No. 10, 11, 12 and 13—malaria treated with quinine and improving. No. 14—a new patient with fever. No. 15—an ulcer on the heel following treatment with quick lime by a native doctor for a wound. No. 16—a black man with a cough. This sample, taken at random, gives an idea of the work undertaken by the hospital.'

Leprosy was occasionally seen. In July 1885, a non-medical observer comments on 'noses, tongues or throats consumed or nearly so by disease'. Tumours were often very florid when seen. In 1889 an 8 lb. growth was removed from the back of the neck. Despite the poor conditions and the neglected state of the patients in 1905, they could claim that 'there has never been a fatality at an operation since the work began almost 20 years ago and chloroform has invariably been used.'

Over the years, the staff of the Tulloch Memorial Hospital have served Morocco faithfully and have achieved a great deal, often under extremely arduous conditions, with minimal facilities.

I am most grateful to the office staff of the North Africa Mission for access to their records. I am, of course, indebted to the doctors and nurses of the Tulloch Memorial Hospital, from whose accounts I have drawn my information.

A. C. P. SIMS

HUMPHRY DAVY OR FRIEDRICH ACCUM: A QUESTION OF IDENTIFICATION*

THE LONDON MUSEUM owns a fine coloured caricature drawing by Thomas Rowlandson,¹ which is inscribed 'Mr. Acchum Professor of Chemistry—Lecturing at the Surry Institution 1809' (fig. 1). The artist's signature at the bottom left and possibly a narrow strip of the left side of the drawing are cut off. The work was acquired by the London Museum in 1912; its former owner was probably W.T.B. Ashley.

The catalogue of the London Museum adds that an engraving of the same scene was published by Rowlandson, with the title 'Chemical Lectures'. This rather rare engraving (fig. 2), with different colouring and a few minor variations but otherwise identical, was dated by M. D. George in the British Museum *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*² to the year c. 1810 without reference to the drawing. The engraving does not show clearly who the lecturer is, but the name 'Accum' is seen on a paper in the pocket of one of the listeners. On the door lintel is the inscription 'Surry Institution'.

A more conventional print of Accum's Chemical Lectures in the Surrey Institution (fig. 3), also by Rowlandson, appeared in the *London Microcosm*, a three-volume work adorned with aquatint illustrations and published by Rudolph Ackermann, 1808–11. Here both title and text emphasize the fact that of the two prominent lectures at the

^{*}Caricatures referred to in notes 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, and 15 are in the Wellcome Institute of the History of Medicine.

¹John Hayes, A Catalogue of the Watercolour Drawings by Thomas Rowlandson in the London Museum, London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1960, No. 20. The drawing was exhibited in the Manchester City Art Gallery's exhibition 'Art and the Industrial Revolution', No. 242.

^a Mary Dorothy George, Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires, preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, vol. 8, 1947, No. 11605.



Figure 1. 'Mr. Acchum . . . lecturing at the Surry Institution.' Coloured pen drawing by T. Rowlandson, 1809. By courtesy of the London Museum.



Figure 2. Chemical Lectures. Coloured engraving by T. Rowlandson, c. 1810.

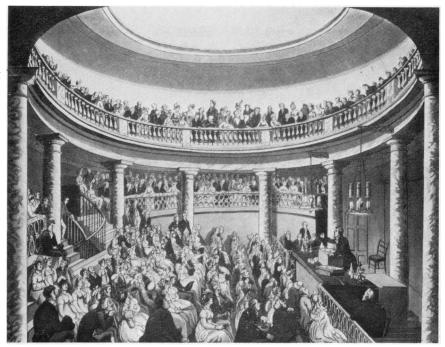


Figure 3. Surrey Institution. Plate 81 by A. W. N. Pugin and T. Rowlandson from *The Microcosm of London*, 1808. By courtesy of the British Museum.



Figure 4. Portrait of Accum by J. Thomson for the European Magazine, 1810.

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Surrey Institution, Mr. Jackson and Accum, the latter was chosen for the illustration.³

Since the identity of the lecturer is disputed, it seems regrettable that the drawing in the London Museum has not been cited as evidence. Before discussing the relevant literature a comparison of drawing with engraving and with the London Microcosm print might be helpful.

Seen side by side, both drawing and engraving represent a section of a lecture hall. a panoramic view of which appears in the 'Microcosm' print. Here an upper balcony forms a full circle under a cupola and is supported by about twelve columns. The figures in the audience are proportionately small and unrecognizable. In the corresponding sectional view in the caricatures we are given a closer view of the speaker's platform, the audience and the lower balcony; the purpose of the caricature is served by enlarging faces and figures and so enhancing the expressive element, showing the amusing interplay between lecturer's performance and the reactions of interest, distraction and perplexity in the audience.

The drawing depicts the lecturer with a somewhat anxious expression as he pours liquid into a glass; in the engraving he is not looking at what he is doing, but straight at his audience. In both representations the design of the head is a faithful portraval of Friedrich Christian Accum (1769-1838). His engraved portrait by J. Thomson after S. Drummond⁴ (fig. 4) shows the same rounded cheeks, aquiline nose, almond shaped eyes and fleshy lips; the likeness is more obvious in the engraving.

The group of professionals around the lecturer may be identified in a few instances. The bulky man to the left who is standing up and viewing the experiment with an approving smile might be Rudolph Ackermann (1764–1834), the publisher and friend of Accum. His portrait appears as the frontispiece to his biography of W. J. Burke.⁵ The man wearing a wig to his right resembles Sir J. Hippisley (1748-1825), manager of the Royal Institution. He is represented in James Gillray's caricature 'Scientific Researches',⁶ where he appears as the guinea-pig in the experiment on the 'Powers of Air'. To the right of the lecturer, seen from the back against the balustrade, sits a lean-faced, bald-headed man who resembles Gillray's caricature of Count Rumford.⁷ At the time of this session in the Surrey Institution, Count Rumford had left England for Paris, but it is not out of the question that Rowlandson may have drawn an imaginary gathering of persons who were in one way or another connected with Accum: Count Rumford had introduced him into the Royal Institution. We can observe the same artistic practice in Rowlandson's drawing of a dissection scene under William Hunter, which is in the Royal College of Surgeons.⁸ Here the faces of some of the students have been identified with several of Hunter's pupils the date of whose attendance does not correspond with the date of the event depicted.

Art historians who have described the engraving have named the lecturer as

⁸ W. H. Pyne and William Combe, *The Microcosm of London*, with coloured plates by A. G. Pugin and T. Rowlandson, 3 vols., R. Ackermann, 1808–11. ⁴ Stipple engraving from the *European Magazine*, J. Asperne, 1 July, 1820.

^b William J. Burke, Rudolph Ackermann. With a selected list of his publications in the New York Public Library (with a portrait), 1935. • M. D. George, op. cit., Nos. 9923, 9923A, 'Scientific Researches. New Discoveries in Pneumatics',

1802.

⁷ Ibid., vol. 7, No. 9565. 'The Comforts of a Rumford Stove', 1800.
⁹ William Le Fanu, A Catalogue of the Portraits and other Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture in the Royal College of Surgeons of England, Edinburgh and London, E. & S. Livingstone, 1960, p. 95, No. 297.

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Humphry Davy, but a comparison of the lecturer in the scene at the Royal Institution caricatured by Gillray ('Scientific Researches') and who is certainly Davy—with the prominent figure of the young man leaning forward between two pillars on the right in the Accum engraving shows a very strong resemblance, and if Davy is an interested spectator he cannot also be the lecturer.

A prominent figure in the second row of the audience, with a paper lettered 'Accum's Lectures' in his pocket, seems to have caused some confusion in the interpretation of the scene. He is an elderly man wearing an old-fashioned wig and leaning forward on his stick. The discussion of the identity of the characters begins with two separate and unconnected entries on drawing and engraving respectively, in Joseph Grego's work about Rowlandson.⁹ The drawing is listed in an appendix under the heading 'Original drawings by T.R.'. At that time it was still in the possession of Mr. Ashley. Grego's text on the engraving¹⁰ reads: 'Sir Humphrey Davy is exhibiting experiments . . . before a highly respectable audience . . . an antiquated fogey who has evidently no opinion of the brilliant young lecturer is snarling at the demonstration . . .'.

When she was preparing the British Museum Catalogue of Satires (published 1947), Mrs. M. D. George had only a photograph of the engraving.¹¹ She accepted Grego's identification of the lecturer as H. Davy and adds: 'In the foreground a much caricatured elderly man in bag-wig leans forward on his stick registering anguished jealousy. In his pocket a book, 'Accum's Lectures', showing that he is Friedrich Christian Accum (1769–1838)'.

Accum was certainly no 'antiquated fogey', nor even 'an elderly man' at the date of the demonstration, for he was only thirty-nine and no portrait shows him wearing a wig. It also seems most unlikely that Accum would occupy a seat in the second row of the audience at a meeting in his own institution while others with less claim should occupy privileged seats close to the lecturer.

To scientists this engraving is of considerable documentary interest for its depiction of the little-known Surrey Institution and Accum's activity in it. C. A. Browne¹⁸ suggested in 1925 that the lecturer might be Accum, without knowing of the drawing and its inscription. This suggestion was taken up by Mr. R. J. Cole in his article on Accum in 1951;¹⁸ he now had to defend the identification against the British Museum theory of H. Davy being the lecturer by pointing out that there was no documentary evidence for the fact that Davy ever lectured at the Surrey Institution.¹⁴ In a private communication which he had received from Mrs. George in 1950 she 'pointed out that she does not attempt to interpret the cartoon, but that in view of the fact that there is no other evidence that Davy ever lectured at the Surrey Institution it may represent a rumour or canard that Davy was to lecture at this place' (hence the 'expression of "anguished jealousy" in the face of the man identified by her as Accum'). Mr. Cole points out that in 1810, the accepted date of the engraving,

⁹ Joseph Grego, Rowlandson the Caricaturist, London, Chatto and Windus, 1880, vol. 2, p. 419. ¹⁰ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 366.

¹¹ See note 2.

¹⁸ C. A. Browne, Journal of Chemical Education, 1925, 2, 829-51, 1008-34, 1140-49.

¹³ R. J. Cole, 'Friedrich Accum (1769–1838), a biographical study', Ann. Sci., 1951, 7, 128–43. ¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 132–33; note 26.

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Accum's relationship with Davy and other members of the Royal Institution had not yet deteriorated and there was no reason to depict the two as enemies.

Mrs. George's argument that it was customary to fix a paper with a name to the subject in order to identify him is of course valid for the majority of these caricatures. However, there is at least one other instance where this practice was modified. In an amusing caricature designed by G. M. Woodward, entitled 'The Kentish Hop Merchant and the Lecturer on Optics'¹⁵ and dated by her 1809, a man of little understanding stands before the lecturer; in his pocket is a paper lettered 'Treatise on Hop...' (the mis-spelling being his mistake). If this print preceded that of Rowlandson, who was closely connected with Woodward, it may have been in his mind when he drew his type of an ignoramus. Maybe he found it a good motive to confront the lecturer again with a type unable to understand and funnier still to place a copy of the lecturer's book in his pocket.

To me it seems unlikely for historic reasons that Rowlandson intended to caricature Accum at a time when his fame was at its highest. Besides, the good relationship between Rowlandson and R. Ackerman on the one side and Ackermann's friendship with Accum on the other, would have forbidden any antagonistic bias in a representation of the chemist.¹⁶

¹⁵ M. D. George, op. cit., vol. 8, No. 11470. ¹⁶ William J. Burke, op. cit., p. 10.

R. BURGESS

JOHANN ERNST GREDING (1718–1775) A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF MODERN PSYCHIATRY

THIS communication wishes to correct a rather one-sided impression of Johann Ernst Greding's contribution to psychiatry, generally found in monographs on the history of psychiatry, and to call attention to his keen talent for psychopathological observation and description as reflected in his case histories.

Greding's German biographer, Th. Kirchhoff (1921), praised him for the earliest systematically performed post-mortem observations on the mentally ill, which he reported in his *Collected Medical Writings* (vol. 1, 1790; vol. 2, 1791), edited fifteen years after Johann Ernst's death by his nephew Carl Wilhelm Greding, also a physician. The editor¹ wrote and appended to the *Collected Writings* a biographical sketch of his uncle, which later provided Kirchhoff (loc. cit.) with material for his own biographical sketch on J. E. Greding.

Kirchhoff's emphasis on Greding's autopsies of brains of the mentally ill overshadowed and virtually relegated to oblivion the latter's brilliant psychopathological descriptions. His treatment of Greding's contribution to psychiatry became standard in works on the history of psychiatry. Both Birnbaum (1928, p. 22) in Germany and Zilboorg (1941, p. 335) in the United States presented Greding as an outstanding eighteenth-century psychiatrist whom they compared with his theoretically speculating (K. Birnbaum, loc. cit.) and scholastically compilating (Gr. Zilboorg, loc. cit.) contemporaries. Both based their highly positive evaluation on Greding's life-long

¹ The Collected Medical Writings are dedicated by the editor to Dr. Tadeas Bayer, protomedicus of the Kingdom of Bohemia, Professor of Medicine at the Caroline University in Prague, and Superintendent of the Prague General Hospital.