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BRIAN LIVESLEY

NOTES ON MEDICAL ORGANIZATION  
IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY TUNISIA:  
A PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS OF THE MATERIALS ON PUBLIC HEALTH  
AND MEDICINE IN THE DAR EL BEY IN TUNIS

LITTLE DETAILED information appears to be available about medicine or the organization of public health and medical services in most of Africa prior to the arrival of the european colonial powers during the nineteenth century. Tunisia, however, may be something of an exception to this rule. Indeed there is a very rich and unworked body of information dating from the nineteenth century in the Tunisian Archives on this very subject.

A preliminary analysis of these materials guides us to a better understanding of the Tunisian scene and more importantly convinces us that a small North African state had in fact, for its time, a reasonably advanced awareness of health matters and the nucleus of an organized public health service well before the French occupation in 1882. Although the government's early efforts at organization can hardly be described as successful or as a reflection of indigenous concern we still may safely

conclude that the Beylick had one of Africa's first government sanctioned or sponsored programmes in what may be loosely called 'public health'.

By way of contrast there is little evidence that either Libya or Morocco had organized services much before the twentieth century. Algeria had none until well into the French occupation, which started in 1830. Egypt, of course, established an early health service but it unlike Tunisia already had the 'benefits' of a French occupation at the turn of the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Even then Egypt's 'Board of Health' was organized only a few years prior to that of Tunisia.

Information relating to the activities of Tunisia's 'Board of Health', and certain other nineteenth-century pre-colonial medical organizations and activities are located in 'Dar El Bey', the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in Tunis. The documents are not indexed nor is there a reference guide to their use. Individual documents are numbered haphazardly. However, well over 5,000 documents in a number of languages are located in 'cartons' 66 and 67 of 'Armoire' 6 and 7 of the Archives. The materials are loose in 11 large 'Dossiers' with Archive numbers (798–808) variously titled 'Conseil sanitaire', 'santé letters du conseil', etc. The dossiers are more or less in chronological order and each contains a variety of written and sometimes printed materials which were apparently the entire active and inactive files of the Board of Health, the Quarantine Service, etc., from around 1830 to 1885. For lack of any convenient consistent system of classification we will categorize the above documents as well as those in Dossiers 809 to 822 of Carton 68 and 69 of Armoire 7 plus Dossiers 793 to 797 of Carton 66, Armoire 7, plus Dossier 700 of Armoire 6 into 3 groups as follows:

1. Minutes of the Meetings of the Board of Health and procès verbaux of the Board's decisions over almost forty years. These are supplemented by reports, decrees, draft legislation from Tunisia and abroad, etc. (These documents are scattered through all Dossiers mentioned above.)

2. Letters and telegrams to and from the Tunisian Government, and private agencies relating to the work of the Quarantine Service. These include bills of lading, Pro forma invoices, vessel arrival notices, patents de santé, invoices, reports, etc. (The bulk of these documents are in Dossiers 798–808.)

3. Miscellaneous items such as various documents on the accreditation of physicians and empirics, job applications, materials for construction of lazarettos, and the running of hospitals, statistics on disease in various towns, etc. (Much of these materials are scattered throughout all dossiers but the bulk is in Dossiers 809–822 plus Dossier 700, Carton 62 Armoire 6 and Dossiers 793 to 797.)

<sup>1</sup> The first sanitary organization of Egypt dates from 1831, when the Intendance Sanitaire of Alexandria was created, in the reign of Mehamet-Ali. Note that both Egypt and Tunisia were nominally in the Ottoman Empire at that time. The introduction of foreign representatives into the Egyptian organization dates from 1843. A decree of the Khedive designated to be added, as consultative members, Austria, France, Great Britain, Greece, Prussia, Russia, and Sardinia. These members obtained 'deliberative vote' only in 1855, but only on questions relating to quarantine. The general regulations annexed to the Convention set up by the Conference of 1851 (Paris) fixed the powers of this organization as follows: 'The Intendance Sanitaire of Alexandria, composed of the same elements and established on the same principles as the Conseil Supérieur of Constantinople, shall have similar rights and powers. Like it, it shall watch over the public health of the country and the execution of measures regarding it, both in the interior and on the coast.' But Egypt was one of the first powers to refuse adherence to the Convention. René Lecaissie, *L'Hygiène internationale et la Société des Nations*, p. 48.

1. MATERIALS ON THE BOARD OF HEALTH

Tunisia's 'Conseil Sanitaire' or Board of Health as we will call it, was established in 1835 upon the initiative of the Bey.<sup>2</sup> In its nascent stages the Board was composed largely of unpaid voluntary members of the foreign diplomatic community, as well as expatriate doctors working for the government. The minutes of the meeting of the first session of the Board are in the Tunisian Archives and are included as an appendix to this essay.<sup>3</sup> From them we may conclude that the function and composition of the Tunisian Board of Health were perhaps patterned after the Health Councils formed in France in the nineteenth century. The French councils were ostensibly established to study the health problems referred to them by the administrative authorities of the French nation and to make recommendations as to the actions that should be taken.<sup>4</sup> In like manner the Tunisian Board functioned more or less in an advisory capacity and concerned itself primarily with the functioning of the Quarantine Service in its early years. However, whether by design or accident, around 1856 the Board started to assume more power and considerably enlarged the scope of its activities.<sup>5</sup> At that time regulations were for example drawn up for the proper functioning of slaughterhouses and lazarets; correspondence took place directly (not via the Bey in the Bardo) with the local 'Caeds' instructing them on how to deal with epidemics, and the Board undertook a far greater operational role in public health as we now know it. By 1874 the expanded activities of the Board were legitimized in a new code by which the Board's duties were recognized as encompassing the supervision of the entire Regency, deciding what health measures were needed and giving orders to implement them.<sup>6</sup> The Board continued to function as usual until 1883, when, soon after the French invasion, we find documents showing that the periodic meetings of a Board were now presided over by a certain 'Poncet, Médecin principal de 1<sup>re</sup> class. Division d'Occupation de Tunisie, Directeur du Service de Santé'.<sup>7</sup> On 11 March 1885 the inevitable happened; the old Board of Health was dissolved with appropriate words of appreciation from the conquering powers for its work over more than half a century. At the same time a new 'Board of Health' was formed whose name and duties were exactly the same as those of its predecessor. However, this time the French, rather than the Bey, created it, and its activities are not recorded in the archives. Its objectives were to:

Exercer une surveillance générale sur le service sanitaire de la Regence. Eclairer l'autorité supérieure sur les questions qui intéressent la sante publique: Lui donner des avis sur les mesures a prendre en cas d'invasion ou de menace d'une maladie pestilentielle; veiller a l'execution des reglements generoux et locaux.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>2</sup> There is some small evidence that a 'Facolta Medica di Tunisi' or a sort of *ad hoc* Board of Health may have existed prior to 1835. Certainly, the administration of quarantine regulations by inspectors before 1835 is documented. The mis-management of the quarantine service to the detriment of foreign commerce may have prompted the foreign consuls to forcefully suggest to the Bey the idea of the creation of the somewhat more formal Board as a more viable health structure in 1835.

<sup>3</sup> None of the Minutes of the Board appear to have ever been translated. I should like to thank Mr. Moncef Dellaghi, and Mr. A. Temimi, of the Tunisian Archives, for their kindness and for providing photocopies of original documents.

<sup>4</sup> George Rosen, *A History of Public Health*, New York, MD Publications, 1958, p. 169.

<sup>5</sup> TA. Dossier 801, Carton 66, Armoire 7.

<sup>6</sup> TA. Dossier 804, Carton 66, Armoire 7.

<sup>7</sup> TA. Dossier 808, Carton 67, Armoire 7.

<sup>8</sup> Francois Gomma, *L'Assistance médicale en Tunisie*, Thesis Bordeaux, Faculty of Medicine, Imprimerie cadoret., 1904, p. 167.

In 1889—eight years after the occupation—the French had legislation passed creating a ‘Conseil Central d’Hygiene Publique et de Salubrité’ which apparently left the ‘newly created’ Board of Health to the regulation of quarantine services, and the Board itself became a consultative body on internal public health matters. It was also foreseen at that time that local health commissions patterned on the central body were to be created. Among other matters both the central and local bodies were to provide advice on sanitation, hygiene, vaccination, first aid, cleanliness of institutions, public works, etc. Ten years after its passage the law was declared a dead letter.<sup>9</sup> In 1897 a ‘Direction de la Sante et de l’Hygiene Publique’ was created which absorbed the ‘Conseil Sanitaire’ and by 1911 all bodies were included in a ‘Bureau de l’Assistance Publique’. In 1920 the old system was once again attempted with three arms: (1) General sanitation; (2). Quarantine; (3). Public Assistance; all working under the title of a ‘Direction de l’Hygiene’.

## 2. MATERIALS ON THE QUARANTINE SERVICE

The first and most determined efforts in the area of public health in Tunisia—as elsewhere—were made in the area of quarantine. We have no idea when the first quarantine service was organized in Tunisia. We suspect its existence in some form predates any existing records in the archives. We do know that ‘Bills of Health’ for vessels were required as early as 1818,<sup>10</sup> and that a lazaretto or quarantine station for infected goods was in use for the port of Tunis around 1823 or 1824.<sup>11</sup> This activity predates information in the archives on the subject. This lazaretto appears to have fallen into disuse by 1845<sup>12</sup> and never reopened. We do find some indication of plans to establish another one in Tunis at the first International Sanitary Conference in 1851.<sup>13</sup> The evidence is that the Quarantine Service was more or less administered by the Board of Health after the Board was created. However, it appears to have enjoyed a special budgetary status which is not quite apparent from the papers in the Tunisian Archives. The service was undoubtedly partly—if not entirely—supported by levies on imports. The importance of the Quarantine Service to the Tunisian Government in the nineteenth century is amply demonstrated by the plethora of materials in the Tunisian Archives. A great part of the correspondence on Quarantine Service in the Archives is made up of letters from the various consuls to the Bey asking for special treatment for vessels plying their nation’s flag or complaining about the preferential treatment given the vessels of other nations. In addition there is a wide assortment of letters from quarantine agents, lists of the vessels examined at Tunisian ports, petty cash vouchers, bills of health, regulations, etc.

There is no way of knowing how bureaucratic the service had become from the materials in the archives. However, by 1875 other sources indicate that Tunisia

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 172.

<sup>10</sup> The Bills are specifically mentioned in Mordecai M. Noah, *Travels in England, France, Spain and the Barbary States in the Years 1813–1814 and 1815*, New York, 1819, p. 264.

<sup>11</sup> Joseph Greaves, *The Journal of Mr. Joseph Greaves on a visit to the Regency of Tunis*, in Rev. William Christian Jowett, *Researches in Syria and the Holy Land in 1823 and 1824*, Boston, 1826, p. 238.

<sup>12</sup> Capt. J. Clark Kennedy, *Algeria and Tunis in 1845. An Account of A Journey made through the two Regencies by Viscount Fielding and Capt. Kennedy*, London, 1846, p. 5.

<sup>13</sup> *Ministère Des Affaires Étrangères. Procès-Verbaux de la Conférence Sanitaire internationale ouverte à Paris le 27 Juillet 1851*, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1851, p. 19.

already had extremely vexatious<sup>14</sup> and rigorous quarantine regulations in effect.<sup>15</sup> The regulations were enforced by quarantine agents in every Tunisian port. Even as early as 1836 there were agents appointed by the Bey in Tabarka, Bizerte, Galippia, Sousse, Monastir, Mahdia, Sfax, Gerba, Gabes and Zarzis.<sup>16</sup> Some ports such as Bizerte had as many as eight agents.

Although the archives contain no information on this subject we find that shortly after the French occupation of Tunisia the occupying powers assumed away the previous existence of the Tunisian Quarantine Service—formally in existence for at least three-quarters of a century—and proceeded to pass a new and completely unimplementable quarantine law consisting of 115 articles.<sup>17</sup> They also created a new Quarantine Organization modelled after the old one. The pattern here is remarkably similar to that we found in the Conseil Sanitaire. As the nature of the transmission of disease became known and was dealt with the Tunisian Quarantine Services assumed less importance as is obvious by its declining status in the health services hierarchy during the twentieth century.

### 3. MATERIALS ON MEDICAL PERSONNEL AND INSTITUTIONS

There are a variety of documents which taken in total lead us to a better understanding of the institutional and private development of medicine in Tunisia during the nineteenth century. Unfortunately we can learn very little directly from the materials in the archives about physicians or the actual practice of medicine in the first half of the century. Nonetheless two European physicians in the Bey's entourage, whose names figured prominently on the documents we have found related to the Board of Health, wrote works about medical conditions in Tunisia. The lesser of the two, Dr. G. Ferrini, a Swiss, wrote one of the best early works on the medical pathology of Tunisia.<sup>18</sup> The other, Dr. Lumbroso,<sup>19</sup> found the time to write but in 1842 was named 'Premier Médecin' by the Bey, a position of considerable importance. In 1857 he was named the Director General of the Sanitary Service of the Regency.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>14</sup> As early as 1856 for example we find the American consul complaining to Washington that the Bey was insisting on opening his mail so that it could be 'fumigated'. Microcopy No. T. 303, Roll 8. 'Dispatches from the United States consuls in Tunis, 1797-1906', Washington, D.C., National Archives.

<sup>15</sup> The only place we have ever found a full copy of the early Tunisian quarantine law is curiously enough Sir Sherston Baker, Bart, *The Laws Relating to Quarantine of Her Majesty's Dominions at Home and Abroad and of the Principal Foreign States*, London, 1879, pp. 523-26.

<sup>16</sup> This is mentioned in Andre Martel, *Les Confins Saharo-Tripolitains de la Tunisie (1881-1911)*, vol. 1, Paris, 1965, p. 115. Martel and Magnin, 'Medecine d'hier et medecins d'aujourd'hui', *IBLA*, 1957, No. 80, 393-416, seem to be the only scholars who have spent any time with these particular documents.

<sup>17</sup> See Maurice Bompard, *Législation de la Tunisie, Recueil des lois, décrets et règlements en vigueur dans la Regence de Tunis au 1<sup>er</sup> Janvier 1888*, Paris, E. Lerout, 1888, pp. 440-45.

<sup>18</sup> Giovanni, Ferrini, *Saggio Sul Clima E Sulle Precipue Malattie Della Citta Di Tunisi E Del Regno*, Milan, Presso la Societa per la Pubblicazione Degli Annali Universali Delle Scienze E Dell Industria., 1860, pp. 154-297.

<sup>19</sup> Dr. Lumbroso is said to have written two books. The only one we can locate is Abraham Lumbroso, *Cenni Storico-Scientifici col Cholera—Morbus Asiatico che Invaso la Reggenza di Tunis nel 1849-1850*, Marsiglia, 1850, 161 pp. The work was translated into Arabic and a copy is in the Library in Tunis.

<sup>20</sup> Dr. E. Molco, 'L'Art medicale en Tunisie avant le Protectorat', *La Tunisie medicale*, 1931, No. 5, p. 202. We are unable to determine what the functions of this office were. Besides medical accreditation it appears to have been primarily honorific, though Dr. Lumbroso played an important role on the Board of Health as well.



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Upon his appointment to the latter position he apparently assumed the powers of medical accreditation which had traditionally been held by the 'Hakim-Pasha'.<sup>21</sup> To this end he issued certificates in letter form to be carried by the 'Empiriques'.

Materials in the archives only hint at the state of pharmacy in Tunisia during the nineteenth century. Some published materials, not in the archives, would lead one to believe that pharmacy was flourishing, in Tunis at least, at that time. For example:

En Tunisie il y eut toujours de bonnes pharmacies. Dans la première moitié du siècle passe, un pharmacien diplômé de Tosqane, M. Emininte, vint s'installer à Tunis, ouvrant une belle pharmacie.

Il fit beaucoup d'élèves qui à leur tour en firent d'autres. En 1881 il y avait en ville cinq ou six pharmacies dirigées par des européens: celles de Sanli Xuereb, de Baldocci, de Maschero dirigée par J. R. Sinigaglia de Nahmias, de G. Barsotti. Celles de Zeitun et d'Allal étaient indigènes.<sup>22</sup>

However it is far more likely that qualified pharmacists were as rare as were doctors in nineteenth-century Tunisia. In 1851, for example, we find an impassioned plea to the Bey from a certain Hoste—doctor of medicine from Montpellier and pharmacist from Strasbourg—begging the Bey in a most enlightened way to remove pharmacy from the hands of the empiricists and the ignorant 'who play with the lives of their fellows'.<sup>23</sup> Only four years before the French occupation we find a letter to the Bey in which it is stated that for the last thirty-three years there had been only two pharmacies in Tunis, one run by a chemist—with a European name—and another run by an 'Empirique' under the direction of some 'Italian gentleman'.<sup>24</sup>

On dentistry the archives tell us little. Prior to the French occupation it was handled primarily by 'Empiriques'<sup>25</sup> and after the occupation dentistry by qualified dentists was virtually unknown in any place but Tunis.<sup>26</sup> After the French occupation it became increasingly difficult for 'Empiriques' of any kind to practise their trade. When they actually ceased having legal sanction from the government is unknown.

The first institution created for public assistance in Tunisia was the 'Marstan' founded in 1662 to 'receive the sick, and wounded of the army and navy; Arabs and Turks without resources and having nobody in Tunis to give them the necessary treatment'.<sup>27</sup> Somewhat later—1843—Abbé François Bourgade created another hospital which had only two rooms and six beds. Considerable mention has been made of the charitable nature and useful work of this hospital in the literature.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>21</sup> We do know something quite specific about the indigenous doctors, or 'Empiriques' as they were called, because a certain Belgian, Dr. Louis Frank, previously mentioned, who practised medicine in Tunisia starting about 1802, was particularly incensed by them. Dr. Frank called the 'Empiriques' a bizarre assemblage without any formal training who had become practitioners purely by accident. Louis Frank, 'Médecine à Tunis', in Ford Hoefer, *L'Univers pittoresque Afrique*, [n.d.], vol. 7, pp. 136–54.

<sup>22</sup> E. Molco, op. cit., p. 188.

<sup>23</sup> TA, Dossier 795, Carton 66, Armoire 7.

<sup>24</sup> TA, Dossier 805, Carton 67, Armoire 7. 1874–1877. Letter signed 'Tunis 3 Janvier 1877, Docteur G. Castelnuovo'.

<sup>25</sup> Nonetheless in 1871 we do find a Tunisian government contract and other documents relating to a certain European, a Dr. Oddo, Dental Surgeon. TA, Dossier 796, Carton 66, Armoire 7.

<sup>26</sup> See René Laclavetine, 'L'art dentaire en Tunisie' in *Médecine et Médecins de Tunisie de 1902 à 1952*, Tunis, Le Société des Science médicales de Tunisie, 1952, pp. 225–35.

<sup>27</sup> Translated from the French of Bchir Sfar, 'Assistance Publique Musulmane en Tunisie', *Journal Official Tunisien*, 8 September, 1896, p. 439.

<sup>28</sup> Eusebe Vassel, 'Un précurseur. L'Abbé François Bourgade', *Revue Tunisien*, January, 1909, No. 73, pp. 107–15.

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However, given the fact that it was founded by a priest, run by nuns, situated by a church, and administered to the French wounded from the occupation forces in 1881 we suspect that few Tunisian Muslims utilized its facilities. We know almost nothing of the day to day activities of either hospital. Nonetheless during the first half of the nineteenth century a certain Dr. Brandin wrote movingly of the horrifying conditions in the 'Marstan'.<sup>29</sup>

The Board of Health as such seemed to have relatively little involvement with hospitals—as opposed to their personnel. In 1850 the Board petitioned the Bey to create a hospital to be put at the disposition of the foreign consuls.<sup>30</sup> Materials in Dossier 700<sup>31</sup> provide fascinating information on the finances of Foundation Aziza Othmania on Sadiki Hospital—now Tunis's oldest hospital. In addition there is some material on the organization established for the old-age home, the 'Tekia'.

Taken as a whole the Tunisian archives contain a most rich and interesting body of information on the development of Tunisia's health and medical care programmes. Indeed we doubt that any African country has such a usefully organized and complete group of records for this period in question. Undoubtedly much additional useful information could be brought to light by scholars should they wish to read the documents carefully.

#### *APPENDIX I*

##### *(Translation from the Italian)*

Minutes of the first meeting of the Board of Health in Tunis. Year 1835. Today, 19th November the Consuls of the different European powers resident in Tunis, Sidi Nohamud Governor of Goletta and Mr. Mexel first doctor of H.M. the Bey met as the result of an invitation received by H.M. Having met in his Kasba palace to decide about the public health activities in the Regency of Tunis and having decided, according to the purposes of H.M. during a Council for Health affairs, they agreed that this Council would be presided over, in turn, by one of its above mentioned members. The President, changed every week, would have the title of Weekly President. If this President could not preside over the meeting as scheduled, he would be substituted for, by the following members, in conformity with the list shown below. Consequently the Board made up a list which will be used to establish their succession to the Presidency. They decided that H.M. will be asked to place a Secretary, with a monthly salary, at the Board's disposal without any deliberative power and with residence in the city. The names of the members of the Board have been selected with the following order:

Mr. Tulin, Consul of Sweden  
Mr. Rizzo, Consul of Spain  
Mr. Martino, Consul of Naples  
Mr. Heap, Consul of the United States  
Mr. Meid, doctor of the Bey  
Mr. Nyssen, Consul of Holland  
Mr. Twgni, Consul of Sardinia  
Mr. Berner, Consul of Denmark  
Mr. Read, Consul of the United Kingdom  
Mr. Deval, Consul of France  
Sidi Mohamud, Governor of the Goletta

Once settled Mr. Tulin has been asked to be the President of the Council in the way established above, the following decisions have been taken subject to H.M. the Bey's approval.

##### *1st Item*

The Board of Health will establish, with majority of votes, all the measures necessary regarding arrivals from abroad. The Council will have to be composed of at least 5 members. In case of difference of opinion the President will have a tie break vote.

<sup>29</sup> Quoted from Dr. Brandin, 'Du Royaume de Tunis dans ses rapports avec l'Algérie, 1850', in E. L. Bertherand, *Médecine et Hygiène des Arabes*, Paris, 1855, pp. 18–19.

<sup>30</sup> TA. Dossier 800, Carton 66, Armoire 7, letter dated 13 March 1850.

<sup>31</sup> TA. Dossier 70, Carton 62, Armoire 6.

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### *2nd Item*

The Governor of Goletta, member of the Board, having his residence in the same Goletta, will be charged with the fulfilment of all Quarantine measures taken for Tunisian and foreign war and merchant ships and he will be assisted, for this purpose, by Consular Agents residing in Goletta who will take the Title of Deputies of Public Health. The duties of the Governor of Goletta will be determined later in full detail.

### *3rd Item*

H.M. promises to assign a sum of money to money to meet all the expenses which will be considered necessary by the Board of Health for the fulfilment of the measures taken.

### *4th Item*

The day of the regular meeting is fixed on Thursday of every week. The Council asked Mr. Tulin as President to communicate to Mr. Read, British Consul, who is absent, the day fixed for the meeting every week.

Established and concluded as above.  
Signatures on the original.

G. A. Tulin—Juan B. sa Rizzo  
Sau. De Martino—S. D. Heap  
H. Nyssen in place of my father  
Twgni—De Berner—Alex Deval  
In Arabic—Mohamud Kaja.  
True copy.

JOEL MONTAGUE

## THE HOUSEHOLD OF A STUART PHYSICIAN

IN THE county town of Warwick, just outside the medieval East Gate, there is an attractive late seventeenth-century house, with a modest brick façade, that was the home of Dr. William Johnston and his wife, Ann, for more than a quarter of a century. The house is today known as Landor House, for it was there that the Victorian poet, Walter Savage Landor, was born in 1775. However, the house was built for William Johnston M.D., in 1692-93, after he had already had some years of medical practice in the town<sup>1</sup> and he lived there with Ann and their nine children, of whom all but the eldest were born in the house,<sup>2</sup> until his death<sup>3</sup> in 1725 at the great age of eighty-two. Ann survived her husband by eight years and lived on in the house until 1733, when she died<sup>4</sup> aged eighty-four. We know something of their appearance, for both William and Ann Johnston's portraits have survived (Plates I and II); he is dressed in academic robes<sup>5</sup> of uncertain origin, with his books and a skull in the background, while Ann's pose suggests from the unnatural position of her hands and arms that the artist may have intended her to clutch a musical instrument of some kind.

In September 1692, Dr. Johnston made an agreement<sup>6</sup> with Roger Hurlbutt, a Warwick carpenter and builder, to take down an existing house on the Smith Street site and erect the building (now called Landor House) for a total sum of £142. Their agreement specified that in its 'carved Canteleivers and Cornishes', as well as its doors, Dr. Johnston's house was to be 'in all respects as good as Mr. Blisset's', who was a local woollen draper.<sup>7</sup> The physician's door mouldings were to be made of Warwickshire stone, from Shrewley, some four miles distant. Roger Hurlbutt provided two versions<sup>8</sup> of his plan for Dr. Johnston's consideration with a balustrade