



The Mattei Cancer Cure: A Victorian Nostrum

Author(s): Joseph O. Baylen

Source: *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 113, No. 2 (Apr. 17, 1969), pp. 149-176

Published by: [American Philosophical Society](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/985963>

Accessed: 21/11/2013 23:20

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



American Philosophical Society is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

THE MATTEI CANCER CURE: A VICTORIAN NOSTRUM

JOSEPH O. BAYLEN

Department of History, Georgia State College

THE PUBLICATION of an article by Lady Walburga Paget, wife of the British ambassador in Vienna, Sir Augustus Berkeley Paget,¹ extolling Count Cesare Mattei's "Electro-Homeopathic" remedies in the May, 1890, issue of *The National Review*,² not only reflected the growing fame of the Mattei "cures" in Britain, but also provoked a controversy between the Mattei partisans and the British medical profession which ultimately compelled members of the medical faculty to participate in a test of the Mattei claims. The controversy and the investigation, which was concerned primarily with the Matteist claims to arrest and cure cancer, seemed to confirm Thoreau's opinion that "Nothing more strikingly betrays the credulity of mankind than medicine" and that "no imposition is too great for the credulity of men."³

In a large sense, Count Mattei's "Electro-Homeopathy" was a form of Iatro-Chemistry which, by the last decade of the nineteenth century, had attracted numerous adherents in Germany, France, the United States, and late Victorian Britain. By the turn of the century, over one hundred publications and at least three journals explained and extolled the virtues and attested to the popularity of the Mattei system.⁴ Hailed by

¹ On the life of Lady Walburga Ehrengarde Helena de Hohenthal Paget (1839-1929) and the career of Sir Augustus Berkeley Paget (1823-1896), British ambassador in Vienna (1884-1893), see Walburga Lady Paget's *Embassies of Other Days and Further Recollections of Walburga, Lady Paget* (2 v., London, 1923); *In My Tower* (London, 1924); *The Linings of Life* (2 v., London, 1928); and the biographical sketch of Sir Augustus in Sir Sidney Lee et al. (eds.) *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1885-) 22: pp. 1111-1112, hereafter cited as *DNB*.

² See Wally Paget, "A Visit to Count Mattei," *The National Review* 15 (May 1890): pp. 348-355, hereafter cited as "A Visit to Count Mattei."

³ Thoreau as quoted in H. Carrington Bolton, "Iatro-Chemistry in 1897," *Science*, n.s., 7 (Mar. 25, 1898): p. 401, hereafter cited as "Iatro-Chemistry."

⁴ A representative list of the publications of Mattei and his partisans includes Mattei's *Spécifiques électro-homéopathiques. Avec les indications nécessaires pour la guérison de toutes les maladies, et spécialement des maladies*

partisans and friends as a second Aesculapius, Cesare Mattei was a complex personality who claimed to have "owed his higher education to a

incurables (Valence, 1876; 2d ed., 1877); *Elettromiopia. Scienza nuova che cura il sangue e sana l'organismo . . .* (Casale Monferrato, 1878); *La Scienza Nuova de Conte C. Mattei e la Scienza Vecchia del Dottore C.* [Being a reply by Count Mattei to the criticisms of Dr. D. C. on Mattei's "Elettromiopia"] (Vergato, 1880); *Nouveau guide pratique de l'électro-homéopathie* (Nice, 1881); *Electro-Homeopathy—The New Science. Extracts from Count Mattei's Work* ["The Principles of Electro-Homeopathy," two papers] (Cheltenham, [1883]); *Médecine électro-homéopathique: ou, nouvelle thérapeutique expérimentale* (Nice, 1883); *The Principles of Electro-Homeopathy. A New Science discovered by Count Cesar Mattei of Bologna* (Milwaukee, 1883); *Elettromiopia . . . Nuovo e vero vademecum della elettromiopia* (Bologna, 1885); *Electro-Homeopathic Medicine, A New Medical System . . .* Translated by R. M. Theobald (London, 1888); *Elektrohomöopathische Arzneiwissenschaft, oder neue auf Erfahrung begründete Heilkunde des Grafen C. M. Einzig autorisierte deutsch übersetzung. Zweite . . . Ausgabe. Mit einem Portrait* (Regensburg, 1888); Mattei's official organ, *Moniteur de l'Electro-Homéopathie* (Bologna); Charles Franz Zimpel, *Die vegetabilische Elektrizität zu Heilzwecken und die Homöopathisch vegetabilischen Heilmittel des Grafen C. Mattei* (Leipzig, 1869); F. Marchesi, *Kurze Darlegung der Heil-Methode des Grafen Cesare Mattei. Nach mündlichen Mittheilungen des . . . zu Bologna* (Luzern, 1871); M. Régard, *A Practical Guide to the use of Count Mattei's specifics. Second and Revised Edition containing new facts, and a plate to show the application of the vegetable electricities* (London, [1873 et seq.]); A. J. Manzetti, *Proto-électro-mattéopathie. Dictionnaire mattéopathique . . .* (Genève, 1878); Anon., *Marvelous Cures: By the Student of a New Science* (London, 1881); C. Koeck, *Was ist Elektro-Homöopathie? Das Heilsystem des Grafen C. Mattei . . . frei besprochen* (Leipzig, 1883); Anon., *Kurzgefasster Leitfaden zur Anwendung der specifischen Heilmittel der elektrovegetabilischen Homöopathie* (Frankfurt-M., 1885); S. A. S. Kennedy, *Notes on Count Mattei's Electro-Homeopathic Remedies* (London, 1886, et seq.); P. Ponzio, *Traité complet de médecine électro-homéopathique . . . Guide pratique à l'usage des personnes qui désirent employer les remèdes homéopathiques complexes* (Paris, 1889); S. Kennedy, *Is Cancer Curable? The Cancer Controversy: Mattei v. the Knife . . . With the Epitome of Mattei Treatment of Cancer and General Diseases* (London, [1891]); P. Landry, *Manuel pratique d'électro-homéopathie; guide médical*

duel and his medical knowledge to his neighbor's dog."⁵

Mattei was born on January 11, 1809, in Bologna, the scion of a wealthy Bolognese landowning family. He studied at the seminary in Bologna until the age of nineteen when, on the death of his father, he inherited his father's extensive estate and was dispatched by his guardian on a grand tour of Europe. Although Mattei devoted himself to the pursuit of pleasure from 1829 to 1839, he always evinced a strong interest in medicine and was reputed to have composed a short treatise on the treatment of cancer in 1830. At the age of thirty, Mattei's life experienced a dramatic change when, as a result of a scandal involving his duel with another young Bolognese aristocrat, he came under the influence of the poet-philosopher, Paolo Costa, and undertook a systematic study of the physical and natural sciences.⁶

During the revolutionary upheavals of 1847–1849 in Italy, Mattei embraced the cause of Pope Pius IX and was rewarded for his services to the pontiff with the title of Count and an appointment as Treasurer of Bologna. Following a brief but disillusioning experience in politics and as an officer in the Papacy's Roman militia, Mattei retired to an old Moorish-style castle on his Rochetta estate at Vergato and immersed himself in the study of botany, chemistry, physiology, and medicine. It was in the hills near Vergato that Mattei claimed to have stumbled on the discovery that the "healing art had . . . degenerated into a mere parade of pathological science . . ." ⁷ He was especially interested in the principles and teachings of the founder of modern homeopathy, Samuel Hahnemann, and although he adopted

Hahnemann's basic ideas and based his remedies on the homeopathic theory of the action of similars,⁸ Mattei was not satisfied with what he deemed "the curative results" of the Hahnemann system of medical practice. He was convinced that homeopathy concentrated much too exclusively on "individualising" symptoms.⁹ Thus, in comparing "Matteism and Homeopathy," Mattei's distributor in Britain, Dr. A. J. L. Gliddon, explained:

Homeopathy uses mineral remedies: Matteism dispenses with these. Homeopathy uses single remedies, sometimes allowing alternation of drugs; Matteism uses complex remedies, each of them prepared from several plants. Homeopathy studies symptoms chiefly: Matteism regulates its treatment largely by a study of the constitutions of the patient. The latter system is [more] highly scientific, yet beautifully simple.¹⁰

In his variant of homeopathy, Mattei claimed that the primary emphasis in the Mattei system was on the eradication of the *causes* of diseases and that since nature provides for every "evil" a cure or antidote, a new *materia medica* can be found in "nature" to combat disease. By observing that some sick animals seek cures for their affliction in vegetation, Mattei concluded that "it is in the vegetable creation that God has placed [His] medicine."¹¹ In an interview with the English journalist, W. T. Stead, in 1891, Mattei told Stead how he had stumbled on the "discovery" in the early 1860's when, during a promenade on his estate, he had observed a neighbor's mangy dog relieving his misery by seeking and devouring certain herbs which flourished in the local Apennine hills. Mattei closely observed the dog's peregrinations and, noting the particular herbs which the dog selected, collected them. Using one of the plants most sought by the dog, Mattei manufactured a compound from the herb and used it on a local peasant afflicted with the scrofula and other skin diseases. The results, Mattei assured Stead, were so excellent that he conducted experiments with other herb concoctions on several peasants living on his estate and gradually ascertained that the herbs possessed "extraordinary power in curing several forms of scrofula." By his study and use of other botani-

des familles (Paris, 1891); A. J. L. Gliddon, *Stepping Stones to Electro-homeopathy, Count Mattei's System of Medicine* (London, 1892); Saturnus (pseud.), *Iatrochimie et électro-homéopathie. Étude comparative sur la médecine du moyen-âge et celle des temps modernes* (Paris, 1897); G.-A., *Les Rémèdes électro-homéopathiques du Comte Mattei; leur emploi et leurs effets* (Paris, 1899); A. J. L. Gliddon, *Pocket Guide to Count Mattei's Remedies* (London, [1905]), hereafter cited as *Pocket Guide to Count Mattei's Remedies*.

⁵ Bolton, "Iatro-Chemistry," p. 398.

⁶ For sketches of the life and career of Mattei, see Bolton, "Iatro-Chemistry," pp. 397–400; W. T. Stead, "Can Cancer be Cured? A Visit to Count Mattei: His Challenge to the [Medical] Faculty," *The Review of Reviews* 3 (Jan. 1891): pp. 37–45, hereafter cited "Count Mattei"; "Obituary: Count Mattei," *The Times* (London), Apr. 8, 1896.

⁷ Stead, "Count Mattei," p. 39.

⁸ *Ibid.*; Bolton, "Iatro-Chemistry," p. 398; Gliddon, *Pocket Guide to Count Mattei's Remedies*, p. 1.

⁹ See Mattei's remarks to Stead, in Stead, "Count Mattei," p. 39.

¹⁰ Gliddon, *Pocket Guide to Count Mattei's Remedies*, p. 11.

¹¹ Stead, "Count Mattei," p. 39.

cal species, Mattei averred that he had succeeded in compounding ten medicines and five "electricities" which he used successfully in treating all types of diseases and illnesses.¹² Indeed, within a decade, he developed a *materia medica* which comprised thirty-eight remedies of which thirty-two were manufactured as pills or "globules" and six as colorless liquids or "electrals."¹³ The liquids, which Mattei designated "vegetable electricities" and asserted that they relieved pain "with the swiftness of lightning," were identified by their special colors—Red, Blue, Yellow, Green, and White. Later, he ceased coloring the liquids, but continued to identify them by the color on the labels of the bottles in which they were marketed.¹⁴

But how did Mattei manufacture his remedies? During his lifetime, he steadfastly refused to disclose the names of the plants and the methods he used in the preparation of the globules and electrals. The grand secret, Mattei told Stead, was "the fixing in the remedy of . . . the electrical principle" which Mattei defined as "the vital principle of the universe . . ." ¹⁵ This secret, he informed Lady Paget, "nobody knows, . . . and when the medicines are prepared by other hands, he puts [in them] the supreme and finishing touch himself . . ." ¹⁶ Although Stead believed that the basic principle appeared to be "cousin-german to the astral fluid of the occultists . . .," Mattei disclaimed knowing anything of "the Astral force."

He simply maintains [wrote Stead] that he knows how to make herbal decoctions . . . with a potent, vital, electrical force which enables them to work wonders. That they do work wonders in many cases seems to be beyond doubt. How they do it no one explains, but the Count. His explanation is that their power is derived from this fixing of the electrical principle, and, if that leaves us as much in the dark as ever, it is at least as good as the Jesuits' suggestion that their efficacy is due to the potent influence of the Black Art!¹⁷

It was not until 1905, nine years after Mattei's death, that Dr. Gliddon revealed the names of the plants which Mattei had utilized in the preparation of his remedies. To arrest the declining sales of the Mattei medicines, which resulted from

¹² *Ibid.*; Bolton, "Iatro-Chemistry," p. 398; Paget, "A Visit to Count Mattei," pp. 353-354.

¹³ Bolton, "Iatro-Chemistry," p. 398.

¹⁴ Gliddon, *Pocket Guide to Count Mattei's Remedies*, p. 13.

¹⁵ Stead, "Count Mattei," p. 39; Paget, "A Visit to Count Mattei," p. 354.

¹⁶ Paget, "A Visit to Count Mattei," p. 354.

¹⁷ Stead, "Count Mattei," p. 39.

their proscription by the British Medical Association and from the charge that secrecy was a device to obscure the worthlessness of the remedies, Gliddon disclosed that "among the sources from which [Mattei] . . . derived his medicines" were such grasses as *Avena sativa*, *Cochlearea* (scurvy grass), *Ervum lens*, and *Triticum sativum*; such garden herbs and bulbs as the dandelion, garlic, parsley, rosemary, and sage; such ferns as *Adiantum capillus veneris* and hart's tongue; such wild flowers as the periwinkle, milkwort, and coult'sfoot; such mosses as *Cetraria islandica*; such shrubs as *Euonymus*, myrtle, and *Rhododendron ferrugineum*; and such trees as the elder, horse chestnut, olive, lime, willow, and pine. In addition, Gliddon assured the public (1) that the Mattei remedies embodied the active principles of many "recognised" medicinal plants; (2) that the remedies are complex but "so carefully prepared that their action is always the same"; and (3) that certain definite effects may be looked for as the result of taking the remedies.¹⁸

From the beginning, Mattei emphasized the adaptation of his remedies or treatments to the temperament or constitution of the patient. Thus, he claimed that lymphatic and sanguine temperaments required different treatments because "a disease assumed different types and different forms in different temperaments." Mattei, therefore, laid down the principle that, in the treatment of a patient, "the first point to be ascertained is his temperament; and that the remedy should be selected for the basis of treatment which experience has proved to be the right one for the ascertained temperament."¹⁹ He classified the temperaments as (1) the Lymphatic Temperament (L.T.) which included persons with a pale complexion, slow circulation, defective digestion, a tendency to glandular swellings, passive congestion, and varicose veins; (2) the Sanguine Temperament (S.T.) which described persons with a bright red complexion, vigorous appetite, rapid digestion, and a tendency to "active congestions, bleeding piles, constipation, dizziness, hemorrhage, and varicose veins"; and (3) the Mixed Temperament (M.T.) which comprised persons who possessed the characteristics of both the L.T. and S.T. temperaments.²⁰

The remedies which Mattei prescribed for the treatment of patients with different temperaments

¹⁸ Gliddon, *Pocket Guide to Count Mattei's Remedies*, p. 10.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

were named to describe one of their "numerous properties" (e.g., *Scrofoloso* or *Antiscrofoloso*). Each series of remedies was numbered in "the order in which they were discovered" by Mattei (e.g., *Scrofoloso 1* was discovered before *Scrofoloso 2*), and was administered as globules, liquids, and ointments.

The globules were prepared from the following series or groups of remedies :

1. *Scrofoloso Group*: belonging to the "Red Electrals," this group was recommended chiefly for "diseases of the Lymph and its vessels." *Scrof. 1* was alleged to be "useful for Lymphatic and Mixed Temperaments" and as "a preventative during Epidemics"; *Scrof. 2* was supposed to be useful for bladder and stomach disorders; *Scrof. 3* was purported to be "specially valuable" for muscle and spinal injuries; *Scrof. 5* was prescribed for skin disorders and "rheumatic and joint afflictions"; *Scrof. 6* for the treatment of kidney and bladder diseases; and *Scrof. Giappone* for the remedy of cholera, most diseases of the digestive organs, epilepsy, migraine, and spasms.
2. *Linfatico Group*: belonging to the "White Electrals," this group was declared "specially valuable" as a lotion and ointment for the treatment of the early stages of cancer and gout.
3. *Angiotico Group*: belonging to the "Blue Electrals," this group was used in the treatment of vascular diseases and recommended as "most suitable for S.T. patients."
4. *Canceroso Group*: recommended as very useful in the treatment "of all kinds of abscesses, boils, cancers, corns, and tumors." *Canc. 1* was alleged to be effective in dealing with brain, genital, and spine disorders; *Canc. 2* for dropsy; *Canc. 3* and *4* for swellings of joints and diseases of the bones; *Canc. 5* for "organs peculiar to women"; *Canc. 6* for bladder and kidney diseases; and *Canc. 10* for intestinal and vascular diseases.
5. *Domfin Group*: associated with the "Green Electrals," was declared highly effective in the treatment of dysentery and diphtheria.
6. *Lord Group*: useful for hernia and "Corns and inflamed wounds."
7. *Marina Group*: "of special use for eye diseases."
8. *Pettorale Group*: belonging to the "White Electrals," the group was prescribed for diseases of the respiratory system. *Pet. 1* was supposed to be especially good for bronchial afflictions; *Pet. 2* was advertised as "most valuable" as an anti-tuberculosis remedy; *Pet. 3* was recommended for children's respiratory diseases; *Pet. 4* was prescribed as very good for "throat cough."
9. *Valmo*: was prescribed as "remarkably" effective in combatting diseases of the genito-urinary system.
10. *Febrifugo 1 and 2*: associated with the "Yellow Electrals," and prescribed for the treatment of fevers and liver and spleen conditions.
11. *Lassativo*: acted as a "gentle laxative."
12. *Vermifugo 1 and 2*: were prescribed as highly effective in dealing with worms and other internal parasites.
13. *Anti-Mal de Mer*: was highly recommended for seasickness and all vomiting.²¹

The liquid "electrals" were grouped in the following three classifications :

1. *The Positive Red and Blue Electrals*.
 - a. *The Red Electrals* were declared especially suited to L.T. patients. Applied externally, these Electrals were alleged to be highly effective in stimulating muscles and nerves. Used internally in three- to five-drop doses, the Red Electrals were reputed to regulate the circulation of the blood.
 - b. *The Blue Electrals* were supposed to be especially good for S.T. patients when used externally for the stimulation of those nerves "controlled by blood vessels" and as a coagulant in halting bleeding. Used internally in three- to five-drop doses, the Blue Electrals were purported to "regulate circulation."
2. *The Negative Yellow and Green Electrals*.
 - a. *The Yellow Electrals* were prescribed as especially good for L.T. patients when used externally to calm agitation in the nerves and used internally in three- to five-drop doses as a laxative and stomach tonic.
 - b. *The Green Electrals* were recommended especially for S.T. patients when used externally to calm the nerves and to relieve ulcer pain, gout, and rheumatism. The Green Electrals were also prescribed as an antiseptic for blood poisoning.
3. *The Neutral White Electrals* were prescribed for all temperaments in the treatment of neuralgic pains, all spasmodic affections, and congestion.

In addition to the three groups of "electrals," *Acqua per la Pelle* was recommended as a "special water" for the improvement of the skin and especially for the removal of blemishes, roughness, and wrinkles.²²

The ointments were prepared from the globules and the electrals. The following ointments were recommended as highly efficacious :

1. *Scrofoloso 5*, for burns, loss of hair, itching, skin diseases, and skin ulcers.
2. *Linfatico*, for gout, rheumatic pains, and loss of hair.
3. *Angiotico 2*, for vascular diseases and congestion.
4. *Angiotico 3*, "for all ailments of the Arteries and Veins, Heart diseases, and . . . Piles and Palpitation."
5. *Canceroso 5*, for abscesses, bruises, cancerous ulceration, chillblains, corns, loss of hair, glandular swellings, polypi, skin diseases, and varicose veins.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

6. *Lord*, for corns and hernia.
7. *Pettorale 3*, for tuberculosis and all lung disorders.
8. *Febrifugo*, for "all diseases of the liver and spleen and their consequent troubles."²³

Mattei's remedies and methods of treatment—which were applied to domestic animals as well as human beings—were dispensed free of charge in the dispensary he established in Bologna and attracted patients from all parts of Italy. Between mid-June, 1865, and mid-October, 1867, Mattei, assisted by two Italian physicians, claimed to have treated over twenty thousand people.²⁴ In 1869 the Pope placed a ward in the Santa Teresa Hospital in Rome at the disposal of Mattei to test his remedies. Mattei was reputed to have achieved such marvelous cures at the hospital that crowds had to be restrained by soldiers from mobbing the premises.²⁵ But neither the patronage of Pius IX nor the attention which Mattei attracted outside of Italy²⁶ abated the hostility of Italian surgeons to Mattei's system and especially to his claims of having achieved remarkable success in the cure of cancer.²⁷ Stung by the virulence of the medical profession's attacks, by the proscription of his practice of medicine in Italy, by threats of violence against his person, and by speculators' widespread exploitation of his remedies, Mattei retired to his Rochetta castle, considering himself a victim of "the unhappy prejudice which leads mankind to offer the most stubborn opposition to those who seek to do it good."²⁸

Since unscrupulous entrepreneurs were counterfeiting Mattei's medicines and waxing wealthy from the sale of the remedies which he dispensed *gratis*, Mattei organized a commercial company to manufacture, sell, and insure the widest possi-

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

²⁴ Gliddon, *Pocket Guide to Count Mattei's Remedies*, p. 2.

²⁵ Stead, "Count Mattei," p. 40; Bolton, "Iatro-Chemistry," p. 399.

²⁶ *Ibid.* See especially Dr. Charles Franz Zimpel's *Die vegetabilische Elektrizität . . . des Grafen C. Mattei* (Leipzig, 1869), as cited in fn. 4.

²⁷ Lady Paget stated that "eighteen or twenty cases were cured [of cancer] within an incredibly short time" at the Santa Teresa Hospital. Paget, "A Visit to Count Mattei," p. 349.

²⁸ Stead, "Count Mattei," p. 40. Mattei claimed that when his "detractors" had induced the Italian government to forbid the sale of his medicines, the decree was annulled by the Italian Premier, Francesco Crispi, in response to his personal appeal. Paget, "A Visit to Count Mattei," p. 354.

ble circulation of his medicines.²⁹ Mattei became a most zealous and successful propagandist of the Mattei system even though he steadfastly refused to disclose the secret of his remedies. To Stead, Mattei explained that he refused to divulge the "secret" (1) because of his fear that those to whom he might impart it would not manufacture the medicines with the "care and exactitude" upon which their efficacy depended and (2) because the monopoly of the production of the remedies would enable his company to distribute the medicines at the lowest possible price and to obtain the funds necessary for publicizing Matteism throughout Europe.³⁰ With his nephew and adopted son, Mario Venturoli, Mattei established a very successful industrial enterprise which, owing to the growing demand for the Mattei remedies between 1870 and 1890, yielded great profits. In fact, by 1890 Mattei's company was selling a million vials of globules throughout Europe, with the Germans and Russians as the best customers.³¹

A bachelor who lived in simple luxury, Mattei expended the greater part of his wealth on public and charitable works in his region.³² When Lady Paget and Stead visited Mattei in 1890, they found him a man full of buoyant vigour who carried his eighty-odd years lightly and who spoke of his remedies with childish eagerness and the implicit belief that "he had made a discovery which nothing but the perversity of human nature, and the professional jealousy of the doctors, could account for its not coming at once into universal use."³³

Since she believed that Mattei's *Scrofoloso* and *Canceroso* globules had cured her husband of cancer during 1888-1889, Lady Paget had become an ardent advocate of Mattei's remedies and especially of those used in the prevention of cancer. After some correspondence with Mattei, Lady Paget arranged to consult with him during a journey to Florence in the winter of 1889-1890 on a short paper she had written on the Mattei cure for cancer.³⁴ "I was anxious," she wrote, "that Count Mattei should cause small cases [of cancer cure] to be composed, with necessary medicines, sufficient for three or four years, to be sold together with . . . [my] explanatory paper

²⁹ Stead, "Count Mattei," p. 40; Bolton, "Iatro-Chemistry," p. 399.

³⁰ Stead, "Count Mattei," pp. 40-41.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 40; Bolton, "Iatro-Chemistry," p. 399.

³³ Stead, "Count Mattei," pp. 41-42.

³⁴ Paget, "A Visit to Count Mattei," pp. 349-350.

I was [also] glad to have the opportunity of . . . gathering some general evidence on his . . . medicines . . .”³⁵ As the sale of the Mattei medicines was forbidden in Austria and those available were often worthless imitations of the real thing, Lady Paget brought with her long lists of medicines which she sought to obtain from the Mattei establishment.³⁶ Her visit was a great success. Not only did she find Mattei a charming host, but very candid and generous in providing information and highly enthusiastic about the use of his latest discovery, *Scrofoloso Giappono*, in arresting the spread of cancer. Mattei attributed his youthful appearance and vigor to the *Giappono* globules and to the fact that, as in the case of his other remedies, it provided the “imperceptible electric shock, which . . . [was] the principle and secret that distinguished his medicines from homeopathy.”³⁷ He also stressed the importance of the “Blue Electrals” as a compress to stop all types of bleeding. “In war,” Mattei assured Lady Paget, “this remedy would be of utmost value, and no household, especially in the country, where doctors were not always at hand, ought to be without it. . . .”³⁸

With “the stores of knowledge and information . . . [she] had acquired,” Lady Paget left Mattei anxious to explain to the world that Matteism was not “charlatanism,” but something that could be used “for the relief and benefit of humanity and of the dumb creation.”³⁹ But although her first article on Mattei in *The National Review* in June, 1890, was a boon for the sale of his remedies in Britain,⁴⁰ Lady Paget’s recommendation of the Mattei medicines, and especially their use in the prevention and cure of cancer, was immediately challenged by the British medical profession and cancer specialists. They were already much concerned by the spread of Matteism in the British Isles and the “false hopes that it offered to those afflicted with cancer.”⁴¹ Hence, a month after the publication of Lady Paget’s article, the cancer specialist at the Brompton Hospital in

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 350.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 351.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 352.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 354.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 355.

⁴⁰ In November, 1890, Mattei confided to Lady Paget that her article had helped to markedly increase the income from the sales of his remedies. Paget, *Embassies of Other Days* 1: p. 503.

⁴¹ For the receptiveness of many in British “Society” to Matteism, see Lady Maud Warrender, *My First Sixty Years* (London, 1933), p. 281.

London, Dr. Herbert Snow, published his estimate of “Count Mattei and His Treatment of Cancer” in *The National Review* as a reply to Lady Paget’s claims.

In his article, Dr. Snow stated that he was constrained to present his “very humble and respectful criticisms, not upon [Lady Paget’s] article itself . . . , but upon certain fundamental errors which may work serious mischief if passed unchallenged” Already, declared Snow,

the consequences of this publication are conspicuous . . . [because] it has become the subject of rather wide conversation among most persons . . . who, either personally or by the accident of possessing relatives suffering from the painful disease [cancer] . . . , are especially interested in its purport. Already the matter has been taken up by another magazine, [*The Review of Reviews*],⁴² which not content with copious extracts from the original article, supplements them with the address of a gentleman in London who deals in *anti-scrofoloso* and *anti-canceroso*, and their congerers⁴³

Turning to Mattei’s refusal to divulge the “secret” of his remedies, Snow accused Mattei of transgressing “an unwritten law that, . . . in aught that concerns man’s physical welfare secrecy is not only dishonourable but criminal and wicked. . . .” In fact, added Snow,

Any man who . . . acquires, or professes to have acquired, the knowledge of a novel remedial agent, is justly challenged forthwith to reveal every particle of his reputed discovery; and in the event of his refusal, . . . from motives of mercenary profit, to secrete his treasure under lock and key, and not freely to disclose it to . . . every inquirer—is justly held base and disreputable.

Does Lady Paget, asked Snow, “actually suppose that this person . . . can really possess the power which he claims and not yet have become one of the most prominent men in the whole civilized world . . . ?” Snow carried the attack against Mattei even further by warning that “these [Mattei] miracles form part of the advertisement stock-in-trade of every patent nostrum, and that the evidence of the incapacity of medical men, who, alas, . . . are rarely infallible, is never wanting to any of these latter.” Worse yet, since by its very nature such malignant disorders as cancer require immediate attention and surgery and

⁴² Cf. [W. T. Stead], “Leading Articles in the Reviews. Count Mattei, the Cancer Curer. Lady Paget’s Testimony,” *The Review of Reviews* 1 (May 1890): p. 393.

⁴³ Herbert Snow, M.D., “Count Mattei and His Treatment of Cancer. A Reply to Lady Paget,” *The National Review* 15 (July 1890): p. 607.

since the Mattei "cure" would delay such treatment, "it is no exaggeration to affirm . . . that every individual who dies from a malignant disorder amenable to operative treatment, owes that fatal termination solely to the loss of time . . ." Surgery, declared Snow, is the only known hope for persons afflicted with cancer because it "must be torn up root and branch . . . before the fatal property of infectivity, with its attendant phenomena of wide diffusion, . . . comes into play . . ." Indeed, "No medicament, and no force or factor, which aims at anything short of perfect eradication or obliteration of every cancerous cell . . . can, at the very utmost, be more than a temporary expedient of passing efficacy . . ." As far as Snow was concerned, theoretical views of cancer production offered little hope that some potent drug would eventually be discovered to exert "a curative influence" upon the malignant disease.⁴⁴

Before Lady Paget could reply to Dr. Snow's critique of her estimate of Matteism, W. T. Stead came to the defense of Lady Paget and the Mattei system. Snow's reference to the publicity which Stead had given in *The Review of Reviews* to Lady Paget's paper and to the purveyors of the Mattei remedies as an example of the harm wrought by Lady Paget's "magnificent puff to a notorious quack . . ." ⁴⁵ provoked Stead to attack Snow's criticism as invalid and presumptuous. All that Snow offers, declared Stead, are the dubious judgments (1) that all cancer must be excised as soon as possible and (2) "that any person who suggests that the Mattei system or any other [system] can cure cancer leads sufferers to postpone the operation until it is too late to be effective . . ." ⁴⁶

Stead's intervention in the Mattei controversy was a decisive factor in the quarrel between the medical profession and the Mattei partisans in Britain. The son of a North Country Congregational minister, Stead had achieved a reputation during the 1880's and 1890's for being the most controversial editor and publicist in Britain. Self-educated, Stead began his career in journalism with the Darlington *Northern Echo* (1871-1880). As its Radical editor, Stead made the newspaper the most influential provincial journal in North England and a major projection of the

British Nonconformist conscience. In 1880 Stead was brought to London by John Morley to become assistant editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. When Morley left journalism in 1883 to enter the House of Commons, Stead succeeded him as editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette* and with Alfred Milner and Edward Cook inaugurated the "New Journalism" which revolutionized the British press. As a result of his successful campaigns to compel the government to dispatch "Chinese" Gordon to the Sudan, to modernize the Royal Navy, to enact the Criminal Law Amendment Act in 1885 increasing the age of consent for young girls, and to repeal the Contagious Diseases Acts, Stead made the *Pall Mall Gazette* a powerful force in British political life second only to *The Times* in influence. After seven controversial years as editor, Stead left the *P.M.G.* in 1890, to found and edit a monthly periodical, *The Review of Reviews*. As editor-publisher of this journal, he not only advocated most of the policies and causes which he had espoused in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, but also promoted international arbitration, the limitation of armaments, and a better understanding of psychic phenomena.⁴⁷

Honest, generous to a fault, chivalrous, and intensely loyal to friends, Stead was readily available to all who sought his help and inordinately sympathetic to the underdog. Egalitarian in outlook, open-minded, and highly imaginative, he disliked dogmatism and exclusiveness, especially as he thought they existed in the established Church, science, and the medical profession. Thus it was not only Stead's friendship with Lady Paget, but also Dr. Snow's cavalier treatment of Lady Paget's glowing estimate of the Mattei system which moved Stead to demand fair play for Mattei from the medical faculty in Britain.

A short time before the publication of Lady Paget's first article on the Mattei system in *The*

⁴⁷ On the life and career of W. T. Stead (1849-1912), see Frederic Whyte, *The Life of W. T. Stead* (2 v., New York, 1925); Estelle W. Stead, *My Father: Personal and Spiritual Reminiscences* (London, 1913); J. W. Robertson Scott, *The Life and Death of a Newspaper: An Account of the . . . Editors of the "Pall Mall Gazette"* (London, 1952), pp. 72ff.; and Joseph O. Baylen's "W. T. Stead and the Boer War: The Irony of Idealism," *Canadian Historical Review* 11 (Dec. 1959): pp. 304-314; "W. T. Stead's History of the Mystery and the Jameson Raid," *Journal of British Studies* 4 (Nov. 1964): pp. 104-132; "W. T. Stead and the Russian Revolution of 1905," *Canadian Journal of History* 2 (Mar. 1967): pp. 45-66; "W. T. Stead and the 'New Journalism,'" *The Emory University Quarterly* 21 (Fall 1965): pp. 196-206.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 608-612.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 608.

⁴⁶ [W. T. Stead], "The Reviews Reviewed. Count Mattei the Cancer Curer," *The Review of Reviews* 2 (July 1890): p. 56.

National Review, Stead's attention was drawn to Mattei's remedies by the Salvation Army Commissioner, Frederick de L. Booth-Tucker. Convinced that his chronic dysentery had yielded to treatment by one of Mattei's tasteless remedies, Booth-Tucker, on his return journey from India, visited Mattei in Italy and was so favorably impressed by the Count's exposition of the Mattei system that he came away "believing almost as much in Count Mattei as he had previously learnt to believe in the Mattei medicines" ⁴⁸ Both Booth-Tucker and Stead convinced Mrs. Catherine Booth, the wife of the Salvation Army patriarch, General William Booth, and Booth-Tucker's mother-in-law, to attempt the use of Mattei's *Canceroso* globules as a possible remedy for her cancer. ⁴⁹ It was only after the Mattei cure and other Mattei remedies had failed to arrest her terminal cancer, that Mrs. Booth consented to undergo surgery. But her consent came too late. Following the operation, she lingered for a short time until relieved of her painful ordeal by death on October 4, 1890.

The failure of the Mattei globules to cure or arrest Mrs. Booth's malignancy did not diminish Stead's interest and Booth-Tucker's faith in the Mattei system. While ghost-writing General Booth's celebrated publication, *In Darkest England and The Way Out*, ⁵⁰ in the Booths' home at Clacton during September, 1890, Stead claimed that Mrs. Booth had told him that the "Green Electrals" had indeed relieved her pain. In response to Stead's observation that the Mattei remedies were failing to cure her cancer, Mrs. Booth replied that the medicines had not succeeded because she did not strictly adhere to the regimen prescribed for taking them. When Stead remarked to Mrs. Booth that her family believed that the Mattei medicines had been fully tried and failed she, it was said, declared: "I am dying, not so much because of the cancer, but because I have

⁴⁸ Stead, "Count Mattei," p. 34. Booth-Tucker remained "a warm believer in the Mattei remedies . . ." until the end of his life in 1929. F. A. Mackenzie, *Booth-Tucker. Sadhu and Saint* (London, 1930), p. 141.

⁴⁹ Bernard Collier, *The General Next to God. The Story of William Booth and the Salvation Army* (London, 1965), pp. 179-180; St. John Ervine, *God's Soldier. General William Booth* (London and Toronto, 1934) 2: p. 672; Mackenzie, *Booth-Tucker*, p. 141.

⁵⁰ On Stead's role in inspiring and writing *In Darkest England and The Way Out* (London, 1890), see Herman Ausubel, "General Booth's Scheme for Social Salvation," *American Historical Review* 56 (April 1951): pp. 519-520; Harold Begbie, *Life of William Booth. The Founder of the Salvation Army* (London, 1920) 2: pp. 92-93.

neglected to use the Mattei remedies . . ." ⁵¹ General Booth, however, never shared the faith of his wife and son-in-law in the efficacy of the Mattei treatment of cancer. Thus, when Stead, on taking his leave of Mrs. Booth, informed the General, of her declaration and his intention to journey to Italy to interview Mattei, Booth admonished Stead: "Be sure of your solid facts first . . ." ⁵²

Before leaving for Italy, Stead sought additional information on the Mattei system from a London physician, Dr. Samuel Kennedy, whose success with the Mattei medicines was cited by Lady Paget in her second article on "Count Mattei's System" in *The National Review*. ⁵³ Indeed, Lady Paget's second paper, and especially her assertion that Mattei's medicine had acted like magic during the past winter's epidemic of influenza, strengthened Stead's conviction that in spite of the scorn of the physicians "there might be something in the mysterious discovery of Mattei. . . ." ⁵⁴ This was precisely the idea which Lady Paget hoped to convey in her reply to the criticisms of Dr. Snow and other critics in the medical profession. ⁵⁵

I shall probably say things [she wrote in the introduction to her paper] which will call forth smiles of pity on the lips of science, and I think it perfectly natural and, from the point of view of science, justified. My knowledge of medicine is entirely empirical, helped, perhaps, by a certain intuition, and forced upon me by living for many years in countries where doctors of the Dulcamara type were still *en vogue*. I am rather in the position of the bone-setting shepherd, or wise woman of . . . my native Saxony, who cures with charms and simples, and any *lèse science* I may commit I hope will be forgiven, as none of my medicines have done anybody any harm, and, *thankfully be it said, have cured a good many.* . . ." ⁵⁶

Following the disarming introduction, Lady Paget proceeded to deal with the charge that the Mattei system was merely another poor version

⁵¹ Stead, "Count Mattei," pp. 35-36.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁵³ *Ibid.*; Wally Paget, "Count Mattei's System," *National Review* 15 (Aug. 1890): p. 743, hereafter cited as "Count Mattei's System."

⁵⁴ Paget, "Count Mattei's System," p. 742; Stead, "Count Mattei," p. 35.

⁵⁵ Apropos her second article, Lady Paget later recalled that although her adversaries in the "rather violent controversy which had sprung up in the 'National Review' in consequence of . . . [her] visit to Count Mattei . . ." were "doctors and vivisectors," her friends thought that she had got "much of the best of it . . ." Paget, *Embassies of Other Days* 1: p. 503.

⁵⁶ Paget, "Count Mattei's System," p. 741. My italics.

of homeopathy. The Mattei remedies, she explained, "*go far deeper and have more action in chronic diseases*" than homeopathic drugs because, "due to the electric principle, . . . [they] . . . purify the blood, reconstitute the fibre, and infuse new life into the body . . ." ⁵⁷ But what provoked the ire of the medical profession in Britain was her advice to all interested in the Mattei remedies to seek information directly from Mattei in Italy ("His advice is given gratis") or from Dr. Samuel Kennedy ("who practices with much success entirely with these medicines") at his Matteist hospital and depot in London. Equally irritating was Lady Paget's statement that Mattei had, upon her suggestion, prepared for distribution "*little boxes made with the necessary medicines for a preventive cure of cancer*, with full explanations printed in every language . . ." which could be purchased from Mattei's "factory" in Bologna.⁵⁸ As for other Mattei medicines, Lady Paget assured her readers "that most people, after they have once been put into the way of using these medicines, . . . [would] have no difficulty in adapting them to little everyday emergencies . . ." ⁵⁹

Lady Paget's challenge to the medical profession's "monopoly" of healing was even more implicit in her assertion that "In the hands of an intelligent amateur, these [Mattei] medicines sometimes work wonders . . . [because] an amateur is less hurried than a doctor, [since] he takes only those [cases] that are sympathetic to him, . . . sympathy . . . [being] a great adjunct in curing . . ." In this direction, she identified "two kinds of successful amateurs": those who know and have read a good deal of medicine and have retentive memories, but are often annoyed and perplexed by Mattei's medicines and those "who will achieve the most brilliant cures with the Mattei medicines" because they possess "a kind of . . . intuition, or . . . deep though unconscious insight into nature . . ." ⁶⁰ Having thus presented her case, Lady Paget concluded her paper with the statement that "the relief of one sufferer [by the Mattei system would] . . . amply outweigh the accusation of presumption" which she anticipated from the medical profession.⁶¹

Anticipating a sharp rejoinder from Lady Paget's medical adversaries, Stead commented favorably in *The Review of Reviews* on her sec-

ond article ⁶² and sought more detailed information from Dr. Kennedy on the success of the Mattei system and remedies in the treatment of cancer. Satisfied with the evidence which Kennedy provided and impressed by Kennedy's offer to present a case of breast cancer cured by Mattei's *Canceroso*, with a full report on the patient, to Dr. Snow and a committee of medical specialists, Stead assisted Kennedy in drafting an article disputing Snow's rejection of the Mattei cure in favor of surgery in the treatment of cancer.⁶³

In September, 1890, Dr. Kennedy published an article on "The Rational Treatment of Cancer" in *The National Review*, which unmistakably reflected Stead's style and method of argument. As "one who . . . [had] long since lost all faith in the operative treatment of cancer, and . . . [had] witnessed the most remarkable results from the use of Count Mattei's remedies," Kennedy criticized Snow for advocating a procedure which had failed "to roll back or even stem the steadily advancing tide of this devastating disease." Snow's deliberate purpose, charged Kennedy, was to extol and magnify "the surgeon's knife as the only and all-sufficient panacea" for cancer and "to pour ridicule upon . . . Mattei and on everyone who ventures to try his treatment and proclaim its efficacy . . ." "Why should I," asked Kennedy, refuse to employ remedies which "I have seen to yield desired results, where everything else had failed, because . . . the Count has declined hitherto to reveal their composition, and his procedure . . . is at variance with the ideas that dominate professional circles . . . ?" In reply to Snow's insinuation that if Mattei's remedies were so efficacious then he was profiting from human misery by monopolizing the secret of their preparation, Kennedy pointed out that Mattei had placed his remedies within reach of all who needed them by establishing depots "all over the world" and by publishing "in simple terms . . . the few general principles which regulate their selection and use . . ." Using the *tu quoque* argument against Snow, Kennedy asked: "What can be said and thought of a man who . . . in the midst of . . . this terrible [cancer] plague . . . has been told of a remedy that claims to cure this disease and snatch . . . his fellows from . . . suffering and death, and yet has never . . . handled it, tried it, and not having proved it . . . a failure and a fraud, pro-

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* My italics.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 743. My italics.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 743-744.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 747.

⁶² [W. T. Stead], "The Reviews Reviewed. More about Count Mattei," *Review of Reviews* 2 (Aug. 1890): p. 137.

⁶³ Stead, "Count Mattei," p. 36.

claimed its worthlessness to the world?" The crux of the matter, added Kennedy, is that "the multitude of sufferers lingering in agonizing pain, and dying daily by inches, care [little] for theories of cancer production, for . . . blood-chilling statistics They want relief, healing, cure; and they care not from what quarter these come, or by whose hands they are administered."⁶⁴

Addressing himself to Snow's statement "that every individual who dies from . . . [cancer] amenable to operative treatment owes that fatal termination solely to the loss of time," Kennedy utilized the lectures on "Surgical Pathology" of Lady Paget's kinsman, the renowned surgeon and then editor of *The British Medical Journal*, Sir James Paget,⁶⁵ to substantiate his (Kennedy's) claims that the removal of cancer by surgery neither increased the average life of the patient nor provided "a final remedy for the disease." But while surgery provides no relief for cancer, declared Kennedy, Mattei's remedies offer "well authenticated" cures for the dread disease. More specifically, explained Kennedy, the Mattei cure for cancer was based upon the Mattei premise that "all diseases . . . originate in a vitiation of the lymph and blood, . . . [and that] the purification of these two vitally important and allied fluids" is all important in the treatment of most diseases. Thus, in the case of cancer, *Scrofoloso* can be used to purify the lymph, *Angiotico* to cleanse the blood, *Canceroso* to destroy "the cancerous or degenerating tendency of the tissues," and the "liquid electrals" to diminish pain.⁶⁶

Kennedy closed his reply to Snow with a challenge to experiment with Mattei's remedies and to investigate "the cures they have wrought." Before Snow and the medical profession denounce the Mattei system "as worthless frauds and 'lying wonders,'" wrote Kennedy, let them "honestly . . . testify that they have been 'weighed in the balance' of patient and honourable experiment, subjected to strict and impartial scrutiny as in a search for truth, and found wanting" ⁶⁷ Here,

⁶⁴ Dr. Samuel Kennedy, "Mattei v. the Knife. The Rational Treatment of Cancer," *National Review* 16 (Sept. 1890): pp. 1-3, hereafter cited as "Mattei v. the Knife."

⁶⁵ Sir James Paget (1814-1899), one of the most prominent surgeons in Victorian Britain, served as president of the three major medical societies in London and as Vice-Chancellor of the University of London from 1883 to 1895. *DNB, Supplement* 22: pp. 1112-1113; see also Paget, *Embassies of Other Days* 1: p. 506.

⁶⁶ Kennedy, "Mattei v. the Knife," pp. 5-6.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

then, was exactly the test which Stead demanded of the British medical profession to determine the effectiveness of the Mattei system and especially the cure of cancer.

In *The Review of Reviews*, Stead lauded Kennedy's article for demonstrating that while Snow had admitted the sharp rise in cancer mortality since 1864, "he . . . [was] absolutely silent as to any means of prevention or cure" and offered only "the knife, the knife all through, and *that* although the mortality under the knife . . . [had] nearly doubled in a quarter of a century." Stead also averred that his additional inquiries had confirmed the verity of Kennedy's report of a "marvelous cure" of cancer and that, in the light of this case, the medical profession would seem to be "sorely put . . . before they can, like Pharaoh's magicians, outdo the wonders wrought by this stranger [Mattei] from afar" ⁶⁸ Here, again, was Stead's challenge to Snow and his colleagues to refute by experimentation the claims of Kennedy and Mattei. Meanwhile, Stead, seeing in Mattei and the Mattei controversy good copy for *The Review of Reviews*, made plans for a hurried visit to Mattei during November, 1890.⁶⁹

Dr. Snow was quick to respond to the Kennedy-Stead criticisms and challenges. In the October issue of *The National Review*, Snow prefaced his view of "The Knife v. Mattei" by conceding that the point at issue was indeed "whether Mattei's medicaments . . . [possess] the efficacy with which they are credited by his disciples, or are . . . simply frauds on the credulous?" Snow now noted that while Lady Paget described the Mattei remedy as a "preventive cure" for cancer, Kennedy advanced much higher claims by pronouncing the Mattei nostrum "a cure [for cancer], in the strictest sense of the word. . . ." Moreover, wrote Snow, on the basis of

the single assertion [i.e., regarding electrical properties] respecting the physical qualities of the medicines sold by Mattei and his representatives . . . , it is sufficient . . . to remark that no means of imparting electrical properties to any fluid whatever for more than a passing moment is known to science. . . . [Hence] It is not, therefore, possible to regard the designation of these liquids as "liquid electricities" in any other light than as a mere trade-jargon . . . strongly savouring of imposture. . . .⁷⁰

⁶⁸ [W. T. Stead], "The Reviews Reviewed. Another Mattei Miracle," *Review of Reviews* 2 (Sept. 1890): p. 246.

⁶⁹ Stead, "Count Mattei," p. 36.

⁷⁰ Herbert Snow, "The Knife v. Mattei," *National Review* 16 (Oct. 1890): p. 253, hereafter cited as "The Knife v. Mattei."

With regard to Kennedy's assertion of the good results obtained by the Mattei treatment, Snow pointedly observed that Kennedy's "professions of ardent faith" would carry much greater weight if he "occupied a somewhat disinterested pecuniary position in the matter. . . ." ⁷¹ Similarly, Snow dismissed Kennedy's "appeal to the authority of [the] . . . veteran pathologist," Sir James Paget, by drawing attention to the fact that Paget's "notoriously despairing views" on the treatment of cancer were published in 1853 and were "far from being in harmony with those current in the present generation" of surgeons. Kennedy was wrong, declared Snow, in attributing the recent increase in mortality from malignant disorders to "want of success on the part of the operating surgeon" ⁷²

In reply to Kennedy's imputation that Snow had deliberately magnified the surgeon's knife, he wrote:

No one is more conscious than myself that an operation which consists in the removal of some portion of the body is at best but a very blundering and coarse proceeding. . . . [Yet] . . . we cannot . . . afford to dispense with the only life-raft whose utility the experience of so many ages has proved; this I say with full consciousness of its many mortifying failures in this particular sphere.

The knife is but one of several . . . agencies resorted to in order to effect an identical object. If there exists any grounds for extolling it, this will be found in the fact that in the majority of instances . . . it is found to be the most safe, speedy, efficient, and painless method of securing . . . [the] perfect destruction of the tissues involved. . . . ⁷³

In concluding his paper, Snow declared that his objective in the controversy with the Matteists was "merely to save the unwary from too blindly falling into a pitfall, so much the more dangerous . . . [because] it had been laid, with amiable . . . intention, by a perfectly disinterested lady . . ." ⁷⁴

Nor was this all. In the November issue of *The National Review*, Snow published a short report "upon three of the Mattei 'electricities,' procured from Messrs. Leath and Ross," of the "Analytical Laboratory" in Paddington, stating that the three "electrals," which they had received from Snow on October 2, were "carefully examined . . . chemically, physically, and microscopically" and were found to be "certainly not electrical." The analysts also reported that there was an absence of

"floating particles and sediments" in the extracts and that "None of these fluids differed at all from water." ⁷⁵

To Stead, Dr. Snow's reply to Kennedy and the analysts' report were "simply a smart shuffle to avoid an inquiry" of the Mattei system and proof of the medical profession's unwillingness to investigate "the results of secret remedies." ⁷⁶ Stead's involvement in the controversy, the testimony of some friends on their success with Mattei's remedies, and information from an "intimate" of the Roman Curia (undoubtedly Stead's friend, Cardinal Manning) that Mattei's remedies were held in high repute in the Vatican, strengthened his resolve to interview Mattei in Italy for a "Character Sketch" in the December or January issues of *The Review of Reviews*. ⁷⁷ That Stead departed for Italy in late October, 1890, with hardly an open mind on the Mattei question was quite apparent when he confided to a friend that he left London convinced that most persons would "rather be cured of cancer by a quack than be left to die according to the rules and regulations of the College of Physicians . . ." ⁷⁸

Stead found Mattei a most convincing and "zealous propagandist of Matteism" ⁷⁹ and returned to London determined to compel the British medical profession to prove or disprove the worth of the Mattei remedies. Thus, immediately after his arrival in London, Stead wrote to Professor T. H. Huxley, explaining that since his attention had been directed to "the alleged remedies of Count Mattei, by the relief of which they have brought to friends . . . who were suffering from cancer, and more recently by the alleged cure, by their means, of two cancer cases . . . pronounced incurable by the highest medical authorities," he had visited Mattei in Italy "to ascertain . . . what could be said for the system of Count Mattei."

My visit [Stead declared] convinced me beyond all doubt of the good faith of the Italian nobleman.

⁷⁵ *The National Review* 16 (Nov. 1890): p. 430. The analysts' report was also published in the reply of the editor of *The British Medical Journal* to a request for information on the nature of "the Mattei system of medicine." See "Letters, Notes, and Answers to Correspondents," *The British Medical Journal* (Nov. 22, 1890), p. 1225.

⁷⁶ Stead, "Count Mattei," p. 36.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*; see also Stead to Dr. Albert Shaw, Bologna, Nov. 5, 1890, Dr. Albert Shaw Papers, New York Public Library.

⁷⁸ Stead, "Count Mattei," p. 37.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 254.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 256.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

I was also able to ascertain that his remedies have been employed with success by many of the foremost men and women of Europe. Not being a medical man, I cannot, of course, profess to have any opinions as to the intrinsic merits of the treatment from a scientific point of view, but I saw enough and I heard enough to convince me that the matter ought not to be left where it is.

In view of the admitted failure of all orthodox means of curing Cancer and Leprosy . . . , it seems to me that it would be inhuman and *eminently unscientific* to allow statements . . . supported by so much corroborative evidence, to remain without adequate investigation.

In order that the truth . . . may be definitely ascertained, I . . . venture to ask whether, in your opinion, such allegations, made by duly qualified and competent medical men, supported by the evidence of patients . . . cured or relieved by the use of these secrets and heterodox remedies, *should not be subjected to a searching and scientific investigation? In a matter of involving life and death to so many . . . of our fellow creatures, is it not criminal to allow even a shadow of uncertainty to remain upon such a subject?*

. . . Granting . . . that the claims made on credible . . . testimony as to the efficacy of the Mattei remedies to cure what have hitherto been regarded as incurable diseases, ought to be seriously investigated might I ask whether you could inform me what is the regular professional method of ascertaining the truth of such allegations; and, if there be no established method of testing the truth . . . , could you favor me with any suggestions as to how the public could be supplied with conclusions and satisfactory demonstrations as to the truth or falsehood of the claims in question . . . ?⁸⁰

Identical letters were posted by Stead to such well-known figures in British science as Professors John Tyndall and Ray Lankester, the surgeons Sir Morrell Mackenzie and Sir James Paget, and Dr. Snow. While the replies of Tyndall and Lankester emphasized the impossibility of verifying facts without adequate proof and Mr. Ernest Hart, replying for Sir James Paget, stated that it was the practice for only medical societies to judge medical evidence, Snow refused to comment and merely acknowledged the receipt of Stead's letter. Mackenzie stressed the obstacles which made it very difficult to reach any conclusions as to the cases cured by the Mattei remedies, and advised the establishment of a small hospital in which four or five cancer patients would be treated on the

⁸⁰ Stead to T. H. Huxley, Nov. 15, 1890, T. H. Huxley Papers, Imperial College of Science and Technology, London. My italics. See also Stead's introduction to A. Conan Doyle, "Dr. Robert Koch and His Cure," *Review of Reviews* 2 (Dec. 1890): p. 548, hereafter cited as [Stead], "Koch" or Conan Doyle, "Koch."

Mattei system and observed by a special committee of surgeons.⁸¹

Huxley, however, rendered a very full and candid opinion on what he thought might be a scientific test of "the efficacy of Mattei's mode of healing cancer . . ." Although he stated that he had "no authority to say what are and what are not [the] regular professional methods" of experimentation approved by the medical faculty, he imparted "a very definite opinion as to the method of procedure which alone . . . would satisfy the requirements of scientific investigations—the method which . . . [he] should pursue if it were . . . [his] business to imitate such an inquiry . . ." More specifically, wrote Huxley:

I should need to have at least fifty cases of Cancer (if possible more) in a Cancer Hospital at my disposition. The history of each of these cases should be fully [recorded]; and a seasoned diagnosis of the nature and extent of the disease should be drawn up and signed by a committee of experts in Cancerous diseases—not members of the Hospital staff—. Of these cases one half should be chosen by lot (of course with their consent) and placed under the treatment of Count Mattei—in the hospital. The other half should remain under the ordinary treatment. A careful record should be kept of the history of each patient until death in the case of fatal termination or until the Committee of Experts certified that the patient was free from the disease.

With regard to the Mattei cure itself, Huxley was careful to state that as he had "not paid much attention to the reports of Count Mattei's procedures because many reports about the successful treatment of Cancer have been made with equal confidence—and . . . turned out to be devoid of function . . ." he could express no opinion on whether the investigation he had suggested "is *prima facie* worth trying." Nevertheless, added Huxley: "I think that it needs no professional knowledge nor the appeal to any tribunal but that of common sense, to perceive that the only way to arrive at the truth is by a very strictly conducted investigation . . ." ⁸²

Huxley's opinion strengthened Stead's stand in demanding that the medical profession test the effectiveness of Mattei's cancer cure. As Mr. Ernest Hart had stated, on behalf of Sir James Paget, that it was the practice of the medical profession alone to examine the evidence of alleged cures, Stead wrote to Hart on November 20, asking whether the medical societies would under-

⁸¹ [Stead], "Koch," p. 548; Stead, "Count Mattei," pp. 48, 50–51.

⁸² Huxley to Stead, Nov. 20, 1890, copy, Huxley Papers.

take an investigation of the cures alleged to have been wrought by the Mattei remedies. Hart replied that the medical societies would not test the Mattei medicines as long as Mattei refused to disclose the "secret" of their preparation.⁸³ Thus, in acknowledging Huxley's advice, Stead declared:

I entirely agree as to the cancer test. But before we can get the means or opportunity to institute such a test, we must empanel a small tribunal to certify that, say in three or four unmistakable cases of cancer a cure unmistakable has been effected.

The establishment of a *prima facie* case justifying such an experiment ought not to be impossible or even difficult. It is towards that, it seems to me, that we must in the first instance direct our aim, but at present no Medical Society will investigate any cure said to be effected by secret means. That is my initial difficulty.⁸⁴

With Huxley's advice in hand, Stead pressed forward his campaign to have the medical faculty test the Mattei cancer cure. He had planned to publish his report on the Mattei remedies for cancer in his "Character Sketch" in the December issue of *The Review of Reviews*, but with the sensation produced by the news of Dr. Robert Koch's claim to have found a cure of tuberculosis, Stead decided to postpone the publication of the Mattei article from December until January, 1891. Then, too, Stead hoped to use an article on the Koch controversy in support of his campaign to compel the medical profession to verify or disprove the Mattei cancer cure by an experiment conducted along the lines suggested by Huxley. "There will be much more readiness to subject the Mattei remedies to a scientific experiment and to experiment after the Koch boom than before," Stead explained in his introduction to Dr. Arthur Conan Doyle's "Character Sketch" and report of Koch (see below) because "the sensation produced by the killing of the tuberculosis tissue will break down much of the hitherto invincible prejudice which has existed against the trial of the Mattei remedies . . ." ⁸⁵

Stead had known Conan Doyle since the late 1880's when, as editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, he had recognized the young physician's literary talents.⁸⁶ In some ways, Stead and Conan Doyle were quite similar; both were men in a hurry, "impatient with . . . slow and seemingly unpro-

gressive methods," who seemed to convey the impression that "Nothing short of a cataclysm" would satisfy them.⁸⁷ Yet they differed on many issues and although they "came into sharp collision" over Stead's unrelenting opposition to the Boer War and ardent spiritualism, Conan lamented Stead's tragic death on the *Titanic* in 1912. Later, after Conan Doyle had embraced spiritualism, he recalled that

[Stead] . . . was a brave and honest man, and if he was impulsive at times it was only the sudden out-flame of that fire which made him the great force for good that he was. In psychic knowledge he was a generation before his time, though his mode of expressing it may sometimes have been injudicious. . . .⁸⁸

In October, 1890, Conan Doyle, tired and restless from inactivity after seeing his novel, *The White Company*, through the press, became interested in the "great splashing of press-reports" announcing Dr. Robert Koch's "discovery" of a cure for tuberculosis. Conan Doyle had little interest in tuberculosis and still less interest in alleged "miracle" cures. Nevertheless, acting on an impulse, Conan Doyle decided to journey to Berlin to see Koch demonstrate his work.⁸⁹ En route to Berlin, Conan Doyle called on Stead at *The Review of Reviews* office in London and asked him for letters of introduction to Koch and his assistants as a *bona fide* member of the press. Stead not only gave Conan Doyle the credentials and letters to the British ambassador in Berlin and *The Times* correspondent, but also requested him to write a "Character Sketch" of Koch for *The Review of Reviews*. When Stead mentioned his plan to publish his Character Sketch of Mattei immediately after the publication of Conan Doyle's projected article on Koch in December, Conan Doyle replied that Stead would thus have "the greatest man of science and the greatest quack in Europe following each other . . ." in *The Review of Reviews*.⁹⁰ "Stead glared at me angrily," wrote Conan Doyle, "for it seems that the Mattei treat-

⁸⁷ Rev. John Lamond, *Arthur Conan Doyle. A Memoir* (London, 1931), pp. 213-214; see also Joseph O. Baylen, "A Letter from Conan Doyle on the 'Novelist-Journalist,'" *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 12 (Mar. 1958): pp. 321-323.

⁸⁸ Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, *Memories and Adventures* (London, 1924), p. 82.

⁸⁹ John Dickson Carr, *The Life of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle* (London, 1954), pp. 80-81.

⁹⁰ Conan Doyle, *Memories and Adventures*, p. 82; Hesketh Pearson, *Conan Doyle. His Life and Art* (London, 1946), p. 94.

⁸³ Stead, "Count Mattei," p. 48.

⁸⁴ Stead to Huxley, Nov. 25, 1890, Huxley Papers. My italics.

⁸⁵ [Stead], "Koch," p. 548.

⁸⁶ Cf. *Pall Mall Gazette*, Sept. 10-15, 17-22, 1888, and Aug. 3, 1889.

ment with its blue electricity and the rest of it was at that moment his particular fad"⁹¹ But they parted amiably, and Conan Doyle went on to Berlin to fulfill Stead's assignment with the assurance of a generous stipend for his work and expenses.

Although Koch and his assistants refused to be interviewed by Conan Doyle, he obtained very complete notes on Koch's lecture and demonstration from an American physician and returned to Britain in November to write his estimate of Koch for Stead.⁹² Conan Doyle judged Koch's method experimental and premature because while "It . . . removes the traces of the enemy [tuberculosis] . . . it still leaves him deep in the invaded country" Moreover, reported Conan Doyle, "it would be an encouraging of false hopes to pretend that this result is in any way assured."⁹³ To counter some of Conan Doyle's doubts about the Koch method, Stead added a postscript to Conan Doyle's sketch which conveyed the opinion of several medical societies and experts that the Koch treatment was quite effective in arresting though not curing tuberculosis.⁹⁴

But even more important to Stead was the use of Conan Doyle's article on Koch to note that while the British medical profession was quite willing to investigate Koch's remedy which, unlike the Mattei remedies, involved inoculation and was, therefore, capable of producing "disastrous effects," the profession refused to investigate "medicines which are perfectly harmless, and which in several cases have most undoubtedly produced most remarkable cures."⁹⁵ The medical profession's prejudice against the Mattei system is so strong, charged Stead, that for utilizing Mattei's medicines with extraordinary results, a highly competent practitioner was boycotted and threatened with ouster as household surgeon at Keighley Hospital by the medical fraternity. In fact, the medical societies had refused the surgeon's invitation to witness the cures which he had accomplished with the Mattei remedies because they "apparently . . . [prefer] that patients should die than that they should be cured by remedies that

are secret and heretical" Such intolerance, declared Stead, "is . . . an illustration of the extravagance of orthodox bigotry, which . . . is the deadliest enemy of the scientific spirit . . ." What is needed, he wrote, is a competent scientific committee to test the efficacy of the Mattei remedies in an experimental hospital which he hoped to have established during the forthcoming year.⁹⁶

While the *British Medical Journal* replied to Stead's strictures by publicizing the report of Mr. T. E. Lovegrove's study of Mattei's "System of Medicine" and Lovegrove's conclusion that the cures attributed to the Mattei remedies were more the result of "the good offices of Nature than . . . any specific virtues of the remedies,"⁹⁷ Stead published his "Character Sketch" of Mattei with testimonials from prominent Russian, German, and French dignitaries, Lady Paget, and himself (on the effect of certain globules in banishing seasickness) attesting to the success of the "Pope of Health's" remedies.⁹⁸ But, insisted Stead, Mattei's claims must be verified by scientific experiment, evidence, and observation. The question—"Do these remedies cure, or do they not?"—declared Stead, must be decided (1) by evidence as to what *has* been done and (2) by experiment as to what *can* be done.⁹⁹ As examples of evidence which might be studied, Stead presented accounts of two cancer cases and two cases of eczema which were alleged to have been treated successfully with Mattei's remedies and insisted that

these facts . . . demand from the medical profession more respectful treatment than . . . [they] have hitherto received. It will not do for men to . . . investigate the secret remedy of Dr. Koch . . . [and] to rule the Mattei remedies out of court because they are secret. . . . It is discreditable to the intelligence of the profession, and the credit of men who have the life and death of their patients in their hands, to refuse to subject these claims, so influentially supported, to verification. . . .¹⁰⁰

To further illustrate his point, Stead reported that the editor of *Hospital*, Dr. G. W. Potter, had suggested the terms for an experiment to test remedies for cancer, but doubted whether there was "in existence any available means for putting Count Mattei's cure to a scientific test" and whether it was feasible for the Royal College of

⁹¹ Conan Doyle, *Memories and Adventures*, p. 82.

⁹² Conan Doyle, "Koch," pp. 555-556; Pearson, *Conan Doyle*, p. 94. Carr believed that the "stimulus" of Conan Doyle's visit to Berlin inspired him to undertake the study of eye surgery in Vienna. Carr, *Sir Arthur Conan Doyle*, p. 81.

⁹³ Conan Doyle, "Koch," p. 556.

⁹⁴ [W. T. Stead], "The Latest Reports of Experts," *Review of Reviews* 2 (Dec. 1890): p. 560.

⁹⁵ [Stead], "Koch," p. 548.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 548-549.

⁹⁷ "Meeting of the Nottingham Medico-Chirurgical Society, Dec. 3, 1890," *The British Medical Journal* (Jan. 3, 1891), p. 18.

⁹⁸ Stead, "Count Mattei," pp. 42, 44, 48.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

Physicians and the Royal College of Surgeons to expend thousands of pounds for an investigation "on behalf of the special cure of Count Mattei, *who is an outsider . . .*"¹⁰¹ Stead, however, interpreted Potter's suggestion to mean that an investigation would be possible if funds were made available for a test and invited his readers to communicate with him "in order that steps may be taken to put the [Mattei] question to the test of a scientific experiment without further loss of time" and to obtain information concerning the Mattei remedies from a Central Matteist Depot which he had helped establish in London.¹⁰² For his part, Stead was supremely confident that the "Mattei medicine . . . beats all creation . . ."¹⁰³

On reading Stead's article on Mattei and strictures on the reluctance of the medical profession to test the credibility of the Mattei remedies, Conan Doyle wrote to Stead from Vienna:

I think you are unjust to the doctors in your Mattei article. It is not jealousy which prompts their opposition. It is that they are the only guardians of the public against imposition and deceit, and that a long experience has shown that secret remedies are usually impositions and deceptions. It would be better for the public even to miss one real cure than to break down the fence which helps to keep off all the pill and salve sellers who wish to trade upon the hopes of sufferers or the love of relatives. . . .¹⁰⁴

Conan Doyle's remonstrance did not deter Stead from his resolve to compel the medical profession to determine the worth of the Mattei system and remedies. Meanwhile, the publicity which Stead had accorded to Count Mattei's remedies and cures greatly increased the sales of Mattei's medicines in Britain and on the Continent.¹⁰⁵

Immediately after the appearance of Stead's "Character Sketch" of Mattei and exposition of the Mattei remedies, *The British Medical Journal*

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 50. My italics.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 51. Stead initially contributed £800 to the establishment of the Mattei Depot and eventually invested over £1,000 in the venture. He also attempted to enlist the assistance of his partner, Dr. Albert Shaw, editor-publisher of *The American Review of Reviews*, in establishing the Mattei system in the United States. Stead to Shaw, Dec. 27, 1890 and Mar. 8, 1893, Shaw Papers.

¹⁰³ Stead to Shaw, Jan. 2, 1891, *ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ Conan Doyle to Stead, [Jan. ? 1891], Stead Papers. I am indebted to the late Miss E. W. Stead and Mr. W. K. Stead for permission to study and use the Stead Papers.

¹⁰⁵ At the close of 1891, Mattei informed Lady Paget that Stead's publicity had increased the sales of his remedies by 200,000 lira. Paget, *The Linings of Life 2*: p. 487.

published an editorial on "The Mattei Fable" which attempted to refute Stead's assertions and charges and, above all, to discredit the Mattei system. The editor noted that practically nothing was known of the nature of the Mattei remedies except that the globules and liquids were allegedly endowed with "a potent, vital, electric force, which enables them to work wonders" and that they were prepared in "the secret chamber" of an eccentric old man in Italy. "There are always a string of 'cures' to vouch for every cancer cure . . .," declared the editor, "just as there are for every quack medicine under the sun. Every sensible person knows what they are worth . . . [Indeed] when Mattei's results have been examined by a capable expert, . . . [like] Dr. Lovegrove . . . he found that . . . [the] 'reputed cures' were not cures, but simply cases in which the good offices of Nature had produced amelioration . . ." The editorial also rejected as irrelevant Stead's attempt to establish a parallel between Koch and Mattei because, unlike Mattei, Koch had refused to publicize his methods of preparation until he was confident that what he was doing would not mislead the public.¹⁰⁶

The British Medical Journal's critique of the Mattei system neither decreased the business of the Mattei Central Depot nor lessened Stead's determination to establish a "Mattei Experimental Hospital" in which the Mattei cure for cancer would be tested. To Dr. Shaw, from whom Stead had solicited a £250 subscription for the establishment of the hospital, Stead reported that the Mattei Central Depot was flourishing "like a house-a-fire" and that he expected soon to have the hospital in which to "subject the [Mattei] cure to a thoroughly scientific experiment."¹⁰⁷ In the February, 1891, issue of *The Review of Reviews*, Stead announced that his last publication on Mattei had aroused such great interest in the Mattei cure for cancer among the public and the medical profession that he proposed soon to launch the test of the Mattei cure on the lines suggested by Huxley and Sir Morrell Mackenzie. He also told of receiving offers from three persons, including the Hospital-Superior of St. Saviour's Hospital near Regent's Park, to provide quarters or a ward for

¹⁰⁶ "The Mattei Fable," *The British Medical Journal* (Jan. 17, 1891), p. 140.

¹⁰⁷ Stead to Shaw, Jan. 14 and 28, 1891, Shaw Papers; see also W. T. Stead, "Count Mattei's Remedies and the Cure of Cancer. The Proposed Experimental Hospital," *Review of Reviews* 3 (Feb. 1891): p. 138, hereafter cited as "Count Mattei's Remedies."

the experimental hospital and subscriptions from several people offering to defray the expense of establishing and operating it. Stead also made much of a letter from a physician which listed, among other patent medicines, Mackesson and Robbins Pills, Eno's Fruit Salt, and Pepper's Nerve Tonic, as some "secret remedies, the precise constituents and preparations . . . of which are rigidly kept secret by their owners, but . . . constantly prescribed by the Orthodox [medical] Faculty." The article concluded with a "Notice" in which Stead announced that he was "overwhelmed with applications and inquiries from readers who want to try the [Mattei] medicines, or to place themselves under Mattei's treatment" and was referring all inquiries to the Central Mattei Depot and to Drs. Samuel and Stoddard Kennedy and Dr. R. M. Theobald in London and Dr. Arthur Roberts in Keighley, Yorkshire, as "the only qualified physicians who . . . regularly dispense the Mattei remedies . . ." ¹⁰⁸

As Stead was securing funds to defray the cost of the experimental hospital and was moving towards an agreement with representatives of the medical profession on the establishment of a committee to test the Mattei cure of cancer, the Matteist physician, Dr. Roberts, was forced to resign from the staff of the Keighley Cottage Hospital in mid-February for his use of Mattei remedies in the treatment of cancer patients. When Roberts protested to the hospital's board of governors "his right to use any remedies he found of value" in the treatment of cancer, *Lancet* upheld the decision of the hospital administration with the comment:

We cannot agree that the use of secret remedies in public institutions can in the long run be beneficial. The tradition of the profession in favour of openness is unmistakably sound, and should be adhered to. Let Count Mattei make full disclosures as to his remedies, and they will receive fair trial. . . . ¹⁰⁹

A few days after the publication of *Lancet's* remarks on the Roberts case, Stead reported in the March issue of *The Review of Reviews* that substantial progress was being made towards the establishment of the experimental hospital in which "the claims put forward by Count Mattei as to the power of his remedies to cure cancer . . . [would be] scientifically demonstrated or demolished . . ." A five-bed ward at St. Saviour's Hospital in London was being made available to

¹⁰⁸ Stead, "Count Mattei's Remedies," pp. 138-139.

¹⁰⁹ "Notes, Comments, and Answers to Correspondents," *The Lancet* (Feb. 28, 1891), p. 527.

a committee of investigation on the understanding (1) that the ward would be placed under the control of the committee free of charge, (2) that any expensive diets would be paid for by the committee, and (3) that the Mattei remedies used in the treatment of the five cancer patients in the experiment would be open to inspection by the committee. The Matteist physician, Stoddard Kennedy, would serve as Physician in Charge with his father, Samuel Kennedy, as Honorary Consulting Physician. ¹¹⁰

In March, after considerable discussion with representatives of the medical profession, Stead finally obtained the formation of a Committee of Investigation consisting of Sir Morrell Mackenzie as Chairman, Dr. Lawson Tait as the cancer specialist, Dr. G. W. Potter as the representative of the medical press, and Stead as Secretary of the Committee. ¹¹¹ It was clear that the publicity which Stead had given to the Mattei system and remedies and the campaign which he had waged to secure the medical profession's cooperation in testing the Mattei cure for cancer had resulted in the establishment of the Committee. Dr. Potter admitted as much when he later wrote:

It was open to question whether or not such an investigation as was proposed . . . was expedient in the public interests. . . . [But] Matteism seemed to me to be an unusually dangerous form of quackery, that it was assuming large proportions, that in deference to popular clamour it was beginning to be practised even by regular medical practitioners; and it appeared that to bring to light its true character would be an important public service. . . . ¹¹²

Sir Morrell Mackenzie had agreed to serve on the Committee because he was indebted to Stead for having defended him in the press in 1888-1889 during the bitter controversy which resulted from Mackenzie's diagnosis and treatment of the German Emperor Frederick III's fatal illness in 1888. ¹¹³ Although Sir Morrell had no faith in

¹¹⁰ W. T. Stead, "Can Cancer Be Cured? The Mattei Experimental Ward at St. Saviour's Hospital," *Review of Reviews* 3 (Mar. 1891): p. 244, hereafter cited as "The Mattei Experimental Ward."

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*; G. W. Potter, "Matteism: An Exposure," *The British Medical Journal* (Aug. 13, 1892), p. 369, hereafter cited as "Matteism: An Exposure." In 1896 Potter wrote a letter to the editor of *The Times* in which he declared that the Committee was "selected by Mr. W. T. Stead, and therefore presumably considered by him to be impartial persons . . ." George W. Potter, "Letter to the Editor, April 8, 1896," *The Times*, April 9, 1896.

¹¹² Potter, "Matteism: An Exposure," p. 369. My italics.

¹¹³ On the friendship of Stead and Mackenzie, Stead's defense of Mackenzie, and Sir Morrell's involvement in

the Mattei system and "never doubted that the result of the committee's investigation would be the exposure of pretensions that were false . . .,"¹¹⁴ he consented to serve as a favor to Stead. "I am willing," Mackenzie informed Stead, "to serve with you on such an experimental committee in connection with Count Mattei's cure for cancer . . . , should it be formed, and if no other and younger member of the profession can be found willing to take my place" ¹¹⁵ As for Dr. Lawson Tait, he had publicly expressed his skepticism concerning the Mattei cancer cure, but agreed to serve on the Committee and to provide patients suffering from uterine and breast cancer, who were deemed terminal cases, for the experiment.¹¹⁶ "If the Mattei treatment cures *any of them*," Tait assured Stead, "I will let it be known throughout the length and breadth of the literature of my profession" ¹¹⁷

In the meantime, as the Committee prepared to launch its investigation, Stead continued to give the widest publicity to the Mattei system and remedies. He reported that the use of the Mattei remedies was spreading far and wide and that remarkable cures were being accomplished "in which all questions of faith-healing or suggestion . . . [could] not possibly apply" To those who had written him complaining of the delays they experienced in obtaining medicines from the Mattei Central Depot in London, Stead explained that the depot was overwhelmed with orders and referred his correspondents to the many other agents authorized to dispense the Mattei remedies and to provide information on their use in Britain.¹¹⁸ With reference to the Mattei cure in the treatment of cancer, Stead communicated the information that, "When cancer is so far advanced that the sufferer is bedridden, cure can hardly be

the case of Frederick III, see W. T. Stead's "A Visit to Sir Morrell Mackenzie," *Pall Mall Gazette*, May 14, 1888; "The End of the Year," *Universal Review* 2 (Dec. 1888), p. 614; and "The Bismarck Dynasty," *The Contemporary Reviews* 55 (Feb. 1889): pp. 165-177; R. Stevenson, *Morrell Mackenzie* (London, 1948), pp. 138-161; R. Barkeley, *The Empress Frederick. Daughter of Queen Victoria* (London, 1955), pp. 208ff, 237-239, 267, 271-272; H. J. Wolf, *Die Krankheit Friedrichs III und ihre Wirkung auf die deutsche und englische Öffentlichkeit* (Berlin, 1958), pp. 149-152.

¹¹⁴ Rev. H. R. Hawsis, *Sir Morrell Mackenzie. Physician and Operator. A Memoir* (London, 1893), p. 244; Potter, "Matteism: An Exposure," p. 369.

¹¹⁵ Hawsis, *Sir Morrell Mackenzie*, p. 243.

¹¹⁶ Potter, "Matteism: An Exposure," p. 369.

¹¹⁷ Stead, "The Mattei Experimental Ward," p. 244.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

expected, . . . [but] that alleviation of pain [by the Mattei remedies] was certain" He certainly went beyond the bounds of propriety when he claimed that "*It is in the early stages, before any operation has taken place, that the disease can be coped with . . .*" ¹¹⁹

The Mattei Experimental Committee held its first meeting on April 13, 1891, and after much discussion, agreed to the following conditions which Stead believed were in accord with Matteist "theories" and would "either establish or demolish the claims of . . . Mattei to have discovered a cure for cancer." ¹²⁰

- (1) No patient was to be selected for treatment unless certified by two members of the medical profession as unmistakably afflicted with cancer in the first or second stages.
- (2) Mattei's "Medical Representative" was to state the conditions under which he deemed the Matteist treatment could be most effectively administered and would be given undisputed authority to administer the treatments to all patients in the ward.
- (3) The Matteist physician was to maintain an exact record of the treatment, which would be accessible at all times to the Committee, describing the methods employed, the quantity of medicine administered, and the nature of its application.
- (4) Should the Matteist physician consider it necessary to employ non-Matteist remedies in the treatment, he would make the fact known to the Committee.
- (5) Any interference with the diet or nursing designed to vitiate the experiment was to be reported to the Committee.
- (6) A non-Matteist physician was to be associated with the Matteist physician to act as registrar and to report on the treatment on behalf of the Committee.
- (7) In addition to the cancer patients treated at St. Saviour's Hospital, the Committee interposed no objection to the application of the test to patients treated on the Mattei system outside the hospital, provided that such patients were examined periodically by the Committee.
- (8) Before entering the ward, each of the five patients was to sign a statement affirming (a) that he submitted voluntarily to the Mattei treatment and would abide by the conditions specified for the experiment and (b) that if he become impatient or refused to remain in the ward, the experiment would be regarded as having yielded no conclusive result.¹²¹

¹¹⁹ W. T. Stead, "A Brighton Matteist Home," *Review of Reviews* 3 (Mar. 1891): p. 293. My italics.

¹²⁰ W. T. Stead, "Experimental Hospital for Cancer Cure. The Mattei Ward at St. Saviour's Hospital," *Review of Reviews* 3 (April 1891): p. 358, hereafter cited as "Experimental Hospital for Cancer Cure."

¹²¹ *Ibid.*; W. T. Stead, "The Mattei Remedies: Cures of Leprosy. Remarkable Reports from London," *Re-*

Stead was satisfied with the Committee members' assurance that "if . . . [they] should find . . . [themselves] mistaken, and if Mattei's potions really should cure cancer *in some inconceivable way*, that . . . [they] would admit . . . [their] error and make known the true state of the case."¹²² Yet Mackenzie, Potter, and Tait were not quite satisfied with the conditions (1) because of the Matteists' refusal to accept the stipulation that they divulge the composition of their remedies and (2) because the Committee was to act "as a committee of observation, not of supervision or direction" Thus, Potter later complained: "We were asked, not to treat cases, but to see and admit cures in the making, exactly as we might have been asked to see and admit cures in the making at Lourdes" ¹²³ The Committee also had some reservations about the sister in charge of St. Saviour's Hospital, Mrs. John H. Palmer. She was an "old Matteist" who, although somewhat skeptical of the use of the Mattei remedies in curing cancer, possessed (according to Stead) the "firmest conviction in the [general] efficacy of Mattei remedies." In the May issue of *The Review of Reviews*, Stead reported that Mrs. Palmer had told him of her great success with the "green electricity"—the fluid which the analysts found was nothing but pure water—in stemming hemorrhages.¹²⁴

As the experiment got under way at St. Saviour's Hospital, Stead continued to give the widest publicity to the Mattei system. In May, he wrote that he was "glad to report that the prejudice that has hitherto prevailed in the medical profession against the use of the Matteist remedies seemed to be giving way on all sides" as medical men in Britain and the United States achieved results with the Mattei medicines which "far exceeded . . . [their] highest expectations" ¹²⁵ In June, Stead noted that the emphasis on the use of the Mattei medicines in curing cancer had obscured their merits in dealing with other ailments and personally attested to the success which he had experienced with *Febrigo* in ridding his family of influenza. He was reluctant to quote testimonials, Stead wrote, because they sound like the familiar testimonies of quacks,

view of Reviews 3 (May 1891): p. 442, hereafter cited as "The Mattei Remedies."

¹²² Potter, "Matteism: An Exposure," p. 369. My italics.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ Stead, "Experimental Hospital for Cancer Cure," p. 358.

¹²⁵ Stead, "The Mattei Remedies," p. 442.

But it was the same prejudice against marvel workers which in ancient Judaea led the Sadducees to refuse to listen to the stories of the miracles wrought . . . in Galilee; and when one has himself experienced the good results of the Mattei specifics, it would be unpardonable to refuse the evidence on their behalf to an honest investigation. . . .

To further emphasize his point, Stead again cited the case of Dr. Roberts of Keighley as an example of how "a fully qualified medical man of good standing" had been ousted from the staff of his local hospital "by the refusal of the regular [medical] faculty to work with one who cures disease by Matteism." Even more significant was Stead's report of Roberts' claim that he had found the Mattei remedies most effective in relieving pain in all sorts of illnesses.¹²⁶

Meanwhile, in spite of Stead's report in June that five patients had been selected for the experiment and were under observation,¹²⁷ the Committee experienced considerable difficulty in securing the agreement of the Matteist physicians, Drs. Samuel and Stoddard Kennedy, to the method of treatment and the selection of proper cancer cases for the test. At the first meeting of the Committee, Samuel Kennedy proposed that in addition to the cases which he and his son undertook to treat with the Mattei remedies, a similar number of cases should be subjected to the treatment by the "ordinary method" against those to be treated by the Mattei cure.¹²⁸ Dr. Potter, however, never mentioned the Matteists' proposal in his final report on the work of the Committee. At the beginning of the experiment Potter wrote:

the Matteists expressed themselves willing to accept as subjects of treatment cases of *bona fide* cancer, by whomsoever introduced, provided they were still in the "first or second stage". . . . But when it began to be necessary to put these protestations into practice, a spirit of caution, not to say of extreme timidity, laid hold of the Matteists. Patient after patient was sent in, but declined by the cancer curers on one pretext or another. So much was this the case,

¹²⁶ W. T. Stead, "The Marvels of Matteism. A Remarkable Report of Dr. Arthur Roberts, of Keighley," *Review of Reviews* 3 (June 1891): p. 559, hereafter cited as "The Marvels of Matteism."

¹²⁷ Stead, "The Marvels of Matteism," p. 559. In July, Stead corrected his erroneous report with the statement that at the end of May, only one patient was under treatment as a test case and others were under "observation." W. T. Stead, "The Mattei Committee," *Review of Reviews* 4 (July 1891): p. 83.

¹²⁸ W. T. Stead, "Some Remarks on Matteism and Its Critics. With Special Reference to the Cancer Committee's Report," *Review of Reviews* 6 (Sept. 1892): p. 284, hereafter cited as "The Cancer Committee's Report."

that . . . Tait was several times on the point of making a premature exposure of what he considered discreditable tactics. *Even Mr. Stead himself began to think that he might have been deceived.* . . .¹²⁹

Finally, however, the Matteists accepted five patients—all women—who (with one doubtful exception) were certified as *bona fide* cancer cases by competent surgeons. In fact, as Potter clearly discerned,

Stead, without at all intending it, had proved to be . . . [the Matteists'] most dangerous enemy. They were between Scylla and Charybdis. If they persisted in refusing every case sent in, Mr. Stead must expose them in the *Review of Reviews*; if they accepted cases which they could not cure, the believers in open . . . methods of medicine, whose criticism the Matteists had demanded . . . , would equally expose their failure to the light of day. Thus hemmed in on all sides, they were obliged to accept some cases for experiment; and ultimately they agreed to treat five patients out of a large number submitted to them. . . .¹³⁰

Although Stead, in his report on the work of the Committee in August, 1892, did not contradict Potter's statement, he sought to explain that most of the cancer cases were rejected by the Kennedys because they were not in the category which Mattei claimed to cure.¹³¹

After the appointment of a physician as the registrar charged with watching the cases in detail and with rendering periodic reports on their progress, the Committee proceeded with its work. However, the Committee seemed to prejudice itself when it undertook to explain to the five patients "that not one of the members of the committee or their registrar had any faith whatever in the treatment which the Matteists were employing, and [that] the wisest thing for every one of them . . . would be to seek aid at a hospital or privately at the hands of a competent surgeon . . ." ¹³² But, notwithstanding this advice, all of the patients elected to undergo the Mattei treatment. Since the treatment of some of the patients in St. Saviour's Hospital proved impracticable, they were treated as out-patients at the Central Mattei Depot.

The patients remained under treatment and observation for a year with the registrar visiting

¹²⁹ Potter, "Matteism: An Exposure," p. 369. My italics.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ W. T. Stead, "Can Cancer be Cured? Report of the Mattei Investigation Committee," *Review of Reviews* 6 (Aug. 1892): p. 195, hereafter cited as "Report of the Mattei Investigation Committee."

¹³² Potter, "Matteism: An Exposure," p. 369.

them weekly and most of the members of the Committee examining them periodically. In spite of Dr. Tait's inability to attend all meetings of the Committee, it held scheduled meetings and made arrangements for more regular systematic inspections of the patients.¹³³ But a few months after the beginning of the experiment, the Chairman of the Committee, Mackenzie, fell ill and the meetings of the Committee were suspended and not resumed until after Mackenzie's death in March, 1892. Nevertheless, the registrar continued to see the patients every week and kept Potter, a resident in London, closely informed of their treatment and condition. On the death of Mackenzie, it appeared necessary either to increase the effectiveness of the Committee by replacing Mackenzie and also Tait, who found it impossible to make regular visits to London, with surgeons resident in London or to dissolve the Committee.¹³⁴ Meeting on March 29, 1892, in Stead's office, Potter, Tait, and Stead elected Dr. Henry A. Reeves, F. R. C. S. E., surgeon at the Hospital for Women in Soho, to the Committee and Dr. John Hopkins, F. R. C. S., Medical Superintendent of the Central London Sick Asylum, to replace Mackenzie. The Committee elected Potter Chairman of the Committee and reaffirmed its earlier decision to issue no reports on the experiment "until some definite result was arrived at . . ." ¹³⁵

Strengthened by the addition of medical practitioners resident in London, the Committee felt that "a thorough and conclusive inquiry could be conducted to completion." A schedule for visitations was established and arrangements were made for each member of the Committee to conduct weekly examinations of the patients in company with the registrar at the hospital and depot. But the reorganization and regularization of the functions of the Committee did not improve its relations with the Kennedys. Through Stead, Samuel and Stoddard Kennedy wrote to the Committee stating that as "the treatment of the five cases was likely to be very prolonged and to cause much inconvenience to the members of the committee,

¹³³ Potter's statement in *The Times*, April 9, 1896; Stead, "Report of the Mattei Investigation Committee," p. 195. Tait, however, received frequent reports from his colleagues on the Committee.

¹³⁴ Tait desired to resign from the Committee, but was prevailed upon to remain a member of the group. Stead, "Report of the Mattei Investigation Committee," p. 195.

¹³⁵ Potter, "Matteism: An Exposure," p. 369; W. T. Stead, "The Mattei Experimental Committee," *Review of Reviews* 5 (April 1892): p. 396.

as well as to delay indefinitely the publication of the report which was so anxiously looked for . . . [by the public],” they proposed that the Committee agree to include in the experiment several old cases of cancer which they had healed and to include these cases in the forthcoming report of the Committee. As Potter recalled, Stead was much embarrassed by the Kennedys’ proposal and “expressed himself [to the Committee] as thoroughly ashamed” of the Matteists’ maneuver. Though the members of the Committee sympathized deeply with Stead’s chagrin over the Kennedys’ proposal, they rejected the Matteists’ request on the grounds that the Committee could not verify the diagnosis or progress of cases “exclusively vouched for by the testimony of . . . interested persons.”¹³⁶

To all parties concerned with the experiment it was obvious that the Matteists would either have to cure the patients or “ignominiously give up the contest.” The Committee reported that the Mattei remedies were not arresting the patients’ malignancies. Some of the cancerous growths were developing slowly, others more rapidly, and one seemed even to the Matteists to have become critical. This, then, was the situation when a member of the Committee, in reply to criticism by some surgeons concerning the expediency of the Committee, attempted to justify the existence of the Committee by publicly explaining that the patients were not showing any improvement. The Kennedys immediately took exception to the statement and wrote to Stead accusing the Committee of breaking the agreement which forbade any report on the experiment until the Committee had completed its work and refusing to continue their treatment of the patients *under the observation of the Committee*.¹³⁷ Stead replied that the Kennedys were under “an absolute misapprehension” concerning the Committee’s rule because the resolution was merely for the guidance of the Committee “to the effect that nothing relating to the subject or to the Committee’s doings was to be published without the sanction of the Committee” and therefore in no way affected the Matteist physicians “*who were not members of the Committee*.” Hence, if the rule was violated, “the question would be one solely between the Committee and its members . . .”

Stead’s explanation, however, did not satisfy

¹³⁶ Potter, “Matteism: An Exposure,” p. 369.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 370; Stead, “Report of the Mattei Investigation Committee,” p. 195; Potter’s statement in *The Times*, April 9, 1896.

the Kennedys and, although they indicated a willingness to continue the treatment of the five patients, they refused to do so any longer under the observation of the Committee . . .¹³⁸ Nor did the Kennedys abandon their resolve when Stead protested that it was the Matteists who had invited the inquiry and urged that it was necessary for them to continue the experiment to convince unbelievers who were “ready and waiting to be convinced” of the merit of the Mattei remedies.¹³⁹ But in view of the Kennedys’ intransigence, Stead agreed that the Committee had no recourse but to draw up and publish its report on the experiment and to dissolve itself.¹⁴⁰

In a notice which followed an article by Lady Paget on “The Best Diet for Cancer Patients” in the July, 1892, issue of *The Review of Reviews*, Stead announced that the report of the Experimental Committee would be forthcoming in the August issue of the periodical.¹⁴¹ When the Committee’s brief report was published, it was prefaced by a statement by the Committee that even before the Matteists had withdrawn from the experiment the Committee had obtained sufficient evidence “of the altogether inert character of the so-called [Mattei] cure . . .” of cancer. In the light of its consideration of the evidence, the Committee therefore concluded that:

- (1) The “cancerous disease” had advanced steadily in all five cases, even though “the patients were . . . inspired by . . . [the] new form of treatment . . . [to] believe they . . . [had] derived benefit” from the Mattei remedies.
- (2) It had not observed anything either in the methods or results of the Mattei system which differentiated it favourably from other cancer cures and which warrant the conclusion that the Mattei remedies were of any avail in the treatment of cancer.¹⁴²

As Secretary to the Committee, Stead duly communicated the report to Dr. Samuel Kennedy

¹³⁸ Potter, “Matteism: An Exposure,” p. 369; Stead, “Report of the Mattei Investigation Committee,” p. 195.

¹³⁹ Potter, “Matteism: An Exposure,” p. 369.

¹⁴⁰ Stead, “Report of the Mattei Investigation Committee,” p. 195. In Italy, Count Mattei watched the proceedings in Britain with great interest. When apprised of the termination of the experiment, Mattei accused the Committee of withdrawing from the test at “the moment they saw that the Mattei medicines were taking effect upon the patients . . .” Paget, *The Linings of Life 2*: pp. 546–547.

¹⁴¹ Stead’s note appended to Lady Paget, “The Best Diet for Cancer Patients,” *Review of Reviews* 6 (July 1892): p. 90.

¹⁴² Stead, “Report of the Mattei Investigation Committee,” p. 195.

and his son and invited them to comment on the Committee's conclusions. On July 26, 1892, the Matteist physicians replied declaring that:

- (1) The Committee had not, "in any correct sense," completed its work and the Matteists had not withdrawn from the experiment.
- (2) Although they had "declined to continue any relation to the Committee," because it had violated a pledge to refrain from publishing anything prior to the final report, they had not and would not cease "to treat the cases in question till their final issue is determined."
- (3) The Matteists had neither claimed that any of the cases were cured nor that every case would be cured and confidently denied that all of the patients were markedly worse.
- (4) Since all of the patients affirm that their health was better than ever before, the Committee had erred in stating that the patients had not benefited from the Mattei remedies and were markedly worse.¹⁴³

For his part, Stead was not satisfied with the Committee's verdict. He pronounced "the result of the experiment . . . hardly satisfactory" and derided the Committee's report as "a somewhat lame and inconclusive result to be arrived at after all the trouble that . . . [had] been taken . . ." by all interested parties.¹⁴⁴ Irritated by the publication of Potter's version of the Committee's work and conflict with the Matteists in *The British Medical Journal* during August, Stead published a rebuttal in *The Review of Reviews* criticizing Potter for irrelevant and absurd comments on the Mattei system "which were practically identical with the convictions he entertained before the enquiry began."¹⁴⁵ Yet, although Stead took issue with Potter and "others who . . . [took] their cue from him" for concluding that the findings of the Committee were "absolutely fatal to all of the claims of Count Mattei," he conceded that the Committee had indeed disproven the Mattei claim to cure cancer. "The trial which I took so much trouble to bring about," Stead ruefully admitted, "has so far not resulted in realising the anticipations based on the claims put forward by Count Mattei." In fact, added Stead, the verdict of the surgeons is justified because

not only has no cure been effected, but in every case the cancer has . . . grown worse. . . . Hence if any one asks whether it is true that the Mattei remedies cure cancer it is perfectly correct to state that in

not one of the five selected cases have they succeeded in effecting a cure. . . .¹⁴⁶

Having conceded so much to the Committee, Stead proceeded to deal with Potter's assertion in *The British Medical Journal* that "Matteism, in the deliberate judgment of the committee, consists exclusively of vulgar, unadulterated, unredeemed quackery . . ." ¹⁴⁷ Stead insisted that the Committee had *not* proven that the Mattei system was a fraud, a delusion, and a snare and charged that Potter's denunciation of Matteism as quackery was eloquent evidence of "how unscientific some scientific men become when they give rein to their passion." He also challenged the Committee's implied conclusion that surgery was the only known cure for cancer on the grounds that "statistics in the best surgical works" demonstrate that approximately five to twenty-seven per cent of cancer cases were remedied without recourse to surgery.¹⁴⁸

At the same time, Stead sought to absolve himself of the accusation that he was dangerously misleading the public, by advising his readers that, if anyone suspected that they had cancer, they should "go to the best doctor within . . . reach, within twenty-four hours . . . , and if . . . he thinks . . . [the cancer] is at a sufficiently early stage to give hope of success, let him cut it out root and branch, even if there is doubt whether it is cancer . . ." Indeed, "as every day's delay may increase the danger and diminish the chance of successful operation *it would be foolish to delay it in order to try Matteism or any other 'ism, orthodox or heterodox . . . , [because] delay, dangerous in all diseases, spells death in cancer.*" ¹⁴⁹ But what, asked Stead, if the disease is already advanced or there has been an operation and a recurrence and the surgeons have given up all hope for the patient?

To this I reply [wrote Stead] that as I accept the Report of the Committee as to the failure of the [Mattei] remedies to cure cancer, so I as loyally accept it when it certifies that the patients say the remedies have alleviated their pain and cheered the lives of those who underwent the treatment. *Therefore on the hypothesis of surgery being admittedly useless, I would then submit myself to be treated by Count Mattei's globules and electricity, not expecting to be cured, but believing from the evidence . . . in the . . . test cases, that I should diminish the local*

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 196.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ Stead, "The Cancer Committee's Report," p. 284.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ Potter, "Matteism: An Exposure," p. 370.

¹⁴⁸ Stead, "The Cancer Committee's Report," p. 284.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 285. My italics.

*pain, improve my general health, and make the most of the life that was left to me. . . .*¹⁵⁰

In response to Potter's statement that the alleviation of the patients' pain was due solely to the power of suggestion, Stead replied that it remained for the experiment, which was being continued by the Matteist physicians, to prove that the power of suggestion rather than the Mattei remedies eased the pain of the patients. He promised to report periodically on the results of the experiment and especially on whether the admitted success of the remedies in alleviating pain continued until the death of the patients. Meanwhile, on the basis of the success of the Mattei globules in ridding him of chronic indigestion when the medications of orthodox physicians had failed, Stead announced that he would fight the demand of the medical profession to proscribe the sale and use of Mattei's medicines. But even more important, averred Stead, was the fact that the recent controversy had emphasized the urgent need for the establishment of a "competent, permanent, scientific tribunal" by the government or the medical profession to test and report on the effectiveness of all remedies and medicines purporting to effect cures of illness.¹⁵¹

In February, 1893, Stead reported that the five patients were still alive and undergoing treatment and that the reports which he had received from them indicated that they continued to have "an unshaken faith in the efficacy of the Mattei remedies" in easing their pain.¹⁵² To Dr. Albert Shaw, who had helped Stead finance the establishment of the Mattei Central Depot, Stead exuded confidence in the Mattei system. "You will be pleased to know," Stead informed Shaw in March, that "the extremely risky experiment with the Mattei Medicines seems likely to be justified by the events. I do not say that we shall prove that we can cure cancer, but we certainly prove that we can lessen its pain, and prolong life . . ." There is every prospect, wrote Stead, that "I will be repaid the £1,000 which I have [to date] advanced to . . . the Mattei Depot . . . [and] I feel very pleased about this, because it was one of

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.* My italics. Potter observed that "the portions of the Matteists," even though nothing but plain water, made some of "the deluded victims of Matteism" believe that they were relieved of pain and that "Even the poor creature . . . whom the Matteists themselves admit to be 'worse,' persists in declaring herself improved. . . ." Potter, "Matteism: An Exposure," p. 370.

¹⁵¹ Stead, "The Cancer Committee's Report," p. 285.

¹⁵² W. T. Stead, "Cancer: The Mattei Experiment," *Review of Reviews* 7 (Feb. 1893) : p. 217.

the most risky and off-line things that I have ever done . . ." ¹⁵³

Stead had now begun to write about the Committee's work and report it as only the first stage of the Mattei experiment. Thus, in reporting on the Second Year's Test of the Mattei cancer cure in the August, 1893, issue of *The Review of Reviews*, Stead explained that since none of the patients were cured but all of them believed that they were benefiting from the treatment, the Committee report could not be considered finally conclusive. Therefore, with the dissolution of the Committee and the Matteist physicians' decision to continue the experiment, Stead viewed the second stage of the experiment as not a question of whether the Mattei remedies healed the patients' cancer, but "whether . . . the [Mattei] treatment . . . [made] dying of cancer a tolerable instead of intolerable mode of quitting life . . ." ¹⁵⁴ On this subject, wrote Stead, the patients were the only authority and he cited personal statements from the now four surviving patients affirming that they had benefited from the Mattei treatment and still had unshaken faith in its power to improve their condition. For Stead these letters clearly justified "all that has been done to bring the [Mattei] remedies before the attention of the public . . ." To those who rejected the Mattei remedies because alleviation of the agony of cancer patients had not also been accompanied by the cure of cancer, Stead declared: "A remedy which would enable all cancer patients to die painlessly would be a greater boon to the world than a medicine which cured 10 per cent of the cases and left the other 90 per cent to suffer without any alleviation." ¹⁵⁵

Meanwhile, as Stead departed for his first visit to the United States in autumn, 1893, the medical profession continued to wage its campaign against Matteism. When a report reached Britain that the Superintendent Medical Officer at a leper hospital in Jamaica had been ordered by the Colonial Governor, Sir Henry Blake, to submit nineteen lepers to the Mattei treatment, *The British Medical Journal* denounced the order as nonsensical and reported that the Mattei remedies

¹⁵³ Stead to Shaw, Mar. 8, 1893, Shaw Papers. My italics.

¹⁵⁴ W. T. Stead, "The Mattei Treatment of Cancer Cases. Report on the Second Year's Test," *Review of Reviews* 8 (Aug. 1893) : p. 145, hereafter cited as "The Second Year's Test."

¹⁵⁵ See letters from Mrs. J. L., M. R., M. A. M., and C. L. in Stead, "The Second Year's Test," p. 145.

had actually worsened the condition of the patients. The editor of the *Journal* called upon the Colonial Office to rescind the order and to apprise Blake that decisions in medical matters were not within the province of Royal Governors, especially those "who may readily become the dupe of irresponsible faddists and vendors of quack remedies."¹⁵⁶ The editorial elicited no retort from Stead who, on his arrival in the United States, had become involved in a celebrated crusade in Chicago, from October, 1893, through March, 1894, to promote the moral and political regeneration of the city.¹⁵⁷

On his return to London in March, Stead was much too preoccupied with the troubled British political situation and the task of launching the spiritualist periodical, *Borderland*, to resume his efforts on behalf of the Matteist cause. But in November, Stead returned to the Mattei controversy to reply to charges that he had reaped pecuniary profits from the publicity which he had given to the Mattei system and to render a report on the second phase of the Mattei experiment. After revealing that the Mattei experiment had cost him "a very considerable outlay, . . . which by no possibility could yield . . . anything but pecuniary loss . . .," Stead cited the assertion that he had profited from the Mattei controversy as "an illustration of the utter incapacity of some people to conceive the possibility of any man attempting to relieve his fellow creatures from torture unless he could make money out of the operation . . ."¹⁵⁸ The Mattei experiment had, indeed, cost Stead approximately £1,200¹⁵⁹; but, on the other hand, the publicity which he had given to the Mattei system in *The Review of Reviews* had undoubtedly enhanced the circulation of the periodical. Now, in November, 1894, Stead also claimed credit for having challenged the assertion that the Mattei remedies cured cancer and for having inspired the experiment which had succeeded in proving conclusively that Matteism could not achieve a cancer cure. This fact, Stead reported in *The Review of Reviews*, was evident in

the fate of the five patients, three of whom were dead and two who were showing no positive improvement. But, "Far more important than the demonstration that the Mattei remedies could not cure cancer," wrote Stead, "was the . . . demonstration before the world that the fierce pain could be lulled without opiates, and that life could be rendered endurable even when cancer was leading it to the grave" These results, declared Stead, are "amply sufficient [to justify] whatever has been done in the *Review of Reviews* in calling attention to the globules and 'electricities' of the Italian Count."¹⁶⁰ To Stead, the misrepresentation and ridicule which he had suffered as a result of his interest in the Mattei system was more than compensated for by the report of a single missionary's success with the Mattei remedies in relieving pain and suffering in a remote part of the world.¹⁶¹

During the next two years (1895–1896), the controversy over the Mattei system between the Matteists and the medical profession continued. Lady Paget persisted in her advocacy of the Mattei system and enlisted the support of such prominent members of British society as Field Marshal Lord Roberts and Lady Roberts, who claimed that the Mattei remedies had succeeded when orthodox physicians had failed to heal Lord Roberts of a serious illness in India.¹⁶² On the other hand, in January, 1895, *Lancet* made much of a judicial case in which a dispenser of Mattei medicines at Worksop (Nottinghamshire) sought to recover payment for remedies supplied to twelve customers. When the defendants replied that the medicines were mainly water and did them no good, the magistrate ordered the liquids and globules analyzed by a public analyst and adjourned the action for a month. On receiving

¹⁶⁰ Stead, "Matteism, Its Successes and Its Failures," p. 475.

¹⁶¹ To illustrate his point, Stead referred to the report of the renowned missionary and authority on Samoa, Rev. S. J. Whitmee, who, after reading of the Mattei remedies in *The Review of Reviews*, claimed to have used the medicines to prolong the life of his consumptive wife, to free a Samoan chieftain of tapeworm, to give "immense prestige to the ministry of the Gospel" by checking a measles epidemic, and to provide some relief for Robert Louis Stevenson during his last illness. See Stead, "Matteism: Its Successes and Its Failures," p. 475. Whitmee was the author of an article on Samoa in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* and such important works as *A Missionary Cruise in the South Pacific . . . during 1870* (Sydney, 1870) and *The Ethnology of Polynesia* (London, 1879).

¹⁶² Paget, *In My Tower* 1: pp. 121–122.

¹⁵⁶ "His Excellency the Governor," *The British Medical Journal* (Sept. 6, 1893), p. 644.

¹⁵⁷ On Stead's "crusade" in Chicago, see Joseph O. Baylen, "A Victorian's 'Crusade' in Chicago, 1893–94," *51* (Dec. 1964): pp. 408–434; W. T. Stead, *If Christ Came to Chicago* (New York, 1894).

¹⁵⁸ W. T. Stead, "Matteism, Its Successes and Its Failures," *Review of Reviews* 10 (Nov. 1894): p. 475, hereafter as "Matteism, Its Successes and Its Failures."

¹⁵⁹ Stead to Frederick W. Holls, Aug. 17, 1899, Frederick W. Holls Papers, Nicholas Murray Butler Library, Columbia University.

the analyst's report that the medicines consisted of nothing but tap water, the magistrate rejected the plaintiff's plea, ordered the plaintiff to pay court costs, and dismissed the case.¹⁶³

When the Medical Council removed the Matteist physician, Dr. R. M. Theobald, from the Medical Registry in 1895, for advising patients that the Mattei medicines were effective in curing most diseases, Stead denounced the Council for persecuting a physician who had "dared to call attention to the fact that . . . Mattei's remedies have really cured disease . . ." He also gave prominent publicity to the statement of the manager of the Central Mattei Depot in London, Dr. A. J. L. Gliddon, that Mattei had authorized him to reveal that most of the globules were distilled "by special processes" from "the life blood or elaborated saps" of pine, laurel, fir, evergreen, and oak trees, and that the "electrals" were derived from certain secret shrubs in the Apennines. As for the analysts' reports that Mattei's medicines contained nothing but water, Gliddon merely explained (1) that "the only test . . . worth anything is physiological—do the remedies cure, or do they not?" and (2) that "*Medical analysis often fails to discover the healing elements in other medicines than those of Mattei . . .*" Even Stead was constrained to admit that such explanations and assertions could hardly satisfy the medical faculty.¹⁶⁴

Mattei's death at the age of eighty-seven on April 3, 1896,¹⁶⁵ stilled the Mattei controversy, but not before a spirited exchange between Dr. Potter and the leading British Matteist, Dr. Stoddard Kennedy, took place. In a letter to *The Times*, during the week following Mattei's demise, Potter sought to amplify comments on the Committee's work in *The Times* obituary on Mattei by asserting that Stead had recently informed him of the death of four of the five patients involved in the experiment and of his conclusion that he no longer considered the Mattei system a cure for cancer.¹⁶⁶ Kennedy immediately informed *The Times* that Potter was in error; only three patients

were dead (two from cancer and one from cholera) and two survived in excellent health and attributed their satisfactory condition to the Mattei remedies. Thus, since the "hasty report" of the Committee did not terminate the enquiry, Kennedy declared that Potter was inaccurate in his verdict on the experiment.¹⁶⁷

In his notice on the death of Mattei, Stead confirmed Kennedy's assertions on the status of the patients in the experiment and, in passing retrospect, wrote:

I have done few things that brought me more denunciation and involved me in more expense than the attempt to get at the truth about these remedies. Sometimes I feel disposed to regret . . . [what I have done]. . . . But now and again I get letters . . . that justify my belief that I was not misled when I made my pilgrimage to Bologna. . . . Such . . . [letters] outweigh a multitude of diatribes directed against me by lewd fellows of the baser sort who judge one after their own kind. . . .¹⁶⁸

Three years later, in 1899, Stead explained to Frederick W. Holls:

With regard to the Mattei question. . . . I am willing to admit that there is no proof that the Mattei medicines will cure cancer, but . . . a far more important matter . . . [is] . . . that . . . [in] every one of the test cases the treatment improved their general health, mitigated pain, and prolonged their lives. . . . Hence if I may sum it up in a sentence, I may say that what I obtained by my expenditures was to prove that you could not rely upon the Mattei remedies to cure cancer but that you could kill pain, improve the general health and prolong life.¹⁶⁹

As Stead was drawn deeper into the vortex of spiritualism and became heavily involved in the opposition to the Boer War and in the world peace movement, he lost interest in the Mattei system. Yet, Stead's enemies in the British medical profession did not forget the trouble which he had caused by his advocacy of Matteism, and resurrected the issue when, in 1911, he gave publicity to his test of the claims of the notorious American quack and self-styled "vibrotherapist," Dr. Gerald Macaura, to cure rheumatism with the blood-circulating "Pulsocon" machine. Since Macaura cleverly made the most of Stead's challenge that Macaura publicly demonstrate the merit of the Pulsocon to promote the sales of the de-

¹⁶³ "Mattei Remedies in Court," *The Lancet*, Part I (Jan. 19, 1895) p. 174.

¹⁶⁴ W. T. Stead, "What is the Secret of Mattei?" *Review of Reviews* 11 (Jan. 1895): p. 32. My italics.

¹⁶⁵ "Obituary: Count Mattei," *The Times*, April 8, 1896. Lady Paget's final verdict on Mattei was that "He was a great thinker, but no doctor. He was cranky, and not to be depended upon . . ." Paget, *In My Tower* 1: pp. 190-191.

¹⁶⁶ George W. Potter, "Letter to the Editor, April 8, 1896," *The Times*, April 9, 1896.

¹⁶⁷ A. Stoddard Kennedy, "Letter to the Editor, April 10, 1896," *The Times*, April 14, 1896.

¹⁶⁸ W. T. Stead, "The Death of Count Mattei: A Passing Retrospect," *Review of Reviews* 13 (May 1896): p. 460.

¹⁶⁹ Stead to Holls, Aug. 17, 1899, Holls Papers. My italics.

vice,¹⁷⁰ the medical societies and press immediately condemned Stead for attempting to repeat the Mattei fiasco. In late January, 1911, *The Medical Press* sharply criticized Stead for permitting his name to be associated with Macaura and for his support of such unqualified medical practice as that of the late Count Mattei and Macaura.¹⁷¹ Then, again, on February 1, *The Medical Press* declared that for "a man who has shown himself a master of modern journalism . . . [to] pose on that account as an authority on medical matters, is to assume a ridiculous and untenable position of intellectual arrogance . . ." In view of previous fiascos resulting from his attempts to play "the deadly role of amateur physician," *The Medical Press* challenged Stead's credibility as a serious witness in any medical matters.¹⁷²

Stead replied taking a stand similar to that which he had assumed in the Mattei controversy. He presented his version of the test of Macaura's machine and pointed out that although the Pulsocon did not cure rheumatism it did provide some immediate relief from pain for the subjects of the experiment.¹⁷³ In March, Stead again explained that he doubted Macaura's claims and had merely challenged Macaura to prove that his machine could heal rheumatism in a test involving seven select cases.¹⁷⁴ After periodically rendering reports on the Macaura experiment in *The Review of Reviews*,¹⁷⁵ Stead finally reported in September, 1911, that the results of the test thoroughly disproved Macaura's extravagant claims.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁰ See Macaura's advertisements in *The Daily Mirror* (London), Jan. 16, 18, 21, and 30, and Feb. 6, 1911.

¹⁷¹ "Mr. W. T. Stead and the Macaura Treatment," *The Medical Press* (Jan. 25, 1911), p. 79.

¹⁷² "Mr. Stead and Unlicensed Medical Practice," *The Medical Press* (Feb. 1, 1911), p. 106.

¹⁷³ W. T. Stead, "Can Dr. Macaura Cure Rheumatism? Mr. Stead's Report on the Response to the Challenge," *Review of Reviews* 43 (Feb. 1911): p. 208.

¹⁷⁴ W. T. Stead, "Dr. Macaura and the Pulsocon. Further Report on the Test Cases," *Review of Reviews* 43 (Mar. 1911): p. 316.

¹⁷⁵ See Stead's reports in *Review of Reviews* 43 (Mar. 1911): p. 320; (April 1911): p. 424; (June 1911): p. 648; 44 (July 1911): pp. 108-109.

¹⁷⁶ W. T. Stead, "Dr. Macaura's Challenge. Final Report on the Merits of the Pulsocon," *Review of Reviews* 44 (Sept. 1911): p. 318. To a physician friend in Chicago who had defended him, Stead stated emphatically that his test did not justify Macaura's assertions and claims. Stead to Dr. Daniel S. Hager, Aug. 24, 1911, American Medical Association's Dept. of Investigation Archives. I am indebted to Mr. Oliver Field of the Department of Investigation for copies of letters in the A.M.A. archives relating to the Mattei and Macaura cases.

But Stead's conciliatory tone did not mollify his critics among the physicians. In a letter to the editor of *The Medical Press*, a correspondent again raked up Stead's defense of the Mattei system and suggested that a study of human physiology might render him more diffident "in accepting stories of miraculous . . . cures . . . and in charging the [medical] profession with almost criminal conduct in . . . conspiring to persecute the discoverers of these marvellous processes . . ." ¹⁷⁷ In the United States, the *Journal of the American Medical Association* took note of Macaura's return to America in a special article which told of how he had used Stead in "a master-stroke of advertising" and, recalling Stead's connection with the "notorious Count Mattei cancer cure," declared that his "advocacy of anything medical is . . . *prima facie* evidence of its unscientific and bizarre character . . ." ¹⁷⁸ In Britain, a physician wrote to *The Medical Press* asserting that it was difficult to blame the public for being fooled by quacks "when men of the calibre of . . . Stead" could be found to be taken in by such quackery as the Mattei and Macaura frauds.¹⁷⁹ Two years after Stead's death on the *Titanic* in 1912, the American Medical Association again denounced Macaura as a notorious international quack and, referring to Macaura's relations with Stead and Stead's advocacy of the Mattei cure, noted that "the late editor . . . showed a sincerity of purpose that was exceeded only by his appalling lack of judgment on things medical." Yet, the A.M.A. credited Stead with having actually admitted the worthlessness of Macaura's treatment and regretted that the publicity given his admission was practically *nil*.¹⁸⁰

And so the Mattei nostrum passed almost forgotten into the limbo of history. Perhaps Dr. Potter was quite correct in concluding that the story of the Mattei cure "is as old as the world" because just as "The savage trusts to his amulet; [so] the civilised man, . . . submits himself with childish, if not childlike, simplicity to the pretences of the quack . . ." ¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁷ Rusticus, "Letters to the Editor. Mr. Stead and the Profession," *Medical Press* (Feb. 15, 1911), p. 181.

¹⁷⁸ "Macaura Comes Back," *Journal of the American Medical Association* 57 (Aug. 5, 1911): p. 485.

¹⁷⁹ "Letters to the Editor. Quackery," *Medical Press* (Oct. 18, 1911), p. 432.

¹⁸⁰ "Gerald Macaura—International Quack. An American Imposter who Defrauded the British . . .," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 62 (May 30, 1914): p. 1742.

¹⁸¹ Potter, "Matteism: An Exposure," p. 370.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Manuscript and Archival Collections

- American Medical Association, Department of Investigation, Chicago, Illinois.
 Holls, Frederick W., Papers. The Nicholas Murray Butler Library, Columbia University.
 Huxley, T. H., Papers. Imperial College of Science and Technology, London.
 Shaw, Dr. Albert, Papers. New York Public Library.
 Stead, W. T., Papers. Courtesy of Mr. W. K. Stead, St. Day, Cornwall.

B. Books and Pamphlets

- Anon. *Kurzgefasster Leitfaden zur Anwendung der spezifischen Heilmittel der elektrovegetabilischen Homöopathie* (Frankfurt-M., 1885).
 Anon. *Marvelous Cures: By the Student of a New Science* (London, 1881).
 BARKELEY, R. 1955. *The Empress Frederick. Daughter of Queen Victoria* (London).
 BEGBIE, HAROLD. 1920. *Life of William Booth. The Founder of the Salvation Army* (2 v., London).
 BOOTH, BRAMWELL. 1926. *Echoes and Memories* (London).
 ——. 1929. *These Fifty Years* (London).
 BOOTH, CATHERINE BRAMWELL. 1933. *Bramwell Booth* (London).
 BOOTH-TUCKER, F. DE L. 1892. *The Life of Catherine Booth. The Mother of the Salvation Army* (2 v., London).
 CARR, JOHN DICKSON. 1954. *The Life of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle* (London).
 COLLIER, BERNARD. 1965. *The General Next to God. The Story of William Booth and the Salvation Army* (London).
 CONAN DOYLE, SIR ARTHUR. 1924. *Memories and Adventures* (London).
 ERVINE, ST. JOHN. 1934. *God's Soldier. General William Booth* (2 v., London and Toronto).
 G.-A. 1899. *Les Rémèdes électro-homéopathiques du Comte Mattei; leur emploi et leurs effets* (Paris).
 GLIDDON, A. J. L. [1905.] *Pocket Guide to Count Mattei's Remedies* (London).
 ——. 1892. *Stepping Stones to Electro-homeopathy. Count Mattei's System of Medicine* (London).
 HAWEIS, REV. H. R. 1893. *Sir Morrell Mackenzie. Physician and Operator. A Memoir* (London).
 KENNEDY, S. [1891.] *Is Cancer Curable? The Cancer Controversy: Mattei v. the Knife . . . With the Epitome of Mattei Treatment of Cancer and General Diseases* (London).
 KENNEDY, S. A. S. 1886 *et seq.* *Notes on Count Mattei's Electro-Homeopathic Remedies* (London).
 KOECK, C. 1883. *Was ist Elektro-Homöopathie? Das Heilsystem des Grafen C. Mattei . . . frei besprochen* (Leipzig).
 LAMOND, REV. JOHN. 1931. *Arthur Conan Doyle. A Memoir* (London).
 LANDRY, P. 1891. *Manuel pratique d'électro-homéopathie; guide médical des familles* (Paris).
 MACKENZIE, F. A. 1930. *Booth-Tucker. Sadhu and Saint* (London).

- MANZETTI, A. J. 1878. *Proto-électro-mattéopathie. Dictionnaire mattéopathique . . .* (Genève).
 MARCHESI, F. 1871. *Kurze Darlegung der Heil-Methode des Grafen Cesare Mattei. Nach mündlichen Mittheilungen . . . zu Bologna* (Luzern).
 MATTEI, COUNT CESARE. 1876. *Spécifiques électro-homéopathiques. Avec les indications nécessaires pour guérison de toutes les maladies, et spécialement des maladies incurables* (Valence; 2d ed., 1877).
 ——. 1878. *Elettromiopia. Scienza nuova che cura il sangue l'organismo . . .* (Casale Monferrato).
 ——. 1880. *La Scienza Nuova de Conte C. Mattei e la Scienza Vecchia del Dottore C.* [Being a reply by Count Mattei to the criticisms of Dr. D. C. on Mattei's "Elettromiopia"] (Vergato).
 ——. 1881. *Nouveau guide pratique de l'électrohoméopathie* (Nice).
 ——. [1883]. *Electro-Homeopathy—The New Science. Extracts from Count Mattei's Work* (Cheltenham).
 ——. 1883. *Médecine électro-homéopathique: ou, nouvelle thérapeutique expérimentale* (Nice).
 ——. 1883. *The Principles of Electro-Homeopathy. A New Science discovered by Count Cesar Mattei of Bologna* (Milwaukee).
 ——. 1885. *Elettromiopia . . . Nuovo e vero vademecum della elettromiopia* (Bologna).
 ——. 1888. *Electro-Homeopathic Medicine. A New Medical System . . . Translated by R. M. Theobald* (London).
 ——. 1888. *Elektrohömöopathische Arzneiwissenschaft, oder neue auf Erfahrung begründete Heilkunde des Grafen C. M. Einzig autorisierte deutsch ubersetzung. Zweite . . . Ausgabe. Mit einem Portrait* (Regensburg).
 PAGET, WALBURGA LADY. 1923. *Embassies of Other Days and Further Recollections of Walburga, Lady Paget* (2 v., London).
 ——. 1924. *In My Tower* (London).
 ——. 1928. *The Linings of Life* (2 v., London).
 PEARSON, HESKETH. 1946. *Conan Doyle. His Life and Art* (London).
 PONZIO, P. 1889. *Traité complet de médecine électro-homéopathique . . . Guide pratique à l'usage des personnes qui désirent employer les remèdes homéopathiques complexes* (Paris).
 RÉGARD, M. [1873 *et seq.*] *A Practical Guide to the use of Count Mattei's specifics. Second and Revised Edition containing new facts, and a plate to show the application of the vegetable electricities* (London).
 ROBERTSON SCOTT, J. W. 1952. *The Life and Death of a Newspaper: An Account of the . . . Editors of the "Pall Mall Gazette"* (London).
 SATURNUS (pseud.). 1897. *Iatrochimie et électro-homéopathie. Etude comparative sur la médecine du moyen-âge et celle des temps modernes* (Paris).
 STEAD, ESTELLE W. 1913. *My Father: Personal and Spiritual Reminiscences* (London).
 STEVENSON, R. 1948. *Morrell Mackenzie* (London).
 WHYTE, FREDERIC. 1925. *The Life of W. T. Stead* (2 v., New York).
 WOLF, H. J. 1958. *Die Krankheit Freidrichs III und ihre Wirkung auf die deutsche und englische Öffentlichkeit* (Berlin).

- WARRENDER, LADY MAUD. 1893. *My First Sixty Years*. (London).
- ZIMPEL, CHARLES FRANZ. 1869. *Die vegetabilische Elektrizität zu Heilzwicken und die Homöopathisch vegetabilischen Heilmittel des Grafen C. Mattei* (Leipzig).
- C. Periodical Articles*
- AUSUBEL, HERMAN. 1951. "General Booth's Scheme for Social Salvation." *American Historical Review* 56: pp. 519-525.
- BAYLEN, JOSEPH O. 1958. "A Letter from Conan Doyle on the 'Novelist-Journalist.'" *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 12: pp. 321-323.
- . 1959. "W. T. Stead and the Boer War: The Irony of Idealism." *Canadian Historical Review* 11: pp. 304-314.
- . 1964. "A Victorian's 'Crusade' in Chicago, 1893-94." *Journal of American History* 51: pp. 408-434.
- . 1964. "W. T. Stead's *History of the Mystery* and the Jameson Raid." *Journal of British Studies* 4: pp. 104-132.
- . 1965. "W. T. Stead and the 'New Journalism.'" *Emory University Quarterly* 21: pp. 196-206.
- . 1967. "W. T. Stead and the Russian Revolution of 1905." *Canadian Journal of History* 2: pp. 45-66.
- BOLTON, H. CARRINGTON. 1898. "Iatro-Chemistry in 1897." *Science*, n.s., 7: pp. 397-402.
- CONAN DOYLE, A. 1890. "Dr. Koch and His Cure." *Review of Reviews* 2: pp. 552-560.
- "Gerald Macaura—International Quack. An American Imposter who Defrauded the British . . ." *Journal of the American Medical Association* 60 (May 30, 1914): pp. 1742-1743.
- "His Excellency the Governor." *British Medical Journal* (Sept. 6, 1893), p. 644.
- KENNEDY, DR. SAMUEL. 1890. "Mattei v. the Knife. The Rational Treatment of Cancer." *National Review* 16: pp. 1-9.
- "Letters, Notes, and Answers to Correspondents." *British Medical Journal* (Nov. 22, 1890), p. 1225.
- "Letters to the Editor. Quackery." *The Medical Press* (Oct. 18, 1911), p. 432.
- "Macaura Comes Back," *Journal of the American Medical Association* 57 (Aug. 5, 1911): pp. 485-486.
- "Mattei Remedies in Court." *The Lancet*, Part I (Jan. 19, 1895), p. 174.
- "Meeting of the Nottingham Medico-Chirurgical Society, Dec. 3, 1890." *British Medical Journal* (Jan. 3, 1891), p. 18.
- "Mr. W. T. Stead and the Macaura Treatment." *The Medical Press* (Jan. 25, 1911), p. 79.
- "Mr. Stead and Unlicensed Medical Practice." *The Medical Press* (Feb. 1, 1911), pp. 106-107.
- "Notes, Comments, and Answers to Correspondents." *The Lancet* (Feb. 28, 1891), p. 527.
- PAGET, WALLY. 1890. "A Visit to Count Mattei." *National Review* 15: pp. 348-355.
- . 1890. "Count Mattei's System." *National Review* 15: pp. 741-747.
- . 1892. "The Best Diet for Cancer Patients." *Review of Reviews* 6: p. 90.
- POTTER, G. W. 1892. "Matteism: An Exposure." *British Medical Journal* (Aug. 13, 1892), pp. 369-370.
- RUSTICUS. 1911. "Letters to the Editor. Mr. Stead and the Profession." *Medical Press* (Feb. 15, 1911), p. 181.
- SNOW, HERBERT. 1890. "Count Mattei and His Treatment of Cancer. A Reply to Lady Paget." *National Review* 15: pp. 606-613.
- . 1890. "The Knife v. Mattei." *National Review* 16: pp. 252-258.
- [STEAD, W. T.]. 1890. "Leading Articles in the Reviews. Count Mattei, the Cancer Curer. Lady Paget's Testimony." *Review of Reviews* 1: p. 393.
- . 1890. "The Reviews Reviewed. Count Mattei and the Cancer Curer." *Review of Reviews* 2: p. 137.
- . 1890. "The Reviews Reviewed. More about Count Mattei." *Review of Reviews* 2: p. 137.
- . 1890. "The Reviews Reviewed. Another Mattei Miracle." *Review of Reviews* 2: p. 246.
- STEAD, W. T. 1890. Introduction to A. Conan Doyle, "Dr. Koch and His Cure." *Review of Reviews* 2: pp. 547-551.
- . 1890. "The Latest Report of Experts." *Review of Reviews* 2: p. 560.
- . 1891. "Can Cancer be Cured? A Visit to Count Mattei: His Challenge to the [Medical] Faculty." *Review of Reviews* 3: pp. 138-139.
- . 1891. "A Brighton Matteist Home." *Review of Reviews* 3: p. 293.
- . 1891. "Experimental Hospital for Cancer Cure. The Mattei Ward at St. Saviour's Hospital." *Review of Reviews* 3: p. 358.
- . 1891. "The Mattei Remedies: Cures of Leprosy. Remarkable Reports from London." *Review of Reviews* 3: p. 442.
- . 1891. "The Marvels of Matteism. A Remarkable Report of Dr. Arthur Roberts, of Keighley." *Review of Reviews* 4: p. 559.
- . 1891. "The Mattei Committee." *Review of Reviews* 4: p. 83.
- . 1892. "The Mattei Experimental Committee." *Review of Reviews* 5: p. 396.
- . 1892. "Can Cancer be Cured? Report of the Mattei Investigation Committee." *Review of Reviews* 6: pp. 195-196.
- . 1892. "Some Remarks on Matteism and Its Critics. With Special Reference to the Cancer Committee's Report." *Review of Reviews* 6: pp. 284-285.
- . 1893. "Cancer: The Mattei Experiment." *Review of Reviews* 7: p. 217.
- . 1893. "The Mattei Treatment of Cancer Cases. Report of the Second Year's Test." *Review of Reviews* 8: p. 145.
- . 1894. "Matteism, Its Successes and Its Failures." *Review of Reviews* 10: p. 475.
- . 1895. "What is the Secret of Mattei?" *Review of Reviews* 11: p. 32.
- . 1896. "The Death of Count Mattei: A Passing Retrospect." *Review of Reviews* 13: p. 460.
- . 1911. "Can Dr. Macaura Cure Rheumatism? Mr. Stead's Report on the Response to the Challenge." *Review of Reviews* 43: pp. 203-208.

- . 1911. "Dr. Macaura and the Pulsocon. Further Report on the Test Cases." *Review of Reviews* 43: p. 316.
- . 1911. "Dr. Macaura's Challenge. Final Report on the Merits of the Pulsocon." *Review of Reviews* 44: p. 318.
- "The Mattei Fable." *British Medical Journal* (Jan. 17, 1891), p. 140.

C. Newspapers

- KENNEDY, A. STODDARD. "Letter to the Editor, April 10, 1896." *The Times*, April 14, 1896.
- "Obituary: Count Mattei." *The Times*, April 8, 1896.
- Pall Mall Gazette*, 1888-1889.
- POTTER, GEORGE W. "Letter to the Editor, April 8, 1896." *The Times*, April 9, 1896.
- The Daily Mirror*, 1911.