

## Index

---

- Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), Germany, 144, 173, 181
- Abercromby, General Sir Ralph, 127, 129, 140
- Ablington, Gloucestershire, 371
- Acapulco, Mexico, 343
- Acaxochitlán, Mexico, 321
- Adams, Abigail, 291–2
- Adams, Dr Joseph, 70, 114
- Adams, John Quincy, President of USA, 291, 294
- Adams, John, President of USA, 268, 270, 276
- Adams (née Johnson), Louisa, 291
- Addington, Henry, British Prime Minister, 90
- Adriatic coast, Dalamatia, Illyrian Provinces, 142
- Africa, African, 8, 11, 145
  - African slaves, 11, 19, 297
  - Griqua people, 336
  - Khoikhoi people, 14, 328, 334–5
  - north Africa, 24, 128, 142
  - San people (bushmen), 334
  - smallpox prophylaxis, 19
  - southern Africa, 327
  - Swahili kingdoms, 327
  - Xhosa nation, 328
- Afzelius, Dr Pehr, 183
- Agliotti, Dr, 134
- Aguilar, Rafael, Governor-General of the Philippines, 343–4
- Ain, France, 166
- Ainslie, Dr Whitelaw, 259
- Aix-en-Provence, France, 151, 157
- Ajaccio, Corsica, 167
- Akbar Shah, 260
- Akerly, Dr Samuel, 285
- Alaska, 10
- Albrizzi, Isabella Teotochi, Countess, 134
- Alcántara, 217
- Alderson, Dr, 99
- Aléa, José Miguel de, 220
- Alegrete, Portugal, 220
- Alep Coby, 257
- Aleppo, Syria, 142
- Alexander I, Tsar/Emperor of Russia, 222–3, 226, 228–9, 231–2, 239, 241–2, 318, 351, 358–9, 362
- Alexandria, Egypt, 139
- Algiers, Dey of, 142
- Alicante, Spain, 203, 217, 221
- Allahabad, India, 252, 254
- Alonso, Zenón, 208, 220
- Altona, Germany, 149, 153
- Alveston, Gloucestershire, 68
- Amar y Borbón, Antonio, Viceroy of New Granada, 311
- American War of Independence, 1–2, 58, 243, 267, 269–70
  - Continental Congress (1775), 270
- Americas, 31, 296. *See also* Canada; Central America; Latin America; North America; South America; United States of America
- Amsterdam, 179
- Anadia, Viscount of, 213
- Anderson, Dr James, 250–4, 258, 265, 340
- Anderson, Thomas, 99
- Anderson, William, 336
- Andrew, Dr John, 22
- Angadipuram, India, 250
- Angola, 328
- Anhalt-Bernberg, Prince of, 21
- Anhalt-Dessau, Duke Leopold and Duchess Louise of, 51, 177
- Ansbach, Principality of, 195
- Anstey, Christopher, 93
- Antigua, 56
- Antwerp, 158, 172
- Aranjuez, Spain, 199, 202, 208, 211
- Ardennes, The, 159
- Arequipa, Peru, 317
- Argerich, Dr, 314
- Argos, Greece, 141
- Ariza, Marchioness of, 208
- Arizmendi, Juan Alejo de, Bishop of Puerto Rico, 302–3

## 388 Index

- Armenia, Armenian, 243  
 Arnemann, Professor Justus, 185  
 Arnold, David, historian, 244  
 Aronsson, Dr Jakob Ezechiël, 184, 187  
 Arriaga, Miguel, 345  
 Ash, Dr, 109  
 Asia, Asian, 8–12, 259  
   Central Asia, 17  
   South Asia, 244–5, 250–1, 259, 261, 263  
   South Asian peoples, 260  
   Southeast Asia, 328  
 Aspinwall, William, 267–8  
 Assiniboine River, 269  
 Astrakhan, Russia, 231  
 Astwith, Derbyshire, 104  
 Athens, 139, 141  
 Atlantic Ocean, 7, 10  
 Attenburrow, John, 103  
 Auban, Dr, 142  
 Aubert, Dr Antoine, 126, 149, 153  
 Audin-Rouvière, Citizen, 153  
 Austen, Jane, 107  
 Australia  
   Aboriginal Australians, 11, 329, 331  
     Eora nation, 329  
     Eora nation, Cadigal clan, 331  
   Aboriginal Tasmanians, 342  
   Makassan trade in northwest Australia, 329  
   northern Australia, 331  
 Austria, Austrian, 4, 40, 126  
   Austrian army, 131  
     vaccination, 132  
   Austrian Habsburg empire, 122, 126,  
     133–4  
     house of Austria. *See* Holy Roman Empire:  
       imperial family (Habsburg-Lorraine)  
 Avelin, Professor, 196  
 Averroes, 199  
 Avignon, France, 37  
 Avilés, Gabriel de, Marquis de Avilés, Viceroy  
   of Peru, 312, 315–16  
 Avintes, Portugal, 217  
 Azinhaga, near Santarém, Portugal, 219  
  
 Badajoz, Spain, 217  
 Baden, Germany, 122  
 Bagard, Dr, 39  
 Baghdad, Iraq, 243, 249, 264–5  
 Bahia, Governor of, 314  
 Bajirao II, Peshwa, 258  
 Baker, Dr George, 60  
 Balangansk, Russia, 238  
 Ball, Captain Alexander, 129, 147  
 Ballard, Edward, 374  
 Ballhorn, Dr G.F., 181  
  
 Balmis, Dr Francisco Xavier de, 214–16,  
   295–6, 301–10, 312, 315, 317–23,  
   325, 343–50, 356–7  
 Baltard, Louis-Pierre, 159, 208–9  
 Baltimore, MD, 287–8  
 Banks, Sir Joseph, 72, 77, 248, 331, 340  
 Barbados, 298  
 Barbados, Caribbean, 23  
 Barbauld, Anna, 105  
 Barboza, Dr, 314  
 Barcelona, 198, 202  
   Medical Academy, 202, 204  
   Royal College of Surgery, 201–2  
   vaccination clinic in Hospital de Santa Cruz,  
     216  
 Baretta, Joseph, 200  
 Barge, J., 73  
 Barguzin, Buryatia, Russia, 233  
 Barlow, Sir George, 250  
 Barnard, Lady Ann, 332  
 Baron, Dr John, 82, 352, 377–8  
 Barry, Dr John Milner, 79  
 Bartholin, Thomas, 16  
 Bartlett, Josiah, 270  
 Barzellotti, Dr, 170  
 Basra, Iraq, 142, 243, 249, 264  
 Batt, Dr William, 122–3, 134, 138  
 Batticaloe, Sri Lanka, 246  
 Baudin, Nicolas, 333  
 Bavaria, 197  
   War of the Bavarian Succession, 53  
 Bavaria, Maximilian I Joseph, Elector, later  
   King of, 188, 195, 362  
 Bavaria, Maximilian III Joseph, Elector of, 53  
 Baviaanskloof, South Africa, 335  
 Baxby, Derrick, virologist, 27, 82, 369  
 Bayley, Mrs, 106  
 Baylies, Dr William, 54  
 Bayreuth, Marquise of, 37  
 Baztán valley, Navarra, Spain, 203  
 Beauharnais, Eugène de, Viceroy of Italy, 169  
 Beaver, Captain Philip, 127–9  
 Beddoes, Dr Thomas, 71, 105  
 Bedford, John Russell, 6th Duke of, 108, 361  
 Beijing, 17, 55, 233, 326, 345  
 Bekiu, Professor Augustas, 230, 238  
 Belgium, 122  
 Bellay, F. P., 156  
 Belle-Île, Duke of, 40  
 Bellet, Father, 147  
 Bello, Andrés, 295, 303–4, 318, 323  
 Belomo, Pedro, 315–16, 319  
 Benares (Varanasi), India, 252  
 Benavent, Marquis of, 208  
 Bengal, India, 55, 59

- Bengkulu (Fort Marlborough), Sumatra, Indonesia, 265, 338, 343
- Bentley, William, 268
- Beresford, Marshal, Commander of Portuguese Legion, 220
- Bergara, Spain  
 Real Sociedad Bascongada, 200
- Berges, Dr, 304
- Berington, Fr Joseph, 105
- Berkeley, George Cranfield, British Admiral, 90
- Berkeley, Gloucestershire, 65, 67–70  
 The Chantry (Jenner Museum), 67, 351
- Berkeley, Lady, 90, 105
- Berlin, 182, 184, 196, 363
- Bernberg, Germany, 21
- Bernoulli, Daniel, 41–2
- Bernstorff, Count, 38, 53, 179
- Berwick, Duke of, 208
- Bessine, near Niort, France, 165
- Beugnot, Citizen, 158
- Beverly, MA, 268
- Bilbao, 203
- Birch, John, 91, 118
- Blackburn, Gideon, 283
- Blacquire, Jacob, 261
- Blanche, Dr Antoine-Louis, 155, 158
- Blanco, Luis, 303
- Blandford Forum, Dorset, 69
- Blois, 155
- Bloomfield, Nathaniel, 92
- Bloomfield, Robert, poet, 75
- Blücher, Gebhard Leberecht von, Field Marshal, 358
- Blumenbach, Professor J. F., 174
- Boerhaave, Dr Hermann, 30, 36–7, 51  
 notes potential of inoculation, 36
- Bogotá (Santa Fé de Bogotá), Colombia, 311  
 Archbishop of Santa Fé de Bogotá, 311
- Bolívar, Simón, 295
- Bolivia, 317
- Bolton, Duke of, 44
- Bombay (Mumbai), India, 6, 243–4, 248–52, 258, 263–4, 343, 353
- Bonaparte, Elisa, Princess of Piombino-Lucca, 169
- Bonaparte, Joseph, King of Spain, 219, 221
- Bonaparte, Louis, King of Holland  
 measures to expand and entrench vaccination, 169
- Bonaparte, Lucien, 154, 167, 205
- Bonaparte, Marie Louise of Austria,  
 Napoleon's second wife, 169
- Bonaparte, Napoleon François Joseph Charles, King of Rome, 169–70
- Bonaparte, Napoleon, General, Consul, Emperor, 123, 126, 149, 153, 156, 164, 167–70, 196, 219, 240, 282, 337, 347, 351, 359, 362  
 admiration for Jenner, 168  
 destiny to eradicate smallpox, 167  
 fascinated by idea of vaccination, 168  
 progress of vaccination associated with regime, 162  
 strongly supports vaccination, 166
- Bonaparte family, 167–70
- Bonavía y Zapata, Bernardo, Governor of Durango, 310
- Bond, Dr Joseph, 289
- Booker, Rev. Luke, 93, 105
- Boretius, Dr Matthias, 21
- Boringdon, John Parker, Lord, 363
- Bornwasser, Dr, 230
- Boston, MA, 13, 19, 55, 60, 267–8, 270, 273, 275, 283–4, 287, 291  
 Board of Health, 284, 287, 292, 294  
 Boston Tea Party, 270  
 Bostonians, 21  
 Massachusetts Medical Society, 275
- Botnang, Germany, 191
- Boufflers, Duchess of, 42
- Boulogne, France, 149, 153  
 'Matière de Boulogne', 154  
 French base for invasion of Britain, 123
- Boylston, Zabdiel, 19, 56
- Bragge, Nicholas, 69
- Branciforte, Marquis de, Viceroy of New Spain, 299–300
- Brant, Francisco Caldeiro, 314
- Brazil, 9, 11, 199, 207, 213, 219, 297, 314, 323, 333, 336
- Bremer, Dr Johann Immanuel, 183, 187, 189, 192, 196
- Breslau (Wrocław), Poland, 132, 181, 183, 191, 223, 227–8
- Brest, France, 94
- Bretonneau, Dr, 218
- Bridport, Dorset, 68
- Brighton, Sussex, 81
- Brion, P., 156
- Bristol, 267
- Britain, British, 6, 10, 22, 40, 175  
 British army, 58, 129, 174  
 adoption of vaccination, 108  
 advantages of vaccination, 97, 108  
 Egyptian expedition, 129  
 military surgeons, 41  
 North Gloucester Militia, 75  
 smallpox inoculation, 97  
 British empire, 10, 244

## 390 Index

- Britain, British (cont.)  
 African Company, 330  
 East India Company, 243–4, 248, 264, 325, 345, 349  
 East India Company, factory at Canton, 343  
 East India Company underwrites vaccination, 254  
 First Fleet to Australia (1787–8), 59, 330, 340  
 North America (Canada), 289  
 swing to the East, 243  
 West Indies, 300  
 British government, 127  
 Admiralty, 108  
 Board of Agriculture, 72  
 Board of Ordnance, 248  
 Foreign Office, 125  
 Ministry of All the Talents (1806–7), 97, 118  
 British navy, 94, 127, 133  
 adoption of vaccination, 94  
 advantages of vaccination, 97, 108  
 Mediterranean Fleet, 128–9, 139  
 offers vaccination, 108  
 British royal family, 108, *See* Charles I, King of England; Mary II, Queen of England; George I; George II; George III; George IV; Kings of Britain  
 Amelia, daughter of Frederick, Prince of Wales, 20  
 Augustus, Duke of Sussex, 207  
 Caroline, daughter of Frederick Prince of Wales, 20  
 Caroline, Princess of Wales, 20  
 Charlotte, Queen of Britain, wife of George III, 87  
 Frederick, Duke of York, 84, 108, 131  
 Frederick, Prince of Wales, 22  
 Hanoverian, 18, 20, 22  
 links with German princely families, 174  
 military mobilisation, 97  
 Parliament, 68  
 1802, awards Jenner premium, 91  
 political, social, cultural background, 97  
 reputation for innovation and technology, 174  
 Society for the Condition and Increasing the Comforts of the Poor, 96  
 Britakov, Miron Stepanitch, 234  
 Brookline, MA, 267  
 Brown, Charles, 99  
 Brown, Dr, 187, 281  
 Brown, Dr Samuel, 273  
 Bruce (née Nesbit), Mary, Countess of, 139, 141  
 Brünn (Brno), Moravia, Czech Republic, 377  
 Brunn am Gebirge, Austria, 130  
 Brunswick (Braunschweig), Germany, 38, 178, 182  
 Brussels, 170  
 Bryce, James, 254  
 Buchanan, Dr Francis, 246  
 Bucharest, 29  
 Buchwald, Charitas von, wife of Count Bernstorff, 38  
 Bückeberg, Germany, 174–5, 191  
 Buckinghamshire, 107  
 Buckland, Oxfordshire, 105  
 Bucks County, VA, 281  
 Bueno, Dr Cosmé, 57, 299  
 Buenos Aires, 314–15, 326  
 Buffon, Georges-Louis Leclerc, Count, 150–1  
 Bulacan, Philippines, 344  
 Bumpus, Anne, 81–2  
 Buniva, Dr Michele, 135–6, 144  
 Bureta, Count of, 218  
 Burma (Myanmar), 266  
 Burnett, Gilbert, 364  
 Burns, Robbie, poet, 101  
 Bushire (Bushehr), Iran, 265  
 Bushire (Bushehr), Sheikh of, 265  
 Bustamente, María, 302, 321  
 Bute, John Stuart, Lord, British Prime Minister, 54  
 Bute, Mary Stuart (née Wortley Montagu), Countess of, 64  
 Butini, Jean-Antoine, 15  
 Buttats, Dr Frantz, 227, 229, 231–2, 238  
 Caballero, José Antonio, 214, 218  
 Cadavel, Duchess of, 207  
 Cadena, Count of, Intendant of Puebla, 306, 309  
 Cádiz, Spain, 313  
 Royal College of Surgery, 201  
 Caen, France, 152  
 Cagayan, Philippines, 328  
 Cairo, Egypt, 140  
 Cajamarca, Peru, 313  
 Calansalingo, Lewis, 280  
 Calcagni, Dr Francesco, 137, 143, 293  
 Calcutta (Kolkata), India, 247, 250, 252, 254–5, 257, 325, 343, 353, 360  
 Orphan School, 340  
 Caledon, Du Pré Alexander, Lord, Governor of Cape Colony, 335

- Callao, Peru, 313  
 Calvet, Dr E.-C.-F., 151, 157  
 Cambridge  
   University of Cambridge, 75  
 Cambridge, MA  
   Harvard University, 60, 267, 279, 288  
 Cambusburn, near Stirling, Scotland, 107  
 Campeche, Mexico, 306–8  
 Camper, Professor Pieter, 26  
 Campomanes, Count of, 200  
 Canada, Canadian, 270  
   government  
     1815, Vaccine Act, Lower Canada, 364  
     Legislature of Lower Canada, 290  
 Canary Islands, 215–16, 299, 302  
 Canopus, Egypt, 139  
 Canton (Guangzhou), China, 265, 325, 343,  
   345, 347–8, 367  
 Cantwell, Dr Andrew, 39  
 Cape Castle, Ghana (Gold Coast), 330  
 Cape Colony (South Africa), 14, 265, 328–9,  
   332, 334, 341, 347–8  
   population and vaccine supply, 336  
 Cape of Good Hope, 11, 331  
 Cape Town, South Africa, 328, 331–6, 348, 367  
 Caracas, 322  
   Archbishop of, 295  
 Caracas, Venezuela, 295, 297, 304  
 Careno, Dr Luigi, 131, 134, 202  
   Latin translation of Jenner's *Inquiry*,  
   influence of, 131  
 Carey, Rev. Felix, 266  
 Caribbean, 296, 298  
 Carlander, Dr Christopher, 179, 183, 185  
 Carlisle, Cumberland, 47, 104  
 Carlisle, Georgiana, Countess of Carlisle, 108  
 Carlos III, King of Spain, 200  
 Carlos IV, King of Spain, 199, 205, 207,  
   211–12, 214–15, 301, 313, 318, 322,  
   346, 350, 359–60, 362  
 Carneiro, Dr Heleodoro Jacinto de Araujo, 219  
 Carolina, Queen of Naples and Sicily (the Two  
   Sicilies), 126  
 Caroline, Queen of Denmark, 177  
 Carrafa, Juan, Captain General of Extremadura,  
   217  
 Carrington, Dr James, 274  
 Carrington, Sir Edmund, 361  
 Cartagena, Colombia, 304, 311–12  
 Cartagena, Spain, 203  
 Casa Cagigal, Marquis of, Commander General  
   of the Canary Islands, 215–16, 319  
 Cassitti, Dr, 141  
 Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Lord, Viscount,  
   358  
 Castro, Ramón de, Governor of Puerto Rico,  
   302–3  
 Catalunya (Catalonia), 202  
 Catherine the Great, Empress of Russia, 51,  
   53–4, 224–6, 229  
   commemoration of her inoculation, 225  
 Cawnpore (Kanpur), India, 252  
 Ceballos, Pedro, 206  
 Celanova, Galicia, Spain, 210  
 Celaya, Mexico, 310  
 Central America (Mesoamerica), 8–9, 296, 323  
   Mixtec nation, 309  
 Ceylon (Sri Lanka), 58–9, 244, 248–9, 251–2,  
   256–7, 266, 357, 361  
   crown colony, 252  
   Kandy, kingdom of, 244, 260  
   Singhalese (Buddhists), 256  
   Tamils (Hindus), 256  
 Chais, Charles, 179  
   defence of inoculation in French and Dutch,  
   38  
 Chaix, Father Dominique, 152  
 Chaparro, Brother Pedro Manuel, 57, 299,  
   315  
 Chapman, Dr, 281  
 Chaptal, Jean-Antoine-Claude, French Minister  
   of the Interior, 6, 161–2, 164–6  
 Charles, Archduke of Austria, 131  
 Charles I, King of England, 14  
 Charles XII, King of Sweden, 18  
 Charleston, SC, 23, 34, 56, 63, 272, 282, 284  
   South Carolina Medical Society, 284  
 Chastelane, former Marquis of, 163  
 Chastellux, François Jean de Beauvoir,  
   Chevalier de, 39, 150–1  
 Chaussier, Dr François, 158, 208  
 Chelmsford, Essex, 44  
 Cheltenham, Gloucestershire, 65, 67, 70, 75,  
   83, 105, 117, 241, 248, 266, 357  
 Chester, Cheshire, 47  
 Chesterfield, Derbyshire, 103  
 Chichagov, Admiral, 235  
 Chichester, Dr John, 272  
 Chile, 11, 57, 315, 317, 323, 326, 347  
 Chimay, Princess of, 42  
 China, Chinese, 8–9, 17, 243, 266, 323, 326,  
   343, 348–9, 355  
   alleged practice of infanticide, 343  
   Chinese empire, 233  
   Chinese language, 345  
   Chinese medical text, 17  
   Chinese medicine, 55  
   Manchu rulers, 10  
   Ming rulers, 9  
 Chinchá, Peru, 316

## 392 Index

- Chingleput (Chengalpattu), India, 249  
 Chintapally, Zamindar of, 247  
 Chios, Greek island, 17  
 Chipping Sodbury, Gloucestershire, 66–7  
 Chocó, Colombia, 312  
 Chocope, Peru, 313, 322  
 Choiseul, Duke of, 42, 151  
 Choreganov, Damba, 238  
 Christiadoro, Captain Domingo, 333  
 Christian VII, Crown Prince, King of Denmark, 50, 177  
 Christie, Dr Thomas, 247, 252, 263–6, 367  
 Cibot, Father Martial, 55  
 Circassia, 18  
 Cirencester, Gloucestershire, 66  
 Claiborne, William C.C., Governor of Mississippi Territory, 282  
 Cleghorn, George, 46  
 Clinch, Rev. John, 272  
 Cline, Henry, 70, 75–6  
 Clive, Lord Edward, Governor of Madras, 247  
 Coats, Thomas, 258  
 Cochin (Kochi), India, 249  
 Coimbra, 220  
 Colchester, Essex, 108  
 Colebrooke, Thomas, 261  
 Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, 174, 352  
 Colladon, J.-P., 125  
 Collins, David, 342  
 Colombia (New Granada), 213, 298, 301, 319  
 Colon, Dr François, 154–6, 204, 230  
 Columbus, Christopher, 8  
 Concepción, Chile, 315  
 Condillac, French *philosophe*, 50  
 Connecticut, 292  
 Consalvi, Cardinal, 138  
 Continental Army, 58  
 Cook, Dr, 29  
 Coopmans, Professor Gadso, 28, 179  
 Copenhagen, 181, 183, 302, 372  
 Corbigny, Citizen, 155  
 Cordiner, Rev. James, 246  
 Córdoba, 199, 203  
 Corinth, Greece, 141  
 Cornwall, 103  
 Cornwallis, Marquis, 161  
 Cortez, Cecilio, 315  
 Couzon, France, 164  
 Coventry, Earl of, 44  
 cow's breath  
   as treatment for tuberculosis, 105  
 cowpox  
   Jenner's cowpox (vaccine), 27, 65, 76, 78  
   associations and identity, 69  
   attenuated smallpox?, 81–2  
   distinct from but cognate with  
     smallpox, 69, 80, 82, 367  
   horse-grease?, 27, 69  
   horsepox?, 27, 369  
   modified smallpox?, 27  
     *vaccinia orthopoxvirus*?, 3  
   confusion and controversy, 81  
   establishment of its prophylactic value, 3  
   found on dairy cattle, 26  
   humanised vaccine propagated through  
     vaccination, 70  
   passed through 399 generations in  
     Ceylon, 263  
   perception of declining power of vaccine  
     in circulation, 196  
   rare and sporadic, 26  
   search for indigenous cowpox in Russia,  
     227  
   uniform effects in different climes, 145  
   use of vaccine propagated on calf, 372  
   value as preventive of smallpox  
     demonstrated by smallpox  
     inoculation, 30  
 modern cowpox (bovine *herpes  
 mammillitis*), 27  
 modern cowpox and Jenner's cowpox  
   both *orthopoxviruses*, 27  
   communicable to humans, 27  
   prevent smallpox, 27  
 modern cowpox or Jenner's cowpox, 68  
   found in northern Italy, 135, 356  
   found near Berlin (1812), 197  
   known as preventive of smallpox in  
     Dorset, 68  
   known as preventive of smallpox in  
     Gloucestershire, 70  
   known as *shinach* in Ireland and  
     reportedly used to prevent smallpox,  
     79  
   not documented before 1760s, 26  
   reported in Germany (1760s), 191  
   used to prevent smallpox in Holstein  
     (1790), 183  
 pseudo-cowpox, a *parapoxvirus*, 27  
 spurious cowpox, *faux vaccine*, 79, 100,  
 110, 112, 123, 133–4, 181, 253, 273  
 undetermined form of cowpox  
   reported in Peru, 313  
   reported in Spain, 206  
*vaccinia* (modern vaccine, Jenner's  
 cowpox?), 27  
 associations and identity  
   horsepox, 369  
   *orthopoxvirus* of small mammal, 27, 370  
 significantly different from *variola*, 82

- cowpox inoculation, 65. *See* vaccination  
 1774, Jesty's crude operation, 69  
 1799, Fewster doubts value as substitute for  
 smallpox inoculation, 71
- cowpox, vaccine, vaccination (terminology)  
 English, cowpox, inoculation for cow-pock,  
 86  
 English, Jenner's coinage of the term  
*vaccinæ variolæ* (cow-smallpox) ill-  
 considered and misleading, 73  
 English, Jennerian inoculation, 86, 88  
 English, vaccine virus, vaccine inoculation,  
 vaccination, 86  
 English (semi-humorous proposal),  
 equination, 146  
 French, pejorative, *envachiner*, 157  
 French, *petite vérole des vaches* to *vaccine*,  
*vaccination*, 86, 132–3  
 German, *Kühpocken*, *Kühpockenimpfung* to  
*Schutzpocken* (guardian pox),  
*Schutzpockenimpfung*, 186  
 German (pejorative), *Brutalimpfung*, 184  
 India (proposal), Sanskrit term *amurtum*,  
 251  
 Russian, 'pox of surety', 236  
 Spanish (Castellano), proposal to honour  
 Jenner, '*fluido Jennerino*',  
 '*Yennerización*', 206  
 Spanish (Castellano), *vacuna*, *vacunación*,  
 206  
 USA, kine-pock, kinpox, kinpox  
 inoculation, 274, 325
- Coxe, Dr John Redman, 279–82, 284, 369  
 Coxe, Edward Jenner, 280  
 Crichton, Dr Alexander, 238, 240, 242  
 Cross, Dr John, 371  
 Crusades, 8  
 Cuba, 296, 302, 323, 346, 363  
 Cuenca, Ecuador, 312  
 Currie, Dr James, 63, 101, 107  
 Cutbush, Edward, 293  
 Cuzco, Peru, 315
- D'Alembert, Jean le Rond, 42  
 D'Entrecolles, 54  
 d'Herbenville, Charles J. F., Marquis, 158,  
 163, 172  
 d'Holbach, Baron, 42  
 d'Olonne, Duchess, 15  
 Da Mata, Jerónimo José, Bishop of Macao, 345  
 Dacca, India, 252  
 Dahomey, Kingdom of, 327  
 Dalton, John, 262  
 Danzig (Gdansk), Poland, 176  
 Dauphiné, 152  
 Dávalos, José Manuel, 316, 319  
 Davids, Dr Levie, 125, 182  
 Davies, Thomas, 45  
 Davis, Lieutenant, 342  
 Daza, Dr Josef María, 218  
 De Carro, Dr Jean, 125, 130–2, 139–40,  
 143–4, 181, 243–4, 320, 356, 358,  
 379  
 1801, *Observations*, 131, 144–5  
 Jenner of the East, 147  
 De Haen, Professor Anton, 41  
 De la Gardie, Count, 130, 188  
 Decaen, General Charles, 337–8  
 Déglos, merchant, 337  
 Delacoste, Dr Jean, 22  
 Delano, Amasa, 325, 349  
 Dembiska, Countess, 130  
 Denmark, Danish, 10, 38, 132, 175, 189, 302  
 Danish royal family. *See* Christian VI;  
 Christian VII; Frederick V; Frederick  
 VI; Kings of Denmark  
 inoculation hospital in Copenhagen, 177  
 Royal Vaccine Commission, 302  
 Desamparados, Brother Lorenzo Justiniano de  
 los, 312, 322  
 Desessartz, Dr J.-C., 151–2  
 Deshima, Japan, 330  
 Desmousseaux, Citizen, 159  
 Devonshire, Georgiana, Duchess of, 108  
 Díaz, José Domingo, 303  
 DÍaz Canedo, Nicolás, 206  
 Dibbetz, Dr Reinier de Clerk, 333, 335  
 Diderot, Denis, 42  
 Diemar, General  
 loss of daughter through inoculation, 36  
 Dilwyn, William, 378  
 Dimsdale, Dr Thomas, 45, 48, 51–2, 54, 225–6  
 1767. *Present method of inoculating*, 45  
 diseases (animal)  
 anthrax, 376  
 cattle plague (rinderpest), 25–6  
 Netherlands, 25  
 similarities to smallpox, 25  
 contagion and containment, 25  
 cowpox, 26–7. *See* also vaccine, *vaccinia*  
 foot-and-mouth disease, 26  
 goat-pox, 206  
 horse-grease, 27  
 horsepox, 27. *See* also cowpox, *vaccinia*  
 (modern vaccine, Jenner's cowpox?)  
 imprecise nomenclature, 26  
 sheep-pox (*clavelée*), 26  
 specificity, 25

## 394 Index

- diseases (human)  
 bubonic plague, 13, 24, 140, 224  
   1665, London (Great Plague), 10, 24  
   1720, Marseille, 24  
   1770s, Russia, 24  
   Russia, 29  
 chickenpox, 25, 62, 114  
 cholera, 25  
 contagion, 24  
 gonorrhoea, 29  
 measles, 25, 29, 211, 373  
 quarantine, 24  
 sanitary measures, 24  
 smallpox (*variola*). *See* smallpox  
 swinepox (probably smallpox), 62, 68  
 syphilis, 8, 13, 29  
 tuberculosis, 105  
 typhus, 24, 241  
 yellow fever, 25, 279, 308  
diseases (plant), 25  
 specificity, 25  
Domeier, Dr Wilhelm Friedrich, 207  
Don River, Russia, 241  
Dondra, Sri Lanka, 257  
Döring, Dr Sebastian, 185–6  
Dorpat, Livonia, 224  
Dorset, 68  
Dos Barrios, La Mancha, Spain, 218  
Douglass, Dr William, 19  
Dresden, Germany, 188  
Drinker, Elizabeth, 279, 291  
Dublin, 99  
 Trinity College, 46  
Dubois, Abbé Jean, 258–9  
Dubois, Madame, 156  
Dubrovnik, Croatia, 147  
Ducros, Citizen, 157  
Dudley, Staffordshire, 105  
Duffy, John, historian, 291, 293  
Dumfries, VA, 278  
Duncan, Jonathan, Governor of Bombay, 249,  
 259  
Dundas, Henry, 248  
Dunkirk, France, 167  
Dunning, Richard, 86, 115, 207  
Durango, Mexico, 310  
Durham (County), 104  
Dusthall, Anna, 243, 249–50, 252, 263  
Duvillard, Emmanuel, 374  
Duxbury, MA, 325  
Dwight, Timothy, 292  
  
Eastfield, Northumberland, 104  
Eastington, Gloucestershire, 77, 80  
  
Edinburgh  
 University of Edinburgh, 56, 84, 122, 124–5,  
 267, 352  
Egremont, Earl of, 81, 84, 107  
Egypt, 126, 142  
Ehrmann, Dr Johann Christian, 184, 190  
Eisen, Pastor Johann Georg, 224, 226  
Ekaterinburg, 232  
Elde, Netherlands, 192  
Elgin, Martha Bruce (née White), Dowager  
 Countess of, 139, 141  
Elgin, Mary Bruce (née Nisbet), Countess of,  
 139–42, 144  
Elgin, Thomas Bruce, Earl of, 139–42, 244, 249  
Ellenborough, Lord, 363  
Eller, Dr Johann, 21  
Ellis, Charles Rose, 300  
Ellis, Francis Whyte, 261  
Engelhard, Pieter, 338  
England, English, 2, 4–5, 10, 16, 19, 21, 24,  
 26, 33–6, 40, 43–9, 65–93, 377  
Enlightenment, 6, 52, 176  
 debate over smallpox inoculation, 41–2  
 German Enlightenment  
 reading revolution, 175  
 smallpox inoculation as enlightened cause, 36  
 vaccination as fruit of Enlightenment, 96  
*Ephemerides* of the Leopoldine Academy, 18  
Erfurt, Germany  
 University of Erfurt, 186  
Escofiot, Dr Carlos, 307  
Esparragosa, Dr Narciso, 301, 307, 319, 322  
Estonia, 230  
Europe, European, 8–10, 12, 14, 17, 25, 27, 31,  
 33, 36, 42, 49, 53–4, 59, 61, 63, 109,  
 119, 122, 124, 145, 147, 167  
 Catholic Europe, 36, 52, 146  
 central Europe, 132  
 European colonies, 63  
 European imperialism, 9  
 European trade, 11, 328  
 military operations and diplomatic networks,  
 126–7  
 Napoleonic Europe, 149  
 northern Europe, 41, 147, 174, 176–7, 180  
 Renaissance, 25, 28  
 western Europe, 24, 26  
Excell, Hannah, 73  
Exeter, 75  
Extremadura, Governor of, 203  
Extremadura, Spain, 217  
  
Fancher (Fansher), Sylvanus, 286  
Fanzago, Dr, 134



- Farington, Joseph, painter, 75  
 Farquhar, George, 300  
 Farquhar, Sir Walter, 91  
 Faruqabad, India, 252  
 Faust, Dr Bernhard Christoph, 63–4, 123, 174, 180, 191  
   *Catechism of health*, 183  
   *Krengelfest* at Bückeburg, 191  
 Feijóo, Benito, 36, 200  
 Fenner, Frank, virologist, 376  
 Ferdinand (Bourbon), King of Naples and Sicily (Two Sicilies), 50, 126, 133, 136–7, 359, 361  
 Ferdinand of Parma, 50  
 Ferdinand VIII, King of Spain, 219, 347  
 Fermor, William, 107  
 Ferro, Dr, 125, 130–1  
 Fewster, John, 67–9, 71  
 Finch, Anne, Countess of Nottingham, 16  
 Finch, Rev., 104  
 Finmere, Oxfordshire, 104  
 Fisher, Richard, biographer, 91  
 Fitzpatrick, James Achilles, 251  
 Flores, Dr José, 213–14, 299, 301, 319, 321  
 Fonseca, José de, 209  
 Fooks, Robert, 68  
 Forbes, James, 263  
 Fosbroke, John, 87, 378  
 Fosbroke, Rev. Thomas Dudley, 378  
 Fothergill, Dr John, 267  
 Fouché, Joseph, 154  
 Fox, Joseph, 140  
 Fracastoro, Girolamo, 13  
 France, French, 16, 25, 40, 149–67, 170–3  
   Académie française, 151  
   early trials of vaccine, 125  
   Francophone world, 122  
   French army  
     La Flèche (military academy), 151  
     soldiers vaccinated in Germany, 166  
 French empire, 244  
   Baudin's Expedition (1800–3), 333  
   Illyrian Provinces, 133  
 French government, 152  
   Consulate, 126, 150  
   Directory, 126, 152  
   Minister of the Interior, 133, 154–5, 172  
   Parlement of Paris, 151  
   Republic, 198  
   statistics and life tables, 374  
 French Revolution, 152  
   impact on Germany and Scandinavia, 175  
   Storming of Bastille, 154  
   The Terror, 155  
 French royal family, 14, *See* Louis XIV;  
   Louis XV; Louis XVI; Louis XVIII;  
   Marie Antoinette; Orleans, Dukes of;  
   Bonaparte family  
   military and political mobilisation, 166  
   political, social, professional context,  
     c. 1800, 149–50, 153–4  
 Franche-Comté, 152  
 Francis I, Holy Roman Emperor, 39  
 Francis II, Holy Roman Emperor, 188  
 Franekar, Netherlands  
   University of Franekar, 28, 179  
 Frank, Dr Johann Peter, 131, 230  
 Frank, Dr Joseph, 144, 230  
 Frankfurt am Main, 183–4, 190  
 Franklin, Benjamin, 56, 293  
 Fraser, Dr Thomas, 56  
 Frederica (of Prussia), Duchess of York, 84  
 Frederick the Great, King of Prussia, 50, 52, 54, 177  
 Frederick V, King of Denmark, 49, 53, 177  
 Frederick VI, Crown Prince, Regent, King of Denmark, 177, 188–9  
 Frederick William II  
   King of Prussia, 179, 188  
 Frederick William III, King of Prussia, 187, 197, 351, 358, 362  
 Freese, Arthur, 250  
 Friese, Dr Friedrich Gotthilf, 132, 181, 183, 191, 223, 227, 229  
 Frochot, N.-T.-B., 154–5  
 Fry, Elizabeth, Quaker philanthropist, 106  
 Gale, Benjamin, 56  
 Galen, Greek physician, 13  
 Gandolfo, Baron, 170  
 Gantt, Dr Edward, 278  
 García Arboleya, Dr, 305, 309  
 Gardner, Edward, 65, 84  
 Gascoigne, Bamber, 44  
 Gatti, Dr Angelo, 42, 54, 151  
   style of inoculation, 43  
 Gauffré, military surgeon, 337–8  
 Guatemala City, 324  
 Geneva, Genevan, 15, 32, 37, 122, 124–5, 132–4, 138, 144, 147, 156, 286, 355, 359  
 Genoa, 122–3, 138  
 George, South Africa, 336  
 George I, King of Britain, 20  
 George II, King of Britain, 35, 53  
 George II, Prince of Wales, King of Britain, 22  
 George III, King of Britain, 35

## 396 Index

- George III, Prince of Wales, King of Britain, 22, 53, 61, 87
- George IV, Prince of Wales, Prince Regent, King of Britain, 61, 91–2, 352
- Georgia, Caucasus region, 18
- Germany and Scandinavia  
 absolutist regimes and modernisation, 175  
 absolutist regimes and political economy, 175  
 Enlightenment, reading revolution and modernisation, 175–6
- Germany, German, 16, 21, 25, 63, 122, 175, 197  
 early trials of inoculation in, 36  
 political and cultural background, c. 1800, 174–6  
 princes, 122
- Gibraltar, 124, 127–8, 198
- Girod, François-Xavier, 152
- Girvana, Rajah of Nepal, 266
- Gisors, Count of, 40
- Giussano, Italy, 135
- Glasgow  
 University of Glasgow, 46  
 Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons, 102
- Gloucester, 377  
 cathedral, Jenner statue, 378  
 Gloucester Infirmary, 68, 98
- Gloucestershire, 68, 125  
 Convivio-Medical Society (informal), 68  
 Gloucestershire Medical Society (informal), 67–8
- Glynde, Sussex, 45
- Goa, India, 264, 332
- Godoy, Manuel, Prince of Peace, 199, 202, 207, 210
- Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 176
- Goetz, Dr, 151, 157
- Golden Park, Jamaica, 298
- Goldson, William, 112
- Goldstat (pseudonym), Bishop of, homily promoting vaccination, 147
- Golovkin, Count, 232–4
- Gomes, Dr Bernadino Antonio, 220
- Gonzalez del Campillo, Manuel Ignacio, Bishop of Puebla, 309, 321
- Gore, Colonel, Governor of Upper Canada, 289
- Gore, General Christopher, Governor of Massachusetts, 287
- Gorman, Dr, 314
- Goshen, CT, 275
- Gothenburg, Sweden, 183
- Göttingen, Germany, 143, 176, 185  
 University of Göttingen, 174, 176, 185–6, 227
- Gould, Mrs, 114
- Gourgas, John Mark, 286
- Gourlay, Mr, 250
- Graaff-Reinet, South Africa, 336
- Grajales, Manuel, 311–12, 316–17, 323
- Grand Junction Canal, 104
- Great Lakes, Canada, 289
- Greece, Greek, 141  
 antiquities, 139, 141  
 classical, 8  
 inoculators, 18–19, 21, 167
- Greenland, 10
- Gregory, Dr George, 370
- Groningen, Netherlands, 192  
 University of Groningen, 26
- Grosvenor, Lord Robert, 121
- Guanajuato, Mexico, 310, 323
- Guandong, China, 348
- Guatemala City, 307, 322
- Guatemala, Guatemalan, 213, 298–9, 301, 307, 319, 322
- Guevera y Vasconcelos, Manuel de, Captain-General of Venezuela, 303–4
- Guillotín, Dr Joseph-Ignace, 153, 162, 165, 167
- Guiot, Daniel, 37
- Gustav III, Crown Prince, King of Sweden, 38, 52
- Gustav IV, Adolf, King of Sweden, 188, 362
- Gutiérrez, Antonio, 307, 310, 343–4
- Haarlem, Netherlands  
 Haarlem Academy of Sciences, 38
- Hague, The, 179
- Hakenszmit, Dr, 230, 235
- Halberstad, 182
- Hale, Elizabeth, 289
- Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada, 272
- Halifax, Yorkshire, 21
- Halle, Germany, 178, 180
- Halliday, Dr, 226–7
- Hamburg, 176, 182, 195, 334
- Hamel, Dr Joseph, 241, 358
- Hamilton, Emma, 108, 126
- Hamilton, Sir William, 126, 139
- Hammoudah Pacha, Bey of Tunis, 142
- Hancock, John, 270
- Hanover, Germany, 181–2, 355
- Hanway, Jonas, philanthropist, 49
- Harbour Grace, Newfoundland, Canada, 272
- Harder, Dr, 230
- Harju, Estonia, 227
- Harrison, Dr, 103–4
- Harvey, Dr Gideon, 14
- Havana, Cuba, 215, 304, 322  
 Economic Society of Havana, 300, 305, 319–20

- Hawaii (Sandwich Islands), Hawaiians, 325  
 Haygarth, Dr John, 11–12, 15, 29, 47, 60,  
 62–3, 267, 271  
 Heberden, Dr William, 56  
 Hecker, Professor August, 186  
 Hefferman, Mr, 18  
 Heim, Dr, 182  
 Heineke, Dr, 182  
 Hellín, Murcia, Spain, 218  
 Helmsted, Germany  
 University of Helmsted, 185  
 Hemings, Sally, 277  
 Henry, Patrick, 270  
 Herborn, Germany, 185  
 Hernández, Dr Pedro, 206  
*Origen y descubrimiento de la vacuna*,  
 207–10, 212, 301  
 Herz, Dr Marcus, 184, 187  
 Hesse, Dr, 140  
 Hesse, Principality of, 195, 362  
 Hewitt, John, 179  
 Heydeck, Juan José, 206–7  
 Hickeys, Dr John, 67  
 Hickey, Thomas, 258  
 Hicks, Henry, 77, 102  
 Hill, Rev. Rowland, 105  
 Hobart, Lord Robert, 143, 248, 340–1  
 Hobart, Tasmania, Australia, 326, 342  
 Holbrook, Dr Amos, 286  
 Holland, Lady, 200  
 Holstein-Gottorp, Princes of, 51  
 Holt, Rev. Robert, 104  
 Holwell, J. Z., 55, 246  
 Holy Roman Empire, 122, 175  
 imperial family (Habsburg-Lorraine), 14–15,  
 50–1, 200, *See* Francis II, Joseph I,  
 Joseph II, Holy Roman Emperors;  
 Maria Theresa, Holy Roman  
 Empress; Charles, Archduke; Marie-  
 Antoinette  
 Home, Everard, 72  
 Home, Francis, 29  
 Hope Hall, near Manchester, 106  
 Hosack, Dr David, 272  
 Hosty, Dr Ambrose, 39  
 Hottentots. *See* Africa, African: Khoikhoi  
 people  
 Houlton, Robert, 44  
 Howard, William, 120  
 Howgrave, Francis, 21  
 Hudson River, 270  
 Hudson's Bay Company, 10, 269  
 Huet, Pedro, 344  
 Hufeland, Professor C. W., 174, 186  
 Huggan, Dr, 103  
 Huhn, Dr Otto, 227, 230  
 Hull, Yorkshire, 99  
 Hull Infirmary, 99  
 Humboldt, Alexander von, 293, 295, 313  
 Hume, Everard, 75  
 Hungary, 131  
 Hunter, John, 29, 66, 70  
 Hurstpierpoint, Sussex, 100  
 Hussey, Benjamin, 167  
 Husson, Dr Henri-Marie, 155, 161, 170, 204  
 Hutchinson, Major-General, 129, 140  
 Hyde de Neuville, Jean-Guillaume, 164  
 Hyderabad, India, 249, 251–2, 259  
 I'Anson, William, 340, 342  
 Ibarra, Francisco de, Archbishop of Caracas,  
 304  
 Iberian Peninsula (Spain and Portugal), 200  
 Ica, Peru, 316  
 India, Indian, 8, 17, 132, 143, 243–4, 246, 248,  
 355  
 Bengal, Presidency of, 246, 250, 252,  
 254–5, 259, 360  
 Bombay and Malabar coast  
 Indian Christians, 256  
 Parsees, 256  
 Bombay, Presidency of, 252, 254,  
 257, 259  
 British India, 6  
 British wars, conquest of Delhi (1805),  
 260  
 government in British India, 251  
 Kashmir, 260  
 Madras, Presidency of, 59, 247, 251–5, 259,  
 356  
 Malabar coast, 252  
 Maratha Confederacy, 249  
 Mughal empire, 260  
 Mysore (Mysuru), rajas of, Wadiyar  
 dynasty, 257–8  
 Punjab, 260  
 south India, Dravidian India, 246  
 south India, Muslim communities, 256  
 south India, Paraiyans (Untouchables), 256  
 Sutlej River, 260  
 Indian Ocean, 199, 244, 336  
 Indonesia, *See also* Dutch East Indies, Java,  
 Moluccas, Sulawesi, Sumatra  
 Indonesia (Dutch East Indies), 337, 377  
 Indonesian archipelago, 10–11, 328  
 Ingatestone, Essex, 44  
 Ingenhousz, Dr Jan, 51–2, 76, 122  
 Ingledew, William, 258  
 Ingolstadt  
 University of Ingolstadt, 193

## 398 Index

## inoculation

- broader prophylactic uses, 29
- bubonic plague, 29, 140
- concept and practice, 27–8
- concept derived from plant grafting, improving on nature, 27–8
- diseases
  - anthrax, 376
  - bubonic plague, 29
  - cattle plague (rinderpest), 26
  - equine matter (horse-grease, horsepox), equination, 146
  - goat-pox, 206
  - gonorrhoea, 29
  - horse-grease, 76
  - measles, 29
  - smallpox, *variola*. See smallpox inoculation, variolation
  - swinepox (probably smallpox), 68
  - syphilis, 29
- insurance schemes, 26
- investigative and diagnostic tool, 29–30
- Ireland, Irish, 34, 39, 46, 79, 99, 102
  - Gaelic-speaking Ireland, 46
  - Irish Rebellion (1798), 1
- Irkutsk, Siberia, Russia, 231–4, 240
  - smallpox hospital, 233
- Isabella of Parma, 15, 50
- Istanbul, 17–19, 132, 139, 244, 265
- Italy, Italian, 25, 122, 126, 133–8
  - Cisalpine Republic, Italian Republic, Kingdom of Italy, 133, 135–6, 146, 361
  - Kingdom of Naples (Bourbon, Napoleonic), 133
  - Kingdom of Naples, Kingdom of Sicily (Two Sicilies), 136, 146
  - Lombardy, 135
  - military and political survey, c.1800, 133–4
  - Papal States, 133
  - Parthenopean Republic, 133
  - Piedmont, 136
  - Republic of Piedmont, 135
  - Republic of Venice, 133
- Ithaca, Greece, 142
- Iturrigaray, José de, Viceroy of New Spain, 305–6, 308–10, 319
  - arranges vaccination of son, 306
- Jackson, Dr James, 273–4
- Jaffa, 140
- Jaffnapatnam, Sri Lanka, 251
- Jaffray, William, 107
- Jakarta (Batavia), Indonesia, 329–30, 338, 367
- Jalapa, Mexico, 306, 308
- Jamaica, 1–2, 57, 145, 298, 300–1, 323

- Jamison, Thomas, 341–2
- Janssens, General Jan Willem, Governor of Cape Colony (Dutch), 332–5
- Japan, Japanese, 10, 330, 375
- Jauberthon, Dr, 152
- Jáuregui, Dr Ignacio, 202
- Java, Indonesia, 59, 328, 337
- Jefferson, Thomas, President of USA, 7, 268, 270, 276–82, 291, 293
- Jena, Germany
  - University of Jena, 174, 185
- Jenner family
  - Catherine Jenner (E. J.'s daughter), 377
  - Catherine Jenner (née Kingscote) (E. J.'s wife), 67, 377
  - Edward Jenner (E. J.'s elder son), 68, 70
  - George Jenner (E. J.'s nephew), 78, 109, 272
    - vaccinating in Paris, 110
  - Henry Jenner (E. J.'s brother), 66
  - Henry Jenner (E. J.'s nephew), 65, 70, 80, 84, 106, 377
  - Robert Fitzhardinge Jenner (E. J.'s younger son), 70, 377
  - Stephen Jenner (E. J.'s brother), 66
  - Stephen Jenner (E. J.'s father), 66
- Jenner, Dr Edward, 27, 65–93, 100, 115, 118–21, 125, 129, 143, 207, 223, 235, 240–1, 248, 259, 266, 272, 279–80, 284, 289, 293, 314, 332, 336, 350–2, 356–7, 362, 367, 377–80
  - 1749, birth, 66
  - 1756, inoculated as child, 32, 66
  - 1764–70, apprenticeship, 66
  - 1770–3, pupil of John Hunter in London, 29, 66
  - 1773, begins practice in Berkeley, 67
  - 1788, marriage to Catherine Kingscote, 67
  - 1789, elected FRS, 67
  - 1792, MD (St Andrews), 67
  - 1794, practice in Cheltenham, 67, 69
  - 1796, first cowpox experiment, 70
  - 1798 (Jun), publishes *Inquiry*, 73
  - 1800, offers prospect of extirpation of smallpox, 87
  - 1802, Parliament awards premium for cowpox discovery, 68, 90–1, 138
  - 1802, profiled as a ‘public character’ for his genius and humanity, 92
  - 1803, establishment of RJS, 92
  - 1803 (May), RJS first anniversary dinner, 92, 97
  - 1805 (May), RJS anniversary dinner, 112
  - 1807, advised to leave London to avoid popular hostility, 119

- 1807 (July), Parliament awards second premium, 119
- 1809, disassociates himself from NVE, 120
- 1814 (June), meets Tsar Alexander, 241, 351
- 1815, survey of success of vaccination in Europe, 365
- birth, character and attributes, 102
- character and attributes
- attachment to family and home, 120, 377
  - awkward and clumsy, 241, 379
  - connections and good fortune, 87
  - friends and colleagues, 66–7, 70, 75, 85, 87, 107, 124, 377
  - generous and genial, 67
  - health and mental state, 120
  - intellect and imagination, 67
  - kind and genial, 377, 379
  - love of poetry, 96
  - originality and eccentricity, 379
  - political views, 97
  - powers of observation and passion for experiment, 67
  - self-righteousness and prickliness, 85, 120–1
- cowpox discovery
- acknowledges local belief that cowpox was a preventive of smallpox, 74
  - anticipation of reward, 65
  - cowpox retains character after passage through several patients, 73
  - early interest, investigation and expertise, 27, 67–8, 73
  - Jenner's limited opportunities for observations and experiment, 74
  - neglect of medical practice and reputational risk, 83
  - originality and priority implicit in *Inquiry*, 74
  - Parliament attests Jenner's priority in cowpox inoculation, 91
  - passage of humanised cowpox lymph through series of inoculations, 74
  - priority in inoculating cowpox experimentally and using humanised cowpox, 74
  - publicised rather than kept secret, 83
  - remuneration, 83
  - restated as discovery of cowpox inoculation, 90
  - sense of providential significance, 65
  - honours and rewards, 87–93, 206, 229, 231, 241, 259, 352
  - parliamentary premiums (1802, 1807), 68, 90–1, 119
- publications
- 1798, *Inquiry into causes and effects of variolæ vaccinae*, 66, 68, 71–6
    - cases of casual and inoculated cowpox preventing smallpox, 71
    - central thesis that cowpox prevents smallpox, 71
    - copies and editions in USA, 267
    - copies in early circulation in Germany, 174
    - copies rapidly available in Europe, 123
    - description of cowpox infection, 71
    - French summary in *Bibliothèque britannique*, 122
    - German translation, 181
    - illustration showing stages of vaccine pustule, 73
    - Latin translation by Dr Careno, 131, 134–5
    - Portuguese translation, 216
    - presented as contribution to science, 73
  - 1799, *Further observations*, 78
  - 1800, *Continuation of facts and observations*, 87
  - 1800, *Inquiry*, new edition, including *Further observations* and *Continuation*, 87
  - 1801, *Instructions on Vaccine Inoculation*, 281
  - 1818, *Letter to William Dilwyn*, 293, 378
- researches
- cuckoo's nesting habits, 67
  - equine matter (horse-grease, horsepox), equination, 146
  - hedgehogs, 370
  - horse-grease, horsepox, 369
  - natural history and comparative pathology encouraged by John Hunter, 67
  - swinepox, 62
- theory, practice and promotion of vaccination
- carelessness of his own early practice, 368
  - claims procedure renders person insusceptible to smallpox, 370
  - claims that vaccine infection effects a specific and permanent change to the constitution that secures it against infection, 370
  - concept of virus, 368–9
  - concern about smallpox inoculation, 360
  - concern to make it a practical option for all, 83
  - confrontation between expert opinion and popular denialism, 6
  - encourages female practitioners, 107

## 400 Index

- Jenner, Dr Edward (cont.)  
 entertains the prospect of eradication of smallpox, 366  
 investigation and expertise, 68  
 Jenner's sense of common ancestry of smallpox and cowpox, 72  
 maintains the line that vaccination gives the same level of protection against smallpox as variolation, 112  
 memorial to European monarchs (1814), 358  
 observation of hypersensitivity pertinent to modern immunology, 371  
 provides vaccine and advice, 99, 105, 181, 276, 346  
 use of children, including his own, in experiments, 70  
 use of military metaphors, 5, 115  
 vaccine stock, 367  
 views on identity of cowpox, 369  
 tributes, monuments, commemoration, 147, 324, 377–9  
 humanitarian hero, immortal Jenner, 4, 6, 66, 88, 93, 109, 116, 120, 129, 147, 161, 191, 203, 206, 231, 276, 289, 293, 321, 357, 378  
 'genius of medicine' and 'favourite child of nature', 147  
 portraits, 109, 206, 276  
 J. R. Smith (1800), mezzotint print (1801), 88  
 James Northcote, 88  
 Jerningham, Lady, 106  
 Jesty, Benjamin, 69, 91, 113  
 Jews, 130  
 João VI, Prince Regent, King of Portugal, 202, 207, 216, 219, 323  
 Johnson, Samuel, 44  
 Jones, Harford, 243, 249  
 Joseph I, Holy Roman Emperor, 14  
 Joseph II, Holy Roman Emperor, 15, 50  
 Josepha of Bavaria, second wife of Emperor Joseph II, 50  
 Joubert de la Motte, Dr René-Nicolas, 57  
 Jukes, Andrew, 265  
 Juncker, Dr J. C. W., 63–4, 123, 144, 178, 180  
 Jurin, Dr James, 21, 33, 40  
  
 Kamchatka, Russia, 234  
 Kant, Immanuel, 184  
 Karoo, The, South Africa, 335  
 Kaunitz, Count Maximilian, 16, 132  
 Kazan', Russia, 231–2, 237  
 Keir, Dr George, 249, 252  
 Keith, Admiral Lord, 127–8  
  
 Keller, Dr, 330  
 Kensington Gore, London, 44  
 Kensworth, Bedfordshire, 105  
 Kentish Town, London, 80  
 Kenton, Suffolk, 43  
 Kentucky, 280–2  
 Kiakhta, Russia, 231  
 Kicherer (Kircherer), Johannes Jacobus, 335  
 Kiev, Ukraine, 231  
 Kilwa Island, Zambia, 328, 330  
 Kilwein, Dr, 236  
 King, Philip Gidley, Lieutenant-Governor of Norfolk Island, Governor of New South Wales, 331, 340–2  
 Kirkbymoorside, Yorkshire, 103  
 Kirkpatrick (Kilpatrick), Dr James, 22, 34, 40, 53, 56, 63  
 1743, *Essay on inoculation*, 34  
 1754, *Analysis of Inoculation*, 35–6  
 Klaproth, J. H. von, 232  
 Kluskens, Professor, 156  
 Kobtse, Dr, 236  
 Krasnoyarsk, Siberia, Russia, 233  
 Krauss, Dr Georg Friedrich, 197, 372  
 Krudener, Madame de, 226  
 Krusenstern, Adam Johann von, Russian Admiral, 349  
 Kuddby, Sweden, 194  
 Kuril Islands, 234  
  
 L'Épine, Dr Guillaume-Joseph de, 43  
 La Condamine, Charles-Marie de, 37, 39, 50, 54, 150, 200  
 1754, French Academy of Sciences, 37  
 1754, *Mémoire sur l'histoire de l'inoculation*, 37  
 1754–5, promotes inoculation on tour of France and Italy, 38  
 1755 onwards, *Mémoire* translated into English, Dutch, German, Danish, 38  
 La Coruña, Spain, 215, 295  
 boys from, 215, 343  
 founding hospital, 215  
 founding hospital, experiments in, 218  
 La Gleize, canton of Stavolet, 159  
 La Guaira, Venezuela, 295, 304  
 La Mettrie, Julian Ofray de, 23  
 La Mitad del Mundo, Colombia, 312  
 La Paz, Bolivia, 317  
 La Rochefoucauld, Duke de, 42  
 Labatt, Dr Samuel Bell, 102  
 Laborde, Léonard Clair, 293, 336–7  
 Labouisse, Adolphe, 196–7  
 Lächelin, Pastor Friedrich, 191

- Lacorée, Charles André de, 152  
 Ladoucette, Baron, 170, 172–3  
 Lafont, Dr, 141, 144  
 Lambayeque, Peru, 313  
 Lambertenghi, Luigi, 135  
 Langmore, Dr, 289  
 Langslow, Dr, 101  
 Lansdowne, Marquis of. *See* Petty, Henry;  
   Petty, John  
 Larajasse, France, 164  
 Larocheffoucault-Liancourt, former Count,  
   153–4, 293  
 Lathom, John, 270  
 Latin America, Spanish and Portuguese  
   America, 213, 293, 295, 301, 323  
 Lausanne, 177  
 Layard, Dr Daniel, 26  
 Le Coz, Claude, Archbishop of Besançon, 165  
 Le Duc, Antoine, 18  
 Leckhamstead, Buckinghamshire, 105  
 Lee, Francis Lightfoot, 270  
 Leeds, 47, 98  
 Lefroy, Mrs, 107  
 Leghorn (Livorno), Italy, 138  
 Lehr, Dr, 184  
 Leicester, 116  
 Leiden, Netherlands  
   University of Leiden, 37, 124–5, 267  
 Leipzig, 183  
 Leith, Scotland, 99  
 Lettsom, Dr John Coakley, 48, 85, 88, 93, 98,  
   115–16, 267, 276  
   *Observations on the Cow-pock*, 106  
   presents Jenner as humanitarian hero, 116  
 Levant, 129, 142, 243  
 Lexington, KY, 281  
 Lichtenstein, Dr Heinrich, 334–5  
 Liechtenstein, 195  
 Liège, Belgium, 158–9, 162, 164  
 Lille, France, 167  
 Lima, 57, 299–300, 313, 315, 322–3  
   town council, 315  
   University of San Marcos, 316  
 Lind, Dr James, 327  
 Linnaeus, Carl, 14  
 Lisbon, 202, 213, 220, 314, 326, 346  
   Royal Academy of Medicine, 221  
 Lithuania, 230  
 Little Turtle, Miami chief, 278, 283  
 Liverpool, 63, 94, 101  
 Liverpool, Nova Scotia, Canada, 271  
 Livonia, 15, 224  
 Lleida (Lérida), Spain, 202  
 Lobb, Theophilus Dr, 23  
 Lobenvien, Professor Johann, 230, 235  
 London, 10, 17–19, 56, 66, 70, 223, 351  
   bills of mortality, 24, 49  
   Foundling Hospital, 23, 34, 102  
     Bishop Madox's sermon to patrons, 35  
   Guy's Hospital, Physical Society, 100  
   hospitals, surgical training, 124  
   inoculation in decline in, 22  
   Institute for the Inoculation for the Cow-  
     Pock (later Vaccine Pock), finally  
     Original Vaccine Institute, 85, 111  
   London Dispensary, 49  
   London Medical Society, 82, 88, 98  
   London Missionary Society, 336  
   Londoners, 21  
   Marylebone Dispensary, 98  
   Newgate prison, 20  
     trial of inoculation at, 21  
   Paddington, 114  
   residents of African descent, 145  
   Royal College of Physicians (RCP), 45, 60,  
     118, 238, 285, 368, 378  
     Harveian Oration, 40  
   Royal Jennerian Society (RJS), 66, 218,  
     341  
   Royal Society, 17–21, 26, 33, 36, 38, 54,  
     72, 83  
     *Philosophical Transactions*, 18–19  
   Smallpox and Inoculation Hospital (St  
     Pancras), 23, 35, 64, 71, 75, 77–8,  
     80, 115, 124, 181  
     clinical and public trials (1799), 78, 81,  
     102, 354  
     source of contaminated vaccine, 81  
     smallpox endemic in city, 24  
   St George's Hospital, 75  
   St Paul's Cathedral, 116  
   Surrey Chapel, 105  
 Lonsdale, Earl of, 104, 107  
 López, Mateo, 211  
 Lorraine, France, 22, 39  
 Lorraine, Leopold, Duke of, 22  
 Lorraine, Stanisław Leszczyński, Duke of  
   (titular King of Poland), 37, 39  
 Loten, General, 58  
 Louis XIV, King of France, 14  
 Louis XV, King of France, 14, 32, 39, 52  
 Louis XVI, King of France, 52  
 Louis XVIII, King of France, 364  
 Louisa of Prussia, wife of Prince Anthoni  
   Radziwiłł, 84  
 Louisiana, 282  
 Louvain, Belgium  
   University of Louvain, 159  
 Low Countries. *See* Belgium, Netherlands  
 Lowther, Westmorland, 104



## 402 Index

- Luanda, Angola, 328  
 Lubet, Vicente, 203  
 Ludlow, Daniel, 66–7  
 Ludovice, Jan Hendrick, 257  
 Luis I, King of Spain, 14  
 Lunéville, France, 37  
 Luzon, Philippines, 328  
 Luzuriaga, Dr Ignacio María Ruiz de, 202,  
 205–6, 208, 212–13, 220  
 Luzuriaga, Dr José de, 200, 205  
 Lyon, 156, 163
- Macao (Macau), China, 326, 344–7, 349, 375  
 Macartney, Lord, Governor of Cape Colony  
 (British), 332  
 Macaulay, Selina (née Mills), 106  
 Macaulay, Thomas Babington, 374  
 Macaulay, Zachary, 106  
 MacDonald, Dr Alexander Hermann, 182  
 Machado Carvalho, Antonio, 314  
 Mackenzie, Alexander, 253–5  
 Macnab, Mr, 257  
 Madeira, 213  
 Madison, James, President of USA, 287  
 Madox, Isaac, Bishop of Worcester, 35  
 Madras (Chennai), India, 247, 265, 325, 337,  
 340, 355  
 Madrid, 199, 202, 205, 208, 210, 214, 347  
 Abbey of Santo Tomás, 210  
 Academy of Medicine, 205–6  
 Foundling Hospital, 216  
 Royal Academy of Medicine, 201, 310  
 Royal College of San Carlos, 201, 206  
 Royal Economical Society, 206  
 Royal Foundling Hospital, 212  
 Magdalena River, 311  
 Magnus, Dr, 188  
 Magon, General, 59  
 Maine, 281  
 Maitland, Charles, 19–20  
 Makassar, Sulawesi, Indonesia, 329, 331  
 Maldon, Essex, 44  
 Malmö, Sweden, 183  
 Malta, 88, 124, 126, 128–9, 144, 147  
 Malthus, Rev. Thomas, 373  
 Manche, France, 170  
 Manchester, 106, 300  
 Manchester Infirmary, 76  
 Manila, Philippines, 328, 343–4, 346, 367  
 Mannheim, Germany, 63  
 Mans, Bishop of, 165  
 Marblehead, MA, 270, 274–5  
 Marburg, Germany  
 University of Marburg, 185  
 Marcet, Dr Alexandre, 124–5  
 Maria Elisabeth, daughter of Empress Maria  
 Theresa, 50  
 Maria Fedorovna, Tsarina, Dowager Empress  
 of Russia, 222–3, 226–30, 240–1  
 Maria Josepha, daughter of Empress Maria  
 Theresa, 50  
 María Luisa, Queen of Spain, 207, 211, 310,  
 318  
 Maria Theresa, Holy Roman Empress, 16, 39,  
 50–2, 225  
 Marie Antoinette, Queen of France, 151  
 inoculation as child, 51  
 Markov, Count, 229, 235  
 Marmaris Bay, Turkey, 139, 142  
 Marseille, France, 157, 357  
 Hospice of Humanity, 158  
 Society of Medicine, 158  
 Marshall, Dr Joseph Head, 80, 84, 88, 109,  
 127–9, 136–8, 142–5, 198  
 profits from vaccination, 138, 144  
*Sul vaiuolo vaccinico*, 136  
 Martín de Mayoraga, Viceroy of New Spain,  
 57  
 Martínez, Dr Vicente, 203–4, 211  
 Martinez, Josef, 218  
 Martinique, 281, 301  
 Mary II, Queen of England, 14  
 Maryland, 56, 285–7  
 Maryville, TN, 283, 292  
 Massachusetts, 285, 288  
 Massachusetts State Legislature, 287  
 Massey, Reverend Edmund, 20  
 Matara, Sri Lanka, 257  
 Mather, Cotton, 5, 13, 19, 28, 369  
 Maty, Dr Mathieu, 38  
 Mauritius (Île de France), 59, 265, 326, 330,  
 333, 336–9, 348–9, 367  
 May, Robert Hobart, 342  
 Mayo, Ireland, 46  
 Mayoraga, Martín de, Viceroy of New Spain,  
 299  
 Mazarredo, Lope de, 203–4, 210  
 McCurdy, Dr John, 272  
 McNiel, Dr, 283  
 Mead, Dr Richard, 20, 54  
 treatise on smallpox and measles published  
 1747, 35  
 Meath, Colonel, 131  
 Mecklenburg, 26  
*Medela Medicina*, author of, 10  
 Medellín, Colombia, 311  
 medicine  
 comparative pathology  
 inoculation encourages interest and  
 provides investigative tool, 62



- immunity, immunology, 13, 370–1, 377  
 Jenner's claim that vaccination makes a specific and lasting change to a patient's constitution enabling it to resist infection, 370  
 Jenner's pertinent observation of a previously infected patient's hypersensitivity to inoculation, 371  
 Jenner's notion of insusceptibility to smallpox, 370
- medical approaches  
 colonial medicine, 259  
 family medicine, 102  
 preventive medicine, 41  
 social medicine, 131, 152
- medical networks, 85, 119, 124–6, 144–5, 176, 263
- medical paradigms  
 Asian medical cultures, 14  
*materia medica*, 17, 246  
 Brownism, 130  
 Chinese medicine, 17  
 humoral medicine, 13, 28, 370  
 microbial revolution, 376  
 western medicine, 14, 55, 376  
 classical, 13
- medical professions, 101, 172  
 France, 152  
 France, *officiers de santé*, 157  
 Germany and northern Europe, 178  
 midwives, 138, 172  
 Spain, 201, 212
- medical statistics, 28
- virology  
 Jenner's concept of virus, 368–9
- Medicus, Dr F.-C., 63
- Mediterranean, 123, 126–7
- Menou, General, 140
- Mesopotamia, 264–5
- Mexico, 9–10, 299, 323
- Mexico (New Spain), 9, 213, 298, 301, 305, 323, 325, 343–4, 346
- Mexico City, 57, 297, 299, 306, 308, 310, 322  
 Foundling Hospital, 306  
 Parish of San Miguel, 320
- Middle East, 8, 24, 243–4, 265
- Miglietta, Dr Antonio, 138
- Mignovillard, France, 152
- Milan, Italy, 133, 135, 355, 372  
 Foundling Hospital, 135
- Miller, Geneviève, historian, 22–3, 28, 34
- Milne, John, 243, 249, 264–5
- Milton, MA, 286, 292
- Mindanao, Philippines, 344
- Minh Mang, Emperor of Vietnam, 375
- Ministry of Internal Affairs, 231
- Minorca, 128, 198  
 British governor of, 128
- Minto, Lord, 139
- Miranda, Duke of, 219
- Misamis, Philippines, 344
- Mississippi River, 10
- Mississippi Territory, USA, 281–2
- Missouri River, 10
- Moldovi, Italy, 171
- Moluccas, Indonesia, 329
- Mombasa, Kenya, 327
- Mompox, Colombia, 311
- Monaco, Princess of, 130
- Mongolia, 27
- Monod, Reverend, 181
- Monro, Professor Alexander, 46
- Montagu, Lady Mary Wortley, 1, 18, 20, 22, 33–4, 36, 54, 64, 140, 142
- Montagu, Sir Edward Wortley, 18
- Montalivet, Count Jean-Pierre de, Minister of the Interior, 172
- Montaña, Dr, 299
- Monteglas, Maximilian, Count, 195
- Montego Bay, Jamaica, 300
- Montevideo, Uruguay, 314
- Monticello, VA, 276–7
- Montijo, Countess of, 208
- Montpellier, France  
 University of Montpellier, 37, 122, 124, 320
- Montreal, Canada, 289
- Montreuil-sur-Mer, 157
- Montrouge, France, 153
- Monzón, Miguel José, 307
- Moorcroft, William, 265
- Moore, General John, 352
- Moore, James, 351–2, 360, 363
- Moore, John, Archbishop of Canterbury, 109
- Moravia, Czech Republic, 377
- Mordvinov, Count, 242
- Moreau-Sarthe, J. L., 214
- Morel, Dr Esteban, 58, 299
- Morella, Valencia, Spain, 211
- Moreschi, Dr Alessandro, 130, 134, 142
- Morice, Jean-Vincent, 330
- Mornant, France, 163
- Morton, Lady Frances, later Lady Ducie, 106
- Moscow, 6, 29, 132, 173, 183, 196, 222–3, 226, 228, 231, 236, 238–40, 242  
 Foundling House, 222, 224, 228, 240  
 Kremlin, 222  
 Slavonic-Greco-Roman Academy, 228  
 University of Moscow, 228
- Moseley, Dr Benjamin, 82, 91, 106, 108, 110, 114

## 404 Index

- Mottet, Count, 130  
 Motz, Henry, 174  
 Mozambique, 265, 326  
 Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus, 51  
 Mugartegui, Doña Xaviera de, 208, 210  
 Muhammad Ali, Governor of Egypt, 375  
 Muktin, Dr Efrem, 228  
 Mullah Hassan Daud Ajiev, 237  
 Muller, Dr Johann Valentin, 184  
 Munch af Rosenschöld, Dr E. Z., 12, 183  
 Munich (Munchen), Germany  
   Royal Academy of Bavaria, 377  
 Muñoz, Francisco, president-elect of *audiencia*  
   of Cuzco, 315  
 Murray, Charles, 361, 363–4  
 Murshidabad, India, 252  
 Muzaffarpur, India, 262  
 Mysore (Mysuru), India, 246, 250, 258–9
- Nadal, Dr Jaime, 202  
 Nagasaki, Japan, 10, 376  
 Nancy, France, 39  
 Nantucket, RI, 167  
 Naples, 109, 124, 126, 129  
 Naples, Kingdom of. *See* Ferdinand (Bourbon),  
   King of Naples  
 Nares, Colombia, 311  
 Natchez, MS, 282  
 Navarra, Spain, 204, 218  
 Navarra, Viceroy, widow of, 218  
 Navas del Madroño, Extremadura, 203  
 Nelmes, Sarah, 65, 70  
 Nelson, Admiral Horatio, 108, 116, 126, 133  
 Nelson, Horatia, 108  
 Nepal, 265  
 Nesbit, Mr and Mrs, 139  
 Netherlands, Holland, Dutch, 10, 16, 25–6,  
   122, 169, 175, 192  
   Batavian Republic, 332  
   Dutch commerce and colonisation, 11  
   Dutch empire, Cape Colony, 328  
   Dutch empire, East India Company, 244,  
   326, 328, 330  
   Dutch medicine, 376  
   Dutch physicians, 36, 38, 51, 176, 179  
 Nettleton, Thomas, 21  
 New Bedford, MA, 286, 292  
 New England, 270, 273  
 New Orleans, LA, 282, 301  
 New South Wales, Australia, 250, 265, 342,  
   348  
 New Spain (Mexico), Viceroyalty of, 57, 296,  
   306. *See* Mexico (New Spain)  
 New York, 270, 272, 275, 284–5  
   Columbia University, 279  
   Institute for the Inoculation of the Kin-  
   pock, 275, 284  
   New York Dispensary, 284, 291  
   New York (State), 60  
   New York Legislature, 285  
 Newcastle upon Tyne, 47, 61, 98  
 Newfoundland, Canada, 268, 289  
 Nicol Mein, 247  
 Noguès, Brigadier General, 166  
 Nootka Sound, 10  
 Nord, France, 166, 170  
 Norfolk County, VA, 281  
 Norfolk Island, Australia, 326, 342  
 Norfolk, England, 372  
 North America, 10, 63  
   Abenakis nation, 289  
   Cherokee nation, 283, 292  
   Delaware nation, 278  
   Five Nations of Upper Canada, 289  
   Lewis and Clark expedition, 278, 283  
   Miami nation, 278, 283  
   Native Americans, First Nations, 283, 289  
   Shawnee nation, 278  
 North, Dr Elisha, 275  
 North, Lord Frederick, Governor of Ceylon,  
   244, 247, 249  
 Northamptonshire, 99  
 Norwich, 363  
   poor paid to be vaccinated, 371  
 Nottingham, 103  
 Novgorod, Russia, 232  
 Nowell, Dr Charles, 149, 153–4  
 Nugent, Lady Maria, 1–3, 7, 300  
 Nugent, Sir George, 1–2, 300
- O’Hara, General Charles, 128  
 O’Scanlan, Timoteo, 201  
 Oatlands, Surrey, 84  
 Oaxaca, Bishop of, 309  
 Oaxaca, Mexico, 299, 309  
 Odier, Dr Louis, 122, 125, 132–3, 136, 147  
 Ohio, 282  
 Oldenburg, Catherine Pavlovna (Romanov),  
   Grand Duchess of, 241, 358  
 Oldenburg, Germany, 191  
 Oller, Francisco, 302, 305, 307  
 Onesimus, African, 19  
 Onglée, Dr, 42  
 Onís y González, Luis de, 202, 207  
 Orange River, southern Africa, 334, 336  
 Orleans, France, 158  
 Orleans, house of, branch of French royal  
   house of Bourbon, 33  
 Orleans, Louis, Duke of Orleans (Chartres),  
   15

- Orleans, Louis Philippe, Duke of, 32, 40, 43, 151  
 Orleans, Philippe, Duke of, 15, 22, 150  
 Orleans, Philippe, later Duke of, later Philippe *Égalité*, 33  
 Orlov, Alexey Fyodorovich, Count, 241, 358  
 Ortega, Pedro, 343–4  
 Osiander, Dr Friedrich Benjamin, 185  
 Osuna, Duke of, 208  
 Ottoman empire, Turkey, Turkish, 18, 129, 139, 144  
   Grand Vizier, 139  
 Oude, India, 257  
 Ourthe, France, 166–7  
 Oxford  
   University of Oxford, 66, 75, 122, 352, 377  
 Oxfordshire, 107  
 Paarden Island, Cape Town, South Africa, 333  
 Pacific Ocean, 7, 269  
 Padua, Italy, 134  
   University of Padua, 18, 25  
 Paget, Arthur, 126, 136  
 Palencia, 210  
 Palermo, Sicily, 126, 129, 136, 139  
 Palishchii, Russia, 239  
 Pampanga, Philippines, 344  
 Pamplona, Colombia, 311  
 Pamplona, Spain, 203–4, 211  
   General Hospital, 211  
 Paraguay  
   Jesuit missions in, 9  
 Paris, 21, 32, 49, 126, 156, 158, 198, 227, 230, 241, 355  
   Academy of Medicine, 206  
   Academy of Sciences, 41  
   *Ecole de Santé*, 155  
   French National Institute, 202  
   Hôpital de la Pitié, 153  
   *Jardin des Plantes*, 213  
   La Salpêtrière Hospital, 125, 153  
   National Institute, 153, 208  
   Royal Academy of Sciences, 150  
   School of Medicine, 153  
   Société de Médecine, 153, 156, 160  
   University of Paris, Faculty of Medicine, 22, 42  
   University of Paris, Faculty of Theology, 42  
   Vaugirard, 154  
 Parr, Dr Bartholomew, 75  
 Parry, Charles, 174, 176  
 Parry, Dr Caleb Hillier, 67, 73, 98, 377  
 Passau, Germany, 166  
 Pasteur, Louis, 376  
 Pastor, Francisco, 307, 343–4  
 Paterson, William, Lieutenant-Governor of New South Wales, 340, 342  
 Patna, India, 252, 257  
 Patras, Greece, 142  
 Patton, Robert, Governor of St Helena, 346  
 Pau, France, 163  
 Paul, Birjoo, 256  
 Paul, Joydeb, 256  
 Paul, Tsarevich, Tsar/Emperor of Russia, 51, 222–3, 225–7  
 Pavlovsk, Russia, 226  
 Pead, William, 73  
 Pearl River, China, 325, 349  
 Pearson, Alexander, 326, 343–6, 348–9  
 Pearson, Dr George, 30, 70, 75, 77–81, 84–5, 98, 112–14, 120, 124, 131, 153, 180, 201, 272  
   *Inquiry into history of cow-pox*, 77  
   Institute for the Inoculation for the Cow-Pock, 85  
   sending vaccine to continental Europe, 123, 181  
 Pecquigny, Duchess of, 42  
 Peloponnese, Greece, 142  
 Peñaflores, Count of, 200  
 Peñalver, Dr Juan, 212  
 Penang (Prince of Wales Island), Malaysia, 265, 343  
 Percival, Spencer, British Prime Minister, 119  
 Pérez, José María, 306  
 Pérez Carrillo, 306  
 Perkins, Simeon, 271  
 Perm', 232  
 Péron, François, 333  
 Perry, William, 117  
 Persia (Iran), 8, 265  
 Peru, 9, 57, 213, 298, 300–1, 313, 315, 317, 319, 322–3, 326, 347, 355  
   Inca empire, 9  
   report of indigenous cowpox, 293  
   Viceroyalty of, 299, 304, 312  
 Peschier, Dr, 125  
 Peter III, Tsarevich, Tsar/Emperor of Russia, 224  
 Peter the Great, Tsar of Russia, 17  
 Petit, Dr Antoine, 43  
 Petrov, surgeon, 233  
 Petrov/Vaktinsov, Anton, 228  
 Petty, John, Marquis of Lansdowne, 76  
 Petty, Lord Henry, Marquis of Lansdowne, 118, 120, 357–8  
 Petworth, Sussex, 81, 84  
 Philadelphia, Philadelphian, 23, 59, 269–70, 277–86, 290–3, 302, 355, 369, 378  
   Academy of Philadelphia, 56

## 406 Index

- Philadelphia, Philadelphian (cont.)  
 American Philosophical Society, 279–80  
 University of Pennsylvania, 279, 281  
 Vaccine Society, 286
- Philip, Infante-Duke of Parma, 50
- Philippines, Filipino, 10–11, 301, 325, 328, 344–5
- Phipps, James, 65, 70, 102, 272, 371
- Pichler, Caroline, 130
- Pictet, Marc-Auguste, 122
- Piguillem i Verdacer, Francesc, 198–9, 202, 204–5
- Pinel, Professor Philippe, 153, 155
- Pisa, Italy  
 University of Pisa, 42
- Pitt, William, British Prime Minister, 97
- Pittenweem, Fifeshire, 101
- Piura, Peru, 312
- Pius VII, Pope, 165
- Platon, Metropolitan of Moscow, 222
- Platov, Count Matvei, 241
- Platteland, South Africa, 333
- Plymouth, Devon, 86, 88, 103
- Podolia, Ukraine, 235
- Podolsk, Russia, 236
- Poinsinet, A.-A.-H., 40
- Poland, 130, 132, 183
- Pole, Charles, Admiral, Governor of Newfoundland, 272
- Polentinos, Count of, 208
- Pomfret, Lord, 44
- Pontiac's War (1763), 58
- Popayán, Colombia, 312
- Portenschlag, Johannes von, 131, 140
- Portimão, Algarve, Portugal, 217
- Portsmouth  
 Portsmouth Medical Society, 112
- Portsmouth, NH, 273
- Portugal, Portuguese, 216, 219, 323  
 Portuguese empire, 199, 297, 326, 328, 332, 344–5  
 Portuguese government  
 1807, royal family and government move to Brazil, 219  
 Minister for Navy and Colonies, 314  
 Portuguese royal family, 207, *See* João, Prince Regent, King of Portugal; João VI, Prince Regent, King of Portugal
- Portugal e Castro, Fernando José de, Count of Resende, Governor-General of Rio de Janeiro, 314
- Potoki, Count Jan, 232
- Prentis, Joseph, 277
- Priegl, Father Matthäus, 193
- Probsteier-Hagen and Schönberg, Germany, 191
- Provence, 157
- Prussia, Prussian, 40, 175, 178, 189, 192, 195, 362, 365  
 Medical College, 194  
 Prussian royal family. *See* Frederick the Great, Frederick William II, Frederick William III, Kings of Prussia  
 Frederica, Duchess of York, 181  
 Louisa of Prussia, wife of Prince Anthoni Radizwiłł, 181  
 Luise, Queen of Prussia, 187
- Puebla, Mexico, 308–9
- Puebla del Maestre, Countess of, 208
- Puerto Cabello, Venezuela, 295
- Puerto Rico, 295, 302, 346
- Puigcerdá, Catalunya, Spain, 198
- Pulteney, Dr John, 69
- Pune, India, 258
- Puno, Peru, 317
- Pylarini, Dr Jacob, 18
- Pyrenees, 198
- Qiu Xi, 348
- Quakers, 267, *See also* Vaccination, church and clergy; Vaccination, religion and culture, Quaker concern and activism
- Quebec, Canada, 289  
 Hotel Dieu, 289
- Querétaro, Mexico, 310
- Quier, Dr John, 57, 298
- Quito, Ecuador, 312
- Raffles, Sir Thomas Stamford, 378
- Ramazzini, Professor Bernardino, 25
- Ramsay, Dr David, 281–2, 284–5
- Ranby, John, 35
- Randall Collins, sociologist, 145
- Randolph, VT, 286
- Rangoon (Yangon), Burma (Myanmar), 266
- Ranque, Dr Hugues Félix, 157
- Razzell, Peter, historian, 81–2
- Redfern, William, 342
- Redman (Redmond), Dr John, 279
- Redovski, Ivan Ivanovich, 234
- Reed, Rev. J. T. A., 105
- Rehmann, Dr Joseph, 232–5, 326
- Reimarus, Dr J. A. H., 176
- Reimarus, Elise 'the muse of Hamburg', 177
- Reimarus, Sophie, 177
- Reims, France, 155
- Reinders, Gerd, 26
- Remer, Professor W. H. G., 185

- Renaissance, 13  
 Reumont, Dr Gerhard, 144, 181  
 Réunion, 336–7  
 Reuß, Dr A. C., 183  
 Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, 1, 5, 97, 126, 149, 199, 243, 349  
   1795, British occupation of Cape Colony, 332  
   1796, French invasion of Italy, 133  
   1797, Treaty of Campo Formio, 122  
   1797–8, Congress of Rastatt, 64, 122, 174, 180  
   1798, British build-up in western Mediterranean, 123  
   1798, French capture of Malta, 123  
   1798, French invasion of Egypt, 244  
   1798 (August), Battle of the Nile, 126  
   1798–1802, War of Second Coalition (Britain, Austria), 123, 126, 133  
   1799, revolution in Naples, 133  
   1799–1800, French invasion of Italy, 126  
   1800 (May), Bourbon recovery of Naples, 133  
   1800 (June), Battle of Marengo, 133, 135  
   1800–1, League of Armed Neutrality, 175, 223, 227  
   1801, British expedition to Egypt, 126, 139–40, 244  
   1801 (March), Battle of Aboukir Bay, 139  
   1802–3, restoration of Cape Colony to Netherlands, 332  
   1802–3, Truce of Amiens, 97, 109, 142–3, 212, 301, 332, 337  
   1803–5, threat of invasion of England, 115  
   1805 (October), Battle of Trafalgar, 116, 217, 338, 347, 349  
   1805 (December), Battle of Austerlitz, 116, 238  
   1806, Battle of Jena, 175, 196  
   1806, British reoccupation of Cape Colony, 335, 347  
   1807, British invasion of Rio de la Plata, 347  
   1807, French invasion of Portugal, 219  
   1807, Treaty of Tilsit, 175  
   1807–14, Peninsular War, 219–20  
   1810, British capture of Mauritius, 339  
   1812, Battle of Salamanca, 219  
   1812, French Invasion of Russia, 196  
   1812 (September), Battle of Borodino, 240  
   1813–14, German Wars of Liberation, 196  
   1814 (June), Treaty of Paris, 351  
   1814–15, Congress of Vienna, 358  
   1815, Napoleon's return and Battle of Waterloo, 352  
 Rhazes, Persian physician, 8, 13–14  
 Rhineland, 122  
 Rhode Island, Rhode Islander, 60, 267, 271  
 Riaña, Juan de, Intendant of Guanajuato, 310, 323  
 Riazan, Russia, 239  
 Richenet, Jean-François, 345  
 Riga, Latvia, 227, 230  
 Rigby, Dr Edward, 363  
 Ring, John, 85, 98, 107, 112, 119–20, 144, 147, 341, 349  
 Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 323, 326  
 Rio de la Plata (Argentina), Viceroyalty of, 304, 314  
 Risdon Cove, Tasmania, Australia, 342  
 Rivera, Dr Bernardo, 344  
 Robespierre, Maximilian, 152  
 Rockies, 269  
 Rogers, Dr, 235  
 Roggeveld, South Africa, 334  
 Roitui, Dr, 144  
 Roland, Dr. *See* Hyde de Neuville, Jean-Guillaume  
 Rolph, Thomas, 71  
 Roman empire, 8  
 Romanticism, 4, 176  
 Romay y Chacón, Dr Tomás, 301–2, 304–5, 319, 321  
 Rome, 138  
   smallpox inoculation in Rome, 42  
 Rome, King of. *See* Bonaparte, Napoleon François Charles, King of Rome  
 Rooke, Dr John, 300  
 Rosetta, 140  
 Roslein, Dr, 234  
 Rostislavov, Dimitrii Ivanovich, 239  
 Rota, near Cadíz, 217  
 Rottböhl, Dr C. F., 50  
 Rotterdam, 125, 127, 143  
 Rouen, 155, 158  
 Rouvroy, Count, 157  
 Rowley, Dr William, 115  
 Rush, Dr Benjamin, 279–81, 283, 292  
 Rusnock, Andrea, historian, 5  
 Russia, Russian, 17, 24, 222–32, 242, 375  
   Age of Alexander I, 222–3  
   European Russia, 232  
   Free Economic Society, 235, 242  
   German townsmen, 236  
   Old Believers, 236  
   Russian embassy to China (1805–6), 232–4  
   Russian empire, 6, 10, 232–5  
     Asian Russia, 232  
     Buryat people, 233–4, 237  
     Cossack people, 41, 233, 241  
     Tartar people, 232, 237

## 408 Index

- Russia, Russian (cont.)  
 Russian government  
   Councils of Beneficence and Utility  
   (Philanthropic Council), 231–2  
   Minister of Internal Affairs, 230, 232,  
   234  
   Russian imperial family (Romanov), 222,  
   227, *See* Alexander I, Paul I, Peter II,  
   Emperors/Tsars, Catherine the Great,  
   Empress  
 Ryder, John, Bishop of Down, 34
- Sacco, Dr Luigi, 135–6, 355, 361, 363, 369  
   1800, discovers indigenous cowpox in Italy,  
   135, 146, 206  
   1801, *Osservazioni pratiche*, 145  
   1802, director of vaccinations, 146  
   1802, inoculates horsepox, 146  
   1809, *Trattato di vaccinazione*, 169
- Sacedon, Alcarria, Spain, 211  
 Sailer, Father Johann Michael, 193  
 Saint-Domingue (Haiti), 57, 59, 298, 301  
 Saint-Quentin, France, 155  
 Saint-Roman, Côte d’or, France, 165  
 Sala, Josepha Xavieria de, 211  
 Salem, MA, 268  
 Salias, Vicente, 303  
 Salisbury, Wiltshire, 36  
 Salm, Count, 132  
 Salonika (Thessaloniki), Greece, 141, 144, 146  
 Salvá, Dr, 202, 211  
 Salvany, José, 215, 296, 304, 311–13, 315–17,  
   322–3, 347, 356  
 San Cristóbal de Las Casas, Chiapas, Mexico,  
   307  
 San Salvador, Brazil, 248  
 San Sebastián, 203  
 San Vicente de Alcántara, Extramadura, 218  
 Sancho, William, 85, 145  
 Sanlúcar, Spain  
   Economic Society, 217  
 Santa Fé de Bogotá, Colombia (New Granada),  
   301  
 Santiago de Compostela, Spain, 214  
 Santiago, Chile, 11, 315  
 Santo Mauro, Prince of, 208  
 Saskatchewan River, 269  
 Savage, John, 340–1  
 Savannah, GA, 284, 294  
 Sawmy Naik (Swami Naick), 255, 263, 356  
 Saxe-Gotha, Frederick III, Duke of, 49, 177  
 Saxe-Gotha, Louise-Dorothea, Duchess of, 49,  
   177  
 Saxony, Frederick Augustus III, Prince-Elector  
   of, 188–9  
 Saxony, Marie-Antonie, Princess of, 50, 53  
 Scandinavia, Scandinavian, 175  
 Scassi, Professor Onofrio, 134  
 Schaller, Pastor G. K., 220  
 Scherer, Herr, 174  
 Schilling, surgeon, 233  
 Schmidt, Pastor Johan Georg, 191  
 Schopenhauer, Madame, 176  
 Schulinus, Dr August, 224  
 Schultz, Dr David, 39  
 Schutz, Dr G. A. F., 227  
 Scot, Dr William, 339  
 Scotch Plains, NJ, 285  
 Scotland, 56, 99, 119, 254  
   Society of United Scotsmen, 107  
 Scott, Dr Helenus, 243, 248–51, 264, 343  
 Scott, Dr William, 139, 141–2, 144  
 Seaman, Dr Valentine, 275, 284  
 Ségur, Count, 169  
 Seguro, Saturnino, 314  
 Seilern, Count, 51  
 Semarang, Java, Indonesia, 338  
 Seringapatam, India, 250, 258  
 Sesto, Italy, 135  
 Seven Years War, 40–2  
   Diplomatic Revolution of 1756, 40  
 Seville, Spain, 203, 217  
 Seychelles, 337  
 Shah Alam, Mughal Emperor, 260  
 Sharp, Samuel, 34  
 Sharrock, Joseph, 28  
 Sheremetev, Countess Anna, 224  
 Shiraz, Iran, 265  
 Shoolbred, John, 252–4, 257, 340  
 Siberg, Jan, Governor-General of Dutch East  
   Indies, 338  
 Siberia, Russia, 10  
 Siborg, Jan, Governor-General of Dutch East  
   Indies, 337  
 Sicily, 124, 129, 134  
 Siena, Italy, 138  
   Accademia dei Fisiocritici conducts trial of  
   inoculation (1755), 38  
 Sievier, Robert Williams, 379  
 Silesia, 132, 181, 183  
 Simmons, Dr William, 76, 145, 300  
 Sims, Dr James, 82, 98  
 Sisal, Mexico, 306  
 Skinner, Cortlandt, 1  
 Skraggenstierna, Dr, Swedish physician, 18  
 slaves, slave-trade, slavery, 11, *See also*  
   smallpox, profile; smallpox  
   inoculation, adoption and  
   imposition; vaccination, pressure  
   and coercion

- smallpox
- avoidance and prevention, 16–20, *See*
    - smallpox inoculation, vaccination
    - American experience, 60
    - avoidance of miasma, 334
    - Chinese insufflation, 17, 20, 54, 224, 330
      - 1749, account in *Golden Mirror*, 55
    - flight from contagion, 14, 328
    - isolation measures, 298
    - isolation of cases, 62, 123, 194, 299, 359
    - practice of ‘buying’ smallpox, 16
    - prophylactic practices originating in central Asia, 17
    - prophylaxis in Africa (scarification, inoculation), 19
  - containment and eradication
    - declaration of global eradication (1980), 7
    - eradication in Ansbach (1809), 197
    - Faust and Juncker’s plan (1796), 63, 123, 180
    - Haygarth’s plan (1792–3), 62
    - Juncker’s *Archiv der Aerzte und Seelsorger wider die Pockennoth*, 63
    - possibility of eradication raised in Germany (1760s), 180
    - quarantine measures, 46, 58–9, 63, 108, 123, 269, 271, 299, 336
    - sanitary measures, 63
  - cultural identity
    - Athenian tribute to Minotaur, 37, 191
    - chief among ministers of death, 374
    - cult of Mariamma in south India, 246
    - cult of Sitala in northern India, 246
    - fear and fatalism, 14–16
    - like Herod’s massacre, 298
    - a monster more horrible than Bonaparte, 351
    - like plagues of Egypt, 165
    - a second cruel Herod, 193
    - speckled monster, 24
  - epidemics
    - Badajoz (1801), 217
    - Britain (1751–3), 35, 63
    - Britain (1837), 365
    - Cape Colony (1713, 1755, 1767), 58, 328–9
    - Ceylon (Sri Lanka) (1796, 1800–2), 246
    - Charleston, SC (1738), 55, 269
    - Chester (1774, 1777), 62
    - Colombia (New Granada) (1802), 213, 311
    - Denmark (1808), 195
    - Granada (1726), 200
    - Kamchatka, Russia (1768–9), 234
    - London (1805), 111
    - Madrid (1587), 199
    - Mauritius (Île de France) (1792), 328, 330, 336
    - Mexico City (1779), 57, 299
    - North America (1775–82), 58, 269, 277
    - Norwich (1819), 371
    - Palermo (1800), 136
    - Paris (1762–3), 42
    - Seville (1802), 212
    - Smyrna (1801), 141
    - Sydney (1789), 59, 329, 331
    - Vienna (1800), 131
  - infection, illness, therapy, 11
    - cool regimen, 14, 43, 61, 246
    - description, 11–13
    - hot regimen, 14
    - scarring and other adverse consequences, 12
    - spread largely by infection, 12
    - spread through fomites, 12
  - mortality
    - case fatality rates, 12, 328, 334, 372
    - deaths in royal and princely families, 14, 50, 52, 151, 266
    - decline in smallpox mortality in France, 171
    - fatality rates of casual and inoculated smallpox, 56
    - Russia, 224
    - share of mortality in London, 60
    - virgin-soil populations, 8
    - weapon of war, 58
  - profile
    - Britain, 24
    - endemic in parts of north India, 245
    - epidemic and endemic in Japan, 10, 349
    - largely epidemic in south India and Sri Lanka, 245
    - Latin America, 296–8
    - Rhode Island smallpox free, 271
    - severity among First Nations people in North America, 271
    - slaves, slave-trade, slavery, 328
  - significant features
    - genetic stability, 25
    - high visibility, 25
    - no non-human reservoir, 25
    - once in lifetime, 25
  - spread
    - appearance around Sydney (1789), 327, 329
    - epidemiology, 62
    - global expansion continuing through eighteenth century, 8–11



## 410 Index

- smallpox (cont.)  
 through Arab, Indian, Chinese trade, 328  
 through European trade, 327  
 through Indonesian archipelago, 327, 329  
 New Mexico and California (1780), 57  
 in southern Africa, 327–8  
 in southern hemisphere, 327  
 southern Africa, 327, 334  
 theories and observations, 13  
 believed to be innate, 13  
 disease leads to evacuation of innate  
 poison, 28  
 Dr Currie's demonstration of its  
 infectivity over seventeen months, 63  
 first infection evacuates variolous poison  
 eliminating the possibility of a  
 second infection, 30  
 humoral explanations, 13, 28  
 infection from person to person, 13  
 medical paradigms  
 humoral medicine, 13  
 mild strains, 62, see swinepox  
 mothers knowledgeable about childhood  
 diseases, 14  
 possibility of attenuation, 112  
 resistance after infection explained by  
 reference to change in patient's  
 constitution, 30  
 sub-clinical cases, 371  
 survival in fomites, 13, 327  
 variolous particles in atmosphere, 30
- smallpox inoculation  
 adoption and imposition  
 accepted in royal and noble families, 35,  
 42, 44, 49–53  
 decline in England in 1730s, 22–3  
 human experimentation, 30  
 orphans and foundlings, 20, 201, 225–7  
 slaves, slave-trade, slavery, 330  
 soldiers  
 Indian sepoys, 247  
 trials and adoption in Britain, 1720s, 20  
 trials in Germany, 1720s, 36
- patrons and promotion  
 government interest and support in  
 Europe, 53–4  
 nobles and landlord organising  
 inoculation of serfs, 226  
 nobles and landlords sponsoring, 47  
 poetry and literary work  
 A.-A.-H. Poinssinet, *L'inoculation*.  
*Poème*, 40  
 Gadso Coopmans, *Varis, sive Carmen*  
*de variolis* (1783), 28, 179  
 princely endorsement, 50  
 princes patronising and promoting, 35  
 princes setting example by accepting  
 inoculation in their families, 179  
 princes urged to set example, 39
- practices, theories, systems, 28–9  
 better outcomes from inoculating outer  
 limb, 28  
 better outcomes from using fresh  
 smallpox matter from a mild case, 30  
 British practitioners in Europe, 176  
 explained as effecting a depletion of  
 innate variolous poison, 28  
 Gatti's lighter mode, using needle to  
 puncture a blister, 42, 54  
 general inoculation in Basque Country,  
 200  
 general inoculations in England, 32, 36,  
 44–6  
 general inoculations in Sweden, 179
- Greek inoculators  
 old Greek woman, 18–19  
 practitioner in Corsica, 167  
 practitioner in Paris, 21  
 human-veterinary practice, 32  
 indigenous adaptations, 299  
 light incision on outer limb, 30  
 new inoculation, Sutton system, American  
 method, 43–5, 55–7, 61, 270  
 practised professionally in cities in  
 England, carelessly in countryside,  
 36  
 standard fee in England, 100  
 stripped down procedure, 43
- problems and prohibitions  
 1763–8, prohibited in France, 42  
 1803, suppression in Calcutta, 361  
 1808, 1814, bills proposed to restrict in  
 Britain, 363  
 1814, Vantandillo case in England, 364  
 costly and time-consuming, 33  
 danger of spreading contagion, 33, 36,  
 354, 363  
 penal measures in Cape Colony, 363  
 responsible for epidemic in Halle,  
 Germany, 178  
 right of parents to have children  
 variolated, 163, 361
- religion, moral philosophy, culture, 61  
 De Haen's questions, 41  
 Enlightenment debate, 41–2  
 French priests inoculating, 152  
 human agency against scourge, 61  
 individual sacrifice for greater good, 42  
 Lutheran pastors promoting and  
 practising, 178



- Papacy would not oppose if beneficial, 38  
 perception of risk by parents, 178  
 Pietism, Kant's ethical reservations, 178  
 Russian clergy generally disapprove of inoculation, 226  
 satirical poem against variolation in Mexico, 300  
 source of stress and anxiety, 33  
 tempting Providence, 61  
 utility and value  
 allows precision in timing the stages of the disease, 30  
 assists in managing and treating smallpox, 29, 61  
 assists in understanding contagion, 30  
 assists understanding processes of infection, 28  
 Bernouilli quantifies increase in life expectancy, 41  
 better outcomes for inoculated than casual smallpox, 28  
 Boerhaave recognises potential value, 36  
 case fatality lower than casual smallpox, 249  
 demonstration of relative safety, 28  
 expansion of practice reveals correlation between cowpox and resistance to smallpox, 30, 62  
 experience of practice a variable in reception of vaccination, 354  
 foundation for vaccination, 30–1  
 improvements in therapy arising from observations and experiments on groups, 30  
 increases knowledge of properties of variolous matter, 30  
 investigative and diagnostic tool, 29–30, 69  
 tests effectiveness of vaccination (counter-proof), 65, 156, 251–2, 355  
 tests resistance to smallpox, 31  
 lays foundations for vaccination, 30  
 possible attenuation of smallpox, 62  
 record of case fatality of less than 1 per cent, 300  
 reveals that process of infection from inoculated smallpox is more rapid than from casual smallpox, 61  
 state's interest in economy and population health, 53  
 statistics, probability and life tables, 41–2  
 supports theory of disease specificity, 29  
 women  
 mothers having their children inoculated, 38–9, 46, 114  
 mothers inoculating their children, 38  
 noblewomen setting example by being inoculated, 38, 42, 49  
 setting example and championing practice, 19, 53  
 Catherine the Great, 51–2, 225  
 Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, 1, 34, 64  
 sporting bonnets à l'inoculation in Paris (1756), 40  
 smallpox inoculation in Africa, 19, 330  
 scarification, 19  
 smallpox inoculation in Australia  
 1788, variolous matter brought in First Fleet, 330  
 smallpox inoculation in Austria  
 1768, inoculation of imperial family, 51  
 smallpox inoculation in Belgium  
 1768, demonstration of new inoculation, 51  
 smallpox inoculation in Britain, 19, 22–3, 46, 361  
 1720s, beginning of practice, 20  
 1730s, neglect of practice, 23  
 1740s, revival, 23, 34  
 1743, British royal family, 35  
 1760s, improved and extended, 43  
 1768, endorsement of new inoculation, 51  
 1792–3, Haygarth's plan for eradication, 62  
 smallpox inoculation in Cape Colony (South Africa), 59, 329  
 missionary use, 334  
 smallpox inoculation in Caribbean, 23, 59, 298–9  
 smallpox inoculation in Ceylon (Sri Lanka), 59  
 1803, prohibition, 253  
 smallpox inoculation in Chile  
 1765 onwards, Father Chaparro, 57  
 smallpox inoculation in Corsica, 167  
 Greek practitioner, 167  
 smallpox inoculation in Denmark, 38, 53, 176, 179  
 1760, Crown Prince inoculated, 50  
 1797, commended, 179  
 smallpox inoculation in England, 43–9, 60, 83,  
*See also* smallpox inoculation in Britain  
 1721, trial in London, 19  
 1746, introduced at Smallpox Hospital, 35  
 1750s onwards, general inoculations, 45, 47  
 1750s onwards, urban problems, inoculation houses, 47–9  
 1752, poor excluded from its benefits because of cost, 35  
 1760s, scale of Sutton operation, 45  
 1770s, Lettsom's offering inoculation to London poor, 48

## 412 Index

- smallpox inoculation in England (cont.)  
 1770s onwards, infirmaries and dispensaries, 47  
 1778, Chester Society for Prevention of Smallpox, 47, 62  
 1805, revival in London, 112
- smallpox inoculation in Europe, 36–43  
 1720s, interest in western Europe, 36  
 1760s, approval emblematic of enlightened opinion, 36  
 1790s, recognition of value and risks provides context for reception of vaccination, 61
- smallpox inoculation in France, 22–3, 37–40, 53, 59, 150–3  
 1750s, medical opposition, 39  
 1754, La Condamine champions, 150  
 1760, aristocratic patronage, 42  
 1763–8, prohibition, 42–3, 151  
 1770s, promoted by some Intendants, 152  
 1775, Louis XVI and royal family, 52, 151  
 1797, plan for hospital and itinerant inoculators, 153
- smallpox inoculation in Geneva  
 1751, authorised after trial, 37
- smallpox inoculation in Germany, 21, 38, 50, 54, 176, 178–80  
 1759, Saxe-Gotha, 49  
 1760s onwards, discussion and instruction in universities, 178  
 1768, inoculation of princes, 51  
 1796, Juncker's *Archiv* against smallpox, 179
- smallpox inoculation in India, 17, 246–8  
 traditional practice, 55, 246, 256  
 1767, Holwell's account, 55  
 1803, ban in Calcutta, 256  
 western practice, 59  
 1787, inoculation hospital in Calcutta, 247
- smallpox inoculation in Ireland, 34, 39, 46  
 1740s, 34  
 1760s, available in most towns, 46  
 1760s–1790s, itinerant inoculators (Gaelic), 46
- smallpox inoculation in Italy  
 1755, beginnings, 38  
 1763, Ferdinand of Parma inoculated, 50  
 1769, 1772  
 Ingenhousz in Tuscany, 52
- smallpox inoculation in Mauritius (Île de France), 330  
 1756, slaves inoculated, 59  
 1792–3, use and ban, 59, 330
- smallpox inoculation in Mexico (New Spain), 310  
 1779–80, official sanction but popular hesitancy, 57  
 smallpox inoculation in Netherlands, 37–8, 176, 179  
 smallpox inoculation in North America, 19–20, 23, 34, 55–6, 58, 270–1  
 1721, Boston, 55  
 1738, Charleston, SC, 55  
 1740s, new methods in Philadelphia, 56  
 1750s, new inoculation, 43  
 smallpox inoculation in Norway, 179  
 smallpox inoculation in Peru  
 1766, 57  
 1774, Dr Bueno's call for general adoption, 57  
 smallpox inoculation in Russia, 52, 54, 224–7  
 1768 (October), inoculation of Catherine the Great, 225  
 smallpox inoculation in Saint-Domingue (Haiti)  
 1770s onwards, major centre of practice, 57  
 smallpox inoculation in Scotland, 46  
 1730s, use of small doses of mercury and antimony, and cool regimen, 56  
 smallpox inoculation in Spain, 201  
 1733, discussion in Feijóo's *Teatro crítico universal*, 36  
 1750s, promotion deemed 'prejudicial to the public health', 200  
 1772, general inoculation in Basque Country, 200  
 1798, introduced in royal orphanages, 201  
 smallpox inoculation in Spanish empire, 57–8, 298–300  
 1790s, widely used during epidemics, 63  
 smallpox inoculation in Sweden, 39, 53, 61, 176  
 1756, approved by Medical Board, 39  
 1769, inoculation of Crown Prince Gustav, 52  
 1790s, general inoculations, 179  
 smallpox inoculation in Switzerland  
 1754, state institutions in Geneva, 53  
 smallpox inoculation in Turkey and Ottoman empire, 17–19  
 Greek practitioners, 54  
 smallpox inoculation in USA, 59, 271  
 1776, Congress, Philadelphia, 270  
 1777, Continental Army, 58, 271  
 1780s onwards, closely regulated in New England, 271  
 smallpox inoculation in West Indies, 56–7  
 1758, Antigua, 56

- smallpox prophylaxis  
  buying smallpox in Germany, 180  
  Chinese insufflation  
    Dr Mead's experiment, 54
- Smith, Brigadier Juan, 202, 210, 212
- Smith, Dr James, 287–9
- Smith, General Richard, 248
- Smith, Henry, 130
- Smith, John Raphael, portrait artist, 88
- Smith, Sir Sidney, 140
- Smith, William, MP, 357
- Smyrna, 18
- Sobremonte, Rafael de, Marquis of  
  Sobremonte, Viceroy of Rio de la  
  Plata, 314–15
- Someruelos, Marquis of, Governor of Cuba,  
  305
- Somerville, Lord, 72, 77
- Sömmering, Dr Samuel Thomas von, 184, 377
- Soult, Marshal, 166
- South Africa. *See* Cape Colony (South Africa)  
  Afrikaners (Dutch), Boers, 334  
  Anderson's Institution, 334
- South America, 7–9, 11, 296, 322–3, 348
- South Carolina, 22
- Southport, CT, 286
- Spaccafermo, Marchioness of, 137, 293
- Spain, Spanish, 128, 198–221, 301, 320, 323  
  epidemiological, cultural and political  
  background, c. 1800, 200  
  influence of Catholic church and priesthood,  
  210  
  poor communications and provincial  
  identities, 204
- Spanish empire, 11, 143, 282, 299, 311  
  imperial adventurism, 9  
  Malaspina Expedition (1789–94), 319  
  Royal Armada, 306
- Spanish government  
  abdication of Carlos IV in favour of  
  Ferdinand VIII (1808), 219  
  Bonapartist regime, 220  
  Council of Indies, 314  
  offer of crown to Joseph Bonaparte  
  (1808), 219  
  *Protomedicato*, 206  
  rising in Madrid (1808) and beginnings of  
  insurgency, 219  
  Royal Colleges of Surgery, 201
- Spanish royal family. *See* Carlos IV,  
  Ferdinand VIII, Luis I, Kings of  
  Spain, María Luisa, Queen of Spain
- Spalding, Dr Lyman, 273
- Spanish Town, Jamaica, 2
- Speckman, Pastor, 192
- Spence, Dr John, 278
- Spitsnagel, Ferdinand, 235
- Sri Vikrama Rajasinha, King of Kandy, 260
- St Andrews, Scotland  
  University of St Andrews, 67
- St Helena, Atlantic, 346–7
- St Helens, Lancashire, 104
- St Helens, Lord, 227
- St Jean Pied de Port, France, 203
- St John's, Newfoundland, Canada, 272
- St Kitts, Caribbean, 23
- St Lawrence River, 289
- St Malo, France, 59
- St Petersburg, 51, 214, 222, 224, 226–9, 232,  
  235–6, 238, 240  
  Academy of Medicine, 238  
  College of Medicine, 229–32  
  Foundling House, 224, 228–9, 236  
  Medical College, 226  
  Philanthropic Medical Committee, 232
- St Thomas (US Virgin Islands), 302
- Staffordshire, 93
- Stamford, CT, 285
- Staunton, George, 345
- Steigherthal, Dr Johann Georg, 21
- Stellenbosch, South Africa, 336
- Stift, Dr Johann, 130
- Stokes, Dr, 103
- Storch, Heinrich, 227
- Story, Dr Elisha, 274
- Strasbourg, 153, 220
- Streenivasachary, Mooperal, 257
- Stromeyer, Christian Friedrich, 181
- Struense, Dr J. M., 177
- Stulli, Dr Luko, 147
- Stuttgart, 183
- Sulawesi, Indonesia, 11, 329
- Sully, Duchess of, 42
- Sumatra, Indonesia, 265, 329
- Summers, William, 72
- Sunderland, Earl of, 20
- Surabaya, Java, Indonesia, 337
- Surakarta, Java, Indonesia, 338
- Sutherland, Dr, 179
- Sutton, Daniel, 54, 83, 114, 118  
  associates in Britain, western Europe and  
  North America, 44  
  character and reputation, 44  
  prowess as inoculator, 44  
  scheme for inoculation of poor, 48
- Sutton, Robert  
  family business, 43  
  inoculation business model, 43  
  inoculation procedure, 43
- Sutton, Robert, junior, 52

## 414 Index

- Sutton, Sir Robert, 18  
Sutton family, 45  
    business model, 44  
    inoculation houses, 44, 47, 52  
    inoculation procedure, 44  
Swansea, Wales, 103  
Sweden, Swedish, 10, 12, 130, 132, 175  
    inoculation hospital in Stockholm, 177  
    Royal College of Medicine, 188  
    Saami people, 14  
    Swedish government  
        National Bureau of Statistics, 53  
    Swedish royal family. *See* Charles XII,  
        Gustav III, Gustav IV Adolf, Kings  
        of Sweden  
Switzerland, Swiss, 130, 133, 135  
Sybil, Dr, 181  
Sydenham, Dr Thomas, 13–14, 16, 43  
Sydney (Botany Bay, Port Jackson), New  
    South Wales, Australia, 11, 250,  
    329–30, 340–1, 349, 367
- Tabasco, Mexico, 307  
Table Bay, Cape Town, South Africa, 331,  
    333  
Table Valley, South Africa, 328  
Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles Maurice de, 154  
Tallin, Estonia, 230  
Tamluk, India, 256  
Tanjore (Tanjur), India, 255  
Tankwa River, southern Africa, 335  
Tanner, Thomas, 77  
Tarbès, Dr Roch, 155, 158, 166  
Tarboro, NC, 289  
Tarragona, Valencia, Spain, 202  
Tasmania (Van Diemen's Land), Australia,  
    326, 342, 348  
Taylor, Dr Robert, 40  
Tehran, Iran, 265  
Tellicherry, India, 249  
Tenerife, Canary Islands, 215–16, 295, 319  
Tennessee, 282–3  
Tessin, Carl Gustaf, Chief Minister, Sweden,  
    38, 53  
Thetford, Norfolk, 372  
Thiel, Lieutenant, 251  
Thomas, Mr, 99  
Thomson, Dr Adam, 56  
Thornton, Dr Robert, 90, 98, 103  
Thornton, Dr William, 283  
Thouret, Dr M. A., 155  
Thrale, Hester, 44  
Throckmorton, Sir John, 105  
Tibet, 265  
Tilli, Count of, 208  
Timoni, Dr Emanuele, 17, 19, 22  
Tissot, Samuel Auguste, 37, 177  
Tobol'sk, Siberia  
    smallpox hospital, 224  
Tomsk, 233  
Torma, Estonia, 230  
Toulouse, France, 155  
Travers, Benjamin, 109  
Trelawny, Jamaica, 300  
Trichinopoly (Tiruchirappalli), India, 247  
Trincomalee, Sri Lanka, 249  
Trinity, Newfoundland, Canada, 268, 272  
Troizkasafsk (?Troitsk), Siberia, Russia, 233–4  
Troja, Michele, 136, 138  
Tronchin, Dr Théodore, 32, 37, 40, 50, 151, 179  
    style of inoculation, 43  
Trondheim, Norway, 179  
Trotter, Dr Thomas, 88, 108  
Trujillo, Peru, 313, 322  
Trye, Charles Brandon, 98  
Tunis, 142  
Tunja, Colombia, 311  
Tunka, Buryatia, Russia, 234  
Turgot, A. R. J., 39–40, 53–4, 152  
Turin, Italy, 135–6, 138, 144, 170  
Turkey, Turkish. *See* Ottoman empire  
Turton, Dr William, 84, 103  
Tuscany, Leopold, Archduke of, 52  
Tutolmin, Count I. A., 240  
Two Sicilies, kingdom of the. *See* Ferdinand  
    (Bourbon), King of Naples and Sicily  
    (Two Sicilies)
- Ugalde, Juan Antonio, 203  
Unanue, Dr José Hipólito, 313, 315–16, 319,  
    322  
United States of America, American, 59, 205,  
    267–94, 301, 378  
    government  
        Congress, 288–9  
        District of Columbia, 288  
        Early Republic  
            public health, 291  
        National Vaccine Agency, 288–9, 294  
        New York State Legislature, 285  
        presidential election, 1800, 268  
        State of Virginia, 288  
        War Department, 294  
Uppsala, Sweden, 180, 183  
Urga (Ulaanbaater), Mongolia, 233
- vaccination  
    acceptance and activism, 91, 146  
    awareness of risks of smallpox inoculation  
    encourages reception, 61

- described as 'Gloucestershire bubble', 79  
 elite setting example by accepting  
 vaccination for their families, 104,  
 208, 333  
 farmers vaccinating, 159, 171  
 gentler than smallpox inoculation, not  
 dangerous to others, 80  
 higher castes help win broader acceptance  
 in India, 263  
 individualism, 291  
 medical men vaccinating their children to  
 begin practice, 102–3, 156–7, 182, 211  
 no danger to wider community, 354  
 nobles and landlords sponsoring practice,  
 104, 107, 208  
 nobles and magistrates setting example by  
 having their children vaccinated,  
 158, 306  
 patriotic undertaking, 166  
 revolution in attitudes, 157  
 royal and aristocratic patronage, 84, 108  
 rulers patronising vaccination, 188  
 rulers setting example by accepting  
 vaccination for their families, 170,  
 188, 216, 258  
 self-determination and democracy, 291  
 self-help and community activism, 104,  
 159, 164, 287, 291  
 smallpox threat encourages acceptance  
 and action, 160, 167, 171  
 anti-vaccination, 99, 110–18  
 England, 1800, Moseley satirises  
 enthusiasm and warns of  
 bestialisation, 98  
 England, 1802, caricature savagely  
 attacking vaccination, 110  
 England, 1802, Gilray's print adds to  
 anxieties about bestialisation, 110  
 England, 1805, Moseley, Rowley and  
 others denounce cowpox and present  
 cases of adverse outcomes, 113  
 England, 1805, placards of Anti-  
 Vaccinarian Society, 114  
 England, 1805, prints of 'ox-faced' boy  
 and 'mange girl', 114, 117  
 England, 1805–8, hostility in London, 110  
 England, 1806, popular English medical  
 handbook takes anti-vaccinist line,  
 118  
 England, 1807, anti-vaccinists enraged by  
 further reward to Jenner, 119  
 England, 1817, associated with freedom  
 of press, 360  
 England, popular hostility inflamed by  
 pressure from elite, 7  
 France, 1801, Admirable effet de la  
 vaccine, 159  
 France, 1801, satirical caricatures, 159  
 France, 1801, Vaume, Les dangers de  
 vaccine, 157  
 Germany, 1801, Brutalimpfung and  
 'cowpox swindle', 184, 360  
 Germany, 1801, Judensau satirical print,  
 184  
 Portugal, 1809, Dr Carneiro's anti-  
 vaccination tract, 219  
 Portugal, popular prejudices in the  
 Algarve, 218  
 Russia, religious opposition from Old  
 Believers, 236, 240  
 South Africa, religious opposition from  
 Boers, 335  
 Spain, popular prejudices in Asturias, 217  
 anxiety, hesitancy, apathy, 6–7, 95, 110,  
 194, 262, 285, 305, 316, 343  
 anxieties about bestialisation, 82, 159, 184  
 concern about experimentation with  
 animal diseases, 82  
 concerns about tempting Providence, 354  
 distaste for animal disease, 69, 103, 236,  
 332, 359  
 doubts about effectiveness, 354, 359  
 fatalism and apathy, 354  
 fear that marking and name-taking in  
 India was for tax or conscription  
 purposes, 262  
 neglect of vaccination when smallpox is  
 not an imminent threat, 171  
 peasant reluctance in Russia, 236  
 smallpox epidemic leads to spike in  
 vaccinations, 171  
 smallpox epidemic prompts recourse to  
 vaccination, 167, 212  
 some mothers insist on smallpox  
 inoculation, 114  
 threat of smallpox encourages  
 vaccination, 262  
 under some suspicion in France as English  
 practice, 160  
 church and clergy, 356  
 assisting in general vaccinations, 105  
 attempts to enlist churches in direct  
 promotion of practice, 109  
 Baptists, 109  
 Benedictine monks embrace practice, 210  
 Christian missionaries, 266  
 clergy preach, organise, practise, 93,  
 104–5  
 clergy required to vaccinate, 309  
 commended in pastoral letter, 165, 321

## 416 Index

- vaccination (cont.)  
 commended to parents presenting children  
   for baptism, 133, 147  
 Congregationalists, 109, 292  
 consecrating practice, 129  
 instructed to support practice, 164, 344  
 large role envisaged in plan for Spanish  
   vaccine expedition, 321  
 London Missionary Society, 336  
 Methodism and evangelism, 96  
 mission of Bethlehemite friar in High Andes,  
   312  
 Moravian Brethren, 335  
 nuns, 156  
 pastors and priests seeking social  
   relevance, 187  
 pastors called on to promote practice, 230  
 pastors preach, organise, practise, 190–2  
 Pope Pius IV reported as commending it,  
   165  
 Presbyterians, 109, 282, 292  
 presented as divine blessing, 137, 146  
 priests preach and practise, 165  
 priests preach blessings of cowpox, 190  
 priests preach, organise, practise, 165,  
   314, 322  
 priests preach, promote, assist, 146, 193  
 priests required to vaccinate, 321  
 priests setting example, 239  
 promoted by missionaries on US frontier,  
   282  
 promoted in pastoral letter, 309  
 proposed role in Spanish royal expedition,  
   214  
 some priests encourage prejudices against  
   practice, 165  
 some Russian clergy condemn practice as  
   ‘freemasonry’, 236  
 Spanish friars divided over practice, 210  
 supported by mainstream churches, 96  
 Synod of Russian Orthodox Church calls  
   for support of practice, 236  
 thanksgiving service, 309, 311  
 Unitarians, 292  
 wide-ranging support of practice in  
   Spanish America, 321–2
- information, publicity, celebration  
 Ellis, *Legend of the Cowpox* (Tamil),  
   261  
 festivals and festivities, 191, 215, 231,  
   312, 357–8  
 Bückeberg, 191  
 Jenner Feast, Berlin, 196  
*Krenglefest*, Bückeberg, 175
- instructional and promotional texts in  
   community languages in India, 258  
 newspapers, 85, 99, 194, 202, 221, 261,  
   291, 333, 364  
   campaign in England to place notices  
     favourable to vaccination, 362  
 newspapers and journals, 96, 143  
   censorship of anti-vaccinist articles in  
     France, 157, 360  
   generating interest in vaccination, 79  
   *Semanario de Agricultura y Artes*, 210  
 newspapers and journals (titles)  
   *Annals of Medicine*, 79  
   *Archiv für die Kuhpocken-Impfung*,  
     183  
   *Bibliothèque britannique*, 122, 125,  
     132, 149, 238  
   *Braunschweigisches Magazin*, 183  
   *Diario de Mexico*, 320  
   *Edinburgh Review*, 117  
   *Gaceta de Guatemala*, 301, 320  
   *Gaceta de Madrid*, 206, 220  
   *Hufelands Journal*, 174, 184–6  
   *Le conservateur de la santé*, 156  
   *Medical and Physical Journal*, 79, 207  
   *Medical Repository*, 272  
   *Monthly Review*, 117  
   *Philadelphia Medical Museum*, 290  
   *Reichs-Anzeiger*, 183  
   *Semanario de Agricultura y Artes*, 201,  
     218
- poetry and literary work  
 Andrés Bello, *Oda de la Vacuna*, 303  
 Andrés Bello, *Venezuela Consolada*  
   (dramatic piece), 303  
 ballad about boy blinded by smallpox,  
   93  
 Christopher Anstey, Latin ode to Jenner  
   (1804), 93  
 French satirical skit, 159  
 José Viera y Clavijo, sonnet in praise of  
   King Carlos and vaccine, 215  
*Loa* (Peruvian) celebrating vaccine, 313  
 Luco Stulli, *Vaccinatio*, 147  
 Mexican poem in praise of vaccination,  
   321  
 Nathaniel’s Bloomfield’s lyric address  
   to Jenner (1803), 92  
 Robert Bloomfield, *Good Tidings*  
   (1804), 75, 93
- prints and models  
 broadsides with text and image, 158  
 illustration of vaccine pustule on black  
   skin, 277

- Jenner's plates depicting development of vaccine pustule, 144, 253, 276  
 leaflet showing advantages of vaccination over variolation, 341  
 production of wax models in Italy to depict development of vaccine pustule, 356  
 promotional leaflet for parents at baptism, 105  
 publication of sermon promoting vaccination, 105  
 woodblock prints (*lubki*) with image and text to promote practice in Russia, 237, 240
- Rehmann's address on vaccination in Russian, Manchu and Chinese, 233
- word-of-mouth endorsement, 104
- mobilisation, nation, empire, 97, 166, 238  
 Anglomania, British prestige, 148  
 civilising mission, 168  
 compensation for imperial predation, 259, 375  
 creole agency and colonial patriotism in Spanish empire, 323  
 imperial ideology, 260  
 imperial, royal paternalism, 137, 168, 170, 172, 186, 189, 215, 229, 231, 239, 321  
 issues of race, 145  
 medals for zealous practice, 157  
 military metaphors, 5–6, 97, 115, 162–3, 166, 212, 365  
 ministerial patronage, 208  
 Napoleonic medal, 168  
 national cause in Germany, 185–6  
 national enterprise, 282  
 national mobilisation, 95, 97, 109, 120, 162, 212  
 paternalism of enlightened government, 163  
 patriotic undertaking, 362  
*ralliement* for prosperity and welfare, 150  
 royalty endorsing and patronising, 87  
 salve for European conscience, 375  
 scepticism as to imperial benevolence, 260, 262  
 serving imperial agenda, 259  
 Spanish philanthropy and prestige, 216  
 Spanish Royal and Philanthropic Vaccine Expedition (1803–12)  
 royal philanthropy and paternalism, 318  
 a source of national pride, 221  
 support from political radicals, 107
- practice and organisation  
 arm-to-arm transfer of vaccine, 4, 7, 124, 137, 150, 203–4, 228, 333  
 arm-to-arm transfer of vaccine in vaccination chain, 5, 129, 143, 231, 310, 338, 347, 367  
 children under vaccination used to deliver vaccine, 5, 124, 143, 155, 157–9, 204, 214–16, 230, 302, 311, 343, 345  
 city to villages, 158  
 children vaccinated in batches to maintain vaccine supply, 253, 306  
 clinical and public trials, 112  
 Boston (1802), 284  
 Calcutta (1805), 256  
 London (1799), 78, 354  
 Naples (1801), 138  
 Pamplona (1802), 211  
 Paris (1801), 156, 161  
 Vienna (1802), 131  
*Comité central de vaccine* (Paris), 360  
 Dr Walker's London Vaccine Institution, 118  
 formal training and certification in India, 253  
 French administrative system, 363  
 general vaccinations, 84, 107, 129, 170, 172, 286, 291, 311, 335, 371  
 government supported charitable bodies, 309  
 hubs of activity and distribution, 132, 355  
 British India, 264–6  
 Philadelphia, 293  
 Vienna, Madras, Philadelphia, 132  
 income from practice, 100, 137, 144, 273–4  
 Institute for the Inoculation for the Cow-Pock (London), 85  
*juntas de vacunación* in Spanish empire, 238  
 large-scale use of native vaccinators in India, 253  
 legislative move to make provision for vaccination for poor, 364  
 little remuneration for practitioners in France, 157, 172  
 medical colleges and institutes, 362  
 medical men conducting experiments and demonstrating the practice, 211  
 medical men vaccinating charitably, 99, 157, 211, 351  
 methods of storage and packing, 4–5, 123, 143, 153, 214, 233, 249, 307, 332, 347, 355  
 capillary tubes, 218  
 glass vials and pneumatic machine, 214  
 quills in corked vials, 76



## 418 Index

- vaccination (cont.)
- National Vaccine Establishment (NVE), 107, 351, 363, 368
  - New York Institute for the Inoculation of the Kine-pock, 284
  - officiers de santé* in France, 157, 172, 356
  - premiums and salaries for Indian vaccinators, 254–5
  - prints and models
    - manuals with depictions of vaccine pustule in India, 253
  - problems with vaccine supply, 218
  - public trials
    - Minorca, 128
  - reliant on lower echelons of health profession, 172
  - reservations about use of Indian vaccinators, 256
  - Royal Jennerian Society (RJS), 341, 360–2
  - Royal Prussian Vaccination Institute (1802), 187
  - Russian vaccine expedition of 1802, possible inspiration and model for the Spanish vaccine expedition, 214
  - shortage of vaccinators in France, 167
  - technical innovation in USA, 281, 293
  - use of vaccine crusts, 196, 218, 235, 254, 293, 320, 355
  - vaccinated servants used to deliver vaccine, 335
  - vaccinated slaves used to deliver vaccine, 314, 337, 347
  - vaccine depots and stations, 111, 138, 169, 190, 212, 235, 239, 252, 336
  - vaccine provision, 1813, USA, 364
  - value of Jenner's prints depicting vaccine pustule, 78
  - variation and adaptation in India, 262–3
  - pressure and coercion
    - argument for compulsory vaccination, 234
    - children under vaccination used to deliver vaccine, 124, 143, 203, 228–9, 231–2, 251, 303, 310, 334, 337, 344, 347
    - compulsion during epidemic in Cologne, 172
    - compulsory vaccination
      - 1805, Bavaria, 195, 362
      - 1805 (August), Hesse, 195, 362
      - 1805, Piombino-Lucca, 168, 362
      - 1810, 1820s (experiments), Prussia, 365
      - 1810–11, Denmark, 195, 362
      - 1811–12 (temporary), Russia, 239
      - 1816, Sweden, 197, 365
      - 1820s, Hanover, 365
      - 1853, Britain, 365
    - condition of admission to school and employment, 195
    - emblematic of enlightened, authoritarian state, 168
    - general vaccination in British army, 129
    - imperious demands of practice, 262
    - naming and shaming parents who did not have children vaccinated, 194
    - not compulsory in France, but expected of citizens, 171
    - orphans and foundlings, 128, 135, 138, 183, 188–9, 193, 204, 208, 211–12, 216, 228, 306, 359
    - enfants de la patrie*, 158
    - placement of boys from the Spanish expedition in schools or apprenticeships, 306
    - used to maintain vaccine supply in Russia, 228
    - parents told they would be conscience-stricken if child died or scarred by smallpox, 194
    - patient testimony, 239
    - payment of parents to allow children to participate in vaccination chains, 262, 310
    - presented as parental duty, 163, 189, 362
    - presented as patriotic duty, 159, 172, 362
    - pressure to allow children to be vaccinated to maintain vaccine supply, 262
    - priests to promote and apply moral pressure, 193
    - rice and trinkets given as incentives to mothers and children, 254
    - Russian nobles vaccinating serfs, 235
    - slaves used to maintain vaccine supply, 338, 348
    - slaves, slave-trade, slavery, 145, 314, 326, 333, 336, 338, 348
    - smallpox victims to be buried at night without toll of bells, 194
    - soldiers, sepoy, 254
    - under vaccination used to deliver vaccine, 137
    - universal provision, 1840, Britain, 365
    - use of sailors in vaccination chains, 124, 127, 265
    - use of soldiers in vaccination chains, 124, 166, 306
    - vaccination certificates, 195
    - vaccination presented as if it was compulsory, 194
    - religion and culture, 356



- accorded an almost sacramental quality, 214
- arouses few theological misgivings, 190
- association with cult of San Gennaro in Naples, 137
- attempts to embed practice in Hindu tradition, 'pious frauds' and forgeries, 261
- beneficence of cow, pastoral associations, 96, 191
- Brahmin praise of cowpox, 257
- Christian duty to take active measures against smallpox, 192–3
- concern that priests promote vaccination at expense of preaching gospel, 193
- consecration of practice through blessings, processions and thanksgivings, 193
- cowpox hailed in Peru as 'anti-pox' rendering people immaculate, 313
- cowpox only 'fit for calves', 103
- criticism of church's using its authority to suppress dissent, 220
- denounced as Freemasonry, 236
- diversity in ethnic and religious background of vaccinators in India, 255
- fashion and whimsy in France, 159
- Hindu concern about losing caste, 261
- Hindu cults of Mariamma and Sitala, 256
- Hindu goddess of cowpox, 258
- Hindu responses, variation by region and caste, 256
- Hindu reverence for cow, 251
- Hindu tradition and Orientalist scholarship, 261
- humanitarian cause, 6
- Indian aversion to innovation, 253
- Jewish rabbis approve and support, 190
- Kant's ethical reservations, 184, 190
- Lamas (Buddhists) vaccinating, 240
- less culturally acceptable than variolation in India, 260
- links with Romanticism and cult of Nature, 96
- Mexican bishop offers indulgences, 309
- opposition of Old Believers in Russia, 242
- pastoral image, beneficence of cow, 159
- presented as divine blessing, 106, 215
- presented as gift of God, 96, 165, 214
- presented as gift of Heaven, 170
- presented as missionary enterprise, 103, 105
- presented as product of Enlightenment and scientific progress, 96
- presented as second most beneficial salvation, 105
- Quaker concern and activism, 79, 85, 127, 140, 167
- religious objections of Old Believers in Russia, 236
- representations of cleanliness and beneficence of cows, 105–6
- rite of passage, admission into community of believers of reason, 193
- Romanticism in Germany, 191
- Salvany denounced as anti-Christ in Peru, 313
- sermons to allay religious scruples, 221
- Singhs and Sikhs less prejudiced, 260
- vaccination linked with confirmation in Cuba, 321
- spread, success, significance
- anecdotal evidence of decline in disfigurement from smallpox, 375
  - Anglomania, British prestige, 148, 175
  - decline in smallpox mortality in Indonesia and Philippines, 375
  - ease of spread in Europe, 354
  - French tribute to English science and philanthropy, 161
  - humanitarian cause, 6, 319
  - Indian contribution to practice, 266
  - informed by humanitarianism, 356
  - large numbers vaccinated in Prussia, 196
  - lays foundations for microbial revolution, 376
  - millions vaccinated during Jenner's lifetime, 7
  - multi-directional dissemination, 347
  - multi-directional web of exchange, 355
  - no threat to wider community, 96
  - numbers in Russian empire, 1802–11, 240
  - population growth, 373
  - presented as humanitarian cause, 104, 292
  - problem of smallpox after vaccination, 196
  - race and universalism, 250, 277
  - recognition of need for revaccination, 368
  - represents expanding control of state over individuals and their bodies, 376
  - revolution in attitudes and expectations, 94
  - revolution in scale of mobilisation, 4
  - scale of vaccination in France, 373
  - scale of vaccination in Naples, 373
  - spread across racial and ethnic boundaries, 251
  - spread beyond European spheres of influence, 355

## 420 Index

- vaccination (cont.)  
 spread through medical networks, 355  
 success of practice in South Asia adds to its credit in Britain, 266  
 universalism and race, 145, 300, 353  
 vaccine supply maintained in southern latitudes by imperial networks, 348  
 variolation prepares ground, 255  
 'older sister' for 'younger sister', 211  
 widely deployed, but not fully accepted in India, 262
- women  
 contributing to technology, 208  
 expertise in childhood diseases, 114  
 female practitioners, 5, 104, 107, 164, 171  
 cause of concern, 107, 164  
 encouraged by Hernández in Spain, 209  
 encouraged by Jenner, 107  
 female practitioners (midwives), 138, 171–2, 374–5  
 Indian mothers in Mexico City compelled to present children to maintain vaccine supply, 308  
 mother aggrieved by mishap bribed to keep silent, 316  
 mother winning prize for making vaccine available in Cuba, 321  
 mothers deciding to have children vaccinated, 106, 198, 302  
 mothers hiding infants from vaccine expedition, 317  
 noblewomen patronising practice, 84, 208, 211  
 noblewomen promoting practice, 90, 105, 108, 134, 139–40, 208, 217  
 noblewomen setting example by having their children vaccinated, 106, 134, 207–8  
 noblewomen vaccinating, 208, 309  
 publications on practice addressed to mothers, 158  
 royalty setting example by having children vaccinated, 169  
 safe for pregnant women, 103
- vaccination in Argentina (Rio de la Plata), 314–15
- vaccination in Australia  
 dispersed population and loss of vaccine supply, 348
- vaccination in Austria, 130, 132, 193–4, 361  
 1799, first experiments in Vienna, 124  
 1802, children of Emperor Francis II, 188  
 1804, parental duty, parents would be murderers of children, 194  
 1808, pressure on parents to have children vaccinated, 194
- vaccination in Austrian Habsburg empire, 132
- vaccination in Belgium, 158
- vaccination in Bohemia, 132
- vaccination in Britain, 94–109, 115–21  
 1799, role of Pearson and Woodville in distributing information and vaccine, 79–80  
 1801 (mid), estimate of 60,000 vaccinations, 94  
 1803, Royal Jennerian Society (RJS), 108  
 1809, National Vaccine Establishment (NVE), 352
- institutions  
 National Vaccine Establishment (NVE), 352  
 Royal Jennerian Society (RJS), 109  
 medical profession, 95, 98–102  
 national mobilisation, 95, 97, 109
- vaccination in Canada, 272, 289, 364  
 1815, act for vaccination in Lower Canada, 290
- vaccination in Canary Islands  
 1803, clinic and vaccine depot, 216
- vaccination in Cape Colony (South Africa), 331–6  
 1802 (December), introduced, endorsed and established, 333  
 1807, government measures to generalise vaccination, 335  
 1811, vaccination institute, 336  
 general vaccinations, 335
- vaccination in Ceylon (Sri Lanka), 249, 251–3, 257, 259–60, 263–5  
 1802, promoted in community languages, 251  
 1802 (August), first vaccination, 249  
 1808–9, smallpox banished, 264  
 Sinhalese more amenable than Tamils, 256
- vaccination in Chile, 315, 317
- vaccination in China, 325–6, 344–6  
 1805 (October), Canton (Guangzhou), 325–6
- vaccination in Colombia (New Granada), 311–12
- vaccination in Corsica, 170
- vaccination in Cuba  
 1804, trial in Havana, 305
- vaccination in Denmark, 188, 362, 372  
 1801, beginnings of practice, 183  
 1801, unsuccessful trials, 181  
 1802, institute for free vaccination, 189  
 1805, provision of vaccination certificates, 195

- vaccination in Ecuador (*audiencia* of Quito), 312
- vaccination in Egypt, 375
- midwives vaccinating, 375
- vaccination in England, 83–7, 98–121
- 1796, first recorded experiment, 70
- 1798 (July), Jenner's experiment replicated in London, 76
- 1798–1800, early scepticism, 98
- 1799 (January–April), clinical trials in London, 78
- 1799 (March), Pearson's circular to medical men, 78
- 1799 (spring), concern about variolous symptoms and generalised eruptions, 78, 80
- 1800 (early), use of term 'vaccination', 86
- 1800 (July), prominent London medical men publish endorsement, 85, 98
- 1803, establishment of RJS, 92
- 1803 onwards, growing number of failures from early practice, 110
- 1805, medical committee of RJS investigates alleged failures, 112
- 1805–7, vaccination controversy, 101
- 1807 (March), RCP's review concludes that vaccination provides a nearly perfect level of security, 119, 238
- 1808–9, legislative provision for NVE, 119–20
- 1853, compulsory, 375
- vaccination in France, 153–67, 170–3, 293, 362
- 1800 (March), Society for Extinction of Smallpox in France through Propagation of Vaccine, 153
- 1800 (August), first vaccination in Paris, 154
- 1801 (August), clinical trial by *Société de Médecine*, 156
- 1801 (November), clinical trial by *Comité central*, 161
- 1803, *Rapport of Comité central*, 161
- 1804, national system of *comités de vaccine*, 162
- 1804, reconstitution of Society for Extinction of Smallpox and its *Comité central* as national bodies and arms of state, 162
- 1810, streamlining of administration and budgetary provision, 169
- 1810–12, increase in numbers vaccinated, 171
- 1811, vaccination of King of Rome, 170
- 1815, re-establishment of practice, 365
- promotion by prefects
- Basses-Pyrenees, 163
- Deux-Nèthes, 158
- Gironde, 158
- Haute-Garonne, 158, 162
- Haute-Rhône, 163
- Lois-et-Cher, 155
- Lot-et-Garonne, 161
- the Marne, 159
- Manche, 166
- Ourthe, 158, 162, 164
- Pas-de-Calais, 163
- Rhône, 158
- Seine-Inférieure, 158
- the Seine, 155
- vaccination in French empire
- ideological dimension, 168
- Illyrian Provinces, 168
- imperial beneficence and *ralliement*, 168
- promotion by prefects
- Deux-Nèthes (Belgium), 172
- Ombone (Siena, Italy), 171
- Pô, 170
- Roër (Germany), 170
- resented in Italian countryside as foreign intrusion, 173
- vaccination in Germany, 180–97, 361–2, 372
- 1799, successful trials in Hanover, 181
- 1799 (early), cowpox sent to Berlin, 84
- 1800 (October), Bremer's successful propagation of vaccine in Berlin, 183
- 1801, controversy over *Brutalimpfung* and bestialisation, 184
- 1801, Elector of Bavaria establishes institute in Munich, 188
- 1801, Osiander's experiments and drawings of cowpox from nature, 185
- 1802, establishment of Royal Prussian Vaccination Institute, 187
- 1802, Hecker's headline title, *Smallpox has been eradicated!*, 186
- 1802, Royal Prussian Vaccination Institute, 189
- 1802 (spring), vaccination accepted in Prussian royal family, 187
- 1805, compulsory in Hesse and Bavaria from 1805, 195
- 1807, mass vaccination in Ansbach, 195
- 1809, smallpox suppressed in Ansbach, 197
- Bavaria, 372
- national enterprise, 185
- recognition of need for revaccination, 368
- Romanticism, 190
- vaccination in Gibraltar, 128
- vaccine institute, 128
- vaccination in Greece, 141–2
- vaccination in Guatemala, 307–8

## 422 Index

- vaccination in Hungary, 132  
 vaccination in India, 249–64  
   1802 (June), first vaccination in Bombay, 243  
   1803, preparation of manuals with depictions of cowpox pustules, 253  
   1804, Calcutta free of smallpox for second year, 253  
   1805, endorsement by prominent *tikadors* in Calcutta, 256  
   1806, over 600,000 vaccinations since 1802, 259  
   attempts to embed practice in Hindu tradition, ‘pious frauds’ or forgeries, 261  
 vaccination in Indonesia (Dutch East Indies), 337–8, 375, 378  
   1804 (June), first vaccination, 337  
   1804 (September), approved and supported by government, 338  
 vaccination in Iraq, 264–5  
 vaccination in Ireland, 99, 102  
   1799, first trial in Dublin, 99  
   1804, Cowpock Institute, Dublin, 102  
   1807, Dublin RCP highly positive about practice, 119  
 vaccination in Italy, 133–8, 361  
   1801, Dr Sacco, *Osservazioni practice*, 135  
   1802, Sacco’s achievement, 136  
   1805, compulsory in Piombino-Lucca, 168  
   1809, Sacco claims 1.5 million vaccinations, 169  
   1811–12, increase in scale in Siena, 171  
   1817, revival after war, 365  
 vaccination in Jamaica, 300  
 vaccination in Japan, 376  
 vaccination in Lithuania, 230, 235  
   use of vaccine crusts, 235  
 vaccination in Malaysia  
   Malays apathetic, Chinese eager, 343  
 vaccination in Malta, 128–9, 146  
   Jennerian Institution, 129  
 vaccination in Mauritius (Île de France), 293, 336–9  
   1803 (April), first vaccination, 337  
   1803, clinical trial, 337  
   1806, registers and vaccine supply, 338  
   1813, plan to mandate practice, 339  
 vaccination in Mexico (New Spain), 293, 305–10  
   1804 (April), first vaccination, 306  
   1804, organisation based in Foundling Hospital, 306  
   1807, system of clinics administered by *Junta de Caridad*, 309  
 vaccination in Minorca, 128  
 vaccination in Moravia, 132  
 vaccination in Naples, 138, 146, 361  
   1801 (June), first vaccinations, 137  
   1802, vaccine depots and stations, 138  
   1808–19, scale of practice, 373  
 vaccination in Netherlands, 125, 169, 182, 192, 372  
 vaccination in Persia (Iran), 265  
 vaccination in Peru, 315–17  
   1802, failure with vaccine arriving in Callao, 213  
 vaccination in Philippines, 343–4, 375  
   1805 (May), first vaccination, 344  
 vaccination in Piedmont, 136  
 vaccination in Portugal, 201, 207, 216, 219–21  
   1800–1, uncertain beginnings, 207  
   1804, vaccination of members of royal family, 216  
   1810, imports of vaccine for British army, 220  
   1812, Royal Academy of Medicine sets up vaccine institute, 221  
   1813, bishops and provincial governors urged to achieve universal coverage, 221  
 vaccination in Portuguese empire, 213, 313–14, 324  
   1800, positive reports sent to colonies and vaccine to Madeira, 213  
   1802 (October), recommended by government, 213  
 vaccination in Russia, 235–42  
   1801 (October), first vaccination in Moscow, 228  
   1802, Tsar authorises and endorses vaccination, 229  
   1802, vaccine expedition through Russia, 231  
   1811, provincial committees and vaccine depots, 239  
   1811–12, compulsory, 239, 242  
 vaccination in Russian empire, 227, 230, 232–5, 237  
   1802, plan for vaccination expedition through Russian empire, 231  
   1805–6, vaccine expedition to Siberia, 232  
   1806, vaccination of Buryats, 234  
   1812, 1.6 million vaccinations recorded since 1802, 242  
 vaccination in Scotland, 99, 101, 107  
   1799 (May), begins in Leith, 99  
   1801 (May), clinic and vaccine depot in Glasgow, 102  
   1807, Edinburgh RCP finds evidence of its value strong and decisive, 119

- vaccination in Sicily, 136–7, 146  
 vaccination in Spain, 201–12, 216–18, 220–1, 293  
 1799, reports of cowpox, 201  
 1800 (December), first vaccination, 198  
 1801, established in Barcelona and Catalunya, 202  
 1801, original publications and translations from French, 205  
 1801 (May), first vaccination in Madrid, 202  
 1802–3, organisation of practice around Pamplona, 204  
 1803 (December) call for an army of determined partisans of *la vacuna*, 212  
 1805 (April), vaccination clinics to be established in all provincial capitals, 216  
 1815, proposal that school children be required to have vaccination certificates, 221  
 vaccination in Spanish empire, 300–13  
   Royal and Philanthropic Vaccine Expedition (1803–12), 5, 7, 212–16, 221, 295–6, 301–13, 315–19, 322–3, 343–7, 356, 360  
     1803 (February), Flores's plan for expedition, 214  
     1803 (June), appointment of Dr Balmis as director, 214  
     1804 (May), Balmis divides expedition with Salvany to lead mission in South America, 304  
     placement of boys in schools or apprenticeships, 310  
     Russian expedition as possible model, 318  
 vaccination in Sweden, 180, 192, 197  
   1798, early reports of Jenner's practice, 183  
   1801 (October), beginnings of practice, 183  
   1801–2, Royal Medical College conducts trials and makes report, 188  
   1803, establishment of central and regional vaccine depots, 190  
   1804, parishes to appoint vaccinators, 190  
   1816–25, numbers and birth rates, 373  
 vaccination in Switzerland, 125, 132–3  
   Geneva as major centre of practice, 133  
 vaccination in Turkey and Ottoman empire, 139–42  
 vaccination in USA, 267–9, 272–94  
   1800, Waterhouse's *Prospect of Exterminating the Small-pox*, 273  
   1800–1, careless practice and calamity at Marblehead, 274  
   1802, trial at Noddle's Island (Boston), 284  
   1803, Philadelphia physicians collectively endorse practice, 291  
   1809, Milton model, 287, 292  
   1813–24, National Vaccine Agency, 288–9  
 vaccination in Venezuela, 295–6, 303–4  
 vaccination in Venice, 134  
 vaccination in Wales, 5, 103, 105  
 vaccination in West Indies, 300  
 vaccine, *vaccinia* virus (*orthopoxvirus vaccinia*). *See* cowpox  
 Valdivia, Governor of, 315  
 Valencia, Governor of, 211  
 Valentin, Dr Louis, 59, 293, 379  
 Valetta, Malta, 129  
 Valhynia, Ukraine, 235  
 Valladolid, Mexico, 310  
 Valleumbroso, Marquis of, 313  
 Van der Steege, Dr Jan, 330  
 Van Ryneveld, W. S., 332–3  
 Van Swieten, Gerard, 39  
 Van Zeller, Señora Doña María Izabel, 217  
 Vancouver, George, 10, 269  
 Vantandillo, Sophia, 114, 363–4  
 Varese, Italy, 135  
 variola (*orthopoxvirus variola major*). *See* smallpox  
 variolation. *See* smallpox inoculation  
 Vaughan, Benjamin, 281  
 Vaughan, John, 279–82, 292–3  
 Vaume, J.-S., 151, 157, 167  
 Veiten, James, 94  
 Venezuela, 295–6, 299, 303  
   Captain-General of, 295, 299  
 Venice, 18, 134  
 Veracruz, Mexico, 305–8  
   *ayuntamiento*, 306–7  
 Verkhneudinsk, Siberia, Russia, 233  
 Vermont, 282  
 Vienna, 4, 6, 51, 124–6, 139, 144, 181, 243, 265, 355  
   Archbishop of Vienna, 51  
   decline in smallpox mortality, 1801–4, 132  
   first vaccination, 1799, 125  
   Schönbrunn Palace, 51  
   University of Vienna, 124, 131  
   Vienna Medical School, 41  
 Viera y Clavijo, José, 215  
 Vietnam, 375  
 Villa del Calabozo, Venezuela, 304  
 Villafranca, Marquis of, 208  
 Villahermosa, Tabasco, Mexico, 307  
 Villamejor, Dowager Marchioness of, 208  
 Villars, Duke of, 42  
 Villequier, Duke of, 40  
 Villeroy, Marchioness of, 40

## 424 Index

- Vilnius, Lithuania, 230, 235  
   University of Lithuania, 230  
   Vilnius Medical Society, 235  
 Vinaroz, Valencia, Spain, 210  
 Virginia, 60, 277–8, 285  
 Visayan Islands, Philippines, 344  
 Visconti family, 135  
 Vivencio, Dr Giovanni, 136  
 Volkov, surgeon, 237  
 Voltaire, Arouet, François-Marie, 23, 42, 49, 52  
   promotes smallpox inoculation, 36  
 Vorontsov, Count, 235  
 Vorontsov family, 226
- Wachsel, apothecary, 78  
 Wagstaffe, Dr William, 20  
 Wales, 16  
 Walker, Dr John, 111, 118, 125, 127–9, 136, 139–40, 142–4, 198  
 Wallensteen, Pastor J. P., 194  
 Walpole, Horace, 45  
 Walpole, Sir Robert, British Prime Minister, 54  
 Ward, Dr John, 289  
 Warren, Dr John, 273  
 Warren, Rev. Thomas Alston, 105, 109  
 Washington, DC, 278, 283  
 Washington, George, President of USA, 270  
 Wasse, Mrs, 104  
 Wassenaar, Luisa von, Countess of Athlone, 38  
 Waterhouse (née Oliver), Elizabeth, 267  
 Waterhouse, Dr Benjamin, 60, 267, 271–6, 278–9, 284, 286, 288, 292, 294  
   1801, acting as national vaccine institute, 275  
   financial returns from vaccination, 287  
   Jenner of America, 275–6  
 Watkinson, Dr John, 49  
 Watt, Robert, 373  
 Weekes, Hampton, 100  
 Weekes, Richard, 100  
 Weimar, Germany, 174  
 Wellesley, Arthur, Colonel, General, Duke of Wellington, 219, 250, 258  
 Wellesley, Richard, Governor-General of India, 244, 250, 253, 265–6, 338, 340  
 West Indies, 145, 293, 298, 323  
 Westminster, 20
- Westmorland, 107  
 Whitby, Yorkshire, 146  
 Whyte, Douglas, 139  
 Wiedemann, Professor Christian, 182  
 Wilberforce, William, MP, 102, 357  
 Willan, Dr Robert, 86, 118  
 Williams, Dr Perrot, 16  
 Williamson, Alexander, 101  
 Winslōw, Dr F. C., 181  
 Witts, Rev. F. E., 379  
 Wood, Dr, 98  
 Woodville, Dr William, 64, 70, 75, 77, 79–82, 98, 126, 144, 149, 153–4, 279, 337  
   *Reports of inoculations for cow-pox*, 78–9  
 Woodward, Dr John, 18–19  
 Woody, Mr, 332  
 World Health Organisation, 7  
 Worlock, Simeon, 57, 151, 298  
 Worthy Park, Jamaica, 298  
 Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire, 32, 34, 66, 105  
 Wreden, J. E., 22  
 Württemberg, Frederick, Duke of, 188  
 Wythe, George, 270
- Xangsi (K'ang Hsi), Emperor of China, 17
- Yakutsk, Siberia, Russia, 234  
 Yepes, Spain, 218  
 Yetminster, Dorset, 69  
 Yogyakarta, Java, Indonesia, 338  
 York, 47  
   York Dispensary, 101  
 Yorkshire, 104  
 Young, Arthur, 46  
 Young, Sir George, Governor of Cape Colony (British), 332  
 Yousouf Aga, wife of, 141  
 Yucatán, Mexico, 307
- Zacatecas, Mexico, 310  
 Zanzibar, Tanzania, 327  
 Zappa, Citizen, 135  
 Zaragoza, Spain, 203, 208, 218  
 Zéa, Francisco Antonio, 213, 319  
 Zendara y Gómez, Isabel, 215, 343  
 Zulaibar, Juan Antonio, Archbishop of Manila, 344