wakelin was attended by the defendant in the year 1815 on the part of Mr Gaunt and he produced the medical bill of the latter which he said contained charges for the attendance of the former on two several occasions. [Witness] Ellen Hill and one or two other females also declared that Fernyhough had attended them for Mr Gaunt ... They spoke highly of defendant's attention and skill; and gave it as their opinion that Mr Gaunt could not be credited. Mr. Jervis said, he had upwards of 20 witnesses to show that the defendant was recognized as a partner with Mr. Sutton, and was known to be a skilful man. He must call them, unless the Learned Counsel for the prosecution gave in. Mr. Jervis then called one or two witnesses, who supported the positions he had laid down. Among them, to sustain the defendant's professional competency; was Dr. Jones; but the Court said that this testimony was extra-judicial, as the Act of Parliament specified the mode in which the professional qualifications of an apothecary were to be ascertained, and that mode was by a particular examination. Mr. Jervis strongly pressed for the further examination of his witnesses, and said it was due to the defendant, after his skill and orthography had been so impugned.

Summing Up: Mr. Justice Burrough said, that the attack was all nonsense; he had known gentlemen of the bar to write the words, ops, orse (hops, horse.) Justice Burrough, in summing up the evidence to the Jury, said, that the only question, was, whether the defendant practised as an apothecary on his own account before the 1st of August, 1815 for if he did, then there was an end of the case, he being, under such circumstances, excepted from the penal operation of the last Act of Parliament, for the better regulation of the trade of Apothecaries; and their decision upon that fact entirely depended on the credit, which they attached to the testimony in support of the articles of partnership with Sutton.

The jury after an absence from the court of about twenty minutes returned with a verdict for the defendant. This case occupied the Court from nine o'clock in the morning until six o'clock in the evening.

Y.1828 Lawsuit - John Garner versus Yoxall Friendly Society, debt

On 28 Jul 1828, at Stafford Assize Court, John Garner sued Shelley and others (the committee of the Yoxall Friendly Society) for £15/9/0 owing to him as "doctor" to the Society.

In 1821 the Yoxall New Friendly Society had been established at a meeting where some 70 members were present. John Garner M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1793-1851 was then appointed doctor and for his services was to receive 3/0 per annum for each member. He served this office until 14 Aug 1826 when a committee meeting peremptorily dismissed him and appointed in his place Joseph Fernyhough "surgeon & apothecary" ?1797-1843. Garner was then paid up to date but in the event continued treating some 75 members (of the total membership of 103) who signed a paper approving him as doctor. Subsequently the dispute was taken before the local magistrates who ordered a General Meeting to be held on 17 Dec 1827 at which 67 members attended. Of these 53 voted for Garner, three for Fernyhough and 11 abstained. On 11 Mar 1828 a further committee meeting was held at the Golden Cup Inn in Yoxall when it was ordered that Fernyhough be paid £15/12/0 (suggesting there were 104 members). On 28 Jul 1828 Stafford Assize Court ordered that Garner be paid damages of £15/9/0 subject to some legal points.

(29 Jul 1828) STAFFORD [Assize Court] July 28 Civil Side: Before Mr Justice Gazelee. Garner v. Shelley and others ... so much was the dismissal of the plaintiff contrary to the inclination of the general body that 75 out of 103 signed in his favour; and at a General Meeting out of 67 members who attended 53 voted for the plaintiff, three voted against him and eleven declined voting at all ... [at] appointment of the plaintiff in 1821 ... there were seventy members present ... the jury then returned a verdict for the defendant. Damages £15/9/0. [Star (London)]

An Appeal Court held in Easter 1829 settled the legal points and confirmed the damages. The report of this case is from John Tidd Pratt *The law relating to Friendly Societies and Benefit Building Societies ... Third edition* (1838) p96-102.

Garner v. Shelley and others. Easter Term, 10 Geo IV [1829], 5 Bingham, 477. By the Rules of a Friendly Society, a medical attendant was entitled to 3/0 per annum for every member; and a committee of the society were authorized to settle all disputes, grievances, &c relative to the affairs of the society, subject to an appeal to two magistrates. The plaintiff, who had been duly appointed medical attendant, was dismissed by the committee without any meeting of the members of the society at large, and another appointed. Upon an application to magistrates, they recommended a public meeting, which being convened accordingly, a large majority of the members voted for the plaintiff, who thereupon sued the defendant, the treasurer, for the 3/0 received to the use of the medical attendant: Held, that the plaintiff was entitled to recover, and that the defendant was not exonerated by an order of the committee not to pay.

This was an action of assumpsit, in which the declaration contained counts for money had and received by the defendants to and for the use of the plaintiff, and for money due upon an account stated between them. The cause came on for trial at the last Stafford Assizes, when the jury found a verdict for the plaintiff, with £15/9/0 damages, subject to the opinion of the Court upon the following case.

The plaintiff was a surgeon and apothecary. In the year 1821, a friendly society was established at Yoxall, subject to certain rules, orders and regulations, which were in due manner allowed, confirmed and approved by justices of the peace, assembled at a general quarter sessions of the peace; and the said rules, orders and regulations, as well as the tables of the said society, were deposited with the clerk of the peace, and enrolled at the same sessions. Among the said rules, orders and regulations were the following; viz.

1st, That the society was established for the purpose of raising by subscription from the several members thereof, and by voluntary contributions, a stock or fund for their mutual relief and maintenance in old age, sickness and infirmity, and for the benefit of the widows and representatives of deceased members in certain cases, and for no other purpose whatsoever.

2nd, That twelve discreet and intelligent persons, members of that society, should be annually chosen as a committee, which committee or any five of them, including the stewards or their proxies, should have the power to inquire into, settle and determine all grievances, differences and disputes whatsoever, which might or should arise relative to the affairs of the society, save and except that the parties aggrieved might appeal to any two magistrates, as empowered by the Acts relating to Friendly Societies. The committee, under the control of the high and deputy stewards, should have power to lend and dispose of the society's money at interest, in such way and manner, and in such sums as they believed to be most advantageous to the society, taking good and proper security for the same. The old committee should nominate and appoint the persons composing the new one, and six of them at least should be annually changed by ballot immediately after the new committee was chosen and formed. They, the said committee, should agree upon and appoint three sufficient, discreet and intelligent persons among the twelve composing such committee to act as stewards, and one as high steward, the other two as deputy stewards, to assist and help him the said high steward in the execution of his office. The high steward, in all matters of dispute or disagreement, either in the committee or the society at large, should always have the power and privilege of the casting voice; and if he should find it requisite to consider further the subject under discussion or in dispute, should for that purpose be at liberty to withhold his determination for the space of one month or 28 days, provided the subject would admit of such delay. The three stewards should give their joint bond to the society for the stock intrusted to their care and disposal; they should make up their accounts and deliver up every thing belonging to the society to the succeeding stewards the next club night after their being appointed, or forfeit £10, and no action or suit should be commenced without the approbation and consent of the committee or the major part of them, the high steward having in that case, as in all other cases, the privilege of casting vote.

16th, That each member should pay 3/0 annually to the society's doctor, in consideration of which, in case of sickness or lameness, he should be entitled to the necessary medicines and attendance his situation might require: every member to pay the doctor, whether in or out of his limits, provided he resided not more than five statute miles from Yoxall, and the first payment should become due on the 19th March, 1822.

By the 23d [Mar 1822], three stewards, whose names are therein mentioned, were appointed. When the society was established in 1821, the plaintiff was duly appointed the doctor to the society, and continued to fill that situation without any interruption till the month of August, 1826; but before that time, complaints of his negligence and misconduct as such doctor had been made by different members of the society to the high steward, and to some of the members of the committee. On the 14th August, 1826, a meeting of the committee was held, at which 11 members attended. No notice of that meeting was given to the plaintiff. After the committee had assembled, the plaintiff was sent for, but was not at home, and did not attend. A Mr. Fernyhough was also sent for. At this meeting the complaints against the plaintiff were discussed, but no evidence was given of the facts, and a vote of his dismissal and the appointment of Mr. Fernyhough was carried. Eight persons voted for Fernyhough, and two for the plaintiff. The following was a copy of the resolution of the committee:—

"Resolved, that Mr. George[sic, for John] Garner, the surgeon and apothecary of the society, be henceforth dismissed from that office, and that Mr. Joseph Fernyhough, surgeon and apothecary, be appointed to succeed him, and a proper proportion only of the members' subscription to the surgeon and apothecary be paid to the said John Garner for the period he has acted as such during the present year to this time, and that the remainder of such subscription be paid to the said Joseph Fernyhough. Also ordered, that a copy of the following notice be delivered to Mr. Garner forthwith."

"Sir, You are hereby informed, that the committee of the Yoxall New Friendly Society having met this day to consider the propriety of continuing you as surgeon of the society, it is agreed that your services shall cease from this day. I remain, for the deputy stewards and committee, Yours, &c John Jackson".

A copy of such notice was delivered to the plaintiff on the same or on the following day. The proportion of the members' subscription up to that time was paid to the said plaintiff, who did not, however, acquiesce in the dismissal, but did continually from thence attend as many members of the society as would permit him so to do, amounting to more than the majority; and 75 of them, the whole number being from 100 to 110, signed a paper approving him as a doctor. The judge left it to the Court to say, whether the proceedings of the committee were bona fide for the investigation of the complaints, or merely for the purpose of getting rid of the plaintiff, and appointing another medical man. The jury found the latter, and said the plaintiff was an injured man. The plaintiff had been and was then a member of the society. The defendants, on the 19th March, 1827, were elected stewards of the society, and continued to act as such till the month of May 1828; and in the early part of that year received from each of the several members of the society, according to the usual course, the sum of 3/0 for their respective payments to the society's doctor, under the 16th rule, for one year, ending on the 19th March 1828, which sums amounted to £15/9/0. Upon the 11th March 1828, the following order was made by the committee, and entered upon the books of the society:

"At a meeting of the stewards and committee of the Yoxall New Friendly Society, held at the Golden Cup Inn in Yoxall, this 11th day of March 1828, ordered, that the sum of £15/12/0 be paid to Mr. Joseph Fernyhough, surgeon and apothecary to the said society, that being the amount due to him for medicines and attendance for and on the sick and lame members thereof, we, the undersigned stewards and committee of the society aforesaid, considering the said Mr. Joseph Fernyhough the legally appointed surgeon and apothecary to such society; and we also further ratify and confirm his appointment to the said office. As witness our hands."

This was signed by the high steward and 10 others, members of the society. Disputes having arisen respecting the aforesaid vote of dismissal of the plaintiff, the committee (including the present defendants) and many members of the society, attended before two of the justices of the peace of the county of Stafford. It was denied, on the part of the defendants, that the magistrates had authority, under the statutes, to settle the matter themselves or make any order respecting it; but upon their recommendation, a public meeting of the said society was held on the 17th December 1827, of which the following notice was given:

"Yoxall New Friendly Society, December 6th, 1827. "It having been agreed, in pursuance of the recommendation of the magistrates at their meeting at Whichnor Bridges, on Saturday last, that the votes of the members should be taken at the next clubmeeting to be held on the 17th December instant, for a surgeon to the club, you are requested to attend to give your vote on that occasion."

The meeting was attended by the present defendants, who were stewards, the rest of the committee, and by a very large majority of the members of the society, and at such meeting fifty-three voted for Garner, eleven were neuter, and three voted for the rival surgeon. The plaintiff, before the action was brought, demanded the money of the defendants, who refused to pay him, alleging that the committee considered Mr. Fernyhough to be the legal doctor. The question for the opinion of the court was, whether the plaintiff was entitled to recover from the said defendants the said sum of £15/9/0 above demanded, or any and what part thereof. If the court should be of opinion that the plaintiff was so entitled, the verdict was to stand for such sum as they should think fit; if not, a nonsuit was to be entered.

Spankie, Serjeant, for the plaintiff, was stopped by the Court. Russell, Serjeant, for the defendants, contended first, that under the second rule for settling all disputes, &c the committee had the power to dismiss the doctor without the concurrence of the rest of the society, and that, if so, the plaintiff having been duly dismissed, was incompetent to maintain the present action. And secondly, at all events, the defendants having acted under the orders of the committee in refusing to pay the plaintiff, were not liable to be thus sued. The 59 Geo III c128 s9 made the rules of the society binding, subject to an appeal under the 33 Geo III c54 s15; and after Fernyhough had been duly appointed, the defendants would have no answer to an action by him, for the very sum now claimed by the plaintiff.

Best, C.J.: I am of opinion that this action is maintainable. It does not appear that the matter in which the committee have taken upon themselves to decide, is a dispute or grievance which it was within their province to determine on; and the jury have found in effect, that they were not acting so much with a view to remedy a grievance as to promote a job for bringing in as medical attendant a friend of some of the influential members. Then the parties go before a magistrate; a meeting is convened pursuant to his recommendation, and it is agreed by a great majority of the society, that the plaintiff should be restored. After that, what had been done before was undone. As to any claim of Fernyhough, if

the defendants pay him, they will do so in their own wrong; but, at all events, paying the wrong person will not exonerate them from paying the right.

Park, J.: concurred.

Burrough, J.: To have given any colour to the dismissal of the plaintiff there should have been a summons, evidence and hearing. There is no proof that the dismissal was authorized, and our judgment must be for the plaintiff.

Gaselee, J.: concurred.

Judgment for the plaintiff.

Y.1829 Stoke-upon-Trent New Union Friendly Society Rules

Rules, orders & regulations, to be observed by the New Union Friendly Society, held at the Union Hotel, in Lane-End, in the parish of Stoke-upon-Trent, in the County of Stafford [Eliz. Forrister, Printer and Bookbinder, Lane-End]

WE hereby declare that the design and intention of this Society, is to place the Means of providing for the various Casualties of Life, upon the most respectable and permanent Foundation, so that the Members thereof, may, by small Monthly Payments, secure to themselves Relief and Maintenance, in Sickness, Old Age, and Infirmary, and for the decent Interment of the Deceased Members, and for no other purpose whatsoever; and to that end, the following Rules, Orders, and Regulations, have been framed and agreed to.

RULE FIRST. That the Members of this Society shall meet the first Monday in every Calendar Month, at the Union Hotel, in Lane-End, in the Parish of Stoke-upon-Trent, in the County of Stafford, or at any other place in the County of Stafford, as the majority of the Society present at any General Meeting, shall from time to time appoint, due notice of removal being given to the Clerk of the Peace, pursuant to 10 Geo IV c56 s10, and there the business of the Society shall be carried on, between the Hours of Seven and Nine o'Clock in the Evening, from Lady-Day to Michaelmas, and from Six to Eight o'Clock from Michaelmas to Lady-Day; and each Member shall then pay to the Fund, the sum of one shilling and three-pence; and if any member shall neglect to pay all arrears of his subscription, at the end of every three months, he shall forfeit two-pence, if he neglects to pay the same at the end of four months, he shall forfeit six-pence, if he neglects to pay the same at the end of five months, he shall forfeit one shilling and two-pence, and in default of payment at the end of six calendar months, he shall forfeit two shillings and six-pence, and not be entitled to any sick pay from the fund for six calendar months afterwards, (though in case of his death within that time, his funeral money shall be paid, after deducting therefrom all his arrears,) and any member neglecting to pay off his arrears, on the club night preceding the feast day, or on the morning of the feast day, shall forfeit two shillings and six-pence, over and above the beforementioned fines, and if all arrears with the forfeits shall not be paid within twelve calendar months from the first default in payment, such member shall be totally excluded. Should any member send his subscription by another member, to be paid into the fund, before the expiration of six months, and such other member shall neglect to pay the same, he shall forfeit five shillings or be excluded from the society; but the member who sent his arrears, shall not be subject to any forfeit on account of such breach of confidence.

SECOND. That a general meeting of the society be held annually, on the Tuesday in Blurton Wake Week, on which day, the High Steward shall cause a Sermon to be preached in the Church at Lane-End, or in the Parish Church at Stoke-upon-Trent, and each member shall attend at the appointed place of meeting for the time being, by nine of the clock in the morning of that day, (unless prevented by sickness or any other cause, to be allowed by a majority of the committee for the time being) clothed in decent and clean apparel; and each member so clothed, shall arrange himself with some other member, and walk with regularity and decorum, two abreast, to the place of worship, and shall continue there during the performance of Divine Service, and on the conclusion thereof, shall, with like regularity and decorum, return to the place where they assembled, and enter the dining room in the same form, and place themselves at table as directed, and not in a confused or disorderly manner. No member after being seated at the table, shall cut or partake of any provisions then provided, until some respectable person present shall order, by first having said Grace: and no member shall hide, give away, or waste any victuals; nor shall any woman, or boy under fifteen years of age, be permitted to walk in the procession on that day, as substitute for a member. Every member acting contrary to these Rules and Orders, shall forfeit two shillings and sixpence. That a Victualler residing in the parish of Stoke, (to be chosen by the Stewards and Committee for the time being) shall provide a sufficient Dinner on the same day, at the Union Hotel aforesaid, or such other appointed place for the time being; and every member present or absent, shall pay such contributions towards the expenses of such feast, as the Committee shall direct, no part of such expense being taken from the funds of the Society.

THIRD. If any member who has been in the society for the space of one year, shall be rendered incapable of labour, either from sickness, lameness, blindness, or any other infirmity with which it may please God to afflict him, he shall give notice of his inability to work, to one of the Stewards, who, on being satisfied of his being entitled to relief, shall give him an order on the Treasurer, to receive seven shillings per week, during the time of his sickness, and every separate sum paid, shall be entered on the member's card by the Treasurer: but if he continues unable to labour more than twelve calendar months, he shall thereafter be allowed four shillings per week, during his then present, or any subsequent illness. And if any such sick member shall happen to die before his arrears shall be paid to the box, the same shall be made good out of the money to be paid by the society at his decease. And as casualties often occur, in consequence of which members may be rendered unable to follow their usual employments, but yet be able to contribute, in some degree, to their support and maintenance, the Committee for the time being are hereby empowered to make such arrangements with such infirm and superannuated members, by allowing to do and get what they can, on condition of abating a proportionate part of their weekly allowance from the fund, so that it appears on due examination, that the contingencies for which the society intend to provide, are all fairly met and provided for. Any member residing at the distance of four miles from the box, and claiming the benefit of the society, shall send a certificate of his disorder, signed

by the Surgeon and the Minister of the place where he resides, or is sick, either to the Treasurer or a Steward of the society, before he shall be entitled to relief; and if the certificate set forth the day when the sickness commenced, he shall be paid from such day, otherwise from the date of the certificate. If any member be suspected of counterfeiting sickness, disease, or inability to work, for the purpose of defrauding the society, the Committee are hereby empowered to call in any Physician they may think proper, in order to elicit the truth, and such member may refer his case to the Physicians of the North Staffordshire Infirmary, and their opinion shall decide the case. If any member be imprisoned for debt only, and be visited during his imprisonment; with sickness, he shall be entitled to the benefit of the fund, on proof sickness being given to the Stewards. And if any member of this society become so poor as to need parochial relief, and cannot obtain it without being removed to the Parish Workhouse, he shall be excused his monthly subscription, so long as he continues there, and if he be sick, his weekly pay (after deducting his arrears) shall be laid out for his advantage by the Stewards, in such way as they may deem most fit and proper, but he shall receive no money,

FOURTH. No member of this society shall be entitled to the benefit of the same, for any sickness, lameness, blindness, or any other disease or infirmity, which he may have brought upon himself by fighting, fencing, wrestling, or any other needless or foolish exercise, unless it be proved by one disinterested witness, at least, that such fighting was unavoidable and in his own defence, nor from any wound or distemper contracted at any time during his membership, in consequence of a dissipated course of life; nor if it appear that he gained admittance into the society by any craft or imposition, or was not elected a member by three-fourths of the members then present,

FIFTH. A Steward on receiving notice of the sickness or infirmity of a member, and thereby claiming relief, shall visit such sick member, (if he reside within one mile of the box) within two days after such notice, or forfeit six-pence, and immediately make out a list of seven of the nearest resident members he knows of, who shall visit the sick member alternately, every day, for one month, passing the list from one to the other; and if such member continue sick more than one month, then the Steward shall make out a list of seven other members, who shall also visit in the like manner: and if the Steward neglect to prepare such list, he shall forfeit one shilling; and every such member neglecting to visit, or to pass the list with regularity, shall forfeit six-pence. On the monthly meeting (or sooner if convenient) after the decease of any member who has been in the society twelve calendar months, Ten Pounds shall be allowed to his Widow (if living with him previous to his death, and not separated, from improper conduct), his Children, his Legatee, or legal Representative, towards defraying the expenses of his interment. And if any disputes arise, as to who should receive the same, the money shall be paid to the party or parties who shall appear to the Committee to be entitled to it. And if the deceased member have received the benefit allowed by the society at the death of a Member's Wife, the same shall be deducted from the Ten Pounds, being half-pay due at the member's own death. Any member who has been in the society twelve calendar months, shall on the death of his Wife, be entitled to Five Pounds, to be paid on the first club night after her decease, or sooner if convenient; but not for more than one Wife, nor more than once in his life; and the same shall be considered to be half the allowance due from the fund at the member's own death: and if the Committee require a Certificate of Marriage, it shall be produced before the benefit be allowed. On the first monthly meeting after the death of any member or his wife, the Stewards shall cause a board to be placed in some conspicuous part of the room, announcing the death of such member or wife, and this shall be deemed sufficient notice of the same to the whole society; and within three months from the date of such

notice of the death of any member, every member shall pay to the fund, the sum of one shilling, or in addition thereto, forfeit six-pence; and at the death of a member's wife, each member shall pay six-pence, or in addition thereto, forfeit six-pence.

SIXTH. On the decease of any member residing within two miles of the box, twelve members who shall reside nearest such deceased member, shall follow his corpse to the grave, if buried at Lane End; six of such members to be chosen by the Stewards, and six by the Widow of the deceased (if living) or by his next of kin, or person entitled to receive the benefit of the society, on such member's decease: and each member so chosen, upon receiving notice thereof, and neglecting to attend, shall forfeit one shilling to the fund. If the deceased member's Widow, next of kin, or person entitled to receive the benefit of this society at his decease, shall refuse, or decline to choose such six members, she, he, or they shall give notice to the Stewards, who shall then choose the whole of the twelve members. The Stewards, or either of them, refusing to nominate six or twelve members, (as the case may be) for the purpose aforesaid, shall forfeit two shillings and six-pence to the fund.

SEVENTH. A Surgeon and Apothecary shall be appointed by the Society, to attend upon all the afflicted members residing within five miles from the box, as often as the nature of their complaints may require, and to supply them with such medicine as shall be requisite and necessary; and in case of sudden or dangerous illness, to visit, or procure another Surgeon or Apothecary to visit such member by day or by night, with all convenient speed, to render all the assistance in his power; and he shall (if required) inspect members on admission, to guard the society from imposition. He shall be elected by a majority of the members, at their Annual Meeting, on the Tuesday in Blurton Wake Week, and be paid such sum annually as he may agree for.

EIGHTH. The officers of this society shall consist of three Trustees, a Committee of eleven Members, a High Steward, who shall act as Treasurer, two Under Stewards, a Clerk, Recorder, Constable, and two Auditors, who shall be elected at the Annual Meetings on Blurton Wake Tuesday, and put in nomination at the monthly meeting preceding, by the then respective acting officers, save and except the Auditors, in whose nomination and election they shall have no voice. All the members of the committee shall attend at the place and time of business, if resident within four miles, and not prevented by sickness; and if not there at the second calling of the list, shall forfeit six-pence: and if any one refuse to act, or find a substitute to be approved of, he shall forfeit two shillings and six-pence. The committee to have the execution of the powers given by 10 Geo IV c56 the transactions of such committee being controlled by a majority of the society, at any general meeting. If the stewards be absent, the oldest member of the committee shall act as steward for the night. The high steward shall give security, with two sufficient sureties, to the Clerk of the Peace for the County of Stafford, pursuant to 10 Geo IV c56 s11 for all the monies, securities, and effects, books, papers, and property, of and belonging to the society, deposited in his care; and no money belonging to the society shall be invested otherwise than as sanctioned and allowed by 10 Geo IV c56 s13 nor in any case without the consent of a majority of the members: he shall receive all the funds of, and pay all the lawful demands on this society: he shall also pay, or cause to be paid, all the sick and superannuated members, at request and order of the under stewards, and place the amount on the claimant's card. All the effects of the society shall be vested in the high steward, as treasurer for the time being, for the benefit of the society, who shall deliver up to his successor, all securities, vouchers, and balances in his hands; and shall possess a power, with the consent of the committee, to remunerate any person for services rendered to the society, such remuneration to be paid by contribution from the members for the time being, and not to be taken from the funds of the society: and if he refuse to act after being duly elected, he shall forfeit five shillings. He shall once in every year, prepare a general statement of the funds and effects, of or belonging to the society, specifying in whose custody or possession, the said funds and effects shall then be remaining, together with an account of all and every, the various sums of money received and expended, by or on account of the said society, since the publication of the preceding periodical statement, which statement shall be attested by the two auditors, and countersigned by the clerk of the society; and every member shall be entitled to receive a copy of such statement, on payment of six-pence. The clerk shall keep all the accounts of the society, enter all monies received and paid, the names of those who have applied for relief, with their continuance on the funds, as a check on the stewards, and write all notices: he shall also enter all the decisions of the committee, the names of the officers who are annually chosen, and other incidental business, and if either steward or clerk refuse to act, after being duly elected, he shall forfeit ten shillings and six-pence, or find an approved substitute; or if either one be absent at the hour of business, he shall forfeit one shilling. The Auditors to be elected and chosen by a majority of the members not holding any office, (no officer taking any part in either the nomination or election) and to attend from time to time, to inspect the books and accounts, to which they shall have access at all reasonable times, to see that the business is regularly and correctly performed, and on the day after the feast day, shall make out a full, clear, and correct report of all receipts, disbursements, and balances in hand; and if either one refuse to act, after due election, he shall forfeit ten shillings and six-pence, or be excluded all benefit from the funds of the society. The Stewards shall be Householders, receive the money, order payments to sick and superannuated; who shall balance their cash accounts with the clerk's account, on the day after the feast day, and pay over the amounts to the Treasurer, or in default thereof, they shall be proceeded against for recovery of the amount due, pursuant to 10 Geo IV c56 s14. The constable shall keep order; and if he refuses to act, he shall forfeit two shillings and six-pence; and if he neglect to attend the monthly and other meetings, he shall forfeit six-pence for each neglect. No member of this society shall be permitted, or compelled to serve any office therein, more than once in three years, except the clerk, and that with his consent only.

NINTH. If any member shall enlist into his Majesty's regular forces or militia, or enter into the navy, it shall be lawful for the society, at any of their general meetings, to exclude him therefrom; but on his returning free from bodily injury or infirmity, discharged from the said service, such member shall have a right to enter again into the said society, if he be within the age of admission by the general rules of such society; and upon such re-entry he shall be entitled to all the benefits of the said society in as full a manner as if he had not been excluded from the same.

TENTH. Any member of this society shall be at full liberty to propose at any meeting, any new regulation, or other matter or thing relating to the organization, government, and well-being of the society, but on condition that he rise and

address the Stewards, and when he has done speaking, sit down again, or be fined twopence. And if any member interrupt another when speaking, he shall be fined two-pence. But if any member, in a litigious and disputing temper, interrupt the course of business, or disturb the peace of the society, or refuse to be silent at the call of the constable, he shall be fined six-pence for the first offence, and if he persist in his disorderly conduct, he shall be fined five shillings more. And if any member insult the officers, or raise any scandalous and unfounded report, reflecting on their conduct in office, he shall be fined two shillings and sixpence.

ELEVENTH. No person shall be admitted a member of this society, who has not given one month's notice of his intention to the committee, nor if he has engaged in any extremely hazardous employment; neither shall any person be admitted a member, unless elected by three-fourths of the members then present, and unless he be of sound healthy body and mind; neither shall any one (except members' sons) be admitted a member either under sixteen or above thirty-five years of age; and every person so qualified, shall, on his entrance, pay to the fund three shillings, and also six-pence for a copy of these articles: and every member so entering, shall be entitled to the benefit of the fund at the expiration of twelve calendar months after the time of such entrance, and shall be exempt from payments to funerals, till the expiration of twelve calendar months from his entrance. Every member of this society who hath a son or sons of the age of fifteen, and not exceeding sixteen, who has had the small pox, and shall not be infirm, or otherwise afflicted with any disease, shall enter him or them into the society, and pay three shillings for such son's entrance, and in default thereof, such member shall be fined five shillings; and every member's son on his admission shall be entitled to a copy of these rules gratis. The majority of votes in all elections, and on all occasions, shall appear by ballot.

TWELFTH. If any member shall enter the club room disguised in liquor, or shall curse, swear, or use any indecent language, or offer to game, or lay any wager, during club hours, (which shall be denoted by the articles hanging up in the club room) or shall not keep silence during the call of the members, or if any member shall upbraid another with having received the benefit of the box, or use any taunting or offensive expressions to another, he shall forfeit two-pence for each offence; and if any member shall hear the same, and not inform the stewards, or member who shall preside for the night, he shall forfeit twopence; and if any member shall strike a blow in the club room, during club hours, he shall forfeit six-pence for the first offence, and if he offends a second time in one night, he shall forfeit one shilling for such second offence, and double that sum for every subsequent offence. No person who is not a member shall be admitted into the club room during club hours, (except upon business) without the consent of the stewards or person presiding as such, and every person so admitted shall be subject to these articles in every respect: and any member who shall introduce a stranger without consent, shall forfeit two-pence. Every member on entering the club room shall take off his hat, and keep the same off so long as he remains there, or forfeit two-pence. All forfeitures that shall be incurred so long as the articles hang up in the club room, shall be either immediately paid, or on the following club night, which together with all others herein-mentioned, and not otherwise directed shall go and be paid to the box.

THIRTEENTH. If any member of this society be convicted of murder, burglary, fraud, felony, or any other flagrant violation of the laws of this realm, he shall be immediately excluded: but any member wishing to withdraw himself from this society, shall be at liberty to do so, on giving six calendar months notice, in writing, to the stewards, and shall be free at the expiration of that time, on paying up his arrears and fines.

FOURTEENTH. All necessary Books shall be provided by the respective officers, in which shall be kept clear and distinct accounts of all receipts and disbursements, and be settled and balanced every Blurton Wake Wednesday: the books shall be in the care and keeping of the respective officers, and delivered up to the newly elected officers, from year to year. Cards shall be provided for every member, for which he shall pay one penny, on which shall be entered by the clerk, every description of payment in its proper place; and every member neglecting to produce his card at the time of payment, shall forfeit one penny. Every sick and superannuated member shall present his card to the treasurer, when he applies for his pay, and the treasurer shall place the sum paid in the card, which shall be presented to the committee for their inspection, at the next monthly meeting, or the said member shall forfeit six-pence.

FIFTEENTH. That if any excluded member shall commence legal proceedings against any of the stewards or other members of the society, for any demand which he may claim from the box, such steward or member shall be reimbursed all charges and expenses relating thereto, from the box, provided the defence of such proceedings has met with the consent of a majority of the members present at any meeting of the society, pursuant to 10 Geo IV c56 s21.

SIXTEENTH That the money subscribed, paid, or given to or for the use or benefit of the society, as well as the fines imposed, shall be appropriated and applied only for the purposes herein-before-mentioned; and if any monies of the society shall be misapplied by the trustees, or any other officer, he shall be liable to a fine of ten shillings, over and above the amount of the money so misapplied.

SEVENTEENTH. If any dispute or difference shall arise respecting or concerning the acts or deeds of any of the members of this society, or other matter or thing connected with or concerning the society, the same shall be decided by arbitration, pursuant to 10 Geo IV c56 s27 seven persons (none of whom shall be directly or indirectly beneficially interested in the funds of the society) shall be chosen to act as Arbitrators, out of which number, three shall be elected by ballot for each case of dispute, the names of the seven being written on paper, and placed in a glass or box, and the three whose names shall be first drawn out by the clerk, shall be the three Arbitrators to whom the dispute shall be referred,

EIGHTEENTH. This society shall not be dissolved, nor any division or distribution of the stock, or any part thereof be made, so long as the intents and purposes for which the same was formed remain to be carried into effect, without the consent of five-sixths of the members thereof, and all persons receiving, or entitled to receive any benefit from the same, testify their approbation under their own hands, pursuant to Statute 10 Geo IV c56 s26 but if the members agree to dissolve the society, and divide the stock, each member shall receive his proportionable share of the same.

NINETEENTH. That THOMAS CHADWICK, of Lane End, in the Parish of Stoke-upon-Trent, in the County of Stafford, Surgeon; SAMUEL HUGHES, of Lane-End aforesaid, Gentleman; and GEORGE YOUNG, of the same Place, Gentleman, be appointed Trustees for this society, with such powers and authorities as are given and granted to them as such Trustees, in and by an Act of Parliament, passed in the tenth Year of the Reign of his present Majesty, King George the Fourth, intituled "An act to consolidate and amend the Laws relating to Friendly Societies," and by the Provisions of which Statute, this Society shall be governed.

Allowed and Confirmed at the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace for the County of Stafford, held upon Wednesday, the Twenty-first Day of October, 1829. Oswald Moseley, E. Monckton, jun. - Two of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said County.

I do hereby certify that the above Rules were enrolled in the Office of the Clerk of the Peace, for the County of Stafford, at the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace, of the said County, held upon Wednesday, the Twenty-first Day of October, 1829. Sinckler Porter, Deputy Clerk of the Peace.

We do hereby certify, that the above Rules and Tables are approved by us, as fit and proper, according to the most correct Calculation of which the nature of the case will admit. Richd. Mills, Thomas Shaw, Actuaries and Accountants. Officers of the New Union Friendly Society held at the house of Mr Bradbury. High Steward: George Weston; Under Stewards: Felix Mayer, James Brammer; Clerk: John Lovatt; Recorder: John Spencer; Committee: John Waive, Thos. Hilditch, Robert Bryan, Wm. Bettaney, Wm. Jervis, Caleb Harding, Wm. Cook, Jonn. Adkins Jun. Job Burton, Thomas Cotton, James Bullock, John Devonport; Constable: John Adams;

Y.1832 Bilston cholera outbreak of 1832

Y.1832.1 Introduction; Y.1832.2 Extract from William Leigh's *Authentic Narrative* ; Y.1832.3 Bilston Cholera Hospital (1832); Y.1832.4 Bilston Cholera School (1833-1847)

Y.1832.1 Introduction

Bilston suffered from an outbreak of cholera from 4 Aug to 21 Sep 1832. This was part of an epidemic which reached Europe in 1829 and first arrived in Great Britain in 1831. The first outbreak was in Oct 1831 at Sunderland, co Durham where on 20 Oct the first death was recorded. Most serious outbreaks occurred in Scotland and the north of England with a smaller number around the West Country and one in London. In the Midlands only Nottingham in Jun 1832 and Bilston had serious outbreaks⁴²⁹.

•Cholera - Major epidemics in Great Britain 1831-1832				
Place	County	Start	End	Deaths
Sunderland	Durham	Oct 1831	Jan 1832	215
Newcastle	Northumberland	Dec 1831		801
Gateshead	Durham	Dec 1831		148
Haddington	Scotland	Dec 1831	Feb 1832	65
Tranent	Scotland	Jan 1832	Feb 1832	78
Musselburgh	Scotland	Jan 1832	Feb 1832	202
Edinburgh	Scotland	Jan 1832		1065
Leith etc	Scotland	Jan 1832		319
Glasgow	Scotland	Feb 1832	Nov 1832	3166
Paisley	Scotland	Feb 1832	Nov 1832	444
Greenock	Scotland	Feb 1832	Nov 1832	436
London	London	Feb 1832	Dec 1832	5275
Hull and Goole	Yorkshire East Riding	Apr 1832		336
Liverpool	Lancashire	Apr 1832	Nov 1832	1523
Dundee	Scotland	Apr 1832		512
Manchester	Lancashire	May 1832	Jan 1833	706
Salford	Lancashire	May 1832	Jan 1833	216
Leeds	Yorkshire West Riding	May 1832	Nov 1832	702
Plymouth	Devon	Jun 1832	Sep 1832	702
Devonport	Devon	Jun 1832	Sep 1832	228

⁴²⁹ The table (dates are given only as a guide) and background information are taken from E. Ashworth Underwood "The history of cholera in Great Britain" in *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 41 (1947) p165-73.

East Stonehouse	Devon	Jun 1832	Sep 1832	133
Warrington	Lancashire	Jun 1832	Sep 1832	168
Sheffield	Yorkshire West Riding	Jul 1832	Oct 1832	402
Nottingham	Nottinghamshire	Jul 1832		322
Bristol and Clifton	Gloucestershire	Jul 1832	Nov 1832	694
Exeter	Devon	Jul 1832	Oct 1832	345
Carlisle	Cumberland	Aug 1832		265
Bilston	Staffordshire	Aug 1832	Sep 1832	742
Dumfries	Scotland	Sep 1832	Dec 1832	418
Maxwelltown	Scotland	Sep 1832	Dec 1832	125

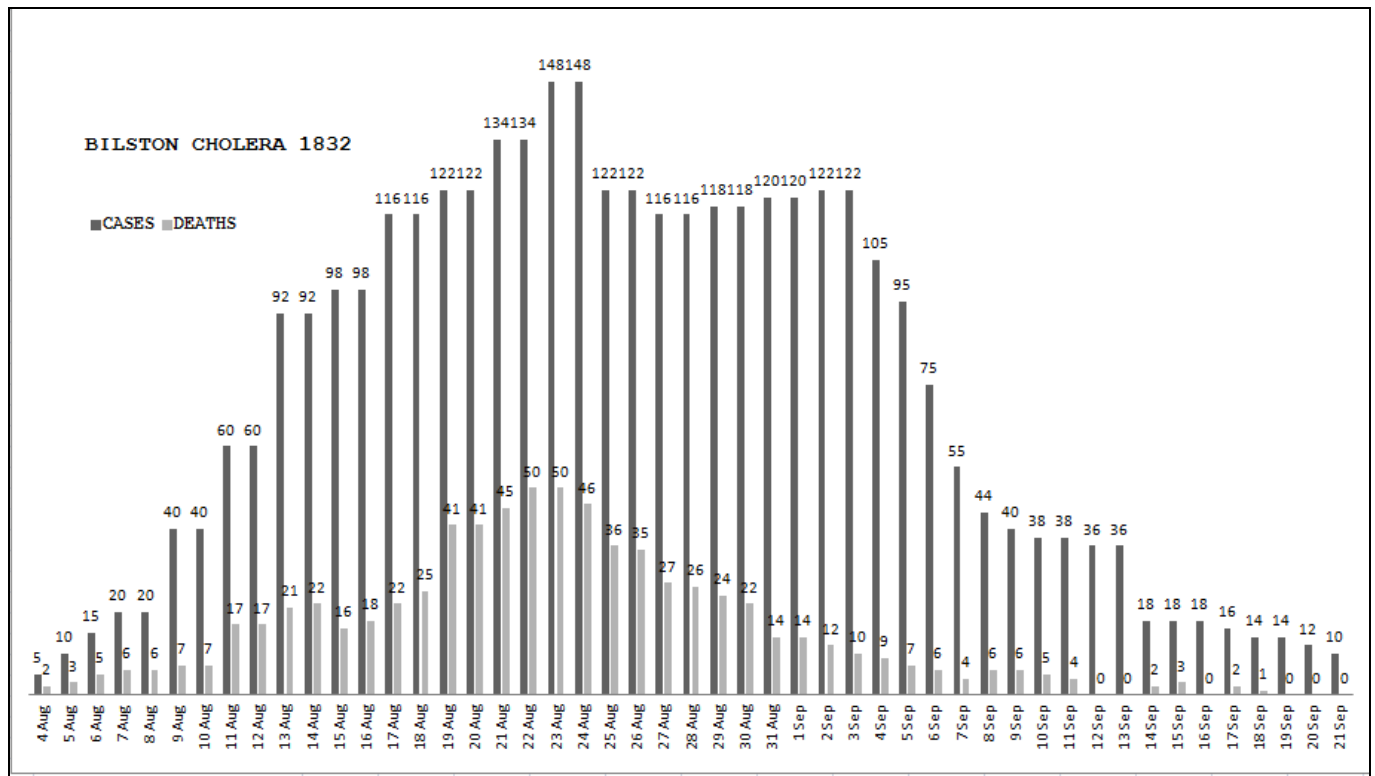
William Leigh M.A. c1778-1858, who from 1813 to 1835 was the anglican minister (or, Perpetual Curate) for Bilston St Leonard, wrote a full account of the cholera outbreak entitled *An authentic narrative of the melancholy occurrences at Bilston in the county of Stafford, during the awful visitation in that town by cholera, in the months of August and September, 1832, to which are added, the proceedings of the Local Board of Health, a list of contributions for the relief of the inhabitants, together with the application of the money, and other interesting particulars*. This was published by William Parke of 18 High Street, Wolverhampton in 1833. The extracts below are taken from this work which should be consulted for the very full picture it draws.

Leigh provides a table (below) of daily cases⁴³⁰ of and deaths from cholera. The outbreak commenced on 4 Aug 1832 and the last cases were reported on 21 Sep following.

•Cholera - Bilston outbreak 1832											
Date	Cases	Deaths	% deaths	Date	Cases	Deaths	% deaths	Date	Cases	Deaths	% deaths
								5 Sep	95	7	7%
4 Aug	5	2	40%	20 Aug	122	41	34%	6 Sep	75	6	8%
5 Aug	10	3	30%	21 Aug	134	45	34%	7 Sep	55	4	7%
6 Aug	15	5	33%	22 Aug	134	50	37%	8 Sep	44	6	14%
7 Aug	20	6	30%	23 Aug	148	50	34%	9 Sep	40	6	15%
8 Aug	20	6	30%	24 Aug	148	46	31%	10 Sep	38	5	13%
9 Aug	40	7	18%	25 Aug	122	36	30%	11 Sep	38	4	11%
10 Aug	40	7	18%	26 Aug	122	35	29%	12 Sep	36	0	0%
11 Aug	60	17	28%	27 Aug	116	27	23%	13 Sep	36	0	0%
12 Aug	60	17	28%	28 Aug	116	26	22%	14 Sep	18	2	11%
13 Aug	92	21	23%	29 Aug	118	24	20%	15 Sep	18	3	17%
14 Aug	92	22	24%	30 Aug	118	22	19%	16 Sep	18	0	0%
15 Aug	98	16	16%	31 Aug	120	14	12%	17 Sep	16	2	13%
16 Aug	98	18	18%	1 Sep	120	14	12%	18 Sep	14	1	7%
17 Aug	116	22	19%	2 Sep	122	12	10%	19 Sep	14	0	0%
18 Aug	116	25	22%	3 Sep	122	10	8%	20 Sep	12	0	0%
19 Aug	122	41	34%	4 Sep	105	9	9%	21 Sep	10	0	0%

⁴³⁰ Leigh acknowledges that many daily totals are averaged from two or three day periods.

These are also pictured in this bar chart:



On 6 Aug 1832 seven (or eight) medics were appointed members of the Bilston Board of Health for Cholera Outbreak (below). The five younger men were also employed to assist at £3/3/0 per day. Tragically two of them contracted cholera and died as a result. These men were:

Edward Best of Bilston L.S.A. 1795-1859; Norris Best of Bilston surgeon 1780-1861; Richard Spooner Cooper of Bilston M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1808-1890 (assisted); Thomas Wright Dickinson of Bilston L.S.A. 1807-1859 (assisted); Frederic Charles Proctor of Bilston "surgeon" 1803-1832 (assisted & died); Randle Turton of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1807-1860 (assisted); Thomas Marson Waterhouse of Sedgley L.S.A. 1799-1832 (assisted & died) (and) Thomas Perry [possibly not a medic or might be Henry John Perry of Wolverhampton M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1804-1864]

Some newspaper excerpts:

(27 Aug 1832) [Bilston] ... Mr Blunt, surgeon, of this town and four of the students of our medical school are appointed to superintend the Cholera Hospital in that place, while the directions of the Dispensary for the relief of bowel complaints instituted there by Dr Macann is superintended by the resident members of the profession. The number of deaths from the 4th inst up to Saturday amount to 450 according to the population one in thirty of the inhabitants. Two surgeons, Mr. Proctor and Mr Waterhouse, we regret to hear, have fallen victims during the week, and a third professional man, Mr Cooper, has been compelled to leave the town after losing a sister by the dreadful malady [Aris's Birmingham Gazette]

(5 Sep 1832) ... the two medical gentlemen fallen victims to the cholera at Bilston were Mr Proctor and Mr Waterhouse ... both had been most assiduous in their arduous duties and both fell sacrifices to their zeal in the cause of humanity and science [WTON:CHR]

(20 Sep 1832) At Bilston the cholera is very much on the decline which may in a considerable degree be ascribed to the establishment of dispensaries for bowel complaints so judiciously recommended by Dr Macann. On Thursday there were no funerals and the report of Friday contains no death. The state of the disease on Friday was as follows: new cases 6; deaths none. Total cases 2235; total deaths 687 [Cheltenham Chronicle]

Y.1832.2 Extract from William Leigh's *Authentic Narrative*

[Leigh writes] From the 8th of March [1832] till the first week in August, the general health of the inhabitants continued good, and it was fondly hoped that the pestilence would not visit us. Apprehensions indeed were excited about the middle of June, by the information that the disease had commenced its fatal work in the neighbouring parish of Tipton, and diligent enquiries were made from day to day of its progress among the people. Still we were mercifully spared, the mortality not exceeding its usual average. ... on Saturday morning, the **4th of August**, one of the Medical Practitioners (**Mr. Procter**, who afterwards perished) waited upon me with the melancholy intelligence that the disease had made its appearance amongst us in the person of Elizabeth Dawson, a married woman living in Temple-street, aged 35. There was some faint hope, however, that this was only a violent attack of English Cholera, brought on by her having, on the night before, imprudently eaten a hearty supper of pig's fry, and drunk a considerable quantity of small beer. The hope, thus cherished, soon vanished, for within an hour information was brought to me of two other victims to the disease, Richard Dyke, aged 16, in Bridge-street, and Mary Cleaton, aged 2, in Hall-street. All these situations are close and confined, and at nearly an equal distance (about 200 yards) from the brook, and about 400 yards from each other. The families were very poor, and their dwellings in a filthy state, but I cannot learn that they were leading a profligate life; nor is there any reason to suppose that they had had any communication with persons from Tipton, or the other neighbouring parishes where Cholera prevailed. and a Board of Health appointed, subject to the approval of his Majesty's Privy Council. I instantly wrote to have it confirmed, and on Tuesday morning, the **7th**, received the following answer — "*Central Board of Health, Council Office, Whitehall, 6th August, 1832. Sir, I am directed to transmit to you the enclosed order of the Lords of the Council appointing a Board of Health at Bilston, in Staffordshire, in conformity with the list of names transmitted in your letter of the 5th inst.*" ... On the 6th an arrangement was made with my excellent young friend Mr. Fletcher⁴³¹, the Minister of St. Mary's, for setting apart a certain portion of the burial ground belonging to that chapel for the interment of persons dying by Cholera. The crowded state of my own church yard rendered this absolutely necessary, and, St. Mary's having been newly consecrated, there was a sufficient space for the purpose. The melancholy and fearful task of consigning to this spot upwards of 400 bodies was performed by Mr. Fletcher, to whose kind co-operation as Secretary of the Board of Health, as a brother clergyman, and a friend, I am greatly indebted, ... Upwards of 300 were buried in the burial ground belonging to the Wesleyan Methodists ... On the **18th**, the report at the Board of Health filled us all with

431 Horatio Samuel Fletcher 1808-1871 was Perpetual Curate of Bilston St Mary which was a new parish created about 1830 from Bilston St Leonard.

consternation. Coffins could not be made fast enough for the dead. One of the Medical Practitioners had been attacked; the rest were sinking with fatigue from their professional exertions. In this distressing condition I was requested to go instantly to Birmingham, to endeavour to get a supply of coffins, and to consult with Dr. John Johnstone as to the best means of obtaining additional medical aid. I was also solicited to address His Majesty's Privy Council, and implore them to send us help without delay. I lost no time in executing my sad commissions; I happily found my much valued and respected friend, Dr. Johnstone, at his rooms; with his wonted kindness he afforded me all possible assistance, and through his recommendation I was enabled to secure the immediate and valuable services of Mr. Blunt, a Surgeon of talent and experience. He came to Bilston the following morning, where he remained in charge of the Hospital till the 14th of September. I hope it will not be unacceptable to this gentleman to be told, in these pages, that he discharged his perilous duties in a manner highly honourable to himself, most beneficial to the poor, and to the entire satisfaction of the Board of Health. Having succeeded so far, I called upon Mr. Sands Cox, a gentleman to whom the town of Birmingham is much indebted for the establishment of a School of Medicine, and for whose prompt and benevolent exertions, in aid of my suffering parishioners, I beg to offer my grateful acknowledgments. He sent us four of his Students on the **20th**, and another a few days afterwards; they continued at Bilston for some weeks, during which time Mr. Cox frequently visited them. On their departure, each received a gratuity of five guineas in addition to his salary, together with a certificate of good conduct. Mr. Cox also obtained for me a supply of coffins. ... On the **19th** I rose from my bed with a heavy heart, and had not long been down stairs before Mr. Blunt who had just arrived from Birmingham to enter upon his perilous duties, called for my advice. He had been at the Hospital, where he found every thing in the utmost confusion; the person in charge, appalled by his situation, during the preceding night had run away; the Nurses could not direct him where to find what he wanted for the wretched patients. Under these distressing circumstances no time was to be lost I well knew the condition of the Medical Gentlemen, and that from them no help could be expected. I hastened, therefore, with Mr. Blunt to the residences of two respectable Druggists, Mr. Bew and Mr White, to both of whom the poor of Bilston can never be sufficiently grateful for their constant and humane attention, from the first appearance of the disease to the time of its departure. Mr. Bew was ill in bed from fatigue; Mr. White kindly accompanied Mr. Blunt to the Hospital, and afforded him every possible assistance. ... On the **21st**, the following letter from the Lords of the Council, in answer to my application for medical help [arrived] "*Council Office, Whitehall, 20th Aug., 1832. Sir, Your letter of yesterday, addressed to the Secretary of the Central Board of Health, having been laid before the Lords of the Council, as containing a distressing representation of the ravages caused by the Cholera in the town of Bilston, I am directed by their Lordships to acquaint you that Dr. Macann [Francis Macann M.D.], a Medical Officer of great experience in the treatment of the disease, and possessing the fullest confidence of the Central Board, has been ordered to proceed without delay to Bilston, and to place himself in communication with you and the other authorities of the place, for the purpose of affording his best advice in the emergency. Dr. Macann will be followed, in the course of a day or two, by a younger Medical Gentleman, to act as an Assistant. I have the honor to be, Sir, Your very obedient servant, (Signed) WM. L. BATHURST.*" ... On the **22nd**, at the meeting of the Board of Health, the death of Frederick Charles Procter, one of the Surgeons, was announced⁴³². This gentleman was a widower, 29 years of age, in full health and vigour, and there is not the least doubt but that he fell a victim to his humane exertions amongst the poor, to none of whom he refused his services so long as his strength remained, whether they were likely to pay him or not. This is the more worthy of being recorded, because his circumstances were far from good; indeed he died insolvent, leaving behind him one child, an interesting little girl, seven years of age, without a single relation able to assist in supporting her. She has since found an asylum at Christ's Hospital, and is one of the scholars upon that establishment at Hertford, having been nominated thereto by Sir John Key, Bart., the late Lord Mayor of London. ... The death of **Mr. Procter**, joined with the alarming situation of the other medical men, threw a deep gloom over the meeting of the Board of Health, which was increased by the report received from the Parish Poor-house. Between that and the Hospital there was an open yard, but, to prevent any unnecessary communication, a separate road had been formed at some expence, by which the patients were admitted to the Hospital without going through the yard at all. Orders had been also given forbidding: any intercourse between the one place and the other. Unhappily these orders were not observed as they ought to have been, the bed linen of the sick having been imprudently taken from the Hospital to the Poor-house to be washed. Three women were employed in this service ... They were seized two days afterwards, and all perished on the 15th of August. ... We were discussing this painful subject at the Board of Health when Dr. Macann presented himself amongst us, His arrival in some degree dispelled the gloom by which we were surrounded. ... From the hour he came to that of his departure he was incessantly employed in the faithful discharge of his duties, in prescribing and carrying into effect measures for arresting the progress of the disease, in unremitting attention to the sick and suffering poor, and (what was of the last importance) in restoring confidence to the trembling inhabitants. By night as well as day these were his constant occupations, and the almost immediate change in the condition of the inhabitants proved how wise and salutary his arrangements were. Neither did he confine himself to Bilston; the whole of the surrounding district shared his advice, and reaped the benefit of his services. ... Since he left Bilston, Dr. Macann has been ordered by Government to Barbadoes, I fear upon the same dread errand which brought him here. ... To prevent, for the future, every kind of communication between the Hospital and the Poor-house, and to separate them entirely, a partition wall was erected, and it is a remarkable fact that no case occurred in the Poor-house afterwards. ... It was also resolved that a Dispensary should be immediately established, where the inhabitants might receive instant advice and relief in case they should be attacked with a looseness in the bowels. Dr. Macann urgently recommended this measure, and was requested, in conjunction with my faithful friend and medical attendant, Mr. Best, to take such steps as might be deemed necessary for the purpose. They hastened to carry the resolution into effect; on the **24th** it was acted upon, although the house taken for the Institution was not opened till the **26th**. ... The funeral of **Mr. Procter** was followed by the death of **Thomas Marson Waterhouse**, another of the Medical Practitioners. This respectable but unfortunate gentleman perished in the 33rd year of his age leaving a disconsolate widow, with four young and helpless children, in circumstances of the greatest difficulty and distress. Their names are Elizabeth Elvin, aged 6 years, Thomas, aged 4 years. Ann Vernon, aged 2 years, and Sarah Brereton, 7 months. ... On the **27th** there was much rain, the wind blowing from the south. There were 270 applications to relief, on this day, at the Dispensary, the beneficial effects of which began to be manifest. The Hospital also, and the House of Recovery which had been fitted up, were in a most efficient state and the Provision House was supplying thousands of the starving population twice a week with food. ... [McCann writes to the Wolverhampton Chronicle] The Dispensary was opened on the morning of Sunday, the 26th of August. Two Assistant Surgeons, paid by the Board of Health, are constantly in attendance, and the resident Surgeons of the town, three in number, visit the Institution daily at regular intervals. Bilston, **September 3, 1832.** ... [Leigh made an appeal for public donation] Heaven knows my extreme reluctance in making an appeal to the public at all. I was aware of the distress which existed in the adjoining parishes, and that in every part of this manufacturing district, wherever the hand of christian charity was mercifully extended, there numbers would be found ready and eager to grasp it. But our case was an extraordinary one; it was literally a case of life or death. Our wants, like our sufferings, were unexampled. In comparison with us, the chastisement of our neighbours was light; at Sedgley, containing a population of 20,577, there were but 290 deaths by Cholera, from the time it first made its appearance there till its departure; at Darlaston, with a population of 6,667, only 68 deaths within the same period. At Bilston, whose population amounted to 14,492, 3568 of the inhabitants were attacked, 742 perished, ... On the **19th [September]**, my parishioners lost the valuable services of Dr. Macann. That those services were duly appreciated, is manifest from the resolution which I was requested to transmit to the Lords of the Council, and the Central Board of Health. I also had the pleasure of conveying to Dr. Macann a cordial and unanimous vote of thanks, together with the earnest and sincere wishes of us all for his future welfare and happiness. ... A School, to be called "the Cholera Orphan School", is in the course of erection, and will soon be completed. With God's permission, it will be opened on the 3rd of next August [1833], the fatal day upon which the pestilence made its first appearance amongst us, and by its ravages deprived 450 helpless children, under twelve years of age, of one or both their parents.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOARD OF HEALTH At the Council Chamber, Whitehall, the **6th of August, 1832.** By the Lords of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council. It is this day ordered by their Lordships, that a Board of Health be constituted for the Township of Bilston, in the County of Stafford, consisting of the following Members, viz.: Rev. W. Leigh Chairman; Rev. H. S. Fletcher Secretary; Rev. J. Pool; Rev. J. Denison; Rev. J. Davies {S. Davies}; The Churchwardens and Overseers of the Poor for the time being; Messrs.; Adam Hill; J. Etheridge; Richard Thompson; Thomas Beebee; ; **Surgeons; Norris Best; E. Best; W. Waterhouse {T.M. Waterhouse}; T. Dickenson; T. Turton {R.**

432 [later Leigh says] The friends of Mr. Procter were anxious that his remains should lie by the grave of his wife, who had died about four years before. I could not comply, and assigned my reasons as gently and as tenderly as I knew how. The request was repeated and at length became so urgent that I was compelled to be peremptory in my refusal. The consequence was that the body, (although Mr. Procter was a member of the Church of England), was interred in the burial ground belonging to the Wesleyan Methodists.

Turton}; T. Cooper {R. Cooper}; T. Procter {F.C. Procter}; Thomas Perry. And the said Board are to proceed in the execution of the duties required of them accordingly. (Signed) C. C. GREVILLE. [NOTE: Corrections from Leigh's errata are in {.}]

Board of Health, School House, **August 7.** Ordered, That the large building, lately occupied by the detachment of the 21st regiment, be immediately fitted up with all necessary articles as a temporary Hospital, for the reception and cure of persons affected with Cholera. That a horse and covered carriage be provided for conveying Cholera patients to the Hospital, and a Nurse engaged to attend them constantly, with a salary of 10/0 per week and board and lodging. That the following **Surgeons, Messrs. Waterhouse, Cooper, Dickenson, Turton, and Procter,** be employed by the Board to attend Cholera patients needing parish assistance, and that their services be required twenty-four hours alternately; that they will be expected to write down the particulars of every case, to prescribe, to see that the medicines are properly dispensed, to meet the Board at six o'clock in the evening to certify the proceedings of the day, and to point out the existence in the township of any filth, or other offensive impurities dangerous to the public health, that the same may be removed. That the sum of £3/3/0 be paid to each Medical Gentleman for every day of attendance. [Leigh (1833) p2]

Board of Health, School House, **August 20.** Ordered, ... That Mr. Adam Hill and Mr. T. Beebee be requested to procure six additional Nurses at the Hospital. That Dr. Burgess, from Shiffnal, be paid £5, with an intimation that his services are no longer required. That it is necessary to appoint two additional Constables, to assist John Woolley and John Fellows. That the Chairman be requested to go to Birmingham, and endeavour to procure two additional Medical Gentlemen, and two Dispensers of Medicine, one of the latter having run away from the Hospital. That Mr. R. Thompson be requested to wait upon Mr. Bagley a Medical Practitioner, and solicit his services. That the resident Surgeons, having expressed their total inability to fulfil their important duties to the poor, and at the same time attend to their private practice, be no longer employed by the Board. At the same time, the Board are anxious to convey to all and each of those gentlemen their best thanks for their valuable services.

Board of Health, School House, **August 24,** half-past six. Ordered, That no cases be attended to by Mr. Blunt, the surgeon in charge of the Hospital, but those which come under the description of Cholera, and that all applications for cases of merely Bowel Complaints, be referred to the Dispensary. That a daily report be made by Mr. Blunt to the Board of the number of patients under his care at the Hospital, as also of those attended by Messrs. Boulton, Minster [later called Henry Francis Minster], Taylor [later called Henry Taylor], and Cooke, the Medical Students. That the Medical Gentlemen attending Cholera Patients in their private practice be requested to make a daily return to the Board of the number of such cases, and of the names and residences of those individuals, who are with their families likely to become chargeable to the parish.

Y.1832.3 Bilston Cholera Hospital (1832)

A temporary cholera hospital was set up during the 1832 cholera outbreak.

Superintendent

Joseph Blunt of Newcastle M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1806-1849

1832

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(27 Aug 1832) [Bilston] ... Mr Blunt, surgeon, of this town and four of the students of our medical school are appointed to superintend the Cholera Hospital in that place, while the directions of the Dispensary for the relief of bowel complaints instituted there by Dr Macann is superintended by the resident members of the profession. [Aris's Birmingham Gazette]

Y.1832.4 Bilston Cholera School (1833-1847)

Bilston Cholera School was built in 1833 at a cost of £400 supplied by the 1832 Cholera Fund. It opened on 3 Aug 1833 to provide education for upwards of 400 children orphaned during the epidemic. In 1847 the building was sold. In 1833 a commemorative medal, below, was issued.

(12 Aug 1833) BILSTON CHOLERA SCHOOLS Saturday last being the anniversary on which the cholera commenced its dreadful ravages at Bilston last year, the schools for the education of the poor children who have become orphans by that awful visitation were opened for their reception. Previous to this solemnity a neat and well executed medal had been prepared by Mr Ottley of Birmingham to commemorate the sad event, having on one side the front elevation of the school with the following inscription: "Cholera Orphan School, opened August 3, 1833. Number of orphans by cholera under twelve years or age, 450" on the obverse "Erected and supported by the fund subscribed by the British Nation for the relief of the sufferers by cholera at Bilston in the year 1832. Population of Bilston 14,492; persons attacked by cholera, 3,568; persons who perished by cholera, 742; The first case August 3d; the last death, Septmeber 18; Amount of contributions, £8,536/8/7. W Leigh A.M. Incumbent". ... the sight of upwards of 480 destitute children ... [Aris's Birmingham Gazette]



(1851) The Cholera Orphan School, built in 1833, at the cost of £400, and supported out of the interest of the cholera fund of 1832, was sold in 1847 ... [White]

Y.1836 Lawsuit - Simon Morgan versus the executors of Sarah Ironmonger, debt

In a "Nisi Prius" lawsuit at Stafford Assizes on 25 Jul 1836 Simon Morgan of Lichfield surgeon 1770-1850 brought an action against the executors of Sarah Ironmonger of Lichfield to recover money owing for medical services. Morgan had submitted a bill for £204/16/6 of which £96/16/6 was for medicines and £108 for attendances charged at £18 per annum (over 6 years). The executors had paid £124/10/0 into court being £96/16/6 for the full cost of the medicines and just £27/13/6 for attendances. This was only one quarter of the full £108 claimed for attendances and was a shortfall of £80/6/6. Their declared grounds for underpayment was that "the plaintiff, being a surgeon and apothecary, had no right to charge for his attendances, but only for the medicines". Evidence was presented that Morgan had almost daily over six years advised Ironmonger (who might be seen as

mildly eccentric) on matters of medicine, diet and exercise. Bills he had presented (now to be settled) had originally left blank the charge for attendance as was often the local custom. Regarding the right to charge for attendance two specific cases were cited and examined *Towne versus Lady Gresley* and *Handey versus Henson*. The judge then gave his opinion "that by the general law of the land, a surgeon and apothecary could not charge for his attendances" but that "a surgeon might charge for the attendance necessary to perform surgical operations". However he went on to say "His attendances upon this old lady were, indeed, unremitting ...in giving his advice, not only upon her state of health, but as to matters which did not always fall within the province of a medical man to advise upon; and for these services ... Supposing him to be entitled to charge for attendances at all, £18 per annum, being at the rate of a shilling a day, was certainly as moderate as could be expected." Here the implication appears to have been that an apothecary might charge for attendance on a person to offer non-medical advice. The jury then consulted and found a verdict for Morgan who was to be paid the shortfall of £80/6/6 subject to any question of law.⁴³³

**Action At Stafford To Recover Amount Of Claim For Medicines And Attendance
(Abridged From The Staffordshire Advertiser)**

Morgan V. Hallen And Another ... [The Lancet 26 (13 Aug 1836) p666-9]

Mr. Sergeant Talfourd stated the plaintiff's case. Mr. Morgan had carried on the business of a surgeon and apothecary, at Litchfield, for many years, and had brought the present action to obtain remuneration for professional services rendered to Mrs. Ironmonger, who died, at the age of 86, in May, 1835, the defendants being her executors. During the last six years of her life, the plaintiff was called upon to attend her almost every day, sometimes two or three times a day; and his residence being near, she was in the habit of sending for him at all hours, to ask his advice, not only as to the medicines she should take, but as to her diet; whether she should take a walk; and the provisions intended for her table were sent to Mr. Morgan for his opinion as to their goodness before she would use them. He also sent her medicine almost daily, but he was in the habit of sending it in the shape of a mixture, for which he charged 3/6, containing the same quantity as six draughts, for which the usual charge would be 9/0. It was in respect of these services that the plaintiff made his claim upon the executors, but which they had resisted. The whole bill amounted to £204/16/6, of which £108 was for attendances for six years at £18 per annum, and £96/16/6 for medicines. The defendants had paid into Court £124/10, and resisted payment of the full demand on the ground that the plaintiff, being a surgeon and apothecary, had no right to charge for his attendances, but only for the medicines. He (the learned Sergeant) was not aware of any law by which a medical practitioner in the situation of the plaintiff would be prevented from obtaining a reasonable compensation for his services, by whatever name they might be called. In the present case the charge for medicines was much lower than it would have been if the plaintiff had not intended to charge for attendances. It was his practice, in some instances, not to make a specific charge for his attendances, but to leave a blank for the sum, to be filled up at the discretion or the generosity of the parties; in general he found he had no reason to regret adopting that course, for the parties frequently estimated his services at a higher rate than he should have done. On other occasions it was otherwise. But in the case of the executors it was necessary to make a specific claim, and he was confident when they had heard the evidence, the jury would be of opinion that he was entitled to recover the full amount of that claim.

Mr. Major Butler Morgan, examined by Mr. McMahon. I am partner with plaintiff, in Boar Street, Lichfield. I had been his assistant from 1826 to January, 1835. Mrs. Ironmonger died in May, 1835; she lived 300 yards from the plaintiff's residence; plaintiff attended her professionally, and supplied her with medicines from 1821 to 1835; his attendances for the last six years were constant, three or four times a day sometimes; and the servant came two or three times a day for directions how her mistress should proceed as to diet and medicine; she would only see plaintiff; and until lately, when I have answered questions, she would not act upon my answers until she had seen Mr. Morgan; she generally sent to him at his meal times, in order to be secure of finding him; she always took medicine twice a day, generally oftener; she used to send an account every morning of how she passed the night, and received instructions from plaintiff as to how she was to proceed during the day. The servant would also come and say, "My mistress has had such or such a night; what may she have for dinner - a little salmon, or chicken, or a mutton - chop?" She had often sent a particular article of food to plaintiff, after it was bought, to see whether it was good, and to ask how it should be dressed. Mr. Phillips presumed that no charge was made for the plaintiff's services as a cook. (A laugh.) Mr. McMahon. - He gave his opinion as a chemist. Mr. Phillips. - The chemistry of a leg of mutton! Plaintiff's visits were much lengthened by his being obliged to attend to Mrs. Ironmonger's domestic troubles; they would often last half-an-hour; the charges were the same as we should make to the humblest individual. Plaintiff had many other patients, but none upon whom his attendances were so frequent or so troublesome; I think the bill is reasonable, considering there is to be a further charge for attendance. Mr. Morgan charges 1/3 for a draught; some medical men charge 1/6; it is usual with medical men at Lichfield to charge for their attendance as well as their medicines. Cross-examined by Mr. Phillips. - I have also brought a joint action against the defendant, in which I have charged attendances; I should have charged Mrs. Ironmonger the same sum if she had been alive as I have charged the executors; the articles of food brought were, partridges, fish, fowls, rabbits, &c.; it was not a post-mortem examination to ascertain whether they had died a natural death, but to satisfy the mind of the old lady; I cannot tell how many patients Mr. Morgan might have; as the old ones die off we get new ones. (A laugh.) A box of 18 pills is charged 2/0; that is dead cheap. Mr. Sergeant Talfourd. - I hope they were not Morison's pills. These bills (several were produced) were made out to the Rev. Mr. Probyn, for medicines and attendance for several years; he was not charged so much, as it was considered that he was in bad circumstances. Some of the attendances on Mrs. Ironmonger were when she was desired not to take medicines; advice as to what she should take for dinner was charged for; I consider that sort of advice of as much value as advice as to what medicine she should take; when the last bill was sent in, £20 was paid for attendances.

[Some witness statements] Wm. Pott, servant to the plaintiff from 1831 to 1834. I have generally been to Mrs. Ironmonger's eight or nine times a week. The servant used to come continually to know what she might eat - whether she might have a few turnips to a boiled leg of mutton, for instance. It was one person's work to open the door. Abraham Pass, Wm. Atkins, and Mrs. Hollier, who lived as servants with plaintiff, gave similar testimony. Rev. Thos. Levett. - I have employed plaintiff as my medical adviser; it has been my practice to pay for attendances as well as medicines. Rev. Dr. Harwood. - I reside in Lichfield; Mrs. Ironmonger had upwards of £400 a year; she also owned an inn at Birmingham. (Cross-examined.) - The plaintiff has attended me and my family, but I have not paid him for his "attendances;" I do not recollect his having sent in any bill. Mr. Alfred Dukes, surgeon, at Birmingham. I have been in actual practice 15 years; my practice has always been to charge for my attendances in addition to medicines.

Mr. Phillips objected to this evidence. The plaintiff, being a surgeon and apothecary, could not charge for his attendances. The question had arisen in the case of *Towne v. Lady Gresley*, (3rd Carrington and Payne), before Lord Wynford, Chief Justice of the King's Bench; who held that an apothecary might charge for his medicines or his attendances, but that he could not charge for both. In *Handey v. Henson*, (4th Carrington and Payne), Lord Tenterden had allowed the plaintiff, a surgeon and apothecary, to recover the full amount of his bill, which included charges for "attendances," but it did not appear that those attendances were not in respect of surgical operations, for which he would be entitled to charge, so that the judgment of Lord Wynford was not overruled by any subsequent decision. If so, evidence of an usage in Lichfield could not give the plaintiff a right which he did not possess by law; and evidence as to practices at Birmingham, and other places at a considerable distance, was still more objectionable.

Mr. Sergeant Talfourd contended that there was no law or act of parliament to restrain the plaintiff from charging for his attendances; and if usage to make such charges prevailed in Lichfield, it must be presumed that a contract existed on the part of Mrs. Ironmonger to pay the plaintiff for his attendances. The evidence, therefore, was to show, in the absence of any law, a usage from which a contract might be implied. The case of *Towne v. Lady Gresley* was a *Nisi Prius* decision of Lord Wynford, which had not been confirmed: on the contrary, the subsequent case of *Handey v. Henson* was directly the other way, and in that case it appeared, from a report which he had in his hand, contained in a volume of *The LANCET*, edited by Mr. Wakley, that the attendances for which the plaintiff recovered were not in respect of surgical operations, but in the ordinary business of a surgeon and apothecary, and Lord Tenterden considered it to be a question for the Jury, what was a reasonable compensation for the services rendered by the medical man in each particular Case.

⁴³³ The case is reported in the *Wolverhampton Chronicle and Staffordshire Advertiser* on 27 Jul 1836 and the *Staffordshire Advertiser* on 30 Jul and in *The Lancet*. Precise amounts of money and some other details vary in these accounts.

Mr. Phillips, in reply, read some passages from the report in *The LANCET*, to show what dependence he thought could be placed upon Mr. Wakley as a legal authority. Mr. Sergeant Talfourd said, "You ought not to attack Mr. Wakley, for you know you voted for him for Finsbury." (A laugh.) Mr. Phillips. - "Yes, gentlemen, I voted for Mr. Wakley, because I was quite sure that he would sit in the House of Commons on the same bench with Sergeant Talfourd, and that they would work together side by side. I think him a very clever man, but I have no respect for his opinion upon a point of law."

Mr. Justice LITTLEDALE said he thought the evidence must be rejected. His opinion was, that by the general law of the land, a surgeon and apothecary could not charge for his attendances, and therefore it was not competent to him to set up any custom prevailing in a particular part of the kingdom in contravention of that law. Fifty years ago probably no question of this kind would have occurred; but of late a practice had certainly arisen among this class of medical practitioners to make a charge for their services in addition to the charge for medicines. Still he was of opinion, that that usage, to whatever extent it might prevail, was not sufficient to support a claim for which there was no authority in law. A surgeon might charge for the attendance necessary to perform surgical operations; but it was considered that an apothecary was sufficiently paid for his superior skill and science, by the extra sum which he was allowed to charge for his medicines beyond the mere value of the drugs, or the sum charged by a druggist for compounding a physician's prescription. For instance, a druggist charged only 0/8 for a draught; an apothecary charged 1/6; and as there did not appear to be any statute or decision authorising an apothecary to charge for both medicines and attendances, he would reject the evidence of any particular usage to that effect.

Mr. Sergeant Talfourd objected to his lordship's decision, and after some discussion it was arranged that the evidence of the medical gentlemen in attendance from Birmingham, Walsall, and other places, as to the practice prevailing with respect to charging for attendances, should be considered as tendered, and that the plaintiff should be at liberty to present a bill of exceptions, if it should become material, upon the rejection of that evidence. With a view to show the reasonableness of the charges, [evidence regarding charges] Mr. Edgar Ashe Spilsbury was examined. - I am a surgeon and apothecary, at Walsall 9½ miles from Lichfield. I have looked over the plaintiff's charges, and, having heard the evidence, I think they are most reasonable, and for a medical man who has been in practice 40 years, and is obliged to understand all the branches of the profession, they are not adequate. I charge 5/0 a visit, even to my next door neighbour. Mr. Phillips admitted the reasonableness of the charges, and therefore it might be taken that all other evidence would be to the same effect as that of Mr. Spilsbury, and might be considered as having been given. This, therefore, was the plaintiff's case,

Mr. C. Phillips then addressed the jury for the defendant. The Jury had abundant proof in the evidence of Mr. Spilsbury of the propriety of the rule laid down by his Lordship, that medical men should not set up a right to charge what they pleased by calling some brother practitioners to prove their practice, and that it was impossible they could charge too much. Mr. Spilsbury was of opinion that the plaintiff's bill was a great deal too cheap - in fact, actually no remuneration at all. Was anything so monstrous ever heard before? As to the charges for attendances, that question has been decided by his Lordship in his favour; but as to the charges for medicines, it was for the Jury to say whether the plaintiff was not amply remunerated by the money paid into the Court. Of what sort of items was this bill composed? - "The pills, 2/0;" "The mixture, 3/6," - and Mr. Spilsbury, without knowing of what ingredients they contained, whether cheap or costly, seriously gave his opinion that the charge for attendance was unreasonably low, or even no remuneration at all! It was as clear as daylight, from the evidence of this witness, that the practice of ages, which they were now called upon to overturn, was correct. Lord Tenterden had ruled that a charge might be made, because surgical operations had been performed; and wherever that was the case, there was a right to charge; wherever a man scaled an eye or set a limb, he had a right to be paid for his skill. But an apothecary must be looked upon in the light of a tradesman, a compounder of drugs, selling his goods as any other man, - and large indeed were their profits - 500 per cent., he might say even 5,000 per cent. Of these mixtures much was water, aqua fontana, he believed they called it, a little coloured, and that perhaps was their better portion. Why was this bill reserved till the death of Mrs. Ironmonger? Why that Mr. Morgan might make a charge to her executors which he would not have done to her. She would, no doubt, have been offended at such a change of system. For it had not before been Mr. Morgan's custom to charge Mrs. Ironmonger. £20 was once given by her as a gratuity to him, a compliment to be paid or withheld at her option, and the executors, not wishing Mrs. Ironmonger's memory to suffer, had followed her example, and given the plaintiff £27/13/8 beyond his charge for medicine. It was a practice for apothecaries to leave a blank against the item of attendance, thereby putting it to the generosity or circumstances of the patient to give what they pleased, and the very practice proved it was not a legal claim. But look at the bill; here was £92 for medicine, and £110 for visits. Oh! it was monstrous, and what were these visits for? Here was a rabbit on which two or three anxious consultations took place, till the old lady had taken a shilling's worth of advice whether she should eat a sixpenny rabbit. (Laughter.) But this was not all; she was charged for advice whether she might eat turnips with mutton; four visits about the same joint. First, "may this leg of mutton be eaten?" - Advice, "yes;" one shilling for that. Second, "how to cook the joint?" - Advice, "boiled;" one shilling for that! Next, as it was to be boiled, "might mistress have turnips with it?" - Advice, "yes, by all means;" there was another shilling gone. Then, "what part might mistress eat?" Advice, "any part she liked" and down went another shilling for that. (Loud laughter.) And so the charge attending a leg of mutton was double its fee simple before it reached this poor lady's table. Then, at night, came a brace of ruddy mutton chops, and "might mistress eat those for supper?" "Oh, yes;" and down went an additional shilling to the day's bill for that. Thus, "eat till you're ready to burst," and then, "nothing but my pills can empty you." (Loud laughter.) They had charged for 500 stomachic mixtures, and yet his learned friend never ventured to ask the nature of the old lady's complaint, because he knew there was none but old age. The plaintiff would be amply repaid for such services if he received nothing. Mr. Phillips concluded by calling upon the Jury not to sanction this attempt of apothecaries to charge for their advice, and thus place themselves, per saltem, in the situation of physicians, without being possessed of the necessary qualifications. He also submitted that the plaintiff was over-paid by the money paid into court.

Mr. Justice Littledale, in summing up, repeated his former observations as to the right of apothecaries to charge for advice as well as medicines, which, he said, was a question of great importance to the medical profession, and the public in general, and would be decided by the Court above, if it should be thought necessary to bring it under their consideration. His opinion was, very strongly, that they had no such right by law; and as to the usage in Lichfield, or its neighbourhood, it was not admissible in evidence, inasmuch as the profession of an apothecary was subject to the same rules in all parts of the kingdom. Certain trades might be regulated by the custom of the places in which they were carried on - for instance, the manufacture of muslins, and so on; but the medical profession was regulated by the common law, and by acts of parliament applicable to the whole kingdom. At the same time the plaintiff was entitled to an adequate remuneration, and it was for the jury to say whether he had made out his claim to the full amount. His attendances upon this old lady were, indeed, unremitting; a great deal of his time had been occupied, and he had been put to great trouble, and probably some expense, in giving his advice, not only upon her state of health, but as to matters which did not always fall within the province of a medical man to advise upon; and for these services, as well as for the supply of medicines, the plaintiff was undoubtedly entitled to a reasonable compensation. Supposing him to be entitled to charge for attendances at all, £18 per annum, being at the rate of a shilling a day, was certainly as moderate as could be expected.

The Jury consulted, and having inspected another bill of the plaintiff, in which there was no charge for attendances, (but a blank to be filled up by the party,) they found a verdict for the plaintiff for £80 6s. od., being the difference between the amount of the bill and the money paid into Court. The plaintiff therefore has recovered the whole sum claimed, subject to the question of law.

(27 Jul 1836) NISI PRIUS COURT - Monday, July 25 - Morgan v Hallen and another ... Mr Richards opened the case, and said that Mr Simon Morgan of Lichfield was the plaintiff and that Mr Hallen of London and Mr Edward Bond of Lichfield executors of the late Mrs Sarah Ironmonger of the same city were defendants; the action being to recover £204/16/6[sic] for medical attendance. The defendants have paid £124/10/4[sic] into Court. [Major Butler Morgan] stated that he commenced partnership with the plaintiff in January 1835; and had been his assistant from 1826 [prece 1827]. The Jury after consulting about a quarter of an hour found for the plaintiff damages £80/6/4[sic] being the difference between the plaintiff's bill and the amount paid into court. The learned Judge then gave Mr Phillips leave to move to enter a verdict for the defendant. [*Wolverhampton Chronicle and Staffordshire Advertiser*]

Y.1848 Court case - Crown versus William Harding Flint, ?manslaughter

In 1848 a court case was held at the Stafford Summer Assizes when William Harding Flint of Longnor surgeon c1808-1856 was indicted for killing and slaying Elizabeth Riley at Sheen on 29 Mar 1848. That day Flint arrived after midnight to assist in the birth of Riley's child. He then slept until about 7am when after an examination he declared it a "preternatural presentation". Subsequently he maintained he had turned the foetus and delivered it - only to find a second foetus. At the trial a woman neighbour who had been present throughout

Flint's attendance gave evidence as did a midwife who only arrived about 11am. On 13 Apr, on the coroner's order, a postmortem was conducted by Alfred James Simkins of Alstonfield M.R.C.S. 1816-1859 assisted by George Goodwin of Alstonfield M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1814-1872 (who practised at Longnor) and Mr Curling of Repton, Derbys. Evidence from the postmortem showed that Riley had likely died as a result of a severe rupture of the uterus. This having been established the Judge suggested that the jury consider this fact. They did and after a very short deliberation said "We think the death might have arisen from natural causes, and therefore we say he [Flint] is Not Guilty". However evidence from the neighbour, midwife and the postmortem showed that there had only ever been one foetus and that Flint's treatment of Riley appeared quite barbaric since it resulted in significant internal damage inflicted by a penknife. Flint's background is obscure. He falsely claimed to be qualified M.R.C.S. and L.S.A. and earlier in life he had been known as William Flint Harding. On account of the jury's early not guilty verdict, evidence from or in support of Flint was not heard but it appears that four local medics - Cornelius Waddell of Stafford M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1813-1861, then a Surgeon at Staffordshire General Infirmary, Charles Nelson Bromley of Stafford M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1817-1853, Richard Lasseter of Uttoxeter M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. c1806-1873 and Edward Smith Walters of Leek [M.R.C.S.] L.S.A. 1813-1867 were in attendance in court to have given evidence on his behalf. A newspaper report observes "Mr Flint has successfully practised his profession for the last 21 years during which long period he has not lost a single case in midwifery". *The Lancet* 2 (1848) p160-2 prints a long account of the trial and p354 investigates his qualifications. They end their account by stating "If the accused man were on the contrary not a qualified medical man the case offers a still stronger argument against the present medical condition of medical affairs which allow uneducated and unqualified persons to take the hazardous perils of midwifery upon themselves. We cannot at this time trust ourselves to offer a more particular expression of our opinion upon this lamentable case."

(29 Apr 1848) COMMITTAL OF A SURGEON ON A CHARGE OF MANSLAUGHTER ... committal of Mr. Flint a surgeon practising at Longnor to Stafford County Gaol on a charge of manslaughter ... on the 28th [March] Mr Flint was sent for to attend Mrs Elizabeth Riley wife of Mr Thomas Riley farmer of High Sheen during her confinement ... He arrived at Sheen Hall about midnight ... [STS:ADV]

(29 Jul 1848) [very long account of Flint's attempts to turn the baby to allow a normal birth] [not M.R.C.S.] The jury after a few minutes deliberation said "We think the death might have arisen from natural causes and therefore we say he is Not Guilty". ... The following medical gentlemen were in attendance in court to have given evidence on behalf of Mr Flint: Mr Waddell and Mr. Bromley of Stafford, Mr Lasseter of Uttoxeter; and Mr Walters of Leek ... Mr Flint has successfully practised his profession for the last 21 years during which long period he has not lost a single case in midwifery [STS:ADV]

(1 Sep 1848) Longnor, September 1st 1848 GENTLEMEN In answer to yours of the 28th ultimo I beg to say that in making the return to you I did so in what I considered a regular way and according to the requirements of your application following the example of several gentlemen like myself who have derived their qualification from Ireland. The entry as it now stands in the "Directory" is virtually correct with the exception of "Medical Officer, Bakewell Union" which office was resigned in the month of April last - I am gentlemen yours obediently W.H. Flint [*The Lancet* 2 (1848) p 354, with letters from the Irish authorities saying Flint was not registered with them]

From *The Lancet* 2 (1848) p161-2 EDITORIAL MAL-PRACTICE IN MIDWIFERY

AN extraordinary case has just been tried at the Staffordshire Summer Assizes, and we should be wanting in our duty if we did not place the main particulars before the profession. WILLIAM HARDING FLINT, of Longnor, was indicted for killing and slaying ELIZABETH RILEY, on the 29th of March, 1848, at Sheen, in Staffordshire. In the opening address of Mr HUDDLESTONE, the counsel for the prosecution, it was stated, without contradiction, according to the report of the Staffordshire Advertiser, that the accused was not, and is not, a person who has been admitted a member of the Royal College of Surgeons, from which we might infer that he practised without a qualification; but on referring to the London and Provincial Medical Directory, we find him described as WILLIAM HARDING FLINT, M.R.C.S., 1844, L.S.A., 1844, so that we are left uncertain whether he be really a qualified person or not. Thus there can be no prejudice on either hand in our remarks upon the case.

It appears that Mrs. RILEY, the wife of a respectable farmer at High Sheen, in Staffordshire, was taken in labour, and sent for the accused party, who arrived between two and three o'clock on the morning of March 29th. It appears that he made an examination, and then went to bed, where he remained until between seven and eight. On making an examination at this time, he is said to have pronounced it a preternatural presentation, and to have sent the husband to Longnor for his instruments. He appears to have been impressed with the necessity of turning, and he performed some manipulations, during which he told the women about him that he had turned. In subsequent manipulations he said he had delivered the woman of one child, and foretold the speedy delivery of another; but what he thus called a child was proved by the evidence to have been a portion of the patient's intestine! The appearances of the case having alarmed the anxious people about the poor woman, they were urgent in their appeals to him to send for further assistance; but this he refused, stating that it would shortly be over.

What Mr FLINT really did from the time of his getting up between seven and eight in the morning and eleven, a little after which the poor woman died, can best be gathered from the examination of the witnesses themselves; and it has certainly never been our duty to place details more revolting before the profession. In the first instance, we quote from the examination of ELIZABETH HOROBIN, a neighbour of the deceased woman, who continued with her, with scarcely an interval, from the commencement of her labour to the fatal catastrophe.

[Q] Did you observe that he made other examinations after that? - [A] Yes about every quarter of an hour. [Q] Did you observe anything on his knees? - [A] Yes; a leather case. [Q] Was the case opened; could you see what was in it? - [A] No; I could not. I only saw a leather case. [Q] At that time where were his hands? - [A] Under the clothes. [Q] Do you know what he was doing? - [A] No; I do not. [Q] How long did his hands remain in that state? - [A] He kept his hands underneath the clothes the whole of the time. [Q] How long was it? - [A] I should say an hour and a half or more, or an hour, and he never gave over. [Q] Where was the leather case all this time? - [A] I don't know. [Q] Did you observe her after that time grow faint? - [A] Yes; and he said, give her tea and a spoonful of brandy.

Mr Baron PLATT: [Q] Was that given to her? - [A] Yes; I had some mixed in a teacup, and I gave her some. [Q] Was it mixed with water then? - [A] Yes; she had some with and some without water.

Mr. HUDDLESTONE: [Q] Did you observe whether at that time his hands were under the bed-clothes or not? - [A] No. [Q] You did not see him take his hands from the bed clothes? - [A] No. [Q] How did she appear after that? - [A] She appeared to sink. I thought her eyes sunk; she kept rolling them about, and for all I could do with the brandy, sickness would come. [Q] Did you make any remark about her state to the prisoner? - [A] No. [Q] Did you observe when she was dying? - [A] Yes. [Q] Did you say anything to the prisoner then? - [A] Yes; I said, 'She will die;' he said, 'No.' [Q] Anything else? - [A] Not at that time. Sarah Miller came into the room, and I said, 'Sarah, let us turn the clothes off, and come and look.' Mr Flint said, 'Sarah, come and help me.' She went to him. I don't know what they said.

Mr. Baron PLATT: [Q] Did she put her hand up the clothes? - [A] Yes. [Q] You still kept at the head? - [A] Yes.

Mr WOOLRYCH: [Q] Did you ask him what he thought? - [A] My brother and her husband came to the door, and asked him to have more assistance; he said, 'I have brought one, and shall have another in four minutes nay, in two. I shall want no more help.' [Q] What then? - [A] I said, 'Let us look;' he said, 'No; I can't have her exposed.' [Q] How soon after that did she die? - [A] I believe she was dying. She said something about her husband and her two children. I said, 'Sarah, she is dying, turn the clothes off,' and I turned them off; and I stepped backward, and I saw (said the witness piteously, shaking her head and holding up her hands,) oh! such a sight. [Q] Now you must tell us as well as you can what you saw? - [A] I saw a leg, and foot, and arm, and hand, and something like intestines hanging out nearly a foot; but I walked away to another part of the room, I could not stay.

The evidence of the midwife, who was present, was still more extraordinary. She appears to have been quite aware of the real nature of the case; she saw the impropriety of the plans adopted, and did what she could to arrest the mischief. The two witnesses, HOROBIN and MELLOR, were both subjected to severe cross-examination; but in the main their testimony was not shaken in the slightest degree. It was

evident throughout the trial that neither of the women had any animus against the accused, as the prosecution arose, not out of the feelings of the friends of the poor woman, but at the instigation of the police.

SARAH MELLOR examined by **Mr HUDDLESTONE**: [Q] How old are you? - [A] Sixty-five. [Q] Have you been in the habit of practising midwifery? - [A] Nearly twenty years. [Q] Did you go to the house of Thomas Riley on the 29th March? - [A] Yes. [Q] At what time did you get there? - [A] About eleven o'clock. [Q] Did you go into the room where she was lying? - [A] Yes. [Q] Was Mr Flint there? - [A] Yes. [Q] What was he doing? - [A] He was pulling at a hand and a foot. [Q] Where? - [A] At a child. [Q] Where was that? - [A] In the bed. **Mr Baron PLATT**: [Q] What makes you say he was pulling at a hand and foot? - [A] He said, 'Sarah, come and help me; lay hold and pull.' [Q] Did you do so? - [A] Yes **Mr HUDDLESTONE**: [Q] What did you pull at? - [A] A hand and foot; but finding we could not effect the delivery, I looked and saw it was a cross-child, with the head and foot presented. I then said to Mr Flint, 'You are doing wrong; it is an impossibility to bring a child into the world by the leg and arm, she is dying.' **Mr Baron PLATT**: [Q] How did you discover it was a hand and foot; by feeling or sight? - [A] By both [Q] Did you see them? - [A] Yes. **Mr HUDDLESTONE**: [Q] When you saw it was a hand and foot, did you pull? - [A] No. [Q] What did Mr Flint do? - [A] He got up from his chair and said, 'My credit's gone', and I said, 'HERE LIFE'S GONE.' **Mr Baron PLATT**: [Q] When you told him he was doing wrong, did he do anything more? - [A] No, my lord. [Q] Then the poor woman sunk? - [A] Yes. **Mr HUDDLESTONE**: [Q] How long did she live after you told Mr Flint he was wrong? - [A] I do not think she lived ten minutes. [Q] How long did Mr Flint stay after she died? - [A] I can't say; he just stayed while I washed the body and put everything to rights. [Q] When he went to get on his horse did you go and speak to him? - [A] I said, 'Dr. Flint, tell me one thing; you said you brought forth a child, and put it away; it is no such a thing, for you have not.' [Q] What did he say to that? - [A] He said, 'What was that substance, then'. I said, 'You are a doctor, and ought to know better than me; but if you don't know, I'll tell you, to the best of my knowledge.' [Q] Well? - [A] I said, To the best of my knowledge I never saw anything in my life like it, but I think it was part of her womb and of her bowel skin. [Q] Did he say anything? - [A] No, sir. [Q] Did he then go away? - [A] Yes. [Q] Before you said that to him, had you gone to a chair? - [A] Yes; after he left the room I shoved his chair aside, and saw a piece of flesh under it, and I said to the women in the room, 'What's this.' [Q] What did you do with it? - [A] I washed it and put it with the body. [Q] When you looked at the body, what did you see? - [A] I washed the body, and I saw the bowels hanging from it, and a child's hand and foot. **Mr Baron PLATT**: [Q] Did you replace what you saw in the body? - [A] I could only replace the bowels. **Mr WOOLRYCH**: [Q] When you washed her, did you find anything in the bed? - [A] Yes; I found a penknife, open. [Q] Before Mr Flint went down stairs, had he asked you about his knife? - [A] Yes; and I told him I had not seen it. [Q] What did you do with it? - [A] I kept it till she was buried, and then it was so bloody I did not like to carry it further, so I thought it best to burn it.

As the sequel to this miserable recital, we give the account of the **post-mortem examination** of the body by **Mr SIMKINS**. **ALFRED JAMES SIMKINS**, examined by **Mr WOOLRYCH**: [Q] Are you a surgeon, living at Alstonefield, in this county? - [A] I am. [Q] How long have you been in practice? - [A] About eight years. [Q] Did you make a post-mortem examination of the body of the late Mrs. Elizabeth Riley? - [A] Yes. [Q] What other medical gentlemen were present, and took part in it? - [A] Mr Goodwin, of Longnor, and Mr Curling, of Repton. [Q] What day was it? - [A] On the 13th of April. [Q] State what you observed: [A] I received the coroner's order to examine the body of Elizabeth Riley. On the body being removed from the coffin, I perceived slight traces of decomposition from its having been underground. There was very great distention of the belly or bowels. On examining the external organs of generation, I found attached the right hand of a child and the left foot, and near these parts there was a membranous substance, which proved to be the mucous membrane, with fibres attached to it, which appeared like the upper part of the vaginal canal and a portion of the neck of the uterus. There was also a larger substance, which was also detached. and this substance was gut or intestine, and it had bits of chaff or dust upon it, as if it had been thrown upon the floor. It might have been from fifteen to eighteen inches in length. There was also a piece of intestine which had slipped down from the internal parts of generation, and hung in a loop; that was not detached. There was also a sharp incised wound on the foot of the infant, near the heel. It was across the foot, and very deep, as deep as it could be in the fleshy parts. I found that in the anterior and lower part of the belly there was a rupture of the uterus or womb with nothing but a thin serous membrane covering the body of the child. There was also another extensive rupture of the womb, through which the head of the child protruded itself into the mother's abdomen. I then opened the womb, and took the child from it, and examined it internally. The umbilical cord was still attached, and I detached it. I found the child had a healthy appearance, and had come to the full time of foetal life. The child's right arm was dislocated at the elbow. The bone of the arm was broken at the shoulder. There was also a deep punctured wound in the armpit. There was also a punctured wound above the shoulder, over the right collar-bone. There were several wounds on the head; two of these had punctured the bones of the skull, the other had not. They had not entered the brain. I then proceeded to examine the womb more carefully, and found near the large opening on the left side, through which the head had passed, several smaller tears or rents, some of which had penetrated right through the walls of the womb or uterus, while the others had not. There was also a kind of rent or large opening at the lower part of the womb, through which the loop of gut had descended. I proceeded then to examine the intestines and found that part had been detached and was covered with extraneous matter belonging to the lower part of the intestinal canal. That was where it was torn off. The walls of the uterus were ruptured and torn away, and there was but one membrane between the external parts of the mother and the fundament. There was no appearance of any other child, no second placenta or funiss, which there would have been had there been a second child. Labour had not proceeded so far as to cause hemorrhage. The placenta was quite firm in its appearance. On the cross-examination of **Mr SIMKINS**, it was elicited, as was indeed evident, that the woman died from rupture of the uterus; and questions were put to show that women sometimes die from rupture of the uterus, under the most skilful treatment, and that these ruptures are more frequent in cross-births than in natural presentations. As soon as this point was reached, the Judge (**Mr Baron PLATT**) stopped the case. No means whatever were taken to ascertain whether, in a labour in which ordinary skill was exerted, such an immense amount of ruptures and lacerations ever occurred before or could possibly occur. The following was the termination of this extraordinary case:

Mr Baron PLATT: How is it possible to proceed in this case? From all we hear, the appearances may have resulted from natural causes. The appearances were quite sufficient to show that a combination of natural causes might have produced death. How, then, are the jury to say that it was produced in any other way. **Mr WOOLRYCH**: My lord, we show there might be other than natural causes. **Mr Baron PLATT**: Your own witness says, that the cause of death was rupture of the uterus. The gut might have expedited it; but the primary cause was a rupture, which proceeds frequently from natural causes, more especially in the case of cross-births, and with a second or third child. How then can a jury take a jump in the dark, and say that other injuries were the cause of death? They were sufficient, doubtless, but you have got a rupture of the uterus here. If I could discover that the insertion of any instrument into the womb had caused this mischief, that would be another case; but from anything that appears to the contrary, it might have proceeded from natural causes. The medical gentleman has given his evidence very fairly, and evinced real skill and intelligence; but I don't see how it is possible to conclude from it that the prisoner caused this poor woman's death. **Mr WOOLRYCH**: Would your lordship think it necessary to hear other medical evidence? **Mr Baron PLATT**: No. Gentlemen of the jury, in order that the prisoner should be convicted of the crime of manslaughter, in having occasioned the death of a fellow subject in delivering her of a child by mala praxis, that is, with gross ignorance or unskilfulness in his profession, you must be satisfied that he caused the injury which produced the death. Now it appears, upon cross-examination of the medical gentleman who has been called for the prosecution, that the cause of this woman's death was rupture of the uterus; that other things may have hastened it, but that the primary cause was rupture of the uterus. He also says that this may arise from natural causes, and that it is more usual with a second or third child, and with a cross-birth, which was the case in the present instance. Now, when we hear these things from a medical gentleman, surely we cannot go on and say that the death of this woman must have arisen from some other cause. Gentlemen, I recommend you to say that this party is not guilty. If you wish to go on with the case, we will go on, but it seems to me to be my duty to tell you, that the charge is not brought home to the prisoner. If he could be shown to have ruptured the uterus, that would be another matter, but there is no such thing. The jury, after a few minutes' deliberation, said, '**We think the death might have arisen from natural causes, and therefore we say he is Not Guilty.**'

Such a decision will not be quite so satisfactory to educated accoucheurs. We are bound to say that if **WILLIAM HARDING FLINT** be a medical man, this case throws a great responsibility on the various examining bodies, for their systematic neglect of midwifery examinations, and obstetric education in general. For all that now appears to the contrary, an idle student may go up to the College of Physicians, the College of Surgeons, or the Apothecaries' Society, with only the most slender knowledge, or no knowledge at all, of obstetric medicine. Hence it is no wonder that mischances should occur. If the accused man were on the contrary not a qualified medical man the case offers a still stronger argument against the present medical condition of medical affairs which allow uneducated and unqualified persons to take the hazardous perils of midwifery upon themselves. We cannot at this time trust ourselves to offer a more particular expression of our opinion upon this lamentable case.

Y.1851 Staffordshire medical directory for 1851 - This is reproduced from Richard Sylvanus Williams *A survey of Staffordshire medical practitioners in 1851* (2018)

- Abbots Bromley: Charles Cheselden Higgins 1785-1864 surgeon
 Abbots Bromley: William Muchall Higgins 1818-1869 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Abbots Bromley: Matthew Findley Kilpatrick 1794-1852 "surgeon"
 Adbaston: Francis Hickin Northen 1771-1861 M.D.
 Aldridge: Henry Woodroffe Hare 1816-1874 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Alrewas: Parkinson Oates 1818-1885 M.D.
 Alstonfield: George Goodwin 1814-1872 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Alton: Thomas Robinson 1818-1873 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Ashley: Joseph Downes Beard 1826-1901 "surgeon"
 Ashley: Thomas Roberts 1826-1887 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Audley: Richard Vernon 1817-1914 M.D.
 Barton-u-Needwood: Thomas Webb 1800-1876 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Betley: John Warburton 1793-1878 surgeon
 Betley: Thomas John Warburton 1825-1863 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Biddulph: Samuel Franceys Gosling 1822-1885 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Bilston: Edward Best 1795-1859 L.S.A.
 Bilston: Norris Best 1780-1861 surgeon
 Bilston: Richard Spooner Cooper 1808-1890 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Bilston: Thomas Wright Dickinson 1807-1859 L.S.A.
 Bilston: William Mott Hancox 1813-1884 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Bilston: Philip Henry Harper 1822-1883 M.R.C.S.
 Bilston: Henry Watts 1825-1868 L.S.A.
 Bloxwich: Charles Somerville 1815-1868 L.S.A.
 Brewood: Thomas Crean 1827-1875 L.R.C.S.I.
 Brewood: John Greene 1771-1858 "surgeon"
 Brewood: James McMunn 1811-1873 L.R.C.S.I.
 Brewood: John Jeffes Sparham 1820-1882 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Burslem: Daniel Ball 1799-1895 F.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Burslem: Isaac Booth 1782-1867 surgeon
 Burslem: William Walker Bramwell 1807-1853 "surgeon"
 Burslem: Edwin Daniel 1793-1873 L.S.A.
 Burslem: Samuel Goddard 1803-1876 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Burslem: John Mare Harrison 1818-1907 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Burslem: John Massey Morris 1810-1869 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Burslem: Joseph Walker 1806-1875 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Burton-upon-Trent: Robert Shirley Belcher 1805-1895 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Burton-upon-Trent: George Greaves 1806-1886 L.S.A.
 Burton-upon-Trent: Charles Adolphus Hawkesworth 1811-1860 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Burton-upon-Trent: William Jones 1782-1862 M.D.
 Burton-upon-Trent: William Allport Leadam 1781-1863 surgeon
 Burton-upon-Trent: George Lowe 1813-1892 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Burton-upon-Trent: William Mason 1803-1867 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Cannock: Thomas Holmes 1810-.... "surgeon"
 Cannock: John Wheatcroft 1821-1867 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Cannock: Thomas Wright 1815-1888 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Castle Church: John Thomas Harland 1812-1881 M.D.
 Castle Church: William Jackson Perrin 1803-1867 L.S.A.
 Cheadle: John Colclough Bourne 1804-1861 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Cheadle: Henry Langley 1789-1868 surgeon
 Cheadle: Richard Sutton 1800-1883 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Cheadle: Richard Tomkinson 1812-1876 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Cheadle: Robert Webb 1794-1873 surgeon
 Cheadle: Thomas Webb 1822-1882 M.R.C.S.
 Checkley: John Ritchie 1797-1863 L.R.C.S.E.
 Cheddleton: Charles Lydiat Leete 1816-1867 M.R.C.S.
 Clifton Campville: Spencer Thomson 1817-1886 M.D.
 Colwich: Edward Tylecote 1805-1866 L.S.A.
 Darlaston: Samuel Partridge 1827-1907 M.R.C.S.
 Darlaston: Thomas William Ransom 1813-1868 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Darlaston: Abel Rooker 1787-1867 surgeon
 Darlaston: John Howells Thornhill 1817-1885 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Eccleshall: Christopher John Greatrex 1792-1880 surgeon
 Eccleshall: Arthur Neville Hawthorne 1820-1866 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Eccleshall: James Nance 1818-1875 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Eccleshall: George Swift 1802-1868 L.S.A.
 Ellastone: William Brown Weston 1814-1895 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Gnosall: George Augustus Baddeley 1823-1882 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Gnosall: John Jones 1780-1863 surgeon
 Great Barr: John Stubbs 1800-1859 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Handsworth: William Downes 1800-1880 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Handsworth: William Hammond 1807-1858 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Handsworth: William Hopkins 1828-.... "surgeon"
 Handsworth: George Walter James 1802-1865 M.D.
 Handsworth: Alfred Gilbert Willington 1821-1901 M.D.
 Harborne: Annerly Allcock 1813-1882 M.R.C.S.
 Harborne: Charles Allen Chavasse 1800-1863 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Harborne: John Williams Davies 1820-1870 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Harborne: William Davies 1819-1882 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Harborne: Charles Hicks 1808-1889 "surgeon"
 Harborne: James Frederick Jackson 1816-1895 M.R.C.S.
 Ipstones: Charles William Alsop 1806-1872 "surgeon"
 Kingswinford: Samuel Hudson 1804-1854 L.S.A.
 Kingswinford: John Ireland 1802-1872 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Kingswinford: Peter Tertius Kempson 1814-1890 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Kingswinford: William Bane Lycett 1799-1875 surgeon
 Kingswinford: John Jones Parrish 1824-1884 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Kingswinford: Peter Stanton 1781-1858 surgeon
 Kinver: Thomas Holyoake 1811-1889 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Leek: Richard Cooper 1803-1872 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Leek: Charles Flint 1789-1864 surgeon
 Leek: Charles Heaton 1816-1880 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Leek: James Robins 1800-1856 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Leek: Richard Turnock 1816-1875 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Leek: Edward Smith Walters 1813-1867 L.S.A.
 Lichfield: John Allport 1799-1853 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Lichfield: John Harrison 1794-1875 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Lichfield: Halford Wotton Hewitt 1805-1893 M.D.
 Lichfield: Arthur Cary Morgan 1810-1902 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Lichfield: Major Butler Morgan 1802-1874 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Lichfield: Joseph Pimlott Oates 1808-1883 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Lichfield: James Rawson 1800-1878 M.D.
 Lichfield: Thomas Rowley 1790-1863 M.D.
 Lichfield: Charles Edward Eliot Welchman 1822-1877 M.R.C.S.
 Longdon: Joshua Seddon 1797-1862 M.D.
 Longnor: William Harding Flint 1808-1856 "surgeon"
 Newcastle: Ambrose Astle 1791-1866 M.R.C.S.
 Newcastle: Augustus Frederick Gooday 1815-1873 M.D.
 Newcastle: William Hallam 1814-1863 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Newcastle: Richard King 1822-1865 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Newcastle: Daniel Rhodes 1817-1864 "surgeon"
 Newcastle: Michael Ryan 1816-1899 M.D.
 Newcastle: Walter Scott 1811-1860 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Newcastle: Frederick Young Trigg 1824-1864 "surgeon"
 Newcastle: Samuel Mayer Turner 1818-1864 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Newcastle: William Warham 1803-1885 surgeon
 Newcastle: Edward Wilson 1803-1858 M.D.
 Newcastle: George John Wood 1816-1862 M.D.
 Newcastle: James Yates 1824-1910 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Norton-in-the-Moors: John Warburton Moseley 1809-.... M.D.
 Norton-in-the-Moors: Thomas Wright 1794-1869 surgeon
 Penkridge: Henry Collins 1828-1914 M.R.C.S.
 Penkridge: Charles Holland 1801-1876 M.D.
 Penkridge: John Matthews Lister 1808-1887 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Penkridge: John William Harris Mackenzie 1824-1899 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Penkridge: Henry Somerville 1806-1851 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Rocester: Thomas Alsop 1805-1855 L.S.A.
 Rowley Regis: Harry Adkins 1813-1880 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Rugeley: William Bamford 1776-1859 surgeon
 Rugeley: Richard Freer 1800-1881 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Rugeley: Benjamin Miller 1824-1875 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Rugeley: William Palmer 1824-1856 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Rugeley: Thomas Salt 1796-1869 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Rugeley: Thomas Godwin Salt 1824-1888 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Rugeley: Thomas Taunton 1812-1900 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Sandon: Charles Hawthorn 1798-1856 L.S.A.
 Sedgley: John McNab Ballenden 1813-1895 M.D.
 Sedgley: Joseph Webster Browne 1804-1851 surgeon
 Sedgley: James Hancox Culwick 1781-1864 surgeon
 Sedgley: Henry Haden 1810-1866 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Sedgley: Philip Hickin 1777-1868 surgeon
 Sedgley: Charles Edwin Kettle 1810-1859 surgeon
 Sedgley: Thomas Mills 1825-1871 M.R.C.S.
 Sedgley: James Yates Rooker 1812-1887 L.S.A.
 Sedgley: Anthony Tamlyn 1783-1867 surgeon
 Shenstone: Robert Wilson Lishman 1793-1857 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Stafford: Charles Nelson Bromley 1817-1853 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Stafford: Richard Hughes 1796-1861 F.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Stafford: Robert Hughes 1802-1879 F.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Stafford: Richard Pope Jeston 1826-1901 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Stafford: Thomas Farmer Kemsey 1802-1875 L.S.A.
 Stafford: Edward Knight 1780-1862 M.B.
 Stafford: Henry Thomas Lomax 1817-1873 M.R.C.S.
 Stafford: George Bellasis Masfen 1826-1864 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Stafford: John Masfen 1795-1854 F.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Stafford: Cornelius Waddell 1813-1861 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Stafford: James Wilkes 1811-1894 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Stafford: William Wogan 1795-1867 surgeon
 Stoke-upon-Trent: Daniel Antrobus 1814-1872 L.S.A.
 Stoke-upon-Trent: George Bakewell 1811-1855 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Stoke-upon-Trent: Edmund John Barker 1818-1888 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Stoke-upon-Trent: Benjamin Boothroyd 1809-1886 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Stoke-upon-Trent: John Cooke Chawner 1793-1860 surgeon

Stoke-upon-Trent: Richard Cordon 1798-1878 surgeon
 Stoke-upon-Trent: James Dale 1817-1860 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Stoke-upon-Trent: William Guille Dalgairns 1822-1879 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Stoke-upon-Trent: Joseph Barnard Davis 1801-1881 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Stoke-upon-Trent: William Dawes 1800-1856 L.S.A.
 Stoke-upon-Trent: James Browne Dixon 1815-1889 "surgeon"
 Stoke-upon-Trent: Henry Duffort 1789-1855 surgeon
 Stoke-upon-Trent: Robert Garner 1808-1890 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Stoke-upon-Trent: Horatio Girdlestone 1820-1894 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Stoke-upon-Trent: Samuel Palmer Goddard 1818-1866 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Stoke-upon-Trent: Thomas Goddard 1792-1872 surgeon
 Stoke-upon-Trent: John Hayes 1823-1887 L.S.A.
 Stoke-upon-Trent: Robert Hayes 1795-1853 L.S.A.
 Stoke-upon-Trent: Thomas Head 1799-1886 M.D.
 Stoke-upon-Trent: Stephen Ingram 1790-1862 surgeon
 Stoke-upon-Trent: John Massey 1782-1854 "surgeon"
 Stoke-upon-Trent: Alexander McBean 1810-1888 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Stoke-upon-Trent: George Ridgway 1804-1851 L.S.A.
 Stoke-upon-Trent: John Scott 1811-1866 L.S.A.
 Stone: Samuel Glover Bakewell 1810-1865 M.D.
 Stone: James Boulton 1807-1864 L.S.A.
 Stone: Thomas Taylor Broomhall 1803-1888 M.D.
 Stone: John Fallows 1806-1863 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Stone: Joseph Heeley 1788-1865 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Stone: William Masefield 1799-1873 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Stone: Charles Smith 1812-1852 L.R.C.S.E.,L.S.A.
 Stone: John Maule Sutton 1829-1886 M.R.C.S.,M.S.A.
 Stowe: Henry Day 1810-1881 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Tamworth: Robert Cave Browne 1799-1866 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Tamworth: Charles Ferrers Palmer 1819-1900 M.R.C.S.
 Tamworth: Shirley Palmer 1786-1852 M.D.
 Tamworth: Thomas Henry Sharples 1815-1856 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Tamworth: John Francis Woody 1814-1894 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Tatenhill: William Birch 1801-1869 F.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Tettenhall: Thomas Fowke 1775-1854 M.R.C.S.
 Tipton: John Davies 1809-1857 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Tipton: Henry Hill 1807-1859 L.S.A.
 Tipton: Charles Edward Joseph 1824-1876 M.R.C.S.
 Tipton: Thomas Edward Lakin 1821-1854 "surgeon"
 Tipton: Thomas Underhill 1824-1916 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Tipton: William Lees Underhill 1814-1894 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Trentham: Joseph Hargraves 1809-1855 "surgeon"
 Trysull: Robert Lyons Campbell 1817-1891 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Tutbury: Henry Edwards 1789-1863 surgeon
 Tutbury: Samuel Hayman Warren 1825-1903 L.S.A.
 Uttoxeter: Edward Alsop 1815-1870 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Uttoxeter: James Chapman 1795-1857 L.S.A.
 Uttoxeter: William Fletcher 1815-1899 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Uttoxeter: Frederick Hawthorn 1812-1898 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Uttoxeter: Henry Orme Hawthorn 1806-1884 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Uttoxeter: Richard Lassetter 1806-1873 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Uttoxeter: Herbert Taylor 1790-1876 M.D.
 Uttoxeter: Thomas Woolrich 1782-1851 surgeon
 Walsall: John Burton 1805-1891 M.D.
 Walsall: John Day 1811-1889 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Walsall: Frederick Atcherley Edwards 1809-1868 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Walsall: Arthur Augustus Fletcher 1809-1884 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.D.
 Walsall: David Smith Moore 1820-1885 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Walsall: Francis Paul Palmer 1808-1872 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Walsall: Henry Pitt 1824-1858 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Walsall: George Hughes Whympier 1815-1883 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Waterfall: James Bridge Hall 1815-1884 L.S.A.
 Wednesbury: James Bailey 1822-1859 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Wednesbury: William Best 1790-1869 surgeon
 Wednesbury: Joseph Hobbins 1816-1894 M.R.C.S.
 Wednesbury: Robert Ladbury 1780-1852 surgeon
 Wednesbury: John Adams Paly 1818-1876 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Wednesbury: Edward Russell 1817-1875 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Wednesbury: James Stokes 1824-1914 M.R.C.S.
 West Bromwich: Robert Abercrombie 1825-1896 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 West Bromwich: George Allarton 1811-1875 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 West Bromwich: Henry Haines 1816-1875 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 West Bromwich: William James Kite 1823-1872 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 West Bromwich: Charles Thomas Male 1819-1867 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 West Bromwich: John Wordsworth Savage 1814-1854 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 West Bromwich: Thomas Silvester 1787-1864 surgeon
 West Bromwich: Charles Starkey 1803-1886 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 West Bromwich: Thomas Underhill 1791-1853 surgeon
 Willenhall: Joseph Froysell 1806-1869 L.S.A.
 Willenhall: Jeremiah Hartill 1804-1888 L.S.A.
 Willenhall: Charles Oakley 1817-1875 M.R.C.S.
 Wolstanton: John Adams 1801-1856 L.S.A.
 Wolstanton: Charles Davenport 1791-1871 surgeon
 Wolstanton: Charles Thomas Davenport 1818-1864 M.R.C.S.
 Wolstanton: Edward Haddock 1821-1888 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Wolstanton: James Troutbeck 1813-1861 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Wolverhampton: Peter Bell 1807-1858 M.D.
 Wolverhampton: John James Bunch 1820-1896 L.S.A.
 Wolverhampton: John Talbot Cartwright 1810-1872 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Wolverhampton: Edward Hayling Coleman 1794-1871 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Wolverhampton: George Thompson Cooper 1816-1861 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Wolverhampton: Edward Francis Dehane 1804-1869 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Wolverhampton: William Dunn 1804-1866 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Wolverhampton: George Edwardes 1808-1859 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Wolverhampton: John Fowke 1800-1851 F.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Wolverhampton: Thomas Henry Fowke 1804-1861 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Wolverhampton: James Gatis 1811-1872 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Wolverhampton: Robert Little 1801-1889 M.D.
 Wolverhampton: William Mannix 1796-1873 M.D.
 Wolverhampton: William Henry Pope 1821-1890 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Wolverhampton: William Quinton 1811-1864 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Wolverhampton: George Nicholson Smith 1813-1883 L.S.A.
 Wolverhampton: John Steward 1796-1880 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Wolverhampton: Henry Joseph Stormont 1829-1890 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Wolverhampton: John Topham 1821-1887 M.D.
 Wolverhampton: Randle Turton 1807-1860 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Wolverhampton: Charles Underhill 1823-1851 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Wolverhampton: John Horsley White 1826-1855 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Wolverhampton: Thomas Wright 1811-.... "surgeon"
 Yoxall: Edward Foulkes Cleavin 1776-1859 surgeon
 Yoxall: John Garner 1793-1851 M.R.C.S.,L.S.A.
 Yoxall: William Walker 1814-.... M.R.C.S.

Y.1874 British Medical Association - Staffordshire Branch

The British Medical Journal of 7 Nov 1874 had the following notice of the formation on 29 Oct 1874 of a Staffordshire Branch of the British Medical Association. The North Staffordshire Medical Society was merged into this new branch. Robert Garner of Stoke-upon-Trent M.R.C.S.,L.S.A. 1808-1890 was elected the first President and his address is of particular note. In it he sums up, most succinctly, the tensions then existing between different constituents of the medical profession.

STAFFORDSHIRE BRANCH: FIRST MEETING. Until last week, there had existed in the northern part of this county a flourishing and well-managed institution known as the North Staffordshire Medical Society. A short time since, some of the more active members brought forward a scheme for inviting the whole of the medical men of the county to organise themselves into a Branch of the British Medical Association. The idea met with general approval, and it was decided that the old-established society in North Staffordshire should be merged in the new Branch. The formal inauguration of the Branch took place at the Railway Hotel, Stoke-upon-Trent, on Thursday, October 29th, and the meeting was attended by Drs. J. T. Arldige, E. T. Tylecote, J. S. Steel, J. Weaver, C. H. Crawford, S. Johnson, and W. Millington, and Messrs. J. V. Solomon (Birmingham), W. H. Folker, J. Yates, V. Jackson, W. Acton, C. Orton, A. Cotterill, J. G. West, J. R. Wynne, M. Ashwell, W. D. Spanton, J. W. Wolfenden, J. J. Ritchie, J. M. Taylor, R. Goodall, G. R. Bull, J. Alcock, etc.

Election of President. The first business was the election of a president for the year, and this distinction was by acclamation conferred on Mr. R. Garner, F.L.S., who forthwith delivered an address to the members.

President's Address. The President commenced his address by observing that it was his duty to perform the obsequies of the defunct North Staffordshire Medical Society, which had merged into the British Medical Association. He made some observations on the subject of medical education, and on the present status of the profession. He said:

"It has been thought by others, as well as by myself, that if, with the exception of an examination and registration to guard the public from pretenders, all degrees and diplomas were swept away, there would be little harm done, so much muddle and anomaly has been the result of the doings of the qualifying bodies. Each one of them has endeavoured to usurp the functions of the other, after being guilty of

the non-performance of its own; thus, the College of Physicians, after ignoring for ages any right to step without its own special walk, gives nowadays a licence to practise physic, surgery, and midwifery, as well as to compound medicines. Whence this sudden impulse I must leave the College to say; also, how much a license stands in comparison with those of other colleges. The example, as regards its primum mobile, became contagious; and it has been sad to see more than one venerable alma mater, with one hand hastily lavish its academical favours, whilst with the other it unblushingly clutches the golden fee. What laws could neither create nor prevent has come to pass, like other good things, from a law of social development, the transformation of the apothecary into the general practitioner of the nineteenth century. He has no alma mater; like other clever parvenus we scarcely know how he got into society; few academic honours are open to him; and he has only to be thankful that his money is accepted, and that for it more and more is expected from him in the way of professional knowledge. Whoever is legally allowed to treat the diseases of his fellow-creatures has, from the dignity and responsibility of his work, and, indeed, by common opinion throughout the world, a natural claim to be considered a physician or doctor, in a restricted non-academical sense; and this, irrespective of any difference between the physician and surgeon. Indeed, in France or Germany, all practitioners are doctors of medicine, be they physicians or surgeons. Yet, after all, medical degrees are not looked upon by me with contempt. If they continue our summi honores, betokening the learned academical career, the prolonged work of brain and hand, the lengthened experience of ripe age, I am well content with such restrictions should they be bestowed, and then they will be estimated, and we are probably slowly arriving to this state of things. I would not even grudge the young aspirant his degree; but let him take care to walk in the path of Linacre or Heberden, and not presume upon what should be considered chiefly as an earnest for the future, and not as fait accompli."

Dr. Weaver proposed, that the best thanks of the Society be given to Mr. Garner for his very valuable and interesting address

Mr. Folker seconded the motion, which was carried by acclamation, and was briefly acknowledged by Mr. Garner.

Officers of Council. The following appointments were then made: President-elect: H. Day, M.D., Stafford; Vice-Presidents: James Yates, Esq., Newcastle-under-Lyme, and James Weaver, L. R. C. P. Ed., Longton; Secretaries: R. Goodall, Esq., Silverdale, and V. Jackson, Esq., Wolverhampton; Treasurer: E. F. Weston, Esq., Stafford.

A committee was also appointed, forming, with the officers named, the council of the Society. It was decided that the next annual meeting of the Society should be held at Stafford.

Dinner. After the transaction of business, the members dined together under the presidency of Dr. Arlidge.

After the usual toasts, Mr. Solomon proposed "Success to the British Medical Association". He remarked, that that Association owed its origin to a feeling among country practitioners that due status was not allowed to them by their brethren in the metropolis. This led to a few of the principal practitioners in the midland counties forming what was called the Provincial Medical Association, of which Sir Charles Hastings was for many years the able President. As time rolled on, the Society became greatly enlarged; it took the title of the British Medical Association, and he was able, from certain knowledge, to say that it was admirable in all its workings. It had been of great service to the cause of science, it had banded together as brethren men whose pursuits had often a tendency to separation, and it had placed provincial practitioners in a fair position in relation to those of the metropolis. He believed the number of members far exceeded that of any other professional society, for there were between five and six thousand. He was delighted with the formation of this Branch; and he felt sure that, under the presidency of their able and learned friend Mr. Garner it would be highly successful.

Mr. Folker followed with the toast of the evening, "Success to the Staffordshire Branch of the British Medical Association". He observed, that the more frequently the medical men of the county or district met together, the better it would be for them and for society generally. The formation of the county Branch would not do away with the meetings of the medical men of North Staffordshire, for they were to be constituted a sub-branch, and the same course would be open to the profession in other divisions in Staffordshire, while arrangements would be made for aggregate meetings several times in the course of the year.

The Vice-Chairman gave the health of the President for the year. He said no man could come into contact with their dear friend Mr. Garner without being the better for it, and it was impossible to be associated with him in any way without coming to love him. His high character as a man, his reputation as an author, and his kindly feelings towards members of the profession, rendered it an easy task to propose this toast, but Mr. Garner's presence prevented him from giving full expression to his sentiments on the subject.

Y.1875 North Staffordshire Infirmary

The following account of the North Staffordshire Infirmary appears in *Staffordshire and Warwickshire past and present. Vol. I.* published in or about 1875⁴³⁴.

North Staffordshire Infirmary. The following interesting account of this excellent institution was contributed to the Staffordshire Advertiser:—

Amongst many blessings which we owe to Christianity are hospitals, which, with the name of Nosocomeia, sprung into existence under the patronage of Basil and other bishops, after Constantine had taken the church into imperial favour. At this time hospitals, the Basilias of the Caesarean bishops for instance, became splendid institutions, before which the celebrated temple in Cilicia, dedicated to Esculapius, waned in reputation. In mediæval times hospitals degenerated into common leper-houses or spitals, connected or not with springs either medicinal or reputed to be such. St. Thomas' and St. Bartholomew's, in London, are both built on the sites of such spitals, of which more hereafter.

Many hospitals and infirmaries arose in England at the middle or end of the last century; the Westminster and Guy's were founded earlier, the latter by Thomas Guy, a Staffordshire bookseller. Bristol, Exeter, Winchester, and York, in the provinces, appear to have taken the lead as to priority of erection. The Staffordshire General Infirmary dates as early as 1766.

The North Staffordshire Infirmary, the most important and the most purely benevolent in North Staffordshire, if not in the whole county, had its origin in the year 1802. On July 6 of that year the Rev. Edward Powys and W. H. Coyney called a meeting for the establishment of a dispensary and house of recovery, necessitated by the mortality from epidemical disease then prevalent amongst the poor, arising from the privation which they are described as having undergone 'during late severe times'. No doubt the epidemic referred to was what we now call relapsing or famine fever, ever attending prolonged destitution, but which, thanks to the commonly tolerable amount of employment, and fair rate of its remuneration, we have only rarely much suffered from in the district, though we had it under a severe form, especially in the Irish, in 1848. In truth, the beds of the new institution appear at first to have been only occasionally occupied by patients of this class, though an undue fear of contagion was a prevalent feature in the medical horizon of the day.

Several of the names of those who attended the first meeting, which took place on the following 28th of July, at the Swan Inn, Hanley, are now strange to the district; many were those of medical men, who, from the subject especially interesting them, and from their well-known prominence in charitable efforts for the poor, might be expected to come forward. Omitting names still represented in the district, and only honouring those whose good deeds may be in danger of being forgotten, as they have no successors to continue them, may be mentioned James Bent; John Robinson, M.D., who married Miss Jane Williamson, and afterwards practised at Doncaster for thirty years; W. H. Smallwood, resident at Hanley, and who was a respectable and moderately-gifted surgeon; F. H. Northern, M.D., a gentleman on one occasion stationed at Windsor with the regiment of volunteers called the Staffordshire King's Own, as their surgeon, and who was courteous and well-read; D. Whalley, a medical man resident at Great Fenton, but who practised only for charity; Gregory Hickman, J. Warburton, Thomas Brock, T. Byerley and George Steedman. The four first gentlemen were placed on the medical staff, together with Bernard Coombe, a surgeon of rough exterior, but gentle and dexterous in his art, and George Wood (primus), both of Newcastle. A board of health was formed to inquire into cases of sickness, and to see that disinfecting processes were carried out, and it was finally agreed to have a dispensary, with fever wards attached. Rules were framed for their government, which rules became the nuclear code of those now in force.

⁴³⁴ Langford (1875): John Alfred Langford LL.D., F.R.H.S. with C.S. Mackintosh and J.C. Tildesley *Staffordshire and Warwickshire past and present. Vol. I.* [?1875] p543-55.

The names of Sneyd, Heathcote, and Wedgwood early occur as belonging to gentlemen taking an interest in the institution, and giving it substantial support, which their successors have not ceased to do up to the present time. The Etruria workpeople also were early contributors, and it was soon reported that 'the working classes, by their united contributions, have put the first establishment of the institution out of all doubt, and shown the means whereby it may be carried to the greatest degree of perfection'. On this head we will say more presently. Mr. Is. Hawkins, of Burslem, left a large sum of money in charitable bequest, and his executors, I. H. Browne, Esq., and the Rev. T. Gisborne, fortunately, in 1803, elected to allot £800 to the nascent institution. There were also congregational collections for the first years, which afterwards dwindled to little or nothing, though now properly revived; indeed, to them for the future must the infirmary look as an important source of revenue.

In 1805 one of the surgeons, J. Bent, seems to have taken a degree in medicine, becoming Dr. Bent, and afterwards one of the physicians of the institution, succeeding probably Dr. Robinson. Bent was of considerable eminence in his profession, and distinguished himself in a case of excision of the shoulder-joint, an early instance of what is now called conservative surgery, as well as of an operation requiring both courage and skill; and we are happy to record that the present infirmary prides itself in following his example, even with regard to this particular and somewhat rare operation. Bent was of a peculiar mental organization, and unfortunately committed suicide; but the immediate cause of the act is thought to have been gout, retrocedent to the brain, from placing the inflamed foot in cold water. He was the son of W. Bent, brewer, of Newcastle, and father of Dr. Richard Bent, who succeeded him. He was also uncle of Sir J. Bent, brewer, of Liverpool; and the respected Dr. Bent, of Derby, was of the same family, and unfortunately of the same morbid constitution of mind just alluded to. R. Bentley succeeded Bent as surgeon, Messrs. Beaver, of Stoke, and Hickham, of Burslem, being unsuccessful candidates.

One branch of medical relief taken up by the young institution was inoculation and vaccination, the latter only introduced a few years before by Dr. Jenner, but already sanctioned by the House of Commons. To what extent the former was practised we find no record, but 3,221 infants were vaccinated at the institution up to 1840, after which the operation appears to have been discontinued, other public bodies taking it up more peremptorily. In 1806 a panic was raised as to the efficiency of vaccination from the cow, and a committee was formed to inquire on the subject. A certain number of persons were to be selected from different parts of the Potteries who had been vaccinated, and they were now to be inoculated with the small-pox virus. What was the result we are not informed. Drs. Northern and Bent were also to report on the origin of a contagious fever at Penkhull. Fever is not commonly rife at that elevated village; if it was so at that time it was probably from privation or possibly disregard of sanitary precautions.

The dispensary and house of recovery was located on land purchased from Mr. Wedgwood (secundus), near the junction of the Cauldon Canal with the Grand Junction ditto. The ugly building is still standing, but is now in other hands and converted to other purposes. From Mr. Wedgwood also the site, at that time called Wood Hills, of the North Staffordshire Infirmary, into which the first establishment merged, was purchased, both bargains being made on very moderate terms for the purchasers. Both sites were at the time of purchase almost in the country, but both in the course of a few years ceased to be so; and the latter, situated about half a mile to the north of the former, became eventually contiguous to vast smelting furnaces and rolling forges, together with collieries, heaps of calcining ironstone, and the houses of a large population. It was in 1814 that a committee was formed towards adding an infirmary to the dispensary, and very shortly to commence the building of the same.

At the establishment of the infirmary in 1815 the subscriptions amounted to £991/4/6 and the establishment ditto to £745/2/3½. In the following year an accumulating fund, amounting in 1871 to £13,371/8/2, was commenced, principally at the instigation of John Tomlinson, a gentleman who more than once received the thanks of the governors for his energetic assistance. The interest of this fund will be available only when the principal amounts to (say) £20,000, that amount, however, depending upon the amount of interest. The accumulation at present is slow, the principal being in consols, and £2,000 having been, a year or two back, appropriated towards the erection of the present infirmary, for such a sum could be drawn under such contingency on the funds reaching the amount of £10,000. Though the arrangement is a very prospective mode of charity, yet the fund has accrued more rapidly than its originator promised. Funds for the erection of the stone portico of the infirmary (being a separate subscription), were collected principally by Mr. Tomlinson. In 1817 £550 was received from the trustees of And. Newton, of Lichfield; also a legacy of £1,000 from J. Rogers; about 1828, £500 from Alice Daniel; and £300 from Dean Woodhouse, the author of the work on the Apocalypse, who coupled his gift, however, as churchmen's benefits often are, with certain conditions. The lady appears to have been a less orthodox individual than the dean, for she and her brother are interred in a field at Endon a very pleasant spot, nevertheless; £500 came in also from Josiah Spode. In 1834 £744/5/0 was received from an oratorio at Stoke Church.; 1856, £500 from T. H. Parker (by will); 1858, £1,000 from J. Crowther, of Wednesbury (ditto); 1864, £988/13/3 from J. Mayer (ditto); 1865, £500 from T. Wedgwood (ditto). In 1818 the establishment subscriptions amounted only to £196/12/8½, so that in the following year an appeal to the workmen was issued; in fact, at that time the funds seem to have been almost at zero. The appeal produced a good effect, and the increase in governors' subscriptions has been from £925/4/0 in 1839 to £1,842/23/0 in 1870, and in establishment ditto from £735/1/8½ to £2704/8/0, the latter making the institution almost the property of the wage men — a feature peculiar to it and liable to be abused, but upon the whole beneficial to it and them.

At first the number of in-patients was small, soon larger, but very quickly to be reduced on account of cost; and then again increased, but limited to twenty in the house at one time. Soon afterwards, as the funds improved, the number of in-patients was about forty at one time, and that was the average for about twenty years. They have latterly averaged 1,157 per annum; out-patients, 5,512. There were in January, 1871, 156 in-patients in the house, a number never reached before. No isolated fever wards were built at the first infirmary, though it was endeavoured several times to shut such wards off from the rest of the building; but at length the separation of such cases was either totally disregarded, or if any misgivings arose, their reception was as much as possible discouraged. There were on an average, from 1836 to 1849, ninety-one fever patients per annum; from 1849 to 1859, thirty-seven and a half; from 1859 to 1868, only twenty-nine and a half. If such diseases are to be stamped out, admission of them into infirmaries ought to be especially facile — at any hour, and if possible with the certificate of a medical man alone, but with the proviso in some cases of a weekly payment by the friends.

In 1812, on the decease of Dr. J. Bent, his son, Dr. Richard Bent, was elected physician, the unsuccessful candidate being Dr. W. S. Belcombe, who, however, on the resignation of Bent in 1814, got the appointment. Belcombe, in 1824, removed to the city of York, and Bent again took the office, polling but five votes more than Dr. Mackenzie. In 1820 Joshua Seddon became house surgeon and secretary, and was till 1846 an effective officer, at first as paid, afterwards as honorary. In 1822 T. G. Coombe succeeded Bentley as surgeon, and in 1827 J. Spark took the place of J. Smallwood and B. Coombe. S. M. Turner was Seddon's successor, and maintained the surgical reputation of the institution. Mr. Spark still continues on the staff as surgeon-extraordinary, enjoying that *otium cum dignitate* which he well earned; he was principally instrumental in starting, in 1828, the medical library and museum, a grant, however, of £30 having been previously made for the purchase of medical books; the former up to this time has made the better progress. He was also the principal projector of four new wings which were added to the building at its four angles. In 1844 Dr. Mackenzie, appointed physician in 1831, and who died in 1849 (and who may justly be said to have been a successful practitioner), following the Hamiltonian principle, raised a large sum by solicitation to extricate the establishment from temporary difficulties. D. Ball, Esq., elected surgeon in 1834, and still surgeon-extraordinary, set to work, in 1851, to collect funds, principally from colliery proprietors as to the larger donations, for the erection of a detached building for burns, which proved very useful and beneficial, isolating those offensive and terrible cases from the rest of the building. In 1850 Thomas Keeling, Esq., raised by his sole exertions a further sum for the erection of two good wards on the male side, with ample accommodation for the out-patient relief; and though these were destined at no remote date to be evacuated with the rest of the building, they did good service, and redeemed the old structure for the latter part of its existence from utter condemnation. Dr. T. Davidson became physician in 1835, holding his appointment but one year. Dr. T. Wilson was appointed in 1836, and died regretted in 1858, having distinguished himself by great ability and energy of character. But we shall now leave all later appointments to some future historian.

In spite of these numerous additions and alterations to the infirmary, it gradually became apparent to all that the building of which we are now speaking was far below the requirements of the present era. Probably no building had ever been much more patched and transformed, the expenses of repair amounting yearly to a large sum. Its wards were small, affording only one-third, or at most one-half, of the necessary cubic proportion of air; the entrance and corridors were corresponding, or worse; the latrines were often in the centre of the building, and consequently some of the sewers ran beneath the foundation; such was the case, for instance, with the accident ward, not to mention other and worse defects. The whole building was cracked in a curious way by the subterranean workings of the miners, with a general easterly declension. The opinions of mineral surveyors were taken, and they, without exception, recommended a 'flit'. The medical committee also took action, under the leadership principally of Dr. Wilson Fox; they pointed out that the glare and noise from furnaces and forges was hurtful to the sick; and the air from various causes, but especially the calcination of ironstone and the combustion of the shale heaps, was destructive to animal life; besides dwelling on the unsuitableness of the building itself, already mentioned. Several times during the last quarter of a century had the surgical wards

to be cleared of patients, as much as possible, from the prevalence of erysipelas, phagedaena, pyaemia, and other zymotic inflictions. Of course these opinions would have their effect upon the committee, and the removal was the more readily agreed to by the offer of a benevolent individual, W. Yates, Esq., to contribute £5,000, the bulk of his property, to facilitate the matter. It was, however, to be subject to an annuity of £200 to himself as long as he lived: he died in a few days after signing the cheque for the amount.

But in the removal of the infirmary from Etruria, so urgently required, several grave questions arose, and perhaps now it may be dispassionately considered how far they have been resolved by the accomplishment of the building at Hartshill, and we will therefore briefly touch upon them.

In the first place, it should be premised that the North Staffordshire Infirmary is not an institution for any particular town or towns, or for the Potteries alone, but for the whole north of the county, the whole of that district contributing and sending patients to it. Next should be stated the two requirements which are especially to be considered in such a question, and to be taken in conjunction — healthiness of site and accessibility. The first desideratum has been well obtained, as must be manifest to every one, the situation being elevated, the aspect and slope southerly, the landscape sylvan and pleasant, the subsoil a porous red sand rock, and the air untainted by manufactories or ironworks. It was found that such a site could not be obtained within the area of the Pottery coal field, unless it were in one direction, north of Newcastle towards Wolstanton, where a similar tongue of new red sandstone runs up into the area of the coal field, and is consequently free from mining operations, but less central and unadvisable in other respects. No doubt, at no great depth, the coal measures exist in both cases, but they are not likely to be worked for many years; and besides, with respect to the site acquired, it was previously enfranchised by the duchy of Lancaster.

Compared with the old site as to accessibility, it must be confessed that the present one is not quite so advantageously situated — removed from the *enceinte* of one of the principal ironworks, and further from one of the largest towns of the Pottery district, as well as from the north of the Potteries generally. On the other hand, it is somewhat nearer to other towns, as well as to the principal railway station, much used by the patients. In fact, the Pottery towns, including Newcastle and Silverdale, are disposed pretty much in the form of the letter [T] inverted, and the new infirmary is not far from the central junction, and could not be more central, salubrity and safety from mines being considered. Centrality should if possible be obtained, but when you have several towns of nearly equal importance stretching away for miles, a perfect centralization is impossible, and in this case, by a little sacrifice on this point, that other great essential, salubrity, has been obtained. Some compensation might be afforded to the more distant northern districts by subsidiary support from the mother institution, towards a dispensary for the relief of out-patients; for with respect to in-patients the distance of a mile extra can matter but little with proper conveyance. But such a dispensary should not be attached or belong to only one of the towns, but be central for the whole northern district. Neither should any hospital accommodation be united with it, for such minor establishments must necessarily be injurious to the larger hospital, and are only advisable when no hospital accommodation can be reached within a reasonable distance, as is the case with Burton-on-Trent, where a small hospital has recently been erected. Speaking of branch hospitals, the governors of the Radcliff Infirmary observe that they are 'firmly convinced that precisely the reverse effect (inefficiency) would be produced upon it, if it allowed such an establishment to be set up independently of itself; and again, they conclude that such a proceeding would diminish 'prestige, efficiency, and subscriptions'. It is true this refers to a fever hospital at Oxford, but it is even more applicable to one for general cases. Small hospitals (cottage) may prove a convenience, but they do not belong to the same category as the large ones, in which there ought to be every resource of art within call, and where the medical officers are or ought to be selected from their brethren for their talents or acquirements. One of the principal advantages of large hospitals; that in them the poor man gets what even the rich does not always obtain — a consultation on his case. All exclusive appropriation of patients should be discountenanced in infirmaries; within the walls at least, all the medical officers should be friends, the care of patients their bond of union; and their weekly simultaneous assembling should be always secured by rule, as in those of Stafford for instance. Much has been said, especially by the late Dr. Simpson, against hospitals in general, and especially large ones, and no doubt something may be so said, but more in their favour. Against cottage-hospitals as much or more might be asserted — to say nothing of the name, generally a case of *lucus a non lucendo*, or, like ragged schools, named from a circumstance which commonly is, or at any rate should be, annulled.

But whatever deference may be paid to the above sentiments, the new infirmary is now a reality. We shall not say how the necessary funds have been raised. Honour to those who have made noble individual donations; to those who so zealously carried out that hackneyed but sometimes productive thing, a bazaar — in this case, though unpatronized by the nobility, raising £3,073/11/9; to those (principally workpeople) who laid down purses to the amount of £1,441 before our young prince and princess on the occasion of laying the foundation stone in 1866. It was opened by the duchess of Sutherland, December 15, 1869. The least satisfactory part of the transaction is that more than £5,000 has been borrowed from the funded property, exclusive of £2,000 from the accumulating fund, which all ought to be replaced. As was the case after the erection of the first infirmary, when sufficient funds were at first wanting, so is the case now; and may the public now, as then, respond to an extent to meet the exigencies of the case.

The building is plain and utilitarian by the desire of the committee, and there is no stone throughout. The committee, in their report for 1869, observe that 'they enter upon the charge of their noble premises with the satisfaction of knowing that, if the architectural enrichments are few, nothing has been knowingly omitted that could contribute to the comfort and speedy recovery of the patients, the convenience of the medical officers, and of the household;' and again, 'the medical officers congratulate the governors on the completion of the commodious, admirably constructed and arranged, and most healthily placed new buildings.' We think the erection of the separate building for incurables was not well advised — not quite wanted at present, nor with the available funds of the institution; yet no doubt it will soon be utilized to the satisfaction of the gentleman who so liberally gave funds for its erection, and also towards that of the main building. A bold but very successful innovation at the new infirmary are the fire-places, placed in the centre of the ample pavilions. Another admirable arrangement is the facile and tender mode by which patients are moved or raised from one part of the hospital to another, as from their beds to the operating table and back again, without stirring a muscle on their part, and, it may be, all the time in deep unconsciousness.

The medical officers, in the report above alluded to, congratulate the subscribers on the new arrangement for nursing, and we would only add one comment — that the infirmary ought rather to be a fountain of supply than draw from other institutions, whether metropolitan or not, in this matter. A special fund was started by Dr. Fox, we believe, for the providing of extra comforts and other things not commonly provided by infirmaries. Some patients have been sent to the sea-side or to the Buxton baths, others furnished with flannels, artificial limbs, cataract spectacles, and other *adjvantia* of the sick. The Rev. J. Edwards has shown untiring zeal under this head, as well as with respect to nursing. But all these - luxuries of charity we may call them — noble wards, numerous servants and nurses, increased resident medical officers, &c., will require larger and more general contributions, and distant be that day when this noble institution shall languish for lack of support. The cost of patients per head may be in some degree a criterion by which to judge of the amount of comfort afforded them. The cost of a patient, that is, of his food and little else, was in 1836, £1/5/11½; in 1867, with dearer flesh meat, but cheaper grocery and bread, £2/5/8½. A year or two after the erection of the old infirmary, however, they appear to have been liberal enough; the allowance of cooked meat without bone being twelve ounces for dinner, being twice as much as we ever see now in diet tables. The consumption of wine and spirits offers some curious facts for consideration, especially when compared with the cost of leeches, and taken through a series of years. From 1836 to 1849 the cost of leeches exceeded, in some years, that of the wine, and spirits consumed, amounting in 1846 to £50/17/0; the mortality was five and six-eighths per cent.; but the fever cases averaged ninety-one per annum, with a mortality of thirteen and three-fourths, which raised the total percentage. The extra mortality of fever patients being deducted, the mortality is only five per cent. From 1849 to 1858 the drinkables had much increased; malt liquor, £150/0/6 per annum; wine and spirits, £38/12/10; the use of leeches much diminished, their cost being only £17/10/7 yearly: the mortality was five and five-eighths; fever patients, thirty-seven and a half. From 1859 to 1868 the malt liquor cost £190/4/3; wine and spirits, £121/4/8; leeches, £2/3/8 yearly: the mortality five and two-eighths per cent., fever patients averaging twenty-nine and a half per annum.

We must confess that these figures show a change in medical practice, by some said to be due to a change in the character of disease; but we think there has been no change in the latter respect, except in so far as it varies according to any change in our modes of life, as from a rural bucolic to a city hyper-civilized life. We, in fact, in some measure appropriate the reproach of an anomaly in our art more or less inexplicable; all that we can say is, that it appears possible to go through sickness with or without stimulants almost equally well in some cases, as some men may live in perfect health with the daily consumption of a large quantity of stimulants, whilst others get on equally well without them. The figures certainly appear at first to be slightly in favour of a stimulating or Brunonian mode of treatment, or of stimulants *versus* leeches and depletion; but with the consideration of the more or less numerous fever patients and their higher mortality, the results are, as far as they go, somewhat the other way. It may be observed that the percentage of mortality varies much in hospitals, but it is invariably highest in large city hospitals, with open doors for the most wretched and dissolute; lowest in small county hospitals.

There appear to have been four surgeons at first in the old infirmary, now very properly but three. Formerly no difficulty was ever experienced in finding two physicians, now there is; and consequently two medical officers, general practitioners, have been elected in the place

of the second, and the arrangement practically seems a good one. A great injustice has been done, up to a late period, to the infirmary, and also to country medical men generally, by the *gaucherie* of the medical authorities in discouraging country pupilage altogether. In 1834 a return from the infirmary was requested by the House of Commons, and the College of Surgeons long ago had the courtesy to ask for other returns, and for the opinion of the medical officers as to medical education in general; but the latter has been extremely tardy in its smile, whilst the County Infirmary, with about one-third the number of in-patients and only one quarter of out-patients, long ago obtained its regards.

A few words on the records of the diseases treated, in order that a judgment may be formed of the importance of the work done. Burns are generally very severe injuries, causing loss of life, incurable surface wounds, contractions and lameness, requiring long and careful treatment (we are speaking of such burns as are the common results of explosions in mines): blindness, too, is produced by splutters of melted ore into the eyes; tetanus is no unfrequent result, and bronchitis also, sometimes perhaps from the inhalation of flames, as popularly supposed, sometimes from vicarious sympathy. In one case a forgerman had his thigh transfixed with a red-hot bar of iron, and frequently pieces of coal or stone are driven into the very bones from shots in mines. In 1817 the then committee expostulated with the coalmasters on their non-use of the Davy lamp, then recently invented. There is a large mortality in the district from the after or choke damp; we would inquire whether it might not be quickly destroyed by lime water or, indeed, by simple water in the form of spray, or other complete aspersion. Burns of the kind alluded to average thirty per annum, and the mortality amounts to twenty-five per cent. In ten years, ending 1870, there were 122 cases of cancer in the house. Of the operations, not capital only, but chief amongst the capital, either for difficulty for the operator or risk for the patient, were (in the same period) sixty-two amputations of the thigh; fifteen ligature of large arteries, the carotid and external iliac amongst them; forty lithotomy; twenty-two excisions of knee, shoulder, hip, and elbow; two tracheotomy, six trephining, twenty hernia, nine ovariectomy.

Without any wish to be fulsome or to depreciate special institutions, we may assert that the public are scarcely aware of the claims of the infirmary to be considered in the light of an ophthalmic institution; appropriate male and female wards have been opened to this end; and to these diseases, and to the modern improvements in their treatment by Wenzel, Graefe, and others, much attention has been paid during the last few years.

Z Reference material

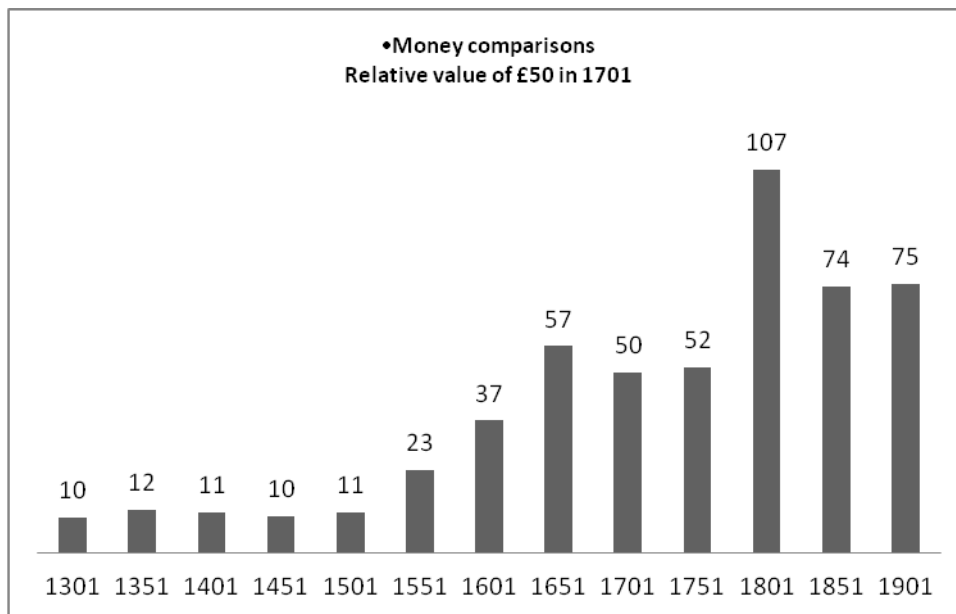
Z2 Money comparisons

A knowledge of the relative value of money over time allows a comparison of any particular sum of money in different years. Calculating such values is immensely complicated and for the purposes of this monograph figures have been taken (Nov 2020) from an internet site "MeasuringWorth.com" using their "real price" indicator. Their definition for this is "Real Price is measured as the relative cost of a (fixed over time) bundle of goods and services such as food, shelter, clothing, etc., that an average household would buy. In theory the size of this bundle does not change over time, but in practice adjustments are made to its composition. This measure uses the RPI."

Using their figures⁴³⁵ the value of £1 in 1301 is shown in the table below every half century to 2001 and then in the last available year 2019. Also shown is the relative value of £50 in 1701. These latter figures are also shown (to 1901) in the chart below. It appears that the value of the pound was remarkably stable from 1301 to 1501 and thereafter steadily increased with a small upward deviation in 1651 perhaps due to the English Civil War and a much larger upward deviation in 1801 said to be due to the Napoleonic wars which commenced about 1799.

•Money comparisons		
Year	£1 in 1301	£50 in 1701
1301	1.00	9.75
1351	1.21	11.78
1401	1.15	11.21
1451	1.05	10.19
1501	1.15	11.25
1551	2.35	22.91
1601	3.77	36.72
1651	5.89	57.43
1701	5.13	50.00
1751	5.30	51.67
1801	10.93	106.54
1851	7.60	74.13
1901	7.67	74.78
1951	26.51	258.41
2001	503.40	4907.24
2019	838.70	8175.82

⁴³⁵ Their figures are in £ s d and are here converted to decimal.



Z3 Abbreviations

Z3.1 General abbreviations; Z3.2 Medical abbreviations; Z3.3 Academic abbreviations; Z3.4 County abbreviations; Z3.5 American state codes; Z3.6 Australian state and territory codes *and see* Bibliographical abbreviations (§Z4.1)

Z3.1 General abbreviations

a	before or in/on (with date)		
Adm	Administration (of a deceased's estate)		
admon.	Administration (of a deceased's estate)	K.G.	Knight of (the Most Noble Order) of the Garter (c1346-8)
ap(p)	apprentice(d)	K.P.	Knight of (the Most Illustrious Order of) St Patrick (1783)
b	born	K.T.	Knight of (the Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of) the Thistle (1687)
bach.	bachelor	m	month
BCert	birth certificate	m	married
bro	brother	m1, m2 etc	married first, second etc
C	census	1m, 2m etc	1st month, 2nd month etc [Quaker month of the year, before 1752 1st month was March]
c	christened	MCert	marriage certificate
c	circa, about (with date)	M.I.	monumental inscription (on a gravestone or other monument)
Cemy.	Cemetery	ml	marriage licence
chn	children	M.P.	Member of Parliament
co.	Company/County	NA	National Archives
cohab.	cohabitant	otp	of this parish
crem.	cremated	p	after or in/on (with date)
d	day(s)	PCC	Prerogative Court of Canterbury
d	died	Ped	Pedigree (in Part 3 - Register)
DCert	death certificate	PR	Parish register (or similar register)
dau(s)	daughter(s)	RC	roman catholic
e	estimated (with date)	RD	registration district
esq(r)	esquire	RO	record office
FBG	Friends's burial ground [Quaker burial ground]	sen.	senior
FM	Friends' Meeting [Quaker Meeting]	sp.	spinster
gent.	gentleman	unm.	unmarried
H.E.I.C.S.	Honourable East India Company Service	w	week(s)
Hon.	Honourable (son or daughter of a peer)	wid.	widow(er)
HT	Hearth Tax (Staffordshire)	wit(s)	witness(es)
i	interred	X	NOT FOUND (OR LISTED) in source
illeg.	illegitimate (at birth)		
inst.	instant (usually meaning of this month)		
J.P.	Justice of the Peace, or, a Magistrate		
jun.	junior		
K.B.	Knight of (the Most Honourable Order of) the Bath (1725)		

Z3.2 Medical abbreviations

C.R.C.P.	Candidate of the Royal College of Physicians	L.M.,R.C.S.	Licensed Midwife of the Royal College of Surgeons of England
Dip.R.C.S.E.	Diplomate of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh	L.M.,R.C.S.I.	Licensed Midwife of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland
Ext.L.R.C.P.	Extra Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians	L.R.C.P.	Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians
F.R.C.P.	Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians	L.R.C.P.E.	Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh
F.R.C.P.E.	Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh	L.R.C.S.E.	Licentiate of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh
F.R.C.S.	Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of England	L.R.C.S.I.	Licentiate of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland
F.R.C.S.E.	Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh	L.S.A./L.A.C.	Licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries
F.R.C.S.I.	Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland	L.S.A.D.	Licentiate of the Company of the Apothecaries' Hall of Ireland (at Dublin)
G.P.	General Practitioner	M.C.S.	Member of the College of Surgeons
L.A.C.	see L.S.A.	M.R.C.P.	Member of the Royal College of Physicians
L.F.P.S.G.	Licentiate of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons in Glasgow	M.R.C.P.E.	Member of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh
L.K&Q.C.P.I.	Licentiate of the King and Queen's College of Physicians of Ireland	M.R.C.S.	Member of the Royal College of Surgeons
L.M.	Licensed Midwife	M.R.C.S.E.	see M.R.C.S.
		M.R.C.S.L.	see M.R.C.S.
		M.S.A.	Member of the Society of Apothecaries

Z3.3 Academic abbreviations

B.A.	Bachelor of Arts	D.C.L.	Doctor Civil Law
B.C.L.	Bachelor of Civil Law	D.Can.L.	Doctor of Canon Law
B.Can.L.	Bachelor of Canon Law	M.A.	Master of Arts
Ch.M.	Master of Surgery Chirurgiae Magister	M.B.	Bachelor of Medicine
Com.Reg.	Comitia Regia. A degree conferred by the Cambridge University Senate in the presence of royalty (see §D2.2.3)	M.D.	Doctor of Medicine

Z3.4 County abbreviations

In the lists below the counties of England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland are enumerated together with the abbreviations and codes⁴³⁶ used in this work.

England

In this work England is considered to be divided into "London" and 40 other counties (or 42 if the atypically small Isle of Wight and Rutland are included). "London" mainly lay in Middlesex. The three ridings of Yorkshire (each here considered as a county) form the greater county of Yorkshire. Monmouthshire is listed under Wales. The 43 "counties" are listed below.

England	Abbr.	Code	England	Abbr.	Code
Bedfordshire	Beds	BDF	London	London	LON
Berkshire	Berks	BRK	Middlesex	Midxx	MDX
Buckinghamshire	Bucks	BKM	Norfolk	Norfolk	NFK
Cambridgeshire	Cambs	CAM	Northamptonshire	Northants	NTH
Cheshire	Cheshire	CHS	Northumberland	Northumbs	NBL
Cornwall	Cornwall	CON	Nottinghamshire	Notts	NTT
Cumberland	Cumbs	CUL	Oxfordshire	Oxon	OXF
Derbyshire	Derbys	DBY	Rutland	Rutland	RUT
Devon	Devon	DEV	Shropshire	Salop	SAL
Dorset	Dorset	DOR	Somerset	Soms	SOM
Durham County	Durhams	DUR	Staffordshire	Staffs	STS
Essex	Essex	ESS	Suffolk	Suffolk	SFK
Gloucestershire	Glos	GLS	Surrey	Surrey	SRY
Hampshire	Hants	HAM	Sussex	Sussex	SSX
Herefordshire	Herefs	HER	Warwickshire	Warwicks	WAR
Hertfordshire	Herts	HRT	Westmorland	Westmorland	WES
Huntingdonshire	Hunts	HUN	Wiltshire	Wilts	WIL
Isle of Wight	IOW	IOW	Worcestershire	Worcs	WOR
Kent	Kent	KEN	Yorkshire East Riding	Yorks ER	YER
Lancashire	Lancs	LAN	Yorkshire North Riding	Yorks NR	YNR
Leicestershire	Leics	LEI	Yorkshire West Riding	Yorks WR	YWR

Wales

Anglesey	AGY	Glamorganshire	GLA
Breconshire (Brecknockshire)	BRE	Merionethshire	MER
Caernarvonshire	CAE	Monmouthshire	MON
Cardiganshire	CGN	Montgomeryshire	MGY
Carmarthenshire	CMN	Pembrokeshire	PEM
Denbighshire	DEN	Radnorshire	RAD
Flintshire	FLN		

⁴³⁶ Most of the codes used are "Chapman codes".

Scotland

Aberdeenshire (or the County of Aberdeen), Angus (or Forfarshire or the County of Forfar), Argyll (or Argyllshire), Ayrshire (or the County of Ayr), Banffshire (or the County of Banff), Berwickshire (or the County of Berwick), Buteshire (or the County of Bute), Caithness, Clackmannanshire (or the County of Clackmannan), Dumfriesshire, Dunbartonshire, East Lothian, Fife, Inverness-shire, Kincardineshire, Kinross-shire, Kirkcudbrightshire (part of Galloway), Lanarkshire (includes Glasgow), Midlothian (includes Edinburgh), Moray, Nairnshire, Orkney, Peebleshire, Perthshire, Renfrewshire, Ross and Cromarty, Roxburghshire, Selkirkshire, Shetland, Stirlingshire, Sutherland, West Lothian, Wigtownshire (part of Galloway)

Ireland (e.g. co Antrim)

Antrim, Armagh, Carlow, Cavan, Clare, Cork, County, Donegal, Down, Dublin, Fermanagh, Galway, Kerry, Kildare, Kilkenny, Laois, Leitrim, Limerick, Londonderry (Derry), Longford, Louth, Mayo, Meath, Monaghan, Offaly, Roscommon, Sligo, Tipperary, Tyrone, Waterford, Westmeath, Wexford, Wicklow

Z3.5 American state codes

Alabama AL; Alaska AK; American Samoa AS; Arizona AZ; Arkansas AR; California CA; Colorado CO; Connecticut CT; Delaware DE; District of Columbia DC; Federated States of; Micronesia FM; Florida FL; Georgia GA; Guam GU; Hawaii HI; Idaho ID; Illinois IL; Indiana IN; Iowa IA; Kansas KS; Kentucky KY; Louisiana LA; Maine ME; Marshall Islands MH; Maryland MD; Massachusetts MA; Michigan MI; Minnesota MN; Mississippi MS; Missouri MO; Montana MT; Nebraska NE; Nevada NV; New Hampshire NH; New Jersey NJ; New Mexico NM; New York NY; North Carolina NC; North Dakota ND; Northern Mariana Islands MP; Ohio OH; Oklahoma OK; Oregon OR; Palau PW; Pennsylvania PA; Puerto Rico PR; Rhode Island RI; South Carolina SC; South Dakota SD; Tennessee TN; Utah UT; Vermont VT; Virginia VA; Virgin Islands VI; Washington WA; West Virginia WV; Wisconsin WI; Wyoming WY

Z3.6 Australian state and territory codes

Australian Capital Territory (ACT), New South Wales (NSW), Northern Territory (NT), Queensland (QLD), South Australia (SA), Tasmania (TAS), Victoria (VIC) and Western Australia (WA).

Z4 Bibliography

Z4.1 Bibliographical abbreviations; Z4.2 Primary sources; Z4.3 Secondary sources; Z4.4 British medical journals; Z4.5 Midlands medical journals

In the following sections is some detail of the most frequently used sources in the compilation of this work and some other related items. Less frequently used sources are only noticed in the main text and footnotes. Items are believed to have been published in London unless otherwise stated.

Z4.1 Bibliographical abbreviations

©	indicates a website - see §Z4.3.1
BLG	<i>Burke's landed gentry</i> - see §Z4.3.4
BMD	<i>The British medical directory for England ...</i> - see §Z4.2.4
BP	<i>Burke's peerage</i> - see §Z4.3.4
CP	<i>The complete peerage ...</i> - see §Z4.3.4
GM	<i>The gentleman's magazine</i> - see §Z4.3.4
JG	Aleyn Lyell Reade <i>Johnsonian gleanings</i> - see §Z4.3.4
LRO	Lichfield Record Office (formerly known as Lichfield Joint Record Office, LJRO). Herein original quotations using "LJRO" have been modernised to "LRO".
MD	<i>The London medical directory ... The London and Provincial medical directory</i> - see §Z4.2.4
MR	<i>The medical register for the year 1779 (1780, 1783)</i> - see §Z4.2.4
OB	<i>The Oxford dictionary of national biography</i> - and see §Z4.3.1
OED	<i>Oxford English dictionary</i>
Parson	see §Z4.2.3 Directories
Pigot	see §Z4.2.3 Directories
PRO	Public Record Office
R.APP	Apprenticeship registers 1710-1811 - see §E2.3
SCD	<i>Staffordshire clerical directory</i> Dragonby Press (2021, in progress)
SDH	<i>Staffordshire doctors in history</i> - see §Z4.3.4
SHC	<i>Collections for a history of Staffordshire</i> - see §Z4.3.2
SLG	<i>Staffordshire landed gentry</i> Dragonby Press (2021, in progress)
SRO	Staffordshire Record Office/Stafford Record Office
STS.ADV	<i>Staffordshire Advertiser</i> - see §Z4.2.5
UBD	<i>The universal british directory</i> - see §Z4.2.3 Directories
VCH	<i>Victoria history of the counties of England</i> - see §Z4.3.3
White	see §Z4.2.3 Directories
WSL	William Salt Archaeological Society Library
WTON:CHR	<i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> - see §Z4.2.5

Z4.2 Primary sources

Z4.2.1 Miscellaneous; Z4.2.2 Acts of parliament (see index); Z4.2.3 Directories; Z4.2.4 Medical registers and directories; Z4.2.5 Midlands newspapers

Z4.2.1 Miscellaneous

Edwin Chadwick *Report on the sanitary condition of the labouring population of Great Britain (1842)*

Fons sanitatis or the healing spring at Willowbridge in in[sic] Stafford-shire. ... (1676) (§C1.1676)

John **Howard** *The state of the prisons in England and Wales ...* (1777) [p326-9, Staffordshire]

John **Howard** *The state of the prisons in England and Wales ... The third edition* (1784)

John **Howard** *An account of the principal lazarettos in Europe ... prisons ... Great Britain. The second edition* (1791)

Ince's pedigrees Thomas Norris Ince 1824-1860 [A manuscript book at Derby Local Studies Library. Transcripts have been posted on the internet.]

Gregory **King's** Census of Lichfield, 1695 edited by Ann J. Kettle in SHC (2018) p133-228 [King (1695), xxx = entry number]

The medical calendar or students' guide to the medical schools ... (1828)

Municipal corporations (England and Wales) - Appendix to the first report of the Commissioners Part III - Northern and north midland circuits House of Commons (1835)

New apothecaries' act Abstract of the new apothecaries' act commencing August 1, 1815 Printed for E. Cox and Son (1815)

Perry's Bankrupt and Insolvent **Gazette** (1828-61) later Perry's Bankrupt Weekly Gazette(1862-81) later Perry's Gazette (1882-1964).

Rules, orders & regulations, to be observed by the New Union Friendly Society, held at the Union Hotel, in Lane-End, in the parish of Stoke-upon-Trent, in the County of Stafford (1829)

Society of Apothecaries A statement by the Society of Apothecaries on the subject of their administration of The apothecaries' act, with reference to some supposed features of Sir James Graham's promised measure of medical reform (1844)

Vis.Staffs.1583 H. Sydney Grazebrook (Ed.) *The visitation of Staffordshire made by Robert Glover alias Somerset Herald ... 1583* in SHC 1882(2)

Vis.Staffs.1614/64 H. Sydney Grazebrook (Ed.) *The heraldic visitations of Staffordshire made by Sir Richard St George Norroy in 1614 and by Sir William Dugdale Norroy in the years 1663 and 1664* in SHC 1884(2)

Vis.Staffs.1664/1700 Sir George J. Armytage and W. Harry Rylands (Ed.) *Staffordshire pedigrees, based on the visitation of that county ... in the years 1663-1664, from the original manuscript written ... during the years 1680-1700 Harleian Society's Publications* 63 (1912)

Winefrid White *Authentic documents relative to the miraculous cure of Winefrid White, of Wolverhampton, at St. Winefrid's well, alias Holywell, in Flintshire, on the 28th of June 1805 With observations thereon, by the R.R.,J- M--,D.D.V.A. F.S.A. Lond. and C. Acad. Rome. Third Edition* (1806) (§F1.1805)

Z4.2.2 Acts of parliament (see Index)

Z4.2.3 Directories

The earliest surviving directory which includes parts of Staffordshire appears to be *Sketchley's Birmingham, Wolverhampton and Walsall directory* which reached a third edition in 1767. Earlier editions are said to have been published in 1763 and 1765. A fourth edition appeared in 1770. Next Pearson and Rollason published *The Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Walsall, Dudley, Bilston, and Willenhall Directory* in 1780. From 1790 to 1798 the whole county was covered in *The Universal British Directory*. In 1796 Chester and Mort of Hanley are said to have produced a directory of the pottery towns. Subsequently Staffordshire directories were published by Parson (1818), Pigot (1828 and 1835) and White (1834 and 1851).

Bailey's western and midland directory or merchant's and tradesman's useful companion ... Birmingham (1783)

Bailey's western and midland directory or merchant's and tradesman's useful companion ... Birmingham (1784)

Chester and Mort [?Title A directory of the Staffordshire pottery towns Hanley] Chester and Mort (1796)

[W. Parson] *Staffordshire general & commercial directory ... Compiled and published by the proprietors W. Parson and T. Bradshaw* Manchester (1818)

Pearson and Rollason *The Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Walsall, Dudley, Bilston, and Willenhall Directory ...* Birmingham: Pearson and Rollason (1780)

Pigot and co.'s national commercial directory for 1828-9 ... Staffordshire (?1829) (1828)

Pigot and co.'s national commercial directory ... Staffordshire (1835) (1835)

Sketchley *Sketchley's Birmingham, Wolverhampton and Walsall directory ... Third edition ...* (1767)

Sketchley and Adams *Sketchley's and Adams's tradesman's true guide or, an universal directory, for the towns of Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Walsall, Dudley, and the manufacturing villages in the neighbourhood of Birmingham ... the fourth edition ...* (1770)

UBD *The Universal British directory ... Volume the first London (1790); Second edition (1793)* Preface dated 10 Jun 1793 ; *Volume the second A-D* (?1793); *Volume the third E-M* (?1794); *Volume the fourth N-Y* (?1798); *Volume the fifth Addenda etc.* (?1798) [UBD I II III IV V]

Wm. **West** *The history, topography and directory of Warwickshire ...* (1830)

William **White** *History, gazetteer, and directory of Staffordshire ...* Sheffield (1834)

William **White** *History, gazetteer, and directory of Staffordshire ...* Sheffield (1851)

Z4.2.4 Medical registers and directories

The year 1779 saw an important innovation in the publication of *The medical register*. This was the first attempt to list all active medical practitioners in the whole of England, Wales and Scotland. They are fully discussed in §Y.1779.

MR Samuel Foart Simmons (Ed.) *The medical register for the year 1779* London, printed for J. Murray, No 32, Fleet--Street (1779) [Preface dated 13 Apr 1779]

MR Samuel Foart Simmons (Ed.) *The medical register for the year 1780* London printed for Fielding and Walker, No 10. Pater-Noster-Row (1780) [The last date in the deaths is 4 Jul 1780. The Salisbury and Winchester Journal of 21 Aug 1780 states it was published "this day" and "the whole is corrected to the 10th July 1780".]

MR Samuel Foart Simmons (Ed.) *The medical register for the year 1783* London. printed for Joseph Johnson No 72 St Paul's Church-Yard (1783) [Preface dated 3 Sep 1783]

The four registers below contains lists of surgeons (1812 and 1845), members of the *Associated Apothecaries and Surgeon-Apothecaries* (1823) and *apothecaries* (1840).

REG *Members of the Royal College of Surgeons in London who do not reside or practise in or within seven miles of the city of London Dated at the College the seventeenth day of July M.DCCC.XII* (1812)

REG "List of Members" in *Transactions of the Associated Apothecaries and Surgeon-Apothecaries of England and Wales I* (1823) [Thought to have been compiled in 1822 see §H1.2.8]

REG *A list of persons who have obtained certificates of their fitness and qualification to practise as apothecaries from August 1, 1815 to July 31, 1840* (1840)

REG *List of the fellows and members of the Royal College of Surgeons August 31, 1845* Royal College of Surgeons (**1845**) [This commences with an alphabetical list of fellows. There follows a list of members "whose places of residence have been reported since the year 1840" with their exact date of admittance; and ends with a list of members "who have made no return of their respective places of residence in compliance with the request of the council" see §Q4.6.]

In 1845 *The London medical directory* made its first appearance. In the preface (below) an explanation is given of the methods used in its compilation. It was revised in 1846. The following year coverage was extended and it was retitled *The London and Provincial medical directory* and appeared under this title until 1869.

MD *The London medical directory* (**1845, 1846**)

MD *The London and Provincial medical directory* John Churchill (**1847 on**) (exact title varies)

(MD 1845) PREFACE The great support and countenance which met the first proposal of a London Medical Directory, is a sufficient indication that such a work is considered a desideratum by the profession. No attempt has hitherto been made to combine the lists of the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons, and the Apothecaries' Company. Any person seeking information on the subject must have examined the three lists separately to obtain it. In the catalogue of the Fellows, Licentiates, and Extra Licentiates of the College of Physicians, the names are given in the order in which they were admitted or elected, but no dates are given respecting the period of their admission and election. The Editors have examined many of the periodical lists of the College of Surgeons, and it would appear that the plan upon which they have been framed has been varied from time to time. The names inserted in some of the lists are not to be found in others and more recent ones, though the parties are still in existence and in practice. In compiling the present work, this error has been found to have occurred in many instances. The latest College List, that of August 3, 1844, consists of two parts: one contains the names of those members which have been returned to the College, with their places of abode since the year 1840; the other consists merely of an alphabetical list of members, without date of admission or place of abode. Of the first it may be said, that death and change of residence, in a period of five years, must have caused great alteration in so numerous a body; the second is open to the objection, that as there are frequently two or more members of the same name, identification is difficult or impossible. The list of the Apothecaries' Company appears to contain the names of all parties who have taken out their licence to practise since the Act of 1815, with their places of abode at the time of examination. Similar causes must have produced still greater defects in this list which extends over so long a term of years. These different objections must, to a considerable extent, be remedied by an annual list, combining the members of all the different licensing bodies, &c., the information being, in most instances, derived from the parties themselves. The names of parties holding regular diplomas and qualifications to practise have been given as correctly as possible; and also the names of all other persons professing to be medical men and in actual practice. Where names are given, and no qualification attached, it is to be understood that the parties have made no return, and that the Editors have failed to discover their names in the lists of the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons, or the Apothecaries' Company; those who, notwithstanding this, are in possession of regular qualifications, must have obtained them elsewhere. The Editors feel confident that their work will be found useful to the Profession. As an annual register it can scarcely fail to have the effect of making all persons look more narrowly to their qualification when they are placed in comparison with those of others. Individuals may in some cases feel aggrieved, but such a measure must prove beneficial to the Faculty at large. It is scarcely possible that a work of the present kind, containing such an immense number of facts, could be perfectly correct at its first appearance: no expense has been spared, and great care has been taken to render it as perfect as possible; but with all the attention which has been bestowed, inaccuracies and omissions are in some measure unavoidable. The Editors will strenuously exert themselves in the correction of future editions, and be happy to receive any communication or assistance having such an end in view. They can truly state, that a desire to avoid as far as possible anything erroneous respecting the names which have been inserted has alone so long delayed their publication. It is hoped that this will be considered a sufficient apology to their numerous Subscribers.

(MD 1847) ADVERTISEMENT. For the first time, THE PROVINCIAL MEDICAL DIRECTORY has now become added to our usual annual volume, THE LONDON MEDICAL DIRECTORY; ... for the future ... will be published on the 1st of January in every year

The London and Provincial medical directories for 1853 and 1854 faced competition from a new publication *The British medical directory*. The new directory was published by Thomas Wakley 1795-1862 [OB], proprietor of *The Lancet*, and a Mr Howard. Wakley appears to have disapproved of some of the contents of the *London and Provincial* of which Mr Yearsley was proprietor. Particularly at issue were the subjects of homeopathy and of foreign qualifications. The newspaper extracts below show the heated nature of the dispute which eventually involved a law case the result of which has not been discovered.

BMD *The British medical directory for England, Wales, and Scotland* British Medical Directory Office (**1853**)

BMD *The British medical directory for England, Wales, and Scotland* British Medical Directory Office (**1854**)

(24 Feb 1853) Now ready, price 6s., handsomely bound in green and gold THE BRITISH MEDICAL DIRECTORY (Morning Advertiser)

(7 Mar 1853) BRITISH MEDICAL DIRECTORY A new publication ... has lately been issued ... It is ... a directory and guide for the legitimate members of the profession Morning Chronicle:

(21 Mar 1783) British Medical Directory for 1853 Published at the Lancet Office. Sun (London):

(17 May 1853) London and Provincial Medical Directory Inclusive of Scotland and Ireland, 1853. John Churchill. The British medical directory for England, Wales, and Scotland, 1853. Published at the Office of the Lancet. The first-named of these books is in its eighth year and is the familiar Medical Directory of every reference library; the second is a new directory, facing a first year, and competing for the approval of the profession as the standard work. Extracts from the prefaces ... L&P editors: "the disgust of the profession at a base and malicious attempt at rivalry ... our duty to suppress all mention or allusion to such onobnoxious matter i.e. homeopathy: ... inclusion of: gentlemen holding foreign diplomas ... new directory: only emanating from a low-minded spite at the success of the first and only cheap medical journal - The Medical Circular ... BMD editors: ... Dignified practitioners were degraded and quackish imposters were exalted ... The resolve, therefore, was to present a Medical Guide free from the defilement of quackery ... it is a question for medical men alone to decide which work they will select, it being evident that one must give way. London Daily News:

(2 Jan 1854) The British medical directory for England, Wales, and Scotland for 1854 Price six shillings is now published The British Medical Directory Office, 423, Strand ... Morning Advertiser:

BMD 1854: Letters: The practice of garnishing the names of the infamous quacks in the London and Provincial Medical Directory with grand distinctions and fraudulent titles was insulting to regular practitioners - it was worse - it was calculated to work out a deception in the public mind by confounding honourable men with knaves. The British Medical Directory gives a death blow to this infamous system. ... If the Profession had known that the London and Provincial Medical Directory had been

the exclusive property of a notorious advertiser, and was entirely under the control of that person ... in a note from Mr John Churchill, the medical publisher, of Princes-street, he admits that his sale of the London and Provincial Medical Directory, for 1853 was three hundred and thirty-four copies. ... It is known to you, of course, that Mr Churchill has not any share or interest whatever in the copyright of the expiring directory.

(20 Mar 1854) Law - Yearsley v. Wakley - This case stood over from the 9th ult. ... to enable a minute and careful examination to be made as to the names and addresses of medical men, which it was alleged by the plaintiff had been wrongfully copied by the defendant in his work called "The British Medical Directory" from the plaintiff's works called "The London and Provincial Medical Directory" and "The Medical Directory for Scotland". The motion was for an injunction to restrain the publication or sale of the defendant's work which was alleged to be piracy. The plaintiff was Mr Yearsley of Saville-row ... The defendant Mr Wakley is the proprietor of the Lancet. It was stated that in Dember 1852 he with a co-defendant, Mr Thomas, published the BMD for 1853: as they have now done for 1854. Morning Chronicle:

On 2 Aug 1858 *The medical act* (§Q2.1858) was passed. It provided for the annual publication of *The medical register* which apparently first appeared about June 1859 for it is said "Thousands scrambled to apply in the last days of 1858, delaying publication by six months." It has subsequently been revised annually. In Wales an association was formed to aid its accurate compilation.

(14 Jan 1859) The Cardiganshire, Carmarthenshire, and Pembrokeshire Medical Registration Association details of formation on Tuesday last 10 Jan: ... to assist the Registrar-General, under the new Medical Act, in obtaining a correct registration of legally qualified medical and surgical practitioners ... five shillings ... annual subscription [Welshman]

MR *The medical register: Pursuant to an act passed in the xxi. & xxii. Victoria, cap. xc., to regulate the qualifications of practitioners in medicine and surgery (1859)*

MR *The medical register: printed and published under the direction of the General Council of Medical Education and Registration of the United Kingdom, pursuant to an act passed in the xxi. & xxii. Victoria, cap. xc., entitled An act to regulate the qualifications of practitioners in medicine and surgery (1860)*

Z4.2.5 Midlands newspapers⁴³⁷

The first Midlands newspaper appears to be the *Birmingham Journal* (1732-1743) which preceded by five years the *Warwick and Staffordshire Journal* (1737-1743) initially published from London. These were followed by *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* (1741-....) and the *Staffordshire Advertiser* (1795-....) which were both published throughout the 19C. In the 19C the *Wolverhampton Chronicle and Staffordshire Gazette* claimed to be established in 1789 but it may in fact have been refounded in 1810. The notes below are for guidance only.

Birmingham Journal (1732-1743)

The *Birmingham Journal* was published by Thomas Warren and was first issued in 1732. Samuel Johnson was a contributor. The paper had ceased publication by 1743.

Warwick and Staffordshire Journal (1737-1743)

The *Warwick and Staffordshire Journal* was printed in London by Robert Walker and the first issue is said to be dated 3 Sep 1737. He also published the *Shropshire Journal* (1737), the *Derbyshire Journal* (1738), and the *Lancashire Journal* (1738-1741). In 1741 Walker moved to Birmingham and continued publication of the *Warwick and Staffordshire Journal* until 1743 when it was absorbed by *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*.

Aris's Birmingham Gazette (1741-....)

Aris's Birmingham Gazette was published by Thomas Aris, a London stationer and printer, who came to Birmingham about 1740. The first issue appeared in 1741. In 1743 it absorbed the *Warwick and Staffordshire Journal*.

Birmingham and Wolverhampton Chronicle (1769-1770)

The *Birmingham and Wolverhampton Chronicle* published by Nicholas Boden was issued in 1769 and 1770.

Wolverhampton Chronicle (?1789-....) [WTON:CHR]

The *Wolverhampton Chronicle* may have commenced publication in 1789. By 1794 it was being issued on Wednesdays by Joseph Smart.

Birmingham and Wolverhampton Chronicle (1792-1793)

The *Birmingham and Wolverhampton Chronicle* was published by Joseph Smart from 9 St John Street, Birmingham from 1792 to 1793. Now see *Wolverhampton Chronicle and Staffordshire Gazette* (below).

Staffordshire Advertiser (1795-....) [STS.ADV]

On Saturday 3 Jan 1795 the first issue of the *Staffordshire Advertiser* was published and "given gratis". It featured the following advertisement. Simms comments:

The *Staffordshire Advertiser* was established by Mr Joshua Drewry of Lincoln and Stafford. The first number was issued on Saturday 5th recte 3rd: Jan 1795 and its price at that time was 4d. It was then a small sheet of four pages. ... Mr. Drewry carried on the paper until the end of 1825 when his cousin Charles Chester printer of Newcastle became the proprietor. Shortly afterwards Mr Chester handed over the management to his nephew the late Charles Chester Mort to whose ability, energy, discretion, and sound judgment, the subsequent and unbroken success of the *Staffordshire Advertiser* is mainly to be attributed. On the death of Mr. Chester the paper passed into the hands of his nephews Charles Chester Mort and John Drewry Mort. Mr Charles C. Mort remained editor and took a leading share in the management until his death in 1857 ... From 1795 to 1825 Mr Joshua Drewry was his own editor excepting during a brief interval when Mr James Amphlett had charge of the literary department of the paper. From 1815 to 1836 every copy of the paper bore an impressed fourpenny stamp and the price of the little sheet was 7d. For many years prior to 1835 there was a duty of 3/6 upon every advertisement large or small; in that year the duty was reduced to 1/6. Simms (1894) p431-2:

⁴³⁷ The William Salt Library at Stafford holds runs (some incomplete) of *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* (1744-1826), *Staffordshire Advertiser* (1795-1972), *Lichfield Mercury* (1814-1831), *Staffordshire Chronicle* (1878-1955), *Cannock Advertiser* (1899-1932), *Tamworth Herald* (1918-1964), *Hednesford Advertiser* (1913-1939) and *Stafford Newsletter* (1940-1984).

Wolverhampton Chronicle and Staffordshire Gazette (?1810-....) [WTON:CHR]

It is unclear if this newspaper was a direct continuation of the earlier *Wolverhampton Chronicle* (above). The issue for Wednesday Jan 13 1830 is "Volume XX No 997" which, assuming it was always issued weekly, suggests that Volume I No 1 was issued twenty years earlier in 1810. *The Wolverhampton red book and chronicle* (1892) on page 73 lists several newspapers including the *liberal* *Wolverhampton Chronicle* "Established 1789 - published Wednesday - 1d". However on page 87 in a list of "Chronological Events" it is stated "1810 - The Wolverhampton Chronicle established". Finally an advertisement on page 158 reads "Established 1789. The Wolverhampton Chronicle. Wednesday - price one penny "The oldest and best agricultural and family paper circulating throughout Staffordshire, Shropshire and Worcestershire. Has been established over one hundred years ..."

Lichfield Mercury (?1814-?1831)

This newspaper was published during the years 1814 to 1831.

Staffordshire Gazette (1839-1842)

The first issue of the *Staffordshire Gazette* was blazoned "Stafford, Wednesday, January 2, 1839 ... Price 4½d, or 5/3 per quarter" and consisted of 4 pages. On the last page is an article regarding the newspaper "At last we have the satisfaction of presenting to the county, and to the Conservative cause, a Journal dedicated to the advancement and support of Conservative principles ... " The newspaper is said to have ceased publication in 1842.

Z4.3 Secondary sources

Z4.3.1 Websites; Z4.3.2 *Collections for a history of Staffordshire* [SHC]; Z4.3.3 *Victoria history of the counties of England* [VCH]; Z4.3.4 Miscellaneous books; Z4.3.5 University registers; Z4.3.6 Secondary sources (contributions)

Z4.3.1 Websites

Ancestry© - "ancestry . co . uk" - A subscription service.

FMP© - "findmypast . co . uk" - A subscription service.

Munk© - "history . rcplondon . ac . uk / inspiring-physicians" - *Munk's roll* (1518 on) William Munk prepared manuscript biographies of Fellows, Extra Licentiates and Licentiates of the Royal College of Physicians in three volumes covering the periods 1518 to 1600, 1601 to 1700 and 1701-1800 . The first two volumes were published in 1861 whilst the third volume (then continued to 1825) was published as part of a second edition of the whole work in 1878 . Biographies of the Fellows (only) "Lives of the Fellows" have been compiled for the post 1825 period . The whole work is now known online as "Inspiring Physicians".

OB The *Oxford dictionary of national biography* - " www . oxforddnb . com".

Parl© *The history of parliament* - "www . historyofparliamentonline . org" . Also published in book form.

Plarr© *Plarr's lives of the fellows* - "livesonline . rcseng . ac . uk/client/en_GB/lives" - A biographical register of Fellows of the Royal College of Surgeons of England (F . R . C . S .) from 1843 . A series of books were published between 1930 and 2005.

David **Van Zwanenberg**© *Suffolk Medical Biographies* (Ed . E . E . Cockayne) - "suffolkmedicalbiographies . com" - David Van Zwanenberg 1922-1991 compiled biographies of men and women who practised medicine (or were medically apprenticed) in Suffolk from the 11C to 1900 . They have been donated to Suffolk Record Office.

Z4.3.2 Collections for a history of Staffordshire [SHC]

The *Collections for a history of Staffordshire* were published by The William Salt Archaeological Society from 1880 to 1935 and thereafter by The Staffordshire Record Society⁴³⁸. Four series of books have been published. These are outlined below where the year referred to is the *year in the title* (not the year of publication).

The first series (of 18 volumes, usually found bound in 20) was denoted by Roman numerals and date as follows: volume I (1880) through to volume XVIII (1897). Of these volumes II (1881) to volumes X (1889) were issued in two parts but normally bound together except volumes VI and VI which were normally bound separately. The second series (of 13 volumes, usually found bound in 14) was known as the new series (NS) and was denoted by Roman numerals and date as follows: volume I (1898) through to volume XII (1909). volume VI (1903) was issued in two parts normally bound separately. The third series (of 37 volumes) was denoted by date only as follows: 1910 through to 1951. However five volumes cover two years (1917-8, 1942,3, 1945-6, 1948-9 and 1950-1) and 1933 was issued in two parts normally bound together). The fourth series (of 26 volumes and ongoing) was denoted by Roman numerals and date and as follows: volume I (1957) through to volume XXVI (2018). volumes XVIII and XIX were both issued in 1999 and volumes XXII and XXIII in 2009.

In this work the books are referenced by "SHC year" In those cases where two parts were issued in the same year, as in 1881, the forms "SHC 1881(1)" and "SHC 1881(2)" are used.

Z4.3.3 Victoria history of the counties of England [VCH]

Work on the *Victoria history of the counties of England*, commonly known as the *Victoria county history*, commenced in 1899. The aim was to create an encyclopaedic history of every historic county which was to be dedicated to Queen Victoria. Since 1933 the project has been co-ordinated by the Institute of Historical Research in the University of London. In 2012 the project was rededicated to Queen Elizabeth II.

In this work the abbreviation VCH is used to refer the Staffordshire portion of the work. By 2013 it was intended to extend to at least twenty volumes of which thirteen had appeared (see below).

(Various) VCH *The Victoria history of the counties of England: A History of the County of Stafford*; I (1908) Natural History - Archaeology - General History; II (1967) Industries - Communications - Forests - Sports; III (1970) Ecclesiastical History - Religious houses; IV (1958) Domesday - Cuttlestone Hundred (West); V (1967) Cuttlestone Hundred (East); VI (1979) Agriculture - Schools - Stafford; VII (1996) Leek and the Moorlands; VIII (1963) Newcastle-under-Lyme - Stoke-on-Trent; IX; X (2002) Tutbury and Needwood Forest; XI (2013) Audley - Keele - Trentham; XII (----) Tamworth - Drayton Bassett *Announced only*; XIII; XIV (1990) Lichfield; XV; XVI; XVII (1976) Offlow Hundred: West Bromwich - Smethwick - Walsall; XVIII; XIX; XX (1984) Seisdon Hundred (North): Tettenhall - Seisdon Hundred (South)

Z4.3.4 Miscellaneous books

⁴³⁸ The Staffordshire Record Society has also issued five occasional papers in 1968, 1986, 2002, 2015 and 2020.

- (Anonymous) *The trial before Chief Justice Sir James Mansfield and a special jury of Merchants, at Guildhall, between Philip Parry Price Myddelton, plaintiff, and Francis Hughes, defendant, for slander. Taken in short hand by T. Jenkin: Printed by J. Drewry, and sold by A. Morgan, Stafford* (1816)
- (Anonymous) *Trial of T. Milward Oliver, at Stafford Summer Assizes, 1797, before the Honourable Baron Perryn for the murder of Mr John Wood, an eminent potter, at Brownhill in the county of Stafford: Stafford, printed and sold by J. Drewry, at the office of the Staffordshire Advertiser. (1797)*
- J.H. **Aveling**, M.D., F.S.A. *The Chamberlens and the midwifery forceps Memorials of the family and an essay on the invention of the instrument* (1882)
- James Moores **Ball** *The sack-'em-up men an account of the rise and fall of the modern resurrectionists* (1928)
- Adolphus **Ballard** (Ed.) *British borough charters 1042-1216* (1913)
- Adolphus **Ballard** and James **Tait** (Ed.) *British borough charters 1216-1307* (1923)
- M.W. **Beresford** and H.P.R. Finberg *English mediaeval boroughs. A hand-list* (1973)
- BLG** *Burke's landed gentry* (title varies) (various years)
- BP** *Burke's peerage* (title varies) (various years)
- C. Fraser Brockington *Public health in the nineteenth century* (1965)
- John **Burke** *A genealogical and heraldic history of the commoners of Great Britain and Ireland ... In four volumes* (1835 and 1836)
- Juanita Gordon Lloyd **Burnby** *A study of the English apothecary from 1660-1760 with special reference to the provinces. A thesis submitted for the Ph.D. of the University of London* (1979)
- George Man **Burrows** M.D. F.L.S. *An inquiry into certain errors relative to insanity and their consequences, physical, moral, and civil* (1820)
- H.C. **Cameron** *Mr. Guy's hospital 1726-1948* (1954)
- Ronald Gordon **Cant** *The University of St Andrews a short history. New and revised editon* (1970)
- John **Chapman** M.D. *The medical institutions of the United Kingdom: A history exemplifying the evils of over-legislation* (1870)
- J.L. **Cherry** *Stafford in olden times. Being a reprint of articles published in "The Staffordshire Advertiser" with illustrations. Compiled and edited by J.L.Cherry* Stafford: J. & C. Mort 39 Greengate Street: MDCCCXC (1890)
- George **Clark** *A History of the Royal College of Physicians of London. Volume one* (1964)
- George **Clark** *A History of the Royal College of Physicians of London. Volume two* (1966)
- Rotha Mary **Clay** *The mediaeval hospitals of England* (1909)
- James **Clegg** *The diary of James Clegg of Chapel en le Frith 1708-1755 Edited by Vanessa S. Doe* [in three parts] 2 (1978), 3 (1979) & 5 (1981) Derbyshire Record Society [Pagination is continuous]
- Sheila M. **Collins** *The Royal London Hospital A brief history* (1995)
- Zachary **Cope** *The Royal College of Surgeons of England: A history* (1959)
- Tom **Cope** *Bilston enamels of the 18th century* Black Country Society (1980)
- W.S.C. **Copeman** *The Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London: A history 1617-1967* (1967)
- J. Charles **Cox** *Notes on the churches of Derbyshire* 1 (1875), 2 (1877), 3 (1877) & 4 (1879)
- CP** *The complete peerage in six volumes* Gloucester: Alan Sutton (1982)
- W.S. **Craig** *History of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh* (1976)
- D.G. **Crawford** *Roll of the Indian Medical Service 1615-1930* (1930)
- Clarendon Hyde **Creswell** *The Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh historical notes from 1505 to 1905* (1926)
- Sir Frederick Morton **Eden** Bart. *The state of the poor ... in England ... state of Friendly Societies ... Vol II* (1797) [The section on Staffordshire has accounts of Lichfield and Wolverhampton p655-678: both dated August 1795]
- Sampson **Erdeswick** *A survey of Staffordshire ... collated ... by the Rev. Thomas Harwood ... A new edition ...* (1844)
- GM** *The gentleman's magazine* (1731-1922)
- Tom **Gibson** *The Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow a short history based on the portraits and other memorabilia* (1983)
- John Mason **Good**, Fellow of the Medical Society of London, Member of the Corporation of Surgeons, and author of "Dissertation on the diseases of prisons and poor-houses" *The history of medicine, so far as it relates to the profession of the apothecary, from the earliest accounts to the present period: The origin of druggists, their gradual encroachments on compound pharmacy, and the evils to which the public are from thence exposed; as also from the unskilful practice of ignorant medicasters, and the means which have lately been devised to remedy these growing abuses. Published at the request of the Committee of the General Pharmaceutic[sic] Association of Great Britain* (1795)
- B. **Granger** surgeon *Address to the public, relative to some supposed failures of the cow-pox, at Repton and its neighbourhood, with observations on the efficacy and general expediency of vaccination, and on the injurious consequences of inoculation for the small-pox* Burton-upon-Trent: Thomas Wayte (1821) ... [with the concurrence of the several medical gentlemen whose names are subscribed to the address ... Rupert Chawner M.D.; surgeons: John Spender, S. Sep. Allen, Benjamin Granger: Burton-upon-Trent March 2nd 1821.]
- Rev. Thos. **Harwood** F.S.A. *The history and antiquities of the city of Lichfield ... Gloucester[sic]* (1806)
- Penelope **Hunting** *The history of The Royal Society of Medicine* (2001)
- Sally **Irvine** *Surgeons and apothecaries in Suffolk: 1750-1830. City slickers and country bumpkins - exploring medical myths. Thesis submitted to the University of East Anglia ... April* (2011)
- JG** Aleya Lyell Reade *Johnsonian gleanings* [in eleven parts] (1909-1952) [I II etc]
- Richard **Jones** *Observations on medical education with a view to legislative interference* (1839)
- Robert Masters **Kerrison** *An inquiry into the present state of the medical profession in England ...* (1814)
- Robert Masters **Kerrison** *Observations and reflections of the bill now in progress ... for the "Better regulating the medical profession" ...* (1815)
- H. Wilson **Keys** *From Masonry to Fremasonry. A Paper* [no publisher] printed by Hughes & Harber Ltd, Longton, Stoke-on-Trent (1969) [19 page booklet]
- Desmond **King-Hele** *Doctor of revolution. The life and genius of Erasmus Darwin* (1977)
- [Desmond **King-Hele**] *The letters of Erasmus Darwin. Edited by Desmond King-Hele* (1981)
- Joan **Lane** *A social history of medicine. Health, healing and disease in England, 1750-1950* (2001)
- John Alfred **Langford** LL.D., F.R.H.S. with C.S. Mackintosh and J.C. Tildesley *Staffordshire and Warwickshire past and present. Vol. I.* (1875)
- George T. **Lawley** *History of Bilston in the county of Stafford* (1893)
- Jim **Leavesley** *Not your ordinary doctor* (2010)

- Rev. W. **Leigh** A.M. *An authentic narrative of the melancholy occurrences at Bilston in the county of Stafford, during the awful visitation in that town by cholera, in the months of August and September, 1832, to which are added, the proceedings of the Local Board of Health, a list of contributions for the relief of the inhabitants, together with the application of the money, and other interesting particulars* Wolverhampton: William Parke (1833)
- Samuel **Lewis** *A topographical dictionary of Ireland* (1837)
- E.M. **McInnes** *St Thomas' Hospital* (1963)
- Arthur Salusbury **MacNalty** *The history of state medicine in England: Being the Fitzpatrick Lectures of the Royal College of Physicians of London for the years 1946 and 1947* (1948)
- Leslie G. **Matthews** *The Royal Apothecaries Publications of the Wellcome Historical Medical Library. New Series. Volume XIII* (1967)
- Sue **Minter** *The apothecaries' garden: A new history of the Chelsea Physic Garden* (2000)
- Michael J. **Muncaster** *Medical services and the medical profession in Norfolk 1815-1911* University of East Anglia (1976) [unpublished thesis]
- Edward D. **Myers** *Psychiatry in North Staffordshire 1808-1986* Leek (1997)
- Vivian Nutton and Roy Porter (Ed.) *The history of medical education in Britain* Atlanta, GA, USA (1995)
- William Ll. **Parry-Jones** *The trade in lunacy. A study of private madhouses in England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries* (1972)
- T. Whitmore **Peck** & K. Douglas Wilkinson *William Withering of Birmingham M.D.,F.R.S.,F.L.S.* (1950)
- Nikolaus **Pevsner** *The buildings of England: Staffordshire* (1974)
- Robert **Plot** LLD. Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum and Professor of Chymistry in the University of Oxford *The natural history of Stafford-shire* Oxford printed at the Theater, Anno M.DC.LXXXVI (1686)
- D'Arcy **Power** (Ed.) *Memorials of the craft of surgery in England from materials compiled by John Flint South ...* (1886)
- John H. **Raach** *A directory of English country physicians 1603-1643* (1962)
- RCP** *The charter and bye-laws of the Royal College of Physicians of London and the Acts of Parliament especially relating thereto* (1972)
- RCPE** *Historical sketch and laws of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh from its institution to 1925* (1925) [NOTE: On pages 1-28 are lists of Fellows and some other office holders]
- F.J.G. **Robinson** and P.J. Wallis *Book subscription lists. A revised Guide* Harold Hill & Son Ltd for The Book Subscription List Project, Newcastle upon Tyne (1975)
- SDH1** Richard Sylvanus Williams *Staffordshire doctors in history. Part 1 Some account of Staffordshire medical practitioners to 1851*
- SDH2** Richard Sylvanus Williams *Staffordshire doctors in history. Part 2 A gazetteer of Staffordshire medical practitioners to 1851*
- SDH3** Richard Sylvanus Williams *Staffordshire doctors in history. Part 3 A register of Staffordshire medical practitioners to 1851*
- SDH4** Richard Sylvanus Williams *Staffordshire doctors in history. Part 4 A database of Staffordshire medical practitioners to 1851*
- Stebbing **Shaw** *The history and antiquities of Staffordshire ... Volume I ... Thirty parishes in the hundred of Offlow* (1798)
- Stebbing **Shaw** *The history and antiquities of Staffordshire ... Volume II ... part of: hundred of Offlow ... whole of Seisdon* (1801)
- Rupert **Simms** *Bibliotheca Staffordiensis ...* Lichfield (1894)
- John **Sleigh** *A history of the ancient parish of Leek. Second Edition* (1883)
- Adam **Smith** *An inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations. In two volumes.* (1776)
- (Janet **Smith** & Thea Randall) *Kill Or Cure. Medical remedies of the 16th and 17th centuries from the Staffordshire Record Office.* Ed. Janet Smith & Thea Randall Staffordshire Record Office: (1987) [An interesting compilation of early remedies but no mention of individual Staffordshire medical practitioners]
- Herbert R. **Spencer** *The history of British midwifery from 1650 to 1800 ...* (1927)
- W.G. **Spencer** *Westminster Hospital. An outline of its history* (1924)
- Standley Ms.** A.J. *Standley Stafford Gaol 1793-1916* [A manuscript at William Salt Library]
- F.L.**Steward** *A history of the Royal Wolverhampton School 1850-1950* Wolverhampton (1950)
- C.H. **Talbot** and E.A. Hammond *The medical practitioners in medieval England. A biographical register* (1965)
- (Various) *A history of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London Volume I 1617-1815 Abstracted and arranged from the manuscript notes of ... Cecil Wall by H. Charles Cameron. Revised ... by E. Ashworth Underwood.* (1963)
- Cecil **Wall** *The London apothecaries their society and their hall* (1932)
- P.J. and R.V. **Wallis** with the assistance of J.G.L. Burnby and the late T.D. Whittet *Eighteenth century medics (subscriptions, licences, apprenticeships) Second improved and enlarged edition.* PHIBB Project for Historical Biobibliography. Newcastle upon Tyne (1988)
- J.D.H. **Widdess** *The Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland and its Medical School 1784-1966. Second Edition* (1967)
- Cyril **Williams** *The Staffordshire General Infirmary: A history of the hospital from 1765* Mid Staffordshire General Hospital (1992)
- Richard Sylvanus **Williams** *A survey of Staffordshire medical practitioners in 1851* (2018)
- Frederic W. **Willmore** *A history of Walsall and its neighbourhood* (1887)
- Frederic W. **Willmore** *A history of freemasonry in the province of Staffordshire* (1905)
- Wiltshire apprentices** *and their masters 1710-1760* Edited by Christabel Dale With an introduction by N.J. Williams. Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society Records Branch. Devizes (1961)
- Sidney Young *The annals of the barber-surgeons of London* (1890)

Z4.3.5 University registers

- [**Aberdeen**] *Officers and graduates of University and King's College Aberdeen MVD-MDCCCLX* Edited by Peter John Anderson (Ed.) New Spalding Club. Aberdeen (1893)
- Edinburgh** *List of graduates in medicine in the University of Edinburgh from MDCCV to MDCCCLXVI* Edinburgh (1867) ###With details of thesis
- (Joseph **Foster**) *Alumni Oxoniensis edited by Joseph Foster* (1886)
- Leyden** R.W. Innes-Smith. M.D. Edin. *English-speaking students of medicine at the University of Leyden* (1932)
- Marischal** *Officers of the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen 1593-1860* (1897)
- Edward **Peacock**, F.S.A. *Index to English speaking students who have graduated at Leyden University MDCCCLXXXIII* (1883)

Z4.3.6 Secondary sources (contributions)

- Humphrey G. **Arthur** "The London Obstetrical Society" in *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 62 (1969) p363-6
- Richard **Aspin** "Illustrations from the Wellcome Library - Who was Elizabeth Okeover?" in *Medical History* 44 (2000) p531-40
- Anonymous "Memoir of Mr. Thomas **Bakewell**, keeper of Spring Vale Asylum, near Stone, Staffordshire" in *Imperial Magazine* 8 (1826) p401-15 p513-9
- J.G.L. **Burnby** "Apprenticeship records: An examination of Inland Revenue apprenticeship records between the years 1710 and 1811 with particular reference to medicine and pharmacy" in *Transactions of the British Society for the History of Pharmacy* 1:4 (1977) p145-194
- Juanita G.L. **Burnby** "A study of the English apothecary from 1660-1760" in *Medical History - Supplement* 3 (1983)
- Thomas R. **Forbes** "The regulation of English midwives in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries" in *Medical History* 8:3 (1964) p235-44
- Thomas R. **Forbes** "The regulation of English midwives in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries" in *Medical History* 15:4 (1971) p352-62
- D.D. **Gibbs** "Sir John Floyer, M.D. (1649-1734)" in *British Medical Journal* (1969) I p242-5
- Denis **Gibbs** "Medicine in Staffordshire" in *British Medical Journal* (1977) I p765-8
- Denis **Gibbs** "Dr Anthony Hewett (c.1603-1684) MD Padua and Cambridge: Physician of Lichfield and student of renaissance medicine" in *Staffordshire Studies* 16 (2005) p113-23
- Bernice **Hamilton** "The medical professions in the eighteenth century" in *Economic History Review Second Series* 4:2 (1951)
- S.W.F. **Holloway** "The apothecaries' act, 1815: A reinterpretation. Part I: The origins of the act. Part II: The consequences of the act." in *Medical History* 10 (1966) p107-29 & 221-36
- J. MacD. Holmes "Bicentenary of the Staffordshire General Infirmary" in *British Medical Journal* (1966) p1064-5
- T. Percy C. **Kirkpatrick** "The schools of medicine in Dublin in the nineteenth century" in *British Medical Journal* (1933) p109-12
- Stella **Kramer** "The amalgamation of the English mercantile crafts Part 1: " in *English Historical Review* 23 (1908) p15-34
- Peter **Krivatsky** "William Westmacott's Memorabilia: The education of a puritan country physician" in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 49:3 (1975) p331-8
- Joan **Lane** "The medical practitioners of provincial England in 1783" in *Medical History* 28 (1984) p353-71
- Joan **Lane** and Anne Tarver "Henry Fogg (1707-1750) and his patients: The practice of an eighteenth-century Staffordshire apothecary" in *Medical History* 37 (1993) p187-96
- Lilian **Lindsay** "Sir John Floyer (1649-1734) President's Address" in *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 44 (1950) p43-8
- Anonymous "Account of the **London Hospitals** and Schools of Medicine open for the instruction of students in the medical session commencing October 1st 1836" in *The Lancet* (1836) p3-16
- Anonymous "The Laws of the **Mercers Company** of Lichfield 1623: Communicated and Transcribed from the Original Ms. by with an Introduction by the Rev. Professor Cunningham, D.D." in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 7 (December 1893) p109-25 Reprinted as *Staffordshire Historical Monographs* 1 Dragonby Press (2020) NOTE: The location of the original manuscript is not stated.:
- W.M. **Palmer** "Cambridgeshire doctors in the olden time 1466-1827" in *Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Communications Vol* 15 (1 May 1911)
- Bev **Parker** *Wolverhampton Dispensary (WD)* [on internet]
- E. **Posner** "Eighteenth-century health and social service in the pottery industry of north Staffordshire" in *Medical History* 18 (1974) p138-45
- John H. **Raach** "English medical licensing in the early seventeenth century" in *Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine* 16:4 (1944) p267-88
- (Anonymous) "**Rules** and regulations of examining medical bodies in England, Scotland and Ireland" in *The Medical Times* (1850) p326
- Alex **Sakula** "Sir John Floyer's A Treatise of the Asthma (1698)" in *Thorax* 39 (1984) p248-54
- Dianne **Shenton** "An early 19th-century family of Stafford surgeons" (2021) [online at www.victoriacountyhistory.ac.uk]
- Anthony John **Standley** "Medical treatment and prisoners' health in Stafford Goal during the eighteenth century" in *The health of prisoners. Historical essays. Edited by Richard Creese, W.F. Bynum and J. Bearn* Amsterdam-Atlanta, GA (1995) [see Chapter 2 p27-43]
- C.J.S. **Thompson** "The apothecary in England from the thirteenth to the close of the sixteenth century" in *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 8 (1915) p36-43
- E. Ashworth **Underwood** "The history of cholera in Great Britain" in *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 41 (1947) p165-73
- T.D. **Whittet** "The apothecary in provincial guilds" in *Medical History* 8:3 (1964) p245-73
- T.D. **Whittet** "Pepperers, spicers and grocers - forerunners of the apothecaries" in *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 61 (1968) p801-6
- Susan **Wilkinson** "Early medical education in Ireland" in *Irish Migration Studies in Latin America* 6:3 (2008) p157-63
- J.F. **Willard** "Taxation boroughs and parliamentary boroughs" in J.G. Edwards (Ed.) *Historical essays in honour of James Tait* (1933) p417-435
- David Innes **Williams** "The Obstetrical Society of 1825" in *Medical History* 42 (1998) p235-45

Z4.4 British medical journals

Members of the cohort* contributed to many of the national medical journals some of which were connected with particular medical societies whilst others were independent. Perhaps the most influential journals were *The Lancet* which commenced in 1823 and the *British Medical Journal* started in 1857. A list⁴³⁹ of some of the journals is given below but it is not comprehensive. Those journals marked # were connected to a medical society (noticed in §H1). Further below is mention of some Midlands medical journals.

#*Association Medical Journal (1853-1856)* [continued from *Provincial Medical and Surgical Journal - continued as Medical Journal*]; #*British Gynaecological Journal (1886-....)*; *British Journal of Homoeopathy*; #*British Medical Journal (1857-....)*;

439 In this list the suffix "The" has been dropped from journal titles except in the case of "The Lancet".

Dublin Quarterly Journal of Medicine; Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal; #Epidemiological Society of London Transactions (1859-1907); The Lancet (1823-....); London Journal of Medicine (1849-1852); London Medical and Physical Journal; London Medical and Surgical Journal (1828-....); London Medical Gazette; London Medical Repository and Review; Medical and Philosophical Commentaries (by a Society in Edinburgh) (1773-?1778) [continued as Medical Commentaries for the year]; Medical and Physical Journal; Medical and Surgical Journal (1832-....); Medical Commentaries for the year (1780-1795) [continued from Medical and Philosophical Commentaries (by a Society in Edinburgh)]; Medical Gazette; Medical History; Medical Repository; Medical Times (1839-1851); Medical Times and Gazette (1851-1885); Medico-Chirurgical Journal and Review (1816-1818); Medico-Chirurgical Journal; or, Quarterly Register of Medical and Surgical Science (1818-1820); Medico-Chirurgical Review (1824-1847); Medico-Chirurgical Review and Journal of Medical Science. Analytical Series (1820-1824); Medico-Chirurgical Transactions (1809-1907); Monthly Journal of Medical Science; New Medical and Physical Journal; #Pathological Society of London Transactions (1846-1907); Philosophical Transactions; Practitioner; Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine; #Proceedings of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society of London (1856-....); #Provincial Medical and Surgical Journal (1844-1852) [continued as Association Medical Journal]; Ryan's Medical Journal; Sanitary Review and Journal of Public Health (1855-....) [Perhaps initially "Journal of Public Health and Sanitary Review" and sometimes "Sanitary Review"]; St Bartholomew's Hospital Reports (1865-1939); Transactions of the British Society for the History of Pharmacy; #Transactions of the Medical Society of London (1872-....); #Transactions of the Obstetrical Society of London (1860-1908); #Transactions of the Odontological Society of Great Britain (1858-?1907); Transactions of the Provincial Medical Association; Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine

Z4.5 Midlands medical journals

Birmingham Health Lectures (1 1883; 2 1884; 3 1886)

Midland Medical and Surgical Reporter and Topographical and Statistical Journal

This journal was edited by Charles Hastings of Worcester 1794-1866 in three volumes I (1828-9); II (1830-1) and III (1831-2). There is little mention of Staffordshire in its pages.

(8 Jun 1857... Nay, efforts were made here, a quarter of a century ago to sustain a "Midland Medical Reporter" which certainly deserved a better fate than an early death ... [Aris's Birmingham Gazette]

Midland Quarterly Journal of the Medical Sciences (1857-....)

The first issue of this journal (Volume I Part I) was published from Birmingham and London dated May 1857.

(27 Apr 1857) Next week, price Six Shillings, illustrated with highly-finished Chromo lithographs, Wood Cuts, Diagrams, & THE MIDLAND QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE MEDICAL SCIENCES Contents of No I May 1857 Eleven articles: Birmingham: Cornish Brothers, London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts [Aris's Birmingham Gazette]

(8 Jun 1857) A review of the first part [Aris's Birmingham Gazette]

(1898) Letter to The Editors: The Late Dr Blunt ... Unless, too, my memory plays me false Dr Blunt was if not the editor at least the leading spirit in the conduct of the Midland Quarterly Journal of Medical Science which had a brief but not an inglorious career, and in which he was largely associated with another old colleague of mine, the late Dr Heslop ... Gloucester, Francis T. Bond, M.D. Lond [The Lancet]

Z5 Subject index

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 Bonner, Edward (Bishop of London) c1496-1569 [OB] D5.2
 Boorde, Andrew c1490-1549 [OB] D5.2
 Boulton, Matthew of Birmingham 1728-1809 [OB] C1.1765
 Bourne, Hugh 1772-1852 [OB] N1.13
 Cellier, Elizabeth [OB] D5.2
 Chadwick, Sir Edwin 1800-1890 [OB] Q2.1848
 Chetwynd, Walter 1st Viscount Chetwynd 1678-1736 [CP]
 F1.1723
 Clegg, James of Chapel-en-le-Frith, Derbys M.D. 1679-1755
 C1.1729
 Clowes, William 1780-1851 N1.13
 Day, Thomas of Lichfield 1748-1789 [OB] C1.1765
 Edgeworth, Richard Lovell of Ireland 1744-1817 [OB] C1.1765
 Erdeswick, Sampson c1538-1603 [OB] B1.2
 Fogg, Henry of Leek apothecary 1707-1750 G6
 Fox, George 1624-1691 [OB] N1.8
 Galton, Samuel of Birmingham 1753-1832 [OB] C1.1765
 Garrick, David 1717-1779 [OB] (1795) N3.1795
 Garrick, Peter (1795) N3.1795
 Gerard, Jane c1637-1703 (widow of Charles Gerard 4th Baron
 Gerard of Gerard's Bromley c1634-1667) C1.1676
 Gilbert, Samuel (Rector of Quatt, Salop) e1633-c1693 C1.1676
 Gilbert, Thomas 1720-1798 [OB] Q2.1782
 Gillray, James 1756-1815 [OB] (print "The Cow Pock ...
 Inoculation) F9
 Good, John Mason 1764-1827 [OB] D4.5
 Graham, Sir James Robert George 2nd Baronet 1792-1861
 [OB] C1.1844
 Gresley, Anne (wife of William Gresley of Tamworth M.R.C.S.
 1754-1826) F1.1781
 Harrison, Edward 1759-1838 [OB] D4.5; Q2.1806
 Hastings, Selina Countess of Huntingdon 1707-1791 [CP] N1.11
 Howard, John 1726-1790 [OB] F4.1

- Hunter, John 1728-1793 [OB] H1.2.7; Q4.6
 Hyde, Edward 1st Earl of Clarendon 1604-1675 [CP] [OB] N1.3
 Ironmonger, Sarah F13.1836; Y.1836
 Jenner, Edward 1749-1823 [OB] F9
 Johnson, Samuel 1709-1784 [OB] B6.1; D5.5
 Keir, James of Birmingham 1735-1820 [OB] C1.1765
 Kerrison, Robert Masters 1776-1847 D4.5
 Kilham, Alexander 1762-1798 [OB] N1.12
 Leigh, William (Perpetual Curate of Bilston) [SCD] c1778-1858 Y.1832
 Manningham, Richard 1685-1759 [OB] D5.3
 Mewis, Catherine "blind, but on a Sunday" **C1.1810**
 Moore, Ann "the fasting woman of Tutbury" **C1.807; Y.1807**
 Okeover of Okeover (family) C1.1670
 Parker, Matthew (Archbishop of Canterbury) 1504-1575 [OB] D5.2
 Pead(e), Eleanor (or Eleonor) D5.2
 Pitt, William 1749-1823 [OB] B1.2
 Plot, Robert 1640-1696 [OB] B1.2; C1.1686; L5.2
 Priestley, Joseph 1733-1804 [OB] C1.1765; N1.10
 Pulteney, William 1st Earl of Bath 1684-1764 [CP] F1.1723
 Reynolds, John (Presbyterian Minister of Wolverhampton) 1632-1683 [SCD] C1.1669
 Rose, William *see* lawsuits
 Ryves, Bruno (Dean of Wolverhampton College) c1596-1677 [OB] C1.1669
 Salt, William 1808-1863 [OB] B1.2; L2.3.2
 Seal [Seale, Seals], John *see* lawsuits (under William Rose)
 Shaw, Stebbing 1762-1802 [OB] B1.2
 Simmons, Samuel Foart M.D. 1750-1813 [OB] [Munk©] Y.1779
 Small, Willam of Birmingham M.D. 1734-1775 [OB] C1.1765
 Smallwood, Matthew D.D. (Dean of Lichfield) c1614-1683 [SCD] C1.1686
 Smellie, William 1697-1763 [OB] D5.3
 Smith, Adam 1723-1790 [OB] D4.5
 Stokes, Jonathan of Stourbridge, Worcs M.D. c1755-1831 [OB] C1.1765
 Warneford, Samuel Wilson 1763-1855 [OB] E4.5; Q7.5
 Watt, James of Birmingham 1736-1819 [OB] C1.1765
 Wedgwood, Josiah of Etruria, Staffs 1730-1793 [OB] C1.1765
 Wells, William Charles 1757-1817 [OB] D4.5
 Wesley, John 1703-1791 [OB] N1.9
 White, Winefrid (and her miracle cure) **F1.1805**
 Whitehurst, John of Derby 1713-1788 [OB] C1.1765

Z7 Database

A database of *Staffordshire medical practitioners to 1851* [SDH4] has been compiled to assist the analysis of the cohort. Information from the Register [SDH3] has been entered into this database. Both certain and probable data are included whilst possible data has been excluded. That probable data has been included should be taken into consideration when any database material is analysed.

Data has been entered in a total of 100 columns as detailed below. Figures in {} are column totals. The reference at right is to sections within this work.

1	Row number		
2	Identity number		
	Name		
3	Given name	4	Surname
5	Main residence		
	Years in practice		§D1.2
6	In practice before 1701 (a1701)	15	In practice in 1779-1783 (Medical registers)
7	In practice in 1701	16	In practice in 1781
8	In practice in 1711	17	In practice in 1791
9	In practice in 1721	18	In practice in 1801
10	In practice in 1731	19	In practice in 1811
11	In practice in 1741	20	In practice in 1821
12	In practice in 1751	21	In practice in 1831
13	In practice in 1761	22	In practice in 1841
14	In practice in 1771	23	In practice in 1851
	Roles		
24	Physicians etc		§D2
	P = physician or LE = leech		
25	Surgeons etc		§D3
	BS = barber surgeon/chirurgion; C = chirurgion; F = F.R.C.S. and similar; M = M.R.C.S. and similar; S = surgeon		
26	Apothecaries etc		§D4
	A = apothecary; L = L.S.A.		
27	Mad-doctors		§D6
	MD = mad-doctor		
28	Trainees		§E
	AP = apprentice; AS = assistant; PU = pupil		
	Birth		
29	Year of birth	30	Year of birth: e = estimated k = known
31	Birthplace		§M1.2
	ab = abroad; I = Ireland; nk = not known; S = Scotland; W = Wales; all others are English county codes (see Z3.4)		
32	Father's status or occupation {729}		§M1.3
33	Father's status or occupation Types {729}		§M1.3
	B = businessman; C = clergyman; E = employee; G = gentleman; M = medic; nk = not known; P = (other) professional;		

Religion

34	Religion at birth	{887}			§M1.4
35	Religious conversions <u>in</u>	{33}			§N1
	A = anglican; B = baptist; C = congregationalist; CH = Countess of Huntingdon's connexion; D = deist; I = independent; NM = new connexion methodist; P = presbyterian; Q = quaker; RC = roman catholic; U = unitarian; WM = Wesleyan methodist				
	Marriage				§M2
36	Age at first marriage				
37	Year of first marriage	{836}	39	Year of third marriage	{13}
38	Year of second marriage	{134}	40	Year of fourth marriage	{3}
	Children				§M2.3
41	sons	{1630}			
42	daughters	{1633}			
43	total	{3263}			
	Death				§M4
44	Year of death				
45	Causes of death	{106}			§M4.2
46	Age at death				
	(NOTE: This is simply calculated by subtracting birth year from death year. Because the day and month are ignored the calculated age may be one year above the actual age.)				
47	Personalty value at death				§M5.4
48	Hospital training placements	{131/181*}			§E3
	[*NOTE: 131 men in 181 placements - some in more than one]				
	A = Aberdeen (unspecified); BM = Birmingham General Hospital; D = Dublin (unspecified); DI = Derbyshire Infirmary; DM = Meath Hospital; DR = Rotunda Lying-in Hospital; E = Edinburgh (unspecified); G = Glasgow (unspecified); L = London (unspecified); LB = St Bartholomew's Hospital; LC = Charing Cross Hospital; LF = London Royal Free Hospital; LG = London St George's Hospital; LH = London Hospital; LK = London King's College Hospital; LM = Middlesex Hospital; LT = St Thomas's Hospital; LU = London University College Hospital; LW = Westminster Hospital; LY = Guy's Hospital; MI = Manchester Royal Infirmary; P = Paris (unspecified); PH = Hotel-Dieu de Paris; SG = Staffordshire General Infirmary; SN = North Staffordshire Infirmary; SS = South Staffordshire General Infirmary				
49	Medical school placements	{71/81}			§E4
	[*NOTE: 71 men in 81 placements - some in more than one]				
	AL = Aldersgate Street School of Medicine; BQ = Birmingham Queen's College; DR = Dublin Richmond School of Medicine; DS = Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland School of Surgery; DU = Dublin University; EU = Edinburgh University; GU = Glasgow University; HU = Hunterian School of Medicine; LK = London King's College; LU = London University College; WE = Webb Street School School of Medicine; WI = Windmill Street School of Medicine				
50	Bishop's licence to practise	{13+1}			§D2.4; §D3.2
	Medical degrees - British				§D2.2
51	M.B. Year		53	M.D. Year	
52	M.B. University		54	M.D. University	
	AK = Aberdeen King's; AM = Aberdeen Marischal; CA = Cambridge; DU = Dublin; ED = Edinburgh; GL = Glasgow; LN = London; nk = not known; OX = Oxford; ST = St Andrews				
	Medical degrees - European				§D2.3
55	M.D. Year		56	M.D. University	
	ER = Erlangen; GI = Giessen; HA = Halle; HE = Heidelberg; LE = Leyden; LO = Louvain; PD = Padua; PS = Paris; UT = Utrecht				
	Royal College of Physicians of London (1518)				§D2.5.2
57	C.R.C.P. Candidate	{1}			
58	Ext.L.R.C.P. Extra Licentiate	{11}			
59	L.R.C.P. Licentiate	{10}			
60	M.R.C.P. Member	{6}			
61	F.R.C.P. Fellow	{5}			
	Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh (1681)				§D2.5.3
62	L.R.C.P.E. Licentiate	{21}			
63	M.R.C.P.E. Member	{1}			
64	F.R.C.P.E. Fellow	{4}			
	King and Queen's College of Physicians of Ireland (1692)				§D2.5.4
65	L.K.Q.C.P.I Licentiate	{1}			

Apprenticeship

NOTE: This list includes apprenticeships served outside the county {313}

66	Apprenticeship term (in years)	
67	Apprenticeship premium (in pounds)	
68	Apprenticeship date commenced	

69	Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons in Glasgow (c1700)		§D2.5.5; §D3.3.1
	L.F.P.S.G.	{5}	
	Royal College of Surgeons of England (1745)		§D3.3.2
70	M.C.S/M.R.C.S. Member	{334}	
71	F.R.C.S. Fellow	{36}	
	Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh (1778)		§D3.3.3
72	L.R.C.S.E Licentiate	{15}	
73	F.R.C.S.E. Fellow	{1}	
	Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland (1784)		§D3.3.4
74	L.R.C.S.I. Licentiate	{5}	
	Society of Apothecaries (1617)		§D4.6
75	M.S.A. Member	{3}	
76	L.S.A. Licentiate	{345}	
	Company of the Apothecaries' Hall of Ireland (1791)		
77	L.S.A.D. Licentiate	{2}	
78	Licensed men-midwives year	{21}	§D5.5
79	Associated Apothecaries and Surgeon-Apothecaries of England and Wales		§H1.2.8
	M.A.A.S.A. Member in 1822	{78}	
80	Union Medical Officers (UM)	{112}	§F3.2
81	Union Workhouse Medical Officers (UW)	{14}	§F3.3
82	Army surgeons (AS)	{17}	§F6.4
83	Police surgeons (PS)	{11}	§F8
84	Public vaccinators (PV)	{22}	§F9
85	Factories Act certifying surgeons (FA)	{24}	§F10
86	Medical referees (MR)	{21}	§F12
	1851 Census		
87	Original number	91	Other occupation
88	HH Householder; XHH Non-householder;	92	Comment
	NF Not found	93	Marital status U = unmarried; M =married;
89	Place		W = widow
90	Age		
	1851 Census - household members		
94	wife	98	medics
95	children	99	others
96	relatives (other)	100	Total
97	servants		

FINIS



This print entitled "MATTHEW MANNA. A COUNTRY APOTHECARY" measures 250 x 178 mm and is in the Wellcome Collection (16094i). The lettering bottom left of image reads R St G Ma-- [for R. St.G. Mansergh] pinxt [literally painted] and at base "Pub'd According to Act Octr 11 1773 by M Darly Strand". It depicts the shop of a country apothecary with a barber's pole and a shop sign which reads "MATT. MANNA Apothecary surgeon CORN Cutter &c &c Man midfife[sic] Gentlemen shaved & Hogs Gelded. shave for a penny & Bleed for 2 pence" The view through the latticed window appears to show, left to right, a skeleton, a wig perched on a stand and (perhaps) a man behind a counter. A bowl labelled "JALAP" and two saucers are on a shelf outside. Note that in 1796 one Matthew Mann[sic] of Nottingham apothecary took apprentice for 7 years at £40 James Rose.