A ‘Directory’ of Lincolnshire Medical Men in the Late Eighteenth Century:

Two original sources introduced by Dennis R. Mills

This ‘directory’ of medical men is offered as a starting point for research by family and local historians interested in the role of medical men within their local communities, and in the medical dynasties that are to be found in certain families. Two main sources, neither widely available within Lincolnshire, have been brought together to form a single list of medical men. No attempt has been made to edit these sources, but examples of actual and potential inaccuracies are mentioned in this introduction. While the ‘directory’ is the best available for its period at the moment, local enquiries will improve its accuracy, and detailed study of the education, practice, income, and standing of the medical practitioners listed will add meaning to the evidence reproduced below. In particular, it is expected that it will be possible to evaluate more accurately the contemporary use in Lincolnshire of the terms ‘physician’, ‘surgeon’, and ‘apothecary’.

The first source comprises the Lincolnshire entries in The Medical Registers for the years 1779, 1780, and 1783. The earlier editions of 1779 and 1780 are less complete, but yield significant additional background information, so they have been used in conjunction with the 1783 register, which is thought to contain the most complete list of names. However, Samuel Foart Simmons, the London physician who compiled the register, was clearly dependent on the diligence of his correspondents (presumably also medical men themselves), and Lincolnshire was one of the counties from which a poor response was obtained in the first attempt of 1779.

Table 1 gives an indication that so far as the formal division into different categories of practitioners is concerned, Lincolnshire in 1783 was typical of the rest of England, but the ratio of practitioners to population at 1 to about 1475 was much more favourable to patients in Lincolnshire than the national average of about 2224 persons. It is possible that this was partly due to the large number of gentry, big farmers, and prosperous tradesmen resident in the county relative to the impoverished classes, compared with counties containing large industrial populations. However, this is a very open question, which needs much research, both inside and outside the county, to answer more fully.

Table 1 Lincolnshire in the national context, 1783

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>surgeons</th>
<th>physicians</th>
<th>surgeons</th>
<th>apothecaries</th>
<th>only</th>
<th>only</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No %</td>
<td>No %</td>
<td>No %</td>
<td>No %</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincolnshire</td>
<td>94.1</td>
<td>81.7</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>2607</td>
<td>82.3</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Source: Lane, 'Medical practitioners in 1783', p. 355.

The second source is the Universal British Directory of Trade, Commerce and Manufacture, published in the 1790s by P. Barfoot and J. Wilkes. Apart from collecting their information 10 years later than Simmons, the context in which it was collected and published differed sharply. Barfoot and Wilkes were responsible for the most comprehensive directories to appear in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, until, in the case of Lincolnshire, the appearance of White’s Directory in 1826. Nevertheless, their work suffered from the limitation that it was confined to their definition of ‘towns’, the only concession to the existence of rural areas being the lists of nearby country seats given for each town. Medical men living in villages were, therefore, excluded, and the details for some towns were defective (see below).

Another important difference is that whereas Simmons, as a physician himself, could exercise editorial judgement in respect of the descriptions of medical men, Barfoot and Wilkes appear to have more or less followed the differing conventions of their correspondents in the various towns. This seems to be the main explanation of the varying ways in which surgeon, apothecary, surgeon-apothecary, and mid-wife have been used. The Directory does not always use the term physician, but sometimes refers to such men by means of the convention: Edward Harrison MD or Charles Clarke MD. For sake of simplicity all such men have been referred to in the lists below as physicians.

The Universal British Directory came out over a period of several years during the 1790s. Most bibliographies give the years 1793-7, but the British Library copies used by the author contain no printed dates of publication and were marked in pencil in a modern hand as follows: Volume II (A-D provincial towns), III (E-M) and Volume IV (N-Y): 1791; Volume V (Appendix) 1798. The latter volume is not of the same standard as the earlier ones, some towns having a general description, but no directory list; it contains towns with names well spread alphabetically (e.g., Bourne, Spilsby) and appears to represent a mapping up operation.

Another difference between sources is that the Universal British Directory, in common with other similar directories, but not the Registers, included under their heading ‘Physic’ men described as druggists, chemists, or both, and occasionally in combination with the description of grocer and other trades. The terms chemist and druggist were more or less interchangeable at this period, but they were not accepted by the profession as being medical men, and they have therefore been excluded from the lists below. They dispensed medicines for physicians much in the same way as modern pharmacists, but they also treated many of their customers over the counter, and they were popular because their charges were much lower than those of the surgeon-apothecaries.

Considering the fact that the two sources are so different in origin, it is remarkable that they appear to be generally congruent. The number of practitioners reported in each town are similar, and within the limits just noticed their descriptions are similar. Some confidence can therefore be placed in the joint ‘directory’ as a general indication of geographical access to medical care in late eighteenth century Lincolnshire.

By the last quarter of the eighteenth century there were altogether four recognised branches of medical practice: physic, or the treatment of internal disorders by medical means, i.e., by the use of medicine; surgery, or manual interference; the work of the apothecary, or pharmacy; and midwifery. However, by this date all four of these branches were within the scope of the general practitioner role, which had already evolved, although it was to be well
into the next century before the term 'general practitioner' was used, and the middle of the century before the role was formally institutionalised.\(^6\)

The 'GPs' were trained through apprenticeship as either surgeons or apothecaries. Before 1815 academic requirements for entrance to the London Society of Apothecaries appear to have been slight. Although the Company of Surgeons of London offered an examination to surgeons at the end of their apprenticeship, many perhaps most provincial surgeons in our period did not take it. Only four Lincolnshire men are listed below as being Members of the Company, but further inquiry will probably reveal this small figure to be an artefact of the sources. Towards the end of the century the teaching hospital was evolving as an alternative or additional form of training as surgeons. With the consequent concentration of medical students in London and large provincial centres such as Manchester, formally organised courses of lectures began to replace the older one-to-one relationship of master and apprentice, although apprenticeship continued long into the nineteenth century.

Despite the fact that the scope of surgery widened rapidly in the eighteenth century, it was impossible for a surgeon in an outside hospital town to get a living by surgery alone. Although his surgical training was limited to anatomy and surgery, the surgeon was compelled to dispense his own drugs, where a good deal of the profit was to be made, and also in many cases to practise midwifery on a regular basis. The ratios of medical men to population given above, 'better' than those prevailing in general practice today, only begin to make sense when this situation is appreciated. Nevertheless, the local historian should enquire what other sources of income were available to medical men, eg, rents from family property. The *Universal British Directory* occasionally indicates (with an 'F') that a medical man was a freeholder, which might be an indication of substantial property owning.

The surplus of men trained as apothecaries propelled them in the opposite direction to the surgeons, thus creating the overlap, and with it the commonly used term 'surgeon-apothecary'. From the mid-eighteenth century the terms 'surgeon' and 'apothecary' appear to have been more or less interchangeable, and the discovery of different terms in different documents is not the basis for assuming that there had been a shift in the balance of the man's practice. Although in principle the apothecary was not allowed to charge for medical advice, in actuality this legal point was evaded by charging correspondingly more for the medicine dispensed, or simply by ignoring the law. Hence the surgeon-apothecaries spread themselves with varying emphases across all four branches of medicine. Again local enquiry might reveal with some precision what these emphases were in individual cases.

Turning to the physicians, their major claim to distinction was the usual possession of a university degree in medicine, but this had not necessarily been obtained by residence, since MDs could be obtained externally. The degree of MD, or doctorate in medicine, led to the appellation Dr, in contrast to the Mr of the surgeon-apothecary, and was used by about one tenth of the medical men practising in England in 1783 (Table 1). The Oxford MDs were probably a minority of Lincolnshire physicians, since many are given as having Edinburgh degrees. As the Scots training was wider than that in Oxford and Cambridge, and of a more practical bent, they may have dispensed their own medicines, but are unlikely to have practised physicians in the lists below. Outside the hospital centre of Lincoln, were in many cases probably practising surgery, as well as physic, thus overlapping substantially with the work of the surgeon-apothecaries. Moreover some of the MDs were former surgeon-apothecaries, who had taken St Andrews or Aberdeen doctorates by purchase through the post, on the basis of acceptable dissertations. To what extent this gave them a chance to move upwards in the hierarchy of the profession is something still to be ascertained in reliable detail, but there must have been an incentive for the outlay of effort and money.\(^8\)

This introduction is concluded with an indication of how other sources can potentially be used to follow up the starting points afforded by the lists below. Parish registers provide opportunities to trace medical dynasties hinted at by the repetition of surnames in the lists, while marriage registers are especially important as a means of establishing marriage alliances between medical men and professional and gentry families, whose connections and wealth would be important for success in a medical career. Wills and inventories might be expected to give insights into the wealth accumulated by medical men, and in the case of inventories some indication of the nature of the practice might emerge. A wide range of documents, such as land tax assessments, ratebooks, enclosure awards, and collections of deeds may enable historians to trace real estate belonging to medical men.

The nature of practice and the sources of income may be revealed most obviously by doctors’ diaries and accounts, but these are likely to be few in number. A well known Lincolnshire example is that of Matthew Flinders senior, which show, for example, that by 1792 when he was 42, Flinders received about a quarter of his income from investments in property.\(^9\) The early records of the County Hospital at Lincoln and the records of dispensary such as that at Horncastle afford glimpses of medical men at work.\(^9\) The quite extensive records and publications of the Lincolnshire Medical Benevolent Society not only reveal the extent of mutual protection from 1804, but also describe some aspects of the debate about medical reform in the first two decades of the nineteenth century.\(^10\) In addition there is a whole host of ‘marginal’ sources which can potentially add to the picture: the diaries or people who recorded their illnesses and treatment, or who made social comments on medical men; news items in the *Stamford Mercury* (and other newspapers at dates later in the nineteenth century); memorial tablets in churches (there are several in Fulbeck church for instance); biographies and autobiographies; printed local histories, and so on.

Finally as all users of directories will be aware, it is necessary to treat the spellings and other details in the lists below with some caution, cross-checking with other sources as opportunity affords. For example, under Boston Knowlton and Knallon are probably the same man, likewise under Spalding Voice and Vise.

**LINCOLN**

From the MEDICAL REGISTERS

In 1783 Lincoln had the only hospital in the county, and there were still no public dispensaries for the poor in Lincolnshire, the first being set up at Horncastle in 1789 under the patronage of Sir Joseph Banks. The first building used by the Lincoln Hospital was on Waterside,\(^2\) and this was followed by the building described in the Medical Register which is now the Theological College. The 1783 Register entry for Lincoln is as follows: The Lincoln Hospital was instituted in 1769. The governors at first hired a large house for that purpose; but have lately (1777) erected a plain, handsome, and convenient building, consisting of four large and lofty wards (besides the smaller ones) in each of which are 10 beds. At present, however, the fund of the charity allows only of the reception of 24-in, and 30 out-patients.\(^3\)

The 1779 edition had been more informative on the latter point: "It is, indeed, with regret that we find the governors, at the end of the last annual report (September 1777) complaining 'that they have been frequently under the painful necessity of refusing
admittance to distressed objects, for want of a more general encouragement, to enable them to support the expense. We are told that in the course of the year 88 in-patients were admitted, and 67 out-patients. The expenses of housekeeping, salaries, medicines and sundries amounted to £472.

This charity is afforded gratis by the 3 physicians at Lincoln, by monthly rotation, and by 5 surgeons. Two apothecaries in the town act as superintending apothecaries, and Mr Mather, the house apothecary, who has a salary, resides in the house.

MEDICAL REGISTER LISTS FOR LINCOLN

Physicians
1779-83: R. Petrie MD Edinburgh 1750 (Dissertatio Inauguralis de Morbibus); FRCP Edin 1762, late Physician to the Tower of London 1775.
1779-80: Benj. Charlesworth MD Edin 1769 (Diss. Inaug. de Peripneumonia Inflammatoria vera)
1779-83: Edmund Laycock MD Edin 1777 (Diss. Inaug. de Spiritu)
1783: Dr Charlesworth reported to have died since 1780. Ambrose Cookson MD Edin 1780 is a new entry. Drs. Petrie, Charlesworth and Laycock were reported as physicians to the County Hospital.

Surgeons and Apothecaries
1779-80: Mr Parnell jun MCSI, Mr Parnell jun MCSI, Mr Lely, Mr Swan, Mr H. Swan jun MCSI.
1783: Mr Lely, Mr Swan sen reported dead; Mr J. James is new. All the surgeons listed attended the County Hospital.

Apothecaries
1779-80: Mr Broxholm Brown, Mr Dell, both superintending at the hospital.
1783: Mr Brown is dead.

UNIVERSAL BRITISH DIRECTORY PHYSICAL LIST (Volume III, c.1781)
Physician: Daniel Fellowes MD, Edmund Laycock MD.

A-Z LISTING OF OTHER LINCOLNSHIRE PLACES

ALFORD Reg't 1779-83 S & A: Mr Samuel Bennett, Mr Robert Bennett.
UBD II c.1791 S & A: Samuel Bennett, —, Mulle.
Apoth: John Hower.

ANCASTER
UBD II c.1791 No medical entry.

BARTON-UPON-HUMBER Reg't 1779-83 S & A: Messrs. Ostler & Richmond, Mr Benton

BILLINGBOROUGH
Reg't 1779-83 S & A: Mr Joseph Tubney.

BINBROOK
UBD II c.1791 No medical entry.

BOLINGBROKE
UBD II c.1791 No medical entry.

BRIGG Reg't 1780-83 Physn: Dr Forbes.
1779-83 S & A: Mr Hayes, Mr Sturievant.
UBD III c.1791 S & A: Alexander Forbes, MD.

BOSTON Reg't 1779-83 Physn: Dr Beston (Cambridge), Dr Knowton (Edin).
1779 S & A: Incomplete return.
1780-3 S & A: Mr Bosfield (not 80), Mr Waite, Mr Francis, Mr Colby, Mr Hare, Mr Wright, Messa Cheney and son.
UBD II c.1791 Physn: D. Knallan, —, Cheyney & Bosfield, Francis & Davies, John Waite.
Apoth: —, Wright.

BOURNE Reg't 1779-83 S & A: Mr Hyde, Mr Manby (or Manley).

BURGH
Reg't 1779-83 S & A: Messrs John Chapman and John Smith.
UBD II c.1791 S & A: John Chapman (F) and John Smith.

CAISTER
Reg't 1780-83 S & A: Messrs Slokey and Byron.
UBD II c.1791 Apoth: Benjamin Byron, Samuel Turner.

COLSTERWORTH
UBD II c.1791 Srgn: John Plumptton.

CORBY
Reg't 1779-83 S & A: Mr Collingwood, Mr Marsh.

CROWLAND
UBD II c.1791 Srgn: Robert Tomlinson.

CROWLE
UBD II c.1791 S & A: J. Lightfoot.

DONINGTON
Reg't 1779-83 S & A: Mr. Flinders.
UBD II c.1791 Apoth: Matthew Flinders.

EPWORTH
Reg't 1779-83 S & A: Mr John Ward.
UBD III c.1791 Contains only abbreviated directory list.

FOLKINGHAM
UBD III c.1791 S & A: Chess Heady, also ‘man-midwife’ (F).

FULBEEK
Reg't 1779-83 S & A: Mr Pauett.
1779-80 S & A: Mr Prince.
1783 S & A: Mr Heald.

GAINESBOROUGH
Reg't 1779-83 Physn: Dr Kenneth Mackenzie MD Edin 1751 (Diss. Inaug. de Febre Putrida).
1779-83 S & A: Mr Gervas Parnell MCSI, Mr Humphreys, Mr Groomebridge, Mr Holmes.
1783 S & A: Mr Barker (removed from Leeds).
UBD III c.1791 Physn: —, Plummer MD, E. Pearl MD.
Apoth: John Groomebridge (F), G. Holmes, Gervas Parnell (F), Noel Smith.

GEDNEY Reg't 1779-83 S & A: Mr Burgess.

GRANTHAM
Reg't 1779 Physn: Dr Wm. Muschet MD Trin Coll, Dublin, FRCP London 1749, Physician to the Army.
1779-83 Physn: Dr Storey, MD Glasgow 1771 (Diss. Inaug. de Angina Maligna).
1783 Physn: Dr John Willis MD Edin 1778.
1779 S & A: Mr Stow.
1779-80 S & A: Mr Mushet.
1783 S & A: Messrs Raby and Gleeson, Mr Willerton, Mr Gosma.
UBD III c.1791 Physn: John Dodsworth, Michael Newton.

GOSBERTON Reg't 1779-83 S & A: Mr Bentham.

GRIMSBY, GREAT Reg't 1779-83 S & A: Mr Hylliard Marshall, Mr William Watson, MCSI.
UBD III c.1791 S & A: Mr William Watson, also man-midwife.
Apoth: Hildyard Marshall, also man-midwife.

GRIMSBY, LITTLE Reg't 1779-83 S & A: Mr Francis Christian Esbeiger.

HOLBEACH Reg't 1779-83 S & A: Mr Richard Fawsett, Mr John Rogerson.

HORNCASTLE Reg't 1779-83 Physn: Dr John Thorold, MD Camb.
1779-80 S & A: Mr Wright.
1779-83 S & A: Mr Chalett, Mr Trevor, Mr Taylor.
1780-83 S & A: Mr Wightman or Whiteman.
UBD III c.1791 A public dispensary was founded here by public subscription in 1789; a charity designed for the benefit of the poor. President, Sir Joseph Banks, Barti. Vice-presidents, the Honourable Lewis Dymock, and Thomas Collman and William Elmhurst, Esqrs. Treasurer, Richard Clitheroe, Gent. Physician, Edward Harrison, M.D. Surgeon and apothecary, Mr John Chaleett, Physn: Edward Harrison MD, Edmund Laycock (F) MD.
DENNIS R. MILLS

HECKINGTON
Reg't 1779-83 S & A: Mr Fowler.
1780-83 S & A: Mr Gulston.

KIRTON (LINDSEY)
Reg't 1779 S & A: Mr Thomas Bivilitant.
1779-83 S & A: Mr Tomlinson, Mr Hynde.
UDB V c.1798 No directory list given under Kirton Lindsey.

LONG SUTTON
Reg't 1779-83 S & A: Mr John Bailey.

LOUTH
Reg't 1779-80 Physn: Dr Stanhope Bayne MD Edin 1777
(Diss. Inaug, de Hypochondriast., &c).

Reg't 1780-83 Physn: Dr Clarke jnr MD St Andrew's.

Reg't 1779 S & A: Mr Inett (see Topholme for 1780-83).

UDB V 1780-83 S & A: Mr Thompson, Messrs Wrigglesworth & Wilson, Mr Marshall.

Reg't 1780-83 S & A: Mr Pettener.

1783 S & A: Mr King.

UDB III c.1791 Physn: Charles Clarke MD.
S & A: Wm. King (F), S. C. Pettener (F).

MARTIN (by TIMBERLAND)
Reg't 1779-83 S & A: Mr Bellamy.

MARKET DEEPING
UDB V c.1798 Surgn: Charles Hardwick, John Twigg.

MARKET RASEN
Reg't 1779-83 S & A: Mr Shuttleworth.
1780-83 S & A: Mr Graves.

UDB V c.1798 No directory list given.

METHERINGHAM
Reg't 1783 S & A: Mr Holmes.

SALTLETT
Reg’t 1779-83 S & A: Mr Thomas Danzon.

SLEAFORD
Reg't 1779-80 S & A: Mr Johnson.

Reg’t 1779-83 S & A: Mr Benjamin Cooper, Mr Ashworth.

Reg't 1780-83 S & A: Mr Fish.

UDB IV c.1791 Apoth: Joseph Ashworth (F), John Cooper (F), John Fish (F), James Hansam.

SPALDING
Reg't 1779 Circular incomplete.
1780-83 Physn: Dr Blythe formerly Physician to the Army in the Expedition against Belzise.

1783 Physn: Dr J. Wainemann MD Edin 1781.

1780 S & A: Mr Finders.

1780-83 S & A: Mr Rogerson, Mr Jessop.

1783 S & A: Mr Voice.


Apoth: John Finders (and man-midwife and coroner)

Apoth: John Rodgerston (etc.).

SPILSBY
Reg't 1779-83 Physn: Dr. Wm. Hairby MD Glasgow 1779
(Diss. Inaug. de Inflammationibus Pneumonici).

1779-83 S & A: Mr John Hairby MCSI, Messrs Thomas Collis and Thomas Barker, Mr John Lane.

UDB V c.1798 No directory list given.

STAMFORD
Reg't 1779 Circular incomplete.
1780-83 Physn: Dr Jackson MD Camb, Dr Oldershaw MD Camb, Rev Dr Francis Willis MD Oxif lives at Greatfadd and keeps a house for the reception of lunatics.

1780-83 Surgn: Mr Fryer.

1780 S & A: Mr Gilbert Smith died 4 August 1781.

1779-83 S & A: Mr Samuel Judd, Mr Waters, Mr Croxley, Mr Richards, Mr Price, Mr Lowe.

1783 S & A: Mr Geo Winter MCSI.

UDB IV c.1791 Physn: Francis Dalley MD, Cyril Jackson MD, James Oldershaw MD.


Dentist: Thomas Rayment.

SWINSTEAD
Reg't 1779-83 S & A: Mr Bailey.

TATTERSHALL
Reg't 1780-83 S & A: Mr Cranford.

UDB V c.1798 No directory list given.

TUPHOLME (nr. Bardney)
Reg't 1780-83 S & A: Mr Inett (see Louth for 1779).

WAINFLEET
Reg't 1779-83 S & A: Mr Geo. Sprage.

UDB V c.1798 No directory list given.

WALTHAM
UDB IV c.1791 S & A: Francis Overton (F) and man-midwife.

WELLINGORE
Reg't 1779-83 S & A: Mr Collins.

WREGBY
Reg't 1779-83 S & A: Mr Paddison.

UDB IV c.1791 S & A: Charles Sutton, William Walls.

WINTERTON
Reg't 1779-83 S & A: Mr Morris.

NOTES
1. I wish to thank to Dr Nita Burnby and Dr Irvine Loudon for guidance in preparing this introduction, while retaining responsibility for any remaining blemishes. Readers may like to send details of medical men to the editors of Lincolnshire Family Historian or the Society's Newsletter, or to me at 17, Rectory Lane, Brantston, Lincoln, LN4 1NA.

2. The Medical Registers were published in London by Joseph Johnson, No. 72, St. Paul's Churchyard. The copies used are those at the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, 181, Easton Road, London, NW1. See also Joan Lane, The medical practitioners of Lincolnshire and the first half of the eighteenth century (1986), Medical History, 28 (1984), pp. 533-71, especially pp. 533-56.


4. Barfoot and Wilkes published the Directory from the British Directory Office, 17 Ave Maria Lane, London, There is a nearly complete MS copy of the Universal British Directory entries for Lincolnshire in the Lincolnshire Archives Office Exey 14/1-2, which also includes entries from some other directories c.1800. Lincoln Central Library has photocopies of the entries for some towns (1929). For background on early directories see J. E. Norton, Guide to the National and Provincial Directories of England and Wales, Excluding London, Published Before 1856 (Royal Historical Society, 1950); and 'List of directories covering the East Midlands Region up to 1900', Bulletin of Local History East Midlands Region, 3 (1968), pp. 20-37.


6. This discussion on branches of the medical profession is based on Loudon, op. cit; Burnby, op. cit.; C. Wall, H. Cameron and E.A. Underwood, A History of the Worshipful Company of Surgeons of London (Cambridge, 1963), esp. pp. 83-84; and on correspondence with Dr I. Loudon and Dr J.G.L. Burnby.

7. There were 50 Lincolnshire Members of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1825, according to the list at the Wellcome Institute, but as it gives no dates of entry it is difficult to relate it to the situation several decades earlier, eg. in 1800, the point at which the Company of Surgeons of London moved from Gough's journal (1764), see L.A.O. Publishing Papers 5/5.

8. A case in point is Dr Blythe of Spalding, formerly an Army surgeon who took an Aberdeen MD and became an Army physician, ex inf. Dr J. G. L. Burnby.

9. Lincoln, Medical care, p. 107. The diaries, which survive in the Lincolnshire Archives Office, are being edited for publication by Dr J. G. L. Burnby and Mr C. J. Sturman.

10. A. O. County Hospital; Lincoln Central Library, Pamphlet Collection. See also J. N. Clarke, Homecastle dispensaries and hospitals 1759-1891 (Horn Castle, 1981).