This select bibliography draws on printed material in class B464 (Public Health) and sources from our manuscript collection. Additional material can be found in classes B468 (Hospitals and Hospices), D126 (Benevolent Societies) and D244 (Local Government). These sources are intended as an aid to researching the occurrence of outbreaks of infectious diseases on the Island. Cholera appeared in 1832/3 and again in 1866 with additional scares about its return; smallpox, typhus fever, dysentry and tuberculosis were other illnesses to be combatted. The reading material can help in the study of how the Island sought to prevent the spread of disease and why public health reforms emerged in the nineteenth century. Increased government regulation and improvements to water supplies, public sanitation, housing, medical provision, preventative vaccinations, diet and general public knowledge can be documented. The effectiveness of these reforms is difficult to trace accurately given that mortality statistics reported by the Registrar-General are available from 1880 onward only.

Additional library sources can be helpful in setting the scene to nineteenth century developments. For instance, the Island had been subjected to an 1759 Order in Council ordering a quarantine of forty days on all vessels from the Mediterranean to prevent the spread of the plague (see Atholl Papers 60-18). Amongst the listed sources an 1883 tussle between two men, Haviland and Talbot, brings some colour - they argue about the relative merits of the Isle of Man as a potential health resort. Also of note is the emergence of a nursing heroine in the person of Nellie Brennan (1792-1859) whose selfless efforts during the 1832/3 cholera outbreak have been lavishly praised in print.

**PRINTED SOURCES**

**BYE-LAW REGULATIONS**

There is a series of such bye-laws at Library reference D244. They are arranged as follows:

- D244/1/2 General
- D244/1/3 Parishes
- D244/1/4 Castletown
- D244/1/5 Douglas
- D244/1/6 Onchan
- D244/1/7 Port St Mary
- D244/1/8 Peel
- D244/1/9 Port Erin
- D244/1/10 Ramsey

In addition section D244 contains bound volumes of indexed Local Government Acts (1886-1901) at D244/4a.

**Bye-Laws, Rules and Regulations framed and made by the Douglas Town Commissioners and confirmed by the Tynwald Court**

Douglas: James Brown, ‘Times’ Office, 1865

Library Ref: F71/5

BELOW: Lithograph published in the Lancet of twelve year old Ellen ‘Isabella’ Hazard, one of the first victims of cholera in England, October 1831. (Detail)
Bye-Laws with respect to new streets and buildings made by Douglas Town Commissioners
Douglas: 1893
Made under powers conferred by the Local Government Act of 1886 and approved by Tynwald Court, 17 November 1893, these by-laws include stipulations for building drainage, ventilation, water closets, privies and cesspools.

Model Bye-Laws for the regulation of Ashpits, New Streets, Buildings, &c made under the Provisions of the Local Government Acts, 1900
42 page pamphlet

STATUTORY PROVISIONS
The statutes are indexed and available on the Reading Room shelves. The following is not intended as a comprehensive summary of relevant Manx legislation.

Act for better supplying the town of Douglas with water, 1834
Public Health Acts, 1884 & 1884
Douglas Town Improvement Act, 1889
Local Government Act, 1889

CHOLERA AND SMALLPOX PREVENTION
Letter from Government Office
[to Commissioners of Town and Village Districts] noting the wishes of the Lieutenant Governor for contingency planning given the outbreak of cholera in Europe.
31 August 1892

Church pamphlet
‘A Special Form of Prayer to Almighty God to be read...in all Churches and Chapels in the Isle of Man on Sunday 19th August 1866...for continued preservation from the cattle plague and for protection against the cholera.’

Directions and Regulations for the prevention of the spread of smallpox in the town of Douglas
Order issued by Lt-Governor Henry Loch, September/November 1877

Report of Committee of Tynwald Court, appointed on 14 April 1893 to enquire into the working of the Vaccination Acts, 30 May 1893
Douglas, 1893
The report notes an unsatisfactory state of affairs concerning the registration of vaccinations and declares: ‘...it is manifest that the Vaccination Act [of 1878] is very inefficiently carried into effect’.

Vaccination Amendment Bill, Isle of Man: Reply of Dr Walter R Hadwen to the Medical Evidence and Arguments of Members of The Legislative Council presented in favour of the Continuance of Legal Compulsion
Gloucester: F J Brooke, 1913
Anti vaccination responses to evidence arguing for compulsory vaccination. Published by The British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection.

SANITATION
Sanitary Matters in the Isle of Man
The Sanitary Record, 14 March 1879, pp 161-165
Critical account of sanitary affairs on the Island, by the journal’s ‘Special Commissioner’. Compares Manx with British legislation and gives a detailed eye witness account of sanitary conditions.

Lancet, The Medical Notes in the Isle of Man by a Frequent Visitor
21 February 1891 pp 459-460
This reviews medical provision, climate and sanitary reforms on the Island.

MEDICAL PROVISION
Medical Aid and Poor Relief Commission (Isle of Man): Report and Evidence with Appendices presented to the Tynwald Court by Order of His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor
Douglas: James Brown and Son, 1879
Sets out the testimonies of numerous individuals and the commissioners’ conclusions about existing provisions for providing medical aid and hospital accommodation to the poor with recommendations for improvements and the prevention of the spread of epidemic or contagious diseases.

White Hoe Isolation Hospital, BraddanReport on Infectious Diseases and Isolation Hospital Administration for the ten years ending 31 March 1896
Douglas, 1896
Compiled by Town Clerk Thomas H Nesbitt, this 56 page report contains useful tabulated statistics and notes on the response to infectious diseases as well as a history of the beginning of White Hoe.

GENERAL SOURCES
Davies, Charles. A Dissertation on the Causes of Consumption with special reference to its Prevalence in the Isle of Man / by Charles Davies
Douglas: Brown & Sons Ltd, 1899
Medical degree thesis submitted to the Victoria University, 1899.
Haviland Alfred. The essential requisites of a sea-side health resort and the requirements of a health seeker; with the physical geography and climate of the Isle of Man: A lecture / by Alfred Haviland
Delivered at the Masonic Hall, Douglas on 13 June 1883
this lecture compares the Island's climate favourably to Cos in the Mediterranean Sea. For a severe critique of the lecture see Talbot, below.

Consumption: The Social and Geographical Causes Conducing to its Prevalence / by Alfred Haviland
Lecture delivered by the author at the Victoria Hotel, Douglas in December 1883 in the presence of the Lt-Governor. Includes a coloured map illustrating the geographical distribution of consumption on the Isle of Man. Additional pamphlets by the same author can be found at this reference.

McHardy, Mary. The Cholera Epidemic in the Isle of Man / by Mary McHardy
Journal of the IOMFHS, 10th Anniversary issue, May 1989, pp 29-34
Article tracing the spread of the disease to the British Isles, the 1832 epidemic on the island and the 1866 outbreak.

McHardy, Mary. The Story of Judith Crinnal / by Mary McHardy
Account of the death from cholera of this 30 year old woman and the associated information passed down by word of mouth concerning her burial and the location of her grave.

Newspaper Index to Isle of Man papers (to ca. 1850)
This contains plentiful references to cholera for the years 1826 - 1833 under the heading 'Health-General'. Smallpox, dysentry and typhus fever are also reported upon in this section.

Statistics (official). Annual Reports of the Registrar-General as to Births, Deaths and Marriages in the Isle of Man, 1880 onward
Summarize mortality rates, causes of death and the number of vaccinations carried out annually.

Talbot, Rev Theosophilus. Mr Haviland's Lecture Reviewed I-VI / by Rev T Talbot
1883
Six newspaper articles of October-December 1883 criticizing the content and claims of an 1883 lecture on the 'Essential requisites of a health resort' (at B464/3) and querying the island's suitability as a health resort for those afflicted with rheumatism, nervous disorders and consumption given its actual climate of 'chilling fogs, excessive rain and boisterous winds'.

McHardy, Mary. Ninety Years Young: A short illustrated account of Ramsey District Cottage Hospital 1907-1997 / by Constance Radcliffe

Radcliffe, Constance K. Life in Ramsey 1765-1865 / by Constance Radcliffe

Nellie Brennan (1792-1859)
Cowin, Hilda. A Manx Heroine / by Hilda Cowin
Douglas: Isle of Man Times reprint, 1932
The story of Nellie Brennan: episodes of the cholera outbreak 100 years ago.

NELLIE BRENNAN SOURCES
Forrest, Katherine A. Manx Recollections - Memorials of Eleanor Elliott / by Katherine Forrest
London: James Nisbet and Co, 1894
Douglas: James Brown and Son, 1894
Chapter 4, 'The Cholera', contains a considerable amount of reference to Nellie Brennan.

Library Ref F65/83

Johnson, Joseph. Noble Women of our Time / by Joseph Johnson
London: T Nelson and Sons, 1883
See chapter XI - 'Miss Brennan among the Manx Poor', pp 246-263

Library Ref G88/B7/3

Miss Eleanor Brennan: a Manx Methodist Worthy / by Joseph Johnson
Douglas: 1895
Serialized in the Manx Wesleyan Methodist Church Record, Vol 3, pp 2, 11, 18, 28

Library Ref L6 MW 1/1xq

Stowell, Bellanne. Labours of Love, A Manx Story, being a Memorial of Eleanor Brennan / by Bellanne Stowell
Douglas: John Mylrea, 1859
Douglas: Hospice Care, 1988
For biographical details of the authoress see Manx Worthies, p 107 at G4. The reprint contains a commentary by Dr Guy Pantin.

Library Ref G88/B7/1-2

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

Atholl Papers
See Reading Room card index to the deposit under subheading 'Health'. Includes correspondence on smallpox and procedures for vaccination (1817 -1824)

Cholera Deaths in Castletown, 1832
List of persons buried in Malew, with dates, in the cholera epidemic of 1832
Library Ref MD 287 (accession 6378)
See also: a published list of these names in IOMFHS Journal Vol XVII No 1 February 1995 pp 13-14

‘Cure for cholera’
‘One teaspoonfull of salt - One teaspoonfull cayenne peppr - Half a pint of boiling water mixed and taken soon as possible’. Undated handwritten remedy, probably compiled prior to the 1866 outbreak.

Library Ref Ms 1592 A

The Dorcas Society of Douglas / by Mrs N M Wilson
Paper read at the Methodist History Society meeting of October 1971 with illustrative record appendices. The address charts the history of the Society which was formed on 1 December 1834, a day set aside by Wesleyan Methodists and others of Douglas for public thanksgiving for the exemption of the town from cholera during the past year. The object of the Society was to administer relief through the distribution of ‘plain and necessary articles of clothing to needy men, women and children’.

Library Ref MD 551 (accession 6778)

Government Office Papers
Various references, especially folders GO 37 and GO 39. Examples given below are by no means exclusive. The reading room card index should be consulted for further information and clarification.

GO 9/5 Draft of letter from the Lt-Governor to the Secretary of State informing him of the outbreak of cholera symptoms in Peel, 1866. Poor legibility.

GO 37/2 Printed open letter from W Trench (Medical Officer, Liverpool,), advising on the prevention of cholera, 1866.

GO 37/9 Request to the High Bailiffs of various districts asking for information about suitably equipped houses in their areas to be used at short notice for cholera patients; also about the availability of people willing to nurse, 1866.

GO 37/11-14 Responses to the above, 1866.

GO 37/18 Proclamation of precautions against cholera, 1873

The Health of the Manx: Advances during 150 years / by Dr Guy Pantin
Photocopy of text of lecture delivered in 1974. Previous attitudes of the Manx to health and medicine are explored and the causes and events of the 1832 cholera epidemic and smallpox outbreaks of the nineteenth century are well covered.

Library Ref MD 15123 (accession 8502)

The Inquiry of Samuel Harris, 1878 / by Dr. Guy Pantin
Photocopy of text of lecture delivered by Dr Guy Pantin in 1986 based on the conduct, findings and results of the Medical Aid and Poor Relief Commission chaired by Harris. Touches on the prevention of cholera in Douglas by supplying piped water from a protected source (page 4) and notes ‘It was not so much the diseases which killed the people as the overcrowding and poor feeding that caused them to succumb to illnesses which better fed succeeding generations successfully withstood’.

Library Ref MD 1036 (accession 8616)

The Manx National Heritage Library holds a wealth of various and extensive source material. Staff at the library and throughout Manx National Heritage, are always pleased to hear from anyone with an interest in Manx history.

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