"A Borderland in Ethics": Medical Journals, the Public and the Medical Profession in Nineteenth-Century Britain

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Introduction

In 1881 luminaries of medicine, from Joseph Lister to Louis Pasteur, thronged to the International Medical Congress in London for what was the largest meeting of the profession ever to be staged. Held over seven days, with fifteen different sections and 3,000 attendees, the Congress was remarkable in both its size and impact, as doctors debated the most pressing issues of the day, from the role of microorganisms in disease causation to state intervention in medical practice. In an opening address to the Congress, the surgeon James Paget predicted that the event would see "a larger interchange and diffusion of information than in any equal time and space in the whole past history of medicine." [1] It was in this apt setting that the American surgeon John Shaw Billings addressed a large crowd on the current state of medical literature, a subject rarely elaborated upon by doctors at their professional gatherings but which was starting to receive increased attention. Billings, who at the Surgeon General's Office in Washington DC had helped amass the United States' largest medical library, drew attention to the vast and ever-expanding sea of medical periodicals being published. Billings calculated that in 1879, 655 different medical periodicals were published worldwide.[2] Between 1880 and 1899 that number would rise exponentially; in Britain alone the number of titles doubled, from 60 to 120, marking an unprecedented era of growth.[3] The increase in medical journals, Billings speculated, brought both advantages and pitfalls. It was part of the great progress of modern thought, "that wonderful kaleidoscopic pattern which is unrolling before us."[4] But he also cautioned that the propagation of journals, and the growing emphasis on their importance for professional advancement, promoted an undue haste in doctors who were eager to publish and see their name in print.[5]

Billings' speech reflected the prolific industry in journalism – medical and otherwise – that characterised British print culture in the late nineteenth century as improved printing technologies and the abolition of press duties gave rise to a rapid increase in the number of periodicals available, lowered their prices and increased their frequency. Both contemporary commentators and historians have also aligned the increasing number of medical journals with a broader trend occurring in the organisation and epistemology of medicine, namely the establishment of specialist practice, most notably in dermatology, ophthalmology, obstetrics

and gynaecology.[6] Certainly this trend was consolidated by journal formats emerging at the end of the century; titles like the *British Gynaecological Journal*, begun in 1885, and the *British Journal of Dermatology*, which started in 1888, were part and parcel of the changes within medicine at this period. These were changes not just in content but in literary style as medical journals underwent a gradual shift from the personable, gossipy tone of the weekly medical press which had begun in the 1820s - most famously characterised by the *Lancet* - to the more austere model of medical writing that was to predominate a hundred years later. The pages of medical journals were increasingly given over to specialised terminology emanating from physiology and other medical sciences, restricting the audience for professional medical journals to those cognisant of such scientific language.[7]

These changes signalled a move on the part of doctors to create a more closeted professional world. But the growth of specialist journals and their use of increasingly esoteric phraseology was accompanied by a no less significant trend in medical and health literature aimed towards a more diverse audience. During the 1880s the ways in which different groups of people other than medical professionals might participate in healthcare was being re-imagined. Through the public health movement there was a growing emphasis on the place of personal hygiene and domestic management as a way of containing and preventing disease. As is explored more fully in Sally Shuttleworth's chapter in this volume, public health reformers recognized the active role citizens needed to play for change to be satisfactorily accomplished. Preventive medicine relied not only on legalising acts of compulsion like quarantine, but on communicating sanitary science to the public and encouraging citizens to self-manage their health and the health of their community.[8] Meanwhile the campaign to professionalise nursing by means of registration was also gaining ground, and elsewhere first aid training, already established in a military context, became a force among the general British population as the St. John Ambulance organisation began to instruct members of the public in how to treat illnesses and injuries. Following the introduction of more systematic management practices in British hospitals in the last decades of the century, the hospital manager was also being established as a professional role. These developments were reflected in the numerous publications that emerged in the 1880s and 1890s relating to nursing, public health, first-aid and domestic hygiene. Some titles, like *The Hospital*, were aimed towards both doctors and allied professionals working in medicine and healthcare, others toward one professional subset or another such as the nursing community (*Nursing Notes, Nursing Record* and *Nursing Mirror*). A number of new journals, including *Health,*

Baby and *First Aid*, were primarily aimed towards the public. Whether anticipated or not, an audience that contained a mixture of both laypeople and healthcare professionals. In this respect, they differed from the professional weeklies such as the *Lancet* and *British Medical Journal*, which, by the late nineteenth century, were being marketed as strictly for doctors.

This new wave of journals built upon a longer tradition of medical and health journalism which aimed to appeal to audiences outside of the medical profession. Their emergence reignited perennial concerns among doctors about the diffusion of medical knowledge into newspapers and magazines, and the risks apparent in the public interpreting health advice without a professional intermediary. But the ensuing controversies surrounding them heralded a much more rigorous clampdown by the profession on the circulation of medical literature among the public and the emergence of a new ethical framework for medical journalism. These "quasi-medical" journals, as the *Lancet* labelled them,[9] were seen to be ethically dubious because they blurred the boundaries between lay and medical audiences, and between professional and non-professional literature, bringing doctors into close proximity with the world of commerce and advertising.

This essay first seeks to contextualise the medical press within the broader framework of nineteenth-century print culture and to show how lay and professional audiences, broadly categorised, frequently intertwined. It then focuses on two journals, *The Hospital*, and *Baby*, established in 1886 and 1887 respectively, which together brought to a head doctors' concerns about the public's interaction with medical journals. The audiences these journals solicited, the objectives they advanced and the conversations they generated heralded a transformative period in British journalism during which the notion of what exactly constituted a medical journal was contested. As the number of titles relating to medicine and health expanded and diversified, these changes in print culture reshaped modes of communication between medical practitioners and the wider public. Doctors' responses to these changes, revealed a professional community that sought to manage and regulate the dissemination of knowledge; knowledge to which they claimed authoritative ownership.

A Closed Shop? The Medical Press and its Audiences

In 1823, the surgeon Thomas Wakley began a weekly publication that quickly became the country's most popular and most controversial medical journal. Named the *Lancet*, a reference to the sharp scalpel surgeons used to cut open the body, the title reflected Wakley's intention to expose and dissect the workings of the profession.[10] The *Lancet* bulldozed its

way into a marketplace for medical journals previously dominated by monthly and quarterly titles, the most successful of which was the *Medico-Chirurgical Review*, edited by the former naval surgeon James Johnson, and which in 1820 had attained a respectable circulation of around 1300 copies.[11] In the space of just a year the *Review* was outstripped by the *Lancet*, which was soon selling over four thousand copies a week, an extraordinary achievement for a medical title.[12] Wakley used the weekly frequency of his journal to maximum effect, providing up-to-the minutes news from the metropolitan hospitals, including details of recent cases, professional gossip and tantalising editorials which promised more exciting content in the next issue. The *Lancet* quickly became known for its savage take-downs of the nepotistic and closed world of the metropolitan hospital system, which led to Wakley attracting the wrath of London's medical elite. At the heart of Wakley's journalistic endeavour was a desire to make available to the medical profession *en masse* – the provincial practitioners, medical students and countless doctors who worked overseas - intelligence and information usually only available to those able to access London's great teaching hospitals. Wakley used various strategies to undermine the dominance of those institutions and the individuals who worked at them, exposing corruption among hospital staff and publishing, without consent, the lectures of well-known hospital surgeons.[13] The latter endeavour led to Wakley soon being accused of intellectual piracy, following his unauthorised publication of the lectures of the eminent surgeons Astley Cooper and John Abernethy, of Guy's and St. Bartholomew's hospitals respectively. The profession's indignation over the matter was not merely moralising. By making their orations available in print for the weekly price of sixpence, Wakley was undermining the potential for hospital doctors to make a lucrative income through their lectures.

The *Lancet* and other weekly titles that followed in its stead – most notably the *Medical Times* in 1839, and the *Provincial Medical and Surgical Journal* in 1840 (re-titled the *British Medical Journal* in 1857) - championed the rights and concerns of those working outside the elite rankings of the metropolitan hospitals. Their editors drew analogies between the closed shop of the corrupt hospital elite and the clandestine malfeasance of quack doctors and patent-medicine peddlers, and in contrast pitched their own journals as tonics of transparency and truth, working for the good of the profession and the public to rid the country of both. "SHALL THE PROFESSION BE REFORMED OR NOT?" asked the *Medical Times* in 1840, "we boldly commenced the work by unmasking chicanery; public support has been instant and hearty. It was all the encouragement we sought, all the guerdon we required."[14]

While all three journals purported to share a reformist vision, Wakley was the most energetic in executing it. In the opening statement to the first issue of the *Lancet*, he proclaimed the journal to be not just for medical and surgical practitioners, but also for "every individual in these realms."[15] Wakley hoped the journal would furnish the wider public with enough knowledge that they might avoid the overtures of quackish practitioners. Thus, the public were recognised not just as a potential audience for the journal, but active agents in the battle for medical reform that Wakley envisioned, which would see a dismantling of both the elitist hierarchy within medicine as well as the erasure of unregulated quackery.

In this objective, Wakley emulated contemporaneous publications which educated and advised the general populace on medical and health issues.[16] He was especially influenced by the *Monthly Gazette of Health*, edited by the physician Richard Reece between 1816 and 1832, which was aimed toward both doctors and laypeople. The *Gazette* allowed readers to build up a repository of information and, through its correspondence columns, a chance to contribute queries, opinions and medical recipes to the publication. Other medical journals that were also unabashedly aimed toward a public audience sprung up through the 1820s and 1830s. The *Medical Adviser*, which ran between 1823 and 1825, and *The Doctor*, which lasted from 1832 to 1837, both sold at a cheap price and targeted working-class readers, offering a mix of medical advice and treatment plans, lessons in anatomy and physiology, as well as articles on social and medical reform.[17] The market for medical literature was augmented by the considerable number of titles relating to non-orthodox systems of medicine, including homoeopathy and mesmerism, mostly established in the middle of the century, which attained varying degrees of success. Many non-orthodox titles attempted to straddle the boundary between the profession and the public, pursuing a lay audience while also trying to placate and even convert critics from within the profession.[18]

In the context of the literary marketplace, the potential for interaction that serial publications offered readers arguably put them at a strategic advantage over books and pamphlets, which had been the more common modes of health literature in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[19] It allowed journal proprietors and editors to create a sense of dialogue with their audiences. Reece frequently published letters, apparently written by enthusiastic readers who praised the editor for making space for lay queries and contributions. "I am so great an admirer of your truly philanthropic undertaking that I have recommended it to all my friends, and I think I may say I have succeeded in procuring thirty subscribers in the course of last month" wrote one, a widow named Mary Ann Fletcher, in

1816.[20] Whether true or not – there is always the possibility lurking that editors had a hand in inventing correspondence of this kind - the publication of such endorsements fostered the idea that a community building of sorts was occurring around the journal.

And yet the relatively short runs of titles like the *Medical Adviser* and *The Doctor* suggests that few orthodox medical journals aimed toward laypeople were able to sustain a regular audience of readers. While claiming to denounce quackery in the same manner as the more professionally-oriented medical weeklies, they themselves were vulnerable to accusations of impropriety. Critics bemoaned the unsuitability of the penny press in disseminating medical advice, and its potential for spreading inaccurate information. "It is to be feared that, if this penny Doctor's prescriptions were to be taken, a considerable reduction in the amount of population would be the inevitable result," wrote the *Mechanic's Magazine* about *The Doctor* in 1832.[21] The *Mechanic's Magazine* was a cheap weekly which, like its medical counterparts, was designed to cater for a working-class audience. But as a journal broadly focused on technology it lay on rather less ethically shaky ground than did medical journals, where, it seemed, there was a real risk that the information they contained could lead to bodily harm. By the 1830s, reformists like Wakley were finding quackery in all places, from the highest echelons of the profession to the cheapest periodicals and magazine, all of which constituted a threat to their desire to see the establishment of a democratic but highly regulated profession. The rhetoric of medical reform within medical weeklies like the *Lancet* and *Medical Times* increasingly centred upon professional fraternalism, consolidated by a loosely consensual opposition to 'quackish' systems of medicine, such as homeopathy.[22] Despite opposition from the profession, non-orthodox medicines remained inexorably popular among a general populace that was often distrustful of the interventionist and at times brutal work of blood-letting, amputating, 'regular' doctors. For all Wakley's initial zeal for a readership which included autodidactic laymen, the public's compliance and co-operation in the erasure of quackery looked far from guaranteed. By the middle decades of the century titles like the *Lancet* began to close ranks, distancing itself from the rhetoric of its early days, where the public were positioned as participants in medical reform, and instead asserted itself as publications limited to professional readers.

Connections between the medical press and what doctors termed the "lay" press, which included all types of print media beyond the medical titles, nonetheless remained present. A reciprocal relationship based upon the reproduction of information enmeshed medical journals within wider print culture. Local medical news and gossip reported in the regional

press was reproduced in the medical weeklies, as were satirical sketches from publications like *Punch*, particularly when they lampooned quacks and purveyors of non-orthodox medicine.[23] Conversely, the content and campaigns of medical journals provided good copy for the daily newspapers, who capitalised upon an ever-present curiosity among the public for the latest news on medicine, health and disease. Popular titles like the *Morning Post* and the *Standard* were attentive to the discussions of the medical press, especially on public health. Foreshadowing the still-present fascination of the popular media with scientific research on food and diet, the issue that perhaps garnered the most interest among the press in the mid-decades were the findings of the *Lancet's* analytical sanitary commission, which ran between 1851 and 1854 as a response to concerns about food adulteration, and which attracted widescale attention from newspapers, women's magazines and the penny weeklies. Thomas Wakley had employed the doctor and microscopist Arthur Hill Hassall to conduct a series of tests on common household foodstuffs including flour, bread, coffee and chicory (itself often used to adulterate coffee). Halsall wrote up his findings in a series of reports duly published in the *Lancet*. Hassall's study detected extremely high levels of impurity in samples of coffee and chicory, which were found to contain everything from sawdust to oak bark.[24] By sponsoring Hassall's revelatory work and connecting it to his journal, Wakley shrewdly spotted an opportunity to market the *Lancet* as a trail blazing organ in public health innovation. He also took the opportunity to re-publish articles from the general press which praised the *Lancet's* work in exposing the nefarious practices of grocers and merchants who were adulterating goods.[25]

On an individual level too, many prominent figures forged a living which relied upon a range of journalistic work in both medical and non-medical publications. This included figures like Frederick Knight Hunt, the originator of the *Medical Times*, who spent much of his life vacillating between medical practice and journalism. Hunt, who had been brought up in straitened financial circumstances, started his career as a printing room boy at the *Morning Herald* before turning to medicine, in which he qualified in 1840. As a medical student he had begun the *Medical Times* which would go on to achieve considerable success, but only after he had sold it on, anxious to avoid the threats of libel from medical men that had come his way since starting the *Times*, and in which he had emulated the caustic, controversial tone of the *Lancet.* While continuing to practice medicine, Hunt built up a reputation as a journalist of some importance and eventually became the editor of the *Daily News* before his untimely death aged just 40 in 1854.[26] The career trajectory of London physician Andrew

Wynter, was similarly peripatetic. Wynter edited the *British Medical Journal* between 1855 and 1860. After resigning its editorship, he went on to forge a successful career as a journalist and author writing on medical topics, as well as columns on the most pressing subjects of the day, from railways to photography and telegraphy, contributing mainly to middlebrow and highbrow publications like *Once a Week* and the *Edinburgh Review.*[27] All the while he continued to practice medicine, primarily focusing on the treatment of insanity. Indeed, Wynter's reputation would predominantly rest upon his writing rather than either his practice or medical editorship.[28] Both medicine and journalism could be financially precarious careers. For men like Hunt and Wynter, who displayed skill in both areas, harnessing the remunerative powers of both was a necessary step toward economic security.

While the medical press continued to share both content and personnel with other genres of print, there was also an attempt to forge a greater distinction between itself and the lay press. The attitude of the medical press toward medical content that featured in other types of periodical publications, particularly those aimed toward the working-classes, was increasingly couched in the language of surveillance. In particular, popular titles which allowed readers to seek medical advice through their correspondence columns were policed. As Claire Furlong has detailed, the *Family Herald,* established in 1843, and *Reynolds's Miscellany,* begun in 1846, two hugely popular weekly titles aimed at working-class families, both made this a feature of their publications. In the 1850s *Reynolds's* even began a dedicated "Medical Corner" suggesting, Furlong argues, that there was "a strong demand for health advice and that *Reynolds's* was more than willing to provide it."[29] In 1860 the *Lancet* publicly lambasted *Reynolds's*, for providing dangerously inaccurate medical advice on its pages. In an article somewhat inflammatorily entitled "How to Poison Correspondents," the *Lancet* admonished *Reynolds's* for mistakenly advising a reader to consume 10 drachms of tincture of foxglove to treat palpitations of the heart, a measurement that contained "enough digitalis…to poison six people." [30] The editor and namesake of *Reynolds's*, George W. M Reynolds, responded in the *Lancet* the following week, conceding the mistake: the recipe in fact should have prescribed ten drops. He denied however that the error negated the journal's work in providing medical advice to readers, claiming to quote only from "those works which I consider to be reliable authorities, and that it is merely in the simplest cases I even undertake to furnish these receipts at all."[31] Although inquirers were at times referred to a doctor to receive advice, Reynolds seemed to be inferring that he himself, and presumably his fellow editorial staff, took it upon themselves to diagnose and suggest treatment plans for

illnesses.[32] Thus the journal assumed the role of medical adviser at a price that undercut that of the professional doctor. The *Lancet's* reproach of Reynolds, as we shall see, anticipated a more concerted effort among the profession to regulate and manage the circulation of medical knowledge among the general public.

The boundaries doctors constructed between "their" press and the lay press in the mid-decades of the nineteenth century were erected both to mark the especial, authoritative status of the profession and to control the flow of information to the public. Medical journals increasingly identified themselves as sequestered spaces for discussion among doctors. But these boundaries were, nonetheless, very frequently transgressed, as the professional press continued to influence, and be influenced by, other forms of media. As the century progressed, the medical press became progressively alert to the popular diffusion of medical information, particularly within the cheap periodicals. Culminating in a controversial episode involving the *Lancet* and a set of new publications in the 1880s, changing trends in journalism threatened to dissolve the boundaries between the medical and lay press altogether.

Medicine and the Ethics of Print Culture: The *Lancet, The Hospital* and *Baby*

Near the end of 1887, the *Lancet* published a series of four editorials that criticised a new wave of "popular journals of a quasi-medical character,"[33] which they described as inhabiting a "borderland in ethics."[34] The *Lancet* anonymously implicated three recently established journals at the centre of the trend, two of which were described in enough detail that they could be identified as *The Hospital*, a journal focused on hospitals and healthcare and which targeted an inclusive audience of medical professionals, hospital administrators and members of the public, and *Baby*, a journal devoted to children's health. The *Hospital* and *Baby* were markedly different publications. But both were sufficiently medical in their content and yet populist in their styling that they aroused the *Lancet's* consternation. The *Hospital* was, it seems, the primary cause for concern. It had been established in 1886 by Henry Burdett, a businessman, philanthropist and advocate for hospital reform. Having been a medical student at Guy's but without qualifying, Burdett had gone on to forge a successful career at the periphery of the profession, working as a hospital administrator, during which time he garnered an impressive reputation for fundraising. In his mid-30s he had switched careers and began working for the London Stock Exchange, although his links to the medical world remained strong, most notably through his championing of and fundraising for the voluntary

hospitals.[35] Burdett's personal experience, working at the borders of the lay and medical worlds, was reflected in his ambitious periodical project. He envisioned that hospital managers would be among *The Hospital's* key audiences, using the journal as a way of exchanging information, strengthening their sense of professional community and linking them to philanthropically minded members of the public in a bid to raise charitable contributions to the voluntary hospitals. As Burdett reminded readers, he used the word "hospital" in the widest sense and he also sought to make the journal accessible to a wide readership of doctors, nurses and medical students as well as convalescents and their networks of friends, family and clergy, bringing together all those who would have an interest in hospital life.[36] His polemical editorials on hospital work and charity sat side by side with news stories taken from the *Lancet*, original communications from doctors, lists of operating times, as well as puzzles and quizzes, and fictional stories, including those for children. The latter two features, which were highly unusual for a medical journal, were indicative of Burdett's open commitment to obtaining popular appeal. Astutely tapping into a sizeable audience which was only beginning to be catered for by publishers, the journal also included a supplement, *Nursing Mirror*, that provided nurses with job listings - crucial in an occupation where employment was often short-term. The *Nursing Mirror* also contained features useful to the everyday work of the nurse, including medical lectures and passages of prose to help comfort sick patients. Indeed, Burdett was perhaps overly ambitious in the expansive range of content he initially wished to include; features promised in the journal's opening editorial failed to materialise, such as the "madman's column". Burdett never specifies what this was to be, although one might speculate that it was intended to provide a voice to the institutionalised and mentally ill. This heterogeneous jumble of articles, where medical and non-medical content were presented side by side, each providing a smattering of knowledge, information or trivia, troubled the *Lancet*.[37] One editorial complained that *The Hospital* consisted of "sermons, discourses on physiology, palmistry, bacteriology, enigmas, fever, food, Ruskin, vaccination, the action of remedies in disease – that hunting ground of adventurous empirics, - serial stories for young people, puzzles, and acrostics," which were "blended week by week in one incongruous whole."[38] The style of journalism, offering snippets of information on a wide range of subjects, was typical of the New Journalism, which had provoked consternation in fields beyond medicine, with critics believing it encouraged a less intellectually rigorous "skim-reading" among audiences.[39] For the *Lancet*, the appropriation of this mode of communication by journals claiming to be medical was particularly harmful, encouraging laypeople to diagnose and treat illnesses while having only

minimal knowledge. “Have not those who have been brought into contact with the public by service at hospitals, and as lecturers on science applied to public needs, yet learned that ‘a little knowledge is dangerous in everything, and in nothing else so much as in the science and art of healing?’” the journal asked.[40] Despite the almost immediate criticism from the *Lancet*, Burdett’s innovative vision quickly paid dividends: by the end of 1888 *The Hospital* had accrued an impressive weekly circulation of 9,000 copies, in comparison to the *Lancet’s* 7,000 copies.[41] Given the sales figures its competitor was generating, the *Lancet* had reason to be alarmed.

Baby, the other publication cited, had started up only a month prior to the first *Lancet* editorial. Edited by twenty-five-year-old Ada Ballin, the journal was intended to provide information and advice on the management of children, in illness and health, and was aimed toward a predominantly lay and female audience, eliciting and attracting mainly middle-class readers. Among its features was advice on ailments, nutritional recipes, music, poems, specially commissioned dress designs for babies, as well as a range of lectures on health and medicine, either written for the journal or reproduced from other medical publications. Articles reflected upon controversial and popular topics of the day, from the developmental psychology of children to the nutritional value of infant formula food.[42] Like Burdett, Ballin had received smattering of medical education but had not qualified or practised. The Medical Act of 1876 had overturned previous legal barriers to women obtaining medical qualifications, allowing institutions to award them regardless of gender. But barriers to women’s admission into the profession remained, as organisations like the Royal College of Surgeons of England and British Medical Association continued to refuse them admission, making it difficult for women to build a professional career. Entering University College in 1878 Ballin was, however, able study with William Corfield, the university’s Professor of Hygiene and Public Health, piquing her interest in disease and health. A precocious teenager, Ballin had been an ardent proponent of Rational Dress and began lecturing at the tender of the age of eighteen for the National Health Society, an organisation which gave public lectures on preventive health measures. The National Health Society was primarily run both by, and for, women and Ballin’s motivations for becoming involved in health journalism were shaped by her perceptions of gender; she worried deeply about the way in which girls were brought up to be “mere conglomerations of frivolity.”[43] Recognising that it was wives rather than husbands who were engaged in the business of child-rearing, she believed women were the most obvious audience for medical and scientific literature on child health.

The opening editorial of *Baby* boasted a selection of high-profile contributors, among them the journalist and health lecturer Florence Fenwick-Miller (who had qualified in medicine), Robert Parker, surgeon at the East London Hospital for Children, and Edmund Owen and Catherine Wood, surgeon and matron respectively to the Great Ormond Street Hospital for Sick Children. Other high-profile names were promised for later issues. The dynamics of gender embedded in Ballin's journalistic work were complex and informed by the structural framework of male authority of which medicine and journalism were both part and parcel. In her 1885 book *The Science of Dress in Theory and Practice,* Ballin had blamed the lack of success of the Rational Dress Movement on the ineffectiveness of male writers who lectured women on subjects they themselves were better qualified to answer through their own experience.[44] But as Sally Shuttleworth has highlighted elsewhere, most of the contributions in the first issues of *Baby* came from male doctors and scientists; despite Ballin's wish for health literature created by and written for women, she was, to an extent, reliant on the authority of medical men to help legitimate *Baby's* place in the medical journal market.[45] Nonetheless Ballin also carved out space for her female readers, calling upon them to furnish the journal with tips on clothing, feeding and the general management of children, as well as any new inventions they had crafted to help with childcare.[46] Ballin anticipated that *Baby* would bring together, "a mother's parliament," a community of readers, who would prove to be an untapped resource of expertise on child health, accrued through their collective experience. As the journal's success grew, correspondence both offering and asking for health advice increased, the latter of which saw Ballin increasingly taking on the role of health adviser to her readers.

The *Lancet's* attack on both *The Hospital* and *Baby* had subtexts of professional vulnerability and pecuniary anxiety. Its claim they were "quasi-medical" implied a deception, an intentional misappropriation on the latter's part of the medical journal genre.[47] Both publications emulated certain aspects of the content of professional medical journals which caused particular consternation. In the case of *The Hospital*, the *Lancet* disapproved strongly of that journal's publication of details about hospital staff, which it believed would encourage the public to choose for private consultations those doctors written about "to the professional injury of all those whose names do not appear in the list."[48] With *Baby,* the *Lancet* criticised the journal's inclusion of original articles from doctors. By prominently featuring the names of doctors, while soliciting a public audience, the *Lancet* feared both journals would appear as little more than a surreptitious form of advertising on the part of the profession.

Medical journals marketed to the public were, as we have seen, not a new development; many had appeared over the century since Richard Reece had begun the *Monthly Gazette of Health* in 1816. The *People's Medical Journal and Family Physician*, for example, begun in 1850, and which lasted two years, promised content on anatomy, physiology, surgery, chemistry and pharmacy to aid invalids who were in the "industrious classes". The *Medical Review and Invalid's Guide*, established in 1872, garnered considerably more success surviving until 1887. Carefully targeting the chronically unwell, it printed tips on treatment for conditions like varicose veins and indigestion, and information about residences for invalids in Britain and abroad. *The Hospital* and *Baby* were, arguably, not that distinct from publications like the *Medical Review* which had similarly brought information on doctors and disease to a general audience. Why then did *The Hospital* and *Baby* receive much greater criticism than their predecessors? [49] There was one obvious, significant factor: neither Burdett nor Ballin was a doctor.[50] This distinguished them both from earlier lay-oriented medical journals, most of which had been edited by doctors, and also from the contemporary sanitary journals, described by Sally Shuttleworth in her chapter, which were edited by high-profile medical men like Ernest Hart and Benjamin Ward Richardson.[51] The lack of medical competence on the part of Burdett and Ballin no doubt crystallised the profession's fears regarding medical information being handled by those not adequately qualified to comprehend or promulgate it.

But the *Lancet's* castigation of "popular" medical journals also revealed a profession situated uncomfortably within the increasingly tumultuous world of mass print, where, in the 1880s, commercialism, medicine and literature were blending together in ever more visible ways, heightening tensions around the ethics of medical publishing. Facilitated by advertising space in newspapers and magazines, consumer culture was reaching into the papers –and pockets – of the literate working classes and journal advertisements were becoming bigger and more extravagant.[52] Medicinal and health-promoting products were conspicuous in the age of advertising; Lori Loeb has described how an "unprecedented assortment of mass-produced and mass-marketed patent medicines flooded the market."[53] Gaudy advertisements proclaiming the benefits of a host of pills, tonics, lotions and appliances found ample space in the press.[54] As Loeb has argued, there was a degree of cognitive dissonance in the profession's approach to patent medicines. Ostensibly they condemned them, claiming that the failure of patent medicines vendors to disclose the ingredients of their remedies posed a risk to the public's health. In actuality, many doctors used patent medicines in their practice,

some invested in patent medicine companies and professional journals including the *Lancet* and the *British Medical Journal* carried advertisements for them in order to sustain themselves financially.[55] In the face of the profession's complex relationship with commercialism, the *Lancet's* interpretation of advertising was adapted to elide any mention of its own entanglement with it, and instead used to criticise doctors who featured in, and wrote for, other journals, intended for public audiences.

The *Lancet's* editorial series on "quasi-medical" journals highlighted the complex set of expectations the profession put upon both itself and the public by the 1880s. In the view of the *Lancet* it was entirely permissible for the public to be cognisant of, and indeed actively engaged in, disease prevention and hygienic practices, and to possess a degree of practical knowledge such as the first-aid movement was offering, in the event of sudden illness or injury. That was a form of good citizenship. What was not appropriate was when the public strayed into the territory of medical practitioners by consuming information that could lead them to try and diagnose and treat themselves. This was especially problematic given the audiences that *The Hospital* and *Baby* were targeting; *The Hospital*, priced at just a penny, was aimed at both men and women from the lower classes, while *Baby* was aimed at an almost exclusively female readership. Although not explicitly stated, questions of gender no doubt played into the *Lancet's* worries. In February 1888 a correspondent to the journal raised concerns about female readers' consumption of medical knowledge through nursing journals. They criticised the recently established journal for nurses and midwives, *Nursing Notes*, for facilitating discussion of anatomical knowledge among nurses that it was not appropriate or necessary for them to learn.[56] This was a discussion pertinent to the era. Similar debates were raging about the admittance of female medical students to anatomical lectures, [57] while, contemporaneously, the public health movement was placing responsibility upon women as the ideal conduits through which to establish hygienic practices within families. Thus, the extent to which women were expected to be privy to medical knowledge, and the reading matter available to them, was being re-defined. The boundaries between journals orientated towards women generally and those involved in healthcare on an occupational basis could be hazy, and were indeed complicated by the periodicals themselves. The *Nursing Mirror* supplement in *The Hospital*, for example, featured a regular column called "The Book World for Women and Nurses," containing reading suggestions "likely to interest women and nurses," while *Nursing Notes* often featured articles relating to the progress of women within the world of paid employment, and operated a lending library

which circulated both medical literature and other books and journals that focused on women's role in the workforce.[58] *Nursing Notes* was also published by the Women's Printing Society, which had begun as a direct result of women's exclusion from the printing industry, and attracted business from women using publishing as a means of advancing a progressive agenda.[59] During a period in which the role of women both in medicine and in society more generally remained hotly debated, the overt solicitation of female readers for professional medical literature, nursing or otherwise, implicitly played into the contested gender politics of medicine.

The *Lancet* cast its critique of popular medical journalism as drawn from a moral standpoint. But it coalesced with concerns about the changing demographics and economic fortunes of the medical profession at large. The economic boom of the mid-century was grinding to a halt. Doctors expressed fears that the profession was becoming overcrowded by young men unable to find positions in business and industry. *The Hospital* and *Baby* were perceived as both a symptom and a cause of increased competition. In a climate of commercial depression, the presence of "popular" journals were seen to encourage doctors in financial straits to resort to advertising.[60] But the journals themselves were also competitors in the medical marketplace. If the public chose a cheap periodical over a more costly - and potentially harrowing - face to face encounter with a professional doctor they stood to rob doctors of their financial livelihood.[61] One editorial lamented that such journals administered "not medicines, indeed, but medical advice to the public, one and all, for one penny!"[62] The *Lancet's* invocation of the growing power of the penny press and its readers echoed the sentiments of contemporary trends in journalism. In 1886 W.T Stead, editor of the socially conscious and widely circulated *Pall Mall Gazette*, had published his essay "Government by Journalism."[63] Reflecting on a new era of populist, anti-elitist journalism, Stead expressed his belief that newspapers and journals could actively shape policy and political life. Stead passionately evoked the power of the press in shaping society, likening readers to an electorate who "register their vote by a voluntary payment of the daily pence. There is no limitation of age or sex. Whosoever has a penny has a vote."[64] Stead, through his periodical endeavours like *Review of Reviews*, begun in 1890 following the end of his editorship at the *Pall Mall Gazette*, sought to undermine the grasp of the intellectual elite upon expert knowledge – of which scientific knowledge comprised a key aspect - in a lively and vivid manner.[65] In a not dissimilar way, *The Hospital* and *Baby* offered significant challenge to the authority of doctors, allowing readers a more active role in shaping their medical experiences

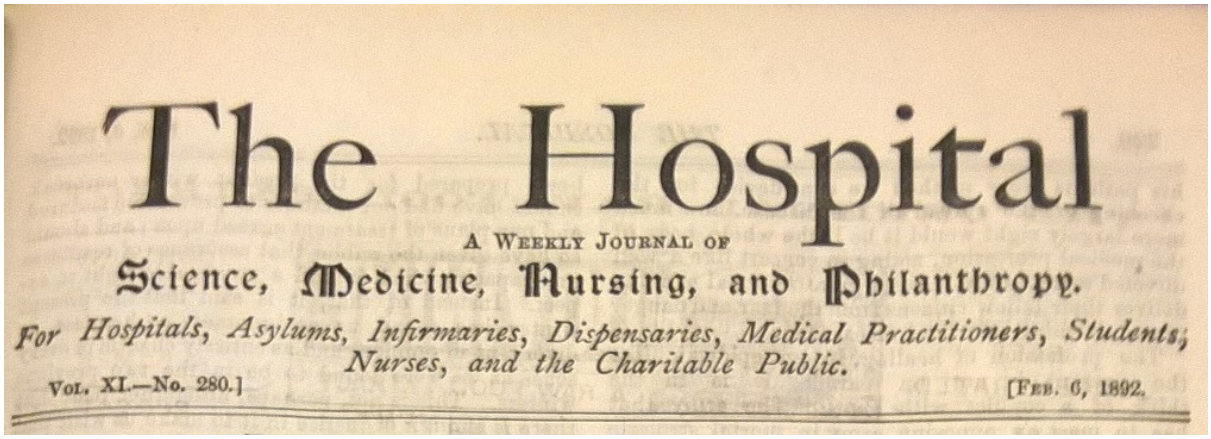
at a time when the profession as a whole was attempting to capitalise on their increased scientific and cultural authority.

The *Lancet's* animosity towards *The Hospital* put its editor Henry Burdett in a delicate situation. His years of work in hospital management and nursing reform meant that he held something akin to an honorary position among the British profession and he often mingled socially with medical men. Their patronage was essential for his hospital charity work.[66] In private correspondence his friend and confidant across the Atlantic, John Shaw Billings, advised Burdett to re-think his foray into medical journalism; "if you go on with the 'Hospital' on your present plans you will have the great body of the Medical Profession either opposed to you or looking very much askance at you," Billings warned.[67] Burdett appears to have heeded his advice. The early 1890s saw him attempt to take *The Hospital* in a different direction, as he began to market the journal primarily towards doctors and medical students, although he continued to solicit a general audience too, presumably to ensure its continued commercial viability. The journal heading was altered from a decorative design that embedded illustrations of hospitals from across the country to a blander, more austere layout, emulating the plainer style of journals like the *Lancet*. The sub-title of the journal also underwent a transition. Initially *The Hospital* billed itself as "an institutional, family and congregational journal of Hospitals, Asylums and all Agencies for the Care of the Sick" but this changed to "a weekly journal of science, medicine, nursing and philanthropy" with "Medical Practitioners, Students, Nurses and the Charitable Public" mooted as the intended audience **(see fig.1)**. This not so subtle re-ordering, with doctors prioritised as a key audience, marked a concerted effort on Burdett's part to establish the journal's identity as a truly medical paper. Regular content such as reviews of medical books, information on new medical devices and an opinion column called "The Doctor's Armchair" were all designed with a professional audience in mind. Especially striking was *The Hospital's* attempt to corner the market for medical students and newly qualified doctors, with large portions of the pages given way to job advertisements as well as news of scholarships, prizes and pass lists.

The *British Medical Journal*, now by far the most read medical journal in Britain, on account of being sent out to members of the British Medical Association as part of their subscription, refuted the notion that changes in style and content meant that *The Hospital* had become a medical journal in any real sense, and to Burdett's chagrin, refused to include *The Hospital* in its summary of the circulation numbers of the leading medical journals, ignoring the estimated circulation of over 9,500 copies that Burdett now claimed for *The Hospital*.[68] In

private correspondence with Thomas Henry Wakley (son of Thomas Wakley who had died in 1862) and Ernest Hart, editors of the *Lancet* and *British Medical Journal* respectively, both of whom cast doubt on the credibility of *The Hospital,* Burdett had attempted to take up the issue and argue his case, but made little ground with either man.[69] In 1897, the issue still evidently perturbing him, Burdett changed tack, and publicly addressed the matter of *The Hospital's* audience and identity in one of its editorials. In it Burdett freely admitted to the populist, conversational tone of *The Hospital* compared to the *Lancet* and *British Medical Journal* and, in an effort to style the other two as behind the literary mores of the day, criticised the "fat" volumes of his competitors, replete with "ponderous communications" that the busy doctor had little time or inclination to wade through. Burdett claimed all three journals were read by a mixed audience of medical professionals and the public – the only difference being that Burdett was prepared to acknowledge this fact. Of the *Lancet* and *British Medical Journal,* he wrote:

> In our view, both these are admirable papers. But is it true that they are read by the medical profession alone? Are they not sold on bookstalls? Are they not to be found on club and hotel tables? Are they not taken at free libraries? Are they not subscribed for by mechanics' institutes, and gloated over by the educated but unwashed youth of the period? [70]


The Hospital

A Weekly Journal of

Science, Medicine, Nursing, and Philanthropy.

For Hospitals, Asylums, Infirmaries, Dispensaries, Medical Practitioners, Students, Nurses, and the Charitable Public.

Vol. XI.—No. 280.] [Feb. 6, 1892.

Fig.1 The headings of *The Hospital* in 1886, the year it began, and in 1892. The plainer design, which aligned more closely with the professional weeklies, and the new sub-title reflected an attempt by Henry Burdett to consolidate *The Hospital's* identity as a medical journal.

The accusation would have hit a nerve with those in the medical profession. As Sarah Bull has detailed, the mid-decades of the century had seen a clampdown upon the selling of obscene literature, in which texts containing sexual advice purporting to be medical, were often implicated. Journals like the *Lancet* sought not only to distance themselves from vernacular medical texts that might be construed as obscene but by the 1870s, were active in sponsoring prosecutions of irregular doctors on the grounds of obscenity.[71] As Bull observes, such actions on the part of the *Lancet* and similar titles was dependent on a claim of demarcation between readers of professional literature "disciplined enough to be unaffected by works that would incite antisocial behavior in others," and lay readers of non-professional literature who would be easily corrupted by sexually oriented literature.[72] In reality, the lines were blurred, and Burdett capitalised on this, brazenly demolishing the idea that the *Lancet* was read only by professionals, instead evoking the idea that young men read it for its salacious, and possibly sexual content. Buoyed by the healthy circulation figures of *The Hospital*, Burdett's position on the periphery of the profession gave him latitude to play with the identity of the medical journal. He was less constrained by the performative rhetoric of doctors which compelled those in the profession to disavow any associations with profit and advertising. By emphasising the commercial nature of *all* medical journals, Burdett cut through the rigid distinctions between the professional and popular press which the orthodox medical weeklies liked to project. Print culture complicated and challenged professional

boundaries, blending audiences and belying any essential difference between doctors and laypeople in their consumption of medical literature.

The controversy aroused the attention of the Royal College of Physicians who swiftly condemned those among their membership who had been involved with either journal. In a move that was indicative of the power the *Lancet* wielded in professional politics, Members and Fellows of the College who had contributed to either *The Hospital* or *Baby* were issued with a letter from the College Registrar, Sir Henry Pitman, asking them to explain their actions. Many of the responses, particularly from those who contributed to *Baby* are retained in the College archive, along with their correspondence with Ada Ballin. They offer a glimpse of the pressure that those involved were under to extricate themselves from a potentially embarrassing situation. Most quickly moved to disassociate themselves from the publication; "as soon as I had seen the first number I at once sent a letter to the Editor informing my disapproval of certain of the contents of the magazine and also stating that the scope of the publication seems to extend further in the way of strictly 'medical' advice than I considered expedient," wrote one, the obstetrician and Fellow of the College, William Graily Hewitt.[73] Some were more sympathetic to Ballin's endeavour, their correspondence revealing the competing demands upon doctors of professional etiquette and public duty. Thomas Lauder Brunton, a high-profile physician at St. Bartholomew's, as well as one of the most popular consulting doctors among London's society elite, explained to Ballin the difficult position he had been put in with *Baby.* Drawing on his bleak experiences at St. Bartholomew's Hospital where he frequently encountered children with severe diarrhoea caused by unsanitary feeding practices, Brunton had agreed to write on the correct use of feeding bottles for the journal, believing his contribution to the magazine could lead to a decrease in mortality from the condition. Brunton allowed publication to go ahead, but under pressure from the College, insisted that the article be published anonymously; "this step is necessary because the objectionable practice of advertising seems to be creeping into the Medical Profession in this country" he wrote to Ballin, "and as it is somewhat hard to draw the line between what is legitimate and what is not, extra care requires to be taken."[74] Here then, was the borderland in ethics that the *Lancet* referred to; journalism complicated the process of managing and authenticating medical knowledge. It placed doctors on ethically dubious ground, plunging them into a world of commercialism which contradicted efforts to project an image of the profession as motivated by altruistic concerns.

What Counts as a Medical Journal?

On the 2nd February 1888, less than three months after the *Lancet's* first editorial on the subject, the Royal College of Physicians issued a resolution stating that it was "undesirable that any fellow, member, or Licentiate of the College should contribute articles on professional subjects to journals professing to supply medical knowledge to the general public." Notes on the resolution in the College archives confirm it was passed primarily in reference to *Baby* and *The Hospital*.[75] In a show of significant power, the *Lancet* had managed to shape the medical regulatory framework through the denunciation of its rivals. And yet, despite this, both journals which had come under fire endured – *Baby* until 1915 and *The Hospital* until 1924; the condemnation of the College also appeared to have had little effect on diminishing the readership of either. Both journals continued to publish articles authored by doctors, although interestingly, in the case of *Baby*, a decline in male medical contributors was countered by an upsurge in female doctors writing for the magazine. In a literary marketplace where journals so frequently failed, both *The Hospital* and *Baby* can be construed as success stories. Their longevity in comparison to publicly-oriented medical titles published earlier in the century attests to an increased demand from the public for cheap, accessible health information, that could be facilitated with relative ease by the expansive world of commercial publishing in the 1880s.

And yet neither *The Hospital* and *Baby* would be recognised today by any but a handful of medical or periodical historians. How then to understand their historical obscurity despite an evident contemporary relevance? Much can be explained by an enduring association between the growth of the medical journal and doctors' professionalising endeavours, one seemingly reflecting the other throughout the nineteenth century as the literary style of medical journals shifted from personable and conversational to scientific and austere. It is the titles whose emergence appeared to signal the onset of professionalisation in medicine, the *Lancet* and *British Medical Journal*, both of which remain today powerhouses of medical journalism, which continue to occupy centre stage in historical investigations. This position is augmented, no doubt, by the digitisation of the entire runs of both, which has made them reliable and accessible historical sources, more so than the many other titles for which full-scale digitisation is yet to exist.

While no-one can doubt the impact of the *Lancet* and *British Medical Journal*, publications like the *Hospital* and *Baby* complicate the condensed narrative of medical journalism they represent. Moreover, the existence of Henry Burdett and Ada Ballin's successful journalistic endeavours necessitates an unpacking of the categories we use: how have we chosen to define

'medical' journals? And how does that definition differ from that employed by our historical actors? In what ways were professional medical journals distinct from other health-related periodicals and how were those boundaries erected, enforced, blurred and contested? This essay has tried to find a way through some of these complex issues, negotiating the vast swathes of medical periodical material available to doctors, nurses and members of the public in the nineteenth century, of which historians have, perhaps, only begun to scratch the surface.

The connections and intersections between medical journals, the profession and the public did not stop with the escalation of medical professionalisation. As British medical journalism underwent a transformative period in the latter decades of the century, during which medical and health journals increasingly diversified in objective and scope, conceptualisations of the medical journal became significantly more complex and their relations to commerce and advertising more closely scrutinised. The controversies surrounding *The Hospital* and *Baby* reveal the anxieties of a profession struggling to acclimatise to the voluminous, vibrant and commercial culture of late nineteenth-century publishing, which provided doctors with both professional and economic opportunities but also exposed them to situations in which their propriety could very easily be called into question.

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[1] James Paget, "International Medical Congress, 1881 – Opening Address," *New England Journal of Medicine* 105 (1881):145.
[2] John Shaw Billings, "Address on our Medical Literature," *Lancet* 118 (1881): 265.
[3] W. F Bynum and Janice C. Wilson, "Periodical Knowledge: Medical Journals and their Editors in Nineteenth-Century Britain," in *Medical Journals and Medical Knowledge: Historical Essays*, ed. W.F Bynum, Stephen Lock and Roy Porter (London and New York: Routledge, 1992) 30.
[4] Billings, "Address on our Medical Literature," 266.
[5] Billings, "Address on our Medical Literature," 270.
[6] Bynum and Wilson, "Periodical Knowledge,". In its first issue in 1888 the *British Journal of Dermatology* declared that "it will be allowed that the interests of the special branches of so complex a science as that of medicine are best developed and maintained when those who are engaged in them have at their disposal separate literary channels for the interchange of ideas." "The Editors' Prologue," *British Journal of Dermatology* 1 (1888): 1.
[7] M. Jeanne Petersen, "Medicine," in *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society*, eds. J. Donn Vann and Rosemary T. VansArsdel (Aldershot: Scolar Press,1994): 24.
[8] Sally Shuttleworth, Chapter "National Health is National Wealth: the Victorian Public Health Journal" in this volume. See also Graham Mooney, *Intrusive Interventions: Public Health, Domestic Space, and Infectious Disease Surveillance in England, 1840-1914* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2015): 2.
[9] "The Relation of Medical Ethics to Popular Journalism," *Lancet* 130 (1887): 971.
[10] Wakley has been quoted as saying he named the journal the *Lancet* because "a lancet can be an arched window to let in the light or it can be a sharp surgical instrument to cut out the dross and I intend to use it in both senses." As Michael Brown has observed, the quote is apocryphal and its origin unknown. One imagines the latter meaning would have more obvious meaning to its audience, given the medical content of the journal. As quoted in Mary Bostetter, "The Journalism of Thomas Wakley," in *Innovators and Preachers: The Role of the Editor in Victorian England*, eds. Joel H. Wiener (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1985): 290. Michael Brown, "'Bats, Rats and Barristers': *The Lancet*, Libel and the Radical Stylistics of Early Nineteenth-Century English Medicine", *Social History*, 39 (2014): 188.
[11] "Preface," *Medico-Chirurgical Review* 2 (1822) i.
[12] This is the figure quoted by Samuel Squire Sprigge in his biography of Thomas Wakley. As Michael Brown has noted, Wakley himself claimed the *Lancet* had a circulation of ten thousand by 1824. Samuel Squire Sprigge, *The Life and Times of Thomas Wakley* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1899): 102; Brown, 183.

[13] For more on this see Carin Berkowitz, *Charles Bell and the Anatomy of Reform* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2016): 82-83.
[14] "The Medical Times," *Medical Times* 1 (1839): 36.
[15] "Preface," *Lancet* 1 (1823): 2. The *Lancet* drew much of its antagonistic and populist style from contemporary political reformist periodicals, in particular, William Cobbett's *Political Register*. Brown, "'Bats, Rats and Barristers'," 184.
[16] A biographical portrait of Thomas Wakley that appeared in 1839, cited the *Monthly Gazette of Health* as a key influence upon him; "Medical Portraits: Thomas Wakley M.P, Coroner for Middlesex," *Medical Times* 1 (1839): 17.
[17] The *Medical Adviser*, for example, demanded the end to female prisoners being subject to treadmills, recently introduced to prisons, claiming they were physically unsuited to such arduous labour ."Important Medical Considerations Among the Treadmill," *Medical Adviser* 1 (1823): 1-4.
[18] In the context of mesmerism, Jennifer Ruth has explored the somewhat contradictory tone of the journal *The Zoist* established by the physician John Elliotson in 1843. Ruth notes "the *Zoist* desperately wanted to be taken seriously by the professional community. Thus, despite its reliance on the words and presumably subscriptions of this reforming segment of the lay public, it strove to distinguish itself from the 'popular'." Jennifer Ruth, "'Gross Humbug' or 'The Language of Truth'? The Case of the Zoist," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 32 (1999): 310. Britain's most successful homeopathic journal, *The Homeopathic World* (established in 1866) while primarily read by the public, appears to have had doctors among its readers and contributors and increasingly strove to reach out to the medical profession during the century.
[19] Roy Porter cites the popularity of William Buchan's *Domestic Medicine* and John Wesley's *Primitive Physick*. Roy Porter, "Lay Medical Knowledge in the Eighteenth Century: The Evidence of the *Gentleman's Magazine*," *Medical History* 29 (1985): 140.
[20] "To the Editor of the Gazette of Health," *Monthly Gazette of Health* 1 (1816): 110.
[21] "The Penny Press," *The Mechanic's Magazine* 18 (1832): 93.
[22] Although titles differed in their treatment of the various 'alternative' systems of medicine. In its first years for example, the *Medical Times and Gazette* openly and somewhat controversially supported the University College Hospital physician John Elliotson in his practice of mesmerism.
[23] "Hospital that Beats Bedlam," *Lancet* 57 (1851): 560; "'Punch on Quackery," *Lancet* 64 (1854): 496.
[24] S.D Smith, "Coffee, microscopy, and the *Lancet's* Analytical Sanitary Commission," *Social History of Medicine* 14 (2001): 183.
[25] "The Analytical Sanitary Commission: Notices of the Press," *Lancet* 57 (1851) 228. Three similar reports on press coverage of the commission appeared in the *Lancet* that year.
[26] Garnett, Richard. "Hunt, Frederick Knight (1814–1854), journalist." Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. 20 Feb. 2018. http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2167/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-14191.
[27] These were some of the issues discussed in Wynter's popular collection of essays *Subtle Brains and Lissom Fingers*, originally published in 1863 and which addressed a range of subjects, medical, scientific and otherwise. Andrew Wynter, *Subtle Brains and Lissom Fingers: Being Some of the Chisel-marks of Our industrial and Scientific Progress* (London: Robert Hardwicke, 1863).
[28] Peter Bartrip has noted that Wynter resigned his editorship of the *British Medical Journal* following criticism that the journal was out of touch and inaccessible to members of the British Medical Association, for whom the journal was intended. P. W. J. Bartrip, "Wynter, Andrew (1819–1876)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn, Oct 2007 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30163, accessed 17 May 2017]
[29] Claire Furlong, "Health Advice in Popular Periodicals: *Reynolds's Miscellany,* the *Family Herald*, and Their Correspondents," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 49 (2016): 35. Roy Porter identified this practice as one also within eighteenth-century periodical culture, pointing to the prominent place of health advice within the highly successful *Gentleman's Magazine.* Porter, "Lay Medical Knowledge in the Eighteenth Century."
[30] "How to Poison Correspondents" 75 (1860): 72.
[31] "How to Poison Correspondents" 75 (1860): 95.
[32] Furlong, "Health Advice in Popular Periodicals," 36.
[33] "The Relation of Medical Ethics to Popular Journalism," 971.
[34] "Popular Medical Teaching," *Lancet* 130 (1887): 1124.
[35] Frank Prochaska, "Burdett, Sir Henry Charles (1847–1920)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) [http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2167/view/article/38827, accessed 18 May 2017].
[36] Steve Sturdy and Roger Cooter, "Science, Scientific Management, and the Transformation of Medicine in Britain c.1870-1950," *History of Science* 36 (1998): 425.

[37] Ironically these were similar to criticisms levelled at the *Lancet* in its very early days when the journal often carried non-medical articles such as theatre criticism and chess puzzles. Brittany Pladek, "'A Variety of Tastes': The *Lancet* in the Early-Nineteenth-Century Periodical Press," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 85 (2011): 573.
[38] "Popular Medical Teaching," 1124.
[39] Gowan Dawson, "The *Review of Reviews* and the New Journalism in Late-Victorian Britain," in *Science in the Nineteenth-Century Periodical*, eds. Geoffrey Cantor, G. Dawson, G. Gooday, R. Noakes, S. Shuttleworth, and J. Topham. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004): 186.
[40] "Teaching and Touting," *Lancet* 130 (1887): 1028.
[41] "Tittle-Tattle for the Tea Table," *Pall Mall Gazette* 48 (1888): 7. Burdett cited these statistics in the headed paper he used for correspondence relating to *The Hospital*; Correspondence of Henry Burdett, MS 5966, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.
[42] In the mid to late nineteenth century, psychiatrists were beginning to develop theories about the mind of the child, in separation from more general psychiatric theories. Sally Shuttleworth has described the final decades of the century as a time when "'the mind of the child' became not only a scientific discipline but also almost a cultural obsession." Sally Shuttleworth, *The Mind of a Child* (Oxford: Oxford University Press,2010): 16. Similarly with the advent of mass-scale production of artificial infant formula in Europe and America, doctors were becoming involved in debates about the relative merits of breastfeeding and formula milk and the subject was often discussed in *Baby*. Rima D. Apple, "'Advertised by our loving friends': The Infant Formula Industry and the Creation of New Pharmaceutical Markets, 1870–1910," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 41 (1986): 4-9.
[43] "Editorial Address," *Baby* 1 (1887): 12.
[44] Ada Ballin, *The Science of Dress in Theory and Practice* (London: Sampson Low, 1885): iii.
[45] Shuttleworth, *The Mind of a Child*, 286.
[46] "Mother's Parliament," *Baby* 1 (1887): 11.
[47] *Ibid*.
[48] "Popular Medical Teaching," 1124.
[49] Despite its relatively long run the *Medical Review and Invalid's Guide* only briefly caught the attention of the *Lancet* when in the back pages of an 1883 issue, the latter complained about the inclusion of a list of medical consultants, which included "those of amateur doctors." "A List of Consultants," *Lancet* 121 (1883): 760.
[50] Although Henry Burdett did receive editorial assistance from a doctor, George Potter M.D.
[51] Sally Shuttleworth, Chapter "National Health is National Wealth: the Victorian Public Health Journal" in this volume.
[52] Peter Gurney, *The Making of Consumer Culture in Modern Britain* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017): 70-72.
[53] Lori Loeb, "Doctors and Patent Medicines in Modern Britain: Professionalism and Consumerism," *Albion* 33 (2001): 409.
[54] "Popular Medical Teaching," 1124.
[55] Loeb, "Doctors and Patent Medicines in Modern Britain," 423.
[56] W.H Allchin, "The Teaching of our Nurses," 131 *Lancet* (1888): 345.
[57] For more on the intersecting experiences of female doctors and nurses see Vanessa Heggie, "Women Doctors and Lady Nurses: Class, Education and the Professional Woman," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 89 (2015).
[58] Titles the lending library offered included *Work and Leisure* published by the social reformer Louisa Hubbard who was an advocate of female employment, as well as a range of literary and women's magazines including *Literary World* and *Lady*.
[59] Michelle Elizabeth Tusan, "Performing Work: Gender, Class, and the Performing Trade in Victorian Britain," *Journal of Women's History* (2004): 120.
[60] "The Relation of Medical Ethics to Popular Journalism," 971.
[61] "Popular Medical Teaching," *Lancet* 130 (1887): 1125.
[62] "The Relation of Medical Ethics to Popular Journalism," 971.
[63] The medical profession had been touched by Stead's controversial brand of journalism, when it became inadvertently mixed up in Stead's most notorious piece of investigative work, "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon," which purported to expose the trade in child prostitution in London. As part of his investigation Stead "purchased" a thirteen-year-old girl, Eliza Armstrong, to show the ease with which girls could be bought and sold. To prevent being accused of sexually assaulting her, Stead brought in the obstetrician Heywood Smith to confirm the girl's virginity through a vaginal examination. Smith was heavily criticised by his fellow doctors for his role in the scandal and only narrowly avoided being expelled from the Obstetrical Society. "The Royal College of Physicians and Dr. Heywood Smith," *Lancet* 126 (1885): 1209-1210; "Obstetrical Society of London," *Lancet* 127 (1886): 255-256.

[64] As quoted in Graham Law and Matthew Sterenberg, "Old v. New Journalism and the Public Sphere; or, Habermas Encounters Dallas and Stead," *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Nineteenth Century* 16 (2013): 9, accessed May 16, 2017, doi: http://www.19.bbk.ac.uk/articles/10.16995/ntn.657/; W.T Stead, "Government by Journalism," *The Contemporary Review* 49 (1886):655.
[65] Dawson, "*The Review of Reviews*,":187-188.
[66] "Obituary: Sir Henry Burdett K.C.B, K.C.V.O," *British Medical Journal* 1 (1920): 657.
[67] Letter to Henry Burdett from John Shaw Billings, 4th March 1888, MS 5966, no. 10, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.
[68] *British Medical Journal* 1 (1896): 36; letter from Henry Burdett to Ernest Hart, 7th January 1895, no.120, MS 5966, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.
[69] Letter to Thomas Henry Wakley, 12th November 1895, no.117; correspondence between Henry Burdett and Ernest Hart, 7th-9th January 1896, nos.120-124, MS 5966, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.
[70] "'The Hospital to its Readers," *The Hospital* 22 (1897): 2.
[71] Sarah Bull, "Managing the 'Obscene M.D.': Medical Publishing, the Medical Profession, and the Changing Definition of Obscenity in Mid-Victorian England," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 91 (2017): 737.
[72] *Ibid.* 726.
[73] Letter from William Graily Hewitt to Henry Pitman, 2nd December, MS 2412/40, Royal College of Physicians.
[74] Letter from Thomas Lauder Brunton to Ada Ballin, 28th November 2412/35, Royal College of Physicians.
[75] A medical article authored by a doctor which had appeared in *The Modern Review*, was also cited as a secondary factor. Royal College of Physicians resolution, 1888. RCP/LEGAC/2410/50, Royal College of Physicians.