

WILLIAM CADOGAN, EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PHYSICIAN

by

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WILLIAM CADOGAN was born in 1711 and died in 1797. His life thus spans the eighteenth century; a century of silks, and satin embroidery; of great poets and great painters; a century of exquisite music, ornate furniture, of intricate workmanship and broad sweeping architecture. Many of these evidences of genius we can still see and touch and enjoy today; Cadogan ate, talked and lived with those who created them. He knew the glitter of Garrick's fashionable drawing-room, he conversed with Sir Joshua Reynolds and other notables, and, as night closed in and the giant chandelier was lighted with a hundred candles, he would dance with his daughter in the whirl of London society until the ball was ended. Then he would go out into the blackness of the unlit London night, the streets ankle deep in mud and filth; where a man seen walking in fine clothes was likely to be set upon by vagabonds or have mud slung at him. Ladies of the street with their low cut bodices and seemingly immune to the cold would touch him on the shoulder, beggars would whine and, by the road-side or doorstep or dunghill, small bundles could be seen which cried and moved weakly when touched. These were the outcasts, the foundlings.

As the streets of the city were dark so were the minds of its citizens. Morality was at a low ebb: Boswell (1762) unashamedly told his friends that he had contracted the gleet. Religion was formalistic and insincere until the crusading impact of Wesley was felt. Medicine at the beginning of the century was still a mixture of bleeding, purging, puking and fantastic folklore. The infant mortality rate was over 50 per cent.

But the London streets were not wholly dark. Here and there shone out the flaming torch of a link boy lighting his master through the night, and in the same way, through the night of ignorance and superstition, torches of truth gleamed out. In the field of infant care, one of these torches was lighted by William Cadogan.

Although the date of Cadogan's birth is known, it is quite uncertain where he was born. Munk (1878) asserts that he was born in London and this statement has been copied by most of his biographers since (Moore 1886; Still 1931; Ruhräh 1925). Munk gives no reason for the assertion and, while it may be true, circumstantial evidence points to the birthplace being in Monmouthshire or Glamorgan. The name Cadogan (or Cadwgan) was famous in early Welsh history and seems particularly to be connected with these counties (Griffiths 1904; Salmon 1927). Trostre Fach in the parish of Glascoed in Monmouthshire

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was long the country seat of a family called Cadwgan. This family earned posthumous fame as the ancestors of Earl Cadogan (the first Earl died in 1726). Out of a different branch of the same family sprang William Cadogan (for the family tree see Bradney, 1923).

It has not been possible to discover exactly where William Cadogan was born. The family seat had been left to William's uncle, Roger, but he had sold it some years before William's birth. Richard Smith, in a manuscript (undated, ? 1828) in the possession of the Bristol Royal Infirmary, stated that Cadogan was a native of Cowbridge and was born in or in the vicinity of that town. Unfortunately the baptismal registrar of Cowbridge parish church only goes back to 1730. Cowbridge must be considered the most likely place of birth.

Richard Smith tells us that Cadogan received 'the rudiments of education at Cowbridge Grammar School'—a school of old foundation which still flourishes. However, this is unlikely, as his name does not occur in the 'Golden Book' of the school which records the names of distinguished pupils (Hopkin-James 1922). Again the headmaster at that time was a famous disciplinarian, Daniel Durell, and almost all his scholars went to his own college of Jesus, Oxford; but Cadogan we know went to Oriel College, Oxford, matriculating on 5 December 1727 at the age of sixteen (Foster 1888).

Cadogan entered Oriel as a Servitor. At that time Oriel, like most Oxford Colleges, accepted three grades of undergraduates. The Fellow Commoners or commensales were sons of noblemen and the more important gentry; they were admitted to the Fellows' table and paid the highest fees. Then came the main body of Commoners, and lastly the Servitors, who were assisted by College funds and in return performed certain domestic tasks. The Servitor system died out in the nineteenth century. Emden (1948) instances Cadogan as a servitor who 'made good'.

After completing his studies at Oxford, Cadogan took the ambitious decision to study physic in Leyden—the Mecca of eighteenth-century medicine. His entry into the University was recorded as 'Cadogan Gulielmus Anglo-Britannus October 6th 1732 aet 21 Med.' and his graduation as 'Cadogan Gulielmus Anglus May 18th 1737 aet. 25 Med.' (Innes-Smith 1932). The title of his M.D. thesis was 'De nutritione, incremento, et decremento corporis'. It is a slight work of only thirteen pages written in Latin and dated 5. Junii 1737. The title page with its conventional figures was evidently selected from those available at the local publishers, for the theses of several other graduates in this and subsequent years have the same design although with different wording.

When Cadogan left Leyden at the age of twenty-five, able at last to write the coveted letters M.D. after his name, he must have looked around with anxious eyes to discover the most advantageous place in which to commence practice. In later years he was accused of avarice, perhaps with justification. Certainly he was ambitious. It is not surprising, therefore, that he did not wish to bury himself in the tiny hamlets of Usk or Cowbridge. An obvious choice was Bristol, a city which Defoe in 1726 called 'the greatest, richest and best port of trade in Great Britain, London only accepted'.

There was no great difficulty in setting up practice in any town outside London. The Act 'for the appointing of Physicians and Surgeons', 1511, was still in force. This stated that no man should 'take upon himself to exercise or occupy a position as physician or surgeon except he be first examined, approved and admitted by the bishop of the diocese' with 'such expert persons in the said faculties as their discretion shall think convenient' (Anon. 1767). Unfortunately no records exist of the licences granted in Bristol (Archivist, Bristol 1955), and we do not know for certain when Cadogan went to Bristol. He did not vote in the election of 1739 for his name is not recorded in the Bristol poll-book of that date, on the other hand by 1747 he could be described in Farley's *Bristol Journal* as an 'eminent professor of physic in this city'.

For the latter part at any rate of Cadogan's residence in Bristol, he probably lived in the newly completed Queen Square. This can be inferred from the fact that a letter from a Mr. John Williams (c. 1750) of Gloucester to Cadogan, was addressed to him there. But Cadogan may only have been a sub-tenant, for there is no reference to him in the City rentals as having leased any property in the square from the corporation, nor does his name appear as the holder of any other leased property in the city at that date. Half of Queen Square is in the parish of St. Stephen and half in the parish of St. Nicholas. Cadogan must have lived in the eastern half of the square, as his daughter's name is on the baptismal roll of the now gutted church of St. Nicholas.

Queen Square is built on flat ground bounded on one side by the river Frome, and on two others by the river Avon. In contemporary prints the course of the river is delineated by a stark line of naked masts belonging to the ships which thronged the busy quays. Here bales of merchandise were unloaded, and negro slaves, sailors and passengers landed gratefully after the tossing voyage from the West Indies.

One day, on a ship newly arrived from Antigua, a passenger alighted who was destined to alter the course of Cadogan's life. Her name was Frances Cochran. Her father was Archibald Cochran and he lived on the island of Antigua. He was a man of importance and in 1721, 1723, and 1728 he was nominated to serve on the colonial council or parliament of Antigua (Acts of Privy Council. Ed. 1910). He was also a man of wealth, for he settled £3,600 in New South Sea Annuities on Frances when she married Cadogan. Frances's brother Archibald was evidently a close friend, for many years later Cadogan made him one of the trustees of his will.

When William and Frances married is not known. Bradney (1923) wrote that she was his second wife but advanced no reason for this statement. He claimed that the first wife, whose name was unknown, died in 1772 and cited the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1772) as evidence. But as William and Frances's daughter was born in 1747, Bradney was obviously misinformed. A search through the *Gentleman's Magazine* reveals that Cadogan married twice after Frances died. Bradney evidently did not know this, hence his error. From Cadogan's *Essay on Nursing and the Management of Children* (1748) we learn that Frances breast-fed her baby, but no further details about her are known. On 2 August

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1759 Cadogan married a Mrs. Spencer (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1759). How long she survived is also unknown, but on 13 July 1772 he married 'Miss Groen, a Dutch lady' (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1774, p. 496). Again he was unfortunate as she died only three months later—this is the obituary notice quoted by Bradney. There is no record of any more children. It is sad to think that Cadogan, who obviously loved children, should have successfully reared only one child of his own. Rather surprisingly, in Cadogan's will, only Frances and her relatives are mentioned.

In 1747 there occurred two important events in Cadogan's life: on 21 May his daughter Frances was born and on 15 December he was elected Physician to the Bristol Infirmary.

None of the Bristol physicians or surgeons before Cadogan achieved more than local fame, nor do they appear to have been overworked. Indeed during the four years before Cadogan's election in 1747 only three of the four possible physicians held office. Dr. Etwell, one of the physicians, having resigned in 1743 (Smith 1917), it was not until Dr. Hardwick, another physician, died in September 1747 that it was decided that two more should be appointed to the staff. Even then there was some dispute about the matter in the public press, some correspondents being anxious to avoid a ballot. Eventually, however, an election was held on 15 December 1747, at the 'Taylor's Hall, Mr. Alderman Coombe in the chair'.

The election itself was blatantly rigged in favour of Cadogan. There were three candidates for the two places: Francis Randolph, Archibald Drummond and William Cadogan, all of whom were well known. Dr. Randolph was the favourite and it was probable that there would be a struggle for second place. Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs, one of the trustees, therefore proposed that 'as two Physicians were to be chosen out of the candidates they should proceed to the choice of one physician first, and out of the remaining candidates choose one more'.

At the first ballot the result was:

Mr. Drummond	..	..	..	98 votes
Dr. Randolph	..	..	..	75 votes
Dr. Cadogan	..	..	..	7 votes

At the second ballot Cadogan narrowly secured the majority, the voting being:

Dr. Cadogan	..	..	..	87 votes
Dr. Randolph	..	..	..	84 votes

Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs's astuteness had been rewarded.

But it was the event in May 1747—the birth of his daughter—even more than his election to the staff of the Bristol Infirmary in December, which proved to be the turning point in Cadogan's career. Like many medical fathers since, Cadogan's interest in the upbringing of young children was first stirred by the advent of a baby in his own household. A theoretical knowledge became a

practical one and this practical knowledge led to his writing a letter to one of the Governors of the Foundling Hospital which was published as 'An Essay upon Nursing and the Management of Children' (1748).

The Foundling Hospital had been conceived by the humanity of Thomas Coram. Unlettered, Coram had been tutored in the rough school of the sea, where he had risen to be a captain. He was married but had no children of his own. When he retired at the age of about sixty-five and was free to wander through the streets of London he was horrified by the sight of forsaken infants on dunghills or by the road side. There were several reasons for the frequency with which these children were abandoned. The early eighteenth century was an age of brutality and licentiousness. In society, sexual immorality was considered proper. There was the flagrant example of the French court where Madame de Pompadour having ousted the Queen from Louis XV's bed was engaged in edging her from the throne. Even the prosaic George II of England 'seemed to look upon a mistress . . . as a necessary appurtenance to his grandeur as a prince' (Hervey 1727). Little wonder that words like strumpet, trull, trollop and drab were familiar epithets of abuse. But while morals were low, the stigma attached to illegitimacy was high. The mother of a bastard had to get rid of it or risk being shunned by society. The plight of the parents could be cruel, as is illustrated by this doggerel verse attached to a child accepted by the Foundling Hospital in September 1751:

Pity the offspring of a youthful pair,
Whom folly taught and pleasure did ensnare;
Let the poor babe its parents' faults atone,
Stand you its friend or else it is undone.

(Nichols and Wray, 1935)

Sometimes the parents of an abandoned infant had been married in an unlicensed church or chapel, for at that time all that was required was consent of the parties before a priest and cohabitation (Lecky 1892). Cheap marriages were even performed in Fleet gaol by parsons committed to prison for debt. At one time five to six hundred couples per month were being joined together in this way. Secret marriages could only remain hidden until the arrival of children and this, in the days before birth control, was a frequent occurrence. As Cadogan (1748) remarked when discussing breast feeding, an infant should seldom suck for more than twelve months as 'about that time women in general . . . are apt to breed again, some indeed that are very sanguine will breed sooner'.

Unwanted children could be disposed of either by abandoning them by the road side or by leaving them with the parish. The eventual outcome tended to be the same in either case. James Hanway in the 'Ernest appeal for mercy to the children of the poor' (1766) tabulated the results of his examination of parish registers in greater London for the years 1750-5. In many parishes all the children received had died within a year. St. Andrews above Bar and St. George the Martyr received 285 infants; of these 222 died within twelve months, 57 were 'discharged' and only five recovered. It was in order to rescue

this human jetsam that the Foundling Hospital opened its doors in March 1741. A spate of children flooded in during the first few years—always more than could be safely accepted.

Cadogan's 'Essay upon Nursing and the Management of Children' was written, we are told on the title page, as 'a letter to one of the Governors of the Foundling Hospital'. There is good reason to believe that the letter was commissioned by the Governor, for, at the end of his introductory remarks, Cadogan wrote, 'since you desire my sentiments upon the subject. . . .' Also there is a note in the minutes of the General Working Committee of the Foundling Hospital to the effect that the letter which comprised the essay was received by Mr. Waple (one of the Governors) in June 1748. He

acquainted the committee that he had laid before the gentlemen to whom it was referred on 30th December last, to consider amending the regulations of the hospital, a letter which he had received from a physician, giving instructions for the nursing and management of children.

In the light of this minute it would seem a strange coincidence if Cadogan, unasked, had written a letter to Mr. Waple in June 1748 on the very subject that the sub-committee had apparently been debating on 30 December 1747. It is pleasing to see that in the minutes referred to, it is stated that the gentlemen of the committee were 'unanimous in thinking that it (the letter) should be published', and on the title page of the Essay is the statement that it was 'Published by order of the General Committee for transacting the affairs of the Foundling Hospital'.

Was Dr. Conyers on that Committee? Unfortunately, the names are not given, but perhaps it is reasonable to assume that he was not, although he was a physician to the hospital and had been a governor since 1743. For Conyers considered that the writer of the 'Essay' had plagiarized his work. He therefore republished (in 1748) his *Dissertation for the Degree of Doctor* which had originally been published in Leyden in 1729. At the beginning he appended a 'Notice to the Reader' which stated:

Since there has recently appeared a little book under the title of 'An Essay on Nursing, etc.' which contains many of the views established in this Dissertation, I decided to reprint for the public use this little work which was published about 20 years ago.

It is obvious that Cadogan, the younger man, might well have read and assimilated views from a dissertation published by a fellow countryman in Leyden eight years before he obtained his M.D., although as Still (1931) said: 'The number of points in common which Conyers makes the pretext for reproducing (the dissertation) are not really large.'

Cadogan's Essay is further considered elsewhere (Rendle-Short 1960). It became the textbook of the Foundling Hospital. A sub-committee minute dated Wednesday, April 12, 1749 stated that 'Mr. Waple laid before the committee a plan of regulations to be observed as to the nursing employment of the children'. The infants under a year old were to be sent to branch hospitals in the country under the care of inspectors, 'during that time their diet, clothing,

etc. (was to) be conformable to the directions given in a treatise entitled: "An Essay upon Nursing and the Management of Children".³ A footnote gave the name of the author and publisher.

Confirmatory evidence that the book was much used is afforded by the large number of copies discovered among the old papers of the Foundling Hospital. But apparently there was opposition in high quarters, for a pertinent letter (hitherto unpublished) has been found among the Foundling Hospital papers. The anonymous author wrote that he had recently bought a new edition of Cadogan's Essay which he observed had been published

under the sanction and at the recommendation of the Governors of the Foundling Hospital. [He continued] Having been lately blessed with the fruit of a happy marriage, I thought, for the sake of my little self, I could not but enquire into the success of the method recommended in the book, especially as it stands first in the regulations printed and is stuck up in several parts of that house. Accordingly I applied to the matron (who by the by does infinite credit to that charity) and asked how their new method of feeding and dressing their young children was approved on as they must have had sufficient experience in it since they first recommended it. You may imagine I was a little surprised to find she seemed puzzled at my question and told me she knew of no alteration from their former method; that the dress which I desired to see was the same as it had always been. . . . I am at a loss to reconcile this part of (the governors') conduct viz. to recommend any scheme to the public of which they have not made trial themselves. . . . [The author then became quite heated. He concluded] I was greatly disappointed, expecting to have rally'd my wife out of half at least of her child's clothing, whilst she on the contrary turn'd the tables on me and cried out, ay, ay, my dear. How like the men, they are fond of novelty, thought it a pritty thing, talked of it, recommended it and then thought no more of it. I fancy, Sir, a committee of women would not be useless there and offer it to your and their consideration, for I verily believe, Sir, our greatgrandmothers and grandmothers were very good nurses and very good housewives.

The letter is not dated, but a note made on the outside states that it was considered at a sub-committee on 31 January 1749, that is, nine months after the direction to use the Essay as a guide for the management of infants was proposed in April 1749.* Mr. Waple did not attend the sub-committee and the Matron won a temporary victory, for the laconic minute appears, 'the Sub-committee took into consideration the dress of the young children and were of the opinion that there is at present no occasion to make any alteration therein'. Later the matron was routed, for in 1781 Moss was able to describe a special type of infants' clothing which he referred to as 'the foundling dress'. This was obviously the garment advocated by Cadogan.

On 28 June 1749, at the age of thirty-eight, Cadogan was elected a Governor of the Foundling Hospital, just a year before George Frederick Handel. By 1752 his fame had increased considerably. A fifth edition of his Essay was published, and on 14 February he was proposed for Fellowship of the Royal Society. Ten weeks then elapsed and on 20 May 1752 the additional note 'balloted and elected' was made in the Certificate Book (1752). Election was by no means an automatic procedure. Another member of the staff of the Bristol Infirmary was less fortunate than Cadogan. A week after the physician's

* Until 1751 the year began on 25 March.

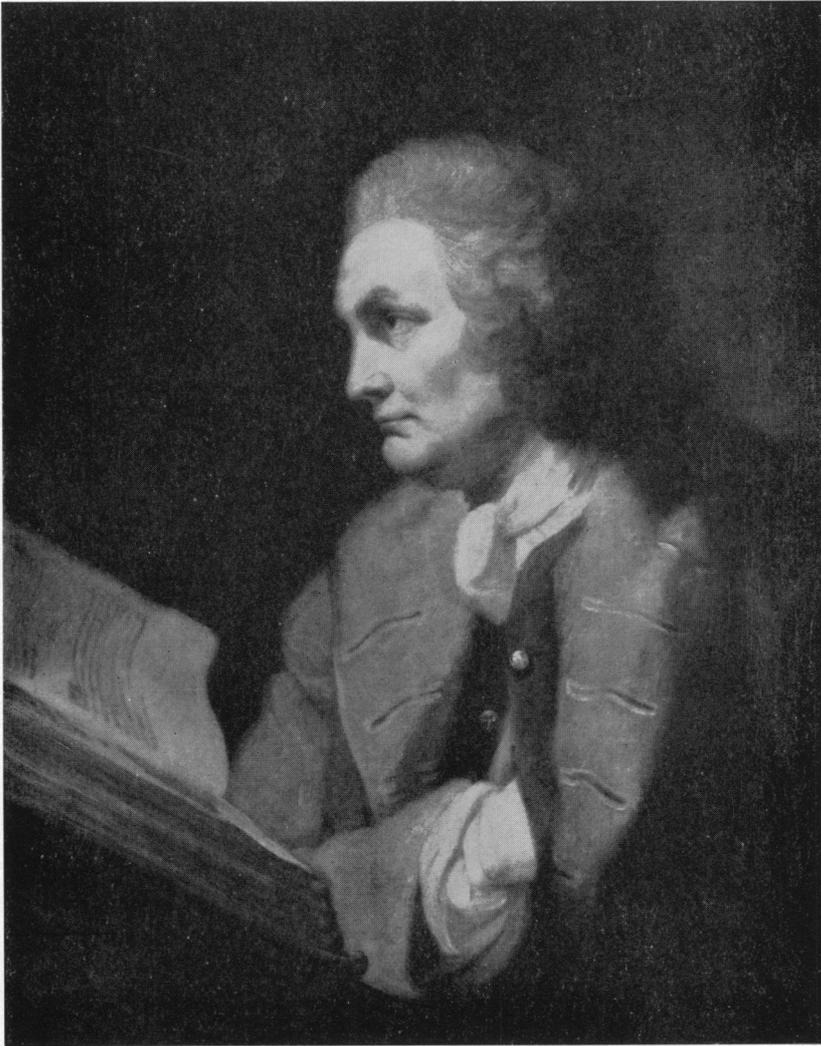


Fig. 1

WILLIAM CADOGAN (1711-97)

*Reproduced by kind permission
from the painting by R. E. Pine (1769) in the
Royal College of Physicians of London*

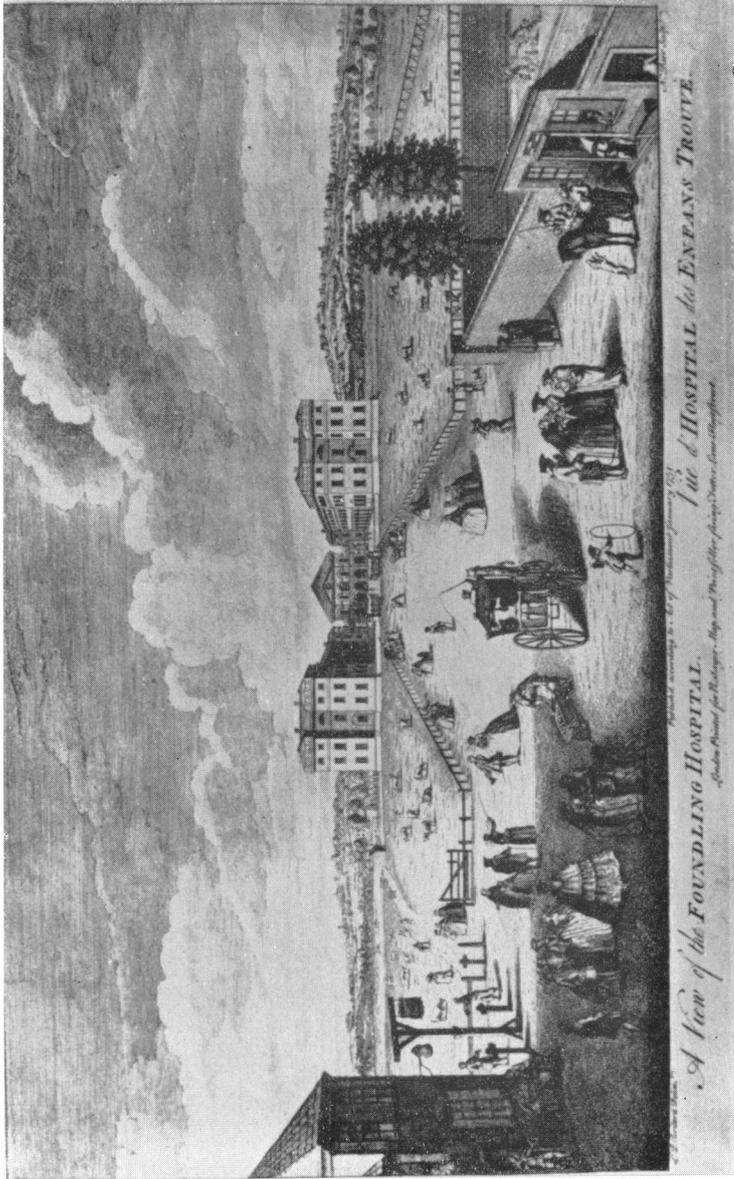


Fig. 2
The Foundling Hospital
From a print published in 1751

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success, Mr. James Ford of Bristol, Surgeon, was balloted for but rejected. Ford had been on the staff of the Infirmary since 1743. He too made the move to London, becoming Physician-Accoucher to Queen Charlotte.

In 1752 when he was forty-one years old, William Cadogan purchased a residence in Great George Street, Hanover Square, London, and resigned his post at the Bristol Infirmary on 3 March. According to Richard Smith, the Chairman of the Faculty put the letter of resignation into his pocket and took no further action. The post was not filled for five years. In the letter Cadogan stated that he had been invited to settle in the metropolis. He had evidently ingratiated himself with a formidable array of notables. His friend, John William, received a 'list of acquaintances and promises of patronage' which Cadogan sent him (Williams *c.* 1750). So at the age of forty-one, William Cadogan took coach for London. It was a brave venture. As Dr. Johnson said of the city twenty years later (Boswell 1770):

No place cures a man's vanity or arrogance so well as London, for as no man is either great or good but as compared with others not so good or great, he is sure to find in the metropolis many his equals and some his superiors.

Ironically, it was due to Dr. Conyers's illness in May 1753 that Cadogan was first elected Physician to the Foundling Hospital. Conyers returned in October and there is a note in the General Working Committee Minute Book (1753) expressing thanks to Dr. Cadogan for his attendance. A year later Conyers was once more ill and Cadogan was again appointed temporarily in his place. This appointment was confirmed later the same year (Minute Book 1754), and Cadogan became one of the two physicians at the hospital.

One of the scourges of the eighteenth century was smallpox. Rosen von Rosenstein (1776) recounted that during an epidemic in Sweden, 270 out of 300 children died. Such a disease was of particular danger to a community of children like the Foundling Hospital. To prevent the ravages of the illness, inoculation was widely practised in the eighteenth century. This differed from vaccination introduced by Jenner in 1798, in that material from an infected patient was used. In fact the inoculated child was given an attack of smallpox, which, it was hoped, would not be severe. The method is of great interest as being the ancestor of prophylactic immunizations which have done so much to eliminate disease. Although practically it was of considerable value, it served to perpetuate the disease in endemic form to the great danger of any uninfected person who might come in contact with it. For the recipient, inoculation was not prohibitively dangerous. Still (1931, p. 472) recorded that the Inoculation Society in Liverpool inoculated 673 persons with only two deaths, and Kilpatrick (1743) recorded that only eight died out of 800 inoculated in South Carolina.

Children were usually the recipients of inoculations, although in 1744 Elizabeth Montague, with much trepidation, had the operation performed upon herself so that she would be able to nurse her only son Punch, should he contract the disease. The inoculation did not take on the mother, and, sad to

relate, five months later Punch died of convulsions associated with the eruption of a tooth (Climenson 1906).

Smallpox inoculation was introduced into the Foundling Hospital by Conyers in June 1743. Thereafter it became the policy of the physicians to inoculate all the children on admission. Dr. Cadogan was convinced of the value of the practice. In addition he seems to have had an inquiring mind, for on 9 April 1756 he was given permission to inoculate four boys by 'friction instead of incision'. On 9 June of the same year he gave the results of this experiment to a sub-committee of the hospital. He said that he had

applied a blister plaister about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch and very narrow to one arm of four of the children. Next morning he applied the lint (presumably impregnated with smallpox matter), and in 2-3 days three of the children sickened and had the smallpox very well and favourably and recovered with success. The fourth child did not sicken at all.

Probably this child had already had the disease.

Four years later Cadogan was 'given liberty to try an experiment of a very simple nature to give the smallpox to six of the children intended for inoculation' (Nichols and Wray 1935). But by what method he intended to give the infection, and with what result we do not know.

Although Cadogan had moved to London and was a Physician to the Foundling Hospital, he was not legally able to practise in the city until he had been licensed to do so by the College of Physicians. A doctor was entitled to apply for a licence if he was an M.D. of Oxford or Cambridge. When licensed he became a candidate for the fellowship of the College which was granted automatically after a probationary period of at least one year. Cadogan therefore returned to Oxford to obtain his doctorate of medicine, which he received on 27 June 1755.

At about the same time Cadogan was made an M.D. of Cambridge by royal mandate (Still 1931). He became a Fellow of the College of Physicians on 26 June 1758, and such was his renown that he was made a Censor the following year, an office which he subsequently held in the years 1770, 1775 and 1781.

According to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, probably quoting Munk (1878), Cadogan was appointed physician to the army shortly after graduating in 1737 and before commencing practice in Bristol; but this is probably an error, as a search through the commission books from 1730-60 in the Public Record Office has failed to reveal any mention of his name during those years (Reed 1956). In fact he did not serve in the army until he was fifty-one years old (Johnston 1917).

England had been at war with France for some years when, on 31 December 1761, an alliance was announced between that country and Spain. England accordingly declared war on Spain, who in turn, as a gratuitous insult, demanded that neutral Portugal who was friendly with England should join the Franco-Spanish alliance (Lecky 1892, p. 115). The Portuguese bravely refused and soon the Spanish were overrunning their country. England dispatched troops to aid her ally, and it was with this small force that Cadogan sailed. At

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that time in addition to Regimental Medical Officers, a distinct and separate medical staff existed who worked in General Hospitals behind the line of battle. This staff was gathered at the outbreak of war from the general medical profession, or from officers who had served in previous campaigns, and who were on half-pay (Johnston 1917, p. xxxi). They were appointed by a medical board whose members consisted of the Physician-General and the Surgeon-General, both civilians, and the Inspector of Regimental Hospitals who had seen service in the Guards. Each exercised the patronage of his own department.

The second in command of the expedition and Cadogan's immediate superior was Lt.-General John Campbell, 4th Earl of Loudoun, whose papers on the medical aspects of the campaign are lodged in the library of the Royal College of Surgeons, England.

The expedition hospital assembled on the Downs, and on 24 May 1762 were ordered to Plymouth to embark. On 27 May, William Young, the Director of the Hospital, notified Loudoun that the wind was favourable and the hospital ship with its escort of men-of-war was about to set sail.

The following 'Physical Gentlemen' had been appointed to the expedition.

Physicians	Dr. William Cadogan Dr. Michael Morris
Director	William Young
Surgeons	John Hunter William Maddox Francis Tompkins
Apothecaries	Walter Hamilton Hugh Smith (Loudoun Papers-Medical 1762-3)

The two most notable of Cadogan's companions were Michael Morris, who was also a Fellow of the Royal Society and for thirty years was Physician to the Westminster Hospital (Peachey 1924), and John Hunter. The latter was in Belle Isle when the hospital ship left the shores of England. He joined the others later in Lisbon. He seems to have been an awkward colleague, brusque, rude and quarrelsome, so much so that on one occasion a fellow officer drew his sword upon him (Howell 1912).

The first sick return of H.M. Hospital in Lisbon was dated 13 July 1762, so the voyage to Portugal and the preliminary preparations took about six weeks. Almost all the returns were signed by Wm. Young, but the return dated 24 August was signed by Wm. Cadogan in a good strong hand. This must have been almost the last active work he did in His Majesty's Forces, for on 6 September there is a note that Dr. Cadogan was sick. His illness was long and severe. At length he was forced to write to Lord Loudoun to beg for leave. The letter, which is preserved in the Loudoun papers, is devoid of punctuation and is obviously written by an amanuensis. The signature, which is Cadogan's, is

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legible but wobbly and the letters are not joined together. The letter (Loudoun MS. 137) was dated Lisbon, 21 October 1762, and reads:

My Lord,

I am at last forced to do what I have long struggled to avoid troubling your L'shipp with my miserable condition I have been extremely ill this long while about 10 weeks ago I was seized with a violent flux which lasted a good while after that with a severe fit of the gout in both my feet a Disease new to me this confined me to bed and broke me all to * I then had it in my stomach and bowels and all over me which reduced me to extreme weakness however I was beginning to recover when I was seized with the most malignant fever that ever was it did not let me close my eyes for three weeks nor suffer me to remain either in bed or out of bed long enough to hope for a moments sleep at last by the use of laudanum I have obtained a few deceitful intervals but I cannot recover yet having not the least appetite for natural rest I am daily and hourly sinking into more pain and weakness so that all that remains for me now is to throw myself on your L'shipps compassion and humanity hoping you will be so good as to give me leave to return to England as the only means left me all other help having been tried in vain to preserve the miserable remains of life I have left I beg your L'shipps favourable answer to the bearer and am

My Lord

Your L'shipps

Most dutiful and obedt servant

William Cadogan

Col Pattison can inform your L'shipp of the truth of a great part of this tho' he has not seen me in this extremity Your L'shipp will be so good as to favour the bearer with a pass.

Cadogan's post was much sought after. Physicians with their university education and higher medical qualifications were at that time regarded as the élite of the profession. In addition they were paid very much more than surgeons or apothecaries. As soon as it was known, therefore, that Cadogan had applied for leave, no fewer than three of his colleagues wrote to the Earl of Loudoun asking if they could take his place. The first to apply was Dr. J. Cantley who wrote (Loudoun MS. 139), Lisbon, 23 October:

My Lord,

Dr. Cadogan, one of the physicians appointed for his Majesty's Army in Portugal and who has had the care of the hospital fixed here in Lisbon has been extremely ill of late and remains still in a very bad state of health with hectic fever and other bad symptoms hanging on him.

Calling on him this morning he gave me to understand that despairing of recovering his health in this climate he had actually applied to your Lordship for leave to return to England. . . .

Cantley then recommended himself as a suitable candidate for the post and kindly continued:

Taking it for granted however that no word of prejudice should thereby arise to Dr. Cadogan to whom it is by no means my intention in any manner to be the instrument of doing the smallest hurt or injury,

I have the honour to remain . . .

* Word undecipherable.

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As this letter apparently met with no success Cantley tried again two days later. He again asked for the post 'should you judge it proper that the said hospital should continue to have the attendance of a physician' (Loudoun MS. 144).

But others, too, considered themselves suitable candidates for the position. John Hunter wrote from St. Domingo on 28 October giving lucid arguments—mainly financial—why he should be considered. He remarked naïvely: 'I hope my education in phisick will be no objection to me.' If necessary he was willing to serve as both physician and surgeon at the same time (Loudoun MS. 153).

A third applicant was Walter Hamilton, apothecary. He reminded his Lordship that he had 'been 18 years in the service constantly attending my duty, which I am certain very few can say', and suggested himself for the post.

As rapidly as possible Cadogan's request for leave was granted. Lord Loudoun wrote:

your letter is this very moment come to my hand and I detained the messenger no longer than to write the answer. [He continued] As you represent it, it would be unnecessary cruelty to detain you a moment in your present condition, you can be of no use here.

Twelve days later Cadogan wrote to thank his Lordship. This epistle is almost certainly written by the doctor himself and as an illustration of how weak he must have been it is interesting to observe the shakiness of the writing towards the end. He wrote (Loudoun MS. 173):

I return your Excellency many thanks for granting me liberty to return to England where, when I can get to my own people who would nurse me well and where I may have the proper use of a horse and every convenience I must * want here. I am not without hope I may recover and return to my duty in a few months. I have the mortification to hear there are many suitors for my place as if it was vacant. . . .

Cadogan then commended Mr. Smith, Mr. Hamilton or Mr. Golding but denied that there was any need for anyone to take his place. He ended in characteristic vein:

I must therefore beseech your Excellency not to let the crows eat me before I am dead. I am, my Lord, while I live your Excellency's. . . .

Dr. Cantley, John Hunter and Walter Hamilton were all rebuffed. But Hunter extracted retribution in the end; for years later, when he had virtual control of the Army Medical Services owing to the ill-health and inaction of the Physician-General, he was able to decree that no person should hold the rank of Physician who was not or had not been a Staff Surgeon, Regimental Surgeon or Apothecary (Johnston 1917, p. xxxviii).

Thus, after only seven months' active service, Cadogan returned to his native land where he apparently made a rapid recovery. He was retained in the Army on half-pay—the equivalent of the reserve—from November 1763 to 1778 when he returned to full pay. From 1780 onward he was again on half-pay (Johnston 1917).

* Word undecipherable.

Two years after returning from Portugal Cadogan delivered his first Harveian oration. This, and the subsequent oration read in 1792 were, according to Sir Norman Moore (1886), 'mere rhetorical exercises'.

Apart from the slim Essay which has come down to us, no paediatric writing has been proved to be by Cadogan, but it is probable that an anonymous article which appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1765 was also from his pen. It was entitled 'Some of the causes that occasion the mortality of children under two years of age. In answer to queries in the public press concerning the cause of the great mortality of infants in this metropolis under that age.' The author quoted freely from Cadogan's article, and many tricks of style make it virtually certain that in fact Cadogan wrote it.

At the age of sixty Cadogan produced his most popular work. It was a book entitled *A dissertation on the gout and all chronic diseases jointly considered as proceeding from the same causes. What these causes are and a rational and natural method of care proposed. Addressed to all invalids by William Cadogan, Fellow of the College of Physicians*. First printed in 1771 the book was widely read and went through ten editions in two years. It has recently been republished in the United States (Ruhrah 1925).

As with many books, the gestation period of this work was prolonged. Cadogan conceived the idea of what his friend Williams described as an 'annunciation book', to help to establish himself in London. But apparently his own good sense and pleasing manner made this unnecessary, for he seems to have prospered even before it was published.

About the time the book appeared gout was *the* popular disease. Very many of the well-known men of the eighteenth century—Samuel Johnson for instance (Boswell 1776)—were afflicted. Current medical opinion held the pessimistic view that gout was hereditary and inevitable. But it was Cadogan's thesis, which he argued lucidly, that although heredity predisposed a man to the disease, there must also be 'an active efficient cause, that is our own intemperance or mistaken habit of life'. According to Cadogan almost all chronic diseases were due to Indolence, Intemperance and Vexation. His views with regard to temperance must have seemed extreme in that bibulous age, for he wrote: 'indeed I cannot allow him to be strictly temperate who drinks any wine or strong liquor at all unless it be medicinally or now and then for the sake of society and good humour, but by no means every day'. But temperance was to be prescribed in food as well as in drink. Cadogan painted feelingly the glutton's progress:

In early youth we are insensibly led into intemperance by the indulgence and mistaken fondness of parents and friends wishing to make us happy by anticipation.

Having thus exhausted the first degree of luxury,

we advance to new sensations. . . . Thus we go on till some friendly pain or disease bids or rather forces us to stop. But in youth all the parts of our bodies are strong and flexible and bear the first loads of excess with less hurt.

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The victim, however, goes on taking daily more than he requires;

He feels himself replete and oppressed and, his appetite failing his spirit sinks for want of fresh supply. He has recourse to dainties, sauces, pickles, provocation of all sorts. These soon lose their power, and though he washes down each mouthful with a glass of wine, he can relish nothing.

And so the poor wretch sends for a physician and again buys temporary relief by stomachics, bitter spicey infusions in wine or brandy, vitriolic elixers, bark, steel etc. . . . But this is a short lived delusion. If he is robust a fit of gout succeeds; if less so rheumatism or colic.

Thus he becomes a cripple, and

with a few journies to Bath he drags on till, in spite of all the doctors he has consulted and the infallible quack medicines he has taken, lamenting that none have been lucky enough to hit his case he sinks below opium and brandy and dies long before his time.

Hogarth could not have depicted the succession better.

For the treatment of chronic diseases Cadogan advocated Activity, Temperance and Peace of Mind. The prescription of the modern geriatrician! For activity, if the patient was too crippled to move, he suggested a 'handy active servant or two . . . to rub him all over, as he lies in bed, with flannels or flannel gloves fumigated with gums and spices'. Then progressively, the patient was to be encouraged to walk—a hundred yards at first, and a little more every day, 'stopping always upon the first sensation of weariness to rest a little, till he be able to walk two or three miles at a stretch, or ride ten without weariness at all'.

Food was to be 'soft, mild, spontaneously digesting and in moderate quantity'. Details were given as to what might or might not be safely consumed. Wine especially was to be avoided as producing 'nine in ten of all the gout in the world'.

As may be imagined Cadogan's book did not pass unchallenged. His Essay on Nursing had earned him wealth, honour and a lasting name in the history of paediatrics; it was almost universally acclaimed. His book on gout was a challenge and the anger of those who prized the culinary art burned against him. But worse than this he had dared to inveigh against the profession: 'the precarious skill of prescribing doctors', as well as against 'ignorant but enterprising and influential quacks'. Avarice, self-indulgence and greed condemned the book and turned on the author.

Cadogan had always known that he would be playing with fire if he published the manuscript. Perhaps this had deterred him in the first place. Certainly his friend, Mr. Williams (*c.* 1750), did his best to dissuade him.

There is no danger, [he wrote in answer to a letter from Cadogan] in writing a nonsensical book; but if you tell *all the truth* (which you propose and I love you for proposing it) I shall soon see you in the country again and we'll plant cabbages together. *Magna est veritas*—I acknowledge the Divinity and I adore her—but *praevalebit* is supremely contemptible nonsense and the greatest of all lies. Truth is not publicly worshipped in this country. There is no temple built for her votaries: they are very few and worship only in private. Lord Bacon says, they who follow her heels too closely are in danger of having their teeth kicked out.

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But Cadogan was not a coward. In the last paragraph of his book he wrote, with a sincerity which rings clear through 200 years,

If I have hazarded anything new or contrary to received opinion, it has been from a thorough conviction of its truth, however dangerous to fame and fortune, both of which I know are more easily acquired by complying with the world than attempting to reason with it; but it must be someone equally indifferent to both, as I am, who will venture to tell such truths as are more likely to recoil and hurt the author than to convince and concilliate the bulk of mankind.

Although Cadogan had expected asperity, he can scarcely have anticipated the torrent of abuse which poured down upon him. Anonymous tracts in biting verse were the odious eighteenth-century equivalent to the modern letter to *The Times*. 'The doctor dissected or Willy Cadogan in the kitchen', by a lady (Anon. Mrs. Ireland, 1771), is an example of this type of criticism. Its first lines ran:

The Town are half mad (you have heard without doubt)
For a book that is called Dissertation on Gout.
The author to Styx in a sulphurous flame
They'd waft and extirpate the breed and the name
But lest the poor wight shou'd oblivion lie snug in
Without further preface 'tis Willy Cadogan.

The authoress continued her railing for some 2,000 words—much of the poem being in the form of pretended rhyming quotations culled from the book:

Beware of pretenders to physical mystery
Nor let 'em phlebotomize, sweat or e'en blister ye
Avoid like a pestilence ignorant quacks
From those in gilt chariots—to plain simple hacks
Disciples of Galen all shut up your shops,
No need have we now of your balsam or drops;
Dear volatiles, cordials and braces adieu!
Ye all must give place to a system quite new.

One anonymous writer (1771) commenced his effusions:

Well doctor having eaten and drunk for many years like to your old soldiers full to the brim
and incapable like Borzillai of tasting any longer what thou eatest, or drinkest, thou art become
an advocate for mortification and self denial.

This pamphleteer seemed particularly disturbed because Cadogan advocated temperance in alcohol.

Another amateur rhymester was no less a person than Sir William Browne (1772), an eccentric who had lately been President of the Royal College of Physicians. His pamphlet was entitled 'Corrections in verse from the Father of the College on son Cadogan's Gout dissertation containing false physic, false logic, false philosophy'.

It commenced:

What mean these rules Cadogan that you give?
To follow them would be to starve not live.

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But Book and Author are so laughable
That one specific I may patients tell
Which now two thousand years have just found out
Laugh at these rules and they may cure the gout.

According to Nichols (1812) Sir William insisted on reading this scurrilous effusion to Cadogan himself. The latter, with commendable self-restraint, merely censured the lack of rhyme. Indeed Cadogan seems never to have bitten back at his tormenters even though slanderers impeached his honesty; for it was popularly reported that while preaching temperance Cadogan himself was a glutton. Wadd for instance, in his *Mems. maxims and memoirs* (1827), remarked that it was of little value for a physician to try and inculcate into his patients doctrines which he did not observe himself.

Dr. Cadogan, however, thought it right to *try all things* and considered it his duty to speak experimentally on both sides of the question. . . . Thus dining one day at a College dinner, after discoursing most eloquently and forcibly on abstinence, temperance and particularly against pie-crust and pastry, he is reported to have addressed a brother M.D. in the following terms: 'Pray doctor, is that pigeon-pie near you?' 'Yes, Sir.' 'Then I'll thank you to send the hind quarters of two pigeons, some fat of the beef steak, a good portion of the pudding-crust and as much gravy as you can spare!'

Boswell (1785) tells us that Lady M'Leod complained that Cadogan's life did not conform to his writing when she discussed the *Dissertation on the gout* with Johnson one night in the lonely castle of Dunvegan. The doctor justly pointed out that, even if true, the fact made no difference to the inherent rightness or wrongness of the book.

'But,' argued Lady M'Leod, 'you would think better of Dr. Cadogan if he acted according to his principles.' 'Why, madam,' Johnson replied. 'To be sure a man who acts in the face of light is worse than a man who does not know so much, yet I think no man should be worse thought of for publishing good principles.'

Happily for Cadogan, Boswell vindicated him, for in a footnote to this passage he tells us that:

when his very popular book was first published it was commonly reported that the author indulged freely in the bottle. . . . But I have since had the pleasure of becoming acquainted with him and, if his testimony may be believed (and I have never heard it impeached), his course of life has been conformable to his doctrine.

Dr. Johnson's considered opinion of the *Dissertation* was that it was 'a good book in general but a foolish one in particular'. It was foolish in that it did not consider gout hereditary, but good in that it recommended temperance, exercise, and cheerfulness. Major (1945) ends the preface of his book, *Classic description of Disease*, with the words:

In conclusion I hope that this book will not merit the reproof of Dr. Samuel Johnson, who is reported to have remarked after reading Cadogan's 'Dissertation on the gout', that 'all that is good he stole, all the nonsense is evidently his own!'

This remark is probably an unkind paraphrase of Johnson's words quoted above.

I have not been able to locate it in the original and Major gives no reference.

One of the most vitriolic pamphlets was 'A candid enquiry into the merits of Dr. Cadogan's dissertation on the gout' (1772). This ran to 218 pages and the author, who remained anonymous, wrote:

I am not a little concerned for Dr. Cadogan's fame and safety who has so indiscreetly irritated the present advertising doctors by traducing them and disparaging their medicines, to say nothing of the Fellows and Licentiates of the College who are considerably enraged at this description of quacks (1772, p. 24).

Further on he wrote:

Burn the books of Hippocrates, Galen, Celsus, Sydenham, Musgrove, Boerhaave, Hoffman and all other rubbish of Greek, Latin, Arabic and modern physicians and then let every . . . practitioner . . . whether he advertise his medicines or himself be hanged. Yes, my good readers, hang Wintringham, hang Heberden, hang Adington but for *honest Will. Cadogan, real Will Cadogan, liberal Will. Cadogan, rational Will. Cadogan, being as he is new Will. Cadogan, hang him not; save honest Will. and hang all the rest* (1772, p. 71).

As can be seen by these quotations, the author of the 'Candid Enquiry' was particularly incensed because Cadogan attacked advertising doctors. Advertising was quite common in the eighteenth century and a little book by Samuel Wood ('a recovered arthritic') called *Strictures on the Gout* (1775), is a good example of one method employed. Wood called Cadogan's book one of 'singular merit and humanity' and quoted it freely, but nevertheless he presented his own therapy and at the end of the book told his readers where the medicines he advocated could be obtained. The prices were:

The dissolvent pills	7/- per box
The alterative pills	10/- per box
The Balsamic extract	12/- per bottle

All three remedies were necessary if the treatment was to succeed. They were of no value singly.

The author of 'a candid enquiry' tried to show that Cadogan employed the same method by extolling the merits of *his* magnesia in both the *Essay on Nursing* and the *Dissertation on the Gout*. As proof of this he quoted (1772, p. 24) in a footnote, a statement signed: William Cadogan, George Street, Hanover Square and dated 16 December 1767, which presumably Cadogan had caused to be published. It stated:

I am a little surprised to find magnesia so often advertised in the papers by different persons, some of which have made use of my name without my consent or knowledge, but each contending for the excellence of his own preparation of it. . . . When I first introduced and recommended it now above 20 years ago, I never intended it should be a secret to be advertised for the private profit of any man, knowing that a good medicine would find its way into the world without the contemptible method of advertising. I therefore gave the receipt to several apothecaries, not doubting that this would make it public enough, and accordingly it soon grew into reputation. But no sooner was it known to some chemists than they found out means to adulterate and undersell it. . . .

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Cadogan therefore asked Mr. Townsend, Apothecary, to make it for 'myself and friends'. To prevent further advertising he now published the details of how magnesia should be prepared.

So far from censuring Cadogan, this document, taken at its face value, surely shows that he was unwilling to dabble in advertising.

Berkenhout's tract (1772) condemning the dissertation was written in jocular style but without obvious malice. The writer lived some distance from London (perhaps abroad) and was not personally acquainted with Cadogan. He commenced his work with an interesting assessment of Cadogan's probable character:

I am totally uninterested in your fame or practice. You may be a great man or a little man for all I know. From your pamphlet I suppose you to be what the world calls a plain-spoken man, honest and down-right but positive in your opinion. Such a character however, notwithstanding their perpetual propensity to contradiction seldom bear being themselves contradicted with any degree of patience. If this be your character, I am sorry for the pain that I shall give you.

It is interesting that Berkenhout's very reasonable views of Cadogan's character should have been so incorrect with regard to the way he accepted criticism.

Other pamphleteers were Dr. Falconer of Bath (1772) and Mr. Smith of Ashton, near Bristol (1772). One anonymous writer (1771b) treated Cadogan with respect and dignity. True he attacked him, but at least he ended by saying,

your object in your pamphlet, however, is I am persuaded honest truth. . . . You will do me the justice to believe no other in my contradiction to it. . . .

The Dissertation seems to have been widely read and many tried to follow its precepts. Edward Gibbon wrote from Lausanne in 1784:

Of Dr. Cadogan's three rules, I obey two, a temperate diet and an easy mind. [And again in 1792] I endeavour to use with moderation Dr. Cadogan's best remedies.

Despite Cadogan's fears, despite his friend Williams's gloomy prophecies and his contemporaries' vituperation, Cadogan prospered. The doyen of popular society, David Garrick can have been no easy patient; indeed he wrote (c. 1772):

I cannot quit the peck and the booze—what's life without sack and sugar! My lips were made to be licked. . . . A Dr. Cadogan has written a pamphlet lately upon ye gout. . . . I was frightened with it for a week.

Nevertheless, Cadogan and his daughter became firm friends of Garrick, occasionally staying at his house.

After supper on Sunday, Garrick read to us out of *Paradise Lost*, that fine part on diseases and old age. Dr. Cadogan and his agreeable daughter have spent a day and a night here.

So wrote Hannah More from Hampton in 1777 (Roberts 1835). Later Cadogan became Garrick's physician. When the actor was suddenly taken ill with pain in the kidneys and a bout of shingles at the house of Lord and Lady Spencer at Althorp, his great desire was to return to London to be under the

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care of his own doctor. He was seen by an apothecary, a Mr. Lawrence. Mr. Lawrence, like a skilled practitioner recognized at once that Garrick was very ill and also, knowing his patient, observed that he had not passed urine for many hours although previously it had been his practice to do so four hourly. He therefore sent for Dr. Cadogan (Davies 1781). The doctor, we are informed, recognizing the severity of his condition told his patient that if he had any worldly affairs to settle it would be prudent to do so as soon as possible. Cadogan seems to have been unwilling to accept the responsibility for such an illustrious patient alone. Other doctors were called in consultation, many of whom were unknown to Garrick which served only to bewilder him. After Drs. Heberden and Warren came Dr. Schonberg, and Garrick, recognizing with joy an old friend, exclaimed: 'Though last, not the least in love.' Some of the consultants were hopeful of the outcome, but Cadogan's prognosis was correct: three days later on 20 January 1779, Garrick died.

It was from Cadogan's house that Hannah More went to greet Mrs. Garrick after her husband's death. Mrs. Garrick:

ran into my arms and we both remained silent for some minutes; at last she whispered, 'I have this moment embraced his coffin, and you come next' (Roberts 1835, p. 148).

Hannah More and Frances Cadogan went to the funeral together. It was in Westminster Abbey, and at the last minute they received a ticket from the Bishop of Rochester to enter the Abbey.

No admittance could be obtained but under his hand. We hurried away in a hackney coach, dreading to be late. The bell of St. Martin's and the Abbey gave a sound that smote upon my very soul. When we got to the cloisters we found multitudes striving for admission. We gave our ticket and were let in, but unluckily we ought to have kept it. We followed the man who unlocked a door of iron, and directly closed it upon us and 2 or 3 others, and we found ourselves in a tower with a dark winding staircase consisting of half a hundred stone steps. When we got to the top there was no way out; we ran down again, called and beat the door till the whole pile resounded with our cries. Here we staid half an hour in perfect agony; we were sure it would be over; nay we might never be let out, we might starve, we might perish. At length our clamours brought an honest man . . .

who, much to their relief conducted them to a place from where they could look down on the scene below.

Sheridan was the chief mourner, then the body (alas whose body) with 10 noblemen and gentlemen as pall-bearers . . . the very players, bred to the trade of counterfeiting, shed genuine tears (Roberts 1835, p. 156).

Much of our knowledge of life in the eighteenth century is derived from the voluminous letters written by such famous characters as Horace Walpole, or by those society moths who fluttered round the lights of the coffee house, theatre or drawing-room. In such letters there are several references to Dr. Cadogan and his charming daughter—but never his wife—dining or taking tea at the house of Mrs. Garrick (d'Arblay 1784; Walpole 1789). Both before and after the death of her husband, Mrs. Garrick seems to have befriended Cadogan, but

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one gets the impression that it was Miss Cadogan, who incidentally was the heiress of a rapidly enlarging fortune, rather than her father, who was the main attraction. Sir William Pepys, for instance, found her engaging. He wrote:

Miss Cadogan won't let me in, I wish she would for I like her company (Pepys 1783).

Two portraits of Frances are known to exist (Nicholl 1956). One was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds about 1760, and the other, a miniature, was painted later after she had broken her nose.

On 6 October 1780, Frances married her second cousin, William Nicholl, a barrister of the Middle Temple. She and her husband went to live at the Ham, a large house near Cowbridge. The Ham still exists, but is now a gutted ruin.

William Cadogan, now sixty-nine years old, was left lonely in London to mourn the loss of three wives and now a well-loved daughter. In addition to his house in George Street, Hanover Square, he had in 1760 been granted nine acres of land by the Bishop of London and had built himself a small country house at Hurlingham. This cottage as it has sometimes been called, was, after Cadogan's death, incorporated into 'the centre of a neo-classic mansion' which was completed in 1803. This is Hurlingham House as it stands today (Dorling 1953). In his old age Cadogan was in the habit of returning to this house during the summer months. He died in London and was buried in Fulham churchyard. His monument reads:

M.S.
Gulielmi Cadogan
Oxoniae et Lugduni Batavorum
Alumni et M.D.
Coll. Reg. Med. Lond. Socii
Ob. 26 die Feb. A.D. 1797
aet. suae 86.

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