

Illustrations from the Wellcome Institute Library

Edward Jenner's 1794 Accompt-Book for the Pocket or Desk

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Edward Jenner's early career, as a country surgeon and apothecary for over twenty years, is obscure in contrast to the later publicity generated by his vaccination work and practice as a consulting physician in Cheltenham Spa. This is due, in part, to the meagre survival of letters and practice records from 1772, the year he commenced work in Berkeley, Gloucestershire, on completing an assistantship with John Hunter,¹ until 1798 when he published *An inquiry into the causes and effects of the variolae vaccinae*. In response to this memorable event his activities became more fully documented.

In 1792, supported by Dr C H Parry² and Dr J H Hickee,³ Jenner sought and was awarded a doctorate of medicine from St Andrews University with a view to modifying his practice when two nephews became his assistants. By 17 April 1794, Henry Jenner had joined his uncle for, on that day, Henry was called to see a poisoned traveller lodging at a nearby inn on the Gloucester road; both uncle and nephew provided evidence at the subsequent murder trial.⁴ The second nephew, George Jenner, was sharing the practice by December 1794 according to an undated letter from Jenner to W F Shrapnell reproduced by Baron.⁵ Following a long illness in the winter of 1794–95, Jenner recuperated in Cheltenham before starting consultant practice at its developing Spa during the summer of 1795.⁶ Hence, 1794 was the last complete year he practised exclusively from Berkeley. By chance, Jenner's only surviving patient appointment diary or "accompt-book" is that

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¹ J Baron, *The life of Edward Jenner*, 2 vols, London, Colburn, 1827–38, vol. 1, pp. 4–10.

² See W Munk, *The roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London*, London, The College, 1878, vol. 2, pp. 385–8, and S Glaser, *The spirit of enquiry: Caleb Hillier Parry, MD, FRS*, Stroud, Sutton, 1995.

³ John Heathfield Hickee MD was physician to the Gloucester Infirmary and later worked in Bristol. He wrote an unpublished account of a smallpox epidemic in Gloucestershire in 1791 to which Jenner referred in his *An inquiry into the causes and effects of the variolae vaccinae*, London, Sampson Low, 1798, pp. 54–5.

⁴ P Saunders, *Edward Jenner, the Cheltenham years 1795–1823*, Hanover and London, University Press of New England, 1982, pp. 20–3.

⁵ Baron, op. cit., note 1 above, pp. 106–8. Several letters survive between Jenner and William Fisher Shrapnell of Dursley, surgeon to the South Gloucestershire Militia; see W Lefanu, *A bibliography of Edward Jenner 1749–1823*, London, Harvey & Blythe, 1951, pp. 108 and 110.

⁶ Saunders, op. cit., note 4 above, p. 24.

for 1794,⁷ his rough diary for 1803 noting addresses and committee lists in London is not, as it has been described, a patient appointment and visiting book.⁸ The 1794 book incorporates but a part of his practice as the following instances suggest. Only four entries specify patients living in “the town”, that is Berkeley (some 2,000 inhabitants), although several patients with no identifiable location may be town residents. And, in the autumn of 1794, other sources confirm William Davies paid Jenner for two minor surgical operations,⁹ both unrecorded in the appointment book.

Loudon’s investigations of eighteenth-century provincial practice indicate that a ledger or day book was maintained at surgeries in which all patient transactions were entered.¹⁰ Thus in Berkeley it is probable the local patients attending the surgery were recorded immediately in a day book whereas distant visits were noted in a personal diary as an *aide-mémoire* for each surgeon or assistant; on return, their entries were copied into the day book. If Jenner made visits in the company of his nephews, the only positive evidence is limited to William Davies’ payment to Henry for operative assistance on 26 November 1794.¹¹ We may conclude that most visits in the 1794 “account-book”, all entered in Jenner’s hand, concern patients unable to attend him at Berkeley and do not represent his final practice record.

Jenner worked in competition with other practitioners, for the *Medical Register* of 1783 listed Mr Erle in both Berkeley and Frampton-on-Severn, and all the small towns visited by Jenner had resident surgeon-apothecaries.¹² Did they in turn visit patients in Berkeley and was there friendly co-operation or intense rivalry? According to the diary entry for 10 January, Jenner visited Mrs Hale at Hill, half way between Berkeley and Thornbury, where he met Mr Fewster, a Thornbury practitioner, with the patient, perhaps in a joint consultation. Fortunately Jenner had numerous relatives and friends in the district, which accounted for many visits; he was also highly considered, for example being called in 1778 to operate on a strangulated hernia in Gloucester Infirmary when a consultant surgeon was ill.¹³

⁷ S A J Moorat, *Catalogue of western manuscripts on medicine and science in the Wellcome Historical Medical Library II*, London, Wellcome Institute, 1973, MS 3018. Diary of visits to patients, fees received, expenses, etc: with a few prescriptions, from 1 January to 31 December 1794.

⁸ *Ibid.*, MS 3021. Small notebook containing names of patients, dates of visits, and a few prescriptions. Jenner employed this from 1 February to late March 1803 when he was resident in Hertford Street, Mayfair, London, following the inauguration of the Royal Jennerian Society on 19 January 1803; most entries note appointments with prominent supporters of vaccination, and lists of committee members, e.g., Lord Bute, Lord St Asaph, Mr Hunter, Dr Baillie. It does not reflect professional practice in London.

⁹ *Ibid.*, MS 2049. Accounts of William Davies (1741–1817) from 1780 to 1798. Entries 28 October and 26 November 1794.

¹⁰ I Loudon, ‘The nature of provincial medical practice in eighteenth-century England’, *Med. Hist.*, 1985, 29: 1–32.

¹¹ Davies, *op. cit.*, note 9 above, 26 November 1794.

¹² *Medical Register*, London, Johnson, 1783. This lists a physician in Stroud and 18 surgeon-apothecaries, including Jenner, in Berkeley, Dursley, Frampton, Stroud, Thornbury, Wirkware (Wickwar), Wotton and Malmesbury, towns all visited by Jenner in 1794. See J Lane, ‘The medical practitioners of provincial England in 1783’, *Med. Hist.*, 1984, 28: 353–71.

¹³ T D Fosbroke, *Berkeley manuscripts . . . and biographical anecdotes of Dr. Jenner*, London, Nichols, 1821, p 223–4; Baron, *op. cit.*, note 1 above, vol. 1, p. 53.

History of the 1794 Account-Book

This small booklet 6 inches (15.5 cms) by 4 inches (9.5 cms) is titled *The Daily Journal or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's complete Annual Account-Book for the Pocket or Desk for the Year of Our Lord 1794* and was printed for and sold by R Baldwin, G Robinson, S Crowder, G & T Wilkie, B C Collins and all booksellers in town and country; the original full calf is bound into later covers.¹⁴ It starts with an index of festivals, fasts and remarkable days, a table of the moon's age, a list of bankers in London and bank stock holidays, and a page for memoranda and resolutions. This is followed by a diary with two pages weekly, the left hand side for "memorandums, observations and appointments" and the right for an "account of monies" (Figure 1). It concludes with sixty pages of information incorporating abstracts from recent Parliamentary sessions, lists of Army and Navy agents in London, annuity tables, Hackney coach fares, and lists of peers, bishops, members of Parliament and admirals. In addition to Jenner's entries on patients, he recorded on blank pages before and after the diary section various prescriptions, a list of addresses, some accounts and two quotations, seemingly all in his hand. On the blank before the title-page, there is a small drawing in ink of a tree, possibly an oak, signed "E. Jenner Berkeley—Glos. 1794".

No sense can be made of the accounts but the quotations read: "all then of equal faculties fall into nearly the same train of thought when plac'd in similar circumstances—Knox"; and, "acid of ants obtainable by infusing them in warm water—a pd. [pound] of ants produces a pint of acid equal to vinegar—Chaptal".

Originally in the possession of the Rev. William Davies, a nephew of Jenner and one of his executors,¹⁵ the manuscript was acquired by F J Mockler in 1893,¹⁶ then bought by M Pedersen¹⁷ and finally purchased by Henry Wellcome, probably in 1911.¹⁸ It is now part of the Western Manuscript Collection of the Wellcome Institute Library. Brief outline comments of its contents have been recorded,¹⁹ but only Richard Fisher has quoted directly from the manuscript, although several entries are misinterpreted.²⁰ Analysis of

¹⁴ Jenner, op. cit., note 7 above.

¹⁵ R Palmer, 'The Wellcome Collection of papers relating to Edward Jenner', *Med. Hist.*, 1985, 29: 200–5.

¹⁶ Moorat, op. cit., note 7 above, MS 3587. A catalogue of manuscripts, books, prints, etc. relating to Dr Edward Jenner in the possession of Frederick Mockler, collected between 1893 and 1917; the 1794 "account-book" was entered in 1893.

¹⁷ Sotheby's sale catalogue of 25–27 November 1918, offered on the third day, *A collection of books, etc. by Dr. E. Jenner and others relating principally to vaccination, the property of M. Pedersen Esq, formerly of Raglan House, Dursley, Gloucestershire*. The "account-book" for 1794 is not included, which suggests it was bought earlier from Pedersen by Henry Wellcome on a private basis.

¹⁸ Palmer, op. cit., note 15 above.

¹⁹ Moorat, op. cit., note 7 above; Palmer, op. cit., note 15 above, p. 201; W Lefanu, *A bibliography of Edward Jenner*, Winchester, St Paul's Bibliographies, 1985, item 148.

²⁰ R B Fisher, *Edward Jenner 1749–1823*, London, Deutsch, 1991, p. 60. Misinterpretations include:

(i) "Almost every day he rode somewhere to call on a patient." In fact he visited patients on 167 of the possible 365 days, although on a few additional days he issued prescriptions. (ii) "On the 9th (January), it was a Miss Jones (he visited) . . . ; he assisted her surgeon with a trepanning, . . ." Although he visited Miss Jones that day, the succeeding entry states, "Assisted Mr Trye in trepaning Joinyer" or a similar name. Miss Jones was not visited again until eight days later suggesting she was not subjected to major surgery. "Joinyer" is not mentioned further which indicates operative or per-operative death took place; trepanning was usually done when the patient was *in extremis* and even skilled consultant surgeons had bad experiences (see E Allen, J L Turck, and R Murley, *The case books of John Hunter FRS*, London, Royal Society of Medicine, 1993). (iii) "On the 19th (May), he received £1-12-3 from a patient named Whithorn . . . for going with him to Bath, . . . Doctor and patient made the journey again four days

MEMORANDUMS, OBSERVATIONS, and APPOINTMENTS, in January, 1794.		ACCOUNT OF MONIES.		JANUARY, 1 st Month, has xxx Days.		[Week 4]			
				Received.		Paid or Lent.			
				l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
20	Monday	Visited Mr Smith at Whitmore Sta			1	-			
		Visited Mr Akey at Bantley				10	6		
		Received for Mr Nibbel of Pen.							5
	21	Tuesday	Visited Mr Taylor at Hony		1	-			
		Visited Miss Hiker at Ted. Co			2	11			
	22	Wednesday	Visited Mr Nely			1			
		Miss Galloway							
		Miss Galloway							
	23	Thursday	Visited Mr King			2	2		
		Visited Miss Walker at Head				3	3		
	24	Friday	Visited Miss Jones						
		Visited Miss Blackwell at Hony							
		Call'd on Mrs. Walker for 20							
	25	Saturday							
	26	Sunday							

Figure 1: Edward Jenner's "account-book" for 1794; week four from 20 to 26 January. (Photographed with the assistance of Robin Price MA, ALA and permission of the Wellcome Institute Library)

Jenner's notes provides information concerning the geographical extent, the clientele and the fee structure of his practice; a number of personal domestic financial matters are also recorded.

The following facts must be borne in mind. Fewer than half the days in the diary have entries; fees were paid on the day of visit by only one-third of patients; in the case of unpaid accounts Jenner does not indicate his fee and certain payments were made in arrears, including some for work before 1794. In general Jenner charged half a guinea for a prescription, one guinea for a standard visit and two guineas for calls at a distance, and perhaps for more wealthy patients. Unfortunately, comments on diagnosis and treatment are rare. Finally, it is not known if the records of 1794 were typical of his practice in previous years.

Extent and Conditions of Jenner's Practice

The geographical area of Jenner's riding practice can be gauged from the patient's town, village or farm, usually identified in his entries or, in the case of follow-up visits, deducible from earlier entries. In 1794 his journeys extended over an area some 25 miles from north-east to south-west and some 24 miles from north-west to south-east, if we exclude two visits to Bath, 28 miles from Berkeley (Figure 2). To the south-east the land climbs steeply, mounting the escarpment of the Cotswold Hills before levelling out at 700 to 800 feet above sea-level; Berkeley itself is about 50 feet above the Severn estuary. For two journeys Jenner mentioned travel by chaise, otherwise he visited on horseback, irrespective of weather conditions.²¹ Up to three visits daily were recorded. Except on rare occasions, multiple visits were arranged in the same general orientation so that Jenner could make a circuit, without returning to Berkeley for a visit in an opposite direction. For example on 22 January he visited two patients at Dursley and then one at Whitminster, presumably taking the shortest route of 8 miles from Dursley to Whitminster from which he returned home, a total circuit of some 23 miles. On 17, 20, 22, 24 and 27 November he visited Master Harris in Malmesbury, a distance of 22 miles including an ascent to over 800 feet, a descent to 200 feet at Malmesbury and then a return to 800 feet before completing 44 miles in the day. On 20 November he added, "chaise-(night)"; perhaps his horse or horses became lame, for a hard frost was recorded at nearby Stroud that morning,²² and thus he returned after dark by carriage.

Under good conditions, he could have travelled at the trot, possibly covering 8 to 10 miles an hour dependent on gradients and weather.²³ Most roads were unmetalled and in the hills descent was as difficult as ascent, both being hindered by rain and resultant mud.

later." Jenner recorded he went to Bath with Mr Whithorn on 24 May and returned on the 25, apparently alone, when he paid £1-12-3 for "Chaises, Turnpikes, Drivers, etc". (iv) "On 27th October, Jenner removed a growth from the face of his brother-in-law, Revd William Davies, . . ." This is not recorded in the "account-book"; Davies' accounts for 1794 merely state, "The operation was performed on my face". A growth is not mentioned.

²¹ T Hughes, manuscript of detailed weather records from 1771 to 1813 taken at Stroud, 15 miles

from Berkeley, and the nearest point with complete records available. Mr Thomas Hughes was a surgeon-apothecary (see note 12 above) who was probably known to Jenner. Photocopy for 1794 from the National Meteorological Archive, Bracknell, Berkshire, ref. DMet018e/15/1/1.

²² *Ibid.*, 20 November 1794.

²³ Personal communication from Dr John Cule, historian of British general practice and expert horseman.

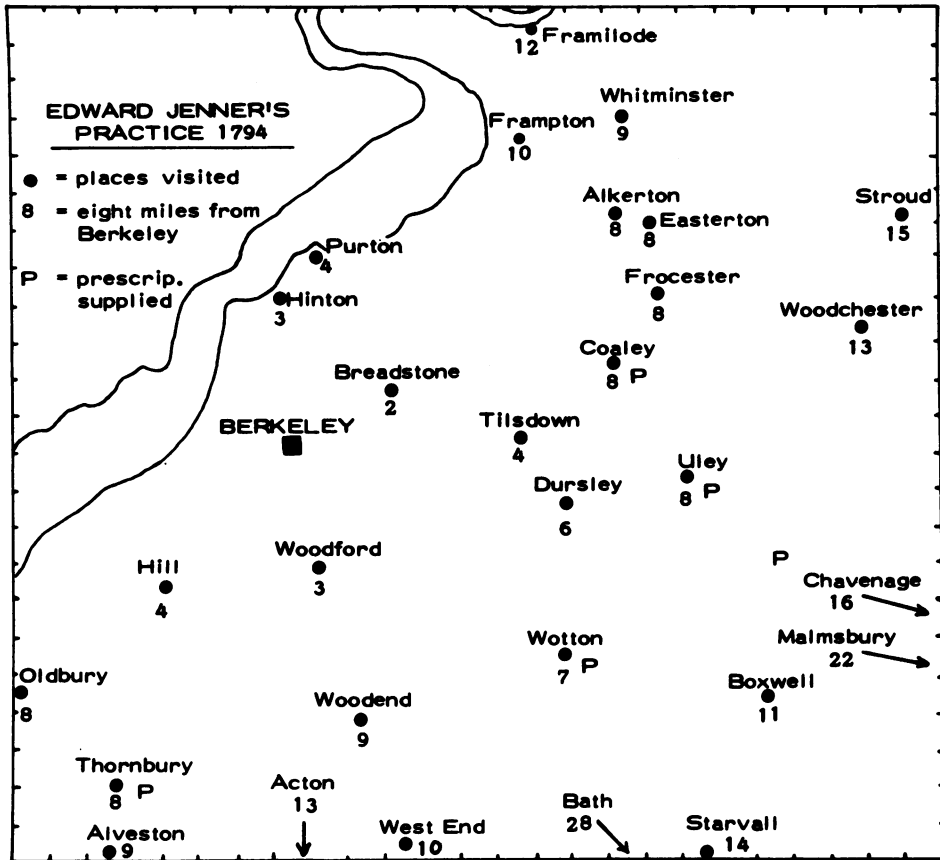


Figure 2: Edward Jenner's practice activity in 1794. The outline of the Severn estuary and the names of localities visited are shown; the approximate mileage from Berkeley is indicated; P denotes that prescriptions were also supplied. (With acknowledgments to Gina Machin, Photographic Department, Royal United Hospital, Bath.)

A good horse might trot 30 miles in a day and hence, for longer journeys, Jenner may have had two horses, or conserved a single horse by travelling more slowly, walking and trotting alternately. When examining the 1757 ledger of William Pulsford, a country surgeon in Wells, Somerset, Loudon analysed the recorded visits of more than one mile; few exceeded 5 miles and only one achieved 10 miles.²⁴ By contrast Jenner's visits were mostly between 5 and 28 miles. Clearly Pulsford's practice was more concentrated than Jenner's, the city of Wells itself having about 4,500 inhabitants. In another instance, Dick Maurice commented on the records of an ancestor, working in Marlborough between 1794 and 1801: "... a striking feature of these Day Books is the immense area covered . . . over distances of at least ten miles in every direction. Some patients are recorded as living at

²⁴ Loudon, *op. cit.*, note 10 above, p. 9.

Devizes, 13 miles to the west—others in Hungerford, ten miles east . . .”.²⁵ For these long journeys, a groom would be sent out with a fresh horse to meet Mr Maurice at a half way point.²⁶ If Maurice's journeys were longer than Pulsford's, they were shorter than Jenner's, which suggests he spent more time than most practitioners in the saddle. The onus of maintaining sound horses day and night, and in all weathers, was considerable, expensive, and risked accidents as Loudon makes clear.²⁷ That weather conditions were sometimes severe is emphasized in Jenner's own account of 3 January 1786 when he rode to Kingscote (some 10 miles climbing to over 800 feet). He was caught in a blizzard, frozen to his horse and unable to dismount without help; although he recovered fully, his horse was severely frost-bitten.²⁸

The Patients and Fees

Of 262 entries noted on the left hand pages of Jenner's diary, 205 patients are described as “visited”, 13 as “called on”, 4 as “attended”, 2 as “consultations”, 8 as “advice to”, and 30 as “prescribed for” or “prescription”. Occasionally both a visit and a prescription are combined. Five entries appear to concern patients, as determined from other entries, or the payment of a fee, but a visit or call is not specified. Five entries particularize treatment, 3 of which suggest a diagnosis. In addition, 8 entries indicate activities apparently unrelated to his practice.

The niceties of “visited” and “called on” are not clear; possibly a visit followed a request, whereas a call was a spontaneous or follow-up visit. “Consultation” is recorded on 30 and 31 July only, for different patients who paid one and a half guineas and half a guinea respectively.

Prescriptions, not associated with a visit, were probably for established problems and cost half a guinea, although Jenner rarely recorded immediate payment. No patients receiving “advice” ever paid a fee; perhaps this was given off the cuff when making other visits, for example to Lord Ducie's second coachman at Woodchester²⁹ and Mrs. Whitfield's daughter.³⁰ Five entries are incomplete and are not included in the overall assessment.

Most patients are designated Mr, Mrs, Miss and Master, or Farmer. Other descriptions include, “Mrs Cowley's child”, “Mr Sheppard's housekeeper”, “Mr Blagdon's man” and “Browning stonecutter”. It is evident the patients were not exclusively gentry whom Jenner might have been expected to cultivate during this period of practice transition. In his publications on vaccination Jenner refers to William Smith of Pyrton (Purton), a farm-hand, who caught the cowpox in 1780, 1791 and 1794, uncommonly with equal severity on each occasion, for second attacks were usually slight.³¹ As Coaley is not far from Purton and farm-hands moved from farm to farm, it is conceivable that the William Smith seen on Sunday, 13 July 1794 was suffering his third attack of cowpox.

²⁵ D Maurice, *The Marlborough doctors*, Stroud, Sutton, 1994, p. 3.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

²⁷ I Loudon, *Medical care and the general practitioner 1750–1850*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1986, pp. 117–25.

²⁸ Baron, *op. cit.*, note 1 above, pp. 72–3.

²⁹ Jenner, *op. cit.*, note 7 above, 6 and 31 March 1794.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 18 January 1794.

³¹ Jenner, *op. cit.*, note 3 above, case IX, pp. 21–2.

Jenner saw most patients once or twice only but eighteen were seen four or more times. The most visited was Mr Whithorn, seen thirty-six times from 21 March on a daily or alternate daily basis until late April, and then at three or four day intervals until 23 May when Jenner recorded: "Went to Bath with Mr Whithorn" and entered in the account column, "36 Journeys to Mr. Whithorn going with him to Bath—Chaises, etc." Unfortunately he recorded no fee. On 24 May he wrote: "Return'd from Bath" and "Chaises, Turnpikes, Drivers, etc", for which Jenner paid £1 12s. 3d. after receiving this sum from Mr Whithorn; his address is never stated. Presumably Mr Whithorn stayed in Bath for rehabilitation at the hot springs. Miss Anne Hodges had a long illness between 1 June and 3 October, requiring seventeen visits, well spaced out initially and at the end, but every two or three days in the first fortnight of August. She paid one guinea for each of five early visits but nothing thereafter; her address is never mentioned although her visits often coincided with those of Mrs Jenkin at Frampton. Mrs Purnell was seen on 13, 16, 17, 22, 24 and 28 March, and also 24 November, 4 and 10 December which suggests two separate illnesses. Jenner was shortly to be ill himself; would she have needed further visits? Mrs Purnell paid one guinea promptly at every visit; possibly she was related to the wealthy wool merchants of the same name at Dursely. Of those receiving four visits or more, only Mrs Hadley of Berkeley, six visits at one guinea each, and Mr Stephens of Chavenage (32 miles return), five visits at two guineas each, joined Mrs Purnell as immediate payers. Mr Winchcomb's family at Stroud (30 miles return) was seen five times between 16 April and 11 July, Jenner receiving ten guineas on the last visit.

One-third of patients did not pay fees or failed to keep up with payments, particularly after multiple visits. Certain fees were received late; for example Lord Berkeley paid twenty guineas on 24 January (Figure 1) despite no recorded visit. However a letter from John Hunter to Jenner, written in October 1793, recommended treatment for Lord Berkeley's second son, which in all probability was undertaken by Jenner later that year.³² Was Jenner paid in kind? If so, the farmers were likely contributors and yet most of those recorded paid their fees, even if Farmer Paradise did not forward his guinea for prescriptions supplied in March and June until 13 December, the last receipt in the diary. Jenner visited patients on all days of the week; this included a Sunday on sixteen occasions, travelling as far as Stroud (30 miles return). Thus Jenner's attendance at church must have been disrupted, possibly a cause for family concern, as he was the son, brother, nephew and uncle of clergymen. His busiest months were January (38 patients visited, prescribed, etc.), March (40 patients), April (31 patients) and November (27 patients), and the quietest months August (14 patients), September (11 patients) and December (8 patients).

The meteorological information collected by Mr Thomas Hughes, an apothecary and surgeon working in Stroud, the closest known point to Berkeley with observations for 1794, shows that January was cold and foggy with sharp frosts, although the period 20th to 24th was milder, and snow fell later; March was cold with morning frosts, and rain off

³² E H Cornelius and A J H Rains (eds), *Letters from the past. From John Hunter to Edward Jenner*, London, Royal College of Surgeons of England, 1976, p. 40. Hunter suggested a lumbar abscess was forming, recommending sea-bathing at Berkeley and establishment of an issue in the loins. Issues were

iatrogenic ulcers created, for the purpose of counter-irritation, by incising the skin or applying caustic; persistent discharge (of supposed evil humours) was maintained by inserting a dried pea or dressing with an issue plaster composed of wax, turpentine and red lead.

and on; April was mild; November was wet with some warm days and frost. Of the quiet months, August was seasonable with one or two thunderstorms; the observations for September are incomplete; December was mild and wet at first, becoming colder and frosty from 10th onwards, followed by snow at Christmas. Hughes also noted "typhus" among the poor from June to October.³³

Epidemic louse-borne typhus is likely when overcrowding indoors is commonest, as in cold and wet weather.³⁴ These conditions hardly applied to the months recorded by Hughes although December's weather was appropriate. Baron states Jenner had a severe illness in 1794 which he self-diagnosed as a third attack of typhus. When recovered, Jenner wrote to W F Shrapnell indicating he had felt nauseous for several days, ". . . and had it not been for a dreary, wearisome ride over mountains of ice, without being able to come at succour, no mischief might have ensued".³⁵ On 10 December he visited two patients in Dursley, where ground frost may have caused him to dismount on inclines; Hughes noted a frost overnight, although he recorded a temperature of 39° Fahrenheit (4°C) by mid-morning.³⁶

The diary contains no visits after 10 December, which suggests Jenner's illness started at about this time. Henry, his nephew, was also ill and Henry's wife, infant daughter, and a servant died. Mrs Edward Jenner and her infant daughter escaped and only George remained to continue the practice. Did Jenner have typhus? The modern view believes relapse is almost unknown and a third attack impossible.³⁷ Were typhoid fever, gastro-enteritis or a viral infection of the influenza type alternative diagnoses?

Jenner remained very ill or weak until the late spring of 1795, receiving several visits from his colleagues Dr C H Parry of Bath, Dr H Hicks of Bristol and Dr A Ludlow of Chipping Sodbury.³⁸ It would appear that 10 December 1794, not identified in previous publications, proved a watershed, precipitating radical permanent changes to his routine and medical practice.

Diagnoses and Treatments

Jenner's only diagnosis is noted on 30 July: "Miss Bruton, Uley, Consultation, Bronchocoele." This was a contemporary term for goitre or neck swelling surrounding the wind-pipe.³⁹ The patient paid one guinea for the consultation and half a guinea for a prescription. A diagnosis is implied on 15 July when he recorded, "Revd Mr D—tapped Hydrocoele", presumably a simple hydrocele testis. This refers to William Davies (1741–1817), Rector of Eastington, who married Jenner's sister Anne. Despite the relationship, a fee of one guinea was paid and is confirmed in Davies' account book, "Punctured the 15th Dr. Jenner—£1-1-0".⁴⁰ The son of Davies and nephew of Jenner,

³³ Hughes, op. cit., note 21 above. He recorded the barometer, thermometer, hygrometer, rain-gauge, wind direction and strength daily, and added casual observations on national and international events, crop conditions and epidemics.

³⁴ C R Box, 'Louse-borne typhus fever', in F W Price, *A textbook of the practice of medicine*, Oxford University Press, 1950, pp. 332–9, and T E Woodward, 'Rickettsial diseases', in D J Weatherall, J J G Ledingham, and D A Warrell, *Oxford textbook of medicine*, Oxford University Press, 1987, pp. 5.350–2.

³⁵ Baron, op. cit., note 1 above, p. 106.

³⁶ Hughes, op. cit., note 21 above.

³⁷ Box, op. cit., note 34 above.

³⁸ Baron, op. cit., note 1 above, p. 107.

³⁹ H Power, and L W Sedgwick, *The New Sydenham Society's lexicon of medicine and the allied sciences*, 5 vols, London, New Sydenham Society, 1881, vol. 1.

⁴⁰ Davies, op. cit., note 9 above, 15 July 1794.

another Rev. William Davies (1769–1849), recorded in his diary that he had dinner with his father on 15 July, without further comment.⁴¹ Tapping a hydrocele by trocar and cannula before thermal sterilisation techniques often produced a painful inflammatory reaction. Jenner operated again on Davies senior later that year.⁴²

On 9 January, Jenner “Assisted Mr Trye in trepaning . . . X incision”; the patient’s name is possibly Joinyer (Jenner’s handwriting is uncertain) for whom no fee or further entry is recorded. Mr C Brandon Trye FRS (1757–1811) was a surgeon to the Gloucester Infirmary, and, a former pupil both of Cirencester Grammar School,⁴³ and of John Hunter, and a close friend and supporter of Jenner. The X or cruciate incision of the scalp preserved skin and with retraction gave good access; almost certainly craniotomy was performed with a hand trephine, at this time a British preference to the brace trepan popular elsewhere in Europe. It is not clear whether this operation was conducted in Gloucester or within Jenner’s practice. In a *Catalogue of the Collection of Relics formed by F. Mockler, Esq* for sale by auction on 21 December 1894, item 89 is described as “Portion of a Skull showing the operation of Trepanning performed by Dr. E.J. and a portion of another skull.”⁴⁴

On 7 June Jenner wrote: “Visited Mr Sheppard at Uley—applied Leeches, etc.” The patient was seen again on 9, 11, 13, 16 and 27 June, and on 28 June Mr Sheppard paid £10; he appears to have experienced an acute illness which resolved in ten days or so. Only one prescription is detailed, when Jenner wrote “Prescrib’d for Mrs Kingscotes Daugh.r (Pil. Chalyb.)”, on 3 July. Chalybeate or iron pills, possibly carbonate of iron,⁴⁵ were given for anaemia or for chlorosis. No fee was paid; Kingscote was Mrs Edward Jenner’s maiden name and perhaps the patient was a relative.

Inoculation with smallpox (variolation) is not recorded in his diary, although his assistants may have undertaken this, as they most certainly did the following year.⁴⁶ The only further information illuminating his clinical responsibilities in 1794 has been noted in the accounts of William Davies senior who gave Jenner five guineas for an operation performed on his face on 28 October and for opening an issue on 26 November;⁴⁷ these dates are both blank in the “accompt-book”.

Miscellaneous Income, Expenses and Outgoings

Fees paid after a patient’s death include: “4th January, the late Miss Holbrow from Mr Jenkins, £4 4s. Od.”; “4th January, the Exect. of Mr Hawkes, £5 7s. Od.”; “2nd October, the

⁴¹ Moorat, op. cit., note 7 above, MS 2052. The private diary of William Davies (1769–1849) from 1 January 1792 to 27 May 1805.

⁴² Davies, op. cit., note 9 above.

⁴³ F E James, ‘Cirencester Grammar School, the Revd. Dr. John Washbourn, and some medical pupils’, *Trans. Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeol. Soc.*, 1993, 111: 191–9. The pupils included Edward Jenner, Caleb Parry, John Hickee, Charles Trye and John Clinch. See also, Sholem Glaser, ‘Edward Jenner’s schooling’, *Med. Hist.*, 1996, 40: 378–9.

⁴⁴ ‘A catalogue of the collection of relics formed by F. Mockler Esq., . . . which will be sold by auction by Messrs. Puttick and Simpson . . . on Friday December 21st 1894’, item 89. Fifteen-page leaflet, in the

Library, Royal College of Surgeons of England. There was a poor response to this sale, many lots being bought in; see *Br. med. J.*, 1895, i: 28.

⁴⁵ W A N Dorland, *The American illustrated medical dictionary*, Philadelphia, Saunders, 1944.

⁴⁶ “In the Spring of the year 1795 three hundred and nine Persons were inoculated with the smallpox in the town of Berkeley by Henry and George Jenner, all of which recovered.” See B H Blacker (ed.), *Gloucestershire notes and queries*, London, Kent, 1887, vol. 3, p. 637, and Saunders, op. cit., note 4 above, p. 31. Variolation involved inoculation of active smallpox virus in the hope of causing a mild but protective infection at the expense of scarring; death was a risk.

⁴⁷ Davies, op. cit., note 9 above.

Exec. of W. Murrett, £6 6s. 0d.” Jenner received rent, indicating he owned property and land; for example, “29th January, James Pearce for 2 yrs. rent, £12 12s. 0d.”; “29th April, Farmer Cole, £37 10s. 0d.” In a curious entry on 24 July, he settled with Mr Bourke, receiving £7 1s. 0d. but paying him £34 10s. 10d. Similarly on 27 January, Nicholas Davidge was paid £13 1s. 0d. but Jenner received £1 16s. 0d. from “George Davidge on act. of his nephew”.

“Mrs J”, presumably Jenner’s wife Catherine, received fifteen guineas in January, ten guineas in March and five guineas in February, April, May, June and July respectively. Thereafter no further payments are recorded; it seems unlikely she was denied housekeeping money subsequently and incomplete records are implied. Significantly Catherine gave birth to a daughter of the same name in the late spring of 1794.⁴⁸ On 22 February Jenner paid the Rev. W Jenner £10, using the abbreviation “Int.”, presumably indicating a payment of interest for a loan from a relative who remains unidentified. On 6 June he noted: “Pd. H.J. in advance to Michaelmas next, ten pounds”, that is salary to his assistant Henry Jenner, who perhaps was under financial pressure with a young family to support.

Certain payments were identified as follows: “5th April, James for wages, £8 8s. 0d.”, perhaps referring to a personal servant; “3rd October, Pearce—Sadler, 10s.” and “26th April, Mrs Crudin for Hankerchiefs, £2 7s. 0d.” On 11 June he wrote “Mrs Crudin for Linen” but no price was entered, and on 27 June, “Mr. Daw for Clinch, £20 4s. 4d.”; possibly this refers to a son of the Rev. John Clinch whose medical apprenticeship may have been aided by Jenner.⁴⁹

His greatest expense was £138 9s. 6d. to John Ghostly for building work. Jenner bought the Chantry Cottage in 1785 for £600, so this work was an expensive item; perhaps it involved an extension to the Chantry which J E Gethyn-Jones suggests took place at about this time.⁵⁰ Jenner was subject to taxation and paid two sums totalling £12 13s. 11d., which represented 4.3 per cent of the income recorded in his diary for 1794. On 5 May he subscribed £3 3s. 0d. to “the Profession”, perhaps a charitable donation for colleagues.

If one adds up the sums entered in the “account of monies”, they provided an income of £297 5s. 6d., of which £240 2s. 6d. was paid by patients; his outgoings totalled £346 10s. 6d. This imbalance cannot reflect the true financial circumstances of a long established and popular practitioner. As indicated earlier, his records exclude income from patients attending the surgery and also work generated by his assistants. Loudon has deduced from other surviving records that, towards the end of the eighteenth century, provincial surgeon-apothecaries in southern England earned of the order of £400 annually, some much less but others more.⁵¹ On balance, Jenner’s income was in the higher category.

Other Information

On 2 January he wrote, “Met Dr. Cheston . . .”. In a letter from Jenner to Dr J H Hikes of the Gloucester Infirmary, circa 1787, he wrote: “. . . I want much to run over the Ph. Trans.

⁴⁸ Saunders, *op. cit.*, note 4 above, p. 23; Davies, *op. cit.*, note 9 above, diary entry, “July 29th, Mrs Jenner—Catherine 1794”, which may indicate a christening date.

⁴⁹ See note 43 above.

⁵⁰ In a museum leaflet, *The Chantry, Berkeley*,

Gloucestershire, the home of Jenner, c. 1985, Canon J E Gethyn-Jones discussed enlargement of the building by Jenner after 1788 and expressed uncertainty about when this was undertaken, without excluding 1794.

⁵¹ Loudon, *op. cit.*, note 27 above, pp. 111–12.

to see what has been sd. on Cuckoos. That is my present Hobby—I shall find them at Chestons I suppose . . .”.⁵² Richard Cheston FRS, a surgeon at Gloucester Infirmary,⁵³ presumably owned a set of the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society. On 19 March Jenner “went to Bath”, for either professional or social reasons, not his health, for he was back visiting patients on 21st; on 25th he “dined at Mr. Winchcomb’s”, possibly the Winchcomb family of Stroud whom he visited professionally later. On 2 July he went to “the public Breakfast at Hawkins Hall” (not identified), perhaps a subscription event. As noted earlier, Jenner was called as an expert witness in the case of poisoning, seen by Henry Jenner on 17 April, and the entry of 4 September “Mr Pearce Attorney” may be a relevant appointment. Pearce was the maiden name of Henry Jenner’s wife; Davies recorded on 13 December 1792, “. . . my cousin H. Jenner married Miss Pearce of Middle Hill”.⁵⁴

Conclusion

The “accompt-book” for 1794 is an isolated survivor of Jenner’s records of his professional responsibilities in Berkeley; his other practice records remain untraced. The contents are limited to personal visits to patients unable to attend him in Berkeley and may not be representative of earlier more intensive practice, for in 1794 he finalized arrangements to introduce his two nephews as partners. None the less, Jenner records sufficient information to illuminate several aspects of the life of a surgeon-apothecary or general practitioner in agricultural England at the end of the eighteenth-century. Measured against other surviving records, Jenner’s practice area was extensive and, even if he did not ride out of Berkeley every day, he spent much time in the saddle; meteorological observations indicate his visits were made in fair weather and foul. If his account includes little clinical information, it records glimpses of domestic, social and other responsibilities. Jenner’s natural history publications⁵⁵ and his social contacts suggest life in Berkeley was not confined to a relentless struggle of managing a far-flung practice. Already a Fellow of the Royal Society, he was supported by relatives and close friends and, by 1794, enjoyed an influential reputation in both professional and leisure pursuits.⁵⁶ None the less, after twenty years, the day-to-day pressures of rural practice may have taken their toll, stimulating Jenner to seek physical relief, wider intellectual horizons and also more time to clarify suspicions linking cowpox with smallpox. His “accompt-book” for 1794 provides an informed background to this change of direction, finally accelerated by severe illness in December of that year.

⁵² Sotheby’s sale catalogue, 22 April 1958, MS. letter, part quotation.

⁵³ R B Cheston, author of *Pathological inquiries and observations in surgery, from the dissection of morbid bodies*, Gloucester, Raikes, 1766, is stated to be “Surgeon to the Gloucester Infirmary”.

⁵⁴ Davies, op. cit., note 41 above. William Davies junior often visited a Mrs Pearce “at Hill”, perhaps the mother of Mrs Henry Jenner who died of “typhus” in December, 1794.

⁵⁵ [Experiments on hedgehogs made in 1779] in J Hunter, *Observations on certain parts of the animal*

oeconomy, London, 1786, pp. 99–100. ‘Observations on the natural history of the cuckoo’, *Philosoph. Trans. Royal Society of London*, 1788, pt 2: pp. 219–37. For the latter work he was elected FRS.

⁵⁶ Entries by William Davies junior in his diary (op. cit., note 41 above) indicate that regular “Club” evenings were held at the White Hart in Berkeley with named individuals as hosts, e.g., “18th September, 1794 . . . At Dr Jenner’s club in the evening.” In addition Davies dined at Dr Jenner’s house seven times in 1794.