

prohibited. On the 21st of May, all the infected were transferred to the Lazaretto; lights were placed at night on infected houses; the veteran guards were posted at the doors to prevent intercourse; the name of every person in the house was affixed upon the door, and the inmates were made to appear daily for the inspection of the deputies; the town was divided into eight districts; a market established in each; and vendors were even required not to fold their commodities in paper. Pincers were generally used for the exchange of every article between one person and another; and the Inspector General of Police directed the picking out by these means particles of hair, straw, feathers, &c., in macaroni and other articles sold.

It will be further seen by reference to the proclamations, p. 78, that the restrictions were made more and more severe in proportion as the cases increased. On the 1st of June, the deputies and guards were instructed to prevent communication, not only between the different districts, but between the different families in each district; and on the 24th of June all communication between the towns and villages was ordered to be cut off; allowing only the officers of Government and such as procured passports from government to go through the barriers.

Dr. Calvert says, "almost every human means were put in force, in conformity with the popular doctrine of pestilential contagion, * * * but all was to no purpose. The disease seemed to laugh at their exertions, while it jumped from house to house, and from street to street. Those who had no communication together, as well as those who had, fell alike victims to its fury;" and at length he seems to have considered that "a single infected person is sufficient to contaminate the air of a whole city."

The official bulletins for 1813 omit to notice the residence of some of the first cases; but I have been able to trace the great majority of those which occurred up to the 31st of May, and find that eighteen streets of Valetta, Floriana, and Cospicua, and Vittorisa, situated on the other side of the grand harbour, as also ten villages had been attacked, between the 12th and 31st.

In May plague had reached localities, some of them several miles apart; yet it was believed that all this had been effected by a single individual, who did not die for six weeks after his alleged exposure. Fifteen of the streets infected during this month were the worst in Valetta, in which the disease continued to linger, and six of the villages were among the most populous, two of them lying lowest, namely, Curmi and Birchircara.

No less opposed to the doctrine of contagion is the circumstance, that while Strada San Paolo, the recognised *fons mali*, had only six cases from the 12th to the 31st, the streets "Pozzi,"

"Nicola," "Ospedale," and "Mandraggio," had sixteen, eight, twelve, and six respectively; and by referring to map No. 2, it will be observed that this presumed mode of extension is also invalidated by the few instances, comparatively, in which the disease attacked house after house; its march having been always interrupted by space, so that the consecutive cases often occurred at great distances, and in streets having no connection. But the progress of the ordinary fever of Malta* so similar in its march, in the same months, to that observed by the plague, renders a common cause for the progress and decline of both highly probable, and explains in another way,† the safety with which Sir Thomas Maitland, on the 4th of December, "proclaimed that the plague was completely at an end; and allowed the whole population of Valetta to mix together, the very day that a strong case of plague had taken place within a mile of that city." (Despatch to Lord Bathurst, 1819.)

On the 20th of December, "the town of Valetta," says Dr. Calvert, "was again thrown into the greatest state of alarm by the occurrence of two suspected cases, both situated not far distant from the gate leading to Floriana."

On the 14th January, the day on which the clean quarantine expired, a sudden death occurred at Casal Nasciar, which suspended pratique to the whole island for a few days; but on the 27th of January general pratique for the whole island was announced, and did take place on the 29th. It will be seen by the subjoined authentic extract from Dr. Bardon's Register, that the island was not even at this time free from the disease. In fact as many undoubted cases occurred and passed into the

* AVERAGE Number of FEVER CASES during the months from April to October among the Troops stationed at Malta, in each year from 1816 to 1851 inclusive, compared with the Deaths from Plague during the same months in 1813, among the Civil Population.

	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	Sept.	October.
Annual average of admissions } (military)	20.8	24.9	47.1	82.5	75.4	70.4	34
Deaths from Plague in civil popu- } lation, 1813	3	110	800	1,595	1,042	674	211

† In fact, it was season that here had mastery, not quarantine, which tended in every way to exaggerate the disease, and, in consequence, to exclude the light that would otherwise have broken upon the medical part of the community by watching the fevers among the troops; for in these they would probably have discovered the mitigated forms of the same fever that was devastating the more crowded and miserable civil population. "I myself saw," says Dr. Calvert, "but two cases of fever unattended with pestilential symptoms of one kind or other." * * "The most respectable of the Maltese physicians acknowledged to me that they believed every case of fever that occurred during the season of plague was pestilential." (Med. Chir. Tran., vol. vi.)

Lazaretto after the 4th of December as during the first six weeks of the epidemic; and, from the great number of places whence they were transported, the number of persons employed in that duty must have been as likely to extend the disease, had that been possible, as at any previous period, yet we do not find a single case traced to this source. The number of recoveries in these last cases will also prove, contrary to Sir Thomas Maitland's assertion, that "the last cases were" neither "the most violent," nor, "in the instance of the last hundred, by much the most fatal." (Despatch of 1819 to Lord Bathurst.)

LIST OF PATIENTS admitted into the Plague Hospital of the Lazaretto, from the 13th of December 1813 to the 16th of February 1814.

MEN.

Name.	Age.	Nation.	Admission.	Result.	Discharged.
1. Salv: Sant. - -	1	Portugal.	13 Dec. 1813.	Cured.	1 February.
2. Piro. - -	30		17 "	Do.	" "
3. Guis: Borg. - -	18		" "	Do.	" "
4. Fran: Cilia. - -	17	Zebbug.	" "	Do.	22 "
5. Guis: Delto. - -	6	Do.	" "	Died.	20 "
6. Sav: Borg. - -	20	Zebbug.	" "	Cured.	22 "
7. Scerri. - -	23		4 Jan. 1814.	Do.	" "
8. Gius: Cini. - -	4		" "	Do.	1 "
9. Vin. Detto. - -	2	Do.	" "	Do.	" "
10. Salv: Baldachino. -	18	Do.	10. "	Do.	22 "
11. Giov: Gatt. - -	17		17 "	Died.	30 January.
12. Giov: Agens Reschid.	12		21 "	Do.	22 February.
13. Mich: Ellul. - -	40	Floriana.	22 "	Do.	23 January.
14. Giov: R. Ajat. - -	20	Ancona.	26 "	Do.	28 "
15. Torn: A. Raschid. -	20	Valetta.	30 "	Cured.	22 February.

WOMEN.

1. Paola Sant. - -	28	Do.	13 Dec.	Cured.	1 February.
2. Maria Farugia - -	35		16 "	Do.	22 "
3. Maria Magro. - -	5		16 "	Do.	" "
4. Evang: Camelier. -	26	Valetta.	20 "	Died.	14 "
5. Rafela Debono - -	64	Birchiscara.	4 Jan.	Cured.	22 "
6. Grazia Cini. - -	30		" "	Do.	1 "
7. Grazia Schiaro. - -	23		" "	Do.	22 "
8. Mar: Delica - -	13	Do.	" "	Do.	" "
9. Dorn. Mala. - -	43	Do.	" "	Do.	1 "
10. Maria Schembri. -	33		17 "	Do.	22 "
11. Cal. Borg. - -	7		21 "	Died.	22 January.
12. Mar: Baldachino. -	70	Do.	22 "	Do.	23 "
13. Mad: Schembri. - -	8		27 "	Do.	22 "
14. Rosaria N. - -	4	Valetta.	16 Feb.	Do.	19 February.

I certify that the above is a true extract from my register of the last cases of plague in the epidemic of 1813.

B. SALVA BARDON.

A careful review of the whole of the occurrences, such as the nearly complete exemption of the better classes everywhere; the escape of those left in comparatively free intercourse, though in equally questionable dwellings; the arrest or mitigation of the disease by pure air; the much greater proportion of recoveries among the military and others provided with proper accommodation in houses or hospitals; and the great mortality in the poorer populations subjected to rigorous restrictions, and labouring under every social and sanitary disadvantage, have left on my mind a deep impression that no small share of the mortality in 1813 may be laid to the account of quarantine. Let us well consider the facts; that in a population, amounting to 47,654, inhabiting sixteen infected places, in all of which quarantine was comparatively lax, and in several nearly neglected, there were only 219 deaths; whereas in six other places, containing 44,247 inhabitants, subjected to the most refined system of restriction ingenuity could devise, 4,221 persons perished.

There is nothing so very different in the climate, or in many of the habitations and modes of living of the people of Malta, from those of the Levant, where plague is admitted to be indigenous, as to induce the belief that they should be exempt from the disease. On the contrary, a careful investigation excites surprise that this island should not have been more frequently visited by Plague. Whatever may be the salubrity of its climate, we cannot believe that it enjoys any special exemption from that occasional distemperature of atmosphere extending over large portions of the globe, about the same time, and giving rise to different forms and degrees of disease with different people according to their respective local peculiarities. Hecker (p. 240) in speaking of the sweating sickness in England in 1528, says: "As soon as the occurrences of this unfortunate year could be more closely surveyed, a conviction was at once felt that it was one and the same general cause of disease which called forth the poisonous pestilence of the French camp before Naples, the putrid fever among the youth of France, and the sweating sickness in England, and that the varying nature of these diseases depended only on the conditions of the soil and the qualities in the atmosphere in the countries which were visited."

That an epidemic influence extended far and wide about this time is obvious. In the beginning of 1812, the plague broke out in Constantinople, then in Smyrna, then in Cyprus; in August 1812, the yellow fever broke out in Murcia; in January 1813, the British Consul apprized the Government of the presence of plague in Alexandria; on the 28th of March following, the public health of Malta was "considered in imminent danger," not from

the extension of an epidemic influence, which a careful study of the laws of epidemic disease might have pointed out, but from the cases of plague on board the "San Nichola;" and in June a suspicious fever prevailed in Gibraltar, which, in July, was recognised as the yellow fever. We have had repeated evidence of a similar diffusion of the choleraic and yellow fever influences; we have seen the one and the other arrive in spite of the most rigorous quarantine, and for a season commit equal ravages.

Nor were indications of some similar influence absent from Malta, before as well as during the epidemic. Dr. Hennen states (p. 527), "The winter immediately preceding the plague was mild, but during the whole period of the disease high winds prevailed; those which were most so were from the north-west, and it was a coincidence constantly observed, that on those days the winds blew strongest the number of attacks and deaths were always greatest. The rains in the Plague year fell *early*, and *were copious*; this, however, caused no alteration whatever in the progress of the disease. For four or five years preceding that in which the plague raged, sudden deaths were much more frequent than ordinary, and during the twelve months immediately preceding, and especially for the last month of the period, the increase was still more observable, insomuch as greatly to excite public observation and alarm. Canine madness during these years prevailed with a frequency and violence never before observed, and many individuals perished in a state of hydrophobia. Apoplexies and palsies were increased in a remarkable degree; and intestinal worms, *tæniæ*, *ascarides*, and *lumbrici*, were never so general or so numerous in the memory of man. *In this state of the public health* the contagion of plague was *introduced* (?) and spread among the people."

If Malta, with its rigorous quarantine has not been able to keep out small pox and measles, which are of frequent occurrence, how are we to expect that it should be able to exclude the plague, the spontaneous origin of which is much less questionable? If this island has been visited in seven different years by the plague, this is sufficient to prove that the disease can take root, spread, and maintain its ground in spite of the most strict and best organized quarantine.

The long absence of any extraordinary disease especially dreaded for its fatality, has with the bulk of mankind been held a proof of its foreign origin. To this day not a few medical men advocate and encourage this belief; and as relates to Malta there is scarcely a native doctor who is not firmly convinced of the imported and contagious nature of plague. It is not, therefore,

surprising that an ignorant people should have adopted an opinion forced upon them by the influence of rank and intelligence, and, even as it were, at the point of the bayonet; for it seems to have been little less dangerous than treason, for any one to evince a doubt on the subject. I believe, however, it was no seeming submission to authority, it was an unshakeable conviction from the Governor downwards; for I have met with few, whether English or Maltese, inclined to qualify the opinion they held in 1813: namely, that the plague is imported, only spreads by contact, and that there is absolute security in isolation.

It is amusing to listen to recitals of how the disease was communicated by a pair of new shoes, which had not hung for a fortnight before being worn, the shoemaker having died immediately; how a piece of beef or money had not been immersed long enough in vinegar and water; how a doctor had forgotten that he had touched a bubo with the end of his cane, and fell a victim; how an unfortunate painter in going to his work had trodden upon a piece of old rag in the street, thrown from an infected house, was alarmed by the exclamations of the horror-struck lookers on, and though leaving his shoes, was attacked, and infected his whole family; how even cats were accused as the medium of communication; for in no case do the Maltese fail in tracing plague to contact in some shape.

To give credit to the accounts detailed to me by men otherwise intelligent, would be to believe that everything in the neighbourhood of an infected person was charged with a subtle poison which neither distance, purification, nor time was effectual in destroying. The comment on all these wonders is, that notwithstanding the most paternal injunctions of the Government, and the most stringent restrictions on intercourse the world ever perhaps witnessed;* together with extreme caution, dictated by fear, on the part of the inhabitants; still the disease increased, attained its acme like common epidemic fever, and at the proper season declined and disappeared, except in Casal Curmi, which, surrounded by double walls and cordons of troops, continued to suffer from a disease, which would have been more successfully opposed by the free dispersion of the people.

We must believe that Sir Thomas Maitland, and his predecessor, General Oakes, acted from a sincere conviction that the disease could only spread by contact; and we cannot, therefore, but respect the decision and activity displayed in the measures used for its repression. To cut off all communication by barricading

* See Note A. at the end of this Report.