

THE EARLY DECADES OF THE CHELTENHAM DISPENSARY

by Daphne Doughton

With the dispensary newly opened in 1813, its activities and sustained work attracted the interests of many individuals and groups of people in a variety of ways over the next four decades. It befell the town's honour to have in residence Dr. Edward Jenner, who was associated with the first 1811 proposals for a dispensary and an associated vaccine institute. Also in the town was Revd. Rowland Hill, (1744-1833), famed for his ministry, including that at the Cheltenham Chapel (in which Jenner took a great interest); Hill offered to carry out vaccination on children and this facility would be announced at the end of his Sunday sermons, '... and if you wish them to escape that horrid disease, the smallpox, you will bring them'.

'The physician and preacher saw a good deal of one another, for Jenner was a frequent attendant on Rowland Hill's ministry in Cheltenham.' (1)

In the early days the dispensary had various locations until a permanent site was found at Sandford Field in 1849. (2) The medical gentlemen and those especially of the original 1813 Medical Committee, along with other citizens of the town, played an important role in the administration and control of the dispensary over successive years.

CLERICAL INFLUENCE

Also included were clergy amongst the town's leading figures at the time; one was the Revd. Henry Foulkes, incumbent of the Parish Church, who was succeeded 1816 by Revd. Charles Jervis for ten years. Whereas the Revd. Foulkes was associated with the founding committee of the institution, the Revd. Jervis followed in similar work of what was to become the Annual Committee during his years (1816-1826), as incumbent, besides being the first recorded chaplain to the dispensary. (3) Jervis's successor, both as incumbent and chaplain, was Revd. Francis Close, who was associated with other men of note in Contem Ignotus's book, **The Golden Decade of a Favoured Town**, (1843-1853). (4) C. Ignotus recognised the clerical men, *as the leading influence in Cheltenham during our golden decade*; whilst for the medical profession, Mr. Charles Fowler, Dr. Shaw and Dr. Thomas Wright, F.R.S.E., were mentioned. Dr. Wright was considered more than locally celebrated. (5)

The clergy's practical ministry included the work of visiting the sick in Hospital and in their homes, besides advocating the cause of the dispensary to their congregations at least annually (6) whilst the salaried apothecary of the dispensary carried out home visiting, with the added blessing of providing medicines free to the poor who were too ill to visit the institution (7).

The memory of the Revd. Charles Jervis is perpetuated on a fine memorial at the back of Saint Mary's Church Cheltenham which gives a strong hint of the breadth of his activities in the parish associated with charitable institutions on behalf of the labouring poor;

'He was ever assiduous in visiting the sick and needy, he pleaded the cause of charity with great success, and was eminently judicious, skilful, and laborious, in devising and establishing benevolent institutions, it pleased Almighty God to take him from this extensive sphere of usefulness on the 25 September 1826 in the 44 year of his age; and amid the lamentations of an assembled multitude.' (8).

Immediately, from the start of the dispensary, such dedicated people were to become the necessary thread of continuity and it is not too hard to trace them and relate to some individuals in detail as the story of the institution's work and growth unfolds, with a particular emphasis on the emerging medical profession, buildings and services that were to develop (9).

The results are complementary to the town's increasing population in the nineteenth century. In 1816 Cheltenham's population was considered to exceed that of the city of Gloucester. (10) At the turn of the century the population had been in excess of 3,000; by 1834 the Henry Davies Guide suggested that in the space of thirty years, the increase, including the suburbs, was eight-fold, a remarkable growth (11).

The pleasure town included thousands of poor whose needs included attention from the members of the Vestry, the Overseers of the Poor and the Magistrates, besides the parish doctor, especially for those labelled paupers (12).

CHELTENHAM DISPENSARY.
20th Feb. 1820.

ON Wednesday the 16th inst. after divine service, a collection was made at the places of public worship, for the purpose of aiding the funds of this Institution, and towards enabling the directors, when a sufficient sum is obtained, to commence an establishment for the reception of casualties, to be called the **KINGS WARD**.

The Treasurer acknowledges the receipt of the following sums, viz.

At Cheltenham Church, by Rev. C. Jervis,	£94 12 0
Charlton ditto, by Rev R. Williams,	10 2 7
Cheltenham Chapel, by Rev. J. Brown,	11 4 2
Catholic ditto, by Rev. J. Birdsall,	6 0 10
Methodist ditto, by Rev. G. Gellard,	3 0 0
Portland ditto, Rev. J. Shearman,	2 11 7
Friends by the Rev. C. Snow,	7 17 6
	£135 8 5

And the Directors take this opportunity to express their thanks for the support they have on all occasions received from the Inhabitants and Visitors of this town and neighbourhood, whenever appealed to by their respective Clergy; and to whom they are greatly obliged for their individual exertions.

SIMPSON ANDERSON, Treasurer.

Donations continue to be received at the Bank of Messrs. Turner, Morris and Co.

Cheltenham Chronicle 24 February, 1820

A WIDENING SCOPE OF WORK

The dispensaries and other kindred institutions which helped the poor and the increasing number of hospitals in the cities and towns were charitable foundations which supplemented the old and new Poor Law provisions. In Cheltenham's case, the ravages of the smallpox initiated the need for the dispensary to become the focus for vaccination of the poor. These were the fundamental objectives of the dispensary from the start, (13) and the Annual Meeting in 1815 reported the need for a small ward for those with infectious diseases (14). This came after the observations of the medical gentlemen who had been checking the progress of smallpox and of a typhus or malignant fever. This became the basis of a call to the public for new subscribers and the existing ones to increase their contributions . . . referring to the dispensary's 'many beneficial results, in proportion as the sphere of its operations is enlarged and extended'. Items equally important were requested in 1815:—

'... presents of Surgical Instruments, Medical Apparatus, Trusses, Linen, Sheets, Blankets, new or otherwise, or of any useful articles, will be thankfully received. . .' (15).

From 1816 the press reported the need for more space, (16) a new subscription list (17) and a move to North Street (18). The January 1817 Annual Meeting stated that nearly double the number of patients had benefitted in the past year; (some six hundred persons were vaccinated to prevent the ravages of the smallpox which caused thirty deaths in 1816), and that *'... every endeavour should be used to prevent all infectious diseases, especially among the poor. It is also of importance for the afflicted poor to know where to apply for relief, free of expense, . . .'* (19).

A CASUALTY WARD

The **Annual Reports** for the years of 1817 and 1818 in the **Cheltenham Chronicle** are significant for the amount of detail they give and the space allocated to the subject of the dispensary in the newspaper's columns; for 1819 the material is much reduced and there are no Reports from 1821 to 1825. From 1825, a regular record reappears in a printed bound book version (20) as well as continuing in the local newspapers again (21). The date gaps are important, as the Institution moves again and G. A. Williams, publishing **The New Cheltenham Guide** of 1824, is the first document to reveal this detail; the address has changed to 318 High Street. (22) A treasurer's statement of February 1820 showed that after divine service at places of public worship collections totalled £135. 8s. 8d., (23) which would enable the directors,

'when a sufficient sum is obtained, to commence an establishment for the reception of casualties to be called Kings Ward'.

This initiative was followed by Mr. Simpson Anderson the treasurer, Mr. Christopher Cole (treasurer from 1825) and Captain Younghusband, forming a special committee in January 1821 (24).

A print of this building in the High Street reveals the wording on the wall, 'BLESSED ARE THE MERCIFUL' and there is a plaque, (25) the 'DISPENSARY and CASUALTY WARD' and 'SUPPORTED BY VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS', words that speak of achievement and reward for all the effort to have the King's Ward built for the casualty cases (26). A new title **Cheltenham Dispensary and Casualty Hospital** emerges at the 1827 Annual Meeting, a title which was to last ten years, complemented with a revised set of by-laws, twenty nine in total. Rule nine allowed that *'in all cases of recent accidents Patients are permitted to apply for relief at the Hospital, and the Apothecary is authorized to receive them without a letter of recommendation . . .'* (27) *in the hope of 'restoring . . . many valuable members of society'* (28). The subject of 'capital operations' in Rule 12, dictated that all surgeons were to be informed of the date and time that surgery was to take place, except in cases of emergency. Home care and out-patient relief was substantially upheld in Rule 7, if equal relief were obtainable that way; this was applicable only to those resident in the town of Cheltenham. Out-patients attended at nine o'clock for treatment which included dressings, bleeding or cupping. For the neighbouring parishes, advice and medicines alone were available.

Prior to the casualty ward, accidents had often gone to Gloucester Infirmary (29) and now the hope was that there would be less risk to their lives and care for those unfit to make the journey. The accidents, (referred to as severe and often distressing) and associated surgery from 1828 (30) formed a basic element of the ever expanding workload, with the annual statistics showing the Ward admission figures as a feature in the Medical Reports. By 1826, Dr. John Fosbroke reported.

'... till lately the Institution possessed few claims to notice, but what complaints of neglect and imperfect treatment excited; but the additional appointment of three physicians, one 'operative surgeon', and a surgeon - apothecary, with certain improvements of the regulations of their attendance, have given a prospect, at least, of more efficient service' (31).

In the 1820s the daily in-house number were only two to five patients (the yearly total was some 30-40) and deaths in a year kept to a maximum number of five with burn cases possibly causing the higher peaks, as in 1831. The initial premises at No. 318 restricted the work until the arrival of the King's Ward in 1822, then in 1824 two more reception rooms at a cost of £100 were added, (32) undoubtedly to accommodate the institution now handling double the number of casualties and an immediate increase of dispensary out-patients, from 2,107 to 2,999. The treasurer in reporting the additional expense of 1824 attributed the quantity of work to the increasing size of the population with a *'drain upon its funds likely to be still greater'*; whilst at the time, when referring to the employment of the working classes, Dr. James McCabe wrote

'... owing to the great number of persons employed in building, such accidents have been frequent during the last year', averaging about four in-patients daily in the Ward (33).

CHELTEHAM'S FAME SPREADS

Dr. J. McCabe, a Cheltenham dispensary physician from 1826 to 1836 favoured the first volume of **The Midland Medical and Surgical Reporter** (a provincial medical journal published in Worcester), with a copy of the Cheltenham dispensary report. This logged the activities and achievements of the institution mentioning the flexibility of the doctors seeing patients at the dispensary and in their own houses and lodgings, besides the regular attendance of cases at the institution. Dr. McCabe concluded his report 'by recommending the establishment of an infirmary at Cheltenham . . .'

In those years of the dispensary's growing responsibilities and importance, there were new initiatives and activities taken by the various committees, with the institution changing its name to an Hospital, whilst retaining the dispensary features for many years to come. The doctors and clergy serving in an honorary capacity in this charity work had duties which were considered onerous and they became, *'a sort of local parliament regulating the affairs of charities. A great power was entrusted to them'* (34).

CHARITY BEGINS AT HOME

The other largest group of persons inevitably involved of necessity were the charitable, who featured yearly with their annual subscriptions published in the local newspaper and in 1841 were referred to as, *'... the very sheet anchor of all such institutions, ...'* (35)

At the January annual general meetings the benefactors and subscribers were reminded that monies were due from that month for the forthcoming year, the entitlement to tickets and a vote 'at all elections for the Dispensary'. (36) In 1832 an invitation was extended to the public to visit the enlarged institution.

Later on, from the next move, with the Hospital opened in Segrave House, (still in the High Street), (37) the importance of the subscribers was reflected in the use of up to twelve district stewards as part of a special committee to solicit subscriptions, joined by a collector Mr. Henry Waite in 1837. As a paid employee he collected the subscriptions and maintained the subscriber's lists, kept the books and delivered the reports, besides attending all the meetings (38). The work of the collector was previously carried out by the treasurers (39). The collector's appointment could be recommended to the committee by the treasurer, in keeping with the 1839 Rules, numbers 59-65; the collector was to receive two and a half per cent, on all the sums he may collect (40).

Several treasurers gave sterling service, notably Mr. Fletcher, Mr. Anderson and Mr. Cole from 1825 until 1836, when he became a trustee until 1851. From 1817 he began as a member of the annual committee and ended his committee work as a member for the quarterly board in 1848. The hospital was only one of his concerns; Gwen Hart notes that he wrote to the **Cheltenham Journal** as Secretary of the National Schools, about 'the thousands of neglected and ignorant children with whom the streets and courts abound' in this period (41).

This fine example of long service highlights just one person who would have had extensive oversight and influence of the developing dispensary, Casualty Ward and Hospital, in the critical period of the first four decades. There were others and Robert Capper with Christopher Cole must have shared many of the changes; Capper similarly was on the annual committee from 1818 and possibly without a break until 1836; he was to be vice-president and president alternately, the latter position relinquished due to the 'increasing infirmities of age,' he was also a trustee and patron in the ten years before 1850. On the 16 June 1835, he was chairman to the public meeting of the managing committee (42) for the proposed General Hospital and Dispensary — an unenviable task — as his duty, on that occasion, was to explain by way of a statement why the committee could not proceed and complete the proposed hospital building on the land at Sandford Field, (owned since 1834), with the funds then available (43).

TO BUILDERS AND OTHERS.
CHELTENHAM
General Hospital and Dispensary.

TENDERS will be received at this Hospital, on or before the 22d of April next, for the intended ADDITIONS and ALTERATIONS.

The Drawings and Specifications for that purpose may be seen at the Premises, at the Hospital, between the hours of 10 and 12 A.M.

The Tenders may be submitted either for the whole works in one Tender, or for the respective works separately.

The Committee will not pledge themselves to take the lowest Tender.—Security for performance of the contract will be required.

The Tenders are to be forwarded free of expense, under seal directed "To the Building Committee of the General Hospital and Dispensary"—Tender for the proposed Additions and Alterations.

This advertisement will not be repeated.

Cheltenham Chronicle 13 March, 1837

MEDICINE — AN EMERGING PROFESSION

For the medical profession, as we would now call the 'medical gentlemen' of those days, these were exciting as well as difficult times. The apothecaries, surgeons and physicians as a profession had yet to be regulated and this would evolve from the 1858 Act which gradually raised the standards of medical practice (44). Before this Act, they experienced the effects of the 1815 **Apothecaries Act**, (45) which also demanded higher standards of education. One ultimate result was the advent of the doctor in the nineteenth century as a modern general practitioner, appropriate to the situation of the sick being cared for in their homes as the accepted custom. Juanita G. L. Burnby writes, *there is no doubt that the apothecary was an essential factor in the genesis of the general practitioner, but it is equally obvious that the title 'apothecary' was not an exact one.* (46).

For the first decade in this story, the resident apothecary was the main figure helping the poor in his direct contact with them as patients, with help from an assistant apothecary from 1824. (47) They dispensed medicines to help the sick in their homes or on visiting the dispensary. Initially the physicians and surgeons gave their professional advice and support to the apothecaries, but the 1820s and 1830s saw them becoming more clinically involved with treatment and surgical procedures, especially with the advent of in-patients over whom they had control and responsibility (48) with the apothecary routinely reporting to them (49). Doctors' services had always been gratuitous and this led to the now familiar title honorary, from the time they had pupils to teach (50). Other than for the apothecary's job that existed at the dispensary/hospital until 1839, (51) (when the newly created post of house surgeon appears, Rule: 103), the surgeon-apothecaries were to emerge in name as surgeons from the second decade in Cheltenham according to the published **Town Guides**. These published the names of the 'medical gentlemen' from 1812-1825, and identified only physicians and surgeons (52). The visiting physicians and surgeons were elected to serve the dispensary or the hospital, with experience considered necessary in the dispensary first (53).

Many of the medical fraternity were to give years of service, as Cheltenham's population grew and the institution had been left with no other alternative than to expand and move to allow the creation of a ward permitting more space to help those injured in accidents caused by horses and carriages, building works and fire. Pressures to help those with fevers by providing a hospital ward were abortive through lack of funds in the 1840s (54) whilst the threat of the cholera in the area, (55) the presence of typhus and 'other fevers', caused the local Board of Health to take decisive and extensive measures in cleansing the town;

'as a result, ... the fevers, ... which used to prevail fatally in our most crowded districts, have entirely subsided, ... owing to drainage, ventilation, and cleansing' (56).

MATERNITY CARE & MENTAL ILLNESS

The event of childbirth for indigent woman had been helped by the efforts of the Cobourg Society since 1817; similar help extended later to the district attached to St. Paul's. (57) The work expanded into the *Lying-In Institution and Dispensary for the Diseases of Women and Children*. Help was forthcoming from 1837, to provide medical attendance and other assistance to poor women at their confinement, and through the lying-in month, from the newly established *Cheltenham Midwifery Institution*. (58).

Mental illness remained firmly in the province of the physician, (59) but for this period it was a major concern of the overseers (60) paying for the care of cases in the long term both locally and at Droitwich. (61) The various special medical services to the poor had been contained without any additional buildings, allowing the principle of home care to be upheld for the vast majority until much nearer to the end of the century.

There were other activities of the medical men at the institution, particularly from the 1820s complementing medical learning and the local organisation of their profession. A museum started in 1826, thanks to the liberality of the medical board providing cabinets in the committee room for 'Anatomical and Surgical Preparations, together with a small collection of National Curiosities'. (62) Surgeon Mr. Charles Averill and Mr. Charles Fowler were the first curators who were 'actively employed in superintending and advancing it' (63). The Museum continued to grow with more specimens.

This activity continued through the period of the 1830s and 1840s and was a complement to the lectures given each week (64) for the benefit of medical pupils in medical science, by various members of the medical board. This development was recognised as adding 'character and utility to the Institution, (65) besides raising it in the public estimation as a school of science. *This branch of your Institution is now under the protection of the law for the promotion of anatomical knowledge*' (66).

IN-HOUSE MEDICAL TRAINING

These distinguished medical members were considered to have formed a hospital school for young medical gentlemen within the establishment and other pupils to medical gentlemen in the town, so they were enabled to obtain the rudiments of a sound medical education (67). The Cheltenham hospital had made provision for the pupils in the 'Rules Relating to Pupils and Apprentices', numbers 134 to 140; allowing for a premium to be paid in aid of the Funds of the Institution. The details for these young men varied from the number any one physician or surgeon could have articulated to them and their expected conduct, to other young gentlemen being allowed 'to see the practice of the Hospital for two years, or during their Apprenticeship, . . .' (68) This side of the work in Cheltenham was in line with national developments since dispensaries served as '*... centres for medical education. Clinical work could be done and signed for at the dispensaries, and many students from all over the country were in the 1830s able to get their clinical instruction there. . . . From the middle of the nineteenth century the educational function of dispensaries rapidly diminished, . . .*' (69).

Year ending Dec. 31st.	1835.	1836.	1837.	1838.	1839.	1840.	1841.	
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	S. D.
Annual Subscription . . .	397	407	431	449	875	973	1010	16 0
Donations	51	46	242	74	543	900	189	5 2
Collections at Churches and chapels	213	229	437	348	379	707	380	6 11
Other Sources	220	170	107	461	37	71		
Total Receipts	881	858	1217	1332	1834	2651	1580	8 1

Annual Subscriptions, GRO H O 3 8/1-20, 1842

THE BEGINNINGS of the B.M.A.

With these activities it is not surprising to find the medical fraternity linking up with the politics of their own profession. They had the extreme good fortune to be in the neighbourhood of Worcester, geographically close to that centre from which the origins of the British Medical Association started in 1856. It was called the Provincial Medical and Surgical Association, when it began on 19 July 1832 at Worcester Infirmary. Charles Hastings, the founder, was himself an apprentice to apothecaries, then he became a house surgeon before qualifying at Edinburgh (70). He had a professional life that spanned from the **Apothecaries Act** of 1815 to that of the **Medical Act** of 1858, of which he may be considered the principal architect. His concern was for medical reform and education; as an experienced writer he founded the **Midland Medical and Surgical Reporter** in 1828, to which Dr. McCabes contributed a Cheltenham hospital report in the same year, a good example of the influence Charles Hastings and Worcester had on other provincial colleagues. Hastings at the first meeting of the Association encouraged the doctors to write up reports of their institutions, (71) their clinical case histories, lectures and medical topography and statistics (72); this allowed the sharing of interests '*... of the rising provincial hospitals, . . . it incontestably served to make the provincial practitioners realize that they had much in common with one another as had the men in London*' (73).

Thus there is every indication that the doctors of Cheltenham were in close touch with events in Worcester; a pupil of the late Dr. Thomas Christie and the Cheltenham school, Charles W. Turner, published in 1829, a lengthy 'Biographical Sketch', (74) dedicated to the late surgeon's life and work. His sudden death was a great loss, as he had taken an active part in the establishment of the dispensary and serving the poor (75).

There were more than 50 medical men at the inaugural meeting of the Association from Cheltenham, Worcester and the provinces in July, 1832. Cheltenham contributed five local men who became members of the Council:— Physicians: Henry Boisragon, M. D., James Allardyce, M.D. and James McCabe, M.D. and Thomas Agg and Charles Fowler were Surgeons who served the dispensary and casualty hospital at Cheltenham. Besides these five, some nine other local men became members of the Association, namely Physicians William Conolly, M.D., R. W. Bernard, M.D., W. H. Foote, M.D. and William Kaye, M.D. The surgeon members were Henry Capel, R. W. Cowley, M.D., Charles Mayberry, Esq., S. H. Murley, Esq. and Charles Seager (76).

Proceedings of the Provincial Medical and Surgeon Association two day, fifth anniversary meetings were held in Cheltenham in 1837 at the new Literary and Philosophical Institution. This event is written up in William H. McMenemey's, **The Life and Times of Sir Charles Hastings**; the sense of occasion must have been great. A public breakfast was held in the Pittville Pump Room under the gaze of the statue Hygeia; then members 'visiting as was their custom the public institutions, hospitals and museum'; (77) and having 'a most abundant and elegant banquet in the Assembly Rooms, over which Dr. Henry C. Boisragon presided'. Dr. Boisragon, another important physician of Cheltenham (78) who had been associated with the Dispensary from the beginning, was also a writer and a lecturer; (79) his links with Cheltenham started from 1807, his son Theodore, (later to become a local doctor) was born in Cheltenham in 1810; Dr. Boisragon practised from 1810 to 1840, (80) and was said to be 'beloved of children and princes', and a great advocate of the dispensary (81). From its inception, he was an attendant physician at regular intervals to 1826; he was a member of the medical committee 1828-1836, besides giving his original support and patronage with Dr. Edward Jenner, for an institution, with members of the Gloucestershire Vaccine Association in 1811. He was a very worthy man to be taking the presidential role at this important meeting.

Dr. Boisragon, in his presidential address, referred to the Cheltenham springs, which the guests were invited by the proprietors to examine and inspect. A few gentlemen, conversant with the scientific aspects of the waters, assisted in answering scientific questions. Boisragon said that the town was without '*public institutions for the study of acute disease*,' and noted that, '*our Hospital and General Infirmary, at present in its infancy, and only grafted on a Dispensary of an extensive range and character, affords but little save the germ and indication of its future prosperity*'.

His speech was to exemplify much original thought which, with his professional colleagues over the years, must have been a factor of great importance to their work, whether it was seeing the patients as cases, the changing nature of the demands from the sick poor or those having accidents leading to surgery, of being associated with the need to enlarge the institution and obtain the funds to carry out such plans or, more importantly, move the site of the institution.

Each doctor, and frequently their wives, contributed to the subscription lists; they thus commenced a centre of learning for their fellows and the younger generation. The medical gentlemen were to see many changes; the dispensary had initially been the kingdom of the resident apothecary and this lasted until the move into Segrave House in the High street, when Mr. Burkitt resigned in 1839; the era of the resident House Surgeon had arrived. At the same time progress over time is reflected in the change of titles for the institution. The name dispensary and the work it implies remained in the transition from the casualty ward to casualty hospital, then finally the Cheltenham General Hospital and Dispensary.

THE EARLY DECADES OF THE CHELTENHAM DISPENSARY

- (1) Henry Branch **Cotswold and Vale**, (Norman Sawyer and Co., 1904), p.181.
- (2) Daphne M. Doughton, 'The Beginning of the Cheltenham Dispensary', **Gloucestershire History**, No. 5, pp.14-17, Gloucestershire Rural Community Council, 1991.
- (3) Annual Report of the Committee of the Cheltenham and Casualty Ward, (G.R.O., HO 3 8/1-20, 16 January 1825)
- (4) Contem Ignotus, **The Golden Decade of a Favoured Town.**, Elliot Stock, 1884, pp.9, 203.
- (5) **ibid**, p.203, Mr. T. Wright a Dispensary Surgeon, Lecturer and member of the Medical Committee.
- (6) J. K. Griffith, **A General Cheltenham Guide**, (Cheltenham, 1816), p.32.
- (7) See F. N. L. Poynter, **The Evolution of the Hospitals in Britain**; reference Sir Zachery Cope's article, The History of the Dispensary Movement, p.73-6; apothecaries practised under a 1703 decision of the House of Lords, (Pitman Medical Pub. Co., 1964).
- (8) **Cheltenham Chronicle**, (19 Dec 1816) Revd. Jervis was in the chair to form 'The Society for the Relief and Employment of the Deserving Poor'. After his Sunday sermon, £300, 14s. 7d. was collected for the cause. He founded the Cobourg Society in 1817 to help the poor lying-in married woman in their homes, offering aid in the hour of travail and supplying boxes of linen. Medical help was forthcoming from the Dispensary and the Society made an annual donation of £10 for these services; 1819 A.G.M.
- (9) Annual Report of the Cheltenham Dispensary and Casualty Ward, (G.R.O., HO 3 1/—20, 9 January 1832); e.g. '... the 4353 out-patients, up 732 on previous year; 34 in-patients, including seven operations that could not have been done safely in their homes; the list of objects attended and relieved have been much greater in number than in any year from its first establishment, now about eighteen years since'.
- (10) J. K. Griffith, **A General Cheltenham Guide**, (Cheltenham 1816, p.14. M. Q. Henriques, **Cheltenham and its Vicinity**, (Whittaker & Co., 1850), p.175, refers to 'The Registrar-General's Quarterly Return for the week ending March, 1850 . . . proofs of healthfulness of Cheltenham'; this is confirmed by Gloucester's population in 1841; 26,815 with 187 deaths and Cheltenham; 40,246 with 202 deaths. This suggests that Cheltenham was more healthy.
- (11) Henry Davies, **The Strangers Guide Through Cheltenham & its Environs**, 2nd, edition, (H. Davies, Montpellier Library, 1834), p.7.
- (12) Gwen Hart, **A History of Cheltenham**, (Leicester University Press,

- 1965), p.195. Hart suggests the town was attracting large numbers of very poor people amongst the wealthy and distinguished and that this was not a very unusual phenomenon. 'The poor were anxious to escape the hardships of life in other parts of the county and to find settlement in the town, . . . attracted by the annual Cheltenham Mop, . . . a sort of employment exchange', p.206 also refers to Gloucestershire's extreme poverty among agricultural and industrial workers . . . which caused great misery.
- (13) Annual Report of the Committee of the Cheltenham Dispensary and Casualty Ward, (G.R.O., HO 3 8/1-20, 16 January 1825).
- (14) **Cheltenham Chronicle**, 12 January 1815.
- (15) **Cheltenham Chronicle**, 12 January 1815.
- (16) **Cheltenham Chronicle**, 18 January 1816.
- (17) **Cheltenham Chronicle**, 12 January 1815.
- (18) J. K. Griffith, **The Cheltenham Guide**, 1818, p.120.
- (19) **Cheltenham Chronicle**, 23 January 1817.
- (20) Annual Report of the Committee of the Cheltenham Dispensary and Casualty Ward, (G.R.O., HO 3 8/1-20, 16 January 1825).
- (21) **Cheltenham Chronicle**; from 1826 this material.
- (22) G. A. Williams, **The New Cheltenham Guide**, (1824), p.85. Annual Report of the Committee of the Cheltenham Dispensary and Casualty Ward, (G.R.O., HO 3 8/1-20, 16 January 1826), p.4; Straford & Prince, £30, 'amount of their Bill for the Conveyance of the Dispensary to the Trustees'.
- (23) **Cheltenham Chronicle**, 24 February 1820; Simpson Anderson, Treasurer.
- (24) **Cheltenham Chronicle**, 11 January 1821.
- (25) See picture; from cover **Gloucestershire History**, 1991 edition.
- (26) 1832 Medical Report gives the commencement date as 1822.
- (27) Annual Report of the Committee of the Cheltenham Dispensary and Casualty Ward, (G.R.O., HO 8/1-20, 16 January 1826).
- (28) Annual Report of the Committee of the Cheltenham Dispensary and Casualty Ward, (G.R.O., HO 3 8/1-20, 16 January 1825).
- (29) The Overseers of the Poor had paid to the Gloucester Infirmary a yearly subscription of 2 gns, towards their care until 1823. (G.R.O., P78 OV 2/1). In 1824, 19 casualties were admitted to Cheltenham's Ward; in 1825 the number rose to 33 and subsequent years levelled off. (Annual Medical Reports).
- (30) Annual Report of the Committee of the Cheltenham Dispensary and Casualty Ward, (G.R.O., HO 3 8/1-20, 12 January 1829); dangerous accidents and 'many have been admitted solely for . . . surgical operations in local diseases'.

- (31) Dr. John Fosbroke, (Resident Surgeon at Cheltenham), *Medical History of the Waters*, (in Rev. T. D. Fosbroke, **A Picturesque and Topographical Account of Cheltenham and its Vicinity**, S. C. Harper, 1826), p.210. G.R.O., H.O. 3 8/1-20. 1826 Annual Report upheld his remarks, also mentioning the institution was 'endeavouring to maintain that superior rank among Charitable Institutions and in public estimation which it so deservedly merits'.
- (32) Annual Report of the Committee of the Cheltenham Dispensary and Casualty Ward, (G.R.O., HO. 3 8/1-20, 16 January 1826), p.4; Mr. C. W. Jones; account re additional buildings, and £27. 13s. 0d. for furniture and repairs. P. Bossier; £25 premium on insurance of £500. (N.B., there is a possibility that these rooms are the proposed Kings Ward, although plans for enlarged buildings are often discussed). Annual Report 1831, p.3; because of enlarged accommodation, the hospital is considered fully adequate in size for the 'wants of this populous Town & Neighbourhood, as far as regards casualties and surgical cases', adding to the comfort of in-patients and the convenience of the medical officers.
- (33) Dr. James McCabe, **Midiand Medical & Surgical Reporter & Topographical & Statistical Journal**, Vol. 11, Article XIV, (1830-1831), pp.133-4.
- (34) *Scrutator*, The Medical Charities of Birmingham; being letters on Hospital Management, (re-printed from the **Birmingham Daily Gazette**, Walter J. Sacht, 1863), p.67, (Bodleian Library; 150f 6/6).
- (35) Annual Report of the Committee of the Cheltenham General Hospital and Dispensary, (G.R.O., HO 3 8/1-20, 25 January 1841).
- (36) Rules & Regulations for the Government of the Cheltenham General Hospital and Dispensary, 1839; (214 in total). Rule 4, p.4.
- (37) **Cheltenham Chronicle**, Meeting of the Management Committee of the proposed general Hospital and Dispensary, 16 June 1835.
- (38) Rules & Regulations for the Government of the Cheltenham General Hospital and Dispensary, 1839; Rule 59-65, Mr. H. Waite was the Collector from 1840-1849; in 1841 he was paid £20. 6s. 0d., (G.R.O., HO 3 8/1-20). This was a job Mr. Waite undertook for several voluntary organisations.
- (39) **Cheltenham Chronicle**, 23 January 1817.
- (40) Rules & Regulations for the Government of the Cheltenham General Hospital and Dispensary, 1839; Rule 60. (G.R.O. HO 3 8/1-20).
- (41) Gwen Hart, **A History of Cheltenham**, p.223. N.B., C. Cole was also associated with the Benevolence & Anti-Mendicity Society, **Cheltenham Chronicle**, 13 January 1831.
- (42) **Cheltenham Chronicle**, 18 June 1835. G. Hart, **op cit.** index refers to Robert Capper, J.P., of Marle Hill; a Town Commissioner & ex-officio to the Board of Guardians, G. A. Williams, **Guide**, 1825, p.17, The Countess of Huntingdon's Chapel was built at the sole expense of Capper.
- (43) **Cheltenham Chronicle**, 7 April 1836, Hospital building plan abandoned August 1835; decision to proceed with the purchase of Segrave House, then the property of R. Capper, Esq., 'who had offered it to the Trustees on most liberal terms'. **Cheltenham Chronicle**, 20 December 1838, he received in cash 'paid in part', £2,250 for House & land, with another £250 due. Building Committee Meeting, 14 December 1838, R. Capper & family contributed £1,025 to Building Fund expenses.
- (44) F. N. L. Poynter, Ed., **The Evolution of Medical Practice in Britain**, Pitman Medical Publishing, 1961 p.51. An Act which stabilized & gradually raised the standard of medical practice in Great Britain.
- (45) Frederick F. Cartwright, **A Social History of Medicine**, (Longman 1977), pp.50-53; one aspect was the proliferation of private schools which were nothing but cramming establishments for the Apothecaries examination — a most likely reason for the teaching activities at the Cheltenham Hospital, (forward to p.19).
- (46) Juanita G. L. Burnby, **A study of the English Apothecary from 1660-1760**, (Medical History, Supplement No. 3, 1983, chapter 3, p.39. For the eighteenth century, the terms, 'surgeon' and 'apothecary' could scarcely be differentiated in the provinces.
- (47) G.R.O., HO 3 8/1-20; 1825 Statement of Accounts; includes assistant apothecary's salary for 3 months, 10gns., Rules & Regulations for the Government of the Cheltenham General Hospital and Dispensary, 1839; Rule 125-133.
- (48) Rules & Regulations for the Government of the Cheltenham General Hospital and Dispensary, 1839; Rule 121, p.29.
- (49) F. N. L. Poynter, **The Evolution of Hospitals in Britain**. (Pitman Medical Publishing, 1964), p.197; p.199 'while for surgeons in pre-anaesthetic days when speed was essential, anatomy, for all practical purposes, was surgery', ... anatomy in those days included physiology, 'the direct contact with practical anatomy provided by the Paris Method, made the study valuable for all doctors'.
- (50) **Ibid.**, p.198.
- (51) Annual Report of the Committee of the Cheltenham General Hospital & Dispensary; Financial Statement, (G.R.O. HO 3 8/1-20, January 1840). Mr. A. S. Burkitt in post at least 11 years, resigns 22 July 1839, at the time of the Hospital move from 318 to 300 High street.
- (52) **Cheltenham Guides**, (Wood & Co., 1812 & S. Bettison, 1820), the listing of 1812 gives two of six names as members of the Royal College of Surgeons; in 1825, five of eight names were members. (53).
- (53) Rules & Regulations for the Government of the Cheltenham General Hospital and Dispensary, 1839; Rule 77, p.21.
- (54) Annual Report of the Committee of the Cheltenham General Hospital & Dispensary; January 1843, p.4; Fever Ward. (G.R.O., HO. 3 8/1.20).
- (55) **Ibid**, 1832, p.4; Indian Cholera. The town escaped a serious outbreak in 1832-1833. **Cheltenham Chronicle**, 10 January 1833; Cheltenham Chronology for 1832.
- (56) John Lee, **Guide**, (1834), p.167. Condition in many parts of the town were still very primitive.
- (57) **Ibid**, p.179. Cobourg Society; See ref, (8).
- (58) **Cheltenham Chronicle**, 19 January 1837.
- (59) F. N. L. Poynter, **op. cit.**, p.196.
- (60) Overseers of the Poor, Parish Records of St. Marys, Cheltenham, G.R.O., P78 OV 2/1, 1814-1824; e.g. to Messrs, Ricketts, Droitwich, to 29 June 1820, paid £38. 16s. 0d.
- (61) Rules & Regulations for the Government of the Cheltenham General Hospital and Dispensary, 1839; Rule 210, p.45; Inadmissible Patients.
- (62) Annual Report of the Committee of the Cheltenham Dispensary & Casualty Hospital, (G.R.O., HO 3 8/1-20, January 1827).
- (63) Annual Report of the Committee of the Cheltenham Dispensary & Casualty Hospital, (G.R.O., HO 3 8/1-20, January 1829).
- (64) **Cheltenham Chronicle**, 28 March 1839; Thomas Wright, M.R.C.S., London . . . & late lecturer on Anatomy & Physiology at the Cheltenham Dispensary. See ref. 49. **The Medical Intelligencer**, No. XLV, Vol. IV, August 1823, p.401; in the 'contents listing', Charles Averill, F.R.C.S.; A Short Treatise on Operative Surgery, describing the principal Operations as they are practised in England & France; designed for students in operating on the dead body. (Bodleian Library; 150f 6/6). **Cheltenham Chronicle**, 22 January 1835; Dr. W. Conolly, lectures on Physiology and Respiration & Circulation of the Blood, at the Literary Philosophical Institution.
- (65) Annual reports of the Committee of the Cheltenham Dispensary & Casualty Hospital. (G.R.O., HO 3 8/1-20, January 1827).
- (66) Annual Report of the Committee of the Cheltenham Dispensary & Casualty Hospital, (G.R.O., HO 3 8/1-20, January 1833).
- (67) F. N. L. Poynter, **op. cit.**, p.198; Private pupillage if it did much to develop the characteristics of the individual hospitals, did nothing to develop medicine and surgery at large. Although the number of private pupils was originally very restricted, it became much larger in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, when hospital education suddenly developed, and the very high pupil fees became, for a short time, a considerable source of income to the younger members of hospital staffs. The period from 1740 to 1840 was the era of the anatomy schools. It is to the lasting credit of medical men that they were seeking a better education before the public thought of requiring it of them, and before the Universities had the least notion of providing any modern medical education, or, for matter of that, any medical education at all.
- (68) Rules & Regulation for the Government of the Cheltenham General Hospital and Dispensary, 1839; pp.32-34.
- Midiand Medical & Surgical Reporter & Topographical & Statistical Journal**, Vol. 11, Article XIV, (1830-1831), pp.439-441; Cheltenham Casualty Hospital. *Purpura Haemorrhagica*, treated by Dr. Christie and written up by Charles W. Turner, pupil, pp.306-310; Enlarged Prostate, (Surgical case occurring in the Hospital Practice of the late Mr. Averill, with Observations), by C. W. Turner, (Now a Member of the Royal College of Surgeons).
- (69) F. N. L. Poynter, **op. cit.**, p.76.
- (70) Articles collected from the **British Medical Journal**, Charles Hastings and Worcester, 1794-1866, British Medical Association, 1966, p.4.
- (71) **The Transactions of the Provincial Medical & Surgical Association**, Vol. 1, 1833, pp. 18-19.
- (72) **Midiand Medical and Surgical Reporter**, Vol. 2, 1830-31, p.181-186, Cheltenham Hospital; Dr. J. McCabe, M.D., writes on a Case of Fever with Typhus Symptoms, ... an early 'medical case', received into, & treated as in-patient in the Hospital. (This is one example from Dr. McCabe's pen).
- (73) **British Medical Journal**, loc cit, p.9.
- (74) **Midiand Medical and Surgical Reporter**, 1829, Vol. 2, p. 46-49. C. W. Turner; see ref. 68.
- (75) **Midiand Medical and Surgical Reporter**, 1829, Vol. 2, p. 46-49.
- (76) **Journal of The Provincial Medical and Surgical Association**, Vol. 1, 1833, pp. i-xviii. In addition John Baron, M.D., of Gloucester, a close contact of the Cheltenham men, (and friend of Dr. Boisragon), was on the Council.
- (77) Williams H. McMenemy's book, **The Life and Times of Sir Charles Hastings, Founder of the British Medical Association**, (E. S. Livingstone Ltd., 1959), chapter XVII.
- (78) Dr. A. Bruce Wallace, Dr. Henry Charles Boisragon, Cheltenham's Eminent Physician, 1778-1852, **Gloucestershire History**, (Gloucestershire Rural Community Council, 1988), pp. 2-4; (article covers his family and career).
- (79) **Cheltenham Chronicle**, 17 January 1839; e.g., lecture to the Literary & Philosophical Society, on 'phenomena of Aqueous Meteors, & their connection with electricity'. **Cheltenham Chronicle**, 18 August 1836; made opening address as President to the new Cheltenham Literary & Philosophical Institution. Williams' **Guide**, 1824, p.187, Physician Extraordinary to the King.
- (80) **Cheltenham Chronicle**, 5 February 1840; resigns as Physician to the Dispensary.
- (81) Edith Humphris & E. C. Willoughby, **At Cheltenham Spa**, (Alfred A. Knopf, London, 1928), p.2, p.169.

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