

MEDICINE IN VIRGINIA
in the Eighteenth Century



Doctor Fraik & Doctor Dick



MEDICINE IN VIRGINIA *in the Eighteenth Century*

By ^{Blanton}
WYNDHAM B. BLANTON, M. D.



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PREFACE



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J.A.



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MEDICINE IN VIRGINIA
in the Eighteenth Century

CHAPTER I

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THE Eighteenth Century was more than just another hundred years, more than an arbitrary pigeonhole for historical facts—probably no century has been only that. There were color, spirit and personality to justify the individuality that historians have assigned it. Indeed, much of consequence was compressed into these years. The century saw the rise of Russia under Peter and Catherine the Great, and of Prussia under Frederick William and his still more remarkable son, Frederick the Great. At the same time France, which had long held the mastery in Europe, was still dominant under Louis XIV, XV and XVI, though the factors which led to the Revolution in 1789 were fast taking shape. England, with her silly Queen Anne and the three Hanoverian Georges on the throne, weathered the industrial revolution and experienced tremendous colonial expansion. War was the order of the day. The Seven Years' War, wars with Spain, France, Holland, Austria and Prussia, wars in India and America and on the high seas cost England dearly in men and money. Corrupt morals, rotten boroughs, the South Sea Bubble and peccable ministers colored English political history in the first half of the century, while Wesleyanism, Methodism and an aroused moral sense showed the temper that prevailed in the latter half. Although America was three thousand miles away—six weeks by fast sailing vessels—we can be sure that what happened on European battle fields, what occurred in English industrial centers, the very talk and fashions of the Strand were two months later common knowledge throughout the colonies. While England was absorbed in foreign alarms and domestic troubles, her colonies on the Atlantic seaboard outgrew their swaddling clothes, developed a political philosophy of their own, learned something of their power when the French were expelled from Canada, and in the hour of crisis did not shrink from armed conflict with the mother country itself.

Anatomically-minded historians have repeatedly dissected the Eighteenth Century in search of its soul—an occult, nebulous quantity to be sure, but one which goes a long way toward satisfying the search for the great causal factors of history. To one group the spirit and genius of the century appear to lie in its humanitarian idealism. They see in the period an age of awakened moral sense, for the century witnessed a keen interest in child welfare, the birth of

pediatrics and a tremendous rise in the number of hospitals. Others have seen in it the clarification of the arts and sciences. Histology, pathology and physiology assumed the rôle of new sciences, and disease entities, such as scarlet fever, received clearer definition under keener clinical observation and more careful classification. There are still others who are impressed only by the intellectual muddling of a large portion of the century's scientific men. To them the century is one of platitudinous philosophising, netting a prodigious output of ridiculous theories but few scientific facts of permanent value.

The century during its last decade saw the surgical center of gravity shifted from France to England, when such figures as Hunter, Cheselden, Pott, Abernethy and Guy came upon the scene. It also saw the rise of histology under the French Bichat, of pathology under the Italian Morgagni, and of physiology under the Swiss Haller. Val Salva, Winslow, Camper, Douglass and Albinas added some lustre to anatomy, though little progress could be made in a science which had already reached such a high degree of perfection. Inoculation in the first decade of the century and Jennerian vaccination in the last half were epoch-making events. These developments were closely followed in the colonies. The libraries of most of the colonial physicians of the period contained the works and writings of the men who made medicine in this century in Europe.

It is impossible to divorce America during this period from what was going on in England. Though in many respects her social and political life had no counterpart in the old world, she was peculiarly sensitive to foreign thought and opinion. Foreign leaders in science were also America's, books and periodicals were chiefly of foreign origin and her tradition was still largely imported. Especially was American medicine of the Eighteenth Century of English complexion. During most of this period the colonies were still subject to England. They inherited English medicine, studied English texts and went to English universities.

As a matter of fact medicine in America during most of this century was not greatly different from that of the preceding one. Doctors born and educated in England dominated the profession, and at the same time quacks were more numerous. Toward the end of the century increasing numbers of young men sought a medical education abroad. These latter years witnessed also the rise of a truly American medicine—the beginning of medical societies, hospitals and a native literature. Americans made notable contributions toward inoculation. There was daring frontier surgery, good botanical observation, the development of first-hand knowledge of certain epidemic diseases, and a noticeable tendency on the part of outstanding men to enter the medical profession. The patriotic service of the medical men of the Revolution, as well

as the political and military achievements of numbers of physicians in this century, show what a superior order of men many of them were.

For Virginia this period was a golden age. In wealth, size and power she stood first among the colonies. The political sagacity and intellectual stature of some of her notable men have gone into the making of the nation. Her manifold contribution to American history is a matter of common knowledge, but the account of medicine in Virginia in the Eighteenth Century has not been told.

CHAPTER II

THE THREE ARTS

I. MEDICINE

THE curricula of the principal Eighteenth Century medical schools were built around the department of medicine. In Edinburgh two chairs were devoted to this subject—the Institutes of Medicine and the Theory and Practice of Medicine. The other chairs—Materia Medica, Chemistry and Botany—were ancillary to it. Surgery was taught as a part of the anatomical course. At the University of Pennsylvania anatomy, surgery and obstetrics were taught together by one professor. The dignity and preëminence assigned to medicine in the universities were reflected in the attitude of the practising profession. Deflections into surgery and obstetrics were slow and timid. The great majority of doctors adhered strictly to the traditional point of view.

The field of medicine was wide and ill defined, cluttered, particularly in the Eighteenth Century, with an enormous variety of theories. The predilection of this period for theorizing was not confined to the old country. The colonies, though they had to import their theories second-hand, showed the same fondness for speculation in regard to the cause and mechanism of disease, and their therapy, founded upon hypothesis and not upon fact, was equally fantastic and faulty.

Early in the century the most popular theories were those of Thomas Sydenham. He taught that morbid or peccant matter was fundamental in the causation of disease. Nature in her struggle to expel such matter produced certain symptoms and signs which were recognized as disease. The causes for the presence of such an injurious substance in the body he assigned to particles of air entering the body, mixing with the blood and tainting the frame, or to retained humors producing fermentation and putrefaction. Sydenham believed that for the cure of disease morbid matter must be discharged through such channels as the sweat and the stools and in such manifestations as the cutaneous eruptions.

We next encounter the theories of Hermann Boerhaave (1668-1738), whose system, Benjamin Rush declared, in 1760 governed the practice of every Philadelphia physician. It was a form of eclecticism, claiming to accept what was good in all the theories of the time. There were many for the eclectic to choose

from—theories of tonicity, spasm and relaxation of fibres, plethora and flux, vitiation of humors, critical days and crises. Material causes were assigned to epidemics, and the causation of disease was confidently sought for and found in the movements of the heavenly bodies. Boerhaave held that disease was an imbalance of "natural activities," that fever was nature's effort to ward off death, that inflammation was the mechanical obstruction of the capillaries, that the processes of digestion and the circulation were both to be explained on mechanical principles. He recognized three diatheses, which he described as salt, putrid and oily temperaments. His therapy was the debilitating use of phlebotomy and purges, for his idea was to sweeten the acid, purify the stomach and abolish impurities.

Boerhaave was succeeded by William Cullen, under whom many Virginia youths studied in Edinburgh. The theory advanced by Cullen was known as solidism, a system which stressed the solid parts of the body, especially the nerves. Solidism was predicated upon a dynamic something called "nerve principle," supposed to produce spasm and atony. Spasm, atony and the "acrimony of the humors" were Cullen's chief concern. He was responsible for an elaborate classification of disease, which was popular in his day. He enjoined simplicity in therapeutics and was with the minority in his opposition to bleeding.

Finally, we have the influence in America of John Brown, also of Edinburgh. The Brunonian theory classified all disease as constitutional or local, sthenic or asthenic. This theory was based on the assumption that all living tissue is excitable. If this function of the tissue was increased, sthenic diseases resulted; if it was decreased, asthenic diseases were produced. On such an hypothesis therapy was simple indeed—stimulating or depressing as the case might require. Alcohol and opium were the favorite therapeutic agents of the Brunonians.

Although the Eighteenth Century Virginia doctor was better educated than his predecessor of the Seventeenth Century, although he had a more intelligent clientele, more books and better means of communication, he was seriously handicapped by his devotion to theory, and it is doubtful if his notions of medical practice or his therapy were much in advance of those of the preceding century. In fact he had nothing upon which to base any improvement. His method of examination of patients and his conception of the cause and mechanism of disease were fully as faulty as they had been a hundred years before. Although Morgagni's *De Sedibus Causis*—the first real work on pathology—was written in 1761, there is only one mention of it in the existing catalogues of Virginia libraries of the century. The Virginia doctor continued to sweat, blister, purge, vomit and bleed his patients with the same traditional faith

and the same inevitable results. The three phlebotomies which figured so largely in the treatment of George Washington's last illness and about which so much controversy later was waged, show how firmly this method of therapy was entrenched as late as 1800. Few as yet questioned the virtues of bleeding. The vast majority of lay as well as of professional opinion accepted it as gospel. In fact the Degge family recorded the appropriate days for bleeding in the family Bible:

"April, to let blood in the left Arm on the 3rd, 12th, or 15th, but the head of bleeding on the 7th, 8th, 10th, and 20th.

May—This month to let blood on the 1st, or 8th, 27th, or 28th. But take heed on the 2nd, 5th, and 6th. It will be hurtful.

June—To bleed do it on the 28th day. Take heed not to bleed on the 7th, 10th, 16th, 18th, or 20th.

July—Bleed not this month; but be shore not on these days: 13th, 15th.

August—Avoid bleeding on these days, 1st, 20th, 29th, 30th.

September—Bleed not on the 4th, 16th, 21st nor 22nd, but bleed on 17th or 18th.

October—Bleed not on these days, 3d, 5th, 26th days.

November—On this month bleed not without a grate occasion, but then bleed not on these days, 5th, 6th, 15th, 18th, 28th, and 29th days.

December—This month bleed not without grate need, but in such a case, not on the 5th, 7th, 15th, 17th, nor 22d, but on the 26th day thou mayst bleed without damage."¹

Equally expressive of the theories of the century and of their therapeutic application is a letter from Dr. James Greenhill² of Stony Creek, written in 1764 to Colonel Theodorick Bland, describing the management of an epileptic slave who had been placed under his care. The letter runs:

"According to your request, I have sent the negro home but altho he is much amended yet I am apprehensive that the disease is not quite vanished & therefore must desire that he be permitted to continue the course of medicines he is now under at least six weeks or two months longer . . .

"When first he came to me I put him on a course of Cumabarine Medicines. I Bled him, in the fit, vomited him afterwards and . . . gave him aorthrementsics and mercurial purges. All this seemed to do no good. I therefore Resolved to give him a shock from the two Glass Spheres fixed to an Electric Machine, but before I could get it completely fixed I drew a blister on the scalp behind—upon the Occiput, dressed it according to Art and made it perpetual, at the same time putting him under a different course of Medicines than had been tried before. The Blister ran Bountifully for a while; but drying, I laid another

¹There is no date given for this entry, but the next entry records that in 1780 James River was frozen so that people walked over it from Swan Point to James Town. The earliest record in the Bible is for 1759. William and Mary Quarterly, v. 21, p. 67.

²Probably meant for James Greenway.

upon the nape with an Intent to Stimulate a Branch of a Considerable Nerve Called par Vagum which in that part Lays Something Superficial, continuing the Medicines with little Alteration. This succeeded and the next Change of the Moon expecting the fit, as usual, he missed them. The Medicines has been continued and he has missed the fits this last full moon again. The Blister is almost dry but I intend if the fellow stays with me to draw a fresh one. It is something remarkable that the fits has Usually returned when the Moon was in the Sign Capricorn Even When it was a week before or after the full or change."³

We may be sure such formidable and elaborate therapeutic procedures as this were not unusual. The mainstays of treatment were calomel, opium, ipecac and the famous rattlesnake root. Each had its indications and was given by plantation owner and doctor alike with confidence. "Copious bleeding and the use of mercury" were described by a Virginia doctor as late as 1805 as having cured a case of hydrophobia.⁴ When erysipelas was believed to be "fixed on the stomach," it was brought to the surface by tartar emetic plasters.⁵ A letter from Thomas Jones written during an illness in 1725 shows him resigned to the inevitable: "It seems before ye Doctor proceeds any further on his part, he wants ye operation of Nature, who I am afraid will treat me very roughly, and who I suppose is taking her rounds this sickly time . . . I may suppose I am to wade through Rivers of water gruel, & Chicken Broth strengthened with mollasses with no other support than ye yolks of four poached eggs once a day without bread or salt . . ."⁶

The common cold was variously dealt with. A popular receipt, which was said to work a cure in two or three days, was prepared by taking "a large cup full of Linseed, two penny worth of Liquorice, and a quarter of a pound of Sun raisins." After simmering these in two quarts of water, a quarter of a pound of brown sugar candy, a tablespoon of old rum and a tablespoon of white wine, vinegar or lemon juice were added. Half a pint of this cordial was recommended to be taken at bedtime.⁷ The Spotswood boys, while at school in England, had very bad colds. Mrs. Margaret Campbell of London wrote Mrs. Young, with whom they lived at Eton from 1760 to 1764, "I am very sorry, Madam, to send them back with such bad coughs, though I have nursed Jack, who was so bad that we were obliged to Bleed him and physick him, that he is much better . . . I beg that they may be kept in a very warm room, and take the drops I send every night, and the pectoral drink several times

³Stanard: Colonial Virginia, Its People and Customs, pp. 162, 163.

⁴Medical Repository, 1805.

⁵Tyler's Quarterly, v. 5, p. 21.

⁶Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 26, p. 78.

⁷Allason Letter Books, 1789, p. 16. MS. in Virginia State Library.

a day, and that they eat no meat or drink anything but warm barley water and lemon juice, and (if Aleck increases to get Blooded.”*

Dr. Thomas Tudor Tucker, who practised in Charleston but was in charge of one of the military hospitals at Williamsburg during the Revolution, occasionally prescribed by mail for his relatives in Virginia. In 1785 he sent his brother, Judge St. George Tucker of Williamsburg, the following advice for a group of symptoms which included hoarseness, pain in the chest, fever and night sweats:

“The straitness across your Breast & Feverishness probably proceed from too close an application to writing, the posture requisite for that Employment being very unfavorable to the Chest and Lungs . . . I recommend, if it continues troublesome, to lose a little Blood, & possibly a Repetition of it in small Quantity several times . . . A Blister on the Part, especially after losing a little Blood, & taking some laxative, might be of great Service & wou’d be attended with no Hazard. Rubbing the Chest with a Flesh Brush & Wearing a Bit of Flannel upon the Spot, under the Shirt. Preventing Costiveness by taking occasionally a little Soap & Rhubarb, to which some Bermuda Aloes might be added, unless it shou’d prove too stimulating & bring on the Piles or increase the Complaint you were formerly troubled with . . . Avoid a sedentary Life . . . A light Diet would be advisable, but not to live low. Cheese Whey might be drank with advantage, as a common Drink, & Cold Hoarhound Tea or Pills of the Leaves taken as a Medicine, 2 or 3 times a day . . . I cannot safely venture to prescribe any further for you. Shou’d other Means be necessary . . . they shou’d be used not only by direction but under the Eye of a Physician . . .”⁹

This advice, which illustrates very well the usual procedure of that day, may not seem reasonable to modern observers, but the recipient of it lived more than forty years after he developed those slightly disturbing symptoms.

A fairly good idea of the medical treatment which Virginians of this century received may be had from a glance at the list of medicines ordered by George Washington in 1767 from his London factors, Robert Cary & Company. The quantities are rather staggering, but they were of course intended for the negro slaves as well as for the family at Mount Vernon:

“2 best Lannets (lancets) in one case.
6 common Do. each in sepe.
25 lb. Antimony.
10 lb. flour of Sulphur.
2 Oz. Honey Water.
3 Quarts Spirits of Turpentine.
2 lb. best Jesuit’s Bark, powdered.

*William and Mary Quarterly, v. 2, p. 116.

⁹Tucker Letters, owned by Mr. and Mrs. George Coleman of Williamsburg.

3 Oz. Rhubarb Do. and put into a bottle.
 1 pint Spirit of Hartshorn.
 6 oz. Do. of Lavendar.
 6 Do. Do. Nitre.
 1 lb. Blistering Plaister.
 4 Oz. Tincture of Castor.
 8 Do. Balsam Capivi.
 1-4 lb. Termerick."¹⁰

It was in this century that the mineral springs of Virginia began to attract attention. Burnaby in his *Travels*, 1759, speaks of "a spring of a sulphureous nature, an infallible cure for particular cutaneous disorders."¹¹ The same author continues: "There is a peculiarity in the water at Winchester, owing, I was told, to the soil's being of a limy quality, which is frequently productive of severe gripings, especially in strangers; but it is generally supposed, on the other hand, to be specific against some other diseases." And again: "The curiosities mentioned to me [in Augusta County] were: . . . A medicinal spring, specific in venereal cases. A soldier in the Virginian regiment, whose case was almost desperate, by drinking and bathing in these waters, was after a few days, intirely cured. This fact was asserted very strongly by some officers, who had been posted there; but Colonel Washington, of whom I inquired more particularly concerning it, informed me that he had never heard of it . . ."

In 1773 J. F. D. Smyth, another traveler and a physician as well, wrote from a point forty-seven miles south of Petersburg: "About thirty miles higher up, on the side of this river, near one Ingram's plantation, there have been lately discovered some very valuable medicinal springs of mineral waters, which have already performed many most remarkable and astonishing cures on persons afflicted with various kinds of lameness, infirmity, and disease, who annually resort to these springs from an hundred and fifty miles around."¹²

Ferdinand Bayard observed in 1791: "I have seen many come to Bath fearfully rheumatic, who had to be carried to the spring at first and in three weeks were able to walk with a crutch. Bath was formerly called Warm Springs. The name was changed in deference to the English resort."¹³

The diseases to which Virginians of this period were heir were no different from those of today, though the contemporary descriptions of them were perhaps more dramatic. The obituary notice of the Honorable John Robinson in 1776 attributed his death to "the most excruciating torments of the stone."¹⁴

¹⁰Phillips: *Plantation and Frontier*, v. 1, p. 297.

¹¹Burnaby's *Travels*, 1759; reprinted in *Virginia Historical Register*, v. 5, pp. 153-155.

¹²Smyth: *A Tour in the United States of America*, in 1773; reprinted in *Virginia Historical Register*, v. 6, p. 143.

¹³Bayard: *A Journey into the Interior of the United States*.

¹⁴Rind's *Virginia Gazette*, May 16, 1766.

Of Mr. Robert Page it was said that he had "for several years labored under the afflicting pain of the gout, and of late was seized with the dead palsy;"¹⁵ and of Colonel James Gordon that "death was occasioned by a mortification that had affected all the vital parts; and an exquisitely painful abscess, upon his ankle, increased the load of inward distress."¹⁶

On May 21, 1772 Robert Pleasants of Curles wrote of a gentleman "who was taken ill . . . with a violent Pluracy or inflammitary fever, which terminated (as some think) in a galloping consumption, and put a period to his life the seventh inst. about 3 o'clock in the morning, the 27th day of his Illness."¹⁷

A letter of Governor Gooch in 1743, describing the death of Commissary James Blair, recalls the death of Edward Gibbon whose latter days disclosed a somewhat similar condition: "The old Gentleman who departed in his eighty eight year, has had a Rupture above forty years, a secret, till his last Illness, to every Body save one Acquaintance, for that Mortifying he was forced to confess it: And such was his strength of Constitution, he struggled with the Conquerour for tenn days, after the Doctors had declared he could not live tenn Hours . . ."¹⁸

That the accidents, sicknesses and demises of Eighteenth Century Virginians were not entirely subversive of humor is borne out in an effulgence on worms which appeared in 1751.¹⁹ It was entitled, "Epistle to Dr. . . . in Williamsburg, sent with De Gols Dissertation on Worms, when the Author was sick," and said in part:

"Since Worms your Study wholly now engage,
And fresh Amusements yield in ev'ry Page . . .
Say, if De Gols the Secret truly tells,
That Worms Diseases bring, and nothing else,
That what we call Colds, Vapours, Wind and Spleen,
Are only Vermicles receiv'd within:
Does thence the Weakness of my Limbs proceed?
Do Worms there gender, or do Maggots breed? . . ."

In spite of all the ridiculous theorizing and hopeless therapeutic extremes Virginia during this century claimed not a few worth-while physicians. James McClurg, though he could not support his family from his profession, made medicine his mistress and adhered to it with a devotion that won the respect of his contemporaries all over the country. Walter Jones was widely sought after as a physician, and his skill was universally acclaimed. John Mitchell,

¹⁵Purdie & Dixon's Virginia Gazette, Jan. 21, 1768.

¹⁶Purdie & Dixon's Virginia Gazette, Jan. 14, 1768.

¹⁷William and Mary Quarterly, new series, v. 2, p. 267.

¹⁸Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 33, p. 62.

¹⁹Hunter's Virginia Gazette, Mar. 28, 1751.

Elisha Dick, William Brown, George Gilmer, James Greenway, John M. Galt, William Foushee, Robert Wellford and others, were recognized beyond the confines of the colony for their attainments in medicine, while there were many lesser lights who were highly esteemed by their fellow Virginians.

II. SURGERY

If, during the first half of the Eighteenth Century, one wished to learn surgery, it was necessary to go to Paris. There all the outstanding masters of the art practised — Pierre Dionis, author of a standard work of surgery; Jean Louis Petit, inventor of the screw tourniquet; Pierre Joseph Desault, who did much to improve the treatment of fractures; Nicholas André, who invented the term "orthopedics"; and Jean Pierre David, who gave one of the earliest descriptions of spinal deformity from caries. In Germany, in spite of a generally inferior order of surgery, there were Lorenz Heister and August Richter, authors of well known surgical texts.

Of more interest to us is the condition of surgery in England. Before John Hunter, who came on the stage about the middle of the century, surgery in the British Isles was at a low ebb. It is true that William Cheselden, Charles White and Percival Pott made lasting contributions to the art, but until the time of Hunter surgery was a "mere technical mode of treatment." There was no conception of its relation to physiology or pathology. It was concerned for the most part with the treatment of ulcers, the incision of abscesses, the cure of gunshot wounds, the procedures for ligating aneurisms, the treatment of hernia and fractures, the most rapid and dexterous methods of amputation and the operative interference in difficult labor, all, of course, performed without anaesthesia and with the dirty technique which prevailed before Lister. Hunter, who ranks as one of the great surgeons of all times, sat like a colossus across the surgery of the last half of the century in England, touching almost every phase of it and adding vastly by the originality of his investigations to its storehouse of knowledge.

In America surgery can hardly be said to have existed until the Revolutionary War. Few men of standing were found professing this art. For the most part it was still a crude unpromising branch of medicine. After the war, when America became conscious of the advances that had been made in the old world, medical schools sprang up, periodicals were published, medical societies were formed and real progress began. In the latter decades of the century American surgery made notable progress. Several American operators boldly attempted the most formidable surgical procedures, while others in-

vaded new and unexplored fields. The historian, Baas, declares that though surgical authors were lacking in America during this period there were a number of surgical professors and practitioners of merit. He points to John Warren, Benjamin Church, Thomas Kast and Samuel Adams in New England, to John Jones in New York, to William Shippen, Thomas Bond, Richard Bayley, James Sykes, Andrew Weisenthal and Lyde in Philadelphia.

Several factors were responsible for this improvement. There was the example of the superior surgery practised by the surgeons attached to the foreign armies operating in this country during the Revolutionary War. The war moreover furnished a wealth of surgical material. The would-be surgeon began to appreciate the value of anatomical knowledge. The enthusiasm of our Edinburgh students for anatomy, the growing demands for material for dissection and the surreptitious dissection of the dead soldiers of the Revolution were all expressive of a determined effort to learn anatomy. The anatomy riots in New York in 1788 and the earlier riots in Philadelphia were popular protests against grave stealing and the "sack 'em up men." Until that time medical education in the colonies had been stagnant, with no legitimate means for teaching or learning anatomy by dissection. In spite of protests, mob violence and personal risks young medical students in the colonies were determined to get their anatomy first hand. No wonder bold surgeons developed out of such training. John Warren of Boston in 1781 amputated the shoulder joint, John Bard of New Jersey in 1759 performed laparotomies for extra-uterine pregnancy, William Baynham of Virginia in 1791 and 1799 performed the same operation, and Wright Post of New York in 1796 operated for femoral aneurism by the Hunterian method.

In Virginia the "chirurgion" of the last century had disappeared.²⁰ In his stead we have the surgeon—a much more respectable member of society, but one still not quite able to shake off entirely the unpleasant aura of the barber, bone-setter and stone-cutter from whom he had sprung. In the old world, where proprieties and conventions counted for much, the opprobrium attached to the surgeon continued to linger. The third clause of the articles of the Virginia Club of Edinburgh in 1761 bound every member "for the honor of his profession, not to degrade it by hereafter mingling the trade of an apothecary or surgeon with it." In the colonies, however, this superior attitude never existed to the same degree. New civilizations must be more democratic, less observant of conventions. They are apt to let down the bars—not always in the best interests of society.

²⁰There were a few early exceptions. Samuel Higginson, 1703, and John Boyer, 1713, of Northampton County, were both described in the county records as "chirurgion."

The exigencies of life in the new world did not make for the sharp cleavage and distinction between physicians and surgeons that obtained on the continent. In America it was more convenient as well as more profitable to be a jack of all trades, and more and more doctors began to advertise themselves as physicians and surgeons, some adding a third profession, that of "man midwife." Thus William Carter of Williamsburg in 1771 announced that "he is now settled where Dr. Alexander Dalgleish boarded and will practice physic and surgery." So announced Dr. Robert Nicolson, Jr. in 1779, and Samuel Brown and the partners, Ewen Clements and Hugh Mercer, in 1771.

The Marquis de Chastellux observed this combination of callings in his *Travels Through North America* in 1781: "I make use of the English word doctor, because the distinction of surgeon and physician is as little known in the army of Washington as in that of Agamemnon. We read in Homer, that the physician Macaon himself dressed the wounds . . . The Americans conform to the ancient custom and it answers very well . . ."

The custom did not pass without protest. James McClurg, who had probably acquired his prejudice in Edinburgh, refused to practise both medicine and surgery, declaring that though they should be taught together they should be practised as separate professions. In a letter to his nephew, James McCaw, he asserted that "the profits of my profession do not support my family . . . This however is partly owing to my not uniting the apothecary's and surgeon's business with the physicians' as is common in this country . . . It is easier perhaps to succeed to a certain degree as a surgeon and apothecary in this country than any other."²¹

The finest anatomist of the century in America was William Baynham. He was not attached to one of the five medical schools started in this country before the turn of the century, nor was he a resident of a large northern city. He practised surgery and medicine in rural Virginia and affords a striking example of pioneer surgery outside of the principal American medical centers.

William Baynham was born December 7, 1749 in Caroline County, Virginia. His father, Dr. John Baynham, had long practised in that community and served as both magistrate and vestryman. Like many other sons, William followed in his father's footsteps²² and at an early age was apprenticed to Dr. Thomas Walker, of Castle Hill, Albemarle County, one of the most eminent men of his day. Dr. Walker, in addition to practising medicine, was an active merchant, surveyor and explorer. He was, besides, a member of the House of Burgesses and several times served as a commissioner to make

²¹McCaw: *A Memoir of James McClurg*, p. 7.

²²William Baynham's son, William Armistead Baynham, also studied medicine. (Anderson: *Brief Biographies*, p. 36.)

treaties with the Indians. He was necessarily often away from home, and his apprentice in spite of his youth must have borne unusual responsibility.

In 1769, aged twenty, after five years under Dr. Walker, Baynham sailed for London to continue the study of medicine. Unlike most Virginia physicians he did not go to Edinburgh, but took the course offered at St. Thomas's, London.²³ Here he became particularly enamored of anatomy and won the respect of his professor, Mr. Joseph Else. No medical degree was conferred by St. Thomas's. On the completion of his course—about 1772—Baynham entered into a dual arrangement whereby for the winter months he was employed as prosector at Cambridge by the professor of anatomy, Charles Collignon, while during the summer months a partnership with Mr. Slater, a well known surgeon of Margate, gave him an opportunity to put his anatomical knowledge to practical purposes. What the Cambridge professor thought of his young prosector may be gathered from a letter to Mr. Else:

"Sir—I beg leave to return you thanks for being instrumental in prevailing on Mr. Baynham to assist me, as his services have been entirely satisfactory, and his private behaviour very amiable and engaging. I am, sir, your very humble servant,

Charles Collignon,

Professor of Anatomy in the University of Cambridge."²⁴

Mr. Else had formed an even higher estimate of the young anatomist from Virginia and was soon planning his recall to London. He wrote to Dr. Baynham:

"Dear Sir—I am not well satisfied with Mr. Cline's manner of managing the dissections, and as he either will not, or cannot, make any considerable number of preparations—and as he is just married, I apprehend he will be less assiduous in future. There are several who are very expert in dissections, and would be willingly employed in his office, but there is none of whom I have so good an opinion as you. If, therefore, it could be contrived that you could be with me in the winter, for this purpose, to our mutual advantage, I should be glad. Hearing that you are shortly to be in town, I write to you, that if this matter is palatable to you, you may revolve it in your mind."²⁵

Arrangements were completed between the two, and the terms of their agreement were very flattering to Baynham. "He was to superintend the anatomical theatre and dissecting room, prepare the bodies for his public demon-

²³St. Thomas's, among the oldest of English hospitals, is an imposing structure on the banks of the Thames, close to Westminster Bridge, and hard by Westminster Hall, the Houses of Parliament, the Abbey, Whitehall, and much of historic London.

²⁴Philadelphia Journal of the Medical and Physical Sciences, 1822, v. 4, p. 199.

²⁵Philadelphia Journal of the Medical and Physical Sciences, 1822, v. 4, p. 200.



WILLIAM BAYNHAM



strations, make preparations for the museum, and to instruct his pupils in the art of dissecting, injecting, making anatomical preparations, &c, with a salary of eighty and ninety pounds the two first years, and one hundred pounds a year for five succeeding years; at the expiration of which (having qualified himself in the interim for the office) Mr. Else was to relinquish to him the professor's chair, or to take him as joint professor, on equal terms, as he (Mr. Baynham) might choose."²⁶ Baynham diligently set to work to make good. In addition to teaching and dissecting he prepared many rare and valuable museum specimens, some of which are said to be still preserved. In fact, by his industry he soon trebled the number of specimens in the museum. Unfortunately, Mr. Else suddenly died five years after their association began. The modest Mr. Baynham was hardly known outside the laboratory, and the plans of Mr. Else for his successor had not been communicated to the Board of Governors. When the choice of a new professor of anatomy was made, Mr. Cline was elected by one vote. Baynham was a candidate and would have been elected, it is said, had not two of his supporters been absent the night of the balloting. This was a blow to Baynham's plans. The museum had been left him by Mr. Else's will for £600. He sold it to his successor for £800. Some rather striking though unfinished specimens in the museum he was persuaded to sell to Mr. Blizard, professor of anatomy at the London Hospital, for 100 guineas.

The anatomist now turned surgeon and for several years practised in London. On June 7, 1781 he became a member of the company of surgeons of that city. Meanwhile the colonies had gone through the great struggle of the Revolution. What influence this had upon Baynham's surgical practice is problematical. At any rate, in 1785 he returned to America, settled in Essex County and set up as a practitioner of surgery and medicine.²⁷ He was now thirty-six years of age and with sixteen years of experience in London behind him became at once a man to be sought after. He was called here and there, to large cities and to other states. Though he continued to reside in a remote Virginia county until his death December 8, 1814, he enjoyed a reputation that was national in scope.

Anatomic research in this period did not attain the brilliancy it had in the preceding century, when nearly every year was distinguished by some new discovery. Yet Bernard Albinus, Antonio Scarpa and Samuel von Soemmerring on the Continent, the three Munros in Edinburgh, and Cheselden, Pott and the Hunters in London, were popular teachers and each made valuable contri-

²⁶Philadelphia Journal of the Medical and Physical Sciences, 1822, v. 4, p. 200.

²⁷He was a brother-in-law of Dr. Alexander Somervail, their wives being daughters of Rev. John Matthews.

butions to anatomical science. Particularly important was the work of John Hunter, who besides being a great surgeon found time for an immense amount of research and personally collected a vast museum of 13,000 specimens. Among his pupils were Cline and Blizard, later teachers of anatomy at St. Thomas's and the London Hospital respectively. This was the century of the so-called anatomical surgeon, and all the men enumerated were notable for a combination of anatomical knowledge with surgical practice.

Such was the state of anatomy when William Baynham took up the study of medicine at St. Thomas's and later pursued especially that fundamental branch at Cambridge and in Mr. Else's department. His associates in anatomical research included some of the greatest of London physicians. William Hunter, under whom he studied,²⁸ is said to have remarked when shown one of Baynham's discoveries, "What have we been doing so long that we have never observed this before?" And William Cruikshank attached the account of this discovery to his *Anatomy of the Absorbing Vessels of the Human Body*, which was published about this time.²⁹ The discovery referred to demonstrated for the first time a fine vascular membrane immediately below the Malpighian layer of the skin, "separate and distinct from the cutis and capable of separation from it throughout its whole extent." The fine technique of vascular injection had been mastered by Baynham as by few others. His skill has often been compared to that of Frederick Ruysch, who introduced the use of the microscope in the injection of the finer vessels.

On another occasion Baynham appears to have settled by his method of injection a question which had long been disputed by Else, Hunter and Pott. Mr. Else had maintained that the successful use of caustics injected into the tunica vaginalis in cases of hydrocele was due to the destruction of the tunica by the caustic. One of Mr. Else's patients happened to die from another cause soon after such an operation. Baynham skilfully injected the testis with vermilion through the spermatic artery and beautifully demonstrated that the tunica was not destroyed, the results being due to obliterative inflammatory changes induced by the irritant.³⁰ A contemporary remarked that "in the dissection room he was pre-eminent, being unquestionably the best practical anatomist of his day in Great Britain. The best preparations in the museum of Messrs. Cline and Cooper were made by him; one particularly of the female breast it is supposed has never been equalled."³¹

In surgery Baynham was equally bold and original. As a member of the

²⁸Anderson: Brief Biographies, p. 36.

²⁹Thacher: American Medical Biography, p. 170.

³⁰Thacher: American Medical Biography.

³¹Philadelphia Journal of the Medical and Physical Sciences, 1822, v. 4, pp. 197, 198.

Royal College of Surgeons he had the same standing in the profession as Pott, John Hunter and Abernethy. When he died, an American surgeon of national reputation who had studied with him at St. Thomas's wrote: "He was one of those very few men, whose loss will be a public misfortune, for I know not who is to succeed him in Virginia as a surgeon. In his profession he was second to Dr. Physick only . . ." According to another observer, "Dr. Physick and Dr. Baynham are the only persons whom I know in America that have really improved the surgical profession."³³

He was particularly noted for his laparotomies for extra-uterine pregnancy. Operative surgery, which was not brought to perfection until the Nineteenth Century, was in large measure the creation of the surgeons of the southern states, and its origin has been attributed to their attempts "to repair the errors and omissions of backwoods obstetrics."³⁴ John Bard of New Jersey in 1759 reported one case of operation for extra-uterine pregnancy. William Baynham reported two cases, one in 1791 and one in 1799, both successful.³⁴

Baynham in many respects parallels Dr. Peter Mettauer of a succeeding generation. Like him he performed numerous operations for cataract and for stone and was summoned far and wide in the exercise of his skill. Again like Mettauer, Baynham achieved his reputation as an anatomist and surgeon in spite of certain eccentricities of temper and an exterior somewhat gloomy and austere. He was not a prepossessing person. He was neither gracious nor talkative nor personally attractive, but was instead "slow and not very distinct in the enunciation of his ideas." Yet behind it all he had the heart of a friend.³⁵ He was a benefactor of the poor, an inveterate worker, an anatomist of renown and a surgeon unequalled in his day.

Equally bold as a surgeon was Jessee Bennett,³⁶ who in 1794 successfully per-

³³Philadelphia Journal of the Medical and Physical Sciences, 1822, v. 4, pp. 197, 198.

³⁴Garrison: History of Medicine, p. 542.

³⁵New York Medical and Philosophical Review, 1809, v. 1, pp. 160-172.

³⁶The following letter is taken from Lear's Letters and Recollections of George Washington, pp. 271, 272.

Sir,

Mount Vernon, 27th Aug., 1799.

By my Servant Tom, I was favoured with your letter of the 21st instant.

I am persuaded that in the benefit which the nature of his case would advise he has or will receive from your treatment of the affliction under which he has been and if it is incurable he must be satisfied that I have neglected nothing to restore his spirit to him.—

It was an *imposition* to ask you for money, for I gave him more than sufficient to bear his expences down & up?—and *impudent* to say I had directed it.— A liberty I never should have thought of.

Your charge is extraordinarily moderate—and the amount is herein enclosed by, Sir

Your Most Obedient & Humble Servant

G. Washington.

To Doctr. William Baynham.

³⁷The facts of Bennett's life have been gathered from an excellent article by J. L. Miller, Virginia Medical Monthly, Jan. 1929, p. 711.

formed on his wife the formidable operation of Caesarean section, at the same time removing both ovaries. This was the first operation of its kind in America, done thirty-three years earlier than that by John Lambert Richmond, who, according to Garrison, performed the first Caesarean section in this country at Newtown, Ohio, on April 22, 1827.³⁷ Crawford Long of Georgia did not receive credit for discovering ether anaesthesia because he did not report the discovery, although he had successfully used it in operations three years before William Morton. For the same reason Jessee Bennett has not been given a place of honor in the medical history of America. When asked why he did not report his case in some medical journal, Bennett replied that "no doctor with any feelings of delicacy would report an operation he had done on his own wife," and added that "no strange doctors would believe that operation could be done in the Virginia backwoods and the mother live, and he'd be damned if he would give them a chance to call him a liar."

On January 14, 1794 Jessee Bennett's wife was confined in her first pregnancy. The Bennetts then lived in a frontier settlement in the Shenandoah Valley. Her labor was a difficult one due to a contracted pelvis, and Dr. Alexander Humphreys of Staunton was called in consultation. The doctors tried forceps without success. Between the alternatives of craniotomy and Caesarean section the patient chose the latter in spite of the opposition of Dr. Humphreys and his persistent refusal to perform such a dangerous operation. The case was urgent, and Jessee Bennett decided to operate himself. The patient, stretched on a crude plank table over two barrels, was put under the influence of a large dose of opium. Assisted only by two negro women, the courageous frontier surgeon by one quick stroke of the knife laid open the abdomen and uterus and quickly delivered child and placenta. At this stage he delayed long enough to remove both ovaries. As one of the witnesses declared, "he spayed her," remarking as he did so, "this shall be the last one." The wounds were closed with a stout linen thread, and contrary to the expectation of every one present Mrs. Bennett was soon well and active. The child, a daughter, lived to be seventy-seven years of age.

In appraising this operation of Dr. Bennett's it must be recalled that a successful Caesarean section on a living mother was a practically unheard of procedure anywhere in the world at this time. The oöphorectomy performed by Dr. Bennett antedated McDowell's famous operation on Mrs. Crawford by more than fifteen years.

Jessee Bennett, of French descent, was born at Frankfort, Pennsylvania, July 10, 1769. After reading medicine with several Philadelphia physicians he com-

³⁷Garrison: *History of Medicine*, p. 544.

pleted his education at the University of Pennsylvania. One who knew him well declared him to be "a thorough anatomist and a most excellent surgeon." In 1792 he settled in the Valley of Virginia, then on the frontier of civilization. The next year he married Elizabeth Hog, daughter of Major Peter Hog, an Edinburgh graduate, a pioneer lawyer and a veteran of the French and Indian Wars. In 1794 Bennett performed the Caesarean section upon his wife and thereafter enjoyed an extensive reputation as a surgeon. In the summer of that year, as an army surgeon, he joined the forces sent to suppress the Whiskey Rebellion. Two years later the Bennetts moved to a 9,000 acre tract on the Ohio River, near the mouth of the Great Kanawha. In 1804 Dr. Bennett's land was included in the newly created Mason County, now in West Virginia. He became the first justice of this county, served as major in the county militia and also represented the county in the Virginia Assembly. We next hear of him as a witness in the Aaron Burr trial. Burr had tried to persuade him to join his ill fated expedition. Bennett entered the War of 1812 as a surgeon in the Second Virginia Regiment, and after that date we have no record of his activities. He lived many years longer, his death occurring July 13, 1842 at Riverview, Mason County, Virginia.

William Dunlap, descendant of early settlers on the Cow Pasture River, "shares with Bennett and Ephraim McDowell the honor of being the first ovariotomist."³⁸ Dr. Thomas Walker is said to have been the first in this country to trephine bone for suppurative osteomyelitis.³⁹ Thacher called him "one of the most eminent surgeons in America." General Adam Stephen, soldier though he was, is credited with at least two bold surgical procedures. Called in consultation to a case of hepatic abscess, Dr. Stephen, against the advice of the other consultants, boldly incised and drained the liver. On another occasion he successfully ligated an aneurism of the arm.

An eminent surgeon of Virginia mentioned by Baas in his *History of Medicine* was Gustavus Brown Horner, 1761-1810. He "was universally regarded as the highest medical and surgical authority of his time and of an extended locality."⁴⁰ William Cabell engaged in an astonishing amount of important surgery in his private hospital in Amherst. William Fleming's account book for 1768 illustrates the more usual surgery of the day:

"Drawing tooth for Negro Wench 0—2—6"
 "Opening a Tumor & Dressing 3—0—0"
 "Opening his breast & Extracting pin 2—8—2"
 "Amputating leg & dressing 8—0—0"

³⁸Morton: Centennial History of Alleghany County, p. 199.

³⁹Ashurst: Principles and Practice of Surgery.

⁴⁰Hayden: Virginia Genealogies, pp. 186, 187.

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Colonel Jesse Brown, who died at his seat in Southampton County, was described in his obituary in the *Gazette*, January 3, 1771, as "a Gentleman who was thoroughly versant in Surgery and of great use to his fellow creatures. He practised with Success and died universally regretted." Jean Pasteur, who came to this country in 1700 and settled in Williamsburg, was described as a surgeon of Geneva.⁴¹ His son, William Pasteur, followed the art of surgery and was prominently known throughout the colony. Associated with him in practice was John M. Galt, who paid "particular attention to Surgery."

In testimony of the growing importance of surgery is the frequency with which surgical appliances are encountered in the inventories of this century. Nicholas Flood, who died in 1776, Dr. Matthew Pope, who died in 1792, George Fauntleroy, John Shepherd, Alexander Jameson, Ebenezer Campbell and John K. Read all left surgical instruments, and Benjamin Catton, who died in 1768, left "two complete sets of surgical instruments." Robert Rose received £15-10s. from the Committee of Safety for chirurgical instruments furnished the brig *Liberty*, July 3, 1776.⁴²

III. OBSTETRICS

The story of the development of obstetrics as a separate art is a long one. It takes us back to the earliest times, when the care of parturient women was in the hands of midwives exclusively. Not until the days of the Greeks and Romans did physicians interest themselves in pregnancy. Under the superior influence of these two great civilizations midwives and physicians began to coöperate. Physicians assumed the supervision of midwives and were summoned to assist in difficult cases. They assisted, however, at the risk of popular ridicule, which branded them as "he-grandmothers." Soranus's great work on obstetrics dates from this period. During the Middle Ages the Church succeeded in driving physicians from the field, and obstetrics was again given over to midwives. In the Sixteenth Century the medical man's interest in the subject was revived by Rösslin's *Rosengarten* and Paré's advocacy of podalic version. Physicians began to be called in more frequently. The next two centuries saw the introduction of the obstetrical forceps, which had long been a family secret with the Chamberlens in England. Delivery by forceps at once became a vogue. The practice was overdone and a reaction set in. This reaction was at its height in the middle of the Eighteenth Century, when William Hunter by way of emphasizing his own abhorrence of the procedure was in

⁴¹He was probably a barber-surgeon. His will describes him only as a wig-maker.

⁴²Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 8, p. 234.

Of the Casarean Operation

as you find the Child, and if it is got out, you must immediately performe the Operation. in the third case where there are Calculus in the Vagina dilate with a knife, and if there are tumours excise them, as see in Dr. Malle. in pho... these are but two cases where this Operation should be performed, viz. the narrow Pelvis, and the ruptured Uterus when the Child is lying in the Abdomen amongst the Intestines. this Operation should be done as soon as possible, but before you do it, it is proper to empty the Intestines by gentle purgatives or Clysters. which being done lay the Woman on a wooden Table on her back as if you were to cut for the Stone, and make a longitudinal Incision about eight inches long and about four from the Navel, and when you have got to the Peritonaeum make a small incision thro't into the Cavity of the Abdomen then cut into the Cavity of the Womb and enlarge it with a scissor as much as you please, but you must not cut too high, as the Intestines will come out, and obstruct your Worke, if the membranes are not broke you may cut with more liberty, if they are broke you must be very cautious lest you wound the Child, after this bring away the Childs Membranes & Placenta which will separate on the Contraction of the Womb; then shut the parts by the quilted Sutures, and treat the Wound as any

A page from James McClurg's notes on midwifery written while a student at Edinburgh under Thomas Young.

the habit of displaying his forceps rusty from lack of use. Caesarean section was occasionally practised, but it carried a mortality greater than eighty per cent. Puerperal sepsis continued to take a high toll of life—about twenty per cent. of women delivered in the municipal hospitals of Europe in this period died of it—until the teachings of Oliver Wendell Holmes and Ludwig Semmelweiss took hold in the middle of the Nineteenth Century. Chloroform was not used to relieve the pains of childbirth until 1847, and the Biblical injunction "in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children" was not lightened until that time.

The Eighteenth Century was notable in obstetrics for the popularization of the forceps and the return of the man-midwife. In fact, one of the most remarkable changes witnessed during the century was the altered attitude of the profession and the laity toward the medical care of pregnancy. A certain obstetrician told Joseph II that "the Viennese women were too modest to have men as midwives." The technique of the lying-in room was an example of the ridiculous and obstructive prudery of the times—the physician working under cover of a large sheet with one end tied around his neck and the other similarly attached to the patient. No wonder most physicians shunted the business off onto the midwives as they had surgery upon the barbers. But new light had been thrown upon the subject in the Seventeenth Century in the works of Moriceau, de la Motte, Portal and Van de Venter, and the Eighteenth Century saw the care of labor cases pass gradually for the last time from the midwife to the obstetrician. Fashion had not a little to do with the change. Boucher delivered La Villiere, mistress of the Grand Monarch, in 1670, and Hugh Chamberlen, in 1692, delivered the future Queen Anne. What was fashionable in court circles became fashionable among the masses.

In America, where rural life predominated and large cities with their crowded municipal hospitals did not exist, there was a general lag in the development of obstetrics, but these same conditions were unfavorable to the development of puerperal sepsis, a horror which never darkened this country to the extent it had Europe. In Virginia in the Seventeenth Century the care of pregnant women was entirely in the hands of midwives, though physicians were called in difficult cases when podalic version, craniotomy and dismemberment of the foetus were indicated. It was not until the latter part of the Eighteenth Century that men seriously disputed the position of midwives in their field in America. John Moultrie of South Carolina and William Shippen of Philadelphia were largely influential in raising the dignity of obstetrics in this country. Shippen, fresh from the obstetrical teachings of the Hunters, was the first professor of this subject in the University of Pennsylvania. In Virginia as in the other colonies a new influence was felt with the entrance into practice

of young men trained in European universities, where the subject was receiving for the first time serious attention. Young's lectures on midwifery and the diseases of women at Edinburgh in 1769 were faithfully recorded in James McClurg's note book, which is still preserved.⁴³

Evidence of the changing attitude toward the medical care of pregnancy may be found all through contemporary Virginia records. In 1766 one William Coakley appeared from the West Indies, settled in Norfolk and announced that his practice would include "every branch of surgery, midwifery, and physic."⁴⁴ In 1769 Andrew Anderson advertised himself as "surgeon and man midwife" in Williamsburg.⁴⁵ About the same time George Gilmer, Jr. in Williamsburg announced his intention of "pursuing with the practice of medicine the art of midwifery."⁴⁶ Dr. John Walker, who died in 1775, was described as a "male midwife" when his shop utensils, surgeon's and midwife's instruments were advertised for sale at his shop in Hanover town.⁴⁷ In 1768 Dr. John Dalgleish declared through the papers that he had practised the obstetric art when a youth.⁴⁸ Hermann and Russell of Richmond advertised the same type of practice. As early as 1753 Gerrard Ellyson was paid one pound for midwifery services in Henrico County.⁴⁹ George Taylor, who was paid 400 pounds of tobacco by the vestry of St. Peter's Parish in 1744 "for keeping Catherine Taylor in Child bed," may have been a still earlier man-midwife, though it is possible his services consisted only in furnishing lodging during her confinement.

Midwives did not give up their place in the community without a fight.⁵⁰ There appeared on the first page of the *Virginia Gazette* in 1772 an article denouncing the fashion of having man-midwives, attributing the large number of adulteries to the practice and declaring that women midwives were safer because they trusted to nature rather than to forceps.⁵¹

Toward the latter half of the century women midwives took to newspaper advertising. Mary Rose, for example, declared that "having studied and practised Midwifery for some time past, with success, under the Direction and with the Approbation of Doctors Pasteur and Galt, flatters herself she will

⁴³Miller Collection, Richmond Academy of Medicine.

⁴⁴Purdie & Dixon's *Virginia Gazette*, July 18, 1766.

⁴⁵*Virginia Gazette*, August 17, 1769.

⁴⁶Purdie & Dixon's *Virginia Gazette*, Dec. 4, 1766.

⁴⁷Dixon & Hunters's *Virginia Gazette*, May 13, 1775.

⁴⁸Purdie & Dixon's *Virginia Gazette*, Nov. 17, 1768.

⁴⁹Henrico County Records, 1750-70, p. 277.

⁵⁰Dr. William Smellie, who set up a school in London for teaching midwifery and who made signal contributions to the measurement of the pelvis and the use of the forceps, was contemptuously referred to by Mrs. Nihell, the Haymarket midwife, as "a great horse god mother of a he-midwife."

⁵¹In this country, where 80% of pregnant women are delivered by men, the mortality is 6.8 per 1,000. In Sweden, where 80% are delivered by midwives, the mortality is only 2.3 per 1,000.

meet with Encouragement . . . Ladies, and others . . . will be waited on upon the shortest warning . . ."⁵³ Mrs. Hughes, midwife, "late from the West Indies," advertised that she had taken a house in Norfolk and that besides practising midwifery she cured ringworm, scald heads, piles, worms, etc. "No Cure, no pay." She also made ladies' sacks, dresses, cloaks, bonnets, etc. in the newest fashion, and her daughter would teach young ladies tambour work and would board those from the country.⁵⁴

The death of Mrs. Catharine Blaikley in Williamsburg, in her sixty-sixth year, was announced in Purdie and Dixon's *Gazette*, October 24, 1771. She was called "an eminent midwife," who in the course of her practice had "brought upwards of 3,000 children into the world." The records of Henrico County in 1748 show: "To Mary Gaddy for bringing a negro to bed . . . 0-10-00."⁵⁴ The vestry of St. Peter's Parish in 1740 paid Sarah Broker thirty shillings as part of her fee "for Bringing Catharine Taylor to Bed."⁵⁵ Interesting references to midwives occur in Francis Taylor's diary. On July 25, 1786 he noted: "E. Pendleton was delivered of a Son last night. Mrs. Gaines & Mrs. James were with her who say it was a seven months child." The day before he had recorded: "C. Taylor sent for and bled E. Pendleton."⁵⁶

Among the negroes there were midwives, too, of course. "Granny Venus," referred to in Francis Taylor's diary, "Aggy" in Charles Friend's farm journal, "Elsey" in Alexander Telfair's plantation manual, "Sarah," owned by Benjamin Harrison of Berkeley, and the midwife at Nomini Hall were typical of a class of women essential on every large plantation.

In spite of the physician's entrance into the practice of obstetrics and the consequent improvement in midwifery, child-bearing in Virginia in the Eighteenth Century was till fraught with grave danger. What the maternal and child mortality was we do not know, but the ordeal of birth, though so frequently repeated that in many families it was almost a yearly event, was anticipated with misgivings. On September 10, 1758 Colonel James Gordon—the same who died ten years later of a "mortification"—recorded in his diary, "Between 11 & 12 last night my wife was delivered of a dead child, & I adore God she is as well as can be expected."⁵⁷

⁵³Purdie & Dixon's *Virginia Gazette*, Nov. 28, 1771.

⁵⁴Purdie & Dixon's *Virginia Gazette*, Dec. 9, 1773.

⁵⁵*William and Mary Quarterly*, v. 8, p. 263.

⁵⁶Vestry Book, St. Peter's Parish, New Kent County.

⁵⁷Francis Taylor (1749-99) was one of eight brothers, all of whom served in the Revolutionary War. He was a bachelor, lived on his father's plantation in Orange County not far from that of their cousin, James Madison, and was deputy clerk of the county. His diary, in 13 volumes, covering as many years and kept almost to the day of his death, is replete with items of medical interest. The parts dealing with medicine have been extracted and appear in an appendix. The MS. is in the Virginia State Library.

⁵⁸Colonel Gordon's diaries are printed in the *William and Mary Quarterly*, vols. 11, 12.

Dr. George French of Fredericksburg had a patient who in 1799, at the age of forty, was the mother of twenty-one children and who after that date produced three more. She belonged to "one of the first families in this country," according to Dr. French, who in this case called Dr. William Baynham in consultation and was gratified to have his own diagnosis confirmed by that eminent surgeon.⁸⁸

William Allason, a Scotch merchant living at Falmouth, Virginia, wrote in 1774: "Mrs. Allason was surprized a few weeks before she expected, and brought me a fine Boy, but poor fellow he staid only 26 days with us, and made an Exchange much for the better. [He] . . . was much afflicted with Fitts . . . which I suspect was occasioned by his Mothers having the Jaundice in March and April last to a very violent degree." Of Mrs. Allason's almost annual pregnancies only one child, her first, survived the first month, and she herself died early. Mrs. Douglas, a Falmouth midwife, attended the first delivery in May 1773.⁸⁹

IV. MEDICAL FEES

Between 1700 and 1725 the cost of living in Virginia may be accurately determined from the many inventories in the county records. During this period slaves could be bought for from twelve to thirty pounds sterling apiece, horses for from two to three pounds, a cart and wheels for one pound, a feather bed for from one to three pounds, a coat and waistcoat for two pounds and French brandy at fifteen shillings a gallon.⁹⁰ Funeral charges ranged from one to five pounds, and it cost 2s. 6d. in 1712 to have a will written. We find Dr. John Bowman rendering a bill for 120 pounds of tobacco to one estate; to another, "for physic," 2s. 6d.; and on two other occasions bills for three and four shillings. Dr. William Irby's bill to one estate amounted to 12s. 6d. and to another to £4-10s.-01d. Dr. Joshua Irby asked ten shillings for a single visit, and once "for salivating a negro" he received 2,000 pounds of tobacco. Dr. William Cocke's account with an estate in 1714 was £1-10s.-00d. Dr. Hamersley's charges "for physick" varied from 1s. 9d. to 3s.⁹¹ An extract from the Princess Anne County records, December 7, 1704, reads: "Doct. Rich'd. Bolton, Compt. in Chancery Shewing John Bonney for cureing him of the

⁸⁸Article by Dr. French on Three Cases of Cystirrhoea, in the American Medical Recorder, v. 1, 1818, p. 507.

⁸⁹William Allason's Letter Books, v. 2, pp. 232, 325. MS. in the Archives Department of the Virginia State Library.

⁹⁰100 lbs. of tobacco in 1707 brought 10s. In 1711 it was 1d. a lb.; in 1719 and as late as 1748 it was 2d. a lb.

⁹¹Henrico County Records, vols. 1706-09, 1710-14; Prince George County Records, v. 1713-28.

paines of the limbs for ye paym't of 600 pound of tobacco to w'ch the respondent by his answer & oath not owning anything due by that bill for that he was not in the least anything the better for the meanes he received, it is therefore ord'ed the Suite bee dismiss."⁶³

Between 1750 and 1770 we find negro slaves selling at from twenty-five to thirty pounds sterling, horses at two to three pounds, shoes at 3s. 6d., gloves at 2s., a fine hat at 10s. 6d., coat and breeches at 18s. 6d., and a large Bible at £1-07s.-7d. Examples of medical fees during this period are:

- "To Mary Gaddy for bringing a negro to bed, 0-10-00."
- "To paid Doctr Woodson, 3-00-00."
- "To sickness and funeral charges, 4-00-00."
- "To Gearrard Ellyson for midwifery, 1-00-00."
- "To 2 qts rum for wenches lying in, 0-03-00."
- "To physick in his last sickness, 3s."
- "To cash paid Elizabeth Fuqua for laying 4 wenches at Roanoke, 2-00-00."⁶⁴
- "To paid Doctr William Starks account, 0-14-0."
- "To cash paid Doctr James Day Ridley, 1-13-6."
- "To Doctr Campbel tending Doctr Happer in his Illness, 2-8-0."
- "To Doctr Pursell ditto, 3-5-0."
- "By Sundry Medicines sold Doctr Torborn with Int., . . . 10-6-0."⁶⁴
- "To Doctor Happer for Cutting off Cowsells arm, 500 lbs. tobacco."⁶⁵
- "Ordd that the Chwdns do agree with any person for the Cure of Pridgeon Waddles nose not exceedg ten Pounds."⁶⁶

An account to Colonel Thomas Jones from a Williamsburg doctor reads in part:⁶⁷

Sept. 19—To Antispasmodick Julep to himself	2s.	6d.
To two Blisters	3	
20—To the Julep	2	6
23—To Stomachick Decoction	2	6
25—To 4 Febrifuge Boluses	4	
26—To the Decoction with Additions	3	6
27—To Pectoral Mixture	2	6
Nov. 11—To Emetic Tincture	2	6
To Purging Powder for his son	1	6
13—To Attendance to himself	£7	10 0

⁶³Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 2, p. 344.

⁶⁴Henrico County Records, v. 1750-67.

⁶⁵Charles City County Records, v. 1766-74, pp. 399, 504.

⁶⁶Moore: Annals of Henrico Parish, p. 11.

⁶⁷Moore: Annals of Henrico Parish, p. 11.

⁶⁸Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 26, p. 75.

21—To Paragorick Draught to his Son Catesby	1	6
30—To Purging Pills	2	0
To the Draught	1	6
Dec. 1—To Oil of Sweet Almonds	1	6
2—To Purging Pills & Draught	3	6
3—To Restrington Tincture	1	6
To A Draught	1	6
4—To Purging Potion to Mr. Frederick		
5—To Draught for Mr. Catesby		

Dr. John Shepherd in 1772 charged Mrs. Elizabeth Moseley ten shillings for each visit, eight shillings for a saline julep, and ten shillings for "A Mixture."⁶⁸ Dr. William Cabell charged from one to five pounds a visit, according to the distance. His charge for amputating an arm or leg was £7-10s. If he guaranteed a cure the charge was from twelve to fifteen pounds.⁶⁹

All wars disturb monetary values. The Revolution was no exception. In fact the chaotic conditions that surrounded our finances both during and after the Revolution were peculiarly distressing. We are reminded of the worthlessness of the Revolutionary currency in the survival of the derogatory expression "not worth a Continental." These conditions were reflected in the newspaper announcements emanating from Virginia physicians in various localities, who were disturbed by the high cost of living and the fluctuating currency.

In Williamsburg in 1776 Drs. Pasteur and Galt through an advertisement in the newspapers requested the payment of their accounts, since medicines were very high and they must pay cash for them. They pointed out that they collected only once every twelve months.⁷⁰ In Richmond in 1779 William Foushee announced to "Those who apply to him in the way of his profession (Physick), that his charges are as formerly—i.e. a visit in town in the day five shillings; an emetic, two shillings, six pence; either in commodities that he needs or in Tobacco at twenty shillings per hundred weight, or money." The same year James Currie, also of Richmond, advertised that his fees for the practice of physic would be at the old rate, before the prices of medicines and all the commodities became so exorbitant, and that his accounts were payable in tobacco at twenty shillings per hundred weight.⁷¹

In 1780 Drs. Charles Mortimer, John Julian, George French and Robert Wellford of Fredericksburg advertised jointly: "The Practitioners of Physick

⁶⁸Lower Norfolk County Antiquary, v. 2, p. 98.

⁶⁹Brown: The Cabells and their Kin, p. 21.

⁷⁰Purdie's Virginia Gazette, Dec. 27, 1776.

⁷¹Dixon & Nicolson's Virginia Gazette, Feb. 12, 1779.

and Surgery in this Town and county, having suffered much for two years past, by the fluctuating state of the currency, the high price of medicines, and impossibility of getting accounts settled at the different periods services are performed . . . in future . . . must extend their accounts at the old rates of practice in 1774, and receive payment in county produce at the old prices . . .”⁷² In Petersburg in the same year Drs. James Feild, David Black, A. G. Strachan, Isaac Hall and John Shore, Jr. published a similar statement, claiming that they “cannot, for the future, afford to carry on our business but on such terms as may enable us to procure the necessaries of life. Those who can furnish us with corn, wheat, pork, Virginia cloth, or any other article needed by ourselves or families . . . shall be entitled to our services on the same terms” (as before the war). Those who must pay in money must be charged “what may be equivalent to the selling prices of the necessaries of life at the same time their accounts are paid off.”⁷³ Dr. George Gilmer advertised on August 16, 1780 a list of medicines for sale at his shop in Charlottesville, and added: “Visits and advice at the formerly accustomed Physicians fees in cash, or commodities.”⁷⁴ Dr. L. M’Lean of Albemarle, formerly of Fluvanna, advertised in the *Examiner* for December 24, 1799 that “From the first of January next I will Practice Physic on the following terms: Visiting patients, a quarter of a dollar for every miles riding in going & returning . . . Attendance at the rate of Seven Dollars for twenty-four hours. Prescriptions Three Dollars each. The lowest price for a Surgical operation, one Dollar. Where payment is not received in advance, the amount charged is to bear interest . . .”

Rochefoucauld, who traveled in Virginia during the last years of the Eighteenth Century and expressed his opinion on a variety of subjects, wrote in regard to physicians’ fees: “I have heard physicians declare that they do not annually receive one third of what is due to them for their attendance; that they have some of these debts of five and twenty years standing; that their claims are frequently denied; and that, in order to recover payment, they are obliged to send, write, carry on law-suits etc.”⁷⁵ He added that lawyers were well paid and that Mr. Marshall’s income was reported to be four or five thousand a year.

This observation of Rochefoucauld is confirmed in the correspondence of a young southern physician, Thomas Tudor Tucker, with his brother in Virginia. Tucker attempted in 1771 to start practice in Charleston, South Carolina. He

⁷²Dixon & Nicolson’s Virginia Gazette, Feb. 19, 1780.

⁷³Dixon & Nicolson’s Virginia Gazette, Mar. 18, 1780.

⁷⁴Dixon & Nicolson’s Virginia Gazette, Aug. 16, 1780.

⁷⁵Rochefoucauld: *Travels Through the United States of North America*, v. 3, p. 76.

soon discovered an obstacle in the fact that "most People have some Kind of Engagement or attachment to a particular Physician which only time or accident can be expected to break." There were thirty-five physicians in the town and he could only make "a small Beginning with a few Bermuda Negroes." He also discovered that "Physicians in this part of the World do not immediately receive their Fees as in England . . ." After two years' struggle he considered moving to Norfolk to better his situation, but gave up the idea because he was convinced competition there would be as keen. He knew of "two young Physicians Natives of Virginia who, if not already return'd, will return there this Spring, & it is not to be expected that I or any Person shou'd in a few Months be so established as to exclude others of equal Advantages besides the Recommendation of being born in the Province. . . ." Conditions did not improve in Charleston. Debts accumulated. So unremunerative did he find the practice of medicine that, although he had studied at a foreign university and was thoroughly grounded in his profession, he finally abandoned it altogether to enter politics, bitterly concluding that "There are some Qualities which conduce more than a knowledge of the Profession, to advance a Man in the Practice of Physic. With these, an Apothecary's Apprentice with no extraordinary Talents will often succeed better than one who has had much more Advantage of Education."¹⁰

¹⁰Tucker Letters; owned by Mr. and Mrs. George Coleman of Williamsburg.

CHAPTER III

THE HANDMAIDS OF MEDICINE

I. PHARMACY

THE genealogy of the modern druggist goes back to the Norman Conquest, when the mercers, whose scene of operation in London was known as the Mercery, controlled the trade in drugs and spices. This business gradually passed into the hands of the pepperers and spicers of Sopers Lane and Chepe. By the time of Edward III it had been absorbed by the grocers, and Bucklersbury, its headquarters, became a famous section of old London. The grocers were charged with the responsibility of "garbling" drugs and spices and inspecting the apothecaries, who were now their subordinate guild. The apothecaries gained steadily in importance and self esteem. In 1617 they succeeded, over the protest of the grocers, in securing a charter of their own. King James asserted with finality, "Grocers are but merchants. The business of an apothecary is a mystery."

The apothecaries immediately became a powerful group, no longer limiting themselves to the preparation of medicine but actually setting up in competition with physicians. In fact at this time most people with minor complaints went directly to the apothecary. He prescribed for them without further ado, or if necessary secured a physician's advice, the patient himself never seeing the doctor. The rising importance of the apothecary in England accounted for the fact that the London Company sent two apothecaries to the Virginia Colony before 1624. After that we hear nothing of them in Virginia until the Eighteenth Century. Every bit of evidence points to the entire control by physicians of the drug business in the colony. The supplies of drugs listed in the inventories of certain Virginia merchants were apparently sold direct to physicians.

During the Eighteenth Century, if the amount of newspaper advertising is any indication, the drug business in Virginia flourished. The sale and distribution of drugs was still largely in the hands of physicians, who generally imported direct from England and advertised each new consignment. Usually the physician compounded his own prescriptions, charging for his medicines as well as for his visits. Sometimes he left the business of preparing medicines to his apprentice. Often the more prosperous physicians went into the

drug selling business on a large scale and set up apothecary shops of their own, a practice that still exists. In these shops they sometimes employed apothecaries. The tendency of physicians to operate apothecary shops may have been prompted by a desire to meet the competition of the independent professional druggist, who began to appear in the colonies and to advertise extensively soon after the first quarter of the Eighteenth Century. In thinly populated Virginia the greatest need continued to be for the physician who could mix his own drugs. Here the independent apothecary business developed slowly and was limited entirely to the larger towns. "The greater part of these physicians are at the same time apothecaries," wrote de Warville. "They continue to unite the two sciences, out of respect to the people, who wish that the man who orders the medicine should likewise prepare it. There are, however, other apothecaries, of whom the physicians purchase their drugs. The practice of this country is the English practice; that is, they are much in the use of violent remedies."¹

In New England drugs were carried by itinerant preachers, who sold their wares to grateful parishioners for whom frontier isolation made purchasing difficult.² There is no record of such a method of distribution in Virginia, though there is nothing to indicate that it did not occur.

The keeper of the country store carried an assortment of well known remedies along with his other merchandise. In the towns the grocers always carried drugs, and even hairdressers, tailors and printers occasionally sold patent medicines that required no preparation. A store in Alleghany County in 1767 priced calomel at sixty-seven cents an ounce, court plaster at thirty-three cents a roll, ginseng at sixty-seven cents to a dollar a pound and castile soap at thirty-three cents a pound.³ Robert Hutchings advertised in Petersburg in 1751 a new supply of materials for carrying on the trade of a tailor, hairs and material for Peruke-makers, and also "a large assortment of Elixirs, such as Bostock's, Daffeys, Squires . . . with printed directions how to use them."⁴ William Prichard's book store in 1800 advertised medicines and medical books for sale in Richmond.⁵ In the same year "Samuel Pleasants Jun. printer at Richmond, Virginia" advertised two columns of patent medicines, "prepared, only, by Dr. James Church, at his Dispensary, New-York: & sold by appointment . . ." ⁶ Prentis & Pleasants of Petersburg, publishers of *The Virginia Gazette and Petersburg Intelligencer*, advertised lists of medicines in-

¹De Warville: *New Travels in the United States of America*, performed in 1788, p. 351.

²*The Virginia Pharmacist*, 1923, v. 7, p. 132.

³Morton: *Centennial History of Alleghany County*, p. 27.

⁴*Hunter's Virginia Gazette*, July 4, 1751.

⁵*Examiner*, Dec. 23, 1800.

⁶*Virginia Argus*, Aug. 8, 1800.

cluding Dr. Leroux's Patent Indian Vegetable Specific for the cure of Venereal Complaints," which they imported from "Lee & Co's Patent Medicine store, Baltimore."

Pharmacy as an independent profession did not receive the support of American physicians until after the Revolutionary War. The students who joined the Virginia Club of Edinburgh in 1761 swore not to mingle medicine with "the trade of an apothecary." The change was largely due to the influence of foreign doctors in this country, particularly those from Great Britain where the two branches had long been separated. At the Pennsylvania Hospital in 1754 were written the first prescriptions to be filled by an apothecary in the United States. John Morgan, who as a student in Europe had learned the advantages of the separation of the two professions, wrote: "I am now preparing for America, to see whether after fourteen years' devotion to medicine, I can get my living without turning apothecary or practitioner of surgery."⁸ He added that he regretted that the very different employments of the physician, surgeon and apothecary should be promiscuously followed by any one man, as they certainly required very different talents. The profession in America was slow to follow his conviction. The drug store continued for many years to be chiefly a warehouse for the physician's supplies, and the druggist was principally an importer and wholesale merchant. In 1787 Hunt and Adams of Richmond advertised that they had just imported from London "at their Genuine Medicine Warehouse . . . a large assortment of Drugs and Medicines . . . where gentlemen of the Faculty, and store keepers, may be supplied."⁹

The first physician to make a practice of writing prescriptions in America was Abraham Chauvet, who came to Philadelphia in 1770 and boldly gave up peddling his own medicines. He was followed in that city by John Jones. The first intimation of prescription writing in Virginia in the Eighteenth Century was William Stark's announcement in Petersburg in 1771 that prescriptions would be made up in his shop "in the most elegant and accurate manner." The practice had probably become more general, at least in the cities, when J. K. Read advertised his new "medicinal store" in Norfolk in 1800, assuring the public that "prescriptions elegantly prepared under his own inspection" would be an important part of the business.¹⁰

The early colonial pharmacist as a rule was poorly educated and without social position. A few came from England. Dr. John Morgan is reputed to

⁸Virginia Gazette & Petersburg Intelligencer, Feb. 25, 1800.

⁹Carson: History of the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania, p. 46.

¹⁰Virginia Independent Chronicle, Dec. 5, 1787.

¹¹Both Stark and Read were themselves practising physicians.

have brought one over with him, and in Virginia we know of Robert Agnew, "Late an Apothecary in London," who in 1772, "being desirous to see the Colonies in America . . . arrived at Norfolk . . . the 14th of May . . ." He at once advised the public that he had imported a large supply of patent medicines "with the drugs necessary for my own practice during my stay in the Colonies." He said also that he intended going to North Carolina but had left a supply of drugs for sale with Mr. Fleming, merchant, in Norfolk.¹¹ The majority of apothecaries, like the physicians, learned their business in this country in an apprenticeship of from three to six years. They served under a physician or an experienced pharmacist. Their masters sent them into the woods in search of such popular Indian medicines as Indian hemp, papoose root, Indian tobacco, blood root and mandrake. Later, in the shops, they dried and extracted their drugs in huge kettles simmering on the hearth, or busied themselves rolling pills on slabs, spreading plasters and clanging the iron contusion mortar and pestle. After a few years of schooling of this sort the young pharmacist set up in business for himself or undertook to conduct an apothecary shop for some physician. A few apprenticed themselves to doctors, went on with their studies and ultimately became physicians.

As the century wore on, more and more dependence was placed on proprietary medicines shipped in from England, and the good old practice of utilizing native medical plants was given up. Schoepf deplored this tendency, which he noted in his travels through the country near the turn of the century: "It is to be wished that the physicians in America . . . may also have a patriotic eye to the completer knowledge and more general use of their native materia medica. It betrays an unpardonable indifference to their fatherland to see them making use almost wholly of foreign medicines, with which in large measure they might easily dispense, if they were willing to give their attention to home-products, informing themselves more exactly of the properties and uses of the stock of domestic medicines already known . . ."¹²

In Williamsburg, the colonial capital, the drug business was actively conducted by physicians in their own shops as well as by those who combined the sale of drugs with that of other commodities. Newspaper advertising was resorted to extensively, each shop emphasizing the fact that its drugs were freshly imported, usually from the great metropolis of London. Competition was keen. Rival concerns were accused of spreading "scandalous and groundless Reports" about each other's wares, and the newspapers reflected the scramble for new business that was forever going on. An item in the *Virginia*

¹¹Purdie & Dixon's *Virginia Gazette*, July 23, 1772.

¹²Schoepf: *Travels in the Confederation*, v. 1, p. 289.

Gazette in 1737 gives us our earliest glimpse of the colonial Virginia drug business: "Just imported from London, A Parcel of Choice Medicines; which are to be sold at reasonable Rates, by Wholesale or Retail, at Mrs. Sullivan's in Williamsburg, by Thomas Goodwin, Chymist." A few weeks later another advertisement appeared: "All Sorts of Chymical and Galenical Medicines, faithfully prepared and Sold by Robert Davidson and Thomas Goodwin, chymists, at Williamsburg." In the next issue of the *Gazette* Dr. George Gilmer, who also ran an apothecary shop in Williamsburg, corrected the rumor that he was dead and had left unpaid debts, and strongly implied that his rivals were responsible for the rumor. He assured his friends that, far from being dead, he "can better than ever, supply them with all manner of Chymical and Galenical Medicines, truly and faithfully prepared, and at as cheap rates as can be had from England." Dr. Gilmer's shop was in an advantageous position on the corner of Nicholson and Palace Streets, adjacent to the first theatre, on what is now known as the St. George Tucker lot. Robert Davidson of the competing shop was, like Dr. Gilmer, a practising physician. He died the year after the formation of his partnership with Goodwin.

An announcement of Dr. Gilmer's in 1751 gives an excellent idea of the variety of drugs, spices and related articles carried by a drug store of that period:

"Imported in the Duchess of Queensbury, and just come to Hand, A large Assortment of Drugs with all Manner of Chymical and Galenical Medicines, faithfully prepared, also a Quantity of Almonds in the soft Shell, fresh Currans, Turkey Coffee, Prunes, Tamerinds, Bateman's and Stoughton's Drops, Daffy's and Squire's Elixir, British Rock-Oil, Turlington's and universal Balsam, Oil of Behn, Anderson's and Lockyer's Pills, Eaton's Styptic, Copperas, Prussian Blue, white and red lead, Vermilion, Verdigrease, Sago, French and Pearl Barley, Cinnamon, Cloves, Mace, Nutmeg, Black Pepper, and All-spice, Annodyne Necklaces, white and brown Sugar Candy, Scotch Snuff, Barley Sugar, Sugar Plumbs, Carraway Comfits, candied Eringo, Citron Allum, Vermicelli, Sandiver, Borax, Ratsbane, Crucibles, Wine Stone, Indigo, Chocolate, Bohea, Congo, and Green Tea, strong and good white Tartar Emetic, with ditto dark, nice cut Sarfa, Black Soap, China Root, Saltpetre, Oriental and Occidental Bezoar, Sponge, Gold Leaf, Musk, Plenty of Vials and Pots, Colts-foot, Birdlime, Spanish Juice, Juice of Buckthorn, Syringes, Glyster Pipes, Nipple Glasses and Pipes, etc. To be sold, at reasonable Rates by the Subscriber, at his Shop, nigh the Court-House, the Corner of Palace Street, Williamsburg.

"Sept. 19, 1751.

George Gilmer."¹⁸

¹⁸William and Mary Quarterly, v. 12, p. 161.

The Unicorn's Horn was the shop of Dr. James Carter. Here he conducted his business as early as 1751, announcing in the *Virginia Gazette* in that year that he had "Just imported in the *Rachel*, Captain Armstrong from London, and to be sold at a Reasonable rate at the Unicorn's Horn by the Subscriber in Williamsburg, A fresh Assortment of Drugs and Medicines . . . Coperas, Prussian Blue, Red and White lead . . . Gold leaf and Dutch metal, Vermillion, best London-made Lancets, Smelling Bottles with and without cases, etc., etc., etc."

In 1764 Carter built, on a lot on Duke of Gloucester Street just west of the Raleigh Tavern, a large brick house and divided it with a partition wall into two shops. One he sold to his brother John, a merchant. In the other he conducted his own apothecary shop, probably continuing the name of *The Unicorn's Horn*. He enlarged his business in 1771 by purchasing the shop of Andrew Anderson and Company just across the street from his own shop. In 1779 he retired from the apothecary business but continued to practise medicine and surgery in Williamsburg until his death about 1800.

At the time of his retirement his brother, William, purchased the shop next to the tavern and continued to conduct it for the next five or six years.¹⁴ He then moved to Richmond and opened a "Medicine Store and Apothecary's Shop" opposite the Eagle Tavern.¹⁵

Dr. George Pitt, another Williamsburg physician, kept an apothecary shop called *The Sign of the Rhinoceras*. It adjoined the old printing office, where the *Gazette* was published. The small brick building is still standing and so far as we know is the oldest apothecary shop in the country now extant. In 1757 Dr. Pitt deeded to his five apprentices, Quarles, Webb, Gowne and the two Robinsons, an equity in his shop in case death should overtake him during their term of apprenticeship. The *Virginia Gazette* in 1762 carried frequent advertisements by Dr. Pitt: "for sale, next door to the printing office at *The Sign of the Rhinoceras*, fresh drugs, etc." The building was later acquired by the printer, William Hunter, and at the outbreak of the Revolution was seized by the Commonwealth because of his loyalist sympathies.

There were other apothecary shops in Williamsburg in this century, most of them conducted by physicians. Dr. Kenneth McKenzie's was on Duke of Gloucester Street in 1745, but later he moved to what is now called the Saunders-Dinwiddie House. In 1745 he advertised the importation from London of choice medicines "chemical and galenical." The following year he was executor of the estate of Thomas Wharton, who had conducted another of the

¹⁴York County Deed Books, No. 6, p. 47; No. 7, p. 163. Abstracts of County Records, in the possession of the Williamsburg Restoration, Inc.

¹⁵*Virginia Gazette*, Sept. 20, 1780; Jan. 4, 1787; Oct. 29, 1789.

early "medicine shops." The inventory of Dr. McKenzie's estate in 1755 included "1 sett of instruments for lithotomy"—the only mention of such instruments found in the records of this century.¹⁶

William Pasteur, after an apprenticeship under Dr. George Gilmer, opened his own shop in 1759. His father, Jean Pasteur, a "barber-surgeon" from the province of Genevois, Switzerland, is said also to have had an apothecary's shop in Williamsburg, but he always signed himself "peruke-maker" or "perwig maker."

John M. Galt, with an M. D. from the University of Edinburgh, advertised his intention of opening a shop in 1769.¹⁷ A few years later he was publishing long testimonials to "Dr. Keyser's famous pills," which were said to cure every ill and had been endorsed by four dukes. In 1775 he and William Pasteur formed a partnership "for the practise of physic and surgery," and probably both of them abandoned their drug business after that date.¹⁸ Another Edinburgh graduate, George Gilmer, Jr., son of the earlier physician and apothecary of that name, opened a shop in 1766 and advertised lists of freshly imported drugs.

Dr. Henry Potter had a shop in Williamsburg before 1738, later moving to Fredericksburg. Dr. Peter Hay ran an apothecary shop in connection with his practice as early as 1746. Dr. Robert Nicolson, like Drs. Pasteur and Galt, began his career by selling drugs, later devoting himself entirely to practice. His advertisements of drugs and medical books for sale at his shop in Williamsburg appeared in 1779 and 1780.

On April 20, 1774 Benjamin Bucktrout advertised for sale in Francis Street, "Porter and Beer as well as Dry Goods, Clothes, tools, Drugs, wall paper, Coffin furniture, mattresses, glass, salts, etc." Descendants of this same Bucktrout are still undertakers in Williamsburg. The partnership of Norton and Beall was dispensing "drugs freshly imported from London" in 1775, and with William Biers and Thomas Goodwin, the "chymist," were among the few Williamsburg druggists who were not also physicians.

In other towns in the colony apothecary shops were hardly less numerous. At Yorktown Dr. George Riddell was advertising drugs in 1751, William Reynolds in 1777 and Benjamin Catton in 1766. An earlier apothecary was Dr. John Payras, who, besides drugs, sold tea, sugar, olives, capres, anchovies, raisins and prunes. He died in 1752, leaving a "new, large, well-built Brick House . . . with a large assortment of Drugs and Medicines."¹⁹

¹⁶York County Will Book, No. 20, p. 353.

¹⁷Virginia Gazette, Sept. 21, 1769.

¹⁸Virginia Gazette, April 15, 1775.

¹⁹Virginia Gazette, June 5, 1752.

In Fredericksburg William Lynn (1746), John Sutherland (1752), Hugh Mercer (1771), Ewen Clements (1772), Charles Mortimer, Jr. (1775), John Julian (1772) and Elisha Hall (1791) conducted well known apothecary shops. All of them were physicians. Mortimer advertised that he would receive fresh supplies twice a year and that his medicine chests were furnished with full directions for families not within reach of a physician.²⁰

In Norfolk Dr. Archibald Campbell sold "simple Drugs of all Sorts" as early as 1751. Dr. Alexander Gordon carried freshly imported medicines in 1766. In 1775 he was censured for continuing his importations in violation of the rules of the Continental Association which forbade trade with Great Britain, and he was eventually taken prisoner on account of his British sympathies.

Dr. John K. Read had conducted apothecary shops in connection with his medical practice in Goochland County before the Revolution and in Richmond afterwards. About 1796 he moved to Norfolk and in 1800 announced the opening of "The New Medicinal Store . . . adjoining his dwelling-house, on the Main Street near the Market, Norfolk; where he continues to practise in the different branches of his profession. *Medicine Chests* for sea service neatly put up. *Prescriptions* Elegantly prepared under his own inspection. *Cases* attentively considered, and prescribed with no other charge, than the shop prices of the medicines."²¹

In Blandford, a suburb of Petersburg, in 1771 Dr. William Stark, son of Dr. William Stark of "Broadways," Prince George County, after advertising a fresh supply of choice drugs at his shop took the public into his confidence in an unusually candid announcement:

"The Subscriber having been bred to Physick in his younger Years, and having attended particularly to this Study for these three years past, now purposes to practise on the most moderate terms. He cannot with sincerity boast of having attained the *Ne plus ultra* of the *Aesculapian Art*, nor yet of acquiring any superiour Degree of Knowledge in this Science; but flatters himself that, by a vigilant and due Attention to the Indications and Efforts of Nature in those sick Persons who should, through Choice or Necessity, be committed to his Care, he may be able to afford them proper and timely Assistance."

He added that: "The Copartnership in a medicinal Shop between Doctor Bland and myself being dissolved, the Debtors are desired to be . . . expeditious . . . The shop will be furnished as before . . . and Prescriptions made up in the most accurate and elegant Manner."²² His former partner was Colonel Theodorick Bland of Revolutionary fame.

²⁰Virginia Gazette, April 22, 1773.

²¹The Examiner, Richmond, Dec. 9, 1800.

²²Virginia Gazette, Mar. 28, 1771.

Bolling Stark, also a physician, was a partner in the firm of Alexander Glas Strachan & Company.²³ In 1772 the firm advertised for "a young man capable of conducting an Apothecary's shop," and by 1773 it had secured the services of James McCarty, "Apothecary and Surgeon." McCarty later became a practising physician. Dr. Strachan, a Scotchman and head of the firm, was one of the leading physicians of his section.²⁴

Dr. David Black, another Scotchman who had settled in Blandford, advertised in 1772 for a "Young man who has been bred in an Apothecary's Shop, and understands the Composition of Medicines."²⁵ Other apothecary shops in Petersburg were conducted by William Torbern in 1762, and by William Moore later in the century. Neither of them, apparently, was a physician. Dr. James Feild kept a shop in Petersburg in 1771 and probably later, and Drs. John and James Thompson formed a partnership in 1775 and advertised medicines for sale "at their shops in Petersburg."²⁶ All three were well known physicians.

Perhaps the earliest approach to pharmacy in Richmond was made by Dr. Samuel Tschiffely, who in 1738 called himself "Chimist and Practitioner of Physick at Richmond" and offered to test the value of "any sort of Metals or Oars."²⁷ After the pioneer attempts of Dr. Tschiffely we find scant mention of apothecaries until the last quarter of the century. In 1766 the firm of Nivins & Warwick at Shockoes (a small settlement which later became part of Richmond) was advertising fresh medicines from London and featuring Dr. Hill's essence of water dock, "said to cure scurvy, itch, leprosy & all disorders of the skin proceeding from an impure state of the blood." They also recommended tincture of valerian "to remove all kinds of fits . . . headachs, melancholy, and all hysterick and hypochondriac affections."²⁸ By 1772 several apothecary shops were in operation. In that year Dr. James Currie, in partnership with Ludwick Warrock, conducted a "Medicinal shop;" John Powell opened his druggist's and apothecary's shop "in the upper end of Richmond;" and Robert Brown announced a trip to Britain to replenish his supply of drugs.

After the Revolution, when the capital had been transferred to Richmond, a fresh crop of druggists appeared, and we find the physician and the apothecary less frequently combined. In 1787 Hunt and Adams "removed from their late store to that of Mr. Waddell . . . where they carry on the Druggist,

²³Virginia Gazette, Mar. 18, 1775.

²⁴Virginia Gazette, Aug. 13, 1772; July 1, 1773. Crozier: Virginia Heraldica, p. 112.

²⁵Virginia Gazette, May 7, 1772.

²⁶Virginia Gazette, Mar. 25, 1775.

²⁷Darlington: Memorials of John Bartram and Humphrey Marshall, pp. 314, 317. Virginia Gazette, June 2, 1738.

²⁸Purdie & Dixon's Virginia Gazette, April 4, 1766.

Chymist, and Perfumery Business as usual."²⁹ In September of that year they issued "A Caution" against making any settlement with James Ternan, "he being discharged from their service." Ternan promptly became a part of the firm of Carter & Ternan, which advertised the opening on October 1, 1787 of an "Apothecary and Druggist Shop, in the corner store . . . lately occupied by Mess. Hunt & Adams: where the best medicines of every kind will be sold on reasonable terms."³⁰ Thereafter the rival firms advertised long and identical lists of drugs "just imported from London," which they sold wholesale and retail.

At about this time Dr. William Carter of Williamsburg transferred to Richmond. His first shop "suffered exceedingly indeed from giving too extensive credit," and he sold it early in 1787. He was probably the Carter who joined with James Ternan later in that year. The partnership did not last long, for in 1789 Dr. Carter opened a new "Medicine Store and Apothecary's Shop" opposite the Eagle Tavern, with terms strictly cash. By 1800 James and Michael Ternan had established their own firm and were advertising extensively.

Dr. George Martin in 1787 proposed "practising Physic with all its different branches, in Richmond . . . After finishing his studies at the first Colleges in Europe, [he] practised Physic in Ireland (pretty extensively) for the space of eight years. Has laid in a fresh Assortment of Medicines, and will be able to supply County Practitioners and Storekeepers . . . having a Friend who has engaged to supply him from London . . ."³¹

Dr. John K. Read, who later moved to Norfolk, was practising in Richmond in 1793 and had given his shop the ambitious title of "Apothecaries Hall." In a long advertisement he thanked his "Friends & the Public for the respectable patronage the Apothecaries Hall has been honored with" and announced that he had "just received on ships from London, an extensive assortment of Drugs and Medicines . . . [He] does not pretend that his Medicines are from Apothecaries Hall, London, (because everybody knows they are 25 to 100% higher there than elsewhere). His medicines are from Wholesale Druggists in London . . . & he will dispose of them on as low terms as any other in his line, *Who Act from Principle* . . ."³²

The smaller towns also had their apothecary shops, most of them conducted by physicians, principally for their own practice. Dr. John Walker in 1775 had "his shop in Hanover Town," Dr. George Gilmer, Jr. moved from Williams-

²⁹Virginia Independent Chronicle, Jan. 24, 1787.

³⁰Virginia Independent Chronicle, Sept. 19, 1787.

³¹Virginia Independent Chronicle, Feb. 28, 1787.

³²Virginia Gazette, June 10, 1793.

burg to Charlottesville before the Revolution and in 1780 was advertising imported drugs there. John K. Read's first shop was at Goochland and Dr. John Brockenbrough employed an apothecary for his business at Tappahannock. Samuel Nivins was advertising medicines, clyster syringes, clyster pipes, gallipots, etc. for sale at Warwick. Godfrey Miller was an apothecary at Winchester in 1788.

The Eighteenth Century apothecary shop was an interesting spot, whether we view it as a gathering place of the local notables, as the museum of ancient modes and practices of pharmacy or as a temple of mystery. The shops must have been much alike whether conducted by a physician with a hired pharmacist or by an independent chemist. Over the door hung a conventional sign—a golden ball, an ointment pot or a huge mortar and pestle, an impressive dragon or a deer or a dove. In the window the glowing carboys lured the passersby with their bright colors and mystic air.

"His shop the gazing vulgar's eyes employs
With foreign trinkets and domestic toys."

Within, the atmosphere was pungent with medicinal odors—spices, aromatics, sharp fumes of volatile drugs, or the by-products of the distillation that was constantly going on. Around the walls were rows of earthen jars, demi-johns and decorative galli-pots. There was the massive prescription counter with its immense brass scales and balanced pans, weighing in pounds and ounces the heavier objects offered for sale. From behind this counter came the pounding of the great stone mortar, and if one chose to look, there were the press, the crude distillation apparatus, the clumsy strainer, the shiny pill tile and bolus knife, the spatula and the apothecary's scales with their odd little weights stamped with scruples, drams and ounces. In a corner hung the string of antique bills, laden with dust. The shelves were filled with bottles, hand blown and of various colors — shelf bottles, stock bottles and vials, containing the well known "chemical and galenical" preparations. Some held crude drugs, dried rhizomes, roots and leaves. In others were powders, pills, ointments, infusions, tinctures, elixirs—all the favored preparations of a century of heavy dosing. One could not escape the great display of patent medicines. There were Gregory's and James's and Dover's powders. There were Palsy Drops, Jesuit Drops, Dutch Drops, Bateman's Pectoral Drops and the famous Black Drops. There were Plummer's Pills and Matthew's Pills and Anderson's Pills and the famous Hooper's Female Pills. Besides, there were Steer's Opodeldoc, the Lisbon Diet Drink, Stoughton's Great Cordial Elixir, Huxham's Elixir, Daffey's Elixir and Kermes' Mineral and Tar Water, which smelled and tasted of tar but was none the less absolutely inert.

The antiquarian in search of museum exhibits of old American apothecary shops should see the drug store established in 1830, now preserved in the Essex Museum at Salem, Massachusetts. He should visit Apothecaries' Hall in the museum at Charleston, South Carolina, where the shop of C. F. Schwettmann and Son, first set up in 1780, has been preserved. More interesting than either is Hugh Mercer's apothecary's shop at Fredericksburg, Virginia, still standing just as it stood one hundred and sixty years ago.

Dr. Mercer established himself in Fredericksburg about 1760 and in addition to practising medicine conducted this apothecary shop until early in 1776. Here George Washington kept a desk, where he transacted his business whenever he was in Fredericksburg. Here other celebrities gathered during the stormy pre-Revolutionary period. The shop as it appears today is part of a story-and-a-half frame house on the corner of Main and Amelia Streets. Within may be seen the original shelving and some of the original hand blown bottles, curious Eighteenth Century scales, colored carboys, the great mortar and pestle, firkins and assorted vials, all set up and arranged as they must have been in the last days of the Eighteenth Century.

Mercer shared the business for a short time in 1771 with Ewen Clements and later, from July 1772 to February 1776, with John Julian. Mercer was soon to become a brigadier-general in the American army, and Julian, too, served in the Revolution, as surgeon. In the *Gazette* of May 31, 1776 Thomas Powell advised the public that "The present situation of York having occasioned me to remove my family to this town, I shall open a large and fresh assortment of medicines in the shop formerly occupied by Dr. Mercer, where I will attend to practice."³³

On the corner of Commerce and Main Streets in Fredericksburg stands another old pharmacy, Bond's Drug Store. It was established in 1791 by Dr. Elisha Hall. The old brick building is still being used, and must appear externally very much as it did one hundred and forty years ago. During the Civil War it became a temporary field hospital, and its battle scarred walls still hold a cannon ball reminiscent of that time. Today the cluttered interior suggests nothing of its antiquity.

Much of the atmosphere of former days adheres to an old pharmacy in Alexandria. The Leadbetter Drug Store was established in 1792, a year after Bond's, and is still to be seen at the corner of King and Fairfax Streets. Here are preserved two original stone mortars for mixing and compounding powders and a spirits of nitre bottle still in use after one hundred and thirty-seven years. Here the Washingtons and Lees and other Northern Neck Vir-

³³Purdie's Virginia Gazette, May 31, 1776.

ginians dealt. Here General Robert E. Lee was seated when summoned to seize John Brown at Harper's Ferry. Here, in the days when "drops" were served by druggists, foregathered Webster, Clay and Calhoun. The founder was one Edward Stabler. On a borrowed capital of 500 pounds he set up the business when Alexandria was a town of 300 houses and when the city of Washington was still in the making. Stabler imported his first drugs from London, paying for them £106 - 4s. - 3d.

The store still preserves yellowed letters from colonial Virginians. One note reads: "Mrs. Washington desires Mr. Stabler to send by bearer one quart bottle of his best castor oil and the bill for it. Mount Vernon, April 22, 1802." A letter from Bushrod Washington complains that his bills are not rendered more frequently: in the future he would like them at least once a year. Stabler often ordered merchandise for his customers in London. In 1802 he dispatched the following order: "Please send with this order one medicine chest, complete with weights, scales, bolus knives, etc. I want this to be of mahogany of good quality, as it is for a wedding gift to the granddaughter of the widow of General Washington, the cost to be about 12 guineas."⁸⁴

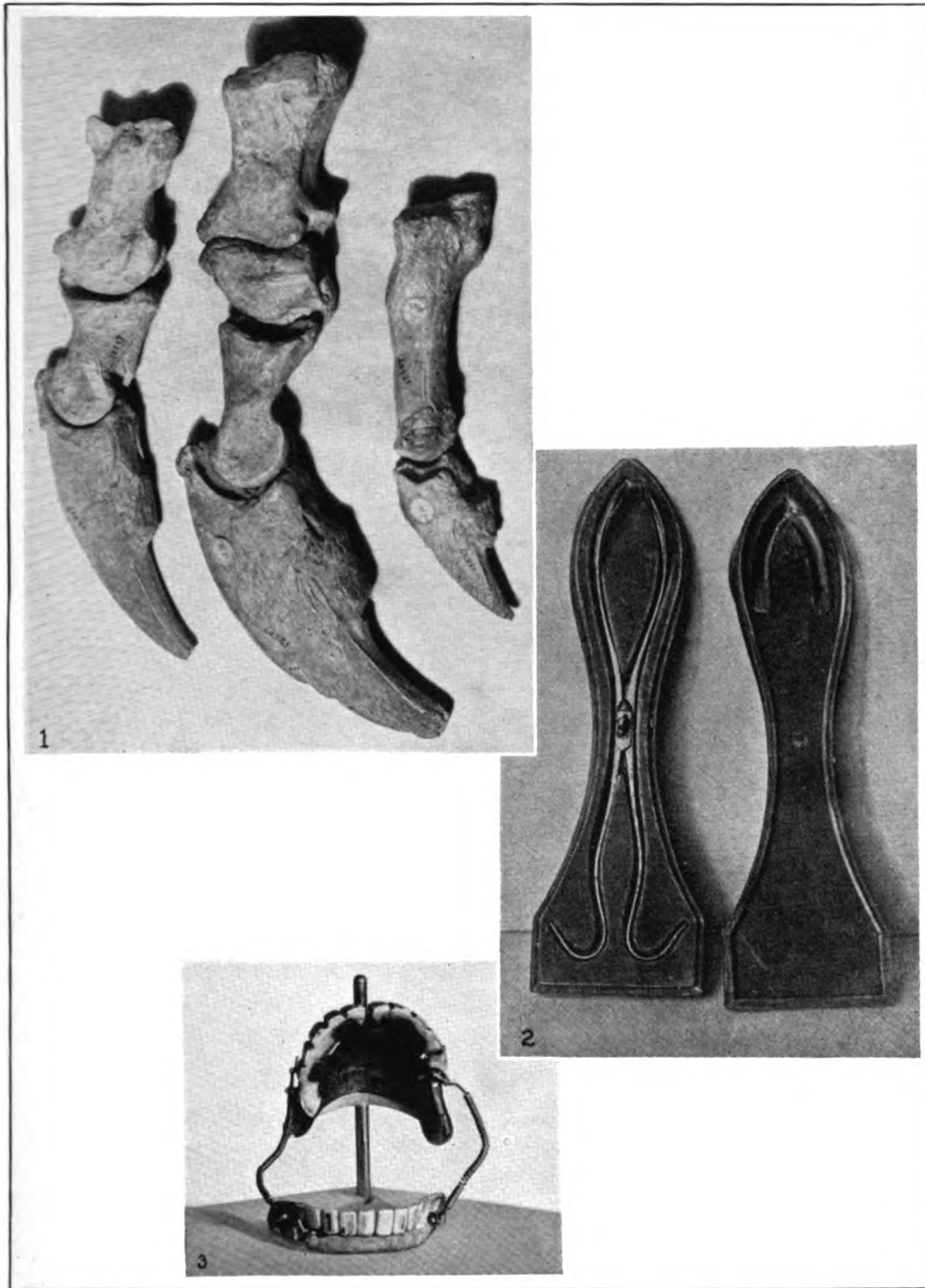
In 1774 King George presented to his Council in Virginia a complete set of testing weights and measures, which are still preserved in Alexandria. Designed to serve as standards, they have never seen commercial use: They are made of bell metal and are very cumbersome, the sides and bottom being about three quarters of an inch thick. They have been used for more than a hundred and fifty years. The wine pottel shows the most wear. It holds approximately a half gallon, the amount of liquid refreshment a colonial gentleman was supposed to consume in a day.⁸⁵

II. DENTISTRY

Dentistry was well known to the ancients. Considerable progress had been made in it 4,000 years ago. The mouths of Egyptian mummies with their filled, pivoted and artificial teeth bear silent witness to the proficiency of the dentists of the Pharaohs. It was a long time before Europe made similar progress. Up to the Sixteenth Century dentistry was a part of medicine, but during that and the succeeding centuries dental practice was almost exclusively in the hands of the barber surgeons. Real progress was not made before the Eighteenth Century, when dentistry first became a separate art. The new specialty was born in France. The dental operations practised by Fauchard in his

⁸⁴Washington Post, May 5, 1919: The Drug Store of a Hundred Years, by J. B. Campbell.

⁸⁵The Virginia Pharmacist, 1923, v. 7, p. 36.



1. Megalonyx Jeffersoni. 2. 18th Century obstetrical forceps.
3. George Washington's artificial teeth.

forty years' experience and enumerated by him in 1728 included cleaning, straightening, shortening, scraping, cauterizing, filling with lead, fastening, removing, replacing, transplanting and artificially constructing teeth. This is an excellent summary of the state of dental knowledge at that time. Fauchard had exposed the common belief that toothache was caused by worms and that cupping was a remedy.

In England, also, early dentistry was consigned to the barber surgeons, but their practice was sharply restricted to extraction. Nevertheless, though France launched dentistry on an independent basis, the greatest contribution of lasting value came from England. John Hunter, a physician, in his *Natural History of the Human Teeth*, published in 1771, and in a monograph on the *Treatment of the Teeth*, in 1778, brought to the subject a scientific method hitherto lacking. He pointed out the value of saving teeth for their own worth and demonstrated the relation of the teeth to systemic disease.

In America dentistry languished until 1776, and the few dentists known to have practised were confined to the northern states. James Mills, 1785, and Robert Woofendale, 1766, in New York, and John Baker, 1767, and Paul Revere, 1768, in Boston, enjoyed local reputations. Better known was John Greenwood, who served in the Revolutionary army and was highly regarded by Washington, for whom he made at least two sets of false teeth. One set was buried in Washington's mouth and the other is now in the Museum of the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery.

The Revolutionary War brought to this country many French dentists. Some of them, for example Gardette and La Moyeur, enjoyed a great reputation and succeeded in vastly popularizing the new science. After the war the soldiers who had observed the work of the French and English dentists returned home with a new appreciation of the possibilities of dentistry.

In colonial Virginia of the Seventeenth Century the doctors and surgeons practised what dentistry there was. Their work was limited to extraction and the treatment of toothache. In the Eighteenth Century the advances of dentistry in Europe began to be understood, but the physician still did most of the business. No less a person than Colonel William Fleming of Botetourt County in 1787 rendered an account for two shillings, six pence, for "drawing tooth for Negro Wench."

Dr. Millan, a practising physician at Falmouth, Virginia, was recommended by William Allason to his sister-in-law, Susannah Hooe, in 1772: "I think the sooner you cou'd come it might add the more to your own ease, by getting Doctor M. Millan, a skillful hand at drawing teeth, to relieve you from that

great pain, which you have long laboured under, by taking from you those that are defective."⁸⁶

The fee book of Dr. Robert Walker of Petersburg contains frequent mention of tooth-pulling; and a "tooth-drawer" was a common article in the doctors' inventories of this period.⁸⁷

Philip Fithian, suffering with what was probably an impacted wisdom tooth, relates how he sought out a physician but got little relief: "I rode after breakfast to Dr. Thompson with the settled purpose of having my troublesome tooth drawn out but on examination he found it to be too far back and too short to be extracted — more sorry I!"⁸⁸

Dental troubles are added to the chronicle of ailments given by Francis Taylor in his long and illuminating diary. For treatment he relied upon home remedies, or in extreme cases upon his brother Charles, who was a physician:

Jan. 23, 1787: "Had the toothache violently."

Feb. 3, "My face swelled with sore tooth and Gum boil."

Mar. 9, 1791: "Heard that Chas. Porter died yesterday — his death was caused by drawing a tooth which turned to a mortification."

Jan. 1, 1794: "I had the toothache last night violently in one of my fore teeth."

Aug. 27, 1797: "Walked to C. Taylor's — he drew a tooth for me it was the farthest in my jaw and some bone came with the tooth."

Aug. 1, 1798: "I went to C. Taylor's, got him to draw the roots of two of my jaw teeth, one of them hard to extract."

May 10, 1799: "I went to C. Taylor's — he drew the only remains of four of my upper fore teeth, which makes my mouth very sore . . ."⁸⁹

The exigencies of the times developed resourcefulness among laymen. William Byrd's account of pulling his own tooth shows the ingenuity of at least one Virginia gentleman:

"I had an impertinent Tooth in my upper Jaw, that had been loose for some time, and made me chew with great Caution. Particularly I cou'd not grind a Biscuit but with much deliberation and presence of mind. Tooth-Drawers we had none amongst us, nor any of the Instruments they make use of. However, Invention supply'd this want very happily, and I contriv'd to get rid of this troublesome Companion by cutting a Caper. I caused a Twine to be fasten'd round the Root of my tooth, about a Fathom in Length, and then

⁸⁶Allason Letter Books, II, p. 169. MS. in Virginia State Library.

⁸⁷MS. owned by the Virginia Historical Society.

⁸⁸Journal of Philip V. Fithian, Oct. 15, 1774, p. 268. Fithian, a Princeton graduate, was private tutor to the children of Councillor Robert Carter of Nomini Hall in 1773 and 1774. His journal gives a daily record of the life on a large Virginia plantation.

⁸⁹Diary of Francis Taylor, of Orange County, 1786-1799. MS. in the Archives Department, Virginia State Library.

ty'd the other End to the Snag of a Log that lay upon the Ground, in such a Manner that I cou'd just stand upright. Having adjusted my String in this Manner, I bent my Knees enough to enable me to spring vigorously off the Ground, as perpendicularly as I cou'd. The force of the Leap drew out the Tooth with so much ease that I felt nothing of it, nor should have believ'd it was come away, unless I had seen it dangling at the End of the String . . . This new way of Tooth-drawing, being so silently and deliberately perform'd, both surprized and delighted all that were present . . ."⁴⁰

According to Samuel Mordecai, in Richmond in the late Eighteenth Century "one Tooth-drawer, who probably never heard the word dentist, did all the work and all the mischief in the dental line." He goes on to describe this unique person:⁴¹

"Peter Hawkins was a tall, raw-boned, very black negro, who rode a raw-boned, black horse, for his practice was too extensive to be managed on foot, and he carried all his instruments, consisting of two or three pullikins, in his pocket. His dexterity was such, that he has been known to be stopped in the street by one of his distressed brethren, (for he was of the church,) and to relieve him of the offending tooth, gratuitously, without dismounting from his horse. His strength of wrist was such, that he would almost infallibly extract, or break a tooth, whether the right or the wrong one. I speak from sad experience, for he extracted two for me, a sound and an aching one, with one wrench of his instrument.

"On Sundays he mounted the pulpit instead of black bare-bones, and as a preacher he drew the fangs of Satan with his spiritual pullikins . . . Peter's surgical, but not his clerical mantle, fell on his son, who depletes the veins and pockets of his patients, and when he has exhausted the latter, the former are respited."⁴²

Most of the newspapers of the latter decades of the century carried glaring advertisements of itinerant dentists, who usually advised the public that only a brief stay would be possible on account of urgent calls elsewhere. Against such fly-by-nights Benjamin Jones of Boston wrote a warning in 1814, noting "the great impositions which have been practised by some who call themselves [dentists] . . . The impostor is sought for to make reparations but the bird has flown . . . The itinerant dentists therefore are never to be trusted." Virginia did not escape these visitations. In 1772 Mr. Hornby, calling himself a surgeon dentist from London, advertised his presence in Williamsburg after a successful visit to Norfolk. Besides dentistry, he "also cures all Sanable Diseases . . . Advice and Medicine, to the Poor Gratis . . . N. B. His stay here will be but short."⁴³

⁴⁰Bassett: Writings of Colonel Byrd, p. 318.

⁴¹The house of "Peter Hawkins, Tooth-Drawer" stood on Brook Avenue.

⁴²Mordecai: Richmond in By-Gone Days, p. 272.

⁴³Purdie & Dixon's Virginia Gazette, August 20, 1772.

In the same year another "surgeon dentist," John Baker, established himself at the house of Mr. Maupin in Williamsburg and announced his readiness "to fill up, with lead or gold, teeth that are hollow," to transplant natural teeth and to dispose of his very special dentrifice. He claimed already to have proved his skill to the principal nobility and gentry of Great Britain, France, Ireland and Holland, as well as to over 2,000 persons in New York and Boston. Williamsburg was evidently impressed, for a year later Mr. Baker leased the late Dr. Blair's house and advertised that he would continue his operations on the teeth and gums. He apparently continued also to travel about the colony.⁴⁴

In 1798 "Doctor Philip Larus—Surgeon & Dentist—Respectfully informs the Ladies and Gentlemen of Richmond and its vicinity, that he intends to remain at Capt. Richard Bowler's Tavern for a few weeks, where he will be happy to wait on those who may need his services." The marriage of Dr. Philip Larus, dentist, to Miss Polly Fraser of New Kent County was reported in the *Virginia Gazette*, December 4, 1805.

In 1800 Richmond received further dental attention, this time from "Mr. Florence, Surgeon Dentist, from London . . .," who advertised: "Teeth extracted in the easiest manner . . ." and recommended his "Tincture and Dentrifice Paste, prepared by himself, which preserve the teeth . . . cure the gums of the scurvy, and make the breath at all times sweet and agreeable, and cure the toothache immediately . . ." He "is to be spoke with" at Rising Sun Tavern.⁴⁵

Washington appears to have had a great deal of trouble with his teeth and was frequently under the care of dentists. In 1772, among his expense memoranda while he was in Williamsburg, the following interesting entries occur: "By Mr. Baker-Surgn. Dentist £4.0.0. By Dr. Pasteur's acct against Miss Custis £14.11.0. By Ditto . . . against self 8s. 6d." Under date of March 11, 1773: "By cash paid Doctr. Baker, Dentist, £1.6.0."⁴⁶ This was the same John Baker who had proved his skill to the nobility of Europe and to the 2,000 inhabitants of Boston and New York. On October 13, 1773 Washington wrote in his diary: "Mr. Beal went away after Breakfast, I continued at home all day. In the afternoon Mr. Willis and my brother Charles came, as also Mr. Baker, Surgeon Dentist." According to an entry in his ledger this visit cost Washington five pounds. By the year 1785 Mr. Baker had acquired the title of "doctor" and was included among the dinner guests at Mount Vernon. Washington's diary

⁴⁴Purdie & Dixon's *Virginia Gazette*, Jan. 2, 1772, and Jan. 14, 1773.

⁴⁵*Virginia Argus*, Oct. 7, 1800.

⁴⁶Fitzpatrick: *George Washington Diaries*, v. 2, pp. 59, 104.

for December 2 records: "Colo. and Mrs. McCarty came here to dinner, as did Colonels Fitzgerald and Gilpin, and Mr. Chas. Lee and Doctr. Baker."⁴⁷

Another dentist who appears to have enjoyed Washington's confidence was Dr. Le Mayeur or La Moyeur, a French dentist who attained considerable reputation in this country and stayed weeks at a time at Mount Vernon. He arrived in America in 1780 with letters to Sir Henry Clinton, but after a dinner table quarrel in which the doctor took exception to certain remarks derogatory to the French he became *persona non grata* to the British. He left New York City in 1783 and by 1785 had made Alexandria his headquarters. For the next three years his activities can be traced in the following interesting entries in Washington's diaries:

"Sept. 15, 1785: "Doctr. L'Moyer came in before Dinner."

Four days later: "Doctr. LaMoyer left this for Alexandria in my Carriage after Breakfast."

A week later: "Doctor. LaMoyer and Doctr. Craik came here to Dinner. The latter went away afterwards, the other staid all Night." The next day Dr. LaMoyeur accompanied Washington to Alexandria, where he remained.

April 14, 1786, "Doctr. LaMoyeur sent for his Black horse and Chaise which his Servant carried away today."

June 15, 1786, "About 7 O'clock in the Afternoon, Doctr. La Moyeur came in with a Servant, Chaise and 3 Horses."

June 17, "Doctr. La Moyeur and Majr. Washington went up to Alexandria today, the latter on my business. They dined there and returned in the evening."

June 23, "Doctr. La Moyeur came here this afternoon."

June 28, "Doctr. La Moyeur came in before dinner."

July 1, "Doctr. La Moyeur, who went from this on Wednesday last to Alexandria, returned this afternoon."

Dec. 14, "Dr. La Moyeur came in just as we were going to dinner."

Dec. 22, "Doctr. La Moyeur came in about the same time from Alexandria."

Dec. 26, "Doctr. La Moyeur went to Alexandria today."

Feb. 1787, "After Breakfast Doctr. La Moyeur went up to Alexandria, and Doctr. Stuart and Mr. Jno. Dandridge to Abingdon."

Feb. 10, "After breakfast Doctr. La Moyeur again set out and soon after Doctr. Craik went away."

Oct. 27, 1788, "Made the following distribution of the Mares, Colts and Horses that do not work: viz. At Dogue Run, in the Upper Meadows, 22 Mares, besides Doct. LaMoyeur's, — for breedg work or Sale." In recording the ages of his horses he speaks of Dr. La Moyeur's as a sorrel one year old.

Nov. 20, 1788, "Found Doctr. La Moyeur here."⁴⁸

The account of Doctor La Moyeur in Washington's diary gives an idea of

⁴⁷Fitzpatrick: George Washington Diaries, v. 2, p. 452.

⁴⁸Fitzpatrick: George Washington Diaries, v. 2, pp. 413, 414, 417; v. 3, pp. 43, 76, 77, 79, 81, 83, 149, 150, 166, 167, 437, 438, 447.

the manner in which dentists were probably operating elsewhere in Virginia and of how the more reputable were regarded. This particular doctor's activities in Virginia were not confined to Mount Vernon and Alexandria, as the following notice in the *Gazette* of December 3, 1785 testifies:

"Doctor Le Mayeur, from the City of New York, Dentist, Begs Leave to inform the Ladies and Gentlemen that he has arrived in the City of Richmond, where he intends to stay a few weeks, and will perform any operations on the teeth, hitherto performed in Europe, such as transplanting &c., &c., &c. Besides he puts natural teeth instead of false, to people who cannot have naturalities. Dr. Le Mayeur may be spoke with at Mrs. Younghusbands." In a postscript he added: "Any person that will dispose of their Front Teeth (slaves excepted) may receive Two Guineas for each, by calling on Doctor Laymeur, at Mrs. Younghusband's, in the City of Richmond."⁴⁹ Two years later Dr. La Moyeur was again at Mrs. Younghusband's and still looking for front teeth, offering two guineas per tooth to "any person white or black (excepting slaves)." He was evidently a staunch advocate of transplantation.

III. NURSING

There is nothing to show that nursing in Virginia during the period under discussion surpassed the dead level of inferiority that characterized it in the preceding century. It was not a profession at all and did not achieve that distinction for more than a hundred years. It was still the business of slovenly old women. Florence Nightingale once observed that "at one time or another . . . every woman is a nurse." We can be sure that on the women of Virginia homes rested the chief responsibility for the care of the sick—a duty that even the advent of specialized nursing has not entirely lifted.

A new figure did appear during this period—the negro nurse. She was the natural outgrowth of slavery and of the economic and social life of the south. As mammy, midwife, wet nurse or nurse-maid she became a figure of increasing importance. Mammies had large responsibilities in the nursery and often took entire charge of the dosing of the children. Out on the plantation negro nurses had even more responsibility, especially in the larger establishments where they presided over the infirmary and where the care of the small slave children was almost completely committed to them. In Mrs. Pynnelle's *Diddie, Dumps, and Tot* we have a characteristic picture of the negro nurse functioning on the plantation. The scene of Aunt Nancy administering their anticubum vermifuge to the little darkies was daily enacted on many Virginia

⁴⁹Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 10, p. 325.

estates. In the nauseous mixture of plantation herbs and molasses the old woman's faith was implicit, and she passed it from one little darky to another observing that "Ef'n hit want fur dat furnifuge, den Marster wouldn't hab all dem niggers w'at yer see hyear."

If anything improved the tone of nursing in this century it was the Revolutionary War. The *Virginia Gazette* in 1776 announced that nurses to attend the sick were wanted for the continental hospital at Williamsburg, a need that was expressed over and over again throughout this stormy period. The experience gained in war nursing under the best American and foreign doctors must have given the calling an impetus that was felt long after the war. Nursing during the war was divided between the two sexes. Dr. Matthew Pope announced in 1780 that "orderlies and their wives who act as nurses shall be allowed, from this date, Twenty five dollars pr week currency, with the usual advantages heretofore allowed up to the last payment, etc."⁵⁰ The payments shown in the accounts of the auditor's office during the years of the war include:

"Paid Mary Weatherford for Nursing Sick Soldiers . . . 4-15-09."

"Paid Sarah Strather for Wood and Attendance Sick Soldiers . . . 0-6-00."

"Paid Sarah Spotswood for Nursing sick soldiers . . . 2-10-00."

"Paid John Warrington for Nursing Sick Soldiers . . . 4-19-04."

"Paid Fielding Lewis to James Kerr for Nursing Sick Soldiers. . . 3-08-88."⁵¹

Margaret Payne and Jemima Copper were also nurses of the Revolutionary period and made salve for the wounded soldiers brought into Alexandria.

Times were such that a nurse of more than average intelligence was often led to experiment with the actual prescribing of drugs and, gaining a little success, acquired a local reputation for her doctoring. In some such way the numerous doctresses who flourished earlier in Virginia came into being. In the Eighteenth Century these doctresses were still to be found. Such were Hannah Pearson and Constant Woodson. William Byrd, passing through Fredericksburg in 1732, wrote, "I must not forget Mrs. Levistone, who Acts here in the Double Capacity of a Doctress and Coffee Woman."⁵²

A Mrs. Dennis was famous in the early history of frontier Virginia. She figures as a nurse and dispenser of medicines among the Indians who took her captive from her home to their settlement near Chillicothe, Ohio. One day in 1763, while gathering herbs in the woods for her captors, she made her escape, wandered alone through the forest, rafted herself down the Great Kanawha and at last reached the Greenbrier, where she was found and revived by settlers.⁵³

⁵⁰Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 1, p. 332.

⁵¹Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, vols. 26, 27.

⁵²Bassett: Writings of Colonel Byrd, p. 375.

⁵³Logan: The Part Taken by Women in American History, p. 51.

CHAPTER IV

EPIDEMIC DISEASES

I

EPIDEMICS did not threaten the life of Virginia in the Eighteenth Century as they had in the preceding hundred years. Those that occurred are more easily defined and were limited chiefly to yellow fever, typhoid fever, smallpox, malaria and dysentery. Many of the prevalent diseases were not, strictly speaking, epidemic, though they were called so by contemporary writers. The sicknesses of the colony formed a large part of the table talk and letter writing of its people, and every diary of the period contains endless notations of the prevailing symptoms.

"The conversation at Table," reads Fithian's journal for August 12, 1773, "was on the Disorders which seem to be growing to be epidemical, Fevers, Agues, Fluxes—A gloomy train!" Oldmixon thirty years earlier had reported similarly: "The Diseases most incident to the Place are Colds, caught by the irregular Conduct of People at their first Arrival; Gripes and Fluxes, occasioned by the same means, the English eating too greedily the pleasant Fruits of the Country; Cachexes, or Yaws, which is a violent Scurvy. The Seasoning here, as in other Parts of America, is a Fever or Ague, which the Change of the Climate and Diet generally throws new Comers into: The Bark is in Virginia a Sovereign Remedy to this Disease."¹ Late in the century a letter writer observed, ". . . its Esteem'd the most sickly Province this Except Georgia & S. Carolina. Fevers and Agues, Pleurises, Bilious Fevers rage Terrible—when I first landed the Agues and Fevers were about their last Stages, it appeared to me like a general Plague. There were no less than 7 seized with it in the same House where I was . . . Yet thank God I never was in the least affected with it altho I was sleeping in the room where they were raging out of their senses with it nor never had any sickness since I left."²

Governor Gooch, answering the queries of the Lords of Trade in England in 1749, counted on a high birth rate to offset what seemed to be an inevitably high mortality: "Without all doubt the Inhabit^s are greatly increased & in all

¹Oldmixon: *British Empire*, v. 1, p. 429.

²Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 23, pp. 408-411.

likely hood will continue to do so, tho' for 2 or 3 years p^sd a malignant Fever & ye S. P^k occasioned a Mortality in whites & Blacks, but ye no. of Negrs and sev^s we may in peace expect will be imported, together wth the early marriages of the males & ye aptness of ye Females for generation in both complexions must necessarily occasion a great increase of People in a country free from much Luxury . . .”³

Fifty years later Chastellux observed of the Virginia planters that epidemical disorders, which were very common among the slaves, rendered “both their property and their revenue extremely precarious.”⁴

The century opened with a peculiar plague which called forth a proclamation from the Governor, April 6, 1700: “Whereas it has pleased Almighty God for the Punishment of our Sins to visit this Country with a great and visible Plague of Caterpillars which threaten the destruction not only of the fruit & Mast but also of Corn and other grain, & consequently a great dearth & famine if God of His infinite mercy do not remedy and prevent the same . . . I Francis Nicholson Esqr . . . with advice and consent of his Matys honble Council of State of Virginia have thought fitt to appoint a solemn day of fasting and for deprecating the wrath of Almighty God . . .”⁵ At a meeting of the Council on April 25, 1700 it was resolved that “Whereas it has pleased almighty God of his iafinite mercy to deliver this Colony from ye late great & rageing Plague of Caterpillars wth wch it was Infested in an humble Sence thereof, it is ordered . . . yt ye 5th day of June next be observed and kept . . . as a day of thanksgiving . . . and yt a Proclamation be drawn. . . .”⁶

In 1709 the Council of the colony found it advisable to decree a public fast: “Whereas it hath pleased God to afflict diverse parts of this Country with a pestilential and infectious Sickness which has swept away great numbers of the Inhabitants It is ordered that a solemn Fast be observed and kept throughout the whole Colony . . .”⁷ Another “rageing pestilential Distemper” was noted in the Council Journals⁸ the following December.

In 1722 the plague was epidemic in Europe, and the Virginia Assembly passed an act obliging ships coming from infected places to perform quarantine before landing either men or cargo.⁹

In 1737 there is reference to jail fever (typhoid). The *Virginia Gazette* on July 22, 1737 carried a news item: “We hear from Potownack, That a ship is

³Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 3, p. 119.

⁴Chastellux: Travels through North America in the years 1780-81-82, p. 295.

⁵Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, v. 2, p. 49.

⁶Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, v. 2, p. 139.

⁷Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, v. 3, p. 214.

⁸Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, v. 3, p. 229.

⁹Hening: Statutes at Large, v. 4, pp. 99, 100.

lately arrived there, from London with convicts . . . Gaol distemper is said to have been on board."¹⁰ This disease reappeared in 1776, when the *Gazette* reported that the jail distemper "rages with great vilence on board Lord Dunmore's fleet, particularly among the negro forces," of whom over 150 died.¹¹

II. YELLOW FEVER

Mysterious in its causation, spectacular in its symptoms, dramatic in its termination, yellow fever was peculiarly an American epidemic disease of the Eighteenth Century. Characterized by a sudden onset, pains, a temperature that remitted after the second or third day, jaundice, black vomit and delirium, it usually ran its course in about a week. The mortality varied from ten to twenty-five per cent. A well marked case in the course of an epidemic must have been easily diagnosed, as only the severer types of malaria, possibly dengue, might have been confused with it in this country. Yellow fever appears to have masqueraded under a number of different names: the American plague, bilious plague, malignant infectious fever, Barbadoes distemper, bilious yellow fever and bilious remitting yellow fever. Originating possibly in Africa,¹² it was violently endemic in the Lesser and Greater Antilles all through the century, no fewer than sixty-three epidemics being recorded there by Berenger-Feraud. There were outbreaks of the disease in the American colonies in the Seventeenth Century, notably in New York in 1668, Boston in 1691 and Charleston in 1699. In Virginia, outbreaks of "Calenture," which may or may not have been yellow fever, were several times mentioned early in the Seventeenth Century.

It remained for the Eighteenth Century to witness such epidemics of yellow fever as had never been seen in the country before. In 1702 New York, with a population of more than 16,000, suffered 570 deaths from this cause. There were epidemics in New York and Charleston in 1732 and in Philadelphia in 1741. Another outbreak in New York in 1743 was responsible for 217 deaths. In 1746 the disease again visited Philadelphia, and in 1791 it reappeared in New York. Before 1800 yellow fever had occurred in Baltimore, New Haven, Charleston, Providence, Washington, New London and Philadelphia. The Philadelphia epidemics of 1793, 1797 and 1798 were particularly fearful in their mortality. Matthew Carey gives a vivid description of the panic in Philadelphia during the visitation of 1793: "Most of those who could by any means

¹⁰Phillips: *Plantation and Frontier*, v. 2, p. 52.

¹¹Alexander Purdie's *Virginia Gazette*, Mar. 8, 1776.

¹²Opinion of the late Dr. Henry R. Carter, personally communicated by his daughter, Laura A. Carter.

make it convenient, fled from the city. Of those who remained, many shut themselves up in their houses, being afraid to walk the streets. The smoke of tobacco being regarded as a preventive, many persons, even women and small boys, had segars almost constantly in their mouths. Others, placing full confidence in garlic, chewed it almost the whole day; some kept it in their pockets and shoes . . . Those who ventured abroad, had handkerchiefs or sponges, impregnated with vinegar or camphor, at their noses, or smelling-bottles full of thieves vinegar. Others carried pieces of tarred rope in their hands or pockets, or camphor bags tied around their necks."¹³

Dr. Rush's account is still more gruesome: ". . . one third of the inhabitants had fled into the country. In walking for many hundred yards, few persons were met, except such as were in quest of a physician, a nurse, a bleeder, or the men who buried the dead. The hearse alone kept up the remembrance of carriages or carts in the street. Funeral processions were laid aside. A black man, leading or driving a horse, with a corpse on a pair of chair wheels, with now and then a half dozen relations and friends following at a distance from it, met the eye in most of the streets of the city at every hour of the day, while the noise of the same wheels passing slowly over the pavements, kept alive anguish and fear in the sick and well, every hour of the night."¹⁴

A disease so mysterious in its appearance was naturally explained in many different ways, but in general American physicians divided into two camps, each led by a Philadelphia physician. One group followed the redoubtable Benjamin Rush in believing that the fever was of domestic origin, contagious, and best treated with blood letting and purgation.¹⁵ The other group followed his adversary, William Currie, who held that the disease was brought to this country from foreign ports and thoroughly disapproved of Rush's mercurials and phlebotomies.

The features of American yellow fever which appear clear in the light of subsequent events and which a few keen intellects grasped at the time were that it was peculiarly a disease of the American seaboard, occurring in ports visited by a large number of ships from the Barbadoes; that the greatest number of cases appeared near the wharves; that cold weather usually stopped an epidemic; and that often nurses and midwives who were in intimate contact with the disease escaped the infection entirely. All of these facts are explicable in the light of Walter Reed's demonstration of the *stegomyia fasciata* as the carrier of the disease and of our present knowledge of the habits of mosquitoes,

¹³Packard: *History of Medicine in the United States*, p. 130.

¹⁴Packard: *History of Medicine in the United States*, p. 132.

¹⁵Rush gives credit to Dr. John Mitchell of Virginia for one of the chief features of his therapy, namely his "lenitive cholagogue purgatives," which Mitchell had used successfully in Virginia in 1741-42.

the ability of their larvae to survive long sea voyages in fresh water buckets on shipboard and their limited flying range; but to Eighteenth Century medical minds the situation was a baffling one, concerning which they had many theories but few facts.

Virginia, which had few large seacoast towns, probably never suffered such epidemics as occurred in some of the other colonies. Norfolk's population was less than 6,000 at the end of the century; her trade with the Barbadoes was not great and with the neighboring colonies still less. The earliest recorded epidemics in Virginia occurred in 1737 and 1741-2¹⁶ and were described by John Mitchell in what is now a classic among early American medical essays. He records thirty or forty cases which he attended, chiefly among the negroes. His account is most valuable as a picture of the type of practitioner then existing in Virginia. Many of his fatal cases were autopsied. His description of the bodies and visceral changes in these fatal cases is accurate and betrays a mind thoroughly imbued with the spirit of scientific investigation. Dr. Mitchell's practice lay along the lower Rappahannock River, which was open to seafaring vessels. If the other physicians of the neighborhood treated as many cases as Dr. Mitchell, this early epidemic must have been a severe one.

The next mention of yellow fever in Virginia occurs in Fithian's journal in 1773: "There is a report that the Jail-fever, or Yellow or putrid Fever, is at one Mr. Atwel's on potowmack, in this Country; that it was brought in a Ship which came lately with convict Servants; that two have already died, one this morning; & that many of Mr. Atwels Slaves are infected!"¹⁷ Ten years later Dr. Schoepf, describing the frequent fevers of the Dismal Swamp area, referred to one particularly severe epidemic, which he failed to identify as yellow fever: "Not long ago according to what the people said, a nervous fever had caused a terrible devastation among the blacks and the other inhabitants as well. The disease began with an extraordinary weakness, accompanied by pains in the head and back, and was often fatal within the first 12-24 hours."¹⁸

The year 1793, when the great epidemic was raging in Philadelphia, marks the beginning of a series of increasingly frequent and severe outbreaks of yellow fever in the seaport towns of all the colonies. Virginia, greatly alarmed, resorted to strict quarantine laws to safeguard herself against the spread of "the contagion." On September 17, 1793 the Governor issued a proclamation re-

¹⁶It is recorded that the 3,000 men raised in America for the Carthagena expedition in 1740 were reduced to 1,300 by yellow fever. A number of Virginians took part in this expedition. Papers in the Public Record Office, printed in the Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 30, pp. 3-20.

¹⁷Fithian's Journal, pp. 110, 111.

¹⁸Schoepf: Travels in the Confederation, v. 2, p. 100.

quiring all ships coming from Philadelphia, the Grenades and the Island of Tobago to anchor off Craney Island near the mouth of the Elizabeth River and forbidding the landing of passengers or cargo for twenty days.¹⁹ Superintendents of quarantine for other cities were appointed at the same time, William Nelson for the port of York and Dr. Elisha Cullen Dick for Alexandria.

Dr. Dick, writing the Governor for instructions, observed, "For my own part, notwithstanding the confidence reposed in me compelled me to act in conformity to a different opinion, yet it has always been my belief that the malignance of the Philadelphia disease was entirely local and not transportable. I have not only heard of the disorders existing under a milder form in many parts of this country, but have seen it epidemical in this Town. That it has been productive of so much mortality in Philad'a, I have ascribed to the co-operation of local circumstances."²⁰

A contrary opinion was expressed by an anonymous "Friend to Richmond," who wrote the Governor on October 13, 1793, asking that steps be taken to prevent the introduction of the "Malignant disorder which has proved so fatal to our fellow men in Philadelphia." Several people, he reported, had recently come to Richmond from Philadelphia, and one girl "who has come to this town not more than one week ago from Philadelphia . . . departed this life the last night, and was buried privately." He referred the Governor to Doctors Leiper and Prentis, who had attended the dead girl.²¹ This quarantine was revoked November 25, "the malignant fever which unhappily prevailed in the city of Philadelphia" having subsided.²²

Two years later a serious epidemic broke out in Norfolk and raged there through the months of August and September, accounting for 220 deaths in six weeks.²³ It was this epidemic of which Rochefoucauld wrote in 1796: ". . . diseases are habitual at Norfolk in summer and autumn, and . . . malignant epidemics are there frequent. Last year the yellow fever is said to have carried off there five hundred persons from a population of four thousand. Three hundred died at the time the distemper prevailed; the others fell victims to its consequences . . ."²⁴

The excitement in Virginia at this time must have been great. In Richmond the City Council asked the Governor for militia to keep people from Norfolk from entering the town.²⁵ Doctors William Foushee and Andrew Leiper re-

¹⁹Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 6, p. 537.

²⁰Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 6, p. 650.

²¹Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 6, p. 595.

²²Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 6, p. 650.

²³Letter from Dr. Ramsay in Webster's Collection of Papers on the subject of bilious fevers.

²⁴Rochefoucauld: Travels through the United States of North America, v. 3, p. 12.

²⁵Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 8, p. 289.

ported to the Governor from Richmond on August 30, 1795 that they had inspected a sick man and a dead body on board the *Wadrop* and "are decidedly of the opinion that the disease is not the yellow fever, but a remittent fever, attended with nervous and putrid symptoms, which we conceive have been greatly increased by the crowded situation of the people . . . this hot season . . . The total want of medical assistance . . . and . . . of common necessities, . . . account, we think for the fatal effects of the disorder . . ." However, they recommended precautions against its spreading.²⁶ In Alexandria Dr. Dick was again active, as quarantine officer, in preventing the introduction of the fever from Norfolk.²⁷

The Governor kept in close contact with the progress of the epidemic. On September 1, 1795 the Superintendent of Quarantine in Norfolk wrote the Executive that "the disease which raged among us . . . has been most among those who were exposed to the sun . . . the nurses and carriers have not been infected, which causes me to conclude that the disease is not contagious. Strangers to our climate have mostly fallen victims . . . Whatever cause the disorder may have sprung from . . . I am sure it has not been imported . . ." He submitted a report signed by Doctors Taylor and Hansford, Perry and O'Grady, J. K. Read, James Ramsay and Charles Mortimer, all of Norfolk, who agreed that the "Fever now prevailing in this Town . . . is in some degree Epidemic, originating, however, in the lower part of the town, where from the confined situation of the houses and the uncleanness of narrow streets, such diseases are apt to generate . . . we are satisfied the complaint is not an imported one . . . Most of the deaths . . . have been among strangers and that class of people who . . . live intemperately. The same disease prevailed here last autumn, and a number of strangers died of it."²⁸

The following summer Thomas Newton reported to the Governor his apprehensions of another outbreak. Alarming news of a malignant fever in Charleston had caused him to order inspection of incoming boats. He advised acquiring fifty acres of land for the erection of a hospital for the sick and for those undergoing quarantine, as well as for a burying ground for the dead from infected vessels.²⁹

The apprehensions for that year proved groundless, but in 1797 yellow fever was again epidemic in Norfolk. On September 19, 1797 Dr. James McClurg forwarded to the Governor resolutions adopted by the Richmond Common Hall, asking for executive aid in preventing the spread to Richmond of the

²⁶Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 8, p. 287.

²⁷Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 8, p. 326.

²⁸Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 8, p. 289.

²⁹Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 8, p. 386.

"dangerous and contagious fever" raging in Norfolk. On September 25 James Allen, quarantine officer at Fredericksburg, asked the Governor for authority to compel ships from Philadelphia, Baltimore and Norfolk to perform quarantine, because of the "Yellow Fever now raging" in those towns.³⁰

The year 1798 witnessed a still more serious outbreak, especially in Portsmouth and Petersburg. As early as August 2 Thomas Newton in Norfolk warned the Governor that yellow fever was reported to be raging in Jamaica. He asked permission to have the doctor of the port examine incoming vessels.³¹ On August 17 two vessels reached Richmond from Philadelphia. On the voyage several of the seamen had died of a malignant fever, and Doctors Foushee and Leiper, at the Governor's request, examined the sanitary condition of the two ships.³² A month later Dr. Andrew Leiper reported on his examination of two sloops from City Point: "The man who died last night must have been carried off by the Yellow Fever. The corpse very yellow, with large purple marks. The sloop . . . has now a sick man on board, is getting yellow eyes and neck, has puked up in my presence matter resembling the grounds of coffee. A distressing hiccough; will probably die."³³

From Alexandria Dr. Elisha Dick on October 10 reported that a vessel from Philadelphia had brought some yellow fever cases and that a young student of his, visiting the patients, had contracted the disease and communicated it to two members of Dr. Dick's family, who fortunately recovered.³⁴ At the same time the Mayor of Alexandria asked the Governor's permission to move the quarantine station farther from the city on account of the danger from yellow fever and suggested that Maryland and Virginia might jointly occupy Craney Island, in the Elizabeth River, for this purpose.³⁵

There was apparently ample justification for alarm. The Richmond papers reported that "one-sixth part of the usual number of the inhabitants residing at City-point, near Petersburg, have been swept off in the course of about 20 days; that the fatal malady was spread by the ship Nestor, of Portland, Capt. Wait, which vessell arrived at City-point from Philadelphia, on the 24th of August, having thrown four dead hands overboard on her passage. Being without hands to load with tobacco, negroes were called upon, and out of eleven thus employed, ten have died. Almost every case can be traced to this vessel."³⁶

³⁰Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 8, p. 449.

³¹Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 8, p. 506.

³²Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 8, p. 208.

³³Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 8, p. 512.

³⁴Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 8, p. 519.

³⁵Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 8, p. 520.

³⁶Currie: *Memoirs of the Yellow Fever in Philadelphia, 1798*, p. 109.

Dr. William Currie of Philadelphia collected several accounts from Virginians about the epidemic of 1798. From Mr. Thomas Lorain of Petersburg he received a long and illuminating letter, dated September 24, at the height of the epidemic: "It seems difficult to ascertain the rise and progress of this fatal disease, but the circumstances related are these:

"1st. I understand the ship Nestor, in which the suspected infection came, was from Philadelphia or Boston . . .

"2nd. 'Tis reported that three sailors died on board before she reached City Point.

"3rd. Before my youth went on board, a negro ashore advised him not to go there, for people had died in that ship of the fever . . . but the captain seriously avered that the negro was angry with him, and reported this maliciously to the young men, who at length consented to go.

"4th. The ship had nothing in it but dirt ballast from the town she left . . . The day before, they had pumped out of her several gallons of fetid bilgewater, the scent of which even then remained unpleasant, for it had been in her some weeks.—Most of the hands who pumped it sickened and died, as did several of those who helped to land the ballast.

"5th. Since the youths left the ship, several persons in that neighborhood have died of the like fever, and Dr. Walker, who visited them while a black vomiting was on some of them, is now very sick in the house opposite us, but I hope is recovering.

"6th. The youths left the ship at 6 o'clock P.M. and from getting aground frequently did not return home before midnight. In the day they were exposed to an hot sun, and at night to an heavy dew.

"7th. On the Tuesday of that same week, at 12 o'clock, my lad was taken with an ague, and before night every one of the party that went in the vessel had an high fever, but two of the negroes who went to row and avoided the ship, escaped the fever.—Many are willing to attribute the disease to the effects of the sun and dew, and say these negroes kept up perspiration by rowing home, while the whites lay exposed to the cool dew in an open boat. My youth was bled on Wednesday morning, . . . but . . . Dr. Shore could not let as much blood as he wished, (only a tea cup full) for they approve of copious bleeding. His complaint was a deadly sickness at the stomach, with pains in every limb, attended with frequent vomiting of yellow bile. During his disorder he took a quantity of pills which operated well; injections were administered; each temple cup'd; stomach and legs blistered; and the last medicine given was, I believe, an emetic powder. On Saturday . . . a delirium and stupor came on; thus he remained till Sunday, when the above emetic was

given . . . his eyes began to vibrate exceedingly, and with much oppression at his breast, he expired . . ."

Mr. Lorain continued, "This summer I went to the tin factory opposite to us, to get some tin which they kept in a back house; the yard was so excessive filthy, I asked them if they were hatching the yellow fever? they hoped not, but every creature of them have had a fever like the above; some had it before the shipping came; and several about this town have the like fever, but are chiefly on the recovery . . . Our family physician is just recovering; his head was blistered, and he was delirious several days. One of the tanners told me he . . . could get no relief till the doctor allowed him to drink cold water in small draughts at a time. This enabled him to keep his medicine down, which he could not do before. Our physicians think the disease originates from the sun, heat, dew, filth, &c. — probably it does, for no one caught it of my young man; and had it been the small-pox, I dare say they would have felt the effects of it. Every dose of medicine I gave him with my own hand . . . I used no preventative, but burnt tar frequently in the house and sprinkled it fore and aft with vinegar, keeping every window open day and night . . . When our family physician [Dr. Shore] recovers, you shall know more of this fever . . ."³⁷

The epidemic of 1799, which was very severe in several of the northern colonies, is described in a contemporary medical journal: "Portsmouth and Petersburg in Virginia, are the only places west and South of Chesapeake and Susquehanna, so far as we yet know, which have been attacked with violence. In all of these towns, the sickness and mortality have been great, and, in addition to these, the consternation and flight of the inhabitants, and the derangement and suspension of business, have greatly enhanced the public distress.

"Although June and July, with the exception of a few days, had been moderate, cool and rainy, the weather entirely changed in August, and exhibited a degree of heat, in point of duration and steadiness, if not of severity, very uncommon in this climate.

"This epidemic generally appeared early in August; through the remainder of which month, September, and the chief part of October, it continued to rage with much violence; in the latter end of October, and in some instances earlier, a sensible abatement had taken place, and in the first weeks of November, the disorder entirely ceased."³⁸

Yellow fever continued to be a matter of great and almost annual concern to Virginia cities. The Nineteenth Century was ushered in to the familiar ac-

³⁷Currie: *Memoirs of the Yellow Fever*, p. 110.

³⁸*Medical Repository*, New York, 1799, v. 2, p. 211.

companiment of quarantine reports. "I am informed," wrote the Superintendent at Fredericksburg, August 13, 1800, "the yellow fever or some contagious disease is now raging in Norfolk, and numbers are dying with it daily."³⁹ The Richmond Common Hall again took steps to prevent the spread to that city, the inhabitants of City Point asked the appointment of a quarantine officer, two men died at Fredericksburg on a boat thirteen days from Norfolk and several cases were reported at Alexandria. Meanwhile Thomas Newton was declaring that accounts of the sickness at Norfolk were greatly exaggerated; but his report showed fifty new cases and ten deaths between August 29 and September 2. He clung stubbornly to his belief that the disease was of local origin: "I am fully convinced that it is not imported . . . Whether the disease communicates I am much at a loss to know."⁴⁰ Dr. J. K. Read, Health Officer at Norfolk, asked compensation for his inspection of 126 vessels and 1,087 men between June and November and complained of the "trouble and fatigue of such a business, and the injury it must be to a man in practice."⁴¹

The citizens of City Point urged a hospital at Jordan's Point for the reception and cure of infectious diseases and requested the appointment of a quarantine officer. The Richmond Common Hall requested the Governor to establish an infirmary to receive persons coming to the city infected with "Yellow fever or other contagious disorder." Dr. William Foushee suggested that a vessel lying at Rockett's be hired and fitted up for a temporary hospital.

III. SMALLPOX

The appalling morbidity and mortality from smallpox before Jenner's discovery of vaccination is difficult to appreciate. As late as 1754 "every tenth person died and one tenth of all mankind was killed, crippled or disfigured by smallpox."⁴² Slight epidemics appeared every few years, affecting the non-immunes among the population, chiefly the younger individuals who had grown up since the last visitation. Occasionally there were more serious epidemics, influenced by the virulence of the disease and the presence of a larger number of non-immunes. Poverty, overcrowding and travel in times of peace and the accelerated interplay of these factors in times of war, determined the incidence of the disease.

In America smallpox was unknown before the coming of the Spanish ships.

³⁹Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 9, pp. 129, 132, 137.

⁴⁰Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 9, pp. 130, 136.

⁴¹Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 9, p. 59.

⁴²De la Condamine, quoted by George Dick, *Oxford Medicine*, v. 5, p. 554.

The disease had been long epidemic in Africa, which was probably the scene of the earliest outbreaks. These facts explain the decimating effect of the disease upon the American Indian and the recurring epidemics which followed in the wake of the African slave trade. Notable epidemics of smallpox were recorded in Boston in 1722 and 1764; in Philadelphia in 1730, 1736, 1737, 1756 and 1774; and in South Carolina (Charleston) in 1738. There is no mention of epidemics in Virginia in the Eighteenth Century before 1747, and the subsequent outbreaks of the disease never reached the alarming proportions recorded in the northern cities. The *New York Weekly Postboy* for October 16, 1752, by way of reassuring the public, stated "we are assured that there are now very few families in this city but what either have or have had the smallpox." At the same time from the Boston papers it appeared "that 5059 White Persons, and 415 Blacks, have had the Small Pox in that Town, this Season, in the natural way."⁴⁴ Nothing like this could have happened in Virginia.

The Eighteenth Century witnessed the popularization of two measures which first reduced and later almost wiped out the smallpox morbidity in the civilized world. In the first quarter of the century inoculation was introduced into England from the East by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and almost synchronously in this country by Cotton Mather and Zabdiel Boylston. The immediate and violent opposition to the method on the part of most physicians, the patience under persecution and the scientific devotion of Boylston and his followers are an epoch-making chapter in American medical history. The story of the opposition to inoculation is as amazing as the record of the persistence of its advocates. The struggle began in Boston as a battle of the medical profession versus the clergy, backed by mob violence. The new method had to fight its way in Philadelphia and it lost out in New York, where Governor Clinton in 1747 issued a proclamation "strictly prohibiting and forbidding all and every of the Doctors, Physicians, Surgeons, and Practitioners of Physick and all and every other person within this Province to inoculate for the small pox."⁴⁴

In Virginia the opposition was also great, and there were no such convincing experiments as Boylston's in Boston or Kirkpatrick's in Charleston⁴⁵ to overcome popular prejudice. There are scattered examples of inoculation in Virginia before 1768, but the belief generally prevailed that the procedure spread rather than prevented the disease. An epidemic in Williamsburg in

⁴⁴Walsh: *History of Medicine in New York*, v. 1, pp. 95, 96.

⁴⁵Walsh: *History of Medicine in New York*, v. 1, p. 95.

⁴⁶"In the year 1721 . . . Dr. Boylston inoculated 247 persons . . . of this number 6 died. In the same period 5,759 took the disease in the natural way, of whom 844 died." (Hutchinson: *History of Massachusetts*.) Kirkpatrick in Charleston inoculated about 900 in 1743 with only 8 deaths.

1768 was blamed upon inoculation. The petition of sundry inhabitants of the colony in 1769 set forth the "destructive Tendency of Inoculation," and a blow to the practice was given in June 1770 in an "Act to regulate the Small Pox within the Colony," which severely penalized anyone wilfully importing variolous matter with the intention of inoculating. Fortunately a better understanding of the results of the procedure gradually developed, due largely to its extensive use in the Revolutionary War, so that in 1777 the act was amended to permit inoculation if the consent of the housekeepers within a radius of two miles was first obtained. Inoculation was never, however, very widely practised in Virginia, for as late as 1796 Rochefoucauld wrote that "the law against inoculation is rigidly enforced . . . any person who should presume to inoculate without these precautions would be punished by a fine of ten thousand dollars . . ." ⁴⁶

Virginia's attitude toward Jennerian vaccination, which was introduced in the last years of the century, was far more creditable, thanks chiefly to Thomas Jefferson, whose part in introducing and popularizing the procedure by experimenting upon his slaves at Monticello and by furnishing physicians in several parts of the country with the virus has never been fully appreciated.

As has been intimated, smallpox was never so prevalent nor so terrifying in Virginia as in the northern colonies where the crowding and insanitary conditions of the larger cities made for its propagation and spread. Yet it was common enough and periodically assumed epidemic proportions. In 1696 the Assembly sitting at Jamestown adjourned on account of an epidemic then raging. After that we hear very little of the disease until 1747 when the town of Williamsburg passed a law "that every inhabitant or free holder of this city who shall hereafter entertain or receive into his or her house any negro or other person infected with the small pox" should pay a fine of £2 sterling. ⁴⁷ In 1750 George Fisher described a case of the disease on shipboard en route to Virginia: "We treated him with a cool regime, not too low. No salt meat, but now and then a chicken boiled to broth or soup. His water gruel, sago, or barley water, was generally encouraged with a glass of wine and a little saffron . . . And so . . . he got through the distemper without so much as one unfavorable symptom." ⁴⁸ In 1752 an advocate of inoculation rushed into print with advice for the citizens of Williamsburg, where the disease was then raging. ⁴⁹

During the summer of 1759 the smallpox appeared in Winchester, and

⁴⁶Rochefoucauld: *Travels through the United States of North America*, v. 3, pp. 79, 80.

⁴⁷Purdie & Dixon's *Virginia Gazette*, Jan. 21, 1768.

⁴⁸*William and Mary Quarterly*, v. 17, p. 109.

⁴⁹*Hunter's Virginia Gazette*, Mar. 12, 1752.

many deaths occurred. The justices applied for permission to adjourn to some other locality, and the Frederick County records show that Governor Fauquier allowed them to adjourn to Stephensburg "during the time the small pox rageth in the town of Winchester." Later the disease spread to Stephensburg, but the court continued to meet there, though very irregularly, until the following April.⁵⁰ In 1760 Washington's visit to Williamsburg was interrupted because he "received Letters from Winchester informing me that Small Pox had got among my Quarters in Frederick."⁵¹ In 1766 the President and Masters of William and Mary College resolved "that an Advertisement be inserted in the *Gazette* to inform the Publick that the Colledge is now clear of the Small-Pox."⁵² This statement proved only temporarily true, for two years later the same gentlemen agreed "that the sum of £50 be allow'd to the Corporation of the City of Williamsburg to be apply'd towards defraying the Expenses of stopping the Progress of the Small Pox" and "that the sum of £50 be also allow'd to Doctr. Ja. Carter for his Care and attendance on those infected with the said Disorder at the Colledge."⁵³ The Williamsburg epidemic of 1768 was the occasion for re-enacting the ordinance of 1747, "since the small pox already broke out in one house in this city may possibly spread." It evidently did spread, for the *Gazette* a month later carried the mayor's assurance that there were now no new cases, two of the three persons sick with the disease being dead and one recovered. A week later the mayor announced that the smallpox was now ended, the infected houses cleansed and the clothing destroyed. The epidemic was attributed to "the too speedy return of one of Mr. Smith's patients from inoculation." It was in this year that opposition to inoculation culminated in the burning of Dr. Campbell's house by a mob in Norfolk, to be followed the next year by anti-inoculation petitions and in 1770 by the act to regulate the practice. The next outbreak of smallpox apparently occurred in 1772, when Benjamin Harrison of Berkeley gave notice in the *Gazette* that he was not "able to stop the Progress of Smallpox" among his slaves.⁵⁴

The Revolutionary period of 1776-1781 was marked by the greater prevalence of smallpox everywhere in the colonies, and Virginia shared in the distress. Thacher wrote in 1776 that "a general infection of this terrible disease is apprehended" and that orders had been given to inoculate not only the soldiers but the citizens of Boston; and in the same year John Adams wrote, "This Distemper is the King of Terrors to America this year."⁵⁵ At about this

⁵⁰Norris: History of the Lower Shenandoah Valley, p. 122.

⁵¹Fitzpatrick: George Washington Diaries, v. 1, p. 157.

⁵²William and Mary Quarterly, v. 4, p. 192.

⁵³William and Mary Quarterly, v. 5, p. 15.

⁵⁴Purdie & Dixon's Virginia Gazette, Sept. 24, 1772.

⁵⁵Paclard: The History of Medicine in the United States, p. 24.

time "the prevalence of small pox had frequently rendered Washington uneasy on Mrs. Washington's account during her visits to the army; he was relieved, therefore, by her submitting to inoculation during their sojourn in Philadelphia, and having a very favorable time."⁵⁶ In 1777 a second severe epidemic was threatened. Washington ordered the troops inoculated and set apart special houses for inoculation hospitals. The ravages of the disease among the uninoculated were said to be frightful.⁵⁷ The disease re-appeared the following year. Dr. James McCaw, a loyalist who had returned to London from Virginia at the beginning of the Revolution, in December 1778 received news of a number of deaths at Hampton, Virginia. Mrs. McCaw's mother and sister were among the victims "to the dread small pox which has committed such havoc in that neighborhood."⁵⁸

In spite of much smallpox in the Revolutionary army Virginia troops were relatively free from it until the Yorktown campaign. LaFayette wrote Jefferson in 1781 that "by the utmost care to avoid infected grounds we have hitherto got clear of the small pox."⁵⁹ The British are said to have made every attempt to spread smallpox in Virginia as a part of their campaign of terrorization. A Pennsylvania soldier who was with the army in Virginia in 1781 related that the British "left one negro man with the small-pox lying on the road side in order to prevent the Virginia militia from pursuing them, which the enemy frequently did; left numbers in that condition starving and helpless, begging of us as we passed them for God's sake to kill them, as they were in great pain and misery."⁶⁰ Benjamin Franklin made a similar claim: "Virginia suffered great loss in this kind of property by another ingenious and humane British invention. Having the small-pox in their army while in that country they inoculated some of the negroes they took as prisoners belonging to a number of plantations, and then let them escape, or sent them, covered with the pock, to mix with and spread the distemper among the others of their color, as well as among the white country people; which occasioned a great mortality of both."⁶¹

An act of November 1781 authorized the magistrates of James City County to hold their meetings anywhere in the county as long as the smallpox continued at Williamsburg.⁶² On January 18, 1782 Dr. N. Slaughter wrote Colonel Davies that the smallpox at Portsmouth "raged not only in the Town

⁵⁶Irving: *Life of George Washington*, v. 2, p. 225.

⁵⁷Irving: *Life of George Washington*, v. 3, p. 8.

⁵⁸Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 22, p. 160.

⁵⁹Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 5, p. 376.

⁶⁰Feltman's Journal, p. 6.

⁶¹Bigelow: *Life of Franklin*, from his own writings, v. 3, p. 353.

⁶²Hening: *Statutes at Large*, v. 10, p. 458.

but in all the neighboring country."⁶³ The epidemic was doubtless a continuation of that of the year before at Williamsburg.

Early in 1794 there was a severe epidemic in Richmond, which necessitated the appointment of Dr. J. K. Read and Dr. James Russell as health officers. In January they jointly solicited the Governor for compensation, declaring that they had lost their general practice on account of their service to the city and that the daily report to the Executive had taken much of their time.⁶⁴ The epidemic in Richmond excited the anxiety of the neighboring towns. Manchester across the river called out the militia to guard Mayo's Bridge and Coutt's Ferry and prevent intercourse between the towns. A committee of Petersburg citizens, appointed to prevent the spread of smallpox from Richmond, announced that "no person suspected of having come immediately from any place infected with the Small-pox will be admitted without previously taking an oath either that he hath not been where the disease prevails, or (if he hath been at such a place) that he hath taken the necessary precaution of changing his clothes at some uninfected place."⁶⁵ The diaries of the period are full of references to smallpox. Francis Taylor records that "J. Taylor, jr. returned last night from Major Hill's where he had the Small pox,"⁶⁶ and again ". . . a negro of Col Barbour's has the Small pox . . ."⁶⁷

Greater leniency toward inoculation was shown by the Virginia authorities during and after the Revolutionary period. In 1778 permission was granted to Joseph Spencer "to inoculate for small pox in his house in this [Orange] County," and in 1797 in the same county, "on the motion of John Stevens for leave to inoculate for the small pox it is granted him," provided it is done "not less than half a mile from the road."⁶⁸ At Alexandria in 1790 the court granted permission to inoculate following an outbreak of the disease, and 600 people were inoculated in a few days.⁶⁹

Dr. Ben Gayle, in an account of smallpox inoculation in the *Philosophical Transactions*, 1765, states that the use of mercury as an antidote was first advocated by Boerhaave and Huxham and was introduced into this country by Dr. Thomas of Virginia in 1760 and by a Dr. Munson.⁷⁰

Dr. L. Valentin, "chief of the French Hospital in Virginia" and "fellow of many Academies," after his return to Montpellier in 1798 sent an interesting note to the *Medical Repository* on the technique of inoculation, which he

⁶³Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 3, p. 35.

⁶⁴Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 7, p. 2.

⁶⁵Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 7, pp. 42, 72.

⁶⁶Diary of Francis Taylor; MS. in Archives Department, Virginia State Library.

⁶⁷Diary of Francis Taylor.

⁶⁸Scott: Orange County, p. 177.

⁶⁹Powell: History of Old Alexandria, p. 59.

⁷⁰Cumming: Essay on History of Medicine in Virginia, p. 43. (MS.)

claimed to have practised for "four years at Norfolk with great success." He advocated punctures rather than incisions, asserting that the quantity and dilution of the variolous matter made no difference. "Should the smallest particle that one can imagine be absorbed," he claimed, "it is sufficient to put into motion what we call disposition to that disease."⁷¹

How one method worked in actual practice may be gathered from a letter of Fanny d'Arblay, the novelist, to her father. The patient was her own four year old boy. "He sat upon my lap, and Mr. Ansel gave him a bit of barley sugar to obtain his leave for pulling off one sleeve of his frock," she wrote. The boy held out his arm and the doctor made a deep incision. "Mr. Ansel pressed out the blood with his lancet again and again, and wiped the instrument on the wound for two or three minutes, fearing from the excessive strictness of his whole life's regimen he might still escape the venom. When it was over Mr. Ansel owned himself still apprehensive it might not take, and asked if I should object to his inoculating the other arm."⁷²

IV. MALARIA

There are abundant references to malaria in Eighteenth Century Virginia, in contrast to the few in the preceding century. George Hume, an immigrant from Scotland, wrote from Rappahannock River, June 20, 1723: "I have not had my health very well in ys country as yet but however I have it much better than I had it last year only I am now and then troubled w'th ye fever & ague w'ch is a very violent distemper here. This place is only good for doctors and ministers who have very good encouragem'nt here . . ."⁷³

A letter from Thomas Jones in Williamsburg to Mrs. Jones in England, September 30, 1728 relates: "Betty Pratt is very well, about a week ago she had two fits of an ague & Fever, but she has taken the Bark, and is perfectly recovered . . ."⁷⁴

Hugh Jones, writing in 1724, remarked: "At the sudden Changes of the Weather, . . . People are apt to take Cold . . . which with Abundance of Damps and Mists from the Water, and by eating too plentifully of some delicious Fruits, makes the People subject to Feavers and Agues, which is the Country Distemper, a severe Fit of which (called a Seasoning) most expect some time after their arrival . . .; but the Goodness of God has furnished us with a perfect Catholicon for that Sickness, viz. the Bark, which . . . seldom

⁷¹Medical Repository, New York, 1799, v. 2, pp. 185, 186.

⁷²Atlantic Monthly, July, 1931, p. 100.

⁷³Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 20, p. 397.

⁷⁴Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 26, p. 171.

fails of a Cure." Unfortunately the remedy was not always employed: "Some for want of timely Care . . . will permit the Distemper to lurk about them so long, till at last it has reduced them to an irrecoverable lingering, ill Habit of Body . . . and this Cachexy generally ends their Lives with a Dropsy, Consumption, the Jaundice or some such Illness."⁷⁵

References to malaria become more frequent toward the end of the century, and diaries and letters of the period show that hardly any section of the state escaped the inevitable "Ague and Fever." Fithian had much to say of it at Nomini Hall. August 11th, "The Ague too is growing frequent. Fanny has a fit this afternoon." August 12th, "Sam our Barber is seized with the Ague and Fever." August 13th, "Prissy took the Ague last Night. She had an easy Fit . . . I rode out with Miss Prissy to the cornfield for Exercise." In September: "A negro child sickened as to appearance with the Ague & Fever, & to Day about eleven in the morning it expired!" John Dandridge wrote from Brandon in 1798: "My wife and children have been sick for six weeks with the Ague and Fever."⁷⁶ Thomas Jefferson observed to Dr. Leiper that "Richmond was not well chosen as the place to shake off a fever & ague in the months of Aug. Sep. & Oct. till frost. All it's inhabitants who can afford it leave it for the upper country during that season."⁷⁷ Even the "upper country" was not immune, for Francis Taylor wrote from Orange in 1786: "Cousin Jn. Taylor unwell, had return of Ague and fever last week." In October 1790 he noted: "F. S. Taylor, who has had the ague and fever, took a vomit . . . People are very sickly in general." In June 1791 he records his own attack: "I had a violent ague followed by high fever in last night . . . took 25 grains of Ipecacuanha."⁷⁸

In 1802 Dr. Augustine Smith, corresponding with Dr. John Tankard, depicts a grave situation in York County. ". . . our common country diseases this year," wrote Dr. Smith, "have had a malignancy never before observed. The Intermitting and Remitting fevers were more difficult to stop, and more liable to relapses . . . and left an inflammation in the viscera, which promised subsequent Leucophlegmasia, which often terminates in anasarca, and not unfrequently, in mortification of the lower extremities. Every old ulcer, or new wound, showed a peculiar depraved state of the animal body. Do not this year's facts substantiate the venerable Sydenham's ideas, of the morbid constitutions of the air? That the different gasses have a share in constituting the air we breathe cannot be doubted. But no unusual source of those we call

⁷⁵Jones: Present State of Virginia, p. 50.

⁷⁶William and Mary Quarterly, v. 20, p. 166.

⁷⁷Ford: Writings of Thomas Jefferson, v. 10, p. 326.

⁷⁸Diary of Francis Taylor.

Septic, and Deleterious, is within our neighborhood . . ." Dr. Tankard replied from Northampton County on the Eastern Shore: "I never saw it so sickly before. We can muster about twenty; and all of them have either had the Intermittent, or Bilious Remittent Fever. Indeed, I might say that both counties . . . have been shaking and burning." He adds, without any idea of its being peculiarly apropos: "Confound the musquitos. I never knew them to trouble anyone upstairs before."⁷⁹

Washington wrote to his manager at Mount Vernon, September 14, 1794: "I am sorry to hear that you, among others, have the Ague and Fever.—It has, from what I hear, been uncommonly rife this year;—occasioned it is presumed, by the wetness of the Summer.—An emetic, after it becomes regular, as I mentioned in one of my former letters, and care, generally removes it."⁸⁰

The diary of Colonel Landon Carter on September 11, 1771 referred to a "strange ague & fever season," and in March 1772 he observed, "my grandson Landon cannot part with his quartan."⁸¹

V. DYSENTERY

Dysentery was still known in the Eighteenth Century as "the flux" and was a dreaded distemper. The same George Hume who described his suffering from ague and fever wrote in 1723 to relatives in Scotland: "We had no sooner landed in this country but I was taken immediately w'th all ye most common distampers y't attend it but y't most violent of all was a severe flux of w'ch my uncle died being the governour's factor at a place called Germawna . . . Yt distemper brought me so low in a very short time yt I was scarcely able to walk however I was obliged to tend ye store for all my being so ill till we had done purchasing tobacco for ye ships loading w'ch took me about six weeks when I was so much out of order yt I was obliged to go to Williamsburg by water where I met w'th Dr. Brown⁸² . . . He declared to myself after he had almost cured me of the flux yt he did not expect I should have lived . . . ye Dr. took nothing for my druggs. All that comes to this country have ordinarily sickness at first w'ch they call a seasoning of w'ch I shall assure you I had a most severe one when I went to town."⁸³

Colonel Byrd, stopping at Tuckahoe on one of his excursions up the James, used the flux as a topic of conversation to "bring [Mrs. Randolph] to the

⁷⁹Fitzhugh: Life of Dr. Tankard.

⁸⁰Conway: George Washington and Mount Vernon, p. 109.

⁸¹William and Mary Quarterly, v. 13, pp. 159-161.

⁸²Dr. John Brown.

⁸³Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 20, p. 397.

Use of her Tongue." "I discover'd she was a notable Quack," he explains, "and therefore paid that regard to her knowledge, as to put some questions to her about the bad distemper that raged then in the Country. I mean the Bloody Flux, that was brought us in the Negro-ship consigned to Colo. Braxton. She told me she made use of very simple remedies in that case, with very good success. She did the Business either with Hartshorn Drink, that had Plantain Leaves boil'd in it, or else with a Strong decoction of St. Andrew's Cross, in new milk instead of water. I agreed with her that those remedies might be very good, but woud be more effectual after a dose or two of Indian Physick."⁸⁴

An epidemic of the "bloody flux" was a serious handicap in Braddock's campaign. The diary of an English lady who accompanied her brother while he was attached to the expeditionary force tells how the troops moved on to Will's Creek, leaving behind "1 Officer and 40 Men, my Brother and self in care of the Sick, having 50 ill."⁸⁵ She and her maid both contracted the disease, which she describes as a "Fever and Flux," and her brother died of it after a seventeen days' illness. This was in July. Washington had written in June from the camp at Will's Creek, "Our hospital is filled with sick and the numbers increase daily with the bloody flux which has not yet proved mortal to many."⁸⁶

The summer diarrheas of infancy, which have only recently been understood and properly dealt with, must have exacted a fearful toll in Virginia as well as elsewhere in this century. In Alexandria, between 1787 and 1796, 452 burial permits were issued, 138 for men, 122 for women and 198 for children. During the summer months the infant mortality was deplorable. "The Presbyterian Register between 1789 and 1815 gives about the same average."⁸⁷

What the other diseases were that took a heavy toll of life in Eighteenth Century Virginia we can only surmise. There are references here and there, however, that lead us to believe that pulmonary infections were rife and accompanied by a high mortality. John Tennent's famous essay dealt with pleurisy and peripneumonia, which he considered epidemic in Virginia. A letter written from Williamsburg in January 1798 to David Watson in Louisa County also stressed respiratory affections:

"From the description I have had of your disorder, the first cause of it, the manner in which you were taken, its falling from your eyes into your legs, and the low state to which it reduced you, yours appears to have been a case

⁸⁴Bassett: Writings of Colonel Byrd, p. 341.

⁸⁵Diary of Mrs. Browne, 1754-57, in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, v. 32, p. 305.

⁸⁶*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, v. 32, p. 305.

⁸⁷Powell: *History of Old Alexandria*, p. 53.

very peculiar . . . I received the agreeable news of your being again restored to the free exercise of your limbs . . .

"I was taken early in the fall with bilious fevers, which, together with several colds, caught by imprudent conduct, kept me very much indisposed till near the end of November; when, I was seized with a violent pleurisy. So soon as I could venture out I came down immediately to Williamsburg, and about ten days ago I was taken again with something bordering on a pleurisy, which obliged me to call in the aid of a doctor. I am . . . a great deal better. . . ."⁸⁸

De Warville, who visited Virginia after the Revolution, assures us of the prevalence of consumption, whose ravages were apparent even to a traveler. Its frequency was attributed to various causes—the use of hot drinks, remaining too long abed, eating too much meat and even sleeping in feather beds and drinking too much liquor. Commenting further upon the serious diseases of Virginia, he remarks upon the frequency of sore throat, declaring that when "putrid it is mortal." Influenza also was common, and there had been a great epidemic in 1789. But to his mind fever and ague outranked all others among the "cruel epidemic diseases."⁸⁹

⁸⁸Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 30, p. 235.

⁸⁹De Warville: New Travels in the United States of America, p. 346.

CHAPTER V

MEDICAL EDUCATION

I

THE culture of the colonial capital at Williamsburg, with its college, Governor's Palace, House of Burgesses, church, theatre, fine residences, societies for intellectual improvement, balls, fêtes and high life, was far ahead of that of the first capital at Jamestown, just as the culture of Eighteenth Century Virginia as a whole was strikingly in advance of that which characterized the colony a century earlier. Illiteracy, if we can judge from jury records, deeds and wills, was a serious matter before 1700, for hardly half the people who were called upon to fix their signatures to documents were able to do so.¹ The vast improvement that occurred in the Eighteenth Century is noteworthy. A study of the signatures in the records of Spotsylvania County from 1729 to 1734 shows that about one-fourth of the persons represented were illiterate. A few years later only fourteen per cent. could not write.² An examination of many hundreds of land transfers between 1740 and 1770 rarely showed an order which was not signed.³ There were abundant reasons why education and culture in Virginia had made such strides. The wealth of the colony had increased tremendously. From a settlement populated largely by small landowners, Virginia had become a colony of large landed estates. Tobacco in enormous quantities was being cultivated and shipped abroad. Commerce with England had grown correspondingly,⁴ and seafaring vessels not only entered Virginia ports but navigated the Potomac to Alexandria, the Rappahannock to Fredericksburg, the James to Richmond and the Appamattox to Petersburg. The population of the colony, which during the Seventeenth Century had hardly reached 70,000, had grown to more than half a million by the end of the Eighteenth. Stage lines had been laid out, mails were carried regularly and intercommunication reached a stage of perfection unheard of in pioneer days. Added to this was the influence of a flourishing college at the capital and numerous free and private schools throughout the colony.

Along with much that was still primitive in Virginia there was a growing

¹Bruce: *Institutional History of Virginia*, v. 1, p. 450.

²Stanard: *Colonial Virginia, Its People and Customs*, p. 264.

³Brown: *The Cabells and Their Kin*, pp. 190, 191.

⁴In 1800 Alexandria's trade with England and the West Indies amounted to \$1,000,000; Norfolk's exports to \$1,900,000.

enthusiasm for education. Schools sprang up all over the colony, giving a primary education so essential to the professions, especially to medicine. The free schools in Virginia had their beginning in the previous century with the Eaton School, the Symes School and the private schools of such masters as Captain Moore, Richard Russell, Mr. King and Nathaniel Hill. The movement expanded after 1700, and the wills of many wealthy Virginians began to provide for free school education. Robert Beverley in 1705 wrote, "There are large tracts of land, houses and other things granted to free schools for the education of children in many parts of the country, and some of these are so large that of themselves they are a handsome maintenance to a master; but the additional allowance which gentlemen give their sons render them a comfortable subsistence. These schools have been founded by the legacies of well-inclined gentlemen, and the management of them hath commonly been left to the direction of the county court or the vestry of their respective parishes."⁸

Among the wealthy Virginians who helped to establish free schools were James Reed of Urbanna, 1763; Alexander Frasier of Middlesex, 1768; William Rawlings, 1704; Mary Whaley of York, 1706; William Starke of Yorktown, 1711; Joseph Royle of Williamsburg, whose will in 1766 directed the endowment of "Royle's Free School;" Landon Carter of Richmond County, 1770; and William Robertson of Halifax, 1774.⁹

Of twenty-nine ministers who replied to a questionnaire sent out by the Bishop of London in 1724 seven reported public schools in their parishes: St. Paul's Parish, Hanover County, had "several schools;" Newport Parish, Isle of Wight County, "Four public schools;" Washington Parish, "one school," endowed; Elizabeth City, two public schools, endowed, "though very meanly;" Accomac, one public school, endowed by Mr. Sanford of London; St. Stephen's, two or three schools, none endowed; Abingdon Parish, one school, endowed. Eight parishes reported one or more private schools: Bristol, St. Peter's, Westover, Wilmington, York Hampton, Elizabeth City, Bruton and St. Anne's. Fifteen parishes did not report any kind of school.⁷

Of the private schools, variously known as academies, county boarding schools and classical schools, some were presided over by the parish minister, others by a professional school master. The schools varied considerably in their excellence, depending on whether the pedagogue in charge had a classical or only an elementary education. This variation was generally recognized, and many Virginians sent their sons to boarding schools in distant counties to secure

⁸Stanard: *Colonial Virginia, Its People and Customs*, p. 268.

⁹Stanard: *Colonial Virginia, Its People and Customs*, p. 269.

⁷Perry: *American Colonial Church*, v. 1, pp. 261-318.

the advantages of a superior school. In addition to reading, writing and arithmetic, Latin and Greek were favorite studies, and courses in business were frequently taken. George Washington's exercise books used at school show many careful copies of legal and mercantile papers, indentures, bonds and leases.⁸

Some of these Eighteenth Century private schools were well known. In 1791 Alexander Frasier advertised his "Bowling Green Academy" for young gentlemen.⁹ In Albemarle County the Reverend James Maury's classical school was attended by Dabney Carr, John Taylor, James Madison (later Bishop of Virginia) and Thomas Jefferson; and in Fredericksburg, about the middle of the century, James Marye included Washington, Madison (later President of the United States) and Monroe among his pupils. In Caroline County from 1763 to 1774 the Reverend Jonathan Boucher's boarding school was popular and had an average attendance of about thirty. His charge for tuition was twenty-five pounds a year, "the boy to bring his own bed." Boucher at one time was tutor to Parke Custis, then a boy of sixteen.¹⁰ The Reverend Devereux Jarratt taught a "plain school" for the equivalent of about thirty-three dollars a year. Mr. Griswell's school in Lancaster County numbered about seventeen students in 1759, and there were similar institutions in Prince William, Princess Anne and Elizabeth City.

Largely through the energies of Dr. William Brown the Alexandria Academy was established in 1785. Washington was a trustee and two of his nephews attended the school.¹¹ In Richmond two well known schools were Quesnay's Academy, 1786, and McGuire's English School, 1787.

Walker Maury's school at Orange, later moved to Williamsburg, was one of the largest in the colony. John Randolph of Roanoke went there and has handed down an unpleasant picture of it. In the newly settled valley Winchester boasted of several schools. The "Winchester Latin, Greek and English schools" announced in 1786 that they had elected Mr. Armstrong and Mr. Potter to take charge of the institution. Among the trustees was Dr. Robert Mackey. At the same time the Winchester Seminary and a school conducted by Felix Kirk were soliciting students.¹² Several other well known schools were in operation in the valley.¹³ That conducted by Robert Alexander, a graduate of Edinburgh University, and later, for twenty-one years, by the Reverend John Brown, was opened in 1749 and is said to have been the first classical school

⁸Wilson: George Washington, p. 52.

⁹Virginia Gazette and General Advertiser, v. 6, No. 305.

¹⁰Goodwin: The Colonial Cavalier, p. 233.

¹¹Fitzpatrick: George Washington Diaries, v. 2, p. 446.

¹²Norris: History of The Lower Shenandoah Valley, pp. 148, 152, 153.

¹³Norton: History of Rockbridge County, p. 188.

west of the Blue Ridge. William Alexander built a school near Lexington in 1776, and his servant, John Reardon, an ex-convict, who knew bookkeeping and a little Latin and Greek, became the teacher. Other valley school masters were Charles Knight, who received sixty dollars a year in 1755, and Frederick Upp, lay reader of the "Church of the Fork."¹⁴

Not a little of Virginia's culture and education was due to the tutors employed by the wealthier planters. Some of these were young men fresh from college. Philip V. Fithian, just out of Princeton, taught for a year at Nomini Hall and left a pleasant record of his experiences in his journal. Others were professional teachers imported from the old country, while a few, like John Harrower, who taught the Daingerfield children at Belvidere near Fredericksburg, were men in desperate straits, who had come to Virginia as indentured servants. Harrower bound himself as a tutor for a term of four years. "This morning at 8 A M," he wrote in his diary on May 27, 1773, "the Colonel delivered his three sons to my Charge to teach them to read write and figure. . . . My School Houres is from 6 to 8 in the morning, in the forenoon from 9 to 12 and from 3 to 6 in the afternoon."¹⁵

The library usually found in the larger Virginia mansions aided the tutor's work. His room was often in a separate building, which also contained the school room. He enjoyed the privileges of the house, as well as permission to increase his income by adding the children of the neighboring planters to his classes. In this way numbers of children were brought together under a good master. While he was a student in Edinburgh, Dr. Walter Jones engaged and sent over to Virginia Mr. Warden as tutor for his brother Thomas's children. The tutor's contract provided that he was to teach Thomas Jones's children "for 30 Ster: his board, etc. and to have the advantage of three scholars (at least) . . ." Thomas wrote Walter that the treatment Warden received was superior to that of tutors in general, that he had a house twenty-four feet square, 300 yards from the main house, with two rooms, one the school room, and "a brick chimney with two very good fire places." Besides, "a boy 16 y'rs old attends him . . . he has Candles when he pleases and generally burns 3 large mould Candles of myrtle wax and talow in six Nights . . . comes to the house when he pleases, and retires when he pleases, is company for every Gent. that visits me . . . Indeed Doctr. Steptoe tells me he understands it is a saying among the Pedagogues, see how Mr. Jones treats Mr. Warden . . . he is a good tutor, & a good sort of Man, but that cursed pride so inherent in those people is most insufferable." This was in answer to Warden's complaint to

¹⁴Morton: History of Rockbridge County, pp. 87, 185, 186.

¹⁵Diary of John Harrower: 1773-76, pp. 78, 79.

Walter Jones that he had no place where he could retire in privacy.¹⁶

Still other Virginians sent their children abroad for their education. Eton, Wakefield in Yorkshire, Harrow and Appleby each drew its quota of Virginia boys. Washingtons, Lees, Blands, Randolphs and Spotswoods were numbered among those sent to school in England. After graduating, many boys remained in the mother country to pursue a higher education at Cambridge, Oxford, Edinburgh or the Temple.

Virginians who remained in the colony were dependent upon William and Mary for their higher education during most of the Eighteenth Century. Hampden-Sydney was organized as an academy in 1776. Washington and Lee, established as Augusta Academy in 1749, became Liberty Hall in 1776, Liberty Hall Academy in 1782, Washington Academy in 1798, and was not made a college until 1813. William and Mary was also a grammar school for the first twenty years of its existence, but in 1712 the faculty was considerably enlarged, and in 1727 in addition to the Grammar School, which was preparatory, the schools of Natural and Moral Philosophy and of Divinity were organized. By 1729 the College had a president and six professors. Natural Philosophy embraced physics, metaphysics and mathematics. It was very effectively taught from 1758 to 1764 by Dr. William Small, who influenced markedly the lives of many Virginians of that day, among them Jefferson. It was Jefferson who played a large part in reorganizing the College in 1779, abolishing the Divinity School and introducing the chairs of Medicine, Law and Modern Languages.

Many Virginia doctors of the Eighteenth Century received their preliminary education at William and Mary. The Catalogue of the College gives the names of Theodorick Bland of Prince George, 1754; John Tennant, Jr., of Caroline, 1754; Walter Jones of Westmoreland, 1760; James McClurg of Williamsburg, 1762; John Tayloe Griffin, 1765; Walter King Cole of Williamsburg, 1766; John Leigh of King William County, 1769; John Bankhead of Westmoreland, 1775; James Lyons of Hanover, 1776; Robert Nicolson of Yorktown, 1776; Frederick Bryan, 1777; James Ramsey, 1777; John Foushee of Richmond, 1795; and Samuel Stewart Griffin of Williamsburg, 1795-1800. Others who are said to have studied at the College but whose names do not appear in the Catalogue—due no doubt to the destruction of many of the College records—are Thomas Walker of King and Queen, later of Albemarle, about 1730; George Gilmer, Jr., of Williamsburg, later of Albemarle, about 1755; John Tankard of Northampton, about 1770; David Stuart, 1777; and James Skelton Gilliam of Petersburg, about 1780.

*Jones: Captain Roger Jones, Some of His Antecedents and Descendants p. 401.

II. APPRENTICESHIPS

In the Eighteenth Century as in the Seventeenth the great majority of American physicians were forced to rely for their medical education upon the very defective system of apprenticeships. In Virginia there was no requirement comparable to that of the New Jersey Medical Society which provided in 1766 that "hereafter no student be taken as an apprentice by any member unless he has competent knowledge and some initiation in the Greek."¹⁷ Between the ages of fourteen and eighteen the young medical student entered the office of some local practitioner under a three to seven year indenture. He had access to the doctor's often meagre library, learned something of the preparation and use of drugs, and was taught how to bleed, cup, extract teeth and perform a few minor operations. As he advanced in knowledge he was allowed to accompany the master on his visits to the bedside, to hear the words of wisdom that were dropped and sometimes, in cases of emergency, actually to substitute for him. Dr. Laurie sent his apprentice to Mount Vernon in 1760 to attend two sick slaves, a fact which Washington recorded in his diary: "Doctr. Laurie's Man attended the sick this day also." An accident might furnish the apprentice with an arm or a leg, the dissection of which constituted his only practical knowledge of human anatomy.

Many excellent doctors undoubtedly came out of such schools of experience. On the other hand there was the greatest opportunity for fraud, and many ignorant men were to be found who claimed to have studied under eminent masters. There was good reason for the indictments of quackery which doctors with degrees never ceased to heap upon the general run of apprentice-trained physicians.

The terms of the indentures were stringent, binding the apprentice to absolute obedience, forbidding him to divulge his master's secrets, to enter into matrimony, to indulge in unlawful games such as cards and dice, or to frequent questionable places such as ale houses, taverns and playhouses. In return the master promised medical instruction and guaranteed meat, drink, lodging, washing and mending and, at the end of the term of indenture, a new set of pocket instruments, a small medical library and a certificate of service and proficiency which could be registered in a court of record, making the owner a legally qualified practitioner. The compensation for introducing a young man into "the arts and mysteries of a physician and surgeon" was usually a hundred pounds of lawful money annually.

The only copy of a paper of indenture of an Eighteenth Century Virginia

¹⁷Baas: *Outlines of the History of Medicine and the Medical Profession*, p. 799.

physician of which we know is that of Dr. Michael Wallace. Born at Galrigs, Scotland, May 11, 1719, he was indentured by his uncles to Dr. Gustavus Brown of Charles County, Maryland in 1734 and remained his apprentice until 1740. He married Elizabeth Brown, one of his master's nine daughters, and later settled at Falmouth, Virginia. His large practice extended into Culpeper, Fauquier and Loudoun Counties. Exposure to rain and snow resulted in his death at his place, Ellerslie, King George County, in January 1767.

His indenture to Dr. Brown reads:

"ATT GLASGOW the Eighteenth Day of March One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty-four Years It is Contracted Indented and Agreed betwixt Lawrence Dinwiddie Merchant in Glasgow In Name and Behalf and for the Account of Dr. Gustavus Brown of Charles County in Maryland on the One part And Michaell Wallace Lawfull Son to the Deceast William Wallace of Galrigs with the Special Advice and Consent of Thomas and Michaell Wallace Merchts in Glasgow his Uncles and the said Thomas and Michaell Wallaces As Cautioners for their Said Nephew on the Other Part That is To Say the said Michaell Wallace With Consent for said Has Become Bound and Obliged and hereby Binds and Obliges himself to be an Apprentice and Servant to the said Doctor Gustavus Brown in his Business and Imployment of Physick Surgery and Pharmacy Dureing the space of Six Years from his Entry Which is hereby Declared to be from his first and next Arivall in the Said Charles County in Maryland During Which Space the said Michaell Wallace Junior as principall and the said Thomas and Michaell Wallaces his Uncles as Cautioners Bind and Oblige them Conty and Severally their Heirs and Successors that the said Michaell Wallace junr. Shall Honestly Faithfully And Asidiously Serve and Obey the said Dr. Gustavus Brown his Master in His Bussiness and Imployment for-said And all other his Lawfull Affairs Relateing thereto And Shall Attend him there Intill by Day and by Night and shall not Absent himself therefrom (Without leave Asked and Given from his said Master or in Case of Sickness) And that Dureing the space foresaid he shall forbear all Gameing Drinking and Keeping of Idle Company And Shall not Dureing his said Apprenticeship have any patients of his own under Cure Upon No Pretence whatsoever. And that he shall not reveall his said Masters Bussiness and Secrete Nor the Seecret Deseases of his patients And that he shall not Misbehave himself in any sort Nor Commit or Omitt Anything Contrair to the Meaning hereof And upon his failzieing in any of the Above points it shall be lawfull for his said Master to Debar and Seclude him from his said services For The Which Causes On the Other Part the Said Lawrence Dinwiddie Binds and Obliges Himself In Name and Behalf And On the Account of the said Doctor Gustavus Brown. That the said Gustavus Brown shall not only Teach Learn and Instruct the said Michaell Wallace his Apprentice In the Art of Physic Surgery and Pharmacy forsaid in every part and point thereof and to use his best and utmost Endeavour to make him Expert and Perfect yrin so far as he knows himself or

the Judgement and Capacity of the said Michaell Wallace is able to Uptake But Also to pay for his passage to the said County in Maryland And There to furnish provide and entertain him Dureing the space of their Indentures in Meat Drink Cloathing Lodgeing and Washing And All Other Necessaries as becomes an Apprentice. Providing Always as it is hereby Expressly provided and declared that in case the said Michaell Wallace Apprentice for said On his Arrivall in the said County in Maryland shall not Answer the Expectations of the said Doctor Gustavus Brown then it shall be Lawfull for him to Dismiss the said Michaell Wallace from his Service Upon his Passage and Other Charges Homeward to Scotland and in case the said Dr. Gustavus Brown should happen to Dye Dureing the space of this Indenture It is hereby Expressly Declared the same becomes Void and Null And the said Michaell Wallace and his said Cautioners fully Discharged thereof and Both parties Bind and Oblige themselves to perform and observe their Respective parts of the premises to Each Others Under the penalty of Twenty Pounds Sterling to be paid by the party failzier to the party observer or willing to observe the premises by and att our performance and the said Michaell Wallace forsaid Binds and Oblidges me my heirs & to free Relieve and skaithless keep my said Cours of their Cautiong for me in the premises and of all Coast Skaith Dammadge and Expenses they may Sustain Therethrow Consenting to the Registration hereof in the Books of the Councill and Session or any others competent to have the Strength of a descreet that Lers. of Horning other Excells needfull may pass hereon and thereto Constitutes.

Ors. prors. In Witness yrof thir presents Wryten on Stampt paper by James Bowman Wryter in Edinburgh Are Subscribed by us Place Day Moneth and Year of God Above Wryten before these Witnesses John Meek Maltman in Glasgow and the said James Bowman.

Law. Dinwiddie, Junr. Michael Wallace Thomas Wallace Mich. Wallace. John Meek Witnes. James Bowman Witness."

The Indenture is endorsed "Indenture betwixt Doctor Gustavus Brown and Michaell Wallace 1734, June 6, 1740.

Thos , Michl Wallace compleated the words & time of the within Indenture given undr my hand the day & year as above.

GUST. BROWN."¹⁸

The other type of paper current during the time when apprenticeship was the prevailing method of medical education was the certificate of service and proficiency. Dr. Andrew Robertson of Lancaster County, Virginia, had as an apprentice Mr. Cary Henry Hampton of Prince William, who afterwards became a surgeon in the Revolution and later established an extensive practice and reputation in his community. His certificate states the number of subjects in which he had been instructed, the text books that had been employed and the confidence which his master reposed in his skill and ability:

¹⁸Hayden: Virginia Genealogies, p. 697.

These Presents will Inform All whom are Comen
that off Cary Henry Hampton of the County of Pa William
in the Colony of Virginia hath Complat his Appoents
ship to my Satisfaction in the Arts & Sciences of
Anatomy, Chirurgery, Physic & Midwifery to all of
which for the space of 10 years he hath been studious
& Diligent. He is well grounded in the Teachings
of Chyldrens Anatomy, Heisters Surgery, Gullens
Materia Medica, Celsus Medwifery, the Works of our
Masters Sydenham & Hippocrates which he hath read
in the Latin tongue. As well as many other books of our
Profession and in the Instruction I have give to him
at the beds of my Patients & elsewhere. So I repose
my Confidence in his Knowledge & Recommend him
to all those who require his Skill & Services.
Given under my hand & seal this the first Day of Aug.
1775.

Andrew Robertson Doctr in Medicine

Cary Henry Hampton's certificate from Dr. Andrew Robertson



"These Presents will inform all whom are Concern'd that Mr. Cary Henry Hampton of the County of Prince William in the colony of Virginia hath compleat'd his apprenticeship to my Instruction in the Arts & Sciences of Anatomy, Chirurgery, Physic & Midwifery to all of which for the period of four years he hath been Studious & Diligent. He is well grounded in the teachings of Cheselden's Anatomy, Heisters Surgery, Cullens Materia Medica, Smellies Midwifery, and the works of our Masters Sydenham & Hippocrates which he hath read in the Latin tongue. As well as many other books of our Profession and in the Instruction I have given to him at the beds of my patients & elsewhere. So I repose my Confidence in his Knowledge & Reccommend him to all those who require his Skill & Services. Given under my hand and seal this the first day of August 1775."¹⁹

The list of Virginia youths serving apprenticeships is a long one. Besides Wallace and Hampton there was William Baynham, who studied for several years under his father, Dr. John Baynham, and later under Dr. Walker. Dr. George Gilmer, Sr., of Williamsburg had a promising apprentice in 1752—William Pasteur, who later became a distinguished physician, practising for many years in partnership with Dr. John M. Galt in Williamsburg. George Gilmer, Jr., studied under his uncle, Dr. Thomas Walker, the explorer, who also taught George Conway Taylor of Orange. Dr. Gilmer afterward went to Edinburgh and still later, when he had established a practice in Albemarle County, we find a reference in Francis Taylor's diary to Mr. Everitt, "a young gent. studying Physick with Doct. Gilmer." James Drew McCaw studied under his uncle, Dr. James McClurg. Another pupil of McClurg's was Wilson Cary Selden, his brother-in-law. William McKenzie of Williamsburg studied under Dr. David Black of Petersburg, who had married Nancy McKenzie, William's sister; Richmond Lewis under his cousin, Dr. William Lewis of Urbanna; James Jones of Nottoway under Dr. Francis Joseph Mettauer.

Samuel Brown was a pupil of Dr. Alexander Humphreys of Staunton, a popular teacher of many young men, including William Henry Harrison, Andrew Kean and Ephraim McDowell. President Harrison also studied under Dr. Andrew Leiper of Richmond.

Gustavus Richard Brown of Port Tobacco, Maryland, was another favorite preceptor of this period. His nephew, James Wallace, was one of his students. In Alexandria, Gustavus Brown Horner studied under his cousin, Dr. William Brown, and Thomas Semmes became an apprentice to Dr. Dick. Dr. Samuel Taylor of Delaware was apprenticed to Dr. Craik in Alexandria, finished his training in Philadelphia, practised at Berryville and was a surgeon

¹⁹Bulletin of the Medical College of Virginia, February 1929, p. 16.

in the War of 1812. George Cabell (1774-1827) of Amherst County and Richmond studied under his cousin, Dr. George Cabell of Lynchburg.

In 1758 John M. Galt, at the age of fourteen, was apprenticed to "a practising physician in Williamsburg," later going to Edinburgh where he was a student in 1767. After his return to Williamsburg he in turn taught his profession to a number of young men, among them Frederick Bryan, John Tankard and his own sons, Alexander D. Galt and William C. Galt.

In Richmond John Adams studied under John Cringan and after graduating at Edinburgh returned to form a partnership with his former teacher. William Foushee, who in 1774 became a partner of Doctors Ramsay and Taylor in Norfolk, had apparently started as their apprentice. He was later to become a leading physician in Richmond. Jonathan Calvert, who became a surgeon in the Revolution, also studied under Doctors Ramsay and Taylor. In Westmoreland, William Spence studied under Dr. Thomas Thompson and later dedicated to him his thesis for graduation at Glasgow.

A family relationship between master and apprentice was very frequent, and there must have been many more cases of sons studying under their fathers than we have any record of. Noted examples of the handing down of the profession from father to son are those of Thomas Walker, George Gilmer, James McCaw, John Ravenscroft, William Stark, Kenneth McKenzie, William Cabell, James Feild, John Baynham, James Bankhead, George Ramsay and the almost classic examples of the Browns of Maryland and Virginia and the Galts of Williamsburg, where not only sons but nephews, cousins and grandsons followed the practice of medicine.

An extract from a letter of Major John Pryor to Major Thomas Massie, written from Richmond, December 26, 1799, is informing. It shows the negotiations entered into by a gentleman whose son was about to undertake the study of medicine as an apprentice:

"I have delayed writing you so soon as I should waiting a Consultation between Doctr McClurg & Doct McCaw of this place on the subject of your son. I mentioned to Doctr McClurg what you requested who shewed every disposition to your wishes except of the young Gentleman's being with him. He offers his best advice & the full use of his Books and recommended Dr. McCaw as a fit person to take charge of him . . . the Doctor is willing to take your son for three years to be bound at setting in to live in his House & colleague with one other young gentleman to which number the Doctor means to confine himself, after which two or three years in Edinburgh is recommended, short of wch both those Gentn think it would not be so proper to go to Europe. Should this establishment meet your approbation the Doct would be glad to know from you immediately as he has the offer of a young

Gentn, but from the recommendation of Doctr McClurg and myself he has given you the preference. . . . I omitted one other and most essential thing in speaking of Doctr McCaw, he is a firm friend of his country & no Democrat & I believe his greatest gratification would be to make brilliant characters of the two young Gentn he means to attend to, and the regular course you seem inclined to pursue with your son's studies operated much with the Doctr in the preference he has shown."²⁰

A different type of apprenticeship was that entered into by young men already educated in medicine, who came to this country as indentured servants, completed their period of servitude and were later admitted to the ranks of practising physicians. The records of at least two such cases are preserved. Thomas Lloyd came over as a "redemptioner" before 1755 and was bought by William Preston of Montgomery County. He was treated with great consideration by Colonel Preston and accompanied him as surgeon on several expeditions during the French and Indian Wars. In 1780 he received land bounty from the state for this service.²¹

Dr. George Parker was an indentured servant of Samuel McChesney of Augusta County. In 1773 the court allowed him to purchase his freedom for £100 "on condition of being given a horse and saddle worth ten pounds, and drugs and medicines worth thirty pounds, and is to pay ten pounds a year for his board until the sum of 100 should be paid up. Parker is to keep the horse at his own expense."²²

That it was possible to acquire a good reputation as a physician without even the benefits of an apprenticeship seems to be indicated by the obituary of Dr. Jordan Anderson. Upon his death at his country seat in Chesterfield County on October 20th, 1805, in his eighty-fourth year, it was said of him: "Although he was not regularly bred to the Faculty, yet by his long studies and practice, he had acquired a good share of knowledge both in physick and surgery."²³

III. AMERICAN MEDICAL SCHOOLS

Medicine was not taught systematically in this country until the latter part of the Eighteenth Century. In 1765 William Shippen and John Morgan founded the medical department of the College of Philadelphia, which soon became the University of Pennsylvania. King's College followed in 1768, Harvard Medical School in 1783 and Dartmouth in 1798. In addition to the

²⁰William and Mary Quarterly, v. 4, 1895, p. 109.

²¹Carrington: History of Halifax County, p. 101. Crozier: Colonial Militia, p. 9.

²²Extracts from Augusta County Order Books; in Morton: History of Rockbridge County, p. 59.

²³Virginia Gazette, November 9, 1805.

medical schools there were popular lecture courses given by well known men in the larger northern cities, and hospital apprenticeships, particularly in Philadelphia, offered medical education of a character unattainable in Virginia before 1800.

Toner's list of Revolutionary doctors holding academic degrees does not mention any Virginians who were graduates of northern institutions. There was very little communication between the colonies prior to the Revolution, and not until the Nineteenth Century did any considerable number of southerners avail themselves of the superior educational advantages of the larger northern cities. It is improbable that any Virginians graduated at King's College, Harvard or Dartmouth during the Eighteenth Century. Benjamin Parker, a native of Massachusetts, who received his M. D. degree from Dartmouth, migrated to Virginia and settled in Cumberland County. A few Virginians went to the more accessible school in Philadelphia. Of the 179 graduates in medicine at the University of Pennsylvania before 1800 the following were Virginians:

Walter Payne, 1782.

— Guilder, 1784.

James Lyons, 1784.

George Cabell, 1790.

Thomas Johnson, 1793.

Henry Rose, 1794. Thesis: Effects of the Passions upon the Body.

Ashton Alexander, 1795. Thesis: Influence of one Disease in the Cure of Another.

Charles Everett, 1795. Thesis: Function of Menstruation.

Thomas Ball, 1796. Thesis: Causes and Effects of Sleep.

James Walker, 1797. Thesis: Causes of Sterility in both Sexes.

Goodridge Wilson, 1797. Thesis: Absorption.

William Webb, 1798. Thesis: Colic.

Isaac Winston, 1798. Thesis: Polygala Senega.

James T. Hubbard, 1798. Thesis: Puerperal Fever.

Thomas Triplett, 1799. Thesis: Apoplexy.

John Claiborne, 1799. Thesis: Scurvy.

James Stuart, 1799. Thesis: The Salutary Effects of Mercury in Malignant Fevers.

John H. Foushee, 1799. Thesis: Stricture of the Urethra.

Washington Watts, 1799. Thesis: Yellow Fever.

Other graduates were George Cabell, brother of Governor William H.

Cabell, who had received his preliminary education at Hampden-Sydney, and Elisha Cullen Dick and Jessee Bennett, who were native born Pennsylvanians though they lived and practised in Virginia.

Several Virginians studied medicine in Philadelphia under famous teachers of the day without taking degrees there. Daniel De Benneville, of French noble descent, studied under Joseph Pfeifer about 1770. Chandler Peyton, Robert Carter, James Jones of Amelia and Robert Burton were all students of Benjamin Rush, and Robert Walker studied under William Shippen.

It is not generally known that a medical department existed at William and Mary for a short time during this century. With the reorganization of the college in 1779 and the appointment of James McClurg as professor of anatomy and medicine opportunities were offered to Virginians similar to those in other colonies. The school, however, functioned only three years. How many medical students Dr. McClurg taught is unknown. Dr. John Tankard and Dr. Wilson Cary Selden were students of his before he assumed the chair of medicine at William and Mary.

IV. FOREIGN EDUCATION

The center of medical education has shifted with the lapse of time. In the Eighteenth Century France more and more assumed the leadership, chiefly because of the preëminence of her surgery. But the Netherlands still held a strong place on account of the popularity of Leyden, where Boerhaave attracted students from all over the world. In England medicine had taken a different line of development, and English physicians were attaining that mastery in clinical and practical medicine which has ever since characterized their teaching.

It was not until 1726 that a medical faculty was established in Scotland at the University of Edinburgh, but before the end of the century this school became easily the most popular in Great Britain. This was due largely to the teaching of the three Munros, who for more than a hundred years held uninterruptedly the chair of anatomy. They were great teachers as well as great anatomists. Between 1720 and 1790, 12,800 students sat under the first two Munros. About the middle of the century the medical faculty of the University included Alexander Munro, *primus*, who was still lecturing in clinical surgery and medicine in the Royal Infirmary; Alexander Munro, *secundus*, who was teaching anatomy; William Cullen, who held the chair of the Institutes of Medicine and was the first to introduce clinical or infirmary lectures

into England; John Gregory, who held the chair of the Practice of Physic; John Hope, who taught botany; and Joseph Blake, lately made professor of chemistry. Curiously enough surgery was not taught as a separate subject in the University in this century. That subject was still a stepchild, given as a sort of appendix to the lectures on anatomy. There were, however, several distinguished surgeons in Edinburgh. James Rai gave private lectures on surgery, and the University encouraged students to attend them. John Bell, who ranks with the great surgeons of all time, was writing and practising, and for ten years between 1786 and 1796 he lectured on anatomy and surgery at the extramural school at Surgeons' Square.

If Edinburgh was preëminently the medical center of Great Britain, London was dominant in surgery. Students flocked to the great hospitals—St. Thomas's, Guy's and St. Bartholomew's. Though these hospital courses did not lead to degrees they were very popular, and their graduates had no difficulty in procuring licensure through the Royal College of Surgeons or the Royal College of Physicians. Sir Astley Cooper, William and John Hunter and Percival Pott, who were at the height of their careers at that time, are enduring names in English surgical history. London, in fact, soon vied with Paris as a place to learn surgery. Benjamin Bell of Edinburgh wrote in 1770, "to be sure that medicine is taught in Edinburgh in greater perfection than in any other part of Europe . . . but for a surgeon Edinburgh comes greatly short of either Paris or London."²⁴

Many Virginia youths during the Eighteenth Century took advantage of these excellent opportunities for study abroad and as a result acquired a preëminence in their profession upon their return to practise in America. Dr. Johann Schoepf, who came to this country with the Ansbach troops in 1777 and remained as a traveler until 1784, observed that most of the students of William and Mary "complete their training at the English and Scotch Universities preferring to make the highest degrees there."²⁵

The growing fame of British medicine naturally led the great majority of Americans to the mother country, though many, after a period of study in England, made the rounds of the foreign universities, particularly those in France, to complete their medical training. In Great Britain a medical education might be had at Oxford, Cambridge, London, Dublin, Edinburgh or Glasgow. The courses at Oxford and Cambridge were more theoretical than practical, consumed a long time and did not recommend themselves to practical-minded colonial doctors. However, we know of at least two Cam-

²⁴Miles: *Edinburgh School of Surgery before Lister*, p. 50.

²⁵Schoepf: *Travels in the Confederation*, v. 2, p. 80.



Know all Men by these Presents, that We
 the MASTER, WARDENS, and the rest of the Court
 of Examiners of the COMPANY of SURGEONS of London,
 to that Purpose chosen and constituted by the Autho-
 rity of Parliament, have deliberately Examined
 Mr. Robert Wellford and do find him a fit
 and capable Person to Exercise the Art and Science
 of SURGERY; and We do admit him to Practice in
 the said Art, according to the Force and Effect
 of the Statute in that Case made and
 whereof We have Subscribed our Names
 the Common Seal of the said COMPANY

dat 5th Jan^y 1745

Matthew Spray Master
Rich^d Grindall Wardens

Stafford Jane Rob^r Young
W^m Brompfeild Pyle
Reg^{is} of
W^m Brutton

Robert Wellford's diploma from the Company of Surgeons of London



bridge graduates. Dr. Thomas Clayton, son of the Attorney General of Virginia and brother of John Clayton the botanist, matriculated at Cambridge in 1720, received his M. B. degree in 1726, returned to Virginia and died at his home in Gloucester County in 1739. Dr. William Cocke, who became distinguished as a physician in Williamsburg and as Secretary of State for the colony, matriculated in 1688 at Cambridge and received his M. B. degree in 1693.²⁶

The courses in London did not lead to a degree, and a degree was a tremendous asset in the colony, where a great majority of physicians were home-trained in apprenticeships. Gustavus Richard Brown walked the London Hospitals after graduation. Alexander D. Galt was a pupil of Sir Astley Cooper's and attended lectures at Guy's and St. Thomas's, and his cousin, Samuel Galt, also studied in London.²⁷ John Yates Chinn finished his training at St. George's and St. Thomas's Hospitals in 1792; William Baynham studied in London under the Hunters and at St. Thomas's; Robert Carter, after a course in Philadelphia under Rush and Wistar, studied in both London and Paris; and James McClurg, after graduating at Edinburgh, also rounded out his course in London and Paris.²⁸

William Meriwether, born in Virginia in 1762, received his preliminary education in England, studied medicine in Europe and took additional medical courses in Philadelphia. John McCormick, after graduating from the University of Dublin, became between 1730 and 1740 one of the pioneer settlers in the Shenandoah Valley. Valentine Peyton, born in Stafford County, Virginia, in 1756, is said to have studied in Glasgow, and Mottram Ball went to both Edinburgh and Glasgow, receiving his M. D. from the latter about 1790. Another graduate of Glasgow was Dr. William Spence. Adam Stephen received his M. A. at the University of Aberdeen in 1740 and studied medicine, probably in London.²⁹

Although, except for the very large number who attended Edinburgh, comparatively few native Virginians received their medical education abroad, the list of foreign-born and foreign-educated physicians who settled in Virginia is a long one. A great variety of English and continental institutions were in this way represented among the practising physicians in the colony, and their teaching was handed down through the system of apprenticeships. Doctors born and educated abroad—exclusive of Scotland—who later settled in Vir-

²⁶ Alumni Cantabrigienses.

²⁷ Information supplied by Miss Mary Galt from the Galt manuscripts.

²⁸ An interesting piece of research could be done in London by examining the hospital records to find out just how many Virginians did study there.

²⁹ Norris: History of the Lower Shenandoah Valley, p. 332.

ginia were: George Nicholas, Matthew Pope, William Rumney, Peter Wagner, John Brown (d. 1726), William Cabell, Joseph Harding, Thomas Hinde, Joseph Belfield, Walter Bennett and Robert Wellford from England; Francis Joseph Mattauer, Paul Micou, Stephen Chastain and Louis Contesse from France; Samuel Tschiffely and Jean Pasteur from Switzerland; John de Sequeyra, supposed to have been either Portugese or Italian, who had studied under Boerhaave; Nicholas Shell from Germany and Philip Mazzei from Italy.

The situation which confronted the young colonial seeking a medical education abroad was well expressed by Samuel Johnson when he advised Arthur Lee of Virginia in 1760: if he had a large fortune and time enough to spare, to go either to Cambridge or Oxford; if not, to Edinburgh or Leyden, for "the Scotch or foreign education is like a house built to last a man's life time only; the English is like a palace or fortress intended to last for many ages. The first build lightly, the last lay a very strong and firm foundation before they begin the work."²⁰ Lee decided that a lifetime was enough and graduated from Edinburgh in 1764.

Charles Goore, writing to Theodorick Bland, Sr., from Liverpool in 1758, put the matter thus: "I shoud think two or three years spent at Oxford woud be of great service to him [Theodorick, Jr.], . . . for there are all the advantages for the study of physick at Oxford, that we can desire, as to its theory, and I almost said practice too, for there never was a better sett of professors or physicians than now, and they are going to found a hospital purely to encourage the study of physick, and there cannot be nobler physic gardens than at Oxford; and admitting that Edinburgh or Leyden is more noted for this science than our University, yet still the morals of young gentlemen are more attended to . . . yet I think the morals of a well disposed youth may be preserved at Edinburgh as well as at Oxford, and it's a much cheaper place, besides there cannot be a Doctr. of Physic's degree obtained at Oxford under fourteen years."²¹ Theodorick Bland sent his son to Edinburgh, and so did most of the other Virginians who faced the same problem.

To Edinburgh went flocks of young Americans. From 1749 to 1812, 139 Americans graduated there. Eighty-six came from the south, and sixty-five of these from Virginia—more than from any other section.

Not all the medical students at Edinburgh received degrees. John Leigh and James Ramsay, who later were distinguished in their profession, studied at the University but never graduated. Nor did William Marshall, William Marye (about 1758), James Bankhead, Jr. (1761), George Gilmer, James

²⁰Early Letters of Arthur Lee, in *The Southern Literary Messenger*, v. 29, p. 63.

²¹Bland Papers, pp. 14-16.

Blair (1761), James Feild (1760-61), John M. Galt (1767),³³ Moore Fauntleroy (1768), Ewen Clements (1768), William Foushee (before 1774), Laurence Brooke (1774-76), John Tankard (about 1780), Phillip Barraud (about 1780), William Graham (1781), John T. Lewis (before 1782), John Bankhead (1785), John D. Orr (about 1795) and David Fauntleroy (before 1800). What was true of them must have been true of many others.

The list of those who did graduate, with their theses, forms an interesting roster.³³ It begins with Valentine Peyton,³⁴ who graduated in 1754 with a *Dissertatio Medica Inauguralis de Abortu*. It continues in 1758 with Thomas Clayton, *de Parca et Simplici Medicina, quam, Annuente Summo Numine*, and in 1761 with Theodorick Bland, *de Coctione Alimentorum in Ventriculo*. Arthur Lee graduated in 1764 with a thesis *de Cortice Peruviano*. Corbin Griffin, *de Viribus Camphorae*, and James Tapscott, *de Chlorosi*, followed in 1765; George Steptoe, *de Febre Nervosa*, Joseph Godwin, *de Epilepsia*, and Walter Jones, *de Dysenteria*, in 1769; Archibald Campbell, *de Inflammatione*, James McClurg, *de Calore*, William Brown, *de Viribus Atmosphaerae*, and John Ravenscroft, *de Ictero*, in 1770; Isaac Hall, *de Thermis*, in 1771; William Ball, *de Tabae Mesenterica*, in 1773; John Tayloe Griffin, *de Potionis Frigidae in Morbis Febrilibus Usa*, and Philip Turpin, *de Epilepsia*, in 1774; Samuel Nicoll, *de Arthritide*, in 1776; David Stuart, *de Mania*, and John Shore, *de Fluoro Albo*, in 1777; William Boush, *de Hysteria*, in 1778; James Lyons, *de Cholera*, in 1785; James Skelton Gilliam, *de Diarrhoea*, in 1786; Robert Walker, *de Cynanche Maligna*, and Augustine Smith, *de Morbillis*, in 1787; Alexander Schaw Feild, *de Typho*, in 1789; Richard Feild, *de Menorrhagia*, in 1790; Samuel Wilson, *de Variolis*, William Bird Lewis, *de Dysenteria*, James Drew McCaw, *de Rheumatismo Acuto*, Charles Meriwether, *de Pneumonia*, David Corbin Ker, *de Hypochondriasi* in 1792; Carter Berkeley, *de Corpore Humano*, Charles Minor, *de Typho*, Francis Harris, *de Rubeola*, Robert Beverley Spratt, *de Febre Intermittente*, in 1793; John Brockenbrough, *de Rabie Canina*, and Edward Fisher, *de Febre Flava*, in 1795; David Walker, *de Inflammatione*, James Jones, *de Tetano*, John Adams, *de Suspensa Respiratione*, and Francis Peyton, *de Dysenteria*, in 1796; James Greenhow, *de Dyspepsia*, in 1797; Robert Downman, *de Puerperarum Peritonitide*, in 1798; John Randolph Archer, *de Igne*, Bathurst Randolph, *de Respiratione*, and Bolling Stark, *de Animalium et Terra natorum Similitudine*, in 1799. Fortunately

³³Gilmer, Blair and Galt are not given as graduates in the list in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register or in Torrence's Trial Bibliography, but are in a list in the William and Mary Quarterly, v. 6, p. 176.

³⁴New England Historical and Genealogical Register, 1888, v. 42. Torrence: Trial Bibliography of Colonial Virginia.

³⁵Not to be confused with the Valentine Peyton who was born in 1756 and studied at Glasgow.

these graduate dissertations were published, and copies of most of them are preserved in the Library of the Surgeon General at Washington.

The little old capital of Scotland, to which these Virginia medical students flocked, had only 25,000 inhabitants in 1700, and in the latter half of the Eighteenth Century it was still almost entirely an ancient city, with its castle, palace, closes, cathedral and meadow. The life of students there was different from that in most university towns. William Robertson, who for thirty-one years (1762-1793) held the reins of college government, had ideas of his own. He did not believe in keeping students shut up as they were at Oxford and Cambridge, but thought they should mingle with society and not be too strictly supervised. An Italian traveler wrote in 1788, "The students who amount annually to some 7 or 8 hundred⁸⁵ do not live in the College but board in private houses and attend the lectures according as they please." This liberal attitude accounted, he thought, for the tremendous popularity of the Edinburgh institution, in spite of the fact that "what is called a College is nothing else than a mass of ruined buildings of very ancient construction."⁸⁶ Although "the new college of Edinburgh" had its foundations laid in 1789, the buildings were not completed until well into the next century. Principal Robertson in 1784 admitted that "a stranger when conducted to view the University of Edinburgh might on viewing such courts and buildings naturally enough imagine them to be almshouses for the reception of the poor, but would never imagine that he was entering within the precincts of a noted and flourishing seat of learning."⁸⁷

The faculty of medicine from 1762 to 1793, the period during which the large majority of Virginians went to Edinburgh, was composed of: Botany—John Hope, Daniel Rutherford; Institutes of Medicine—R. Whytt, William Cullen, A. M. Drummond, James Gregory, Andrew Duncan; Practice of Physic—John Rutherford, John Gregory, W. Cullen, James Gregory; Anatomy—Alexander Munro, *secundus*; Chemistry—William Cullen, Joseph Black; Midwifery—Thomas Young, Alexander Hamilton; Natural History—Robert Ramsay, John Walker; Materia Medica—Francis Home, Daniel Rutherford.⁸⁸

Juniper Carlyle, the famous minister of Inveresk, wrote in 1743, "Living at Edinburgh still continues to be wonderfully cheap as there were ordinaries for young gentlemen at 4 pence a head for a very good dinner of broth and beef

⁸⁵Edinburgh University, *A Sketch of Its Life for 300 Years*, gives the number of students during the winter session of 1788-9: Divinity, 130; Law, 100; Physic, 440; General classes, 420; Total 1090.

⁸⁶Edinburgh University, *A Sketch of Its Life for 300 Years*, pp. 67, 68.

⁸⁷Edinburgh University, *A Sketch of Its Life for 300 Years*, p. 65.

⁸⁸Edinburgh University, *A Sketch of Its Life for 300 Years*, pp. 53, 54.

and a roast and potatoes every day with fish three or four times a week and all the small beer that was called for till the cloth was removed."³⁹

The life of the medical student at Edinburgh has been variously commented upon by Drs. McClurg, Jones, Bland and Arthur Lee. The moral atmosphere was the subject of a letter from Dr. McClurg to his sister in 1778, advising her to apprentice her son, James Drew McCaw, to surgery: "I hope he will not suffer himself to be debauched by the young company he must necessarily fall into. But he will have occasion for all his prudence, as more licentious youths are hardly to be found anywhere than I remember to have seen in Edinburgh."

Walter Jones wrote to his brother in 1776, while still a student at the University:

"The students here, denominated medical, may be referred to three ranks or orders. 1st the Fine Gentleman, or those who give no application to study, but spend the Revenues of Gentlemen of Independent Fortunes. 2ly. The Gentlemen, or Students of medicine strictly speaking, these live genteely and at the same time apply themselves to study. 3 ly. The vulgar, or those who, if they are not indolent, are entirely devoid of everything polite and agreeable. I believe you will not doubt for a moment with which of these orders I ought to associate . . .

"The landed gentry here, if they have an Estate of 70 or 80 per ann., think the study of medicine degrading and apply themselves mostly to the Law—but take this in general, for there are several of the natives, . . . that are very accomplished gentlemen . . .

". . . less than 100 pounds per ann. will not maintain a gentleman in Edinburgh."⁴⁰

In July 1769 Jones wrote again to his brother, this time from London: "I obtained my degree on the 12th of June last, and I flatter myself, with as much applause as I could reasonably have wished . . . The subject of it [his thesis] is the Bloody Flux, which is not a splendid one, but as it is amongst the worst Disorders with which our Country is often afflicted, I thought it my Duty to Study it particularly." He went on to explain that he was returning to Edinburgh for the winter to attend a "Course of Practice" to be given by Dr. Cullen — "too valuable to be put in competition with any advantages I could get here."⁴¹

The strenuousness of the course of study was the subject of a letter of Theodorick Bland, Jr., to his father in 1761: "My usual hours of attending the colleges are at least seven daily, which scarce afford time for necessary

³⁹Edinburgh University, *A Sketch of Its Life for 300 Years*, p. 42.

⁴⁰Virginia Historical Magazine, v. 1, p. 49.

⁴¹Jones: Captain Roger Jones, *Some of his Antecedents and Descendants*, p. 232.

refreshments; add to these the night taken up in revising and recapitulating the work of the preceding day, and I am convinced you will not require an apology for my silence."⁴²

Thomas Tudor Tucker sent his brother, St. George, an interesting description of the University while he was a medical student there. The letter is dated Edinburgh, January 10, 1768:⁴³

"You ask of me some Account of the University here . . . The Building is old & irregular, and too mean to merit a Description. The Students are in College only during the Hour of reading, the rest of their Time they employ at Home with their Tutors. The Professors have no other authority over them, than to require Decency of Behaviour whilst they are in the College. No Student is obliged to attend any Classes, but such as he chooses, except he is studying any Profession, and then he is expected to have studied every Branch of that Profession before he is admitted to practise it. Few take Degrees here except in Physic, and those take the Degree of Doctor without previously (as at English Universities) taking those of Batchelor & Master of Arts and Batchelor of Physic. Nor is any Number of Years fix'd for attending the College before graduating. It is necessary to have attended every Medical Class at least once, and to be able to pass examination. Some who have studied Physic for a considerable time under a Physician or at another University graduate in two or three Years. Others stay longer as they think proper, from 4 or 5 to 8 or 10 years . . ."

Another letter from Dr. Tucker, written after he had started practising in Charleston, comments on some of his fellow students at Edinburgh and is valuable in establishing the date of attendance at the University of several Virginians whose names do not appear on the official lists. "I am much obliged," he wrote on February 4, 1773, "to Dr. Blair,⁴⁴ McLurg⁴⁵ & Hall⁴⁶ for their kind remembrance of me . . . I have a very great esteem for them all. Hall has done me the Favor to write several Times since I left Edinburgh . . . He is really a most worthy Man . . . Poor Blair! I was quite shock'd at the Accounts Mr. ——— gave us of his unhappy Marriage . . . I heard that McLurg was to settle in Norfolk. I wish him Success wherever he is. He is exceedingly clever & deserves Encouragement. I knew many Virginians in Edinburgh in the Medical Way, but can't tell where they are Settled. Should you meet with any of the following, make my Compts. & I dare say they will show you any Civility: Dr. Walter Jones, George Steptoe, Archibald

⁴²Bland Papers, p. 16.

⁴³Tucker MSS., owned by Mr. and Mrs. George Coleman of Williamsburg.

⁴⁴James Blair, of Williamsburg, grandson of Dr. Archibald Blair. His name is not on the official list.

⁴⁵James McClurg, M. D. 1770.

⁴⁶Isaac Hall, of Petersburg, M. D. 1771.

Campbell, Moore Fauntleroy,⁴⁷ . . . Godwin,⁴⁸ . . . Clements,⁴⁹ Gustavus Richard Brown, William Brown . . .”

The seriousness with which anatomy was pursued at that time in Edinburgh under Munro, *primus*, and the resolution of the young students to make it the corner stone of their medical education is shown in a curious paper which has been preserved in the Bland collection:

“Articles Relating to the Virginia Club—1761.

1st. That every constituent of this Club shall be a Virginian born, and shall, upon his admission into it, give his honor strictly to adhere to the subsequent rules.

2nd. That as this institution is supposed to be solely for the improvement of the members in anatomy, (which is justly termed the basis of physic,) each member shall, at his own room, or at some other place appointed at least three days before, give a demonstration in anatomy, the subject of which shall be appointed and agreed on by the club on the night of the preceding meeting.

3rd. That every member of this club shall make it his endeavor, if possible, for the honor of his profession, not to degrade it by hereafter mingling the trade of an apothecary or surgeon with it.

4th. That no person shall be admitted a member of this club who does not declare upon his honor his future intentions to take a degree in physic, at this or some other university.

5th. That every Virginian attending the colleges of physic here, provided it be with the unanimous consent of the club, and upon conforming to proposition 3d, shall be permitted a perpetual visitor; but that no one who has not attended one course of anatomy at least shall be allowed to demonstrate to the club.

6th. That no member shall be absent upon the night of the demonstration if possibly to be avoided; and no other excuse for absence be deemed sufficient but that of his declaring upon honor the necessity for such absence was indispensable.

7th. That the order in which the members are to demonstrate shall be such as is agreed on by the members, and to continue for the future without interruption.

8th. That if any member does not demonstrate regularly in his turn, the next in roatation shall resume both the subject and turn, which he shall lose till it comes round to him again; except he is disabled by sickness, when the demonstration may be deferred for one week only, and then to proceed as usual.

Signed, Theodorick Bland.”⁵⁰

An equally interesting paper in the same collection consists of a petition

⁴⁷ Moore Fauntleroy's name is not on the official list, and he probably did not graduate.

⁴⁸ Joseph Godwin, M. D. 1769.

⁴⁹ This may be Ewen Clements, who became Hugh Mercer's partner in Fredericksburg in 1771.

⁵⁰ Bland Papers, p. xvii.

from the Virginia students at Edinburgh to the honorable Council of Virginia, in behalf of ethical medicine.⁵¹

Virginia's debt to Scotch medicine was a great one. It is almost certainly true that one of the largest factors in elevating the whole tone of medicine in America toward the end of the century was the influx of foreign physicians brought in by the French and Indian Wars and particularly by the Revolutionary War. In Virginia much of the new blood came from Scotland. James Craik, James Currie, Robert White, Alexander G. Strachan, Andrew Robertson, George Graham, James Carmichael, George Gilmer, Sr., James Henderson and Robert Honyman were all Scotch physicians, said to have studied at Edinburgh, who settled in Virginia. In addition to these Edinburgh graduates other Scotch physicians emigrating to Virginia after receiving their medical training were John Strachey, Walter McClurg, James McCaw, Hugh Mercer, Adam Stephen, Alexander Somervail, Walter Williamson, James Bankhead, Sr., David Black, Archibald Blair, John Spence, Robert Crighton and William Fleming. The prestige of Scotland was not confined to Virginia. Her graduates settled in most of the thirteen original colonies, and their influence is to be traced in many of our own medical schools, several of which were in fact modeled after the University of Edinburgh.

⁵¹For the details of this petition see chapter XVIII.

CHAPTER VI

READING AND WRITING

I. LIBRARIES¹

THE medical libraries of Virginians of the colonial period were surprisingly large and well chosen. They afford a wealth of information concerning the state of learning in the colony, the interest in books in general and in medical books in particular. While much material still lies buried in the inventories of the century, an analysis of 500 medical works found in a few typical professional and lay libraries brings to light certain facts of interest. We find, for instance, that such classical names as Fracastorius, Thomas Sydenham, Albrecht von Haller, William Cheselden, William Smellie, Walter Harris, John Huxham, John Freind, Thomas Willis and William Harvey occur frequently. The ancients, Celsus and Galen, appear but rarely, though Hippocrates was still a popular authority. Many of the medical authors encountered were extremely popular in their day, but time has not dealt kindly with their receding reputations. John Astruc, Richard Wiseman, James Keill, Daniel Turner, Alexander Monro, James Drake, Lorenz Heister, Samuel Tissot and Nicholas Culpeper were revered and read by our forefathers to a surprising extent.²

Of the 500 books from Virginia libraries 122 deal with medical practice, including epidemics; 56 with surgery, including books on the treatment of stone; 42 with anatomy; 20 with diseases of women; 24 with chemistry; 15 with public health; 13 with smallpox; 10 with therapy; 14 with drugs; 8 with venereal disease; 3 with children; and 3 with consumption. In addition there are a large number of dictionaries, dispensatories and pharmacopoeias, forty-nine in all, besides thirty "systems of medicine" — *opera omnia*. Eighty-one books have been classified as miscellaneous. The analysis shows the predominance of medicine, the importance attached to anatomy, the growing

¹The first medical libraries in this country were the library established in the Pennsylvania Hospital in 1762, for which many volumes were selected by Dr. Lettsom of London and Dr. Louis of Paris; the library established in the New York Hospital in 1776; and the library in the College of Physicians of Philadelphia in 1788.

²Favorite books of American physicians about 1776, according to Bartlett, were Boerhaave, with van Swieten's Commentaries; Haller's Physiology; the Anatomy of Cowper, Keill, Douglass, Cheselden, Monro and Winslow; the Surgery of Heister, Sharp, Pott and Le Dran; the Midwifery of Smellie; the Materia Medica of Louis; and the works of Sydenham, Whytt, Mead, Brookes and Huxham. Cullen was just coming into vogue.

respect for surgery, and the beginning of recognition of such specialties as obstetrics, gynecology and pediatrics.

One of the largest among the physicians' libraries was that of Colonel William Fleming, a Scotchman educated at Edinburgh. He practised in Boteourt County after winning military fame in the Indian wars. His library numbered 324 volumes and was valued at £176-1s.-3d. It included forty-three works on medicine and gives as good an example as we have of what were considered the best medical works in the late decades of the Eighteenth Century.³ The names of the books, retaining the spelling given in the old inventory, with parenthetical notes showing the correct title and date of publication whenever these are known, follow:

Van Sweeten's *Boerhave*

(Gerhard van Swieten spent thirty years on the *Aphorisms* of Hermann Boerhaave.)

Peachy's *Sydenham*

(John Pechey's Sydenham, 1695.)

Brooks' *Practice of Physick*

(R. Brooke: *The General Practice of Physic*, 1765.)

Chyne on *Regimen*

(George Cheyne: *Essay on Regimen*, 1753.)

Towne on *Wt. India Diseases*

(Robert Towne: *A Treatise on the Diseases most frequent in the West Indies*, 1726.)

Carr's *Medical Epistles*

(Richard Carr: *Epistolae Medicinales*, 1691.)

Alpin's *Presages*

(Prosper Alpinus: *De Praesagienda Vita*, etc., 1710.)

Strother on *Health*

(Edward Strother: *An Essay on Sickness and Health*, 1725.)

Strother on *Fevers*

(Edward Strother: *Criticon Februm*, 1716.)

Epidemic Fever

(Edward Strother: *Practical Observations on the Epidemical Fever*, 1729.)

Lomens on *Fevers*

(Jodocus Buranus Lommius: *De Curandis Febribus*, 1563.)

Hipocrates' *Aphorisms*

(Found in many Virginia medical libraries in this century.)

Turner's *Syphelis*

(Daniel Turner: *Syphilis*, 1724.)

Turner's *Deseases of the Skin*

(Daniel Turner: *De Morbis Cutaneis*, 1714.)

³William and Mary Quarterly, v. 6, pp. 158-164.

- Pitcairn's Works**
 (Archibald Pitcairn: *Opuscula Medica*, 1714.)
- Houston on Ruptures**
- Goulard on Venereal Diseases**
 (Thomas Goulard: *De Lue Venerea*, 1774.)
- Medulla Medecina**
- Monroe's Osteology**
 (Alexander Monro: *The Anatomy of the Human Bones*, 1726.)
- Thompson's Anatomy**
 (George Thomson: *The Anatomy of the Human Bones*, 1734.)
- Harris' Dissertation**
 (Walter Harris: *Dissertationes Medicae et Chirurgicae*, 1725.)
- Shaw's Psalm of Physick**
- Horse Doctor**
- On Dry Gripes**
 (Thomas Cadwalader: *Essay on the West-India Dry-Gripes*, 1725.)
- Dimsdale on Inoculation**
 (Thomas Dimsdale: *The Present Method of Inoculating for the Small Pox*, 1767.)
- Rush on Inoculation**
 (Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia, 1745-1813.)
- Lancaster on Smallpox**
- Mead on Poisons**
 (Richard Mead: *A Mechanical Account of Poison in Several Essays*, 1702.)
- Asterie's Midwifery**
 (Jean Astruc: *L'Art d'Acoucheur*, 1771.)
- Hillary on Smallpox**
 (William Hillary: *A Rational and Mechanical Essay on the Small Pox*, 1735.)
- Moreton on Consumption**
 (Richard Morton: *Phthisiologia*, 1689.)
- Wainwright's Non Naturels**
 (Jer. Wainwright: *Mechanical Account of the Non-Naturals*, 1737.)
- Keil's Animal Oeconomy**
 (James Keill: *Essays on Several Parts of the Animal Oeconomy*, 1717.)
- Crawford's Theory**
 (Adair Crawford.)
- Freind's History of Physick**
 (John Freind: *History of Physick*, 1750.)
- Switzer's Gardening**
- Strother's Materia Medica**
 (Edward Strother: *Materia Medica*, 1729.)
- New Dispensatory**
 (William Lewis's *New Dispensatory*, 1754. Many Pharmacopoeias and

Dispensatories are listed among the medical books in Virginia at this period. The Pharmacopoeias were usually official works published under the authority of the laws of their respective countries. The Dispensatories, though somewhat like them, consisted of collections of formulas and commentaries on the properties of drugs and were the work of individual authors.)

Laboratory Laid Open

Forestii Opera

Wiseman's Surgery

(Richard Wiseman: *Several Chirurgical Treatises*, 1692.)

Boerhave's Chemistry

(Hermann Boerhaave: *A New Method of Chemistry*, 1727.)

Keister's Surgery

(Lorenz Heister, 1683-1758: *Chirurgie*, 1718.)

Sixty-three books dealing with medicine are listed, with their values, in the inventory of the estate of Dr. Kenneth McKenzie of Williamsburg, recorded in 1755:⁴

Cooper's Anatomy, £4

(Gul. Cowper: *The Anatomy of Humane Bodies*, 1737.)

Baileys Dictionary, 15/

Headley on Respiration, 3/

(Benjamin Hoadley: *Three Lectures on the Organs of Respiration*, 1740.)

Ranby on gun shot wounds, 2/

(J. Ranby: *The Method of Treating Gun-shot Wounds*.)

Medicina Statica, 2/6

(Santorio Santorio: *de Statica Medicina Aphorismorum*, etc., 1716.)

London Dispensatory, 4/

Keils Anatomy, 1/3

(James Keill: *The Anatomy of the Human Body*, abridged.)

Robinson on Diseases, 2/6

(Nicholas Robinson: *Theory of Physick and Diseases*, 1725.)

Hippocratic Aphorisms, 2/

Presagium Medicum, 1/

Anatomical figures No. 11 with explanations

A Survey of the Microcosm, 5/9

Douglas's Midwifry, 1/6

(Andrew Douglas of London ?)

Boerhaves Chymistry, 26/

Winslows Anatomy, 15/

(Jacob B. Winslow: *Exposition Anatomique*, 1723.)

Hiesters Surgery, 15/

*York County Will Book, No. 20, 1755.

LAZARI
RIVERII,
CONSILIARII
ET MEDICI REGII,
NEC NON IN MONSPELIENSI
Vniuersitate Medicinæ Professoris, ac Doctorum
Monspelensium Decani,

INSTITVTIONES MEDICÆ.
IN QVINQUE LIBROS DISTINCTÆ.

QVIBVS TOTIDEM MEDICINÆ PARTES,
Physiologia, Pathologia, Semeiotice, Hygiene,
& Therapeutice dilucidè explicantur.

OPVS ACCVRATISSIMVM, AC PHILIATRIS
Omnibus utilissimum.

Nunc verò singula peculiaribus suis Indicibus illustrata.



LVGDVNI,

Sumpt. ANTONII CELLIER, Patris & Filij, in viâ Mecatorum
ad insignè D. Antonij.

M. D. C. LXXII.

CVM PRIVILEGIO REGIS.

A
SYSTEM
OF
ANATOMY
AND
PHYSIOLOGY,
WITH THE
COMPARATIVE ANATOMY
OF ANIMALS.

COMPILED FROM
THE LATEST AND BEST AUTHORS,
AND ARRANGED,
AS NEARLY AS THE WORK WOULD ADMIT,
IN THE ORDER OF THE
LECTURES
DELIVERED IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

IN THREE VOLUMES
With a number of Plates.

A NEW EDITION,
WITH ADDITIONS, CORRECTIONS, AND NOTES,
AND ILLUSTRATED WITH
TWENTY NEW COPPERPLATES
And in a slightly improved form of
DR ALEXANDER MONRO, SENIOR.

VOL. II.

EDINBURGH:
PRINTED BY ALEX. SHARPLEY, SUCCESSOR TO
JOS. WILLIAM CLARKE.
AND SOLD BY R. & J. LITTLE, 14, BISHOP'S
LONDON,
1801.

DE MORBIS
VENEREIS
LIBRI NOVEM
AUCTORE
JOANNE ASTRUC

In Regio Franciæ Collegio Professore Medico, &c.

IN QVIBVS DISSERTATUR TUM DE ORIGINE,
Propagatione & Contagione horumque affectuum in genere: tum de singulorum
Natura, & Ætiologia & Therapia, cum Breui Analyti & Epicrii Operum
plerorumque quæ de eodem argumento scripta sunt.

IN HAC NOVISSIMA EDITIONE

Præter novæ duæ Auctoris Dissertationes accedunt Epistola tres

CL. GERARDI L. B. VANS-WIETEN

de Specifico ab ipso invento, & experimentis probato ad præfigendam

lucem Venereæ sibiq; phlogistis, nec non Dissertatio Cl. viri

JOSEPHI MARIE XAVERII BERTINI

de usu interni & externi Mercurij ex Italico in latinum

sermone converso.

TOMVS PRIMVS.



VENETIIS,
MDCCLX.

APVD THOMAM BETTINELLI.
SUPERIORVM PERMISSV.

GEORGI BAGLIVI
Medic. Theoric. in Roman. Archilyc. Prof. Societ.
Reg. Londin. Academ. Imp. Leop. &c. Collegæ
OPERA OMNIA
MEDICO-PRACTICA, ET ANATOMICA.

EDITIO XVII.

Cui præter Dissertationes, alioque Tractatus Antea in Editionibus
adjunctos, item Eiusdem GEORGI BAGLIVI Cano-
nis de Medicina Solidorum, Dissertatio de Progressione
Romani Terræmotus, de Systemate & Usu Motus Soli-
dorum in Corpore Animato, de Vegetatione
Lapidum, & Analogis Circulationis Maris
ad Circulationem Sanguinis

ACCESSERUNT

Item nonnullæ alie Additiones per loca, ut jacent;
postliminio dispositæ.

A. M. P. N. F. A.

Una cum Indicibus arisq; Tabulis;

NEC NON

JOANNIS DOMINICI SANTORINI
OPUSCULA V.

De Structura, & Motu Fibre, De Nutritione Animal,
De Hemorrhoidibus, & De Catamenis.



BASSANI MDCCLXXXVII.

Title pages from the libraries of Virginia doctors

- Douglas *Lythotomy*, 2/
 (James Douglas: *History of the Lateral Operation for the Stone*, 1726.)
- Hiesters *Compendrium*, 5/
 Astruc *on women* vol.5, 18/
 (Jean Astruc: *Treatise on all the Diseases incident to Women*, 1743.)
- James Shaws *Dispensatorys*, each 2/
 Friends *History on Physic*, 5/9
- Garengéols *Surgery*, 3/
 (R. J. Croissant de Garengéot: *Traite des Operations de Chirurgie*, 1720.)
- Meads *Precepts*, 5/
 (Richard Mead: *Monita et Praecepta Medica*, 1751.)
- Chapmans *Midwifery*, 3/9
 (Edmund Chapman: *A Treatise on the Improvement of Midwifery*.)
- Harvey *D Motri Cordis*, 2/6
 (William Harvey: *De Motu Cordis*, 1727.)
- Chyne *on Health*, 2/
 (George Cheyne: *An Essay on Health and Long Life*, 1725.)
- do. *on Gout*, 1/6
- Cheseldon *on the Stone*, 2/
 (William Cheselden, 1688-1752: *Treatise on a high operation for stone*. His *Anatomy* was published in 1713.)
- do. *on anatomy*, 5/
 Wilson *Chymistry*, 2/6
 (George Wilson: *A Compleat Course of Chymistry*, 1709.)
- Praxis Medica*, 2/
 Monroes *Anatomy*, 1/6
- Mead *on Poisons*, 5/
State of Midwifery, 1/6
- Ledrams *Operations* 2 vols., 10/
 (Henri Francois Le Dran: *Operations in Surgery*.)
- Saviards *Observations*, 5/
 (M. Saviard: *Observations in Surgery*, 1740.)
- Sharps *Critical Enquiry*, 3/
 (Samuel Sharp: *Critical enquiry into the present State of Surgery*, 1750.)
- Medical Essays*, 10/10
Medical Essays Edenb'g, 10/10
- Thompson *on Dissecting*, 3/
 Sturlock *on Dentition*, 4/
 Petit *on the Bones*, 4/
 (Jean Lou. Petit: *Traite des Maladies des Os*, 1723.)
- St. Ives *on the Eyes*
 (Saint Yves: *Nouveau Traite des Maladies des Yeux*, 1722.)

ON THE
DISEASES

OF

Literary and Seditary Persons.

HAVING been appointed to introduce a science into this university, which, until the present time, had no professor in it, I purposed, on the occasion, first, to have observed the various relations which medicine has to the other sciences, that have been taught here for many ages with great reputation and success; and afterwards to display both the advantages it derives from, and those it reciprocally communicates to, them.

It would have been very agreeable to me to declare, in this public manner, the many important precepts in which medicine (1) coincides

(1) The French words, " combien de choses importantes elle emprunte de la religion," literally signify how many important things it (physic) borrows from religion; which is rather bald in our idiom. The whole sentence, however, I think, refers to that general

JOHANNIS FREIND,
MED. DOCT.
DE
PURGANTIBUS,
IN SECUNDA VARIOLARUM
CONFLUENTIUM FEBRE;
ADHIBENDIS
EPISTOLA.



ROTTERDAMI;
APUD JOHANNEM HOFHOUT,
M D C C X X.

St. Geo. J. Green 1773

THE
ART
OF
SURGERY:

In which is laid down

Such a general IDEA of the same, as is founded upon REASON, confirm'd by PRACTICE, and farther illustrated with many singular and rare Cases MEDICO-CHIRURGICAL.

In Two VOLUMES.

The THIRD EDITION.

By DANIEL TURNER, M.D.
of the College of PHYSICIANS in London.

Ο ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΕΡΧΕΤΑΙ, Η Ο ΤΙΤΛΟΣ ΜΑΚΡΟΊ Ο Ο ΚΑΙΟΊ
ΟΉΞΙΟΊ Ο ΟΉΞΙΟΊ Ο ΟΉΞΙΟΊ
Hippoc. pars primi Aphor.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

Printed for C. RIVINGTON in St. Paul's Church-yard;
J. LACY between the Temple Gates in Fleetstreet; and
J. CLARK, at the Bible under the Royal Exchange.
M.DCC.XXIX.

OBSERVATIONS
IN
SURGERY:

BEING

A COLLECTION of One Hundred and
Twenty Eight DIFFERENT CASES.

WITH

Particular REMARKS on Each,
For the Improvement of young STUDENTS.

Wherein not only the Method of Practice in difficult Labours, but other Distempers incident to the Female Sex are copiously enlarged on: Among others, that of the Defect of the Womb; clearly proving the Reality of such a Disease, in Opposition to Mr. Verdus.

To which are added,

The particular Receipts of such Remedies as were used by the Author in each Case.

Written originally in French, by Mr. SAVIARD, Chief Surgeon, and Operator in Midwifery, at the Hospital Hotel Dieu in Paris. 1656-1702.

The Candid Reception of Mr. Le Dran's Observations by the Gentlemen of the Faculty, encouraged me to prosecute this Translation, that the Whole may make a compleat Body of Practical Surgery.

By J. S. SURGEON.

LONDON:

Printed for J. HODGES, at the Looking-glass on London-Bridge.
M.DCC.XL.

Title pages from the libraries of Virginia doctors

- Sharps *Surgery*, 5/
 (Samuel Sharp: *Treatise on the Operations of Surgery*, 1751.)
- Mauriceas *Midwifery*, 5/
 (Franciscus Mauriceau: *Diseases of Women with Child and in Child-bed*, 1736.)
- Daventrys do., 4/
 Vansweeten 8 vols., 40/
 (Gerhard van Swieten, 1700-1772, of Leyden, favorite of the Empress Maria Theresa of Austria.)
- Hillery *on the small pox* and Robinson *on decays*
 (Bryan Robinson: *A Dissertation on the Food and Discharges of Human Bodies*, 1748.)
- Sydenhams *Works*, 4/
 Baglivi and Pitcairn, 9/
 (Giorgia Baglivi, 1668-1706, and Archibald Pitcairn.)
- Bellini, 4/
 (Lorenzo Bellini, work on the kidney, 1662.)
- Lomius *on Fevers*, 5/
 Mead *on Smallpox*, 2/6
 (Richard Mead: *A Discourse on the Small pox and Measles*, 1755.)
- Modern Practice of Physics* 2 vols., 8/
 Wainwright *on nonnaturals*, 4/
 Friend *on Fevers*, 5/
 (John Freind: *Comment. de Febribus*, 1717.)
- Friends *Emanologia*, 3/
 (John Freind: *Emmenologia*, 1703.)
- Shaws *Practice of Physics* 2 vols., 7/6
 (Peter Shaw: *New Practice of Physic*, 1753.)
- Arbuthnot *on Air*, 3/
 (John Arbuthnot: *An Essay Concerning the Effects of Air on Human Bodies*, 1732.)
- Turner 4 vols., 15/
 (Daniel Turner.)

Dr. David Black, a Scotchman who settled at Blandford, died in 1782 and left a library of 225 volumes, valued at £50.⁵ Twenty-seven of these books dealt with medicine:

- Dale's *Pharmacologia*
 (Samuel Dale: *Pharmacologiae*, 1718.)
- Shaws *Chimistry*
 (Peter Shaw: *Three Essays in Artificial Philosophy or Universal Chemistry*, 1731.)

⁵Prince George County Records, v. 3, p. 287. Extracts in Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 4, pp. 288-292.

Smellies *Midwifery*

(W. Smellie: *Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Midwifery*, 1762.)

Mehless *Medical Essays***Pringles *Diseases of the Army***

(John Pringle: *Observations on the Diseases of the Army*, 1764.)

Huxham *on Fevers*

(John Huxham: *An Essay on Fevers*, 1764.)

Brooks *practice of Physic***Chiseldens *Anatomy***

(William Cheselden: *The Anatomy of the Human Body*, 1740.)

Le Drams *Surgery***Monro's *Ostiology*****Haller's *Physiology***

(Albertus Haller: *Primaе Leneae physiologiae*, 1767.)

Lewis's *Pharmacopoeia*

(William Lewis: *New Dispensatory*, 1754. Contains commentaries on the London and Edinburgh Pharmacopoeias.)

Cheyne's *English Malady*

(George Cheyne: *The English Malady*.)

Baker's *Microscope*

(Henry Baker ?)

Nithel *on the pulse*

(James Nihell: *Observations concerning the prediction of various crises by the pulse*, 1750.)

Dale's *Surgery*

(Samuel Dale.)

Blegney's *Veneral Diseases*

(Nicol. de Blegny: *The art of curing Venereal Diseases*, 1707.)

Armstrong *on Health*

(Charles Armstrong: *On the art of preserving health*, 1765.)

Stockton *on Diseases***Sharp's *Surgery******New Dispensatory******Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*****Mead *on Poison*****Mead's *Works******Medical Essays******Edinburgh Pharmacopoeia*****Freiven *on Inoculation***

(T. Frewen: *The Practice and Theory of Inoculation*, 1749.)

In 1769 Dr. John Bowser sold to Dr. Christopher Wright of Princess Anne County a library of thirteen medical works.* The books, with the prices they brought, were:

*Lower Norfolk County Antiquary, v. 1, p. 124.

Sydenham's *Works*, 6/
 Heisters *Surgery*, 26/
 Boerhaaves *Chemistry*, 2 vols., 27/6
 Boerhaves *Lectures*, 6 vols. 30/
 Boerhaves *Aphorisms*, 5/
 Boerhaves *Materia Medica*, 4/
 Turner *on the Skin*, 4/
 Turner *on Fevers*, 6/
 (Daniel Turner: *Discourse concerning Fever.*)
 Shaws *practice of Physick*, 9/
 Shaws *Dispensatory*, 6/
 Blanchards *Lexicon*, 6/
 (Stephen Blanchard: *Lexicon Medicum Renovatum*, 1717.)
 Sharps *Surgery*, 5/
 Allens *Synopsis*, 9/
 (J. Allen: *Synopsis Universae Medicinae Practicae*, 1729.)

The medical books of Dr. Alexander Reade of Middlesex County were listed in his inventory in 1760. There were 112 of them, including a number of important titles:*

Sharpes *Surgery*
 Meade *on Poisons*
 Chamberlaines *Midwifry*
 (Hugh Chamberlen delivered the future Queen Anne, 1692.)
 Freinds *Eemenologia*
 Cheynes' *Essay on Health & long life*
 Thomson's *Anatomy*
 Quincy's *Medicina Statica*
 Quincy's *Dispensatorys London 1749*
 (John Quincy: *Pharmacopoeia Officialis et Extemporanea*, 1714.)
 Ditto 1730 & 1736 being 2 Copies at 3/ each
 Ditto 1719
 Hodys *Cases in Midwifry*
 (Edward Hody ?)
 Boehave's *Chemistry* in 2 vols neatly bound & Gilt, 1/10
 Winslow's *Anatomy*
 Heisters *Surgery* 3rd Edition
 Ditto 4th Do.
 Lemery *Dictionnaire des Drogues*
 (Nicholas Lemery translated Pomet in 1697.)
 Edinburgh *Dispensatory* Shaws Edition 1740
 Ditto in Latin 1735
 Ditto another copy 1746

*Middlesex County Wills, v. 1760-72, p. 217.

JOHANNIS FREIND,
MEDICINÆ DOCTORIS,
HISTORIA MEDICINÆ
A
GALENI TEMPORE
USQUE AD

INITIUM SÆCULI DECIMI SEXTI.

In qua ea præcipue notantur quæ ad
PRAXIN pertinent,

Anglicè scripta
AD

RICARDUM MEAD, M.D.
Latinè conversâ a

JOANNE WIGAN, M.D.
Cum Indicibus Locupletissimis.



UGDUNI BATAVORUM
Apud JOH. ARN. LANGERAK,
MDCCLXXXIV.

Ed. 2. F. G. F. 1809.
THE
ANATOMY
OF THE *Mult. Haller*
Humane Bones.

To which are added,

An Anatomical Treatise of the NERVES;
An Account of the *Reciprocal Motions*
of the HEART;

AND,

A Description of the Humane LACTEAL
SAC and DUCT.

By ALEXANDER MONRO, Professor of Anatomy
in the University of Edinburgh, and F. R. S.

The SECOND EDITION, Corrected and Enlarged.

EDINBURGH.

Printed by T. and W. RIDDINGS, for Mr. WILLIAM
MONRO, Bookseller. Sold at his Shop, and by most Book-
Sellers in Edinburgh; and at London by J. OSBORN and T.
LONGMAN at the Ship in *Pater-noster-row* MDCCLXXXIV.
[*Print, in Calf, and tuled, 3 s. 6 d.*]

DE
Morbis Acutis
INFANTUM

Editio Secunda, Priori Auctior.

CUI ACCESSIT

LIBER Observationes de
Morbis aliquot gravioribus
Medicis complectens.

Annexis etiam
Quibusdam de Luis Venereæ origine,
naturâ & curatione.

Autore GUALTERO HARRIS, M.D.
Celeberrimi Collegii Medicorum Londi-
nensium Socio.

*Ἰν τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς ἐπιπέδου; καὶ ἰσὺν αὐτῆς τῆς
Ἱπποκρ.*

LONDINI,
Impensis S. Smith & B. Walford ad Insignia
Principis, in Cæmeterio D. Pauli. 1705.

ALBERTI
V. HALLER

MEDICINÆ ET PHILOSOPHIÆ DOCT.
Confil. Aul. & Archiatri Reg. & Elect. Med.
Anat. Chir. Bot. P. O. Prof. Coll. Chir. Præsid.
Soc. Reg. Scient. Gotting. Acad. Imp. N. C. C. G.
& Reg. Britan. Boruf. Svec. & Ups. Prof. in Supr.
Senatu Reip. Bern. Ducentum Viri.

PRIMÆ LINEÆ
PHYSIOLOGIÆ
IN USUM
PRÆLECTIONUM ACADEMICARUM
Auct. & Emendatæ.



VENETIIS, MDCCLIV.

Apud Laurentium Basilium.
SUPERIORUM PERMISSU, AC PRIVILEGIO.

Title pages from the libraries of Virginia doctors

- London Dispensatory* 1724 new
 Ditto in English
Willis's Practice of Physick folio
 (Thomas Willis: *London Practice of Physick*, 1685.)
Riverius's Practice of Phisick Do.
 (Lazarus Riverius: *Praxis Medica*, 1658.)
Gerard's Herbal Do.
 Ditto by Johnston
 Ditto in bad order by Parkinson Do.
Clopton's Ostealogia Nova
Fernelius 2 vols.
 (Amb. Fernelius: *Universa Medicina*, 1567.)
 Swans Edition of Doctor Sydenham's Works
Brackens Pocket Ferrier
Perrys Treatise of Diseases Vol. 1st
Pitcairn's Lexicon Medicum
Turner's Art of Surgery 2 vols.
 Ditto 1st volume only
 Ditto *on the Diseases of the Skin*
 Ditto *Siphilis* 4th Edition
 Ditto 2nd Do.
 Ditto *concerning Gleets*
Meades Precepts
 (Richard Mead, 1704-1775.)
Huxam on Fevers
Brook's Introduction to Surgery & Physick
Cheseldin's Anatomy
Smellies Midwifry
Shaw's Practice of Physick 2 vols.
Lobb on the Stone
 (Theophilus Lobb: *A Treatise on Dissolvents of the Stone*, 1739.)
 Dittos *Method of curing Diseases* 2 vols.
Handley's Art of Surgery
Drake's Anatomy 2 vols.
 (James Drake: *Anthropologia Nova, or a New System of Anatomy*,
 1717.)
Medical Essays 1,2,3 volumes
Handleys Essay
Coopers Myotomia reformata
Pitcarnii Disertationes Medicae
Hosmanni Medicina rationalis vols. 1,3,4,6.
 (Frederick Hoffman, 1720. This work was in 9 volumes.)
Belini de Urimis
Trait des Maladies des Femmes Grosses par Mauriceau 2 Tomes

- Etmulerii *opera Omnia* 2 Tomes folio
 (J. Ettmueller, 1644-1680.)
 Pratique de Riviere 3 tomes
 Boyles *Medicinals Experiments*
 (Robert Boyle: *New Experiments Physico-Mechanical*, 1682.)
 Monro's *Osteology*
 Garengents *Operations in Chemistry* 3 vols French
 Boehaves *Institutiones Medicae*
 Ditto *Tractatus de Viribus*
 Ditto *Aphorismi*
 Ditto *Materia Medica*
 Ditto *Historia Plantarum* 2 Toms
 Ditto *Praxis Medica* 4 Do.
 Harris *de Morbis Acutis Infantum*
 (Walter Harris.)
 Keils *Anatomy*
Observationes Lommii
 Friendii *Opera Omnia* 3 Toms
 (John Freind, 1675-1728.)
 Salmons *Compleat System of Phisick*
 (Peter Salmon.)
 Do *dispensatory*
 Sydenhamii *praxis Medica*
 Ratcliffs *prescriptions* 2 vols.
 (John Radcliffe.)
 Glissonius *de Rachitide sive Morbo puerili*
 (Francis Glisson, 1650.)
 Aristotles *Midwifry*
 Bennets *Nature & Cure of Consumptions*
 (Christopher Bennet, 1656.)
 Culpeppers *London Dispensatory*
 Ramazinis *Treatise of Tradesmen's Diseases*
 Freinds *Commentaries on Fevers & the small pox*
 Ditto *History of Physick*
 Springells *Hippocratis's Aphorisms*
 (Kurt Sprengel, 1766.)
 Pharmaceutice *Rationalis* Authore Tho Willis
 Nihell *on the Pulse*
 Lows *Surgery*
 (Peter Lowe: *Whole Course of Chirurgerie*, 1597.)
Treatise of the Diseases in the west Indies
 Le'Clerc *on Bandages*
 (Gabriel Le Clerc, 1692.)
 Fullers *Medicina Gymnastica*
 (Francis Fuller, A.M. of St. John's, Cambridge.)

- Praxis Barbettiana cum notis*
 Lobb's *Pains*
Chyrurgical operations by Dionis
 (Pierre Dionis.)
 Mortoni *Opera Medica*
 (Richard Morton.)
 Sydenham's *Works in English* by Dr. Pechey
 Salmon's *Art of Drawing limning &c.*
 Gibson's *Anatomy*
 (Thomas Gibson: *The Anatomy of Humane Bones epitomized*, 1682.)
 Cooks *Surgery*
 Carolus Piso *Observationes* (Liber rarus)
 Moffet *on Foods*
 (Thomas Muffett: *Health's Improvement, etc.*)
 Bangers *Surgery*
 (Lawrence Banyer ?)
 Fuller's *Ars prascribendi sive Pharmacopoeia* 2 copies
 Hippocratis *Aphorismi* Gr. & Lat.
 Wiseman's *Surgery* in folio
 Ditto Octavo 2 volumes
 Cooks *description of the Human Body* Folio
 (Helkiah Crooke, 1616.)
 Wiseman's *Chyrurgical Treatises* folio

Dr. John Sutherland of Spotsylvania County, whose will was filed in 1763, left 163 books, sixty-seven of them devoted to medicine.⁸ Dr. Charles Brown of Williamsburg owned valuable books on natural philosophy and physic, "the finest and most copious collection that was ever exposed to sale in this colony," according to the advertisement in the *Gazette* following Dr. Brown's death. The notice of sale advised "gentlemen of the faculty" to take advantage of this opportunity to add to their libraries.⁹ In 1777 Dr. Archibald Campbell of Cabin Point advertised for the return of certain medical books which Dr. Campbell of Norfolk had borrowed from him and loaned to a Dr. Doeber, who apparently had died in the meantime. The books were Cullen's lectures on the *Practice of Physic*, in four volumes; Munro's *Anatomical Lectures*, in three volumes; and the *Pharmacopoeia Pauperum Edinburgensis*.¹⁰ Dr. Benjamin Catton of Yorktown, who died in 1768, "left a good collection of books."¹¹ The executors of Dr. Ebenezer Campbell advertised for sale in 1752 "a valuable collection of books on physic, surgery and various other subjects, together with sundry valuable horses, liquors, etc a catalogue

⁸Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 7, p. 302.

⁹Parks' Virginia Gazette, June 16-23, 1738.


¹⁰Dixon & Hunter's Virginia Gazette, May 2, 1777.

¹¹Purdie & Dixon's Virginia Gazette, Nov. 3, 1768.

Michael **NINE** *Michael*
COMMENTARIES
 UPON
FEVERS:
 And Two EPISTLES concerning the
SMALL-POX.
 Addressed to Dr. MEAD.

Written, in *Latin*,
 By the late Learned Dr. JOHN FREIND.

Translated into *English*,
 By THOMAS DALE, M. D.



LONDON:
 Printed for T. COX, at the Lamb under the
 Royal-Exchange in Cornhill. M DCC XXX.

G. K. Adams, M. D.
 THE
MORBID ANATOMY
 OF
 SOME OF THE MOST IMPORTANT PARTS
 OF THE
HUMAN BODY.

BY
 MATTHEW BAILLIE, M. D. F. R. S.
 FELLOW OF THE ROYAL SOCIETIES OF LONDON AND
 EDINBURGH, AND FELLOW OF THE ROYAL COL-
 LEGE OF PHYSICIANS IN LONDON.

THE SECOND AMERICAN,
 FROM THE THIRD LONDON EDITION,
 CORRECTED.

WALPOLE. N. H.
 PRINTED BY G. W. NICHOLS, FOR W. FESSENDEN, BOOKSELLER,
 BRATTLEBOROUGH, VT.
 1808.

DOMESTIC MEDICINE,
 OR,
A TREATISE
 OF THE
PREVENTION AND CURE OF DISEASES,
 BY
REGIMEN AND SIMPLE MEDICINES:
 WITH OBSERVATIONS ON
 BATHING, AND THE USE OF THE MINERAL WATERS
 TO WHICH IS APPENDED.
A DISPENSATORY
 FOR THE USE OF PRIVATE PRACTITIONERS.

BY WILLIAM BUCHAN, M. D.

FROM THE TWENTY-SECOND ENGLISH EDITION,
 WITH CONSIDERABLE ADDITIONS, AND NOTES.

Printed:
 J & S WILLIAMS,
 1532.

THE
COMMENTARIES
 UPON THE
APHORISMS
 OF
 Dr. HERMAN BOERHAAVE,
 The late Learned Professor of Physick in the
 University of LEYDEN.

CONCERNING
 The KNOWLEDGE and Cure of the several
 DISEASES incident to HUMAN BODIES.

By GERARD VAN SWIETEN, M. D.
 Principal Physician to the Queen of HUNGARY.

VOL. VIII.
 Containing the Knowledge and Cure of
 QUINTAINS
 and PERIPNEUMONIES, in all their Kinds.

Translated into ENGLISH.

LONDON:
 Printed for JOHN and PAUL Knapton, at the Crown in
 Ludgate-Street. M DCC XLVII.

Title pages from the libraries of Virginia doctors

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of the books, medicines, etc., may be seen at his shop in Blandford."¹³ Dr. Henry Potter's death in Spotsylvania County caused the sale of his library, and Parks announced in his *Gazette* that "An account of the medicines and utensils of the shop and a catalogue of the books will be published next week and given gratis by the printer hereof."¹⁴ The inventory of Dr. John Hay included seventy-seven books in Latin and English on medicine, religion and law.¹⁴ Dr. David Parker of Prince George County died in 1717 and willed his medical books to Sampson Meredith. His library contained 244 volumes, ninety of them devoted to physic, besides one herbal, eleven Latin and Greek books and 125 "old books."¹⁵ Other physicians whose medical books were sufficiently important to be mentioned in the settlement of their estates were Patrick Adams of Surry County, who died in 1770; Alexander Jameson of Blandford, 1766; George Fauntleroy of Richmond County, 1770; John Walker of Hanover, 1774; and John Shepherd of Norfolk, 1773. William Cabell, the pioneer settler of Amherst County, who died in 1774, owned a good medical library, which he was careful to keep up to date.

That there was a demand for medical books in the colony is shown by an occasional advertisement of volumes "for sale at the Printing Office." In 1752 Hunter's *Gazette* advertised four books calculated to appeal to the medical tastes of the layman rather than of the physician. They were *The Art of Preserving Health*, a poem; *An Epistle to Dr. Richard Mead*, by John Tennent; *An Essay on the West-India Dry-Gripes; with the method of Preventing and Curing that Cruel Distemper*; and *The Compleat Housewife . . . to which is added: Every Man his own Doctor*. A more scientific list appeared in November 1775, when the *Gazette* advertised: "A Catalogue of Books for Sale by Dixon and Hunter at their Printing Office at a very low advance for ready money."¹⁶ The list included:

- Astruc on the Venereal Disease*
(Jean Astruc: *A Treatise of the Venereal Disease* in 6 Books, 1737.)
- Astruc on Midwifery*
- Buchan's Family Physician*
(William Buchan: *Domestic Medicine*.)
- Brookes' Practice of Physic*, 2 v.
- Ball's Practice of Physic*
(John Ball: *The Modern Practice of Physic*, 1768.)
- Edinburgh Dispensatory*

¹³William and Mary Quarterly, v. 6, p. 41.

¹⁴Parks' Virginia Gazette, April 10-17, 1746.

¹⁵Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 3, p. 5.

¹⁶Prince George County Records, v. 1713-28, p. 204.

¹⁷William and Mary Quarterly, v. 15, pp. 101-113.

- Harris' *Treatise on the acute Diseases of Infants*
 (Walter Harris: *Treatise of the Acute Diseases of Infants*, 1742.)
- Macbride's *Experimental Essays on Medical and Philosophical Subjects*
 (David Macbride: *Experimental Essays on Medicine and Philosophical Subjects*, 1757.)
- Maclurg's *Experiments on the Human Bile, and Reflections on the Biliary Secretion.*
 (This is one of the few books written by a Virginian which was offered for sale in the colony.)
- Manning on the *Diseases of Pregnant and Child-bed Women*
 (Henry Manning: *Treatise on Female Diseases*, 1771.)
- Medical Observations and Inquiries*, by a Society of Physicians in London, 3 v.
- Pringle's *Observations on the Diseases of the Army*
- Shaw's *Practice in Physic*, 2 v.
- Smellie's *Theory and Practice of Midwifery*, 3v.
- Swan's *Translation of Dr. Sydenham's Works*
- Smith's *Complete Body of Distilling*
- Tissot's *Advice to People in General with regard to their Health*
- White's *Cures and Remarks in Surgery*
 (Charles White: *Cases in Surgery with Remarks.*)
- Bracken's *Farrier or Complete Horse Doctor*, 2 v.
- Bracken's *Midwifery*
- Boyle's *Receipts in Physic*
- London Practice of Physic*
 (Thomas Willis: *London Practice of Physic*, 1685.)
- Memis's *Midwife's Pocket Companion*
- Tissot's *Essay on the Disorders of people of fashion, and a treatise on the diseases incident to literary and sedentary persons*
 (Samuel A. Tissot: *An Essay on the Disorders of People of Fashion*, 1772.)

Four years later the printing office at Williamsburg advertised a list of seventy medical books, including the works of Boerhaave, Mead, Monro, Salmon and Turner.¹⁷

Many libraries of Virginia gentlemen who were not physicians contained a creditable assortment of standard medical works — a fact which shows that not only was there great popular interest in medicine during this period but that there must have been, at least among the larger planters, considerable knowledge of the nature and management of disease. Such a planter was William Byrd II, called "the intelligentest" gentleman in Virginia. His library, numbering about 3,500 volumes, was the most imposing in the colony. It contained 141 works on medicine, and the inventory made at the time of his

¹⁷Dixon & Nicolson's *Virginia Gazette*, July 24, 1779.

death in 1744 gave the titles.¹⁸ They were listed according to their position on the shelves, and those dealing with medicine were as follows:

Seventh Case, Lowest Shelf, folio. Bibliotheca Anatomica—2 vols., Mayemii Opera Medica, Riverii (do.), Francisci Baconi Opera, Chornels Family Dictionary—2 vols., Andrea Matthioli Opera, Dodonaei Stirpium Historia, Hofman in Galen, Dr. Willis's Physical Works, Wisemans Chirurgical Treatises, Riverius's Practice of Physick, Sennert Opera—3 vols.¹⁹

Second Shelf, folio and quarto. James's Medicinal Dictionary—1st vol., Vessalius de Humano Corpore, Hippocrates Foesii—3 vols., Collinin's Anatomy—2 vols., Glaubers Works, Femelli Medecina, Van Helmenti Opera, Brown on the Muscles, Culpepper's Dispensatory, Dictionan de Drogeus, Boerhaves Chymistry, Hermanus Paradisus Batavius, Rankins Theatrum Britannicum, Kemperii Amonitates Exotico, Pomets History of Drugs, Fabricius ab Aqua peridente.²⁰

Third Shelf, quarto and octavo. Weidenfield de Secritis Adeptorum, Linden de Scriptis Medicis, Februe's Chemistry, Tancredi de Fame et Siti, Hadriani Opera Medica, Tractatus de Organis, Willis de Cerebri Anatomia, Friends Emmenologia, Mead on the Plague, Dionis's Anatomy—2 copies, Bates Dispensatory, Sanctorini Apharismi, Quinneys Lexicon, Theory of Physick, Friend's History of Physick, Treatise on the Plague—2 vols., Cheyne on Health, Cockburn's Gonorrhoea, Aureliani de Morbus Acutis, Hippocrates Aphorismi, Tryons Way to Health, Gibsons Anatomy—2 copies.²¹

Fourth Shelf, octavo. Turner on Diseases of the Skin, Friends Hippocrates, Scuterii Chirurgia, Treatise on Non Naturals, Regueri di Graf Opera, Radcliffe's Dispensatory, Andry on Worms, Van Helmonti Artres Medicina—2 vols., Regii Medicina, Dr. Sydenhams Works, Blair's Botannic Essays, Virtues of Water, Drake's Anatomy—2 vols., Shaws Practice of Physick, Lotichii

¹⁸Bassett: The Writings of Colonel William Byrd, p. 420.

¹⁹Notes on the contents of this shelf: Bibliotheca Anatomica, Medica, Chirurgica, etc., 1709-14; Theodorus Mayernius (?), writing in 1603; Lazarus Riverius: Opera Medica, universa, 1679; Francis Bacon: Opera Omnia, 1665; Andrea Mattioli, writing about 1561; Rembertus Dodonaeus, Historia Vitis Vinique et Stirpium nonnullarum aliarum, etc., 1580; Antonius Hoffman: Vita medica, 1680; Lazarus Riverius: Praxis Medica, 1658; Daniel Sennert: Opera, 1650.

²⁰Hugo James: Medicinal Dictionary, 1743; Anutius Foesius: Oeconomia Hippocr., 1588; Carolus Collignon: Introduction to Anatomy, 1763 (earlier edition in Byrd library); Amb. Fernelius: Universa Medicina, 1567; Jean Baptista van Helmont, 1577-1644; John Browne: Miographia nova, 1698; Herman Boerhaave: Elementa Chimiae, 1732; Fabricius ab Aquapendente, 1537-1619, author of important works on anatomy and embryology; Pomet: Histoire des Drogues, 1694.

²¹Van der Linden: De Scriptis medicis, 1637; Thomas Willis: Cerebri Anatome, 1664, most accurate account of the nervous system to that date; Richard Mead: Short Discourse concerning Pestilential Contagion, etc., 1720; Pierre Dionis: Anatomy of Human Bodies, 1703; William Bates: Physician to Charles I and Charles II; Santorio Santorio: de Statica Medicina Aphorismorum, etc., 1716; John Quincy; W. Cockburn: The symptoms, nature, cause and cure of a Gonorrhoea, 1728; Cael. Aurelianus: de Morbis Acutis et Chronicis libri VIII, 1722; Tryon: Way to Wealth, 1691; Gibson: His Anatomy of Humane Bodies epitomized, 1682.

*Medicina, Practice of Surgery, Tanvry on Medicines, Zwelferi Pharmacopia, Hortus Academicus, Willis's Practice of Physick, Bartholini Anatomica.*²²

Fifth Shelf, octavo. Pitcairns Works, Mead on Poisons, Lemery's Chemistry, Slares Experiments, Purcell on Vapours, Poor Planters Physician interleaved, Eustachii Opuscula Anatomica, Diseases of the Head Brain & Nerves, Willis's Physick, Salmon's Dispensatory, (do) English Physician, Fourneau de Glauber, Oeuvres de Glauber, Culpepers English Physician, Physical Dictionary, Course of Chemistry, Curiosities in Art and Nature, Sydenham's Opera, Colbatches Treatises, Tennent's Epistle to Mead, Somnius de Febribus, Boyles Physical Experiments, Recherches des Cancers, Castelli Lexicon, Collutius de Calculo, Boerhaivii Institutiones, Arcana Microcosmi, Sea Diseases, Hortus Regius, Ray's Synopsis Medicinæ, (do.) Catalogue of Plants, Art of Glass.²³

Sixth Shelf, octavo & duodecimo. Culpeper's Dispensatory, Theory of Fevers, Tolets Treatise of Lithotomy, Corncelsi Medecina, Cockburn's Profluvia Ventris, Ray's Methodus Plantarum, Hospital Surgeon, Lower de Corde, La Chymie des Dames, Pinax rerum Naturalium, Keils Anatomy, Pharmacopia Extemporeanei, Conclave of Physicians, Parkers Astrology, Harvey on the Pox, Medicamentorium Thesaurus, Pechey's Herbal, Farriers approved Guide, Shiptons Pharmacopæia, Cure by Expectoration, Hippocrates Coaca prosagia, Family Physician, Officina Chyneia, Sanctora Commentarii, London Distiller, Digsby's Cure of Wounds by Sympathy, Starkey's Protechney, New Theory of Fevers, Aphorismi Urbigerani, Hygiasticon, Riveti Antidorum contra Pestem, Rhyne Meditationes in Hippocratem, Bayle's Problemata—3 vols., Beverovicus de Calculo—2 vols., Fircinus de Vita, Fracastorius, Hippocratis, Aphorismi.²⁴

²²Joannes Scultetus: *Armamentarium Chirurgicum*, 1692-93; Jer. Wainwright: *Mechanical Account of the Non-Naturels*, 1737; Regner De Graf, wrote on anatomy and on diseases and organs of generation, 1668 and 1672; John Radcliffe: *Pharmacopoea*, 1716; Nic Andry: *De la Generation des Vers dans le corps de l'Homme*, 1741; Joan. Bapt. van Helmont: *Ortus Medicinæ*, 1652; Jof. Pet. Lotichius: *Consiliorum et Observationum Medicinalium, Libri 6*, 1644; Taurvry: *Traite des Medicamens, etc.*, 1699; Joan Zwelfer: *Pharmacopoeia Augustana reformata*, 1672; Caspar Bartholinus: *Anatome*, 1673.

²³Nicholas Lemery: *A Course of Chemistry*, 1720; Peter Shaw: *Experiments and Observations upon Mineral Waters*, 1731; John Purcell: *A Treatise of Vapours, or Hysterick Fits*, 1707; Bartholomæus Eustachius: *Opuscula Anatomica*, 1726; Peter Salmon, physician of Padua: *New London Dispensatory*, 1678; Jacob Fourneau, writing in 1721; Joh. Rudolph. Glauber, writing in 1652-1653; John Colbatch: *Collection of Tracts, Chirurgical and Medical*, 1700; John Tennent of Virginia; Guil Somner, writing in 1694; Bartholomæus Castellus: *Lexicon Medicum Graeco-latinum compendiosissimum*, 1628; Fran. Colutius: *De Querebis, etc.*, 1624; John Ray: *Synopsis methodica Stirpium*, 1690; *Catalogus Plantarum Angliae*, 1670.

²⁴Nicholas Culpeper, 1675, translated the *Pharmacopoeia Londoniensis* into English; Francois Tolet: *Traite de la Lithotomie*, 1708; Cornelius Celsus: *De Medicina*, 1687; John Ray: *Methodus Plantarum*, 1682; R. Lower: *Tractatus de Corde, etc.*, 1728; Gideon Harvey: *New Discourse of the Small Pox, etc.*, 1685; Joannes Pechey, writing 1694-1700; Ja. Shipton: *Pharmacopoeia*, 1689 and 1711; Hippocrates: *Coacae Praenotiones*, one of his doubtful works; Santorio Santorio: *Commentariorum in Artem Medicinalem Galeni libri tres*, 1632; Sir Kenelm Digby: *Of the Cure of Wounds by the Power of Sympathy*, 1660; George Starkey: *Pyrotechny asserted and illustrated to be the surest and safest Means for Arts Triumph over Nature's Infirmities, ?*; Andreas Rivetus: *Epistola ad Amicum de Peste*, 1655; Wilh. Ten. Rayne: *Meditationes in Magni Hippocratis Textum*, 1672; A. L. J. Bayle: *Problemata Physica et Medica*, 1678; Joh. Beverovicus: *De Calculo Renum et Vesicae*, 1638; Marsilius Ficinus: *De Triplica Vita*, 1547.

Daniel Parke Custis, who died in 1757, had a library of 457 books, with thirty-three on medical and scientific subjects.²⁵ They included:

Catesby's N'l H'y, 2 vol.

(Mark Catesby: *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands*, etc., 1st Edition published in sections, vol. 1, 1731, vol. 2, 1743.)

Shaw's *Chemistry*

Power of Drugs

Shaw's *P. Physick*, 2 vol.

Salman's *Dictionary*

(W. Salmon: *Dictionary*.)

Salman's *Dispens'y*

(W. Salmon: *Pharmacopoeia Londoniensis*.)

Salman's *Praxis Medica*

(W. Salmon: *Praxis Medica*.)

Baytive *Practice Phys'k*

(George Baglivi.)

Wiseman's *Surgery*, 2 v.

Drake's *Anatomy*, 2 vol.

Quincey's *Eng. Disp'y*.

Cum on ye Venereal Dis.

Cockburn on *Fluxes*

(W. Cockburn: *An account of the nature, causes and cure of loosenesses*, 1710.)

Cheyne of *Health*

Essay on Fevers

Sick Man Visited

Jones of *Opium*

(John Jones: *The Mysteries of Opium Revealed*, 1700.)

White on *Fevers*

(J. White: *Observations on Fever* ?)

Bate's *Dispensatory*

(William Bates: *Dispensatory*.)

Salm's *Synopsis Medicina*

(W. Salmon: *Synopsis Medicinæ*.)

Willis *Practice Physick*

Pitt of *Physick*

(Robert Pitt: *Craft and Frauds of Physick Exposed*, 1703.)

London Dispensatory

Docter Scarrified

Bawyers *Hospt. Dispens'y*

Physical and Chemical Works

The Family Physician

²⁵Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 17, p. 404.

Treatise of ye Diseases of Inf. & Children

Boyle on ye Saltness of ye Sea

(Robert Boyle: *Aqua Salsa Dulcorata*, 1683.)

Keil's *Anatomy*

Derham's *Physico-Theology*, 2 vols.

Prior on *Tar Water*

(Thomas Prior: *An authentic narrative of the success of tar water in curing a great number and variety of distempers*, 1746 and 1758.)

Plague in London, 1665.

The library of John Parke Custis of Fairfax County contained 325 titles, thirty-eight of them dealing with medicine. Twenty-one of these duplicate those in the medical library of his father, Daniel Parke Custis, and presumably were inherited from him. The seventeen new titles listed in the inventory which was filed September 18, 1782 were:²⁸

Boerhaave's *Method of Chymistry* 12/

Cockburn on the *Gonorrhoea* 5/

(W. Cockburn: *The Symptoms nature, cause and cure of Gonorrhoea*, 1728.)

Paxton on *Diseases* 4/

(Peter Paxton: *Essay concerning the knowledge and cure of most diseases*, 1711.)

Fuller on *Medicine* 4/

Lubb on the *Stone* 6/

Jones on *Fevers* 2/6

Bannier on *Medicine* 3/

Diver's *Physicians Legacy* 3/

Drake's *System of Anatomy* 2 vols. 8/

Salmon's *Physicians* 2/

(W. Salmon: *Select Physical and Chirurgical Observations . . . by Physicians*, 1687.)

Strother on *fevers* 2/

(Edward Strother: *Criticon Februm*, 1716.)

Radcliff's *Prescriptions* 2 vols. 3/

Peachy on *Diseases* 6d.

(John Pechey: *Diseases of Maids, Bigbellied women, childbed women, etc.*, 1696.)

Mandivel on *Diseases* 6/

(B. Mandeville: *A Treatise on the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Diseases*, 1730.)

Turner on *Diseases* 4/

Guide to the practical physician 3/

²⁸Tyler's *Quarterly*, v. 9, p. 97.

Compleat Housewife 3/

(E. Smith: *The compleat Housewife*, published by William Parks, Williamsburg, 1742.)

As early as 1700 Ralph Wormeley of Rose Hill had a library of 400 volumes, with sixteen medical books. Richard Lee of Westmoreland owned fourteen medical books. Edmund Berkeley, who died in 1718, had included seven medical works in a library of over 100 volumes. Robert Carter in 1726 left a large library with five medical books. Hancock Lee in 1710 left "1 Physick dictionary, 10s., 5 physick books 1 lb." Matthew Hubbard, a York County merchant, possessed six medical works. John Herbert of Chesterfield, who died in 1760, owned the same number. Captain Christopher Cocke owned three, and the Reverend William Dunlap of Stratton Major Parish owned a library rich in the arts and sciences. The inventory of Colonel Daniel McCarty of Westmoreland listed three medical books in 1724. Colonel John Waller's inventory shows eleven books on medicine in a large general library. His father, John Waller, M.D., of Buckinghamshire, England, had patented land in Virginia in 1667.

II. AUTHORSHIP

The enormous number of medical journals which today offer an easy medium of expression to the profession did not exist in the Eighteenth Century. Before 1800 there were but four medical periodicals published in England and only one in America, the *Medical Repository*, established in New York in 1797.²⁷

The first issue of this first American journal contained two items from Virginia. In one "A correspondent of the *Norfolk Chronicle* recommends as a means to restore infectious air to purity, to wet a cloth of any kind in water mixed with quick-lime, and to hang the cloth so steeped in a room till it becomes dry; after which to renew the operation as long as appears needful."²⁸ In the other a Richmond paper is quoted as calling attention to the fact that "For upwards of a week past, the inhabitants of this place have been astonished with the appearance of vast quantities of dead fishes which have been continually floating down James' River. Various unsatisfactory conjectures are offered as to the cause of this singular mortality."²⁹

The first decade of the Nineteenth Century, feeling the impetus of the

²⁷There were 55 medical journals published in Germany and three in France during the Eighteenth Century.

²⁸*Medical Repository*, 1797, v. 1, p. 262.

²⁹*Medical Repository*, 1797, v. 1, p. 265.

2
4 *Actus Societ. Phil. Acad.*
Phil. Acad.

EXPERIMENTS
UPON THE
HUMAN BILE:
AND
REFLECTIONS
ON THE
BILIARY SECRETION.

WITH AN
INTRODUCTORY ESSAY.

By JAMES MACLURG, M.D.

— *justi quod speranda Billa.* Hon.

LONDON:
Printed for T. CABELL, in the Strand,
MDCCLXXII.

FLORA VIRGINICA

Exhibens

PLANTAS

Quas

V. C.

JOHANNES CLAYTON

In

VIRGINIA

Observavit atque collegit.

Eisdem

Methodo Sexuali disposuit, ad Genera propria
revertit, Nominibus specificis insignivit, &
minus cognitatis descripsit

JOH. FRED. GRONOVIVS.

PARIS PRIMA.

LUGDUNI BATAVORUM,
Apud CORNELIVM HAAK, 1739.

JOHN CARTER BROWN
THE
PRESENT STATE
OF
GREAT BRITAIN
AND
NORTH AMERICA.

WITH REGARD TO
AGRICULTURE, POPULATION, TRADE, and
MANUFACTURES, impartially considered:

Containing a particular Account of

The dearth and scarcity of the necessaries of life in
England; the want of staple commodities in the
Colonies; the decline of their trade; increase of
people; and necessity of manufactures, as well
as of a trade in them hereafter.

IN WHICH

The causes and consequences of these growing evils,
and methods of preventing them, are suggested;
The proper REGULATIONS for the COLONIES, and
the taxes imposed upon them, are considered,
and compared with their condition and circum-
stances.

LONDON:
Printed for T. BECKET and P. A. DE HONDY,
in the Strand. MDCCLXVII.

THE
CONTEST
IN
AMERICA

BETWEEN

Great Britain and France,

WITH

Its Consequences and Importance;

Giving an Account of the

VIEWS and DESIGNS of the French,
with the INTERESTS of Great Britain, and
the SITUATION of the British and French
COLONIES, in all parts of America:

IN WHICH

A proper BARRIER between the two
NATIONS in *North America* is pointed out,
with a METHOD to Prosecute the WAR,
so as to obtain that necessary security for our
COLONIES.

By an IMPARTIAL HAND.

Æque pariterque prodest, læqueque nocet
Æque virgibus parit, fræqueque nocet. Hor. Epit. 1.

LONDON:
Printed for A. MILLAR in the Strand
M,DCC,LVII.

Title pages from the works of Virginia authors

post-Revolutionary enthusiasm for better medicine, witnessed the establishment of no less than six new medical journals in this country — three in New York, two in Philadelphia, one in Boston and one in Baltimore.²⁰ Virginia physicians were quick to take advantage of these new opportunities for literary expression, and many of the medical men of the state who had practised in the preceding century are found among the contributors to these periodicals. John Mitchell's account of yellow fever, written as far back as 1744, was published for the first time in the *Philadelphia Medical Museum* of 1805. James Greenway's account of autumnal bilious fever, written in 1794, appeared in the first issue of the *Philadelphia Medical and Physical Journal*, 1804. The same journal published Dr. James Taylor's account of the fevers at Norfolk and a letter on the epidemic fever prevailing around Yorktown, written by Dr. John Spangler and communicated to the journal by Dr. James Currie of Richmond.

The next year the *Medical Repository* carried articles from Virginia by Drs. Robert Burton, Robert Dunbar, B. H. Hall, and James Lyon; and the *Medical Museum* printed a communication from Dr. Daniel Wilson. Dr. Andrew Robertson (1716-95) is said to have contributed valuable medical papers to the *London Medical Inquiries and Observations*.

Scientific writing in the Eighteenth Century took the form chiefly of books on medicine, botany and allied subjects. This was true in England and to a lesser extent in the colonies. The scientific literary output of Virginians ran the gamut from such large tomes as Mark Catesby's *Natural History* to John Leigh's classic little essay on opium. John Mitchell was a versatile and prolific writer on subjects medical, botanical, chemical, historical and political. His works number no less than ten. John Clayton also wrote on a variety of subjects, including medicine, botany and chemistry. James Greenway left a large *hortus siccus* with the descriptions in classic Latin. James McClurg's *Experiments on the Human Bile* and his poem, *The Belles of Williamsburg*, are well known. Dr. Henry Heath in 1768 advertised his intention of publishing a book describing various acute diseases and explaining what medicines to take "till such time some gentleman of the profession may be consulted."²¹

Virginia physicians also wrote on subjects not related to medicine. William Meriwether was a frequent contributor to the agricultural journals of his day, and in his unpublished manuscripts and diary there is a wealth of interesting material. John Ferdinand Smyth, following his return to London after living for a time in Virginia, published *A Tour of the United States of America*,

²⁰No medical journals were published in the south until 1830 and none in Virginia until *The Stethoscope* in 1851.

²¹*Virginia Gazette*, April 21, 1768.

in 1784. Jonathan Cowdery's journal describing the capture of the frigate *Philadelphia* and his imprisonment in Tripoli was published shortly after his release. Charles Campbell's history of Virginia carries a *Memoir of the Battle of Point Pleasant* written by the author's uncle, Dr. Samuel Campbell, the first resident physician at Lexington.

Dr. Arthur Lee is credited with the authorship of the *Monitor* letters in 1768 and of other political pamphlets. He wrote the well known answer to Deane's libel and was responsible for observations on certain commercial transactions in France, published in 1780.

Dr. Theodorick Bland, described by Lossing as soldier, legislator and poet, was guilty of a poetic effusion on the Battle of Lexington. His several philippics against Lord Dunmore formed part of the well known political writings of the period.

Dr. Thomas Walker, after his excursion across the New River into territory that was afterwards called Kentucky, composed an important journal which was published by the Filson Club in 1898 under the title of *First Explorations of Kentucky, Doctor Thomas Walker's Journal*.

Three Virginia physicians, John Leigh, John Tennent and William Brown, are remembered chiefly because of literary works which have survived them.

JOHN LEIGH

The author of the *Confessions of an English Opium Eater* was born the same year that a Virginia physician in Edinburgh won the Harveian Prize with an essay entitled *An Experimental Inquiry into the Properties of Opium*. The drug which gave "serenity and equipoise to all the faculties" of De Quincey and which he saluted as "just, subtle and mighty Opium!" had long been known to medical science and had been an "assuaging balm" to thousands from Cathay to the far English colonies. It was the one universal medicine, the gift of the East to the West, a drug in whose traffic ignorance and corruption had combined to abuse its salutary uses. An expensive medicine, it was adulterated with dirt and inert material, and even bullets were added to increase its weight. No careful assays were required by law as they are today, and the opium purchased in the open markets of London and Edinburgh was notoriously variable in its potency and uncertain in its effects.

The Virginian who was struck by these facts and who conducted experiments to throw light upon the properties and uses of opium was John Leigh. His essay is a remarkable example of the early application of a careful and critical spirit in the experimental study of a drug.

The little work consists of 144 pages, printed in Edinburgh in 1786, dedicated to George Washington and recommended as "the disputation which gained the Harveian Prize" in the preceding year. An introduction relates the history of the knowledge of opium and explains the plan of the author's experiments. The first group of experiments, thirty-five in number, are briefly and tersely recorded. They were undertaken in an effort to analyze the constituent elements of opium which were said to consist of "a gum-resin, an essential oil, a salt, and earthy matter." By extracting the crude drug with water and alcohol and by filtering and weighing, Leigh concludes that one-eighth part of the opium of the shops consisted of inert material, that the methods prescribed in the pharmacopoeia for purifying it were inefficient and that the heat employed in the method of the pharmacopoeia actually diminished the strength of the drug. He gives a method of his own, stating that "when we have opium in this pure state the physician who is acquainted with its operation will be enabled to form, as to its effects, a true opinion and will also have some prospect of certainty in the dose which he may administer."²²

He next passes to a discussion of the preparations then in common use, recommending laudanum and paregoric, but pointing out the weaknesses in most of the others. He ridicules philonium, which contained one in thirty-six parts of opium; mithridatum, sometimes called *Confectio Damascus*, said to have been invented by Mithridates, King of Pontus; and theriaca, which was made up of sixty-one different ingredients with opposed properties and which was attributed to Andromachus of Crete, acting under orders of the Emperor Nero. All of them, Leigh points out, were inert and heterogeneous combinations which should be abandoned. He then describes thirty-four experiments performed by him on living subjects. In these the young investigator displays both boldness and ingenuity, administering different preparations in varying doses and making topical applications to the eye, rectum, vagina, urethra and exposed muscles of animals as well as of human beings. He concludes his inquiry by enumerating the uses to which opium has been put.

But for this essay the world would know nothing of John Leigh. He did not discover any essentially new facts, but he did follow with scientific accuracy an experimental method which later, in other hands, was productive of the vast amount of information brought to light in the Nineteenth Century. The preparations of opium with which he worked were too crude and the chemical knowledge of that day too limited to permit of better results.

With Leigh in Edinburgh at this time was a fellow Virginian, Dr. James

²²Leigh: *An Experimental Inquiry into the Properties of Opium*, p. 54. (Copy in the Miller Collection, Library of the Richmond Academy of Medicine.)

Ramsay, probably the grandson of Dr. George Ramsay of Norfolk. Ramsay assisted in some of the opium experiments, and on one occasion, "anxious to know the effect of opium," he took repeated doses of thebane tincture.³³ He survived to record the result. "Finding myself one night at eleven," he wrote, "more disposed to sleep than usual I determined to try the effects of opium, and took immediately thirty drops of the Theb. Tincture. The dose soon began to operate and produce such enlivening effects as to enable me to prosecute the study in which I was then engaged. In this cheerful situation I remained until one o'clock in the morning, when I found a violent drowsiness coming on I then took between ninety and a hundred drops of the same Theb. Tinct. which soon roused me from my drowsiness and invited me once more to engage in my business; I soon found myself so exhilarated as to grow careless of my occupation, and rather inclined to indulge in an excess of gaiety" Alarming symptoms followed — pulsations of the arteries, unsteady gait, vertigo and nausea. In order to overcome them he took thirty more drops of the tincture and went to sleep. The next day he had a hard time attending to business and wound up by calling in a physician, who restored him to health by resorting to such simple measures as "warm applications to my extremities and a dose of musk."³⁴

The few known biographical facts of Leigh's life may be briefly stated. He was born and bred in Virginia. His brother, William Leigh, was also a physician. "They were members of the Leigh family of King William County to which belonged Benjamin Watkins Leigh, 1781-1849, United States Senator, and Hezekiah G. Leigh, 1795-1858, who, with Gabriel P. Desosway, founded Randolph-Macon College."³⁵ John Leigh's name occurs in the list of students at William and Mary College in 1769. His medical education was obtained in Europe. Returning to this country he served as a surgeon's mate in the Revolutionary army.³⁶ Though he was living in Edinburgh in 1785, he was not a graduate of the University.

JOHN TENNENT

John Tennent was a voluminous writer on medical subjects, a practitioner well known in Virginia and not unknown in England, a man about whom much might be said pro and con. Was he the charlatan his enemies made him out to be, was he the benefactor of humanity which his discovery of the uses

³³Thomas De Quincey, who was addicted to opium from early manhood, having begun its use in an effort to stop tooth-ache, consumed daily, in later life, one hundred and forty grains.

³⁴Leigh: *An Experimental Inquiry* pp. 113-117.

³⁵Kelly and Burrage: *Dictionary of American Medical Biography*.

³⁶Eckenrode: *List of the Revolutionary Soldiers of Virginia*.

Doct. Tennent's New

ESSAY ON THE PLEURISY.

By JOHN TENNENT.



WILLIAMSBURG:
Printed and Sold by WILLIAM PARKS,
M.DCCXXXVI.

A REPRIEVE FROM DEATH: IN Two Physical Chapters.

VIZ.

CHAP. I. OBJECTIONS against the Use of VINEGAR, or other ACIDS, to prevent or cure the Epidemic and Mortal FEVER of the *West-Indies*, on Occasion of *Fingor* being recommended by the COLLEGE of PHYSICIANS, for that Purpose, to the *English* Squadron there.

CHAP. II. REASONS why all MEDICINES should be freely published.

WITH

AN APPENDIX.

Dedicated to the Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole.

By JOHN TENNENT.

*Mentes salis ad Dos velle et proprias causas, quae
Aetate hauritibus dant.* CICERO.

LONDON:

Printed for JOHN CLARKE, at *Hansard's-Head*, the Corner of *Elm-Street* in the Strand, 1745.

PHYSICAL DISQUISITIONS:

DEMONSTRATING

The Real CAUSES of the BLOOD's Morbid Rarefaction and Stagnation, and that the CURS of FEVERS, Acute and Chronic Diseases, in general, can be effected with greater Certainty than by the established Rules of the Practice of PHYSIC: The Theory confirmed by an authentic Account of curing various Distempers, in *America* and *London*, wherein these RULES proved abortive: The Symptoms and Nature of each Case commented upon, and the Prescriptions stated in *English*.

The Whole discovering, that the Simple LEARS of Nature, and the Analogy of *Diets*, have been very much perplexed in the *Prefix* and too *Metaphysical* Reasonings of numerous Authors, and that some Regulations in the Practice of *Physic* would obviate many Deaths.

Flemly inscribed to His Grace CHARLES, Duke of RICHMOND.

By JOHN TENNENT, M. D.

*Natura, Fortuna, Providentia, Fatena, omnia
sua omnia a system Dei, vult agere in
Robus Humani.* SENECA.

LONDON:

Printed for W. PAYNE, at *Horace's Head* in the Strand: And sold by the Bookellers in Town and Country, 1745.

Title pages from the works of John Tennent

Every Man his own Doctor

O R.

The Poor Planter's Physician.

Profrising

Plain and Easy Means for Persons to cure themselves of all, or most of the Distempers, incident to this Climate, and with very little Charge, the Medicines being chiefly of the Growth and Production of this Country.

From Murray

But many Shoups
Of DEATH, and many are the Ways that lead
To his grim Cove, all dismal, yet so few
More terrible at th' Entrance than within.
Some, as thou se'st, by violent Strokes shall dye,
By Fire, Flood, Famine, by *Lues venere* more
In Meats and Drinks, which on the Earth shall bring
Distemp'rs die.

Paradis' Isls, Book XI.

The Second EDITION.

Printed and Sold by WILLIAM FARRIS, at his Printing Office in Williamsburg, and Annapolis. 1724.

Price, One Shilling.

A N E P I S T L E T O Dr. RICHARD MEAD, CONCERNING THE Epidemical Diseases of VIRGINIA, PARTICULARLY, A Pleurisy and Peripneumony:

Wherein is shewn the surprising Efficacy of the *Sassa-Parilla Root*, in Distempers owing to a Viscidity and Congelation of the Blood; such as *Pleurisy* and *Peripneumony*, these being epidemick, and very mortal in *Virginia*, and other Colonies on the Continent of *America*, and also the *East-India* Islands.

To which is added,

A Cury of that most valuable PLANT:

And an APPENDIX. shewing,

Demonstrating the highest Probability, that this Root will be of more extensive Use than any Medicine in the whole *Art of Medicine*, and of curing the *Gout*, *Rheumatism*, *Dropsy*, and many nervous Distempers.

By JOHN TENNENT.

*Natura, virtus, proventus, usus, nomina sunt sicut
Et quibus Dei, vixit agraria in vobis humanis.* SENSCA.

EDINBURGH:

Printed by P. MATTHEW, and sold by WILLIAM MILLER, Bookseller, at his Shop a little above the Cross, North Side of the Street. M.DCC.XLIII.

Physical Enquiries:

DISCOVERING

The Mode of Translation in the Constitutions of Northern Inhabitants, on going so, and for some time after arriving in *Southern Climates*: An Error of the *College of Physicians* in recommending *Vinegar* to his Majesty's Fleet in the *West-Indies*, to prevent the *Epidemic Fever* there so fatal to *Britons*: The deadly Effect of all *Acids* in that Case, whether used for Cure or Prevention: A plain easy Method both to prevent and cure that Disease: And the barren State of *useful Physical Knowledge*, as well as the mercenary Practice of Physicians, by an impartial Sense of *Dr. Ward's* Qualifications for the Practice of *Physic*, and by his pernicious Progress with *medicinal Secrets*.

Illustrated with Remarks upon a Printed Letter to a Member of Parliament, Signed PHILANTHROPOS.

Dedicated to the Right Honourable WILLIAM PULTENEY, Esq.

By JOHN TENNENT, M. D.

It is possible, Experience may ascertain, that a Cough never is good in itself, till found in need of an Application.

WILLIAM BEST, D. D.

LONDON.

Printed by T. GARDNER, near *Temple Bar*, and sold by *Andrew Miller*, Bookseller, opposite *St. Clement's Church* in the *Strand*, and *John Millan*, near *Wells's Coffee House*, *Charing Cross*.

M DCC XLIII.

Title pages from the works of John Tennent

of rattlesnake root (*polygala senega*) proclaimed him, or was he just a schizoid, who as a child threw down the bat refusing to play and as a man remained equally maladjusted?

Tennent came to the colony from England as a young man — probably about 1725 — and settled in Spotsylvania County.³⁷ In 1729 or 1730 he married Dorothy Paul.³⁸ The county records show that "John Tennant of St. George's Parish, Spotsylvania Co., Gent." bought two lots in the town of Fredericksburg in 1735 and sold them in 1737.³⁹ He had become a rather large landowner, judging from advertisements in the *Virginia Gazette*, offering for sale 1,000 acres in Prince William County in 1736 and three tracts of 1,000 each in Spotsylvania in 1738. Our principal knowledge of him comes, however, from the great controversy over the virtues of snakeroot, which seems to have engaged most of his attention after 1735.

In 1736 William Parks, editor of the *Virginia Gazette*, published in Williamsburg Tennent's *Essay on the Pleurisy*, and the controversy over the efficacy of senega was launched. Tennent soon secured the endorsement of Governor Gooch and William Byrd in Virginia, and he seems to have been in frequent correspondence in England with Sir Hans Sloane and Dr. Richard Mead (who is said to have been a kinsman of Tennent) and in France with Monsieur Jussieu, "Physician and Professor of Botany to the King," all of whom received samples of senega for trial. While the *Gazette* was giving wide publicity to the debate over the virtue of his cure, the author boarded the *Dorsetshire*, bound for England.⁴⁰

In 1737 Tennent was busy in London persuading leading members of the profession to try for themselves the therapeutic effects of the root. He induced Drs. Mead, Monro and Thomas Pellet to certify to his qualifications for the degree of Doctor of Physic at the University of Edinburgh. Though he failed to get the degree, he came back to Virginia in 1738 waving the credentials of these leading English physicians. He remained in the colony only long enough to push his fight for the recognition of senega and to persuade the House of Burgesses to pay him one hundred pounds for his magnanimity in making public his discovery.⁴¹ Then, in his own words, "Not enjoying Health in America, and meeting with Ingratitude in the Colony where I resided, I came over to settle in London in the Year 1739, October 12. and some misunder-

³⁷Torrence: *Trial Bibliography of Colonial Virginia*.

³⁸Crozier: *Virginia County Records*, v. 1, p. 84.

³⁹Crozier: *Virginia County Records*, v. 1, pp. 140, 143.

⁴⁰The arguments pro and con Tennent's discovery may be followed in the *Virginia Gazette*, 1736, Nos. 6, 9, 10, 14, 31; 1737, Nos. 45, 50, 72.

⁴¹*Journals of the House of Burgesses*, v. 1727-40, pp. 337, 348, 371, 387.

*Detection of a Conspiracy, to suppress a General Good in
Phyfic, and to promote Error and Ignorance in that im-
portant Science :*

Being the Singular

C A S E

O F

John Tennent, M. D.

Which has brought against him, *maliciously*, a Trial at the
Old Bailey for Bigamy.

— *Heu me ! per Urbem
Fabula quanta fui.*

HOR.



L O N D O N :

Printed for the AUTHOR, in the Year
M,DCC,XLIII.

Title page of a broadside published by John Tennent

*He that filches from me my good Name,
Robs me of that which enriches him,
But makes me poor indeed.*

SHAKESPEAR.



WHEN a Case between two or more Persons nearly affects the Community in a tender Point, it becomes the Concern of *The Body* of whatever Magnitude; and the following Case having a Connection with Mankind in general, I shall enter upon it without further Apology.

My reflecting the most audacious Piece of Impudence and Ingratitude, as appears in the Sequel, on *Sunday* the 21st of *August* last, by drawing my Sword against a Man in his own House, in *Hotten Gardens*, brought me before *Jesses De Vill* the *Wednesday* after, to be held to Bail, as the Law in that Case provides; when a more than ordinary Tumult of People assembled about his House in *Bow Street*, which has occasioned a Diversity of Stories and Conjectures to be spread thro' the Town: And as the Affair was examined, and the Fact acknowledged, in presence of several Persons of Quality, who possibly may entertain a disadvantageous Opinion of a Man of my Profession, for drawing a Sword against a Man who wears none, in his own House too; I conceive it a Duty I owe to the World and myself, thus to show my Provocation, in order to vindicate my Conduct, which I hope will alleviate the Trespass which *Mr. De Vill* assures me I had committed against Common Law.

The Wife of this Man, against whom I drew my Sword, had for a considerable time laboured under a most painful, fasting, haunting, miserable, nervous Distemper in the Year 1741, and been treated unsuccessfully by several eminent Men of the Faculty of Physick, two of whom were of the College of Physicians. In about fourteen Days I recovered her, with a Powder of my Invention, in which a Medicine called the *Senecio Rattle-Seals Root* had a great Share.

Soon after this, the Husband was seized with the Epidemic Fever, which was so fatal to many, and lay in the most deplorable Condition, being delirious, with all the other Symptoms of approaching Death. He was recovered with four Dozes of the *Senecio Rattle-Seals Root* in Powder, from the imminent Danger, and, with the Help of other Medicines, with'd about the Stream in the Space of eight Days; tho' his Friends expected nothing but to see him stretch'd in his Coffin: And he was so cold with this Delirium, that he ran up and down Town like an *Assault*, bellowing out his Praises of my Skill.

These two Cures form'd an Acquaintance between us, and at that time my Affairs were embarrassed, being indebted to fifteen or sixteen Creditors in the Sum of about 700*l.* who refusing to indulge me with time to pay them, I could not regularly follow my Practice, however beneficial it might be to Mankind and myself; for so insupportable are the Tempers of some People, that their Revenge for Disappointment of Money, how unreasonably forever kindled, often absorbs every other Consideration, and in the Fury of its Dominion, not only disregards the Distance of Morality, but even over-shoots its own Mark. This circumstance, a Widow Lady, from *Hastings* came to lodge and board at this Man's House, whose Life I had (under God) saved: I had the Opportunity of seeing and conversing frequently with this Lady, who being lovely in my Eyes, I had the Vanity to imagine I was not disagreeable in her's; and my Interest justifying my Inclinations, I proposed them to her, was so happy to gain her Affection, and was married to her *November* 8. 1741.

This was done without the Knowledge of her two Brothers, without whose Junction in the Sale of Lands, her Fortune was inaccessible, which was much more than sufficient to set me out on the proper footing of a Physician, had my Debts been much larger. Nevertheless, they were ready to raise any Sum of Money I should want, and made a Beginning, thereby proving their good Will for their Sister, and Integrity in their Principles.

But in about twenty Days after Marriage, and in forty eight Hours after all Appearances of Friendship with this Man in *Hotten Gardens*, he made it his Business to run up and down Town, like a *Wind*, spreading my Character in all Shapes, bringing all my Creditors against me, saying that I was married to a common Woman at the *Fleet* the Year before, and affirming, that I was just on leaving the Kingdom. I need not remark upon the Effects which *Cohumy* has produced in all Ages, and how easily it is swallowed down. In my Case the Consequences were, many Arraids, Unjustices in my Wife's Relations and herself, Animosities, Vexations, and at last she left me; whence followed an Indictment for Bigamy at *Hicks's Hall*, *June* 8. 1742. and a Suit in *Duchess's Court* for a Nullity of Marriage. To the first I should have surrendered before now, but in hopes that the Countess's of the *second Court*, from what Evidence should arise, would bring about an Accommodation, I postponed the Trial, being unwilling to expose my Indiscretions of Life at a publick Tribunal of Justice.

The Reader will be pleas'd to take Notice, that this Man's vile Conduct, was without any Provocation at all, and that all the Designs I ever had with him, were curing his Wife and himself; for which I charged him no more than four Guineas: A Bill of his against me in his way of Trade, for 47*l.* which my Wife's Brother paid on my Draught; another Bill for my Wife's Board and her Maid's, for about 10*l.* which I paid; and a Loan of more to him of Credit, for 200*l.* to keep him from Bankruptcy, which however had not the intended Effect. This last Transaction may be known of *Mr. Rabbits*, at the *Black-mart's Head*, *Leicester Hill*.

Hence I concluded that this Man had been seduced by some Person, whose Interest consisted in my Destruction: For, could Nature deviate so far from her usual Aim, as to form a Creature with Principles not only moving in direct Contradiction to Humanity and Gratitude, but even diametrically opposite to the Justifications of its own Interest? No, there must have been some secret Spring producing such a monstrous Operation, and of Energy enough to regulate the whole. When he asked my Assistance to prevent his Bankruptcy, he proposed only 100*l.* but on a Calculation, I saw that would not effectually secure him, and made the Loan 200*l.* This was such a Proof of my good Nature, as might reasonably induce him to hope for more Assistance, in case he should want it. But seeing him guilty of such vile Ingratitude, I fixed my Suspitions on a certain Person in *London*, with whom I had been acquainted, as the only Man who could imagine it to be his Interest to lavish out a *Bride*, so great as to produce such an extraordinary Operation. I was so well assured of this, that I did not hesitate to print and distribute several Copies of a Pamphlet, to render manifest such a Conspiracy. But this Person on whom I fixed my Suspicions, coming to me and giving the most solemn Assurances of his Innocence, and doing me several Acts of Service and good Nature, I apprehended that my Honour called on me to recant, in a particular Manner, all that I had

"A Brief Account of the Case of John Tennent, M.D."

trove against him: But before I should do this, I was resolved to see them both Face to Face, with another Person who long ago had given Evidence against both; and in order thereto, I went by myself about Nine o'Clock, without *Cane or Stick*, only my Sword, to this Man's House in *Blauz Garden*, and desired the Servant to tell her Master that I wanted to speak to him: She showed me into the back Parlor; he came, and then abused me. Are not you a very great Villain? Are not you the greatest Rogue in the World? *&c. &c.* I observed, that my coming by myself to his House, was a Proof that I had no Intention to abuse him, and told him my Reasons, remarking how unmanly such Abuse was, when I was not at liberty to resent it, *being in his House*: He nevertheless continued his Scurrility; Then I briefly told him, that *Judas* betray'd our Saviour; *Barab's* Rabbi'd *Yudas* *Caspar*; and that he had a nearer Influence of Wickedness, *Hell* killed his good Mother, *Mr. Pomy*; and I warmly said, you Villain, *in your own Right* the *Rightfulness of these* *Abuses*; *Villainy and Brutality*. Upon this he gave me an Hunch on the Shoulder, and bid me go out of his House: I said, he had no occasion to push me, bid him not, for I should go without: I made a Step or two in order to go; he gave me a second Hunch; I bid him take care what he was about, and said, I imagined he had known me better. Not content with so much Insult, he gave me a third Push or Hunch, just as the Door was opening: Whereupon I drew my Sword, and passed *Edge* against him, which by an Accident missed him, and then I went away, thro' the House calling into the Street, *Stop Thief, Stop Thief*. On a *Wednesday* after, as I was walking of a Gentleman in *His Garden*, at *Mr. Douglas's*, Relief to the deceased *Dr. Jeph*, I was seized by a Constable and Ruffians, by *vis. Japhis de Fail's* Warrant, and bailed by the Gentleman whom I fixed my Suspitions of suborning this *Order of Inquisition*.

That this is the Truth exactly, I give my Faith and Honour, in the Eye of the World,

JOHN TENNENT.

I observed in my Introduction, that this Case is of a publick nature, therefore beg leave to give a short Account of the singular Efficacy, and extensive Use of the *Seneca Rattle-Snake Root*, which this Man would have had destroyed, by retaining the Inventor of its Use, tho' Providence sang me in the way to save his Life by it. There have been Constitutions of Government, which would have punished such a Crime with an infamous Death.

The *British Colonies in America*, are once every Year attacked with an epidemick Disease, which is analogous to the *Plague in Turkey*, and continues to ravage, more or less, for about five Months; a Disease so mortal that about two Thirds of the Inhabitants attacked with it died.

From the first Appearance of that Disease, the *Practitioners* had no better Success than this in curing it. Being desirous to discover its Cause, I bent my Studies much that Way, and found it to be a *Congelation of the Blood*. My next Task was, to find out a Remedy adequate to the Disease. I found no such thing in the present *Books of Materia Medica*; yet I was convinced that *Nature* always provided Remedies for Diseases, and that however blind or capricious we were in our *Researches*, she was provident. Under this persuasion, I had occasion to learn that

a *Nation of Indians*, called the *Saukins*, had discovered to a *Planter in the Frontiers of Virginia*, the Root of a Plant which prevented Death following the *Rattle-Snake's Bite*, if immediately taken, which otherwise is so mortal, that the unhappy Patient seldom escapes Death, which follows it very often in *Short Minutes*, sometimes sooner, and at other times in some Hours or Days.

Being well assured of this Fact, from certain Testimony, I reasoned upon it, and discovered that this Root must be of general Use in *Congelations* and *Viscidities of the Blood*. I made an Experiment in a desperate Case, and succeeded. During the Space of a few Months, I received many Proofs of its Efficacy in that mortal Distemper; and my Success was so great, that I did not lose above four or five Patients in an Hundred, tho' other Practitioners lost two Thirds.

Now tho' I was Proprietor of the most valuable Medicines hitherto discovered, (in my Opinion) yet I concluded that *Self-Interest*, however a common Reason it might be, was at least a very dishonest one, for keeping so useful a Discovery secret from the World: For I knew if this Medicines was once published, and put into the Hands of every Person and Practitioner of Physick in *America*, I should save vast Numbers of my Fellow Creatures from Death; since it was impossible for me either to administer or attend them all, in a Country subject to that Disease, which extends above one thousand Miles from *North to South*.

As such a disinterested Piece of Conduct had met with my own, I never imagined but it would likewise have met with the Approbation of every good Man. Say then, ye generous few, did I deserve to be branded and stigmatized as a Fool and Madman by the World, for consulting the Interest of the World, and sacrificing my own to theirs? No, I asked as you would in my Circumstances have done. Say then, ye little Generation of *Pipers*, should I, like you, have sucked the Blood of my Fellow Creatures, and fed myself on the Flesh of Man? No, tho' you have endeavoured to make me a poor Wretch, it is not in your Power to make me a cruel one.

According to my Determination, I published in the Year 1736, a short Essay on this Disease, called, (improperly) a *Plurisy*, with an Account of the Efficacy of this Medicines therein, proved from repeated Experience in the Course of my Practice in that Country: And still to communicate so great a Benefit more readily, Directions were printed in all the News-Papers of the several *American Colonies*. I distributed Numbers of Copies of my Essay, to the Gentlemen and Practitioners in *Physic of Virginia*, and sent a Number of them to the learned Physicians of *London*.

Not enjoying Health in *America*, and meeting with Ingratitude from the Colony where I resided, I came over to settle in *London* in the Year 1739, *October 12*, and some misunderstanding having arose with the Physicians, a most valuable Medicines has been in a great Measure buried. But as I must consider them in their collective Body, as Men of Honour and Humanity, I make no doubt that they will act a generous Part towards the Public in this Affair, when they see my *Physical Dissertation*, with Numbers of Cases recovered by this Medicines, which had been unsuccessfully treated with all the Help to be had from the *Materia Medica*.

"A Brief Account of the Case of John Tennent, M.D."

(continued)

standing having arose with the Physicians, a most valuable Medicine has been in a great Measure buried."⁴²

Tennent's subsequent career was not a happy one, and much of his time seems to have been spent in writing pamphlets and broadsides in which he rehearsed his own story, excused his errors and denounced his enemies. *The Case of John Tennent*, printed in London in 1743, is written in a prolix, bombastic, intemperate style. In it he plays up his humanitarian interest and the success of his marvellous discovery, belittles the physicians in Virginia who opposed him and states that "ambition" was his reason for leaving the colony. The consequences of his discoveries inspired him, he says, "with hopes of making one Day a Figure in the Medical World. My views extended a pace, I longed to evince my Capacity to the politer World." He goes on to explain how, in spite of letters of recommendation from the first citizens of Virginia to noted doctors in London, his success on his first visit did not equal his hopes, and he returned to Virginia, after having contracted a number of debts. "I embarked for America," he writes, "with a resolution of addressing the Assembly of Virginia for a reward of the public services I had done their Country, that I might be able to remit my Creditors in London their Money." The Virginia Assembly gave him £100 instead of the £1,000 that he expected. Disgruntled, he returned to England. "I determined therefore to come over again to Britain to put my Great Friends in mind of their Promises I left America with a Resolution never to return again." He looked up his friends and told them he was pretty confident the British Parliament, upon proper application, would give him a premium for the service he had done their colonies in America. But parliament disappointed him. His so-called friends shunned him. The physicians became his enemies. "The Truth is," he confessed, "I had spoke my Mind some times too freely and allowed my Tongue a little unreasonable license: I told some Truths I should have concealed and winked at which exasperated them against me."

Meanwhile he was sinking deeper in debt. He had hopes of securing the nomination as Physician General to His Majesty's forces in the West Indies, but the needed recommendations were not forthcoming. Involved in increasing difficulties, he turned to the famous quack, Dr. Ward, imparting to him many of his famous prescriptions and supplying him with snakeroot in exchange for the money Tennent so much needed. From that time on his career in London was a shameful compromise with honor. By turns, he fraternized with Dr. Ward and wrote public denunciations exposing the quack's ignorance

⁴²A brief account of the case of John Tennent, M.D.

and sham. Debt followed him like an avenging genius, leading him into a marriage with one Mrs. Hanger, whose annuity of fifty pounds a year was not sufficient to halt his creditors in their hue and cry. His shameful story ends with a suit in the "Doctor's Commons for a Nullity of Marriage" on the charge of bigamy. He was forced to confess "a foolish step" in having kept "one Mrs. Cary under the name of Mrs. Tennent." Finally, "My Honour obliged me to surrender on the 19th of this Month at the Old Bailey."⁴³

From such a predicament Tennent was rescued by the good offices of no less a person than Sir Hans Sloane, who received a letter of thanks for his "generous and Humane Conduct." In this letter, dated April 1740, Tennent expressed the intention of going to Jamaica.⁴⁴

What happened afterward no one knows. In 1760 Tennent's son, whose name was also John Tennent and who lived at Port Royal, Caroline County, Virginia, presented a petition to the Virginia Assembly. In it he stated that his father was dead, had "left his Family in very indigent Circumstances, and the Petitioner having obtained his Education at the College on a public Foundation, and since applied himself to the Study of Physick, to complete which he hath been advised to go to England; but having no other dependence than the Assistance of a Particular Friend, humbly prays Aid of this House which he hopes will be granted him, the rather because his Father having promulgated the Benefit arising to the Public from his aforesaid Discovery, waved the great Advantage he might reasonably have expected to have obtained from it, if he had kept the Secret to himself."⁴⁵

This petition was rejected, but the petitioner somehow managed to complete his medical studies. He served as a surgeon in the Revolution and was named an executor in the will of General Hugh Mercer.⁴⁶ Dr. George Washington Tennent was probably his son.

No Virginia physician has had so many strictly medical works credited to him as has John Tennent. The anonymous publication, *Every Man his own Doctor; or, the Poor Planter's Physician*, the second edition of which was published in 1734 by William Parks, is generally attributed to him. According to its title page it prescribed "plain and easy means for persons to cure themselves of all, or most of the distempers, incident to the climate, and with very little charge, the medicines being chiefly of the growth and production of this country." This book was extremely popular. Benjamin Franklin

⁴³The Case of John Tennent. Not to be confused with the broadside called: A brief account of the case of John Tennent, M.D.

⁴⁴William and Mary Quarterly, second series, v. 3, p. 211.

⁴⁵Journals of the House of Burgesses, v. 1758-61, p. 160.

⁴⁶Crozier: Virginia County Records, v. 1, p. 31.

printed three editions of it in Philadelphia in 1734, 1736 and 1737. Its tone is very much that of Tennent, who later wrote in his *Brief Account*, "I concluded that Self-Interest, however a common Reason it might be was at least a very dishonest one, for keeping so useful a Discovery secret from the World; For I knew if this Medicine was once published and put into the hands of every Person and Practitioner of Physic in America I should save vast Numbers of my Fellow Creatures from Death."

Tennent's reputation was staked chiefly on *An Essay on the Pleurisy*, published by Parks in 1736. It sold for 1s. 10½d. This forty-six page volume launched snakeroot on its stormy career, with the claim that "the Cause of that Disease [pleurisy] is plainly accounted for, from the Circumstances of this Climate; a Remedy almost absolutely certain is prescribed, which is founded on Experience; and is a Vegetable that grows plentifully in many Places of this Country."⁴⁷

In 1738 appeared *An Epistle to Dr. Richard Mead, Concerning the Epidemical Diseases of Virginia, Particularly, a Pleurisy, and Peripneumony*. In this work, published in Edinburgh, Tennent demonstrates "the surprising Efficacy of the Seneca Rattle-Snake Root" in pleurisy and peripneumonia, these diseases being "epidemick, and very mortal in Virginia." He predicts "the highest Probability, that this Root will be of more extensive Use than any Medicine in the whole Materia Medica," since, besides pleurisy, it would cure "the Gout, Rheumatism, Dropsy, and many nervous Disorders." Here also he displays his theory of the causation of disease, glibly declaring that "the diseases of Virginia arise from the viscosities and coagulation of the blood. How easy it is to imagine the *modus operandi* in the case of gout. Here gritty particles in the circulation cause the disease and it is simple to produce an attenuation of the fluids by snake root, thus reducing these particles to their proper minuteness and fluidity." A second edition of this work was published in Edinburgh in 1742.

In July 1738 Tennent proposed to publish by subscription "A Treatise on the Diseases of Virginia and Neighboring Colonies," but apparently the subscriptions were not raised. So far as we know, the work never appeared.

His next known work was *A Reprieve from Death in Two Physical Chapters*, published in 1741.⁴⁸ It briefly recounts the author's objections to the use of vinegar and other acids in the prophylaxis and cure of the epidemic fevers of the West Indies. He elaborates his theory of stagnation and putrefaction, "whence ensues that epidemic fever," and unqualifiedly recommends "Seneca

⁴⁷Parks's Virginia Gazette, Aug. 6, 1736.

⁴⁸In the *Reprieve*, p. 15, Tennent mentions "my book lately published Truth Stified." So far as we know, no copy of this work now exists in this country.

Rattle Snake Root it being the most quick and subtle Attenuant operates by Stool, Sweat and Urine."

In 1742 Tennent published his *Physical Enquiries*, in which he discusses the constitutional effects incident to a change of climate, exposes the "Error of the College of Physicians in recommending Vinegar to his Majesty's Fleet in the West Indies to prevent the Epidemic Fevers there so fatal to Britons" and recommends the proper procedure for "everyone going to the West Indies from Britain." The secret of the procedure was threefold: first, three copious bleedings en route at specified degrees of latitude; second, forty grains of Seneca Root the night after bleeding; third, "a Vomit to every Person after the seventh Dose of the Powder." He concludes with a philippic against the "barren State of useful Physical knowledge as well as the mercenary Practice of Physicians," directing his fire especially against "Dr. Ward's Qualifications for the Practice of Physic" and "his pernicious Progress with Medicinal Secrets" (namely, Ward's Pills). In an advertisement on the last page of the book the author proposes to publish a dissertation setting forth the reasons for regulating the practice of physic for the general good, urging that all prescriptions be written in plain English and concluding that all secret efficacious medicines should be made public — "religion and Morality demand that conduct."

At about this time he published *A Brief Account of the Case of John Tennent*, a broadside mainly taken up with a defense of his own conduct in London, but telling also how he sought a cure for the annually returning diseases of Virginia. He found the cause to be "a Coagulation of the blood" and "Under this persuasion I had occasion to learn that a Nation of Indians called the Senekkas had discovered to a Planter in the Frontiers of Virginia the Root of a Plant which prevented Death following the Rattle Snake's Bite Being well assured of this Fact from ocular Testimony, I reasoned upon it that this Root must be of general Use in Coagulations and Viscidities of the Blood My Success was so great, that I did not lose above four or five Patients in an hundred though other Practitioners lost two Thirds."

In 1745 appeared his *Physical Disquisitions: demonstrating the real causes of the blood's morbid rarefaction and stagnation*. It was published in London and is the last work of Tennent's of which any record remains.

DR. WILLIAM BROWN

No fewer than seven physicians belonging to the same family of Browns practised medicine during the colonial period on the neighboring Maryland and Virginia shores of the Potomac. Gustavus Brown, M.D., the Scotch immi-

grant, settled in Maryland in 1708 and had a numerous progeny. One of his sons, Gustavus Richard Brown (1747-1804), had two sons, Gustavus Brown and Gustavus Richard Brown, both of whom studied medicine. The eldest son of the original Gustavus was the Reverend Richard Brown (1725-1789), both of whose sons became physicians: Gustavus Brown of St. Mary's County, Maryland, and William Brown of Alexandria, Virginia. William Brown's son, Gustavus Richard Alexander, was also a physician at Alexandria.

William Brown, son of the Reverend Richard Brown and grandson of the immigrant Dr. Gustavus Brown, was born in 1748. His mother was Helen Bailey, sister of Colonel Bailey of the British army.⁴⁹ She had married Richard Brown while he was a student at the University of Edinburgh. This fact, together with the provision of his grandfather's will, "I give and bequeath to my eldest son, the Rev. Mr. Richard Brown to have and to hold in the following manner, to wit: my land in Scotland and Maryland . . .," accounts for the fact that William was born at Haddington in Scotland.

William Brown studied, as had his father and grandfather, at the University of Edinburgh and graduated in medicine in 1770 at the age of twenty-two, having offered a thesis entitled *de Viribus Atmosphaerae*. Coming to America, he settled in Alexandria, Virginia, and being "a man of polished manners and high literary culture . . . intimately acquainted with Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and the leading men of the day"⁵⁰ he soon became one of the outstanding physicians of Alexandria. He married his first cousin, Catherine Scott, and they had many children. Their house at 212 South Fairfax Street is now being restored by Mr. and Mrs. Cael.

At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War Dr. Brown at once joined the army and began a conspicuous career which, before his resignation in 1780, placed him in the forefront of our Revolutionary surgeons. In 1775 he enlisted as surgeon under Colonel Woodford in the Second Virginia Regiment. In February 1776 "Dr. William Brown of the second regiment, on his way to join his corps" advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* for the return of a horse which he had lent to a young man. From September 19 to December 1 of that year he served as Assistant Surgeon to the Flying-Camp of the Continental Army. William Shippen received the appointment as Physician-in-Charge of the Flying-Camp, for which Brown had been recommended by General Hugh Mercer. Mercer wrote Washington on July 16, 1776: "Dr. William Brown, late of Alexandria . . . has served with reputation as a Regimental Surgeon,

⁴⁹Toner: Sketch of Gustavus Richard Brown in the Quarterly Magazine of the Sons of the Revolution in the State of Virginia, January 1923, p. 14.

⁵⁰Toner: The Medical Men of the Revolution, p. 81.

with Colonel Woodford, ever since regular troops were raised in Virginia. He is, I am well satisfied . . . equal to the execution of the trust he desires."⁵¹

Dr. Brown's resignation from the Virginia service deprived him of his right to claim the land bounty offered by the state. The Virginia Assembly, however, made an exception in this case, the official record stating that "Whereas, William Brown, of the Co. of Fairfax, acted as Surgeon to the 2nd Va. Reg. raised by the State in 1775, until some time in 1776, when he was appointed by Congress Physician to the General Hospital, and acted in that capacity, as well as Assistant Director and Physician General and Surgeon General until 1780, when he resigned the said appointment; and whereas no provision was made by law for settling the pay and depreciation of the said William Brown, who is excluded from the bounty in lands allowed by law to Surgeons and Chaplains, by accepting the said appointments and not continuing regimental surgeon for the term of three years, it is enacted that the auditor shall settle the pay and depreciation of William Brown for his said services and issue certificates for the balance as is prescribed in the case of officers"⁵²

In 1776 Dr. Brown was associated with Drs. William Smith and Moses Scott in the famous hospital at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, where overcrowding, inefficiency and filth accounted for no fewer than five hundred deaths. Among those who died were several of the medical staff. According to Smith, "Owing to the crowded wards and want of almost every necessary it was impossible to prevent an infection and the sufferings of the sick could not be attributed to negligence or inattentions of the surgeons and physicians." Brown himself wrote that "when the hospital was opened it was many weeks without so necessary articles as brooms and that at last he was obliged to have them taken from the inhabitants of the town."⁵³

On June 23, 1777 Congress elected Dr. Brown Surgeon General of the Hospital in the Middle Department, and on February 6, 1778 he was promoted to the position of Physician General of the same department, succeeding Dr. Benjamin Rush, who had been involved in the Conway Cabal and had resigned his office when the Cabal collapsed. The Middle Department extended from the Hudson River to the Potomac. Walter Jones of Virginia had been offered the position of Physician General before Rush, and James Craik succeeded William Brown. Three Virginia physicians thus received this important appointment.⁵⁴

⁵¹American Archives, 5th Series, v. 1, p. 371.

⁵²Hayden: Virginia Genealogies, p. 177.

⁵³Packard: History of Medicine in the United States, p. 289.

⁵⁴Journals of the Continental Congress. Extracts printed in Owen: The Medical Department of the U. S. Army.

In January 1778 Dr. Brown was placed in charge of all the convalescent hospitals in Lititz and its vicinity, with Dr. Francis Allison assisting him. General McIntosh reported that from February to April 1778, 264 wounded and sick soldiers had been admitted to the hospitals, 142 had been discharged to camp, 83 had died and deserted and 39 were under treatment. It was here, in 1778, that Dr. Brown found time to compose and publish a brief work entitled *Pharmacopoeia Simplicorum et efficaciorum in usum nosocomii militaris*, a pamphlet of thirty-two pages. It contains eighty-three medical and sixteen surgical prescriptions, all in Latin, and written, as the title page declares, so as to require the simplest, cheapest and most available drugs. The poverty of the American government and the vigilance of the British blockade made this necessary.⁵⁵ Since this was the first pharmacopoeia ever printed in America, it enjoys a unique reputation and is now one of the prized possessions of the Surgeon General's Library in Washington.

On July 21, 1780 Brown resigned from the army, and Congress passed the following resolution: "*Resolved*, That Congress entertain a high opinion of the abilities, integrity and past services of Doctor William Brown, physician-general, but as his present circumstances will no longer permit his continuance in the service, his resignation is accepted."

Brown returned to his practice in Alexandria. Through Washington's influence he was made president of the Alexandria Academy, and the old three-story brick building at South Washington and Wolfe Streets was built at this time. He carried on his work in Alexandria until death overtook him in 1792. He was buried at Preston near Alexandria, but later his remains were moved to Pohick Church. The inscription which marks his grave reads:

In Memory of
William Brown M.D.
(Formerly Physician General
to the Hospital of the United States)
who died on the 11th of Jan'y 1792
in the 44th year of his Age
this tablet is inscribed
by
his affectionate and afflicted widow
His zeal and fidelity as a patriot
his patience, diligence and skill as a physician
his benevolence, curtesy and integrity as a man
Secured him
the applause of his country
the honor and emoluments of his profession

⁵⁵Virginia Medical Monthly, Dec. 1920, p. 11. Article by Alexander Brown.

D. IOHANNIS MITCHELL
 DISSERTATIO BREVIS
 DE
 PRINCIPIIS
 BOTANICORVM
 ET
 ZOOLOGORVM
 DEQVE NOVO STABILIBENDO
 NATVRAE RERVVM CONGRVO
 CVM
 APPENDICE
 ALIQVOT GENERVM PLANTARVM
 RECENS CONDITORVM
 ET
 IN VIRGINIA OBSERVATORVM.

NORIMBERGAE
 IMPENSIS WOLFGANGI SCHWARZKOPFII
 MDCCLXIX.

PHARMACOPOEIA
 SIMPLICIORVM
 ET
 EFFICACIORVM,
 IN VSVM
 NOSOCOMII MILITARIS,

AD EXERCITVM
 Foederatarum *Americae* Civitatum
 PERTINENTIBVS;
 MODERNAE NOSTRAE INOPIAE REBUNQUE
 ANGSTIIS,
 Facili haudum feruile, belloque crudeli ex incipientib
 patriae nostrae alioo debitis,
 MAXIME ACCOMMODATA.

PHILADELPHIAE
 EX OFFICINA STYNER & CIST. IN BOO LXXVIIII

EXPERIMENTAL INQUIRY

PROPERTIES OF
 O P I U M.
 AND ITS
 EFFECTS
 ON
 LIVING SUBJECTS;

WITH OBSERVATIONS ON ITS
 HISTORY, PREPARATIONS AND USES.

BEING THE
 DISSERTATION which gained the HARVEIAN PRIZE
 for the Year 1785.

By JOHN LEIGH, M.D.

Quae plura videntur scriptura, deponantur parochiam, curam etc
 ordinata. TANTVM.

EDINBURGH:
 HASTIES PER CHARLES ELLIOT, Edinburgh:
 AND G. G. J. & J. ROBINSON, London.

MDCCLXXXV.

Title pages from the works of Virginia authors.

MEDICINE IN VIRGINIA

the respect of the wealthy
and
the veneration of the poor

Let

the grateful witness of his virtues in domestic life
add

that as a husband, father and master
he was tender, instructive and humane
that he lived without guile
and died without reproach.

CHAPTER VII

BOTANY AND MEDICINE

I.

PRIMITIVE man was animistic and shied with an unreasoned fear from stones, sticks and storms, as though there were in them both personality and animus. In self protection he armed himself with amulets and charms. From the earliest times he began to take note also of the great world of growing things about him, to clothe plants and trees with personality and to form very definite ideas of their uses. The potency of the juices of the poppy and the hemlock was soon learned, and a great lore of poisonous plants was early at man's disposal. If plants could destroy life they could also restore it, and so a crude familiarity with the properties of plants and their extracts sprang up. This popular knowledge has lingered in medical folk lore, and there are still housewives who offer slippery elm for sore throat and make sage, camomile and sassafras tea with unshaken faith. In the Eighteenth Century the wits were busy trying to suppress such quacks as John Hill with his

"Essence of dock, valerian and sage
At once the disgrace and pest of his age."

A vast traffic in herbs and roots, immense herbals and popular faith in root and herb doctors survived until very recent times. Now that we are confronted on every hand with a formidable array of synthetic preparations and are accustomed to drugs largely of mineral origin, it is difficult to imagine an age in which mankind depended for his therapy almost entirely upon plants or their extracts.

It should not be forgotten that much that is still useful in the therapeutic application of botany was not the contribution of scientists but was the product of rhizomatist and woodsman. The nomenclature of many of our American plants is of popular rather than of scientific origin. The root doctor's influence can be traced in such names as blood root, alum root, Indian root, sheep root and cancer root. An old woman first successfully employed digitalis in the treatment of cardiac dropsy, and from her William Withering learned

and passed on to mankind the secret of one of our most effective modern remedies.

It remained, however, for more scientific minds to collect, collate and analyze the facts and to establish botany as a science. Most of the early botanists were doctors, a natural result of the fact that the long suit of ancient medicine was its therapy. Therapeutics of course rested upon *materia medica*, and this led the physician into fields and woods in search of new and potent medicinal plants. The father of botany, Theophrastus, was a physician. From the welter of ancient plant lore he assembled and compiled what was known of five hundred plants, mostly medicinal and mostly in cultivation.¹

Following him came Dioscorides, Pliny and the Arabians, who exemplified the same combination of physician and botanist. A long dearth in progress ensued, and it was not until the Renaissance that new advances in botany were made. Then came the so-called German Fathers of botany, Fuchs and Brunfels and others; after them de Tournefort with his ideas of genera, Linnaeus with his distinctions of species, and Adanson, grouping genera into families.

Eighteenth Century botany was dominated by no one so much as by Linnaeus, author of the binomial system of nomenclature and advocate of the sexual classification of plants. Botany up to that time had busied itself with discovering new species, with morphology and with the accurate description, naming and classifying of the plants that were found. This seems a very crude beginning when compared with the broad philosophical conceptions of modern botany, which is concerned with the reason for particular geological formations producing certain plants, the relation of seasons to flowering and other equally far reaching problems. Yet these preliminary discoveries and classifications were necessary and brought order out of chaos. Linnaeus made an abiding contribution with his simple system. He it was to whom our early Virginia botanists wrote, to whom they sent specimens and whose system of classification they followed.

From the first days of colonization the authorities in England had urged upon the settlers in the new world the importance of sending home samples of every new thing that was found. Many specimens of botanical interest were thus brought to light, but no systematic study of botany on this side the Atlantic was undertaken until the Eighteenth Century. During this century creditable work was done by a number of American botanists, of whom eleven were physicians. There were Alexander Garden of South Carolina, after whom the genus *gardenia* was named, and Caspar Wistar from whom *wistaria*

¹Greene: Landmarks of Botanical History.

took its name. There were John Bartram and Benjamin Barton of Pennsylvania, and Cadwallader Colden of New York, who knew and corresponded with their fellow botanists in Virginia. In Virginia the outstanding men in botany were John Mitchell, John Clayton, Mark Catesby and James Greenway. All were primarily interested in the science and all were well known on two continents for their botanical contributions.

II

One of the earliest American botanists was John Banister, who died in Virginia in 1692.² There followed him in Virginia an even more distinguished man, John Mitchell. It is not certain whether he was born in Virginia or in England.³ Peter Kalm said: "I spent a great part of the day at the house of Dr. Mitchell who was born in Virginia in North America and has spent a great part of his life there."⁴ All his biographers, on the other hand, have stated that he was born in England. However that may be, he was in England between 1726 and 1735, receiving an education at the University of Edinburgh. Here he studied botany and possibly medicine. Writing to Dr. Charles Alston, professor of botany in the University, on October 4, 1738, Mitchell says: "As the following collection and remarks are the result of that knowledge in botany I first received from your lectures and garden so I make no doubt to offer them to you." He received his M.A. degree at Edinburgh but did not graduate there in medicine. It has been supposed that his medical course was completed at Leyden.⁵

His residence in Virginia was at Urbanna on the Rappahannock River. Here he followed the practice of medicine, observed politics, familiarized himself with the geography of the new world and spent many hours in the pursuit of new botanical knowledge. Ill health forced him to return to England early in 1746. He had stayed at John Bartram's house in Philadelphia before sailing, and Bartram wrote of him to Gronovius: "He is an ingenious man, but his constitution is miserably broken and if he don't remove soon from Virginia he can't continue long in the land of the living."⁶ On the voyage a Spanish privateer overhauled the ship, and Mitchell lost more than a thousand

²Blanton: *Medicine in Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 215.

³Thatcher: Article on Dr. Mitchell, M. D., F. R. S., of Virginia; in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, v. 39, pp. 132, 206.

⁴Peter Kalm: *Account of his Visit to England, 1748*; translated by Joseph Lucas, London, 1910, p. 52.

⁵Thatcher: *Dr. Mitchell, M. D., F. R. S., of Virginia*; in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, v. 39, p. 132.

⁶Carrier: *Dr. John Mitchell, Naturalist, Cartographer and Historian*. (Annual Report of American Historical Association, 1918, pp. 199-219.)

botanical specimens. Soon after his arrival the English botanist, Peter Collinson, wrote to John Bartram: "Dr. Mitchell is arrived safe with his wife at London and is much recovered;" and three years later Collinson wrote Linnaeus: "Dr. Mitchell is well." Under the patronage of the Duke of Argyle and Lord Bute, Mitchell attempted to carry on his botanical studies in England, but about 1750, discouraged by what he described as the "very low ebb" of botany in England, he gave himself over to literary and cartographical work until his death in 1768.⁸

There is no doubt that Mitchell actually practised medicine in Virginia. The vestry book of Christ Church, Middlesex County recorded payments to him for medical services to the poor of the parish on several occasions between 1735 and 1743.⁹ An advertisement in Parks's *Virginia Gazette*, dated November 12, 1745 and signed "John Mitchell," advertised for sale his property at Urbanna and concluded with the statement: ". . . the said John Mitchell intends to go to England, by the first convenient Opportunity He does not any longer practice Physick." That he also followed the usual custom of combining an apothecary's shop with his practice is shown by the description of the property offered for sale in the same advertisement.¹⁰

Further proof that Mitchell was engaged in active practice appears in his report on the epidemics of yellow fever which occurred in Virginia in the years 1737, 1741 and 1742. This account, written in Virginia in 1744, was sent to Benjamin Franklin for presentation to the Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge, but was not published until 1805 when Dr. Benjamin Rush, who had received it from Dr. Franklin, printed it in the *Philadelphia Medical Museum*.¹¹ Rush acknowledged his indebtedness to many of Mitchell's ideas, which he said directed him "to that mode of practice which I pursued in the yellow fever of the year 1793."

In his article Mitchell referred to thirty or forty cases of yellow fever which he himself had attended and to five interesting autopsies which he performed on the bodies of victims of this disease. His descriptions are remarkably exact, noting the jaundiced mucous membranes and serous coats, the color and consistency of the liver, the thickness of the bile, the dark contents of the stomach, the emphysema of the lungs with their hemorrhagic areas and the relatively normal appearance of the other organs of the body. He showed familiarity with the writings of Hippocrates, Galen, Celsus and Sanctorius. Yellow fever

⁸Darlington: Memorials of John Bartram and Humphrey Marshall, p. 353.

⁹Gentlemen's Magazine, Mar. 1768.

¹⁰Chamberlayne: Vestry Book and Register of Christ Church Parish, pp. 241-261.

¹¹Parks's Virginia Gazette, Nov. 14-21, 1745.

¹²Philadelphia Medical Museum, v. 1, p. 1. It was reprinted in the American Medical and Philosophical Register, 1814, v. 4.

*POLYGALA Virginiae folijs oblongis floribus in thyrsis axillaribus
radice Alexipharmica. MILLER.*



*Seneca
Rattle-Snake Root.*

Seneca Rattlesnake Root



he believed to be a contagion which inflamed the stomach, obstructed the bile ducts and "dissolved the adipose humours." His humoral pathology was reflected in his prescribing early evacuation of the bowels so that "their feculent corruptible contents are discharged before they corrupt and produce any ill effects." He maintained that "the bilious humours are carried off by stools or turbid icteritious urine." He advocated bleeding only at the beginning of the disease and in small quantities and believed that sweating should be achieved not by sudorifics but as the natural sequence to the proper use of phlebotomy and vomits. He discussed the use of the bark, which "promotes the maturation and concoction of the morbid matter," but acknowledged that his own experience with it was limited and displayed his honesty of mind by warning against the "dangerous consequence of drawing general rules from particular observations, the bane of physic."

The editors of the *American Medical and Philosophical Register*, commenting on Dr. Mitchell, stated that "with Chalmers and Lining of South Carolina and Alexander and Colden of New York he has done much for the advancement of medical and physical science on this side of the Atlantic." Thacher remarked that "Few physicians who have lived in our country, have been more justly celebrated for originality of genius and accuracy of observation, than Dr. Mitchell."¹²

He was honored in England by election as a Fellow of the Royal Society, December 15, 1748, and several of his essays appeared in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the society. His *Essay upon the Causes of the Different Colours of People in Different Climates*, written in Virginia in 1743, had been read before the Royal Society in 1744 by Peter Collinson and was published in volume forty-three of the *Transactions*. In this essay, which was later used and amplified by President Smith of Princeton College, Mitchell attributed to climate and manner of living the various complexions of the human race. He held that the negro and the Indian had preserved the original complexion of Noah and that the white race had degenerated. The pigmentation of the negro skin served, he believed, the useful function of protecting him from the torrid rays of the African sun.

Soon after his return to England in 1748 he presented a paper *On the Preparation and Uses of Various Kinds of Potash*.¹³ In 1759 he contributed *A Letter Concerning the Force of Electrical Cohesion*.¹⁴ About the same time he read before the Society a paper written by Benjamin Franklin on *The*

¹²Thacher: *American Medical Biography*, v. 1, p. 392.

¹³*Philosophical Transactions*, v. 45, p. 541.

¹⁴*Philosophical Transactions*.

Sameness of Lightning and Electricity and had the temerity to write the author that it was "laughed at by the connoisseurs."¹⁶

Mitchell was an ardent botanist, who devoted hours of his leisure in Virginia to a search for new species. He corresponded and exchanged specimens with the most eminent authorities of his day—Linnaeus, Gronovius and Dillenius in Europe, Colden, Cadwalader and Franklin in America. He was one of the first American botanists to grasp and apply the Linnaean sexual classification of plants. Describing his *Dissertatio Brevis* and *Nova Plantarum Genera*, Mitchell wrote Linnaeus in 1748: "They consist of a dissertation on a new botanical principle, derived from the sexual theory, which I think accords with your ideas and if I mistake not our systems support each other. . . ."¹⁶

In 1741 Mitchell described thirty genera, of which twenty were proposed as new. Nine were certainly original and have been confirmed as true genera by subsequent botanists, though only two of Mitchell's names have been retained — *Acnida* and *Pentstemon*.¹⁷ Linnaeus in 1753 gave the name *Mitchella repens* to the partridgeberry, which Dr. Mitchell had first described.

In April 1755 Collinson wrote Linnaeus that Dr. Mitchell had "left botany for some time" and had "wholly employed himself in making a map or chart of all North America which is now published in eight large sheets for a guinea and coloured for a guinea and a half. It is the most perfect of any before published and is universally approved."¹⁸ Mitchell had been induced by the British government to undertake this work at the beginning of the hostilities which led up to the French and Indian War. The map measured forty by seventy inches. It was published first in London by Jeffrey and Faden in 1755 and the next year in Paris. Other editions followed in 1757 and 1782.¹⁹ Governor Dinwiddie wrote Dr. Mitchell, February 23, 1756: "Y'r L'r of the 18th Apr. I rec'd with the Maps The Map appears to me to be the best we have. The People here say you have not laid down the count'y in y's Dom'n properly, Tho' I think y't Mistake very trivial"²⁰ Peculiar interest attaches to Mitchell's map from the fact that it was used at the peace council which closed the Revolutionary War and was often referred to in the boundary disputes that followed. "I remember distinctly," wrote Franklin to Jefferson, "the map we used in tracing the boundary was brought to the treaty by the commissioners from England, and that it was the same that was published by Mitchell about 20 years before."²¹

¹⁶ Sparks: The Works of Benjamin Franklin, v. 1, p. 209.

¹⁷ Carrier: Dr. John Mitchell, Naturalist, Cartographer and Historian, p. 202.

¹⁸ Carrier: Dr. John Mitchell, Naturalist, Cartographer and Historian, p. 202.

¹⁹ Correspondence of Linnaeus, v. 1, p. 34; in Sir James Smith's Collection, London, 1821.

²⁰ Carrier: Dr. John Mitchell, Naturalist, Cartographer and Historian, p. 206.

²¹ Dinwiddie Papers, v. 2, p. 338.

²² Carrier: Dr. John Mitchell, Naturalist, Cartographer and Historian, p. 207.

Mitchell was a prolific writer, particularly in his later years. No less than a dozen works are attributed to him. He covered a wide range of subjects—history, politics, husbandry, chemistry, physics, botany and medicine. In 1738, before he left Virginia, he had written his *Dissertatio brevis de principiis botanicorum*, dedicated to Sir Hans Sloane, and in 1741 his *Nova Plantarum genera*, dedicated to Peter Collinson.²² These were printed in one volume at Nuremberg in 1769. Other works which, though published anonymously, have been attributed to him are *An Account of the English Discoveries and Settlements in America*, which appeared in Harris's *Voyages and Travels*, 1748; *The Contest in America between Great Britain and France by an Impartial Hand*, 1757, which was in the form of a long report, accompanying Mitchell's map; *A New and Complete History of the British Empire in America*, 1756; *The Present State of Great Britain and North America*, 1767; and a two volume work called *American Husbandry*, 1775, which is believed to have been written by Mitchell and edited after his death and contains a number of medical references.

In reviewing the busy life and work of one of Virginia's most distinguished botanists, we cannot fail to be impressed with his modesty, his scholarly attainments and his range of knowledge. He must indeed have been, as Bartram said, "an ingenious man."

III.

Several Claytons emigrating from England to Virginia were noted for leanings toward natural science. John Clayton, a clergyman from Yorkshire, visited Virginia from 1684 to 1686, and his observations on soils, climate, medicine and many other things peculiar to the colony were published by the Royal Society. The Honorable John Clayton of Walton-on-Thames, Surrey, England, a son of Sir John Clayton of the Inner Temple and a descendant of the Claytons of Clayton Hall, Lancashire, came to Virginia in 1705 and was Attorney General of the colony from 1714 until his death in 1737.²³ Two of his sons are of interest to us. Thomas, the third son, after graduating in medicine at Cambridge, settled in Gloucester County, Virginia. His promising career as a physician was prematurely terminated in 1730 when he died at the age of thirty-eight.

The Attorney General's older son, John Clayton (1685-1773), whom Peter Collinson called "the great botanist of America" and who as a practical botanist was probably inferior to no one of his time, was born at Fulham, Eng-

²²Dictionary of National Biography.

²³Crozier: *Virginia Heraldica*, p. 32. *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, v. 1, p. 352.

land and came to Virginia with his father in 1705. He is said to have studied medicine, but he probably never received a degree.²⁴ The first two editions of his *Flora Virginica* do not give him the title of doctor, and Benjamin S. Barton, who wrote in 1805, declared that he did not have the M.D. degree.²⁵ It seems unlikely that both he and his brother should have studied medicine. On the other hand the third edition of the *Flora Virginica*, 1762, describes the author as "that most noble man John Clayton, doctor of medicine," and he is given this title by such authorities as Jefferson, Toner²⁶ and Thacher.²⁷

He settled in Gloucester County and became deputy clerk in the office of Peter Beverley, later succeeding him as clerk — a position he was to hold for fifty years. In 1723 he married Elizabeth Whiting. The happy coincidence of a long life, the leisure afforded by his position and a fine botanical garden at his home, Windsor, enabled him to study the flora of Virginia as few before him had done. He is said to have covered all parts of the state, ransacking the woods for new specimens of plants. In his later years he made what was then a hazardous journey through Orange County to the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains. He was essentially a practical botanist, engaged in important field work, discovering and identifying the flora of a virgin country. In this way, according to Thomas Jefferson, he "enlarged the botanical catalogue as much as almost any man who has lived."²⁸

There is no reference to his having any contacts with his fellow Virginia botanist, John Mitchell, but as they lived for thirty or forty years within a day's journey of each other it is not unlikely that these kindred spirits roamed the woods together and vied with one another in making new finds.

Clayton was well known to his fellow botanists on both sides of the Atlantic. Peter Collinson's correspondence with John Bartram is full of references to "my friend John Clayton." In 1738 he wrote, after Bartram had made a trip to Virginia, "I am sorry our brother Clayton was not at home. It was, no doubt, a great disappointment, that you could not open your budgets and compare notes." Two years later he begged, "Pray see what further Mosses thee canst collect for Doctor Dillenius. He defers completing his work, till he sees what comes from thee, Clayton, and Doctor Mitchell." And in 1756, "I thought thine and our friend Clayton's observations so material, on Dr. Alston's system, that I put them in the Gentleman's Magazine." Clayton and Bartram

²⁴Darlington: Memorials of John Bartram and Humphrey Marshall. Dictionary of National Biography.

²⁵Barton: Memorandum of John Clayton; in The Philadelphia Medical and Physical Journal, 1805.

²⁶Kelly and Burrage: Dictionary of American Medical Biography, p. 230.

²⁷Thacher: American Medical Biography, p. 224.

²⁸Jefferson: Notes on Virginia, p. 53.

carried on a correspondence which lasted over twenty years, and frequently exchanged specimens as well as ideas. Clayton wrote in 1760: "I have sent you inclosed some of the seeds you seemed desirous of having, when I had the pleasure of your agreeable company here the parting with you so soon made me very melancholy for some time I quite forgot to show you my specimens of dried plants, of which I have a pretty large collection . . ." And Bartram requested in a letter to Collinson in 1762, "My thanks to Gronovius for his new edition of the *Flora Virginica*."²⁰

The collection of the Linnaean Society in London contains only one letter from John Clayton to Linnaeus, though there were doubtless others. It is written in Latin and dated 1748. Clayton's most important correspondence was probably that with the celebrated Dutch naturalists, John and Lawrence Gronovius, who later published his work. Lawrence gave the name *Claytonia* to a genus of plant known in America as "spring beauty" because it blooms early. It is a perennial, rarely found in cultivation.²⁰

Clayton is best known for his *Flora Virginica exhibens Plantas Quas, V. C. Johannes Clayton in Virginia Observavit atque collegit*,²¹ edited by J. F. Gronovius and published at Leyden in 1739 from material, including dried plants, sent over by Clayton. This work is frequently referred to by Linnaeus and by other botanists of that period. It was written in Latin and constituted the first systematic enumeration of North American plants. To the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society Clayton made several contributions. In 1739 he sent an account of some *Experiments Concerning the Spirit of Coals*, which was later published,²² and in volume forty-one appeared his account of medicinal plants which he had discovered in Virginia, descriptions of species of tobacco and their cultivation and other botanical observations.²³ He held membership in many scientific societies and in 1773 was president of the Virginia Society for Promoting Useful Knowledge.²⁴ At the time of his death he left a *hortus siccus*, with full marginal notes and references, ready for the engraver, and two volumes of manuscript. His son, Jasper, placed these valuable papers in the county clerk's office at New Kent for safe keeping during the Revolution. Misfortune in the form of an incendiary torch befell both the court house and the manuscripts.

Clayton was one of those rare scientists who instead of losing God found

²⁰Darlington: Memorials of John Bartram and Humphrey Marshall, pp. 113, 135, 203, 243, 406, 412.

²¹Dictionary of National Biography.

²²A copy of the first edition of the *Flora Virginica* is in The Library of Congress.

²³Dictionary of National Biography.

²⁴Dictionary of National Biography.

²⁵Torrence: Trial Bibliography.

Him in his work. Thacher says that he was heard once to observe while examining a flower "that he could not look into one without seeing the display of infinite power and contrivance, and that he thought it impossible for a botanist to be an atheist."³⁵ Governor Page spoke in high terms of his erudition and scholarship: "No part of the learning of his day was unknown to him; and he had a high relish for witty conversation, and classical allusions, which his son the doctor and Mr. Fontaine, the minister of his parish, often highly gratified."³⁶ A later writer appropriately called him "that excellent pioneer of American Botany, John Clayton of Virginia."³⁷

IV.

Mark Catesby (1679-1749) was not a physician but a naturalist and traveler, whose life-long interest in plants and in their medicinal properties peculiarly allied him with the medical profession. The son of John Catesby and Elizabeth Jekyll, he was born at Sudbury, in Suffolk, England, a town of which his father was several times mayor.³⁸ In his own words, "The early Inclination I had to search after Plants and other productions in Nature, being much suppressed by my residing too far from London, the centre of all Science, I was deprived of all opportunities and examples to excite me to a stronger pursuit after those things to which I was naturally bent. Yet my curiosity was such, that . . . I soon imbibed a passionate Desire of viewing as well the Animal as well as vegetable productions . . . which were strangers to England."³⁹ He accordingly went to London to pursue his scientific studies, and in 1712, at the age of thirty-three, his curiosity led him to Virginia. His sister, Elizabeth, was already living in Williamsburg, having married Dr. William Cocke, a native of Sudbury who had emigrated to the colony and become one of its leading physicians.

Catesby remained in Virginia for seven years, botanizing and sharing his finds with his English friends, especially with a Mr. Dale of Essex, "a skilful Apothecary and Botanist," to whom he sent numbers of seeds, dried specimens and even some growing plants. Catesby's skill as a botanist and his knowledge of plants in the new world aroused the interest of two of the leading English physicians, Sir Hans Sloane and Dr. Richard Mead. Upon his return to England in 1719 they, with Dr. William Sherard, a "famous botanist," persuaded

³⁵Thacher: American Medical Biography, p. 225.

³⁶Barton: Memorandum of John Clayton; in The Philadelphia Medical and Physical Journal.

³⁷Darlington: Introduction to Memorials of John Bartram and Humphrey Marshall.

³⁸Dictionary of American Biography; also, information from Mr. T. Catesby Jones of New York.

³⁹Preface to v. 1, The Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands.

T H E
N A T U R A L H I S T O R Y
O F

CAROLINA, FLORIDA and the BAHAMA ISLANDS:

Containing the FIGURES of

BIRDS, BEASTS, FISHES, SERPENTS, INSECTS, and PLANTS:

Particularly, the FOREST-TREES, SHRUBS, and other PLANTS, not hitherto described,
or very incorrectly figured by Authors.

Together with their DESCRIPTIONS in *English* and *French*.

To which, are added

OBSERVATIONS on the AIR, SOIL, and WATERS:

With Remarks upon

AGRICULTURE, GRAIN PULSE, ROOTS, &c.

To the whole,

Is Prefixed a new and correct Map of the Countries Treated of.

B Y
MARK CATESBY, F. R. S.

HISTOIRE NATURELLE
D E

La CAROLINE, la FLORIDE, & les ISLES BAHAMA:

Contenant les DESSINS

DES OISEAUX, ANIMAUX, POISSONS, SERPENTS, INSECTES, & PLANTES.

Et en particulier,

DES ARBRES des Forets, ARBRISSEAUX, & autres PLANTES, qui n'ont point été décrits,
jusques à présent par les Auteurs, ou peu exactement dessinés.

Avec leurs Descriptions en François & en Anglois.

A quel on a ajouté,

Des Observations sur l'Air, le Sol, & les Eaux,

Avec des Remarques sur l'Agriculture, les Grains, les Legumes, les Racines, &c.

Le tout est précédé d'une CARTE nouvelle & exacte des Pais dont ils s'agist.

Par *MARC CATESBY*, de la Societé Royale.

T O M E I.

L O N D O N :

Printed at the Expence of the AUTHOR: and Sold by W. INNES and R. MANNY, at the West End of
St. Paul's, by Mr. HAUKESBEE, at the *Royal Society House*, and by the AUTHOR, at Mr. BACON'S
in *Hantow*.

MDCCXXXI.

Title page from Catesby's Natural History

him to undertake a more extensive study of the natural history of the southern colonies and the Bahamas. He landed at Charleston, South Carolina, in May 1722 on his second American expedition and spent four years traveling, collecting and observing. The results appeared in two large volumes: "*The Natural History of Carolina, Florida, and the Bahama Islands: Containing the Figures of Birds, Beasts, Fishes, Serpents, Insects and Plants: Particularly the Forest-Trees, Shrubs and other Plants . . .*"⁴⁰ The 200 exquisite colored etchings were drawn by Catesby himself.

This work, upon which Catesby's fame principally rests, at once admitted him to that inner circle of Eighteenth Century botanists which included Bartram, Colden, Clayton and Mitchell in America and Linnaeus, Gronovius, Collinson and Dillenius abroad. In 1741 Bartram wrote to Catesby: "I have a great value for thy books, and esteem them as an excellent performance, and an ornament for the finest library in the world."⁴¹ Catesby became a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1733, and his paper on the *Migration of Birds*, which he read before the Society in 1747, was published in the *Philosophical Transactions*. Jefferson's high opinion of Catesby's *Natural History* is shown by his offer of ten guineas for Mr. Bolling's copy in 1783. The offer was apparently accepted, for a copy of the book was among those sold by Jefferson to the Library of Congress and unfortunately destroyed by fire in 1851.⁴² William Darlington, writing in 1849, called the *Natural History* "a magnificent performance, though its botanical merits were not equal to its pretensions."⁴³

Catesby remarked to John Bartram in 1740, "I regard most, those plants that are specious in their appearance, or use in physic . . .," and our interest is naturally attracted by the medicinal plants he described. "The root [of the May Apple] is said to be an excellent Emetic," he wrote, "and is used as such in Carolina, which has given it there the name of Ipecacuana, the stringy Roots of which it resembles. It flowers in March; the fruit is ripe in May, which has occasioned it in Virginia to be called May-Apple."⁴⁴ He described the Tooth-ach Tree, whose "leaves smell like those of Orange; which with the Seeds and Bark, is aromatic, very hot and astringent, and is used by the People inhabiting the Sea Coasts of Virginia and Carolina for the tooth-ach, which has given it its name."⁴⁵ Of the famous Virginia Snakeroot

*The first volume appeared in 1731, the second in 1743 and an appendix in 1748. A second edition was published in 1754 and a third, with a Linnaean index, in 1771. (Dictionary of American Biography.)

⁴⁰Darlington: Memorials of John Bartram and Humphrey Marshall, pp. 142, 319.

⁴¹Information from the Library of Congress.

⁴²Darlington: Memorials of John Bartram and Humphrey Marshall, introduction.

⁴³Catesby: *Natural History*, v. 1, p. 24.

⁴⁴Catesby: *Natural History*, v. 1, p. 26.

he gave a plate and botanical description without mentioning its medicinal uses. The Gum Elimy Tree is "esteemed a good Vulnerary, and is much used for horses," and the virtue of Sassafras is said to be well known "as a great sweetner of the blood: I shall therefore only add, that in Virginia, a strong decoction of the root has been 'sometimes given with good success for a intermitting fever'"⁴⁶ Yapon is called an "emetick Broth" which "restores the Appetite and strengthens the Stomach . . .," and Indian Pink is recommended as "good against worms."⁴⁷ Other plants of therapeutic interest are Purple Blind Weed, China Root and *Arbor lauri folio*. William Byrd, himself, could not exceed Catesby's faith in the efficacy of Ginseng, of whose discovery in China by a Jesuit priest he gives a long account. Its virtues were apparently those which Ponce de Leon had sought two centuries earlier in Florida: "Chinese physicians claim that it prolongs life to extreme old age."⁴⁸

Catesby acknowledged his indebtedness to both Mitchell and Clayton. For Hahamelis (witch-hazel), he wrote, "I am obliged to Mr. Clayton, who, in the year 1743, sent it to me in a case of earth from Virginia," and a description of this plant by John Mitchell is given in the appendix. *Steuartia* came from the same source: "For this elegant Plant I am obliged to my good friend Mr. Clayton, who sent it me from Virginia, and three months after its arrival it blossomed in my garden at Fulham, in May 1742." Another letter from John Mitchell explains, "The Plant which you shewed me by the name of *Steuartia*, I take to be a new genus of Plants, the same that I called *Malachodendron*" Of the *Magnolia flore albo* Catesby wrote, "Specimens of this Tree were first sent me in the year 1736 by my worthy friend John Clayton, Esq. of Virginia . . . Since which, Mr. Bartram, of Pennsylvania has discovered many of them in that province"⁴⁹

In 1749 the *Gentleman's Magazine* announced the death of "Mr. Mark Catesby, F. R. S., aged 70, author of the Nat. Hist. of Carolina, a large and curious work, which is the chief support of his widow and two children."⁵⁰ He died on December 23 at his house in Old Street, London. Besides the *Natural History* he wrote *Hortus Britanno-Americanus, or a Curious Collection of Trees and Shrubs*, which was published posthumously, with illustrated plates, in 1763-67.⁵¹ Catesby is said to have been the first to describe the common birds of America and the first to discover the effect of altitude upon geographic

⁴⁶Catesby: *Natural History*, v. 1., pp. 30, 55.

⁴⁷Catesby: *Natural History*, v. 2, pp. 57, 58.

⁴⁸Catesby: *Natural History*, v. 1, appendix p. 16.

⁴⁹Catesby: *Natural History*, v. 1, pp. 2, 13, 15, appendix.

⁵⁰*Gentleman's Magazine*, Dec. 1749, v. 19, p. 573.

⁵¹*Dictionary of American Biography*.

distribution, with the consequent differences in plant life in highlands and lowlands.

V.

Dr. James Greenway was born soon after 1700 in England near the Scottish border. General Winfield Scott, whose uncle married a daughter of Dr. Greenway, remembers seeing "the white head and florid face of the doctor as late as 1793, when he must have been fourscore and ten." His father was a weaver, and the son inherited his trade, but the boy had ambition and at the neighboring free school he contrived to acquaint himself with Greek and Latin. These, with French and Italian, he cultivated assiduously throughout his long life, as notes upon his Homer, Horace, Pliny, Rabelais and Dante testify.⁵³

Early in life he migrated to Virginia, settled in Dinwiddie County near the Sussex line and married a Miss Dixon.⁵⁴ Using his knowledge of the weaver's trade while mastering the rudiments of medicine, he was soon launched upon a successful medical career. His professional reputation brought him patients from a wide territory and he appears to have amassed a large fortune—whether from medicine or from the milling business, in which he was also engaged, is not certain. Dinwiddie County records show that at various times between 1779 and 1794 he acquired over 1100 acres of land.⁵⁵ He was able in the latter part of his life to abandon the drudgery of his profession and to pursue pleasantly the study of literature, natural history and botany. That he did not entirely give up the practice of medicine may be judged from the fact that he collected thirty-three pounds from the vestry of Bristol Parish in 1778 for medical services⁵⁶ and that in 1786 he examined an applicant for a Revolutionary pension at the request of the county court.⁵⁷ That he continued to practise to some extent is also indicated in his essay on *Autumnal Bilious Fever of the Atlantic Side of Virginia*, which he wrote in March 1794 and which he concluded by observing, "I am an old fashioned follower of Sydenham and proceed on his method of cure."⁵⁸ The essay shows that he confused typhoid and malaria and was convinced that they arose "from effluvia exhaling from mud." He observed that these fevers were uncommon in the negro, that some cases displayed "a scarlet eruption or petechiae" and that

⁵³ Scott: Memoir of Lieut.-Gen. Scott, LL.D. written by himself, v. 1, pp. 3, 6.

⁵⁴ Tyler's Quarterly, v. 8, p. 65.

⁵⁵ Crozier: Virginia County Records, v. 9, pp. 51-53.

⁵⁶ Chamberlayne: Vestry Book and Register of Bristol Parish, p. 257.

⁵⁷ Pension Papers, 1786, in the Archives Department of the Virginia State Library.

⁵⁸ Philadelphia Medical and Physical Journal, 1804, p. 8.

"the inflammation now and then falls upon the leg, with great pain and redness from the ankle to the knee." The high mortality from these diseases was not checked by wine, bark and opium, which were the common weapons of defense.

During the later period of his life Dr. Greenway acquired a reputation in botany which entitles him to be remembered. He collected all the more interesting plants of Virginia and North Carolina, described and classified them in English and Latin and at his death left a *hortus siccus* of some forty folio volumes. N. F. Cabell, who collected a mass of material for a proposed history of Virginia agriculture,⁵⁸ attempted in 1854, apparently without success, to obtain possession of Dr. Greenway's manuscripts, which were still in existence at that time. Cabell considered Greenway an important figure in the botanical and agricultural history of Virginia and cited his *Essay on Cassia*, published in Carey's *Museum* in 1787, as a valuable addition to agricultural literature.⁵⁹

Count Castiglioni, writing of his visit to Dinwiddie County in 1786, says: "The following day I visited Dr. Greenway, by birth an Englishman, and an amateur of botany. I examined his collection with true pleasure, and the next day came again, since Dr. Greenway had given me leave to transcribe from his notes; I have included this material in my descriptions of American plants, relative to the medical practices of the aborigines."⁶⁰

Like other Virginia botanists of his day Dr. Greenway carried on an extensive correspondence with European authorities in his field, notably with Linnaeus. A presentation portrait of the famous Swedish naturalist long hung in the Greenway family library. Dr. Greenway was also a regular correspondent of Jefferson's and enjoyed membership in several European societies.⁶¹ Illustrative of his versatility is the fact, recorded in General Winfield Scott's autobiography, that when the time came for his daughters to learn music he possessed himself of a harp and a harpsichord and after first instructing himself proceeded to impart his knowledge to his eldest daughter, Susan, who in turn instructed her five younger sisters. He also taught his only son, Robert, the use of the flute and violin, and in this way the whole of a large family became highly musical.⁶²

⁵⁸Cabell: MSS. Collection on the History of Agriculture in Virginia. (Virginia State Library.)

⁵⁹Carey's *Museum*, 1787, v. 2, p. 450.

⁶⁰Castiglioni: *Travels in the United States of North America*. (Extracts in Morrison: *Travels in Virginia in Revolutionary times*, p. 65.)

⁶¹"The copy of Gronovius's *Flora Virginica* in the Library of Congress was once Dr. Greenway's and is copiously annotated in his handwriting" (A. J. Morrison's footnotes to Dr. Schoepf's *Travels*, v. 2, p. 327.)

⁶²Scott: *Memoir of Lieut.-Gen. Scott, LL.D.* written by himself, v. 1, pp. 3-6.

VI.

The Browns were a distinguished family who so straddled the Potomac River that it is sometimes difficult to tell whether they belonged to Virginia or Maryland. Gustavus Richard Brown actually lived in Maryland, but his social and professional contacts in Virginia were so frequent and so intimate that Virginians will be excused for taking pride in his accomplishments. He was the brother of "the nine Miss Browns," whose descendants are part of the warp and woof of Virginia aristocracy.⁶³

With Benjamin Rush and other young Americans Gustavus studied medicine in Edinburgh, then "walked the hospitals" of London and returned home via the Madeira Islands. There he stopped to collect unusual flowers and plants, which he brought back with him. In his later years his botanical garden at Rose Hill became justly famous. It spread over ten acres of terraced hillside through which wound serpentine walks "bordered with boxwood, savin, juniper and other rare evergreens." A hothouse and an irrigation system added to its completeness. Here his young friend, David Hosack of Alexandria, walked with him and learned to know and love flowers. Innumerable Virginia physicians studied medicine under him. With his nephew, James Wallace, he set up an inoculation hospital on the Virginia side of the Potomac during the Revolution. He was one of the consultants at the deathbed of General Washington. Later, in a letter to Dr. Craik, he acknowledged their error in bleeding their patient and gave credit to Dr. Dick, the third consultant, for having opposed it. He died at Rose Hill in 1804 in his fifty-sixth year.

David Hosack (1769-1835), though a native of New York and a graduate in medicine of the University of Pennsylvania, first practised medicine in Virginia, which at that time was as large as New York and Pennsylvania together. It was generally believed that Alexandria was to be made the capital of the United States, and Dr. Hosack, fresh from college, hurried to establish himself in a town with so promising a future. Here he lived in 1791 and 1792, and here sprang up his friendship with Dr. Gustavus Richard Brown. The extensive flower gardens of the Maryland doctor were probably the inspiration for Dr. Hosack's lifelong botanical interest.

Hosack left Virginia to follow a distinguished career as surgeon and botanist in New York City. He held successively the chairs of botany in Columbia College and of surgery and midwifery in the College of Physicians and Surgeons. He will long be remembered for the Elgin Botanical Gardens which he established outside the city limits at a personal expense of \$100,000. This magnifi-

⁶³Hayden: Virginia Genealogies, p. 174.

cent outlay was later taken over by the State of New York. Still later, when the gardens were given up, the property passed to Columbia College and, as the Upper Estate, constitutes today one of its most valuable real estate holdings. The property now lies well in the center of New York City, extending from Forty-eighth to Fifty-first Streets between Fifth and Sixth Avenues. For Dr. Hosack the *Hosackia bicolor* is named.

Richard Feild (1767-1829), a member of the Feild family of Petersburg and a graduate of Edinburgh, attained considerable influence as an editor and political figure in Virginia and was spoken of as "one of the most learned, experienced and authoritative physicians in Virginia." He was also fond of botany and won for himself an enviable reputation in this field. It was said that "in the knowledge of the Botanical plants of Virginia, he was only surpassed by Gronovius, while he was fully equal to Greenway." His scientific interests embraced astronomy also, in which he was very proficient.

VII.

Virginia doctors of the Eighteenth Century were interested in agriculture, and many of them made contributions to agricultural literature. From medicine to farming was not a far cry. The training in botany given physicians of this period not only increased their interest in the cultivation of the soil but made them really capable of intelligent approach to the problems involved. By the very nature of his work the doctor was not a stay-at-home. As he rode or drove about the country to pay his visits he passed ploughed acres, waving fields of grain, shining rows of corn, thick leaved tobacco. He had opportunity to compare methods of farming and the use of hands. The leisurely life of the day gave time to talk with his patients on many subjects besides sickness. Perchance he stayed to dine and walked about the farm before he took horse again, perchance he stayed the night and followed the entries in the farm journal with an enthusiastic agriculturalist.

The ranks of physicians furnished officers for the societies for promoting agriculture that were formed all through Virginia at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century. The first of these was the Richmond Society for Promoting Agriculture, started in 1811 under the presidency of John Marshall and the vice-presidency of James Monroe. It included on its committee of correspondents Dr. James McClurg and Dr. William Foushee. Dr. John Adams of Richmond was secretary of the Society for Promoting Agriculture in Virginia. Richard Feild was president of the Agricultural Society of Petersburg in 1818 and wrote on agricultural subjects.

Experiments in introducing new plants and articles of diet were frequent. Dr. John M. Galt was one of those who advised the cultivation of Scotch Broom in this country as food for sheep and hogs. Little did he realize the plague this hardy plant would prove in such counties as Prince Edward, where seed were planted. Dr. James Mease wrote an article on the Gloucester (Va.) crab apple, and Dr. John Mitchell an article on the date palm. James Greenway was fond of farming and contributed an article on *Cassia Cham di Christi* to *Carey's Magazine* in 1787. Most useful of all the agricultural ventures, no doubt, was the introduction of the pippin into Albemarle by Dr. Thomas Walker.

Dr. William Meriwether of Amelia "was always regarded as the most eminent physician of this region of the country and the Pioneer in all Agricultural Improvement."⁶⁴ His father moved from Wales to Virginia, where Meriwether was born in 1762. While an infant he was taken to England with his mother for her health. She died on the voyage, and he was educated in England, receiving his medical training in Europe. Returning to America, he continued the study of medicine in Philadelphia and finally settled in Powhatan County, Virginia. About 1788 he moved to Amelia, where he lived until his death on October 4, 1818.

He was the first man in his county to use a turning plow and he vigorously advocated plaster of Paris as a fertilizer. His agricultural diary included notes on the different varieties of it and their effect on soils and crops. He left in manuscript *Agricultural Notes and Observations, An Agricultural and Horticultural Diary, 1803-14*, and another small book of notes. His published articles included essays on seeding wheat and the Hessian fly and an account of his system of agriculture.

The early agricultural journals carried many articles with a medical interest. Such subjects as *Cancer Cured by Dock Root*, *Remedy for Rheumatism*, *Remedy for Colic in Horses*, *On Hydrophobia*, *Cure for Cancer*, *Cure for Deafness*, *Liver Wort for Consumption* appeared frequently in the tables of contents. They reflect the general lay interest in medicine that prevailed in Virginia at this time.

⁶⁴N. F. Cabell: MS. Collection on Agriculture.

CHAPTER VIII

PLANTATION MEDICINE

I.

VIRGINIA in the Eighteenth Century was the largest and most populous of the English colonies in America. As late as the Revolution her population exceeded that of Pennsylvania, the next largest colony, by more than 300,000. Her domain included what is now West Virginia and Kentucky, and her claims to the great northwest territory extended her boundaries to the Mississippi and the Great Lakes. In the early decades of the century her people were still settled chiefly in Tidewater, but by 1775 the Shenandoah Valley had been occupied. In 1700 her population was 75,000 and in 1800 it was 880,200.

Throughout the greater part of the century the negro constituted almost one half of her population. In 1665 there were 2,000 negroes in the colony, in 1700 approximately 15,000 and by 1715 these had increased to 23,000. The year 1820 showed an enormous negro population of 425,153. A few of these negroes were free, but the vast majority were slaves.¹ Most of them were American born, but many were brought in from Africa until 1778, when Virginia prohibited their importation.²

As time wore on slavery was confined more and more to the southern states, with their favoring climate and agricultural way of life. The farmer in Virginia made money on tobacco. He converted his money into slaves. Each new accession in slaves brought with it the need for new acres on which to employ them. Tobacco and slavery inevitably led to large land holdings. The plantation was as typical of Eighteenth Century Virginia as was slavery. Both institutions flourished.

There were some very large plantations in Virginia. As early as the end of the Seventeenth Century the inventories of estates show Mrs. Eliza Diggs owning 108 slaves, John Carter 106, Ralph Wormeley 91, Robert Beverley 42 and Nathaniel Bacon, the elder, 40. In the next century "King" Carter, the architect of an immense fortune, acquired thousands of acres, and his slaves numbered over 700. Robert Carter of Nomini Hall owned 509 slaves,

¹There were 300 free negroes in Virginia in 1783. (Ballagh: History of Slavery in Virginia, p. 123.)

²The Virginia statute was passed thirty years before England prohibited the slave trade.

and George Washington owned 216. Among the largest slave-holders reported in Virginia in 1782 and 1783 were John Tabb, Amelia County, 257; William Allen, Sussex County, 241; George Chewning, 224; Thomas Nelson, Hanover County, 208; and Wilson N. Cary, Fluvanna County, 200.³

All the plantations were not so large, nor did all slave owners possess so many slaves. In fact absentee landowners and very large slave-holders were comparatively few. More than fifty-five percent. of Virginia slaves in 1860 were held by owners of from one to twenty slaves, and half of these were held by owners of from one to nine. In 1783 in Spotsylvania County 505 slave-holders owned a total of only 4,581 slaves. The largest owner had 159 slaves, nearly half of the owners had between one and five, and only nine persons had over forty. The very small planters, with a minimum of 200 acres, required but four or five negroes.⁴ In the mountainous regions there were few slaves. The largest plantations lay in the low country, along the chief water courses.

The plantation was a crude factory, its product tobacco. It was also a school, a parish, a pageant and "a matrimonial bureau, something of a harem perhaps, a copious nursery, and a divorce court."⁵ It constituted the only means of employing slave labor economically and of making tobacco raising a profitable industry. Plantations varied tremendously in size and complexity of organization, but as a rule they were autonomous institutions, isolated and self-sufficient, raising and making most of what they needed, and of course having to provide for sickness and accidents among the slaves. This last was not the least important part of plantation management.

II.

What was the constitution and physique of the average slave? There is a conventional idea that he was a stalwart creature, with arms as strong as iron bands, of the soil such a part that its work was his very life and health. Many individuals were fine specimens of physical development, but the race also had its weaklings. In the rape of Africa which went on for four centuries many different tribes were carried into slavery, some of them notorious for their feeble constitutions. Of the Gaboons one observer declared that "the debility of their constitutions is astonishing."⁶ In fact the "prime field hand" was difficult to find and brought a fancy price in the market. It is well known

³Phillips: *American Negro Slavery*, pp. 80, 84.

⁴Ballagh: *History of Slavery in Virginia*, pp. 104-105.

⁵Phillips: *Life and Labor in the Old South*, p. 203.

⁶Phillips: *Life and Labor in the Old South*, p. 190.

that the average white man under similar conditions possessed greater stamina and could out-work the negro even in the fields. When the abolitionist charged slave owners with over-working their slaves, the owners replied that they worked side by side with the negroes in the field and asked no more of them than they themselves could do — a fair rejoinder to the abolitionist but no proof that the negro was physically able to stand the work.

In spite of precautions the loss of slaves from sickness during the Atlantic passage was often very great. Captain Canot, in *The Adventures of an African Slaver*, described such preventive measures as shaving the negro's head, paring his nails, stripping him of clothes, keeping him on deck, washing his hands in salt water before and after every meal, wringing his mouth with vinegar three times a week, and carefully ventilating the ship's hold.⁷ "The boatswain is incessant in his patrol of purification and disinfectant substances are plenteously distributed," he said, claiming that the greatest care "is taken of a negro's health and cleanliness on the voyage." Yet a British officer testified that a slaver could be smelt "five miles down wind."⁸ On even the best of slavers there was fearful crowding, and an outbreak of contagious or epidemic disease could easily decimate the cargo. African plague was dreaded. Smallpox occasionally played havoc. Scurvy and lesser illnesses took their toll.

Sickness on shipboard among slaves affected the colony in two ways. The landing of sickly, weakened slaves was a charge upon their new owners. They might die soon after being bought, and if they lived were certainly not fit for labor until after a period of recuperation. Such slaves needed medical care. It is said that doctors along the coast often speculated in them and bought them from traders at a low price with the hope of curing them and selling them later at the standard rate. There was also the possibility of bringing diseases into the colony. William Byrd, senior, complained on one occasion that a new quota of slaves had introduced smallpox on his plantation. "The negroes proved well," he wrote, "but two of them have the Small pox w'h was brought into my family by the Negro's I recd from Gambo." And in another letter, ". . . I have been mighty unhappy in the Negroes by Capt James . . . all yt had ye Small pox (itt seems) hapned into my lott, one dyed on board, & another in ye Boat, my people that went for y'm caught the distemper & brought itt into my family, whereof poor Mrs. Brodnax & 3 of my Negroes are allready dead, & abt fifteen more besides my little daughter have them"⁹

⁷Cowley: *Adventures of an African Slaver*, pp. 107-109.

⁸Cowley: *Adventures of an African Slaver*, Introduction.

⁹Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 25, pp. 136, 234.

The introduction of smallpox might often be laid at the negro's door, but he brought few other diseases to this country. On the other hand he became immediately susceptible to many which he met here. He is said to have introduced yaws, a very common disease on the west coast of Africa, which on account of its confusion with syphilis has been considered a frequent disease among negro slaves and is supposed sometimes to have been conveyed to whites. One writer states that there was "considerable prevalence of disease on account of sex indulgence 'Yaws' was a form of venereal disease rather common among negro slaves." He quotes another authority who claimed, "I have occasionally met with it in its modified form in the states of Mississippi and Louisiana, where it is commonly mistaken for syphilis."¹⁰ As a matter of fact, though very prevalent in Africa and other tropical countries, yaws is not a venereal disease at all. It is found chiefly among children and is rarely seen in adults. Probably few true cases of yaws were found among Virginia slaves. A recent writer claims that "while rarely a case may be imported into temperate regions we do not have any evidence that other cases ever develop from such a case It is certainly extremely rare in the white race."¹¹ On the other hand intestinal parasites—hook worms and guinea worms—were common among African tribes and were readily conveyed to this country. It is easy to imagine how plantation life, with the mingling of barefooted white and negro children at play, facilitated the spread of these infections. Whereas the negro appeared relatively little affected, white children must have paid heavily for these transplanted parasites in anemia, stomach ache and lethargic dispositions. Colonel Corbin in his instructions to the manager of his plantations in 1759 directed "the children to be well looked after and to give them every Spring & Fall the Jerusalem Oak seed for a week together, & that none of them suffer in time of sickness for want of proper care."¹² Jerusalem oak seed was a plantation remedy for worms.

The negro who survived the sea-voyage had to undergo, upon his arrival in America, a "seasoning" that was even more fatal to him than it had been to the white settlers in the preceding century, though the cause of the fatality was different. Disease played a part as it had with the whites, but far harder for him to bear was the change in diet, the difference in climate and clothes, and the hard work. It was said that a new negro was not safe from the dangers of seasoning for three years. Probably far more than half of the negroes caught in Africa perished before this three year period was up.¹³ One author

¹⁰Weatherford: *The Negro from Africa to America*, p. 276.

¹¹Stitt: *Article in Oxford Medicine*, 1920.

¹²Phillips: *Plantation and Frontier*, v. 1, p. 109.

¹³Phillips: *Life and Labor in the Old South*, p. 193.

claims that not one in ten survived the capture, coffer, barracoon, middle-passage and seasoning. "Some planters distributed their new purchases among the seasoned households, thus delegating the task largely to the veteran slaves. Others housed and tended them separately under the charge of a select staff of nurses and guardians and with frequent inspections from headquarters. The mortality rate was generally high under either plan, ranging usually from twenty to thirty per cent in the seasoning period of three to four years."¹⁴

III.

It is well known that the inhabitants of tropical countries enjoy relative immunity from certain diseases to which the white race is particularly susceptible. The negro slave in Virginia is reputed to have been little affected by yellow fever and malaria, although in this century outbreaks of yellow fever caused repeated epidemics among the whites and the growing prevalence of malaria became a serious problem.¹⁵ On the other hand there were a number of diseases common in the white race to which the negro appears to have been highly susceptible. He displayed little natural immunity to syphilis, tuberculosis, dysentery and the exanthemata. One writer catalogues the diseases to which he was liable as colic, worms, sores, skin diseases, rickets, goitre, scrofula, diseases of the spine and hip joint, and glandular and nervous disorders. Colds and lockjaw should be added to the list.¹⁶

Measles was dreaded for the negroes. Colonel James Gordon wrote in his diary in 1759: "near 20 of our people down with the measles. I trust in God all may do well."¹⁷ Fithian's diary recorded in 1773: "Mrs. Carter was in the morning frightened thinking that several Negro-Girls in the Family are unwell with Measles, but I believe it to be only a Frett of the Heat."¹⁸ George Washington frequently mentioned measles among his negroes. In 1858 William Massie of Pharsalia wrote that an epidemic of measles claimed sixty-eight patients but took no toll of lives. Thomas Massie of Level Green recorded a similar epidemic among his negroes.¹⁹

Smallpox was more dreaded than measles, though variolation and later

¹⁴Phillips: *American Negro Slavery*, p. 53.

¹⁵John Mitchell, however, reported many cases of yellow fever among slaves, and all of his necropsies were on this class. (Philadelphia Medical Museum, v. 1, p. 1.) Henry Palfrey of Louisiana had so many negroes suffering from yellow fever in 1822 that he said, "another month's practise would make me a tolerable quack doctor." (Phillips: *Life and Labor in the Old South*, p. 299.)

¹⁶Weatherford: *The Negro from Africa to America*, p. 277.

¹⁷William and Mary Quarterly, v. 11.

¹⁸Fithian's Journal, p. 182.

¹⁹Phillips: *Life and Labor in the Old South*, p. 247.

vaccination were freely employed to protect the slaves against this scourge. Whooping cough took its toll of infant life, and diphtheria — commonly called "putrid sore throat" — was responsible for many deaths among the negro children. Often the cabins were moved from one location to another to escape the dreaded contagion.²⁰

Tuberculosis was said not to have appeared among negroes before the Civil War,²¹ but this can hardly have been the case in view of the known susceptibility of the negro to pulmonary infection. Dirt eating was held responsible for the disease. This practice was common among negroes of the West Indies, who made cakes from a certain clay, and it was known to be attended by fatal consequences. It was generally held that the negro had weak lungs and that he had to be protected from exposure. It was probably on some such theory as this that cabins were constructed with inadequate ventilation and that fires were kept burning in them day and night, winter and summer. Colonel Gordon's diary for November 4, 1761 noted that "there are few of our negroes but are sick today with colds, or rather, pleurisies — 12 or 13 laid up." Francis Taylor described a similar experience with pleurisy on his plantation, and Washington also recorded pleurisy among his negroes.

Cholera was very fatal among negroes, particularly in the far south. Newspapers reported losses for one year of four million dollars in Louisiana from this disease alone.²² There is a record of an outbreak of cholera in the diary of Hill Carter of Shirley: June 27, "Harry Tanner (29 years old) was taken sick with cholera one day and died the next." June 28, "Fanny Tanner (39) and her son Fielding (10) died today of cholera." June 29, "Sam (39) died today of cholera." June 30, "Cholera raging. John Tanner (39), Judy (33) and her baby Peter a year old, died of cholera. Had to abandon the harvest field and give up the wheat." The epidemic continued ten days more, with a total of twenty-eight deaths.²³

An equally fatal and probably more common infectious disease was typhoid fever. William Bolling was unable to fill his ice-house at Bolling Hall in the winter of 1811 on account of an epidemic of typhoid which was so general and violent among his negroes that he was unwilling to hazard his healthy slaves to the exposure of cutting and hauling ice at such a time.²⁴

"Although the negroes were not exposed to indiscriminate sex vice during slavery as they are now, and there were probably few Negro prostitutes in the

²⁰Phillips: *Life and Labor in the Old South*, p. 280.

²¹Weatherford: *The Negro from Africa to America*, p. 274.

²²Phillips: *Life and Labor in the Old South*, p. 175.

²³Phillips: *Life and Labor in the Old South*, p. 231.

²⁴Phillips: *Life and Labor in the Old South*, p. 235.

very nature of the case," states one authority, "nevertheless there was considerable prevalence of disease on account of sex indulgence — notwithstanding popular opinion to the contrary."²⁶ Syphilis, unknown to primitive Africa, soon began to make its inroads, and the dictum that syphilization and civilization went hand in hand is nowhere more clearly exemplified than among our American negroes. Dr. Anthony Stafford of Nansemond County, who advertised in the *Gazette* in 1738 for the return of a run-away man servant with "visible Symptoms of his having had the French Disease," furnished an indication of the early prevalence of syphilis in the colony.²⁶

IV.

It was a common saying among the enemies of slavery that seven years was the life of a field hand and that during this time he was worked to death. Although the slave mortality in Virginia has never been studied, a convincing study in refutation of this point of view was recently made in Mississippi, demonstrating statistically that for the twenty-year-old slave the expectation of life was not greatly less than that of the white man.²⁷ The difference in the white man's favor was about a year and a half. In Mississippi in 1850 the expectation of life at the age of twenty was 22.30 for the negro and 23.72 for the white. Further statistics show that whereas both races now live about twice as long as then, the white man's tenure of life is now nine years longer than that of the negro. In other words the difference in mortality rates between whites and negroes is greater now than it was during the days of slavery.

There was much in the negro's disposition and way of living to promote good health. He was carefree, lived his life in the open and in general was unacquainted with dissipation and irregular hours. He was usually well clad and well fed. The standard ration was one quart of corn meal and one-half pound of salt pork daily, with an allowance of fruits and vegetables from the garden. He was often allowed a garden patch of his own, as well as poultry and pigs. But he worked from sun to sun, and the long hours and hard work undoubtedly reacted unfavorably on some negroes. There was, also, undoubted crowding in the negro cabins. The windows were small and few, so as to protect the negro from the damp night air to which he was supposed to be particularly subject. A run-away negro described his small cabin as having

²⁶Weatherford: *The Negro from Africa to America*, p. 276.

²⁷Parks's *Virginia Gazette*, July 28-Aug. 4, 1738.

²⁸Sydnor: *Life Span of Mississippi Slaves*. In *American Historical Review*, April 1930, v. 35, pp. 566-574.

been "built of rough boards, with a floor of earth, and small openings in the sides of the cabin were substituted for windows. The chimney was built of sticks and mud; the door, of rough boards: and the whole was put together in the rudest possible manner."²⁸ Isaac Weld, Jr., writing in 1795, was surprised to find that "the negroes in the quarter . . . generally sit up half the night and over a fire in all seasons."

Both masters and overseers on well managed plantations recognized the importance of sanitation in preserving health. Slaves were regularly required to bathe and to appear in clean clothes, and inspection of the quarters was a Sunday morning routine. There were seasons for elaborate cleanings and for whitewashing the cabins inside and out, and often the quarters were moved from one site to another in order to escape the dirt and filth that inevitably accumulated about them. Fowler in Mississippi instructed his overseer to see that his negroes' houses were comfortable, that their food was wholesome, nutritious and well-cooked, and that "they keep themselves well cleaned: at least once a week (especially during summer) inspect their houses and see that they have been swept clean, examine their bedding and see that they are occasionally well aired; their clothes mended and everything attended to that conduces to their health, comfort and happiness."²⁹ Another owner directed that twice a year the houses were to be emptied and their contents sunned, walls and floors scrubbed, mattresses stuffed with fresh hay, yards swept and the ground under them sprinkled with lime. Whitewashing was to be done once a year. The negroes must appear once a week in clean clothes, and "every negro habitually uncleanly in person must be washed and scrubbed by order of the overseer — the driver and two other negroes officiating."³⁰

The laws of Virginia which applied to slavery were strict and, to the casual observer, perhaps harsh, but they were drawn to protect the slave as well as the master and there were numerous instances of cruel masters being brought into court. The legal right of the slave to support and protection included medical attention and nursing of the sick, as well as food, raiment and quarters.³¹ Even if there had been no law to protect sick slaves from cruel masters, economic motives made it very necessary to keep the negroes in good health. The southern planter, even the prosperous one, had not learned that diversification of investment is the basis of security. His every dollar was sunk in land and negroes. The loss of a single negro was a financial blow that no planter sustained willingly, sickness in the quarters spread consternation in the

²⁸Steward: *Twenty-two Years a Slave*.

²⁹Phillips: *Plantation and Frontier*, v. 1, p. 113.

³⁰Phillips: *American Negro Slavery*, p. 267.

³¹Ballagh: *History of Slavery in Virginia*, pp. 92-102.

mansion house, and an epidemic which wiped out most of the slaves on the plantation was a catastrophe. One planter who lost nineteen slaves from cholera replaced them only after an expenditure of \$11,850.²² A Savannah physician wrote after an epidemic of cholera in 1849: "I wish an abolitionist could see the care & attention bestowed upon our Negroes, first to avoid the pestilence & next to cure the sick. A manufacturing Cotton Lord can easily fill the place of his dead operative & he loses nothing by his death. A planter loses so much capital by the death of every one of his operatives, & hence to save his capital is to save his negroes."²³

According to one historian, "The care of the sick was a point of sharp issue in the days of debate [over slavery]. Fanny Kemble is bitterest at this point; her assault cannot be entirely dismissed; but economic consideration, if no other, dictated moderate provision. Larger estates had regular physicians, and often some sanitary regulations. The better type of master was anxious for the health of his dependents"²⁴

A colored man working on a boat said in answer to the question whether he was better off now than before he was freed, "Wall, when I tumbled overboard before, the captain he stopped the ship and put back and picked me up; and they gave me a glass of hot whiskey and water; and then they gave me twenty lashes for falling overboard. But now if I tumble overboard, the captain he'd say, What's dat? O! only dat damned nigger — go ahead!"²⁵

Olmsted, traveling on the Virginia seaboard a few years before the Civil War, noted that "Mr. W. had an Irish gang draining for him by contract," and asked him why he should employ Irishmen in preference to using his own negroes. "It's dangerous work," the planter replied, "and a negro's life is too valuable to be risked at it. If a negro dies, it is a considerable loss you know."²⁶

Charles Friend wrote in 1856, "We have the ditchers knee deep in water and mud. If I had known how bad it was I should not have put them to work at it but hired labor to do it."

The Marquis de Chastellux said of the attitude of the planters in Virginia toward slavery that "in general they seem afflicted to have any slavery, and are constantly talking of abolishing it, and of contriving some other means of cultivating their estates [They] complain that the maintenance of their negroes is very expensive; that their labour is neither so productive nor

²²Phillips: *Life and Labor in the Old South*, p. 256.

²³Phillips: *Life and Labor in the Old South*, p. 184.

²⁴Gaines: *The Southern Plantation*, p. 233.

²⁵Latham: *Black and White, A Journal of a Three Months Tour in the United States, 1867*. (Quoted in Phillips: *Life and Labor in the Old South*, p. 184.)

²⁶Olmsted: *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States*, p. 91.

so cheap, as that of day labourers, or white servants; and, lastly, that epidemical disorders, which are very common, render both their property and their revenue extremely precarious."³⁷

Virginia's attitude toward slavery is admirably set forth in Munford's work on this subject.³⁸ In 1778 an act of the General Assembly made Virginia "the first political community in the civilized modern world to prohibit the pernicious traffic."³⁹ Virginians took the lead in negro colonization. Throughout the latter part of the Eighteenth Century and the first part of the Nineteenth, anti-slavery sentiment gained rapid headway, and many leading citizens spoke feelingly against the institution. Benjamin Watkins Leigh said before the Virginia Convention in 1829: "The evil of slavery is greater to the master than to the slave. He is interested in all their wants, all their distresses, bound to provide for them, to care for them, to labor for them, while they labor for him and his labor is by no means the less severe of the two. The relation between master and slave imposes on the master a heavy and painful responsibility."⁴⁰

Superannuation among slaves came early and had to be reckoned with. There is every evidence that slaves who had passed the years of usefulness were looked after with kindness, often with affection. A Virginian, writing from France, urged a kinsman, "Please let me know the condition of the old negroes at Cherry Grove, and whether there is the remotest likelihood of their closing this life during the present century. They must be very helpless; and will soon, if not now, require the personal attention of a young negro. Suggest some mode of making them comfortable the balance of their lives, and at the present or a less expense."⁴¹

Another planter wrote his factor: "I have just received a letter from Mr. Prioleau, informing me that the eyes of my old and faithful Servant Peter were in a perilous condition. I will [thank] you to request Dr. Furth to attend to them promptly and effectually . . . Be so good as to give to Peter the value of a couple of Dollars monthly for comforts to his family."⁴²

If planters took care of their aged slaves chiefly from humanitarian motives, their unusual watchfulness over the health of the children of the slaves was prompted largely by economic reasons. The child became each year more valuable. Thirty years was considered the age of greatest efficiency, after

³⁷ Chastellux: *Travels through North America*, p. 295.

³⁸ Munford: *Virginia's Attitude toward Slavery and Secession*.

³⁹ Ballagh: *History of Slavery in Virginia*.

⁴⁰ *Debates of the Virginia Convention, 1829-30*, p. 149.

⁴¹ Phillips: *Life and Labor in the Old South*, p. 175.

⁴² Phillips: *Life and Labor in the Old South*, p. 197, footnote.

which the slave became decreasingly valuable. Since the period of maximal value was short, masters naturally labored to safeguard infant life and to bring their young slaves quickly and efficiently into the productive period.

"The children's health and welfare, at least in the last generation of slavery, were carefully guarded by wise planters. They were minutely examined for chegoes and cleaned; if itch or scrofula were discovered they were immediately put under the care of the hothouse doctor, physicked, cleansed, and rubbed with ointment, and not sent to work until cured."⁴³

Women who were suckling their children were brought in from the field four times during the day for nursing purposes. Babies were not allowed to nurse until the mother had rested and cooled after walking from the fields. In consequence of such regulations, one writer was able to observe, "I have never lost a child from being burnt to death, or, indeed, by accidents of any description; and although I have had more than thirty born within the last five years, yet I have not lost a single one from teething, or the ordinary summer complaints so prevalent amongst the children in this climate."⁴⁴

In spite of all the care that was exercised to preserve life and promote health among infants the mortality was high. One planter wrote in 1826: "Our loss of little negroes has been great the past year, but I hope it will not happen again. Let us feed, clothe and house them well, and I do not fear but they will increase rapidly. With the stock we have there is good prospect for the next generation."⁴⁵

Fithian observed in his diary on September 2, 1774: "Yesterday a Negro Child about six years old sickened as to appearance with the Ague & Fever, & to Day about eleven in the morning it expired! It is remarkable that the Mother has now lost seven successively none of which have arrived to be ten years old! The negroes all seem to be much alarmed"⁴⁶

Francis Taylor's diary makes careful notations of the various ailments of the negro children. On January 15, 1789 he wrote: ". . . . a Negro child belonging to Hub'd Taylor died last night of the Whooping Cough." The next day: "Hear that another of H. Taylor's negro children died last night of the whooping cough." March 6: "C. Taylor had been to the overseers & cut a toe of a child of Rachels off which had got hurt last week." March 8: "Some negro children very sick and took physick."

Perhaps some of the mortality was attributable to the ignorance of the slave mothers. Woodville noticed, "you will see a negress while she labors in the

⁴³Slavery on British West India Plantations; in the Journal of Negro History, v. 2, p. 602.

⁴⁴Weatherford: The Negro from Africa to America, p. 153.

⁴⁵Phillips: Life and Labor in the Old South, p. 277.

⁴⁶Fithian's Journal, p. 241.

field, in the ardour of a burning sun expose her infant to its fires, rather than lay it under the refreshing shade of a tree;" and Francis Taylor wrote in his diary on April 21, 1799: "Hannah's child . . . died about noon. C. Taylor saw it and supposed it had got hurt, probably by the carelessness of its mother."

V.

A good idea of the variety and amount of sickness on a Virginia plantation may be had from the records of White Hill, an estate of a thousand acres. Here for over two decades prior to the Civil War lived Charles Friend, master of sixty or seventy slaves. The journal he kept during most of this period is full of medical items of great interest. The sick list for his field hands was carefully kept. For the month of November 1841 it runs:

	<i>Names</i>	<i>Diseases</i>	<i>No. of Days Confined</i>
Nov. 1	Jack	Violent pleurisy	40
	Molly	Misery	5
	Jane	Ague and fever	3
Nov. 2	James	Cold	4
	James	do	2
9	Nancy	Pain the back	7
10	Henry	Cold	4
12	Lucy	Asma	2
18	do	Cold	6
22	Jane	Injured by a fall	2
	Patsy	Cold	3
24	Jim	Colic	6
Dec. 6	Nancy	Cramp — pregnant	3
	Jane	Sore finger	4
7	Joe	Pain side	2
9	Billy	Kings evil	1

Childbirth on the plantation was a frequent and important event. From Blandford came the midwife.

"Feb. 27, 1849, Mary increased this morning, brought forth a fine boy. Jim went for and carried midwife home. Paid midwife for Mary and Penda \$4." The midwife was assisted on this occasion by a negress named Aggy, who in subsequent years appears to have taken over all obstetrical duties on the plantation. Three years later the journal reads:

"May 6, Mary stays in.

May 14, Mary is in.

May 17, Aggy with Mary who is in labour. Robert sick with the pleurisy.

May 19, Penda has gone in the house. Mary had a baby day before yesterday.
 May 20, Aggy who had been with Mary is out and weeding corn.
 June 1, Aggy was with Nancey. Penda, Mary and Jim in the house.
 June 5, I stopped one plough for Ellick to dig a grave for Patsy who died in town with paralises.
 June 7, Jim and Penda out. Patty, Mary and Nancey are yet in the house.
 June 14, Aggie, Mary, Penda, Charles and Moses in the house.
 June 15, Mary does first day's work for a year.
 June 16, Nancey in.
 June 18, Aggie came out.
 June 23, Ellick out.
 June 25, Ellick took to the house again.
 July 2 and 3, Aggy in the house.
 July 3, Moses, Ellick, Penda and Nancey all in the house. Aggie with Amy who gave birth to a still child.
 July 5, Ellick is out. Henry and Molly take his place.
 July 10, Moses out, Molly and Henry have spent the week in.
 July 11, Nancey has a fine boy.
 July 12, Aggy, Penda and Mary in.
 July 15, Penda had a fine boy.
 July 21, Aggy gets out of house."

With the autumn came an epidemic of measles. The journal continues:

"Oct. 5, Moses and Molly in house.
 Oct. 11, Charles with pain in stomach, and Nancey with measles. We have had four or five cases of the disease and will doubtless have many more. Molly out.
 Oct. 15, Lucinda in house.
 Oct. 18, Charles and Patty out.
 Oct. 19, Charles back in the house. Miles and Moses also. Nancey has come out.
 Oct. 21, Charles and Moses have measles. Miles and Robert have it. Those who have had it are Nancey, Lucinda, Matthew, and Susan.
 Oct. 22, John, Henry White, Amy Booker have measles.
 Oct. 23, Archie has measles. Miles, Moses and Robert came out from measles.
 Oct. 26, Charles out.
 Oct. 29, John, Molly, Albert out. Jim Francis, and Archie still in."
 Complications followed, and dire consequences accompanied an outbreak of the "Bloody Flux."
 "Nov. 2, Albert and Archie still in.
 Nov. 5, I lost one of my most promising negro Girls today with bloody flux after measles. Three of the women did not go out after dinner in consequence.

- Nov. 6, Buried the children that died yesterday. Molly's youngest died last night about nine o'clock of the same disease as Susan. Armistead dug the graves. Mr. Cumbea made the coffins. I should have been setting the wheat had I not been afraid to expose the many of my hands that have had the measles.
- Nov. 8, Molly staid in with a child of hers who is very sick. Archie is still in and quite ill yet.
- Nov. 10, Aggy and Jim in the house. I have 5 children two of whom are very ill with the bloody flux, and the three others are now nearly out of danger.
- Nov. 15, Molly, Jim and Aggy and Archie still in the house.
- Nov. 16, Charles and Mary in the house so that I have one third of my force in the house.
- Nov. 18, I lost today another child with the same disease. He was a boy of nine years, the child of Molly.
- Nov. 20, Patty in.
- Nov. 22, Patty in the house.
- Nov. 23, Jim, Peggy, Molly, Patty, Archie in the house.
- Nov. 24, Patty out.
- Nov. 29, Jim, Albert, Molly, Penda in. Aggy, Archie out. Albert had been in with bloody flux. Also Molly, and Penda is in with a sick child."

Fourteen cases of measles, ten cases of flux, eight cases of pneumonia, ten cases of chills, four pregnancies, one still birth and seven deaths is the record of one year at White Hill."

VI.

In the ante bellum south slave practice formed a large part of the doctor's daily work. For many reasons the best physicians were glad to engage in it. Wealthy masters demanded the best medical attention for their slaves and were willing to pay well for it. So true was this that after emancipation southern physicians experienced considerable loss of income from this source alone. The free negro probably got sick as often as the slave, but he had neither the money nor the standing to insure the high grade of medical attention he had formerly received.

The diaries of Virginians of this century contain many references to physicians who were called in to care for sick slaves. Washington's diary frequently mentions physicians — Drs. Rumney, Craik, Brown and Dick, among others — who were summoned to Mount Vernon on account of illness in the quarters. "I am sorry to hear that Maria continues unwell," he wrote his manager on April

"MS. in possession of Dr. James H. Smith, of Richmond, grandson of Charles Friend.

17, 1796, "and that Charles Washington [a negro] was seized with a fever: Let them want for nothing, and whenever it is needful, get Doctr Craik to attend them."⁴⁸ What was true of Mount Vernon was true also of all the large Virginia plantations. The smaller planter, too, was quick to summon medical aid for his negroes. Francis Taylor of Orange County, whose careful record shows the number of times his brother Charles, the physician, was called in to treat the slaves of the various Taylors and their neighbors, gives a glimpse of what must have been a common occurrence among the numerous small planters. His diary entries for 1797 read:

"January 7. C. Taylor sent for, to see a sick Negro girl — hear she died before he got there."

"March 19. I sent for C. Taylor to see Sary's child — he . . . directed Castor Oil which I understand operated well."

"March 21. Sary's Child continues sick. Sent for Doct. Taylor to see it I took 20 grains of Ipecac & 20 of Jallap."

"March 22. C. Taylor has been here to see Sary's child."

"March 23. Sary's child continues very ill. C. Taylor came to see it and gave a dose of Calomel — it had fits."

"March 24. Sary's child died."

The annual doctor's bill paid by Hill Carter of Shirley for treatment for his negroes averaged about \$100 in normal years, but in 1832, when there was an epidemic of cholera on the plantation, the bill amounted to \$500.⁴⁹ William Bolling of Bolling Hall noted in his diary in 1828: "Sally, another of our valuable domestic servants, died this morning of what Dr. Vaughan calls mis-enteric fever, which makes five likely and useful females within two years that we have lost."⁵⁰ Innumerable other examples might be given, showing the universal custom of employing the best white physicians, often on an annual salary basis, to treat negro slaves.

But there were other ways of meeting sickness on the plantation. The practice of prescribing for one's self and family, at least in minor ailments, was common in colonial Virginia, and the physician often was not summoned until the complaint had become serious. This self-reliance in medical matters was the natural outcome of the isolation that characterized rural life in Virginia. Although the planter was probably less adventurous in the treatment of his valuable slaves than he was of himself, he often directed their care in illness. Even upon large estates this was true. William Byrd, arriving at his plantation near the falls of the James and finding an epidemic of dysen-

⁴⁸Conway: *Washington and Mount Vernon*, p. 239.

⁴⁹Phillips: *Life and Labor in the Old South*, p. 231.

⁵⁰Phillips: *Life and Labor in the Old South*, p. 236.

tery raging in the vicinity, gave explicit directions as to the management of cases if the disease should appear "amongst my People." His orders required, among other measures, phlebotomy — which many overseers were capable of performing — a vomit of ipecac, astringents and a liquid diet. Thomas Jefferson, coming from the White House to Monticello, vaccinated 200 of his negroes with his own hands. Virginians were fond of prescribing even for their guests. Fithian recorded in his diary: "Colonel Carter at breakfast advised me to take with him some Salt-Petre, as a useful Diuretick." The tutor declined, however, to follow his employer's example.⁶¹ Washington's diary for February 4, 1760 reads: "Visited my Plantations and found two Negroes sick at Williamson's Quarter, viz. Greg and Lucy: Ordered them to be Blood-ed." A month before, he had found one of his negroes "ill of a pleurisy" and had directed his removal to one of the small detached buildings to the south of the mansion house which was used as a hospital.

Francis Taylor's invaluable diary also gives evidences of the home treatment of slaves. Hearing that a snake had bitten his negro, Frank, he promptly applied "salt & dough & weed," remarking, "I staid till evening when he was easier & could walk though still swelled." When Molly scalded her hand, he "sent for linseed oil." Two days later he noted, "Frank is sick. Gave him dose of saltz." On March 14, 1788 the diary records Taylor's treatment of Moses, who was thought to have pleurisy: "I gave him 25 grains of ipecac, but understand it operated downwards. Also gave Milly the same quantity for vomit, I gave her last Monday a dose of salts. She complains of pain in the head for about a week." A few days later, "I gave a vomit to Davey this morning—he has complained of a lax for several days." By way of commentary on his treatment of Moses' pleurisy the week before, he wrote on August 21, "set Moses to getting rales for yard." We soon find him prescribing for Frank again: "Gave Frank jalap." Some time afterward: "Davey complained of Pain in his side and breast — I gave him 24 grains of jalap & 8 of ipecac." Again, "Moses was taken very unwell. Gave him purge of jalap." Later, "gave Sarey a dose of castor oil." A few days later, "Sarey complained of being worse. I sent for C. Taylor." Still later, "Sarey says she is worse. Gave her two doses of Bark & Rhubarb. 20 Bark, 5 Rhubarb."

The mistress of the house is not to be overlooked in this matter of ministering to the sick on the plantation. Often she was busier than the master. Her duties took her to the negro quarters if the negroes were sick there, or to the hospital if the plantation was large enough to support one. She saw to

⁶¹Fithian's Journal, p. 239.

the preparation of special food for the sick and kept an eye on the management of the nursery where the babies of slave mothers who worked in the fields were kept between nursings. Undoubtedly many women did more than this. The Marquis de Chastellux after a visit to Westover in 1781 remarked of Mrs. Byrd, widow of the third William Byrd, "she takes great care of her negroes, makes them as happy as their situation will admit, and serves them herself as a doctor in time of sickness. She has even made some interesting discoveries on the disorders incident to them, and discovered a very salutary method of treating a sort of putrid fever which carries them off commonly in a few days, and against which the physicians of the country have exerted themselves without success."

VII.

When all is said, however, the health of the slaves rested largely in the hands of the overseers. Most plantation owners gave explicit directions governing the management of sickness among their negroes. Plantation manuals such as Acklen's in Louisiana, Manigault's in Georgia, and Weston's and Hammond's in South Carolina⁵³ provided that in the absence of the master mild cases should be prescribed for by the overseer, but that in all cases of serious sickness a doctor should be called. Hammond provided that "each case has to be examined carefully by the overseer to ascertain the disease. The remedies next are to be chosen with the utmost discrimination; . . . the directions for treatment, diet, etc., most implicitly followed; In cases where there is the slightest uncertainty, the books must be taken to the bedside and a careful and thorough examination of the case and comparison of remedies made before administering them. The overseer must record in the prescription book every dose of medicine administered."⁵⁴

On a large rice plantation in Georgia the instructions to a new overseer in 1853 directed that he procure a book of medical instructions and a supply of the few requisite plantation medicines, to be issued to the nurses with directions as needed. In case of serious injury the slave was to be sent by boat to the hospital in Savannah.⁵⁴

A Mississippi planter included in his rules: "Sick Negroes are to receive particular attention. When they are first reported sick, they are to be examined by the overseer, and prescribed for, and put under the care of the nurse,

⁵³Unfortunately no such complete manuals exist for Virginia, but those from other southern states portray conditions that must have had their parallel here, especially on larger plantations.

⁵⁴Phillips: *American Negro Slavery*, p. 263.

⁵⁴Phillips: *American Negro Slavery*, p. 256.

and not put to work until the disease is broken and the patient beyond the power of a relapse.

"When the overseer shall consider it necessary to send for a physician, he shall enter in the plantation book the number of visits and to what negro they are made"

"The overseer shall keep a plantation book, in which he shall register the birth and name of each negro that is born; the name of each negro that died, and specify the disease that killed him."⁵⁵

Acklen's manual likewise directed that "the plantation books must show a true record of the marriages, births and deaths on each place, with the physician's visits accurately kept, with the name of the patient and the disease. The preservation of the health of the negroes and the care of them when sick, will require your best attention; and to be ignorant of the best mode of discharging your duties in these particulars, is to be unfit for the responsible station you hold. As soon as the horses and stock have been fed and otherwise attended to, the managers will take their breakfast; and immediately after he will visit and prescribe for the sick, and then repair to the field to look after the hands, and he will remain with them as constantly as possible during every day. The sick should be visited, not only every morning immediately after breakfast, but at such other times of the day and night as cases may require. Suitable medicine, diet, and other treatment prescribed, to be administered by the nurse, or, in more critical cases, the physician should be sent for. An intelligent and otherwise suitable woman will be appointed as a nurse upon each plantation, who will administer medicine, and otherwise attend upon the sick."⁵⁶

P. C. Weston in 1856 ordered: "All sick persons are to stay in the hospital night and day The nurses are never to be allowed to give any medicine without the orders of the Overseer or Doctor In all cases at all serious the Doctor is to be sent for . . . The Overseer is particularly warned not to give strong medicine, such as calomel, or tartar emetic; simple remedies such as flax-seed tea, mint-water, No. 6, magnesia, &c. are sufficient for most cases, and do less harm. Strong medicines should be left to the Doctor; and since the Proprietor never grudges a Doctor's bill, however large, he has a right to expect that the Overseer shall always send for the Doctor when a serious case occurs . . ."⁵⁷

Richard Corbin of Virginia wrote in 1759 for the guidance of his steward:

⁵⁵Weatherford: *The Negro from Africa to America*, pp. 150-151.

⁵⁶Acklen: *Manual*, pp. 12, 13.

⁵⁷Phillips: *Plantation and Frontier*, v. 1, pp. 119, 120.

"The care of the negroes is the first thing to be recommended, that you give me timely notice of their wants that they may be provided with all necessaries and that none of them suffer in time of sickness for want of proper care."⁵⁸

General John H. Cocke of Bremsa drew up a list of "Standing Rules for the Government of Slaves on a Virginia Plantation," one of which required: "When any one of the people under your charge is reported *sick*, you should see them with all convenient despatch, affording the required medicines & attention, until restored." Every working hand must appear with a clean shirt and decent clothes every Sunday morning. "The Cook should be required to serve the people's food in a clean & decent manner, and at stated periods, or regular hours,—every article to be made well done." The rules forbade fighting, quarreling, and leaving the plantation without a pass. Punishment in most cases was whipping; sometimes, in mild cases, the meat ration for a week was withheld instead.⁵⁹

It is apparent from these examples that much of the responsibility for the health of the negroes was placed upon the overseers, who were required to treat minor ailments themselves and to make the decision as to whether a physician was needed. That they were not always adequate to their duties was inevitable. William Massie in 1855 discharged his overseer because he failed to send sick negroes to the hospital at Pharsalia,⁶⁰ and Washington expressed his opinion of overseers in general when he wrote his manager in 1795: "I am sorry to find by your last reports that there has been two deaths in the family since I left Mount Vernon;—and one of them a young fellow.—I hope every necessary care and attention was afforded him.—I expect little of this from McKoy,—or indeed from most of his class; for they seem to consider a Negro much in the same light as they do the brute beasts, on the farms; and often times treat them as inhumanly."⁶¹

VIII.

The average negro slave was a child, anxious to shirk work and making much of his illnesses. Great care and judgment were required to tell whether his sickness was real or pretended. In the effort to detect the malingerer hard-ship was doubtless sometimes worked on really sick slaves. Olmsted observed:

⁵⁸ Phillips: *American Negro Slavery*, p. 261.

⁵⁹ N. F. Cabell MS. Collection on the History of Agriculture in Virginia. In the Archives Department, Virginia State Library.

⁶⁰ Phillips: *Life and Labor in the Old South*, p. 312.

⁶¹ Conway: *Washington and Mount Vernon*, p. 184.

"I have never made the inquiry on any plantation where as many as twenty negroes were employed together, that I have not ascertained that one or more of the field-hands was not at work on account of some illness, strain, bruise or wound, of which he or she was complaining; and in such cases I have hardly ever heard the proprietor or overseer fail to express his suspicion that the invalid was really as well able to work as any one else on the plantation. It is said to be nearly as difficult to form a satisfactory diagnosis of negroes' disorders, as it is of infants' Frequently the invalid slaves will neglect or refuse to use the remedies prescribed for their recovery I was on one plantation where a woman had been excused from any sort of labor for more than two years, on the supposition that she was dying of phthisis. At last the overseer discovered that she was employed as a milliner and dress-maker by all the other colored ladies in the vicinity She was hired out the next year to a fashionable dress-maker in town, at handsome wages; and as, after that, she did not again 'raise blood,' it was supposed that when she had done so before it had been by artificial means."⁶³

Washington, who often gave his slaves his personal attention, watching individual slaves at work and appraising their industry and capacity, was quick to detect shirkers and had little patience with them. "Is there anything particular in the cases of Ruth, Hannah and Pegg," he enquired of his manager, "that they have been returned as sick for several weeks together? If they are not made to do what their age and strength will enable them, it will be a very bad example to others By the reports I perceive that for every day Betty Davis works she is laid up two. If she is indulged in this idleness she will grow worse and worse"⁶⁴ On another occasion he wrote: "The actual spitting of young Boatswain should be carefully investigated, and medical aid administered if it be real;—which, from the temper of the boy's mother, and her desire of keeping him with her as a waiter, may well be questioned.—Under pretence once before, of a hurt by a Cart she kept him three months in the house with her, until he was forced out"⁶⁴

To his puzzled manager Washington had this advice to offer: "I never found so much difficulty as you seem to apprehend in distinguishing between real and feigned sickness, or when a person is much afflicted with pain. Nobody can be very sick without having a fever, or any other disorder continue long upon anyone without reducing them But my people, many of them, will lay up a month, at the end of which no visible change in their

⁶³Olmsted: *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States*, pp. 186, 187, 190.

⁶⁴Phillips: *American Negro Slavery*, p. 285.

⁶⁵Conway: *Washington and Mount Vernon*, p. 109.

countenance nor the loss of an ounce of flesh is discoverable; and their allowance of provision is going on as if nothing ailed them."⁶⁶

IX.

An interesting figure on the plantation was the negro doctor or doctress. The inventory of the negroes belonging to the estate of Benjamin Harrison of Berkeley in 1791 gives the names of the negroes, with their special occupations, ages and value. Among them is listed: "Sarah, (Doctor) Age 20 45 lb."⁶⁶ On Benjamin Fitzpatrick's plantation in Alabama, "Mary, the nurse and 'doctress', boasted that she had not lost an adult patient in two years."⁶⁷ In 1729 a negro slave sold to Governor Gooch of Virginia a secret remedy for syphilis, completely convincing that wily Scotchman that it was an infallible cure.

"Brother Tom," a negro coachman owned by Robert Carter of Nomini Hall, had considerable fame as a doctor and was borrowed by neighboring planters to treat their slaves. A letter from William Dawson, asking that Tom be sent to see a sick child, explained, "The black people at this place hath more faith in him as a doctor than any white doctor; and as I wrote you in a former letter I cannot expect you to lose your man's time, etc., for nothing, but am quite willing to pay for same."⁶⁸

Colonel James Gordon wrote in his diary in 1760 that Dr. Robertson "came & agreed to attend to Mr. C. as a surgeon, he had been somewhat displeased for employing a negro doctor before him."

There would probably have been more of this but for the laws of Virginia governing the administration of medicine by slaves. In the code of Virginia of 1748 crimes for which slaves were to receive capital punishment without benefit of clergy included rebellion, insurrection, murder, burglary and the preparation or administration of medicines with intent to poison. Capital punishment with benefit of clergy was prescribed for administering medicines without bad intent or consequence. The reason for the law was explained in the preamble: "whereas many negroes, under pretence of practising physic, have prepared and exhibited poisonous medicines, by which many persons have been murdered, and others have languished under long and tedious indispositions, and it will be difficult to detect such pernicious and dangerous

⁶⁶Phillips: American Negro Slavery, p. 285.

⁶⁷Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 34, p. 86.

⁶⁸Phillips: Life and Labor in the Old South, p. 283.

⁶⁹Phillips: American Negro Slavery, p. 323. Quoted from MS. in the Carter Papers, Virginia Historical Society.

practices, if they should be permitted to exhibit any sort of medicines. . . ."⁹⁰ The act provided, however, that a slave should not be prevented from "administering medicines, by his, or her master's or mistress's order, in his, or her family, or the family of another, with the mutual consent of the owner of such slave, and the master or mistress of such family." The law of 1792 was somewhat more lenient in that it provided for acquittal if it was shown that the medicine was prepared with no ill intent and produced no bad consequences.⁹¹ In 1847 it became a crime punishable by lashes on the bare back "to sell, keep or administer medicine in other families without consent."⁹² The record of convictions of slaves for capital crimes from 1780 to 1864 is preserved in the form of vouchers in the archives of the Virginia State Library. They show that, out of a total of 1,418 convictions, forty men and sixteen women were convicted of poisoning and attempts to poison. One man and one woman were convicted for administering medicine to white persons.⁹³

Colonel James Gordon in 1759 noted in his diary: "Went to the mill. Found the miller Tom very unwell. He is afraid Sambo has poisoned him." Two years later he wrote: "Soon after we dined Dr. F[oushee] came & when he saw Scipio he told us that he was poisoned."

With stringent laws and with fear of poisoning constantly in the public mind it is surprising that any of the negroes should have attempted the risky business of prescribing for the sick.

X.

The contacts of female slaves with the sick were varied and much more important than those of the male. There was an occasional negro "doctress" who flourished under a good reputation for cures. Usually these women combined the duties of midwife with skill in preparing and administering medicinal herbs. Alexander Telfair's rules for the management of his Georgia plantation directed that "Elsey is allowed to act as midwife, to black and white in the neighborhood, who send for her. One of her daughters to . . . take charge of her business until she returns . . . Elsey is the Doctress of the Plantation. In case of extraordinary illness, when she thinks she can do no more for the sick, you will employ a Physician."⁹⁴

It is as midwives that we are chiefly concerned with the Virginia negroes in

⁹⁰Hening: Statutes at Large, v. 6, p. 105.

⁹¹Hening: Statutes at Large, v. 14, p. 125.

⁹²Ballagh: History of Slavery in Virginia, p. 87.

⁹³Phillips: American Negro Slavery, p. 458.

⁹⁴Phillips: Plantation and Frontier, v. 1, pp. 127, 128.

medical affairs. Fanny Kemble described a midwife in Georgia as "a dirty, fat, good humored looking old negress."⁷⁴ They were, nevertheless, indispensable members of society. Obstetrics as we know it today awaited the knowledge of bacteriology and antisepsis before taking its rightful place as a legitimate department of medical science. Meanwhile, negro midwives attended white women as well as negroes. Every large plantation had its own midwife, who was often borrowed by the smaller planters. Among the specialized slaves at Nomini Hall in 1791 there was one midwife,⁷⁵ and Francis Taylor's diary, covering the years between 1786 and 1799, records the many occasions when "Granny Venus," who belonged to his Aunt Taylor, visited his plantation in her official capacity.

Francis Taylor has also left a record of what must have been a rather rare event — the employment of a white midwife for a negro woman. The diary entry for February 2, 1792 reads: "Mrs. James came here last night to Eliza's house, where my father's Sary had come to lie in — Sary delivered of a Boy this morning — Mrs. James came to the house and breakfasted & then was sent home." The same Mrs. James officiated at the births of white members of the Taylor household. On July 25, 1786, according to the diary, "E. Pendleton was delivered of a Son . . . Mrs. Gaines & Mrs. James were with her, who say it was a seven months child." A footnote, added by a later owner of the diary, explains that Mrs. Gaines was a sister of Judge Pendleton and often acted as midwife.

The negro nurse was of course a well known figure on the large plantations, where she took charge of the plantation hospital and was doubtless as officious as small people with large responsibilities often become. The inventory and work journal of Philip St. George Cocke's plantation, Belmead, in Powhatan County, Virginia, showed one nurse among 125 slaves.⁷⁶ George E. Harrison in 1836 described the medical arrangements at Brandon: "My Negroes go or are carried, as soon as they are attacked, to a spacious and well-ventilated hospital near the mansion-house. They are there received by an attentive nurse, who has an assortment of medicine, additional bed-clothing, and the command of as much light food as she may require, either from the table or the store-room of the proprietor. Wine, sago, rice, and other little comforts appertaining to such an establishment, are always kept on hand. The condition of the sick is much better than that of the poor whites, or free colored people, in the neighborhood . . . on this estate there are about 160 blacks. With the

⁷⁴Kemble: *Journal of a Residence on a Georgia Plantation*, p. 29.

⁷⁵Phillips: *Life and Labor in the Old South*, p. 226.

⁷⁶Phillips: *American Negro Slavery*, p. 230.

exception of infants, there has been in eighteen months but one death that I remember, that of a man fully 65 years of age. The bill for medical attendance from the second day of last November, comprising upwards of a year, is less than forty dollars."⁷⁷

Pregnancy and the puerperium among their slaves were matters of particular concern for the large plantation owners. The directions given overseers for the protection of the breeding women and their children were very explicit and show the care that was exercised to protect both. Richard Corbin wrote his steward in 1759, "The breeding wenches more particularly you must instruct the overseers to be kind and indulgent to, and not force them when with child upon any service or hardship that will be injurious to them and the children to be well looked after"⁷⁸

Weston gave his overseer minute directions: "The pregnant women are always to do some work up to the time of their confinement, if it is only walking into the field and staying there. If they are sick, they are to go to the hospital and stay there until it is pretty certain their time is near Lying-in women are to be attended by the midwife as long as is necessary, and by a woman put to nurse them for a fort-night. They will remain at the negro houses for four weeks, and then will work two weeks on the highland. In some cases, however, it is necessary to allow them to lie up longer. The health of many women has been ruined by want of care in this particular."⁷⁹

Hammond was even more explicit: "Sucklers are not required to leave their homes until sunrise, when they leave their children at the children's house before going to the field. The period of suckling is twelve months. Their work lies always within half a mile of the quarter. They are required to be cool before commencing to suckle — to wait fifteen minutes at least in summer, after reaching the children's house before nursing. It is the duty of the nurse to see that none are heated when nursing, as well as of the overseer and his wife occasionally to do so. They are allowed forty-five minutes at each nursing to be with their children. They return three times a day until their children are eight months old — in the middle of the forenoon, at noon, and in the middle of the afternoon; till the twelfth month but twice a day, missing at noon; during the twelfth month, at noon only The amount of work done by a suckler is about three-fifths of that done by a full hand, a little increased toward the last Pregnant women at five months are put in the sucklers' gang. No plowing or lifting must be required

⁷⁷Letter to E. K. Paulding; in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, v. 36, p. 279.

⁷⁸Phillips: *American Negro Slavery*, p. 261.

⁷⁹Phillips: *American Negro Slavery*, p. 264.

of them. Sucklers, old, infirm and pregnant receive the same allowances as full-work hands. The regular plantation mid-wife shall attend all women in confinement. Some other woman learning the art is usually with her during delivery. The confined woman lies up one month, and the midwife remains in constant attendance for seven days. Each woman on confinement has a bundle given her containing articles of clothing for the infant, pieces of cloth and rag, and some nourishment, as sugar, coffee, rice and flour for the mother."⁸⁰

The Virginia Argus carried this advertisement in 1804: "Wanted to hire or purchase a wet nurse without a child of her own." Philip V. Fithian, the Yankee tutor at Nomini Hall, had his eyes opened to this Virginia custom one night at supper. Afterwards he recorded in his diary: "I was introduced at dinner, to Dr. [Walter] Jones, a practitioner in Richmond [County] . . . Dr. Jones supped with us and is to stay the night. The conversation at supper was on Nursing Children; I find it is common here for people of Fortune to have their young Children suckled by the Negroes! Dr. Jones told us his first and only child is now with such a Nurse; and Mrs. Carter said that wenches have suckled several of hers. Mrs. Carter has had thirteen children . . . and she has nine now living." She had four more after the time Fithian wrote.

The negro wet nurse was an important adjunct to the nursery in that day of large families. Year after year the fruitful Virginia wives gave birth to a long line of heirs, and only a high mortality kept the household within bounds. Thomas S. Dabney's second wife, who was sixteen years old when he married her, bore sixteen living children and for thirty years was never without an infant in arms. Hill Carter of Shirley had seventeen children, of whom three were still born, four died the day of birth and two others in early childhood. Charles Carter's two wives had twenty-three children. William Massie's fourth wife had ten, and the wife of John Selden of Westover had eighteen.⁸¹

The strain of such frequent pregnancies must have been very great. Nursing their own children became almost impossible, and the Virginia mothers quite naturally turned to negro wet nurses. How much of infant care was delegated to these nurses and to negro mammies is difficult to learn, but there was probably rather more of it than was good for the babies. Poor infant feeding was probably one of the large factors in the mortality noted in early life among both whites and negroes. Early weening and the pretty general use of the wet nurse were doubtless responsible in part for the high birth rates, for in cutting short the period of lactation women sacrificed one of the best contraceptives.

⁸⁰Phillips: *American Negro Slavery*, p. 264.

⁸¹Phillips: *Life and Labor in the Old South*, pp. 225, 228, 242, 284.

CHAPTER IX

LAY CONTRIBUTORS TO MEDICINE

I.

THE public in Virginia in this century displayed, if not always great discrimination, at least a keen interest in medical science. The subject matter of newspapers and almanacs, the contents of contemporary letters and diaries, the presence of medical books in non-professional libraries, all attest the general concern with scientific subjects. The Virginian was fond of exchanging his medical knowledge with his neighbor, and the plantation with its large population of dependent blacks gave him ample opportunity to put his learning to practical purpose.

Much has been said of the contributions of Benjamin Franklin to medicine. He has been acclaimed the founder of the Pennsylvania Hospital, the originator of the treatment of nervous patients with electricity, the inventor of the binocular lens and the flexible catheter, the author of letters on lead poisoning and of observations on gout, blood heat, deafness and the infectious nature of colds. In Virginia as in Pennsylvania Eighteenth Century medicine owed a debt to men outside the profession — notably to William Byrd II in the first half of the century and to Thomas Jefferson in the second. Byrd typified for his time the non-professional interest in medicine. A man of wealth, influence and inquiring mind, he was able to put into practice on a large scale medical theories that were shared by many lesser men in Virginia. Jefferson, more coldly scientific, enjoying the advantage of a later day and a position of even greater power and influence, paralleled Byrd in many of his excursions into medical science and exceeded him in the variety and permanence of his contributions to medicine.

II.

In William Byrd II (1674-1744) the Virginia colony possessed a remarkable man. For the first half of the Eighteenth Century he dominated the life of the colony by virtue of birth, vast landed estates, political preferment, gay humor and winning personality. His varied accomplishments exhibited "the elegance and culture of the old world combined with the kindly simplicity and unspoilt

**II. An Account of a Negro-Boy that is dappeld in
several Places of his Body with White Spots.
By Will. Byrd, Esq, F. R. S.**

THERE is now in *England*, in the Possession of Captain *Charles Wager*, a Negro-Boy, of about Eleven Years Old, who was born in the upper Parts of *Rappananoek River*, in *Virginia*: His Father and Mother were both perfect Negroes, and Servants to a Gentleman of that Country, one Major *Taylor* This Boy, till he came to be Three Years Old, was in all Respects, like other Black Children, and then without having any Distemper, began to have several little White Specks in his Neck and upon his Breast, which, with his Age, have since been observed to increase very much, both in Number and Bigness; so that now from the upper part of his Neck (where some of his Wool is already turn'd White) down to his Knees he is every where dappel'd with White Spots, some of which are broader than the Palm of a Man's Hand, and others of a smaller Proportion. The Spots are wonderfully White, at least equal to the Skin of the fairest Lady, and have the Advantage in this, that they are not liable to be Tann'd. But they are, I think, of a Paler White, and do not show Flesh and Blood so lively through them as the Skin of White People, but possibly the Reason of that may be, because the Skin of a Negro is much thicker. This Boy never had any Sickness, but has all along been very Sprightly and Active, and has more Ingenuity too, than is common to that Generation. His Spots grow continually larger and larger, and 'tis probable, if he lives, he may in time become

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A page from a paper read before the Royal Society by William Byrd

manliness and the noble freedom of the new." He took a lively interest in medicine, collected medicinal plants, investigated their potency, sent specimens to England and corresponded with the leading English doctors.

There were good reasons for Byrd's enthusiasm for medical inquiry. He had spent his youth abroad at the best of the English universities at a time when medicine was regarded as having definite cultural values and when every educated man was familiar with the sciences grouped under the general title of "Natural History." Byrd must early have shown his inclination toward these sciences, for in 1796 when he was only twenty-two years old his friend Robert Southwell saw to it that he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of London. Before this learned body he read a paper entitled *An Account of a Negro Boy that is Dappled in Several Places of his Body with White Spots*. The paper was submitted in 1697 and later appeared in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Society.¹ The subject reminds us of Thomas Jefferson's discussion of albinos in his *Notes on Virginia*. Byrd always valued highly his fellowship in the Society and frequently corresponded with its members. Their opinion of Byrd was expressed by the English botanist, Peter Collinson, who wrote in 1738, "I am told Colonel Byrd has the best garden in Virginia, and a pretty green-house, well furnished with Orange trees. I knew him well when in England; and he was reckoned a very polite ingenious man."²

Byrd's library, the largest in the colony, contained over three thousand volumes, of which over one hundred were devoted to medicine and another two hundred to general scientific subjects. Fortunately the whole list has been preserved. The names of many works now rare and classical are included, volumes that would gladden the heart of the medical antiquarian. From this list alone we see how extensive was Byrd's acquaintance with the healing art and with what authority he could speak on medical matters.³

His store of medical knowledge was further increased by a constant correspondence with erudite English physicians. To Sir Hans Sloane, President of the Royal Society, he wrote frequently on medical subjects, sending the doctor specimens of Virginia simples to be tried out on the other side of the water. He once suggested to his friend that a legacy to be used by a traveling physician, according to Dr. Radcliffe's scheme, would be a good thing in this "part of the world . . . where Nature seems to be more in her youth, and to come later and fresher out of her Creators hands."⁴ This opportunity to promote botanical research was, however, never embraced by Sir Hans.

¹Philosophical Transactions, Dec. 1697, p. 781.

²Darlington: Memorials of John Bartram and Humphrey Marshall, p. 113.

³Bassett: Writings of Colonel Wm. Byrd, appendix, gives the complete list of his library.

⁴William and Mary Quarterly, v. 1, p. 193-200.

William Byrd had very little respect for the average medical practitioner. He once referred to the New Jersey colony as "a Place free from those 3 great Scourges of Mankind, Priests, Lawyers, and Physicians for the People were yet too poor to maintain those Learned Gentlemen, who everywhere love to be paid well for what they do; and like the Jews, cant breathe in a Climate where nothing is to be got."⁵ He took no physician with him on his expedition to the North Carolina border and recorded with satisfaction that when one of the party "gave himself a Smart cut on the knee with a Tomahawk, . . . we had the good Fortune to cure it in a short time, without the help of a Surgeon."⁶

In 1706 he unburdened himself to Sir Hans Sloane on the subject of doctors in the following uncomplimentary language: "The country where fortune has cast my Lot, is a large feild for natural inquirys, and tis much to be lamented, that we have not some people of skil and curiosity amongst us Here be some men indeed that are call'd Doctors: but they are generally discarded Surgeons of Ships, that know nothing above very common Remedys. They are not acquainted enough with Plants or the other parts of Natural History, to do any Service to the World."⁷

Pope wrote of the famous London quack, Joshua Ward,

"Of late without the least pretense to skill
Ward's grown a famed physician by a pill."

The quack was able to fool George II and flourished under royal patronage in the first half of the Eighteenth Century. Byrd in Virginia was not deceived, but wrote sagely to Mr. Otway in 1735, ". . . in one of my Brother's last letters he was lavish in his praises of Ward's pills & Drops But he says not one word what the distemper was that urged him to so daring an experiment, tho' without doubt it must have been a desperate one to require so desperate a Remedy."⁸

In the very nature of his life in Virginia Byrd was frequently called upon to employ his medical knowledge. On the frontier on some exploring expedition or at home among his numerous slaves the erudite and resourceful planter learned through experience to depend upon a system of practice all his own. He followed Cato's injunction to his son, Marcus, "I forbid you to have anything to do with physicians," and it was also true of Byrd, as of Marcus, that he "had a book of recipes in his possession by the aid of which he treated the

⁵Bassett: Writings of Colonel Byrd, p. 18.

⁶Bassett: Writings of Colonel Byrd, p. 242.

⁷William and Mary Quarterly, second series, v. 1, p. 186.

⁸Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 9, p. 122.

maladies of his son, his servant, and his friends." We find Byrd directing very sensibly the medical care of his servants at Richmond during a sharp epidemic of dysentery: "I found every Body well at the Falls, blessed be God, tho' the Bloody Flux raged pretty much in the Neighbourhood. Mr. Booker had receiv'd a Letter the day before from Mrs. Byrd, giving an Account of great desolation made in our Neighbourhood, by the Death of Mr. Lightfoot, Mrs. Soan, Capt. Gerald and Colo. Henry Harrison. Finding the Flux had been so fatal, I desired Mr. Booker to make use of the following Remedy, in case it shou'd come amongst my People. To let them Blood immediately about 8 Ounces; the next day to give them a Dose of Indian Physic, and to repeat the Vomit again the Day following, unless the Symptoms abated. In the mean time, they shou'd eat nothing but Chicken Broth, and Poacht Eggs, and drink nothing but a Quarter of a Pint of Milk boil'd with a Quart of Water, and Medicated with a little Mullein Root, or that of the prickly Pear, to restore the Mucus of the Bowels, and heal the Excoriation. At the same time, I order'd him to communicate this Method to all the poor Neighbours, and especially to my Overseers, with Strict Orders to use it on the first appearance of that Distemper, because in that, and all other Sharp Diseases, Delays are very dangerous."⁹

The catalogue of diseases which interested him included intermittent fevers, bloody flux, smallpox — which he declared to be a rare disease in Virginia—scurvy, consumption, gout, dropsy and sterility, accidents of the frontier, hemorrhages, burns, snakebite and those common afflictions of all men everywhere, constipation, diarrhea and tooth-ache. His general idea of the diseases that characterized Virginia and of the extent and nature of malaria may be gathered from his statement, "I fancy here be as few diseases as anywhere, and those that we have are justly to be charged upon intemperance, or excessive ill management. Indeed the many Rivers . . . incline people now & then to agues, especially at the time of the year, when people eat fruit without any other measure than the bigness of their bellys. But as Agues come by takeing cold, I set my Country men an example, that will guard 'em from that inconvenience, if theyll have the grace to follow it. I have all the last winter gone once or twice a week into the river, without being discourag'd by frost or Snow, and find so much benefit by that management, that I design all ways to continue it throughout the year. This hardens me and makes me prooffe against all sudden turns of weather, that give colds to other people"¹⁰

In 1731 he urged Major William Mayo to have a sharp look out for gin-

⁹Bassett: Writings of Colonel William Byrd, p. 384.

¹⁰William and Mary Quarterly, second series, v. 1, p. 186.

seng, as he wished to experiment with its virtues. "The places where you may hope to find most of it," he directed, "are, the north sides of the mountains, and very high hills, that are shaded with trees. The season is from the tenth of September, till the middle of October, in which Interval you will easiest discover it by the scarlet seeds."¹¹

Evidently he found ginseng a most remarkable plant. He sent the following instructions for its use to Mr. Otway "to make your Health more boistrous:" "Divide the ounce into several equal parts and cut each part very small before you use it. Put into a Small Silver Tea pot and haveing poured boiling water upon it cover it close and let it Simmer gently over live coals till the third part of the water be consumed, with what remain fill a large coffee cup and drink it early in the morning Sweetened with sugar candy. At night boil the same over again but let it stand longer over the Fire, to draw out all the Virtue and drink it just as you step into bed. Continue this for seven days till you have taken the whole ounce."¹²

Of the beneficial results from the use of ginseng Byrd spoke in glowing terms: "Though Practice will soon make a man of tolerable Vigour an able Footman, yet, as a Help to bear Fatigue I us'd to chew a Root of Ginseng as I walk't along. This kept up my Spirits, and made me trip away as nimbly in my half Jack-Boots as younger men cou'd in their shoes . . . Its vertues are, that it gives an uncommon Warmth and Vigour to the Blood, and frisks the Spirits beyond any other Cordial. It chears the Heart even of a Man that has a bad Wife, and makes him look down with great Composure on the crosses of the World. It promotes insensible Perspiration, dissolves all Phlegmatick and Viscous Humours, that are apt to obstruct the Narrow channels of the Nerves. It helps the Memory, and would quicken even Helvetian dullness. 'Tis friendly to the Lungs, much more than Scolding itself. It comforts the Stomach, and Strengthens the Bowels, preventing all Colicks and Fluxes. In one Word, it will make a Man live a great while, and very well while he does live. And what is more, it will even make Old Age amiable, by rendering it lively, chearful, and good-humour'd. However 'tis of little use in the Feats of Love, as a great prince once found, who hearing of its invigorating Quality, sent as far as China for some of it, though his ladys could not boast of any Advantage thereby."¹³

Another drug which appears to have been in high favor with Byrd was ipecac: "In the Stony Grounds we rode over we found great Quantity of the

¹¹Virginia Historical Register, v. 4, p. 84.

¹²Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 9, p. 121.

¹³Bassett: Writings of Colonel Byrd, p. 211.

true Ipocoacanna, which in this part of the World is call'd Indian-Physick. This has Several Stalks growing up from the Same Root about a Foot high, bearing a Leaf resembling that of a Straw-Berry. It is not so strong as that from Brazil, but has the same happy Effects, If taken in Somewhat a larger Dose. It is an Excellent Vomit, and generally cures intermitting Fevers and Bloody Fluxes at once or twice taking. There is abundance of it in the upper part of the Country, where it delights most in a Stony Soil intermixt with black Mold."¹⁴

"Jamestown Weed, both the seed and the root are rank poison," he wrote Sir Hans Sloane, enclosing a sample for his inspection, "and so are the leaves when they are grown to their full bigness, but these are only poison if taken inwardly for both the Root and the leaves make a Poultis that cures a burn immediately In another paper is a seed of the Jerusalem Oak as we call it, which kills worms better than any wormseed I ever heard of. The way of takeing it, is to mix a spoonfull of the seed with honey, which must be eat 3 mornings together, and if the patient have worms in his Stomach or Grits it will infallibly kill them. You will find a Paper of Stickweed root (very common here) the green leaves of which never fail to stop bleeding either at the nose or elsewhere, provided they be frequently apply'd fresh to the part affected Our common snake-root with which you are so well acquainted in Engd. is a noble plant, and if the powder of it be put into Canary it restores the vigour of the Stomach effectually, if a man take 2 or 3 swallows of it sometimes. At my first arrival here I was troubled with a violent diarrhea, which no medicine woud cure but I took this, and then I was cur'd presently, & have continu'd well ever since."¹⁵

In his account of the expedition to the North Carolina border he wrote: "Our Chief Medicine [for Intermitting Fevers] was Dogwood Bark, which we used, instead of that of Peru, with good Success. Indeed, it was given in larger Quantity, but then, to make the Patients amends, they swallowed much fewer Doses."¹⁶

He extolled the virtues of "the Sweet-Gum Tree, very Common in Virginia as healing in its Virtue as Balm of Gilead It is likewise a most Agreeable parfume, very little inferior to Ambergris."¹⁷

He was a strong advocate of chicken broth. In fact he once brought an army officer around by prescribing "a Gallon or two of Chicken Broth, which

¹⁴Bassett: Writings of Colonel Byrd, p. 113.

¹⁵William and Mary Quarterly, second series, v. 1, p. 186.

¹⁶Bassett: Writings of Colonel Byrd, p. 107.

¹⁷Bassett: Writings of Colonel Byrd, p. 216.

wash't him as clean as a Gun, and quench't his fever."¹⁸ Another favorite article was the flesh of the turtle: "We catcht a large Tarapin in the River, which is one kind of Turtle. The flesh of it is wholesome, and good for Consumptive People."¹⁹

For snake-bite he advocated, besides the famous snakeroot, another remedy: "We found in the low Ground Several Plants of the Fern Root, which is said to be much the Strongest Antidote yet discover'd against the Poison of the Rattle-Snake. The leaves of it resemble those of fern, from whence it obtain'd its Name. Several Stalks shoot from the same Root, about 6 Inches long, that ly mostly on the Ground. It grows in a very Rich Soil, under the Protection of Some tall Tree, that Shades it from the Meridian Beams of the Sun. The Root has a faint Spice tast, and is preferr'd by the Southern Indians to all other Counter-poisons in this Country."²⁰

Two miles from Fredericksburg he encountered a spring strongly impregnated with alum. "This water does wonders for those that are afflicted with a Dropsy," he wrote.²¹

He was a firm believer in quinine though he had no relish for its bitterness. "We have swallowed the Bark plentifully," he wrote Mrs. Otway, "but know not, whether we should curse the Jesuits, for filling our Mouths with so bad a tast, or bless them for discovering, so good a medicine, 'tho whatever we say about the Jesuits, we have reason to give your Drugsters and Apothecarys their just Appellation, for sending us, such bark often-times, as has been infused, & had all the virtue, drawn out of it. Now tho this be, almost as bad as Murder, in those worshipfull citizens, yet all the punishment, I wish them, is to drink 2 cups, of their own Bark every morning."²²

Bear's oil he advised for use against bugs, mosquitoes and all kinds of vermin. Following the philosophy that the hair of the dog is good for the bite, he observed, "My servant had fed so intemperately upon Bear, that it gave him a Scouring, and that was followed by the Piles, which made riding worse to him than Purgatory. But annointing with the Fat of the same Bear, he soon grew easy again."²³

Both Byrd and Jefferson were interested in sterility. Jefferson had a good deal to say on this subject in his *Notes on Virginia*. Byrd once wrote: "I askt him, [an Indian] the reason why few or none of his Countrywomen were

¹⁸Bassett: Writings of Colonel Byrd, p. 282.

¹⁹Bassett: Writings of Colonel Byrd, p. 215.

²⁰Bassett: Writings of Colonel Byrd, p. 116.

²¹Bassett: Writings of Colonel Byrd, p. 374.

²²Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 36, p. 121.

²³Bassett: Writings of Colonel Byrd, p. 301.

barren? To which curious Question he answered, with a Broad grin upon his Face, they had an infallible Secret for that. Upon my being importunate to know what the secret might be, he informed me that, if any Indian woman did not prove with child at a decent time after Marriage, the Husband, to save his Reputation with the women, forthwith entered into a Bear-dyct for Six Weeks, which in that time makes him so vigorous that he grows exceedingly impertinent to his poor wife and 'tis great odds but he makes her a Mother in Nine Months."²⁴

His catholic interest strayed to an intimate device which he reported to his friend, Mrs. Taylor: "She has a Silver Pipe made so exceedingly small at one end, that 'twill enter the narrow orifice of the nipple. At the other end of the Tube her Fille de Chambre blows with all her might, til the Breast swells & struts like any blown bladder. This is no sooner performed, but a composition of Wax Rosin and Spanish brown is nimbly applyd to hinder the imprisond wind from escaping. Thus she preserves all the Charms of the Horizontal chest, without the German artifice of bolstering it up with a dozen of Napkins, that if any of the monsters with eight legs and no eyelids should presume to stray that way, she may fairly crack them upon it."²⁵

A letter to Sir Hans Sloane in 1709 shows that in spite of his numerous medical enthusiasms Byrd's common sense did not desert him — or, perhaps, he confined his experiments to his friends and dependents, reserving for his own person more conservative practices. After making extravagant claims for certain Virginia simples, he ended his letter soberly, with "I am glad you are in health, I wish you may continue and advise you to what I practice my self never to take Physick when I am well, & not to make use of any Medicines but such as are very well tryed when I am ill"²⁶

Byrd's curiosity, the energy with which he attempted to satisfy it and the wit with which he communicated his enthusiasm to others were his chief contribution to the science of his day. If his enthusiasm often led him to false conclusions, it also served to stimulate in others a desire for knowledge, and his emphasis upon experimentation was a refreshing and not unimportant influence upon a generation all too inclined to rely upon unsupported theory in the treatment of disease. The colony produced few citizens more useful and none more captivating than the man whom Peter Collinson called "a very curious friend of mine, and a great philosopher, Colonel Byrd, of Virginia."²⁷

²⁴Bassett: Writings of Colonel Byrd, p. 190.

²⁵Bassett: Writings of Colonel Byrd, p. 395.

²⁶William and Mary Quarterly, second series, v. 1, p. 186.

²⁷Darlington: Memorials of John Bartram and Humphrey Marshall, p. 102.

III. THOMAS JEFFERSON

The third president of the United States, who chose to be remembered as "The Author of the Declaration of Independence, of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom, and Father of the University of Virginia," was, besides, the outstanding scientist of Virginia during his lifetime. As a man of science Jefferson was even more versatile than Franklin. His interests ranged from mechanical invention to agriculture, botany, geology, paleontology and medicine.

Jefferson was the grandson of Isham Randolph and possibly inherited Randolph's botanical interests, which were known and recognized outside of colonial America. Peter Collinson wrote to John Bartram in 1737: ". . . when thee proceeds home, I know no person will make thee more welcome than Isham Randolph. He lives thirty or forty miles above the falls of James River, in Goochland — above the other settlements. Now I take his house to be a very suitable place to make a settlement at — for to take several days' excursions all around, and to return to his house at night."²⁸

As a student at William and Mary Jefferson came under the influence of Dr. William Small, "a man profound in most useful branches of science, with a happy talent of communication."²⁹ This influence, he believed, "probably fixed the destinies of my life." He already possessed strong native scientific inclinations. "Nature intended me for the tranquil pursuits of science by rendering them my supreme delight,"³⁰ he said on one occasion, and years afterward he wrote from Philadelphia to Thomas Mann Randolph, "I long to be free for pursuits of this kind instead of the detestable ones in which I am now laboring. In short I long to be with you at Monticello."³¹ His experimental bent is shown by the astonishing list of inventions attributed to him — a mould-board for the plow, for which he was awarded a French medal in 1807, a letter-copying press, the swivel chair, the wheel barrow, the camp stool and the incubator.

Jefferson's endless curiosity is revealed by the subject matter of his voluminous correspondence. He wrote of astronomy to Von Humboldt and Rittenhouse; of the cotton gin to Eli Whitney; of submarine boats to Robert Fulton; of the origin of the earth to the Comte de Buffon; of medicine to Benjamin Rush; and of the Hessian fly, the steam engine, the threshing machine, and a long list of botanical and zoölogical subjects to innumerable correspondents in Europe and America.

²⁸Darlington: Memorials of John Bartram, pp. 88, 89.

²⁹Jefferson's Autobiography, p. 5.

³⁰Memorial Association: Writings of Thomas Jefferson, v. 19, p. 3.

³¹Ford: Writings of Thomas Jefferson, v. 5, p. 325.

His *Notes on Virginia*, hastily written for his friend M. de Marbois, gave him an important place among the scientific writers of the century. It has been called "the first comprehensive treatise upon the topography, natural history and natural sciences of one of the United States."³² In this work there is much that throws light on Jefferson's medical interests. Of Virginia's mineral springs he observes, "There are several Medicinal Springs some of which are indubitably efficacious while others seem to owe their reputations as much to fancy and change of air and regimen as to their real virtues, none of them having undergone a chemical analysis in skilfull hands, nor been so far the subject of observation as to have produced a reduction into classes of the disorders which they relieve." The Warm Spring he describes as a bold stream with a vital warmth of 96°F. "It's smell indicates it to be sulphuretous . . . they relieve rheumatisms. Other complaints also of very different natures have been removed or lessened by them." The Hot Spring raises the mercury to 112°F., he observes, adding, "It sometimes relieves where the Warm Spring fails." Though less well known, the Sweet Springs in Botetourt "have been found to relieve cases in which the others have been ineffectually tried, . . . it is probable their composition is different." The medicinal springs on "Patowmac" River in Berkeley County were popular, he believed, because they were in a thickly settled community safe from Indians. He also mentions medicinal springs in Louisa County and the Weak Chalybeate at Richmond.

In the *Notes*, also, he commented on the occasional occurrence of albinos among Virginia negroes. "They are a pallid cadaverous white untinged with red, without any colored spots or seams; their hair of the same kind of white, short, coarse and curled as is that of the negroes. All of them well formed, strong, healthy, perfect in their senses, except that of sight . . . Their eyes are in a perpetual vibration very weak and much affected by the sun."³³

Jefferson had a thorough knowledge of osteology, one of the fundamental branches of medicine. One writer has said, "He seems to have acquired nearly all the knowledge the world then possessed of geology and zoology and . . . was quite in advance of the best specialists of the age, and notably so in the department of paleontology."³⁴ On one occasion he opened one of the Indian barrows on the Rivanna, a mound forty feet in diameter and twelve feet high. Digging through layers of bones over which piles of earth and rock had been stratified, he estimated that there were a thousand bones and concluded from their number, confusion and arrangement in strata, as

³²Memorial Association: Writings of Thomas Jefferson, v. 19, p. 4.

³³Jefferson: *Notes on Virginia*, p. 174.

³⁴Article by F. C. Luther; in the *Magazine of American History*, 1885.

well as from the different stages of decay and the presence of infant bones, that they were not those of persons fallen in battle nor burials in a common town sepulchre, but that they represented the "accustomary collection of bones." In describing these skeletons he showed his familiarity with anatomy. He wrote that there were "skulls, thighs, legs, feet and hands. A few ribs remain, some vertebrae of the neck and spine without their processes and one instance only of the bone which serves as a base to the vertebral column . . . Part of the jaw of a child which had cut its teeth . . . The temporal bones were entire and the bone itself firm to where it had been broken off which was as near as I could judge about the place of the eye tooth."⁸⁵

Fossil bones were one of Jefferson's life-long interests. In the *Notes* he entered into a lengthy discussion of the mammoth bones found in the Salt Licks and on the Ohio. The "tusks, grinders and skeletons of unparalleled magnitude are found in great numbers, some on the surface of the earth and some a little below it."⁸⁶ He brilliantly refuted the theory advanced by Monsieur de Buffon, the leading French paleontologist, that these were bones of the elephant. A paper describing the discovery in Greenbrier County, Virginia, of the *Megalonyx Jeffersoni* was filed by Jefferson in 1797 with the American Philosophical Society, of which he was president, and was later published in their transactions.⁸⁷ "What are we to think," he wrote Benjamin Rush in 1797, "of a creature whose claws were 8 Inches long, when those of the lion are not 1½ I.; whose thigh bone was 6½ I. diameter; when that of the lion is not 1½ I.?"⁸⁸ In the Academy of Natural Science in Philadelphia the original specimen may be seen today. Even the excitement of the Aaron Burr trial could not distract Jefferson's interest in fossil bones. It was at that time that he was corresponding with Dr. Wistar about some mammoth bones acquired in Shawangunk, New York, and later, when three hundred bones from the Big Bone Lick came into his possession, he had them displayed in a vacant room in the White House, where Dr. Wistar was invited to see them and to choose from them what was needed to complete the collection of the Philosophical Society.

One of the fundamental branches of medicine is botany, a more important study in Jefferson's time than it is today and one in which he was particularly well versed. His *Notes on Virginia* listed the chief useful plants of Virginia, twenty-one of them medicinal, and identified the pecan tree several years be-

⁸⁵ Jefferson: *Notes on Virginia*, pp. 160, 161.

⁸⁶ Jefferson: *Notes on Virginia*, p. 65.

⁸⁷ Jefferson: *Memoir on the Discovery of a Quadruped in the Western Parts of Virginia*; in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*.

⁸⁸ Ford: *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, v. 7, p. 114.

fore Humphrey Marshall, who is credited with the first description of it.³⁹ Jefferson wrote that it was "not described by Linnaeus, Miller or Clayton. Were I to venture to describe it speaking of the fruit from memory and of the leaf from plants of two years growth I should specify it as *Juglans alba, foliolis lanceolatis, acuminatis, serratis, tomentosis, fructu minore, ovato, compresso, vix insculpto, dulci, putamine tenerrimo.*"⁴⁰

Jefferson once remarked, "For a country gentleman I know of no source of amusement and health equal to botany. It offers its charms to you at every step." With him botany was more than a source of amusement. His botanical library was considered the best in America. He corresponded with many leading botanists and his opinion was consulted on such technical questions as the threatened supplanting of the old Linnaean classification by Jussieu's natural system. In 1791 he made a memorable tour of the northern states with the plant-loving Bishop James Madison and observed with delight many new flora which he described in letters to his son-in-law, Thomas Mann Randolph. Had he described them in detail, as he did the pecan, he would undoubtedly have added other new specimens to the botanical catalogue.

The wide range of Jefferson's botanical interests included the introduction and trial of new plants and seeds from all quarters of the globe, notably of dry rice and olive trees in South Carolina. That he attached great importance to these activities is shown by a glance at the list which he drew up in 1800 of services he had been instrumental in performing for his country. It included:

"In 1789 and 1790, I had a great number of olive plants, of the best kind, sent from Marseilles to Charleston, for South Carolina and Georgia. They were planted, and are flourishing . . .

"In 1790, I got a cask of heavy upland rice, from the river Denbigh, in Africa which I sent to Charleston, in hopes it might supersede the culture of the wet rice, which renders South Carolina and Georgia so pestilential through the summer it has spread in the upper parts of Georgia"⁴¹

Thirteen years later he mildly censured, in a letter to James Ronaldson, what he considered the lack of diligence in "our southern fellow citizens" for not pursuing the cultivation of new species: "It is now twenty-five years since I sent them two shipments (about 500 plants) of the Olive tree of Aix, the finest Olives in the world. If any of them still exist, it is merely as a curiosity in their gardens, not a single orchard of them has been planted. I sent them

³⁹Rodney H. True: *Thomas Jefferson in relation to Botany*, p. 349.

⁴⁰Jefferson: *Notes on Virginia*.

⁴¹Ford: *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, v. 7, pp. 475-477.

also the celebrated species of Sainfoin, from Malta, which yields good crops without a drop of rain through the season. It was lost. The upland rice which I procured fresh from Africa and sent them, has been preserved and spread in the upper parts of Georgia, and I believe in Kentucky"⁴⁸ In spite of such discouragements he continued to exchange seeds and plants with Baron Von Humboldt, Madame de Tesse and many others on both sides of the Atlantic.

By far his greatest contribution to botany was his aid to the Lewis and Clarke expedition and his insistence upon the botanical aspects of the trip. Jefferson secured the necessary money from Congress, personally prepared the instructions, had his neighbor, Meriwether Lewis, put in charge, and arranged that he should study botany and zoölogy under Dr. Benjamin S. Barton in Philadelphia before starting on the expedition. Later, when Lewis, disappointed and depressed, committed suicide without publishing his findings, Jefferson was responsible for their publication and wrote the introductory sketch of the leader. More than any other man he inspired and sustained the enterprise, determined its course and secured the benefits of it to his countrymen.

Jefferson made a lasting contribution to medical education in establishing at the University of Virginia a chair of medicine. Among the five professors imported from England who, with three Americans, constituted the first faculty, was Robley Dunglison, "a fine looking and agreeable young man." His chair, or "bench," as one writer has called it, embraced no less than seven subjects. Ostensibly he was the only teacher of medicine, but in reality Emmett, the professor of natural history, gave instruction in the cognate subjects of chemistry, botany and comparative anatomy. The chair of medicine as established by Jefferson was purely theoretical in its teachings. There were no patients, no hospital, and no practical instruction connected with it, and of course it could not compete with the thriving institutions that existed in Philadelphia, Boston and New York. Apparently Jefferson's first aim was to set up a chair which would broaden the cultural background of the Virginia youth. He was conscious of the shortcomings of the course but no doubt hoped that in time it could be broadened to include more practical instruction. He appears to have considered at one time transferring this department to Norfolk, whose position as a seaport town made anatomical and clinical material abundant; but in the end he was unwilling to forego the prospect of future development of the medical department at Charlottesville, and he actively opposed the plan, advanced by William and Mary College, of setting up a medical department

⁴⁸Ford: *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, v. 9, p. 370.

in Richmond. For the time being he was content to see only theoretical instruction given and to let the graduates of this course go elsewhere for their clinical work.

If the medical course was necessarily confined to theory, Jefferson did his best to make the department of botany as practical as possible. With his usual enthusiasm he outlined the work of the course and made plans for a botanical garden. His correspondence with Emmett shows the detailed interest he took in the advancement of this science, whose pursuit formed his life-long, and probably his favorite, avocation.

Jefferson's part in introducing Jennerian vaccination into this country forms another chapter, and an important one, in the history of his contributions to scientific progress. An authority on the history of vaccination wrote in 1881: "Thomas Jefferson was not only a patron and student of vaccination but an active practical disciple of Jenner and the direct introducer of vaccination into Virginia, Pennsylvania and the whole south . . . Waterhouse and Jefferson were the two men to whom the *introduction* of vaccination in America was *wholly due*."⁴³

During the Eighteenth Century the attention of the world was riveted on smallpox. Heavy epidemics occurred in France, Sweden, Austria, England, the East Indies and among our own American Indians. During the century serious attempts at prophylaxis were attempted. Variolation, introduced into Europe by Emmanuel Timoni, was popularized in England by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. The successive stages of popularity, stagnation and revival through which it passed have been described by Arnold Klebs in an excellent study.⁴⁴ In America variolation was widely practised. Boylston reported 244 inoculations, and Kirkpatrick in Charleston performed 900. Nevertheless, public resentment was strong against the practice, which carried an appreciable mortality. In England in 1840 it was declared a felony, and in Virginia it was forbidden by statute unless the consent of the citizens of the community could be secured — a sufficiently effective deterrent. Toward the end of the century Jenner's *Enquiry into the Causes and Effects of the Variolae Vaccinae or Cow Pox* appeared, and vaccination rapidly supplanted variolation. Six thousand people had been vaccinated in England before 1800. Benjamin Waterhouse of Cambridge, Massachusetts, mentioned it as "something curious in the medical line," hastened to secure the virus and successfully vaccinated his own children. His fight to popularize the new method in this country is one of the heroic stories of American medicine.

⁴³Martin: Jefferson as a Vaccinator, p. 33.

⁴⁴Gliessen: Die Variolation in Achtzehnten Jahrhundert, 1914.

Jefferson, who always had his ear to the ground for new developments in the world of science, became immediately interested. In spite of his duties as President he began a correspondence with Waterhouse and became an active vaccinator. Their letters are full of interest. We find Jefferson warning against the use of innocuous virus and advocating strict compliance with the rule laid down by Jenner. Not discouraged by the repeated loss of potency in the virus sent him by Waterhouse, he suggested that the failure might be due to overheating in transit and invented the following original method of transportation: "Put the matter into a phial of the smallest size, well corked and immersed in a larger one filled with water and well corked it would be effectually preserved against the air, and I doubt whether the water would permit so great a degree of heat to penetrate to the inner phial as does when it is in the open air."⁴⁶ All the virus sent in this way proved effective.

His personal experiments were carried on at Monticello. At first he appears to have called in the local physician, Dr. Wardlaw, to make the inoculations. Thus, unwittingly, Wardlaw became the first physician to vaccinate successfully in Virginia. Wardlaw's interest was not so keen as Jefferson's, for he was soon too busy to assist, and the President of the United States carried on the experiments alone. His sons-in-law coöperated with him, and a few interested neighbors joined the ranks of lay vaccinators. Jefferson wrote: "In the course of July and August, I inoculated about seventy or eighty of my own family; my sons in law about as many in theirs, and including our neighbors who wished to avail themselves of the opportunity, our whole experiment extended to about two hundred persons."⁴⁶ Of this number "only one case was attended with much fever and some delirium; and two or three with sore arms which required common dressings About one in five or six had slight feverish dispositions, and more perhaps had a little headache, and more of them had swelling of the axillary glands Two or three only had from two to half a dozen pustules on the inoculated arm all the rest only the single pustule where the matter was inserted, something less than a coffee bean, depressed in the middle, fuller at the edges, and well defined."⁴⁷

Jefferson was a true pragmatist. His chief interest was in adapting the revelations of science to human need. Not only did his great influence help to popularize knowledge about vaccination, but much of the actual virus passed through his hands to those in whom he had confidence. Through him Dr. Gantt of Washington was supplied with vaccine, and Coxe, who introduced

⁴⁶Martin: Jefferson as a Vaccinator, pp. 23, 26.

⁴⁷Martin: Jefferson as a Vaccinator, p. 32.

⁴⁸Martin: Jefferson as a Vaccinator, p. 32.

the new method in Philadelphia, wrote in 1801, "One portion of the vaccine matter which has fortunately proved effective in the city, I procured through the polite attention of Mr. Jefferson."⁴⁸ Jefferson was careful to see that Virginia and the South reaped the advantage of the new discovery. "I have also sent matter to Richmond, Petersburg and several other parts of the state," he wrote, "so that I have no doubt it will be generally spread through it."⁴⁹ Among his instructions to the Lewis and Clarke Expedition was this: "Carry with you some matter of the kinpox, inform those of them with whom you may be of its efficacy as a preservative from the small pox; and instruct & encourage them in the use of it."⁵⁰

One of the great obstacles which confronted the early American vaccinator was the preservation and perpetuation of a pure virus. No one did more to accomplish this than Jefferson. After careful observation he advocated the eighth day as the optimum time for obtaining matter from a vaccinated person to serve as material for future vaccinations. He wrote Dr. Rush on December 20, 1801: "I am happy to see that vaccination is introduced, & likely to be kept up, in Philadelphia; but I shall not think it exhibits all it's utility until experience shall have hit upon some mark or rule by which the popular eye may distinguish genuine from spurious virus. It was with this view that I wished to discover whether time could not be made the standard, and supposed, from the little experience I had, that matter, taken at 8. times 24. hours from the time of insertion, could always be in the proper state. As far as I went I found it so; but I shall be happy to learn what the immense field of experience in Philadelphia will teach us on that subject."⁵¹ He likewise urged the necessity of subjecting to variolations matter those already vaccinated, to establish beyond question the efficacy of vaccination.

To Jefferson's help and influence Waterhouse undoubtedly owed much. The debt was increased by his appointment as physician to the United States Marine Hospital — a position in which Jefferson's successor did not see fit to retain him. In 1810 Waterhouse wrote Jenner, "I have been intrigued out of my place as physician"

If Jefferson was ahead of his times in the preventive treatment of smallpox, he was at least abreast of them in his knowledge of the nature and epidemiology of yellow fever. In 1793 in a letter to James Madison he noted that "a malignant fever has been generated in the filth of Water Street" in Philadel-

⁴⁸Aiken: Vaccine or Cow Pox.

⁴⁹Martin: Jefferson as a Vaccinator, p. 27.

⁵⁰Ford: Writings of Thomas Jefferson, v. 8, pp. 196, 197.

⁵¹Ford: Writings of Thomas Jefferson, v. 8, p. 126.

Dear Sir

Washington July 25. 1801

Your favor of the 17th arrived last night, together with the
new Vaccine matter which was immediately sent to Doct^r. Canitt. The
2^d. as well as the 1st supply of matter had failed. we hope the 3^d will
be more successful. You might it endeavor to put the matter into a phial of the
smallest size well corked & immersed in a larger one filled with water & well coated
it would be effectually preserved against the air, and I doubt whether the
water would permit so great a degree of heat to penetrate to the inner which
as does when it is in the open air. it would get cool every night, and when
- bed every day under the cover of the dogs, it might perhaps succeed
I leave this place on the 30th inst for Monticello, being unwilling to trust
myself on the highroads during the months of Aug. & September, when
situations which generate bilious complaints are most dangerous. My
own is entirely exempt from that danger. should you be so good as to
continue forwarding matter till it succeeds, it will now be best to address
the packages to Dr^r Canitt, from whom, as soon as he succeeds, I shall ask
a transmission of fresh matter to Monticello, where I shall endeavor
to introduce it. it will be a great service indeed rendered to human nature to
strike off from the catalogue of it's evils so great a one as the small pox I have
of no one discovery ^{in medicine} equal; valuable. Accept assurances of my great esteem
and respect

P. S. I re-enclose Doct^r. Letour's ltr.

Th: Jefferson

* The m^r. sent agrees to the direction
with forwarded enclosure A 6

Doct^r. Benjamin Waterhouse

A letter about vaccination from Thomas Jefferson to Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse.

phia.⁵³ He believed that it was "a malady confined to tidewater and not originating or spreading beyond their reach and influence."⁵³ In the general debate which arose as to whether the disease was "infectious or endemic" he finally took sides with those who held that it was non-infectious. "In the early history of the disease," he wrote his friend John Page in 1804, "I did suppose it to be infectious. Not reading any of the party papers on either side, I continued in this supposition until the fever at Alexandria brought facts under my own eye, as it were, proving that it could not be communicated but *in a local atmosphere*, pretty exactly circumscribed. With the composition of this atmosphere we are unacquainted. We know only that it is generated *near the water side, in close built cities, under warm climates*"⁵⁴ What a satisfaction it would have been to him to know that the range of the *stegomyia fasciata* determined the circumscribed area!

Jefferson was probably better versed in medicine than the average doctor of his day. In his library were many books bearing on medicine, and he read them intelligently. "I have just received from the A. P. Society," he wrote Dr. Rush in 1801, "two volumes of Comparative Anatomy, by Cuvier, probably the greatest work in that line that has ever appeared. His comparisons embrace every organ of the animal carcass; and from man to the rotifer."⁵⁵ On another occasion he wrote one of his European friends, "I have been lately reading a most extraordinary book, that of M. Flourens on the functions of the nervous system in vertebrated animals. He proves by too many, and too accurate experiments to admit contradiction, that from such animals the whole contents of the cerebrum may be taken out, leaving the cerebellum and the rest of the system uninjured, and the animal continue to live in perfect health an indefinite period He demonstrates in fact that the cerebrum is the organ of thought. . . ."⁵⁶

Jefferson undoubtedly practised on himself and his "family" of negroes. We find an instance in a letter to Madison. "I am sorry to hear of the situation of your family," he wrote, "and the more so as that species of fever is dangerous in the hands of our medical boys. I am not a physician & still less a quack but I may relate a fact. While I was at Paris, both my daughters were taken with what we formerly called a nervous fever, now a typhus, distinguished very certainly by a threadlike pulse, low, quick and every now and then fluttering. Dr. Gem, an English physician attended them" He goes

⁵³Ford: Writings of Thomas Jefferson, v. 6, pp. 402-406.

⁵⁴Mitchill: Jefferson as a promotor of natural and physical science, p. 35.

⁵⁵Ford: Writings of Thomas Jefferson, v. 8, p. 316.

⁵⁶Ford: Writings of Thomas Jefferson, v. 8, p. 33.

⁵⁷Ford: Writings of Thomas Jefferson, v. 10, p. 337.

on to describe the doctor's very conservative treatment — today it would be called symptomatic and supportive — and ended the letter with the statement, "I have had this fever in my family 3. or 4. times since I have lived at home, and have carried between 20 & 30 patients thro' it without losing a single one, by a rigorous observance of Dr. Gem's plan and principle"⁵⁷

He once treated himself for a "stricture of the ilium" and expressed the opinion that he would soon have been well "but that a dose of calomel and jalap, in which were eight or nine grains of the former, brought on a salivation."⁵⁸ In 1786 he sent his son-in-law this advice: "A person not sick will not be injured by getting wet. It is but taking a cold bath which never gives a cold to any one those are healthiest who are the most exposed."⁵⁹

A further example of his belief in acquiring knowledge by practical experiment is found in a letter to Dr. Rush in 1803: "After all my life having enjoyed the benefit of well formed organs of digestion, and departation, I was 2 years ago taken with the diarrhoea, after having dined moderately on fish which had never affected me before. In the course of 2 or 3 weeks it wore me down by the frequency of calls For a twelve month past however these circumstances are more favorable and though they continue to a certain degree I enjoy good health. In the course of it I have made experiments of every kind of diet, & regimen; and I find that fish is the only article which affects me; & what is remarkable while fish & sturgeon affect me powerfully neither oysters nor crabs do. I find it important too to be moderate in the quantity of food. The stomach has never failed in the least, but performs its functions most perfectly: the bowels alone are weak and labor in their operations I have found that riding is my remedy I doubt the effect of medicine in chronical cases of this kind at any period of life, and still more so at mine. The system however may perhaps gradually recover its strength"⁶⁰

There is a hint of skepticism toward medicine in a letter to Dr. James Currie of Richmond, written from Paris in 1786. Of the newly published *Encyclopedia* he writes: "The medical part has not yet begun to appear, that author having chosen to publish the whole at once. I do not expect it will be the most valuable part of the work, for that science was demolished here by the blows of Molière, and in a nation so addicted to ridicule, I question if ever it rises under the weight while his comedies continue to be acted."⁶¹

⁵⁷Ford: Writings of Thomas Jefferson, v. 10, p. 181.

⁵⁸Ford: Writings of Thomas Jefferson, v. 10, p. 143.

⁵⁹Ford: Writings of Thomas Jefferson, v. 4, p. 289.

⁶⁰Ford: Writings of Thomas Jefferson, v. 8, p. 220.

⁶¹Ford: Writings of Thomas Jefferson, v. 4, p. 131.

The health habits of the illustrious old man, which he set down for his friend, Vine Utley, at the age of seventy-six, are not without interest: "I have lived temporarily eating little animal food...the ardent wines I cannot drink I have been blessed with good organs of digestion and I have not yet lost a tooth by age I rise with the sun. I use spectacles at night So free from catarrhs that I have not had one, (in the breast, I mean) on an average of eight or ten years through life. I ascribe this exemption partly to the habit of bathing my feet in cold water every morning. . . . A periodical headache has afflicted me occasionally."⁶²

Jefferson had a genuine respect for the positive benefits of medicine as well as a keen appreciation of its limitations. The medical science of his day and the possibilities for future improvement could not be better set forth than in his own words. In 1807 he wrote to Dr. Caspar Wistar:

"We know, from what we see & feel, that the animal body in it's organs and functions is subject to derangement, inducing pain, & tending to it's destruction. In this disordered state, we observe nature providing for the re-establishment of order, by exciting some salutary evacuation of the morbid matter, or by some other operation which escapes our imperfect senses and researches. She brings on a crisis, by stools, vomiting, sweat, urine, expectoration, bleeding, &c., which, for the most part, ends in the restoration of healthy action. Experience has taught us, also, that there are certain substances, by which, applied to the living body, internally or externally, we can at will produce these same evacuations, and thus do, in a short time, what nature would do but slowly, and do effectually, what perhaps she would not have strength to accomplish. Where, then, we have seen a disease, characterized by specific signs or phenomena, and relieved by a certain natural evacuation or process, whenever that disease recurs under the same appearances, we may reasonably count on producing a solution of it, by the use of such substances as we have found produce the same evacuation or movement. Thus, fulness of the stomach we can relieve by emetics; diseases of the bowels, by purgatives; inflammatory cases, by bleeding; intermittents, by the Peruvian bark; syphilis, by mercury; watchfulness, by opium; &c. So far, I bow to the utility of medicine. It goes to the well-defined forms of disease, & happily, to those the most frequent. But the disorders of the animal body, & the symptoms indicating them, are as various as the elements of which the body is composed. The combinations, too, of these symptoms are so infinitely diversified, that many associations of them appear too rarely to establish a definite disease; and to an unknown disease, there cannot be a known remedy. Here then, the judicious, the moral, the humane physician should stop. Having been so often a witness to the salutary efforts which nature makes to re-establish the disordered functions, he should rather trust to their action, than hazard the interruption of

⁶²Ford: Writings of Thomas Jefferson, v. 10, p. 125.

that, and a greater derangement of the system, by conjectural experiments on a machine so complicated & so unknown as the human body, & a subject so sacred as human life. Or, if the appearance of doing something be necessary to keep alive the hope & spirits of the patient, it should be of the most innocent character. One of the most successful physicians I have ever known, has assured me, that he used more bread pills, drops of colored water, & powders of hickory ashes, than of all other medicines put together. It was certainly a pious fraud. But the adventurous physician goes on, & substitutes presumption for knolege. From the scanty field of what is known, he launches into the boundless region of what is unknown. He establishes for his guide some fanciful theory of corpuscular attraction, of chemical agency, of mechanical powers, of stimuli, of irritability accumulated or exhausted, of depletion by the lancet & repletion by mercury, or some other ingenious dream, which lets him into all nature's secrets at short hand. On the principle which he thus assumes, he forms his table of nosology, arrays his diseases into families, and extends his curative treatment, by analogy, to all the cases he has thus arbitrarily marshalled together. I have lived myself to see the disciples of Hoffman, Boerhaave, Stahl, Cullen, Brown, succeed one another like the shifting figures of a magic lantern, & their fancies, like the dresses of the annual doll-babies from Paris, becoming, from their novelty, the vogue of the day, and yeilding to the next novelty their ephemeral favor. The patient, treated on the fashionable theory, sometimes gets well in spite of the medicine. The medicine therefore restored him, & the young doctor receives new courage to proceed in his bold experiments on the lives of his fellow creatures. I believe we may safely affirm, that the inexperienced & presumptuous band of medical tyros let loose upon the world, destroys more of human life in one year, than all the Robinhoods, Cartouches, & Macheaths do in a century. It is in this part of medicine that I wish to see a reform, an abandonment of hypothesis for sober facts, the first degree of value set on clinical observation, and the lowest on visionary theories. I would wish the young practitioner, especially, to have deeply impressed on his mind, the real limits of his art, & that when the state of his patient gets beyond these, his office is to be a watchful, but quiet spectator of the operations of nature, giving them fair play by a well-regulated regimen, & by all the aid they can derive from the excitement of good spirits & hope in the patient. I have no doubt, that some diseases not yet understood may in time be transferred to the table of those known. But, were I a physician, I would rather leave the transfer to the slow hand of accident, than hasten it by guilty experiments on those who put their lives into my hands. The only sure foundations of medicine are, an intimate knolege of the human body, and observation on the effects of medicinal substances on that. The anatomical & clinical schools, therefore, are those in which the young physician should be formed. If he enters with innocence that of the theory of medicine, it is scarcely possible he should come out untainted with error. His mind must be strong indeed, if, rising above juvenile credulity, it can maintain a wise infidelity against the authority of his instructors, & the

bewitching delusions of their theories. You see that I estimate justly that portion of instruction which our medical students derive from your labors; &, associating with it one of the chairs which my old & able friend, Doctor Rush, so honorably fills, I consider them as the two fundamental pillars of the edifice. Indeed, I have such an opinion of the talents of the professors in the other branches which constitute the school of medicine with you, as to hope & believe, that it is from this side of the Atlantic, that Europe, which has taught us so many other things, will at length be led into sound principles in this branch of science, the most important of all others, being that to which we commit the care of health & life."⁸⁸

⁸⁸Ford: Writings of Thomas Jefferson, v. 9, pp. 81-85.

CHAPTER X

ADVERTISING AND QUACKERY

I.

MEDICAL ethics, a code of honor among physicians which the public often professes to misunderstand, has had a development co-eval with medical history. It found its first expression in the simple regulation of medical fees in the Code of Hammurabi, 2250 B. C., and its second in the Hippocratic Oath embodying the masterly conceptions of the Greeks. The pledge exacted by this oath, "I will follow that system of regimen which, according to my ability and judgment, I consider for the benefit of my patients, and abstain from whatever is deleterious and mischievous,"¹ seemed sufficient until the end of the Eighteenth Century, when more specific guidance was needed. Between scientific medicine, which was then coming into its own, and quackery there was a chasm which had to be clearly defined. In 1803 Thomas Percival published his *Institutes and Precepts*, the model of medical ethics to this day. The positive morality of his code mirrors inversely the seamy side of professional conduct: "The use of quack medicine should be discouraged by the faculty, as disgraceful to the profession, injurious to health, and often destructive to life No physician or surgeon should dispense a secret nostrum, whether it be his invention or exclusive property, for if it be of real efficacy, the concealment is inconsistent with benevolence and professional liberality. And if mystery alone gives it value and importance, such craft implies either disgraceful ignorance or fraudulent avarice."²

The evils in England which Percival's code was designed to correct existed also in the colonies, though to a lesser degree. Here there were no colleges to confer degrees and no organizations qualified or authorized to pass upon the preparation of physicians and to license them; yet certain statutes were enacted to regulate practice and to correct the evils which were everywhere recognized. Medical practice acts were passed in New York in 1760 and in New Jersey in 1772, and there had been others in the preceding century. The New Jersey Medical Society in 1766 prescribed the preliminary education required of physicians in that colony, the number of years they should study and the

¹Hippocrates: Works, v. 11, p. 279.

²Thomas Percival: Medical Ethics, Articles 21, 22.

fee they should pay. In Virginia the fee bill of 1736 clearly though indirectly recognized the parlous state of medicine and the need for control and for the setting of standards.

As time wore on other evils arose requiring redress. Our present code of medical ethics deals specifically with many things not mentioned by Percival, among them advertising: "Solicitation of patients by physicians either individually or collectively by circulars or advertisements or personal communications is unprofessional It is unprofessional to promise radical cures, to boast of cures and secret methods of treatment or remedies, to exhibit certificates of skill or success in the treatment of disease; or to employ any method to gain the attention of the public for the purpose of gaining patients."³ This is the voice of the medical profession in the Twentieth Century. Two hundred years ago there was no such prejudice against newspaper announcements and legitimate advertising.

II.

In the Seventeenth Century the output of the printing presses was small. The press which started at Cambridge in 1639 and others like it elsewhere were busy publishing theological literature. In Virginia, though an abortive effort had been made under Governor Effingham in 1681, no printing of any consequence was done until 1729, when William Parks began to operate his press at Williamsburg. The small weekly newspaper — *The Virginia Gazette* — started by him in 1736 was the forerunner of many others, so that between 1736 and 1800 at least fifty-nine different newspapers were launched in various parts of Virginia. Many of them were short-lived, but twenty-five were being published in eleven Virginia towns in 1800. It would be interesting to know the circulation of these papers. A striking feature was the amount of space given to advertising. Much of the medical advertising differs little from the patent medicine advertisements in modern papers. Reading through the lines one sees evidence of the same fraud, the same exploitation, the same hokum. Inert drugs, adulterated and misbranded preparations were put forward then as now, with preposterous claims for their curative virtues.

A less accustomed sight, and only a little less offensive to the modern eye, are the repeated advertisements in Eighteenth Century newspapers by really reputable physicians. The medical profession of that day availed itself of the public press to announce a new partnership, a change of residence, a particular method of therapy, or a new line of drugs, just received from England; and

³American Medical Association: Principles of Medical Ethics, 1927, ch. 2, art. 1, sec. 4.

when they could get a hearing physicians took the advocacy or defense of their medical theories before the bar of public opinion.

John Tennent's claims for rattlesnake root in the treatment of pleurisy and other disorders were on many occasions prominently aired in the newspapers. In 1736 he announced the publication of his *Essay on the Pleurisy*, "Wherein the Cause of that Disease is plainly accounted for, from the circumstances of this Climate; a Remedy almost absolutely certain is prescribed."⁴ A few weeks later the whole front page of *The Virginia Gazette* was given over to a letter from Tennent to the Honorable Sir Richard Mead, M.D., discussing pleurisy and gout at length and attempting to explain his use of rattlesnake root as a cure for both.⁵ A little later the *Gazette* again gave him its front page to voice a complaint that some doctors, without giving his method a fair trial, were attempting to persuade the world that his cure was absurd.⁶ This called forth an answer signed "I. C.," belittling Tennent's claims to a high place in the medical profession and denouncing his cure for pleurisy "in behalf of myself, and the rest of my Fellow Practitioners."⁷ Tennent's reply loftily passed over "the arrogant indecent expressions of my notable Adversary" and again preached a sermon on pleurisy, with snakeroot for his text. Other letters followed during the next year or two, until it seemed that all Virginia was taking sides for or against Dr. Tennent. The first page of the *Gazette* for September 15-22, 1738 carried "A Memorial humbly addressed to the learned, impartial, and judicious World, by John Tennent, Practitioner in Medicine." It continued through several issues, describing his ill treatment at the hands of the public and the slander that followed the free publication of his rattlesnake root prescription. He cited the recommendations of him sent by Governor Gooch and William Byrd to Dr. Mead and others in England, and he even went so far as to declare that "all those Gentlemen . . . who have opposed the Introduction of the Seneca Rattle Snake Root into Practice are Quacks in the most strict sense of the word Quack."⁸ He then launched into a discussion of quackery and ended by listing some typical quack medicines — Ward's Pills and Drops, King's Royal Powder, Misaubius's Pills, Bateman's Pectoral Drops.⁹

Yet reputable physicians were prescribing and selling the very preparations Tennent branded as unethical. In those days a very small part of the medicine sold was handled by apothecaries and chemists. Physicians dispensed their

⁴Virginia Gazette, No. 6, 1736.

⁵Virginia Gazette, No. 10, 1736.

⁶Virginia Gazette, No. 31, 1736.

⁷Virginia Gazette, No. 45, 1737.

⁸Parks's Virginia Gazette, Sept. 22-29, 1738.

⁹Parks's Virginia Gazette, Oct. 6-13, 1738.

own drugs and made free use of the newspapers to advertise their wares. Competition must have been keen, to judge from the advertisements in the Williamsburg papers. In 1737 Dr. George Gilmer found it necessary to publish a charge that his rivals had attempted to undermine his trade and credit by circulating rumors that he had died, leaving unpaid bills. "To obviate such scandalous and groundless Reports, I take this Opportunity to acquaint all my Friends that I can now, better than ever, supply them with all manner of Chymical and Galenical Medicines, truly and faithfully prepared, and at as cheap rates as can be had from England. Also Double-refin'd, Single refin'd, and Lump Sugars, Cinnamon, Cloves, Mace, Nutmegs, Bateman's Drops, Squire's Elixir, Anderson's Pills, Sweet Oil, etc. at Reasonable Rates; at my old shop near the Governor's."¹⁰ Dr. Kenneth McKenzie of Williamsburg advertised in 1745 the importation of chemical and galenical preparations "fresh from London."¹¹ Dr. John M. Galt, one of the most reputable physicians in the colony, published columns of testimonials to the efficacy of "Dr. Keyser's famous pills," for sale at his shop "opposite the Coffee-House;"¹² and Dr. Archibald Campbell of Norfolk, Dr. Benjamin Catton of Yorktown, Dr. William Pasteur of Williamsburg, Dr. John K. Read of Goochland, Drs. Peter Hay, John Payras, Thomas Wharton, Samuel Tschiffely and Henry Potter, all physicians of standing in their respective communities, may likewise be found using the papers to advertise their drugs. Dr. William Heath's advertisement illustrates the habitual combination of physician and pharmacist: "Any person may be supply'd with Drugs most of which I prepare for my own practice by directing a line to me at Col. Champe's or Benjamin Grymes, Esq."¹³

A different type of advertising was that of Dr. George Martin, who "proposes practising Physic with all its different branches, in Richmond," claiming that "after finishing his studies at the first Colleges in Europe, he practised Physic in Ireland (pretty extensively) for the space of eight years." He has "laid in a fresh Assortment of Medicines, and will be able to supply County Practitioners and Storekeepers having a Friend who has engaged to supply him from London"¹⁴

Others who wished to inform the public of their location and line of work sought the newspapers' friendly columns: "Doctor Trent, having declined for the present his visit to Europe, begs leave to offer his Medical and Chirurgical

¹⁰Virginia Gazette, No. 43, 1737.

¹¹Virginia Gazette, Jan. 16, 1745/6.

¹²Purdie & Dixon's Virginia Gazette, April 23, 1772.

¹³Hunter's Virginia Gazette, Nov. 10, 1752.

¹⁴Virginia Independent Chronicle, Feb. 28, 1787.

services to the inhabitants of Richmond, and the neighboring counties. He resides in the house, formerly occupied by his Preceptor, the late Doctor A. Leiper, where all applications will meet with the strictest attention. Richmond, Aug. 6, 1800."¹⁵ This was the same Dr. Trent who later was criticized by Dr. James Mease for indulging in quackery to the extent of using a snakestone in treating a case of hydrophobia.¹⁶

In 1779 Dr. Robert Nicolson advertised his intention of practising physic and surgery in Williamsburg. He had brought medicines with him from Europe and could "depend on their being genuine." He also advertised books "in different languages and sciences," for sale at his shop, besides writing paper, patent medicines, etc.¹⁷ Dr. James Currie in 1772 published the fact that he was about to sail for England, to return in the fall, but that his shop in Richmond, in partnership with Ludwick Warrock, would continue, with fresh medicines yearly.¹⁸ A news item in Rind's *Virginia Gazette* for August 17, 1769 reported that Dr. Andrew Anderson had just arrived from London on the *Reward*, and the same issue carried an advertisement in which "Andrew Anderson, Surgeon and Man-Midwife," offered a fresh supply of drugs for sale at the shop of Anderson & Co. in Williamsburg. At about the same time Dr. John Dalgleish and his brother, following Dr. Tennent's example, were describing their cures for contagious diseases in a letter published on the first page of the *Gazette*.¹⁹

The inoculation business, after it was permitted in Virginia, was freely advertised by those physicians who were equipped to care for patients undergoing the treatment. "The Magistrates for the County of Henrico, having granted a Licence for the Inoculation of the Small-Pox, at the house belonging to the estate of John Tabb, esq. deceased, (in the vicinity of Richmond) the situation of which is high and airy; we beg leave to inform all those who wish to avail themselves of the benefits from Inoculation, that we are now ready to receive PATIENTS. The items will be very moderate, and made known on application to either of the subscribers. William Foushee, J. H. Foushee, Richmond, 4th October, 1799."²⁰ Dr. James Walker advertised the "Fall Inoculation" for smallpox, beginning September 15 "at my Hospital in the county of Buckingham." His prices were "a Guinea for Whites; 15s. for Blacks."²¹

¹⁵Richmond Examiner, v. 2, Oct. 17, 1800.

¹⁶American Medical Recorder, v. 1819, p. 174.

¹⁷Dixon & Nicolson's Virginia Gazette, July 17, 1779; March 18, 1780.

¹⁸Purdie & Dixon's Virginia Gazette, Feb. 27, 1772.

¹⁹Purdie & Dixon's Virginia Gazette, Nov. 17, 1768.

²⁰Richmond Examiner, Oct. 7, 1800.

²¹Virginia Argus, Aug. 8, 1800.

The Dalglish brothers again appeared in print to describe their method of inoculation.²²

The variety of subjects advertised was increased in 1800 by Archibald Currie, who having "practised the science of Electricity for many years" made use of the columns of the *Virginia Argus* to call the attention of the faculty to his "Electrical Machine for Medical Purposes." He promised to follow faithfully the advice of physicians as to patients placed in his care, and his charges were guaranteed not to be extravagant.

III.

Representatives of the allied branches of medicine — midwives, dentists, oculists, aurists and stone-cutters²³ — also found advertising profitable. Midwives were anxious to have the public know of their training under reputable physicians, their past successes, and their willingness to wait upon "ladies, and others, . . . upon the shortest warning;" while the male midwives felt called upon to advertise what was at that time a brand new specialty for them. The prejudice in favor of women midwives was still very strong, and newspaper advertising was expected to influence public sentiment in favor of the physicians. Exceeding both the doctors and the midwives in their advertising were the apothecaries, who outdid themselves with extravagant announcements of fresh drugs from London and lengthy enumerations of the favorite patent medicines of the day.

The dentists of this century were for the most part itinerant practitioners who heralded their arrival in a community with a conspicuous newspaper advertisement notifying the public of their ability to extract and fill, supply false or natural teeth, treat pyorrhoea, furnish dentrifices to preserve the teeth and sweeten the breath, in fact to perform any dental operation "hitherto performed in Europe." They often took pains to explain that their former patients had been among the nobility, and that they hailed from no less a city than London. They warned the public that, due to the press of business, their stay in the community would be short. The newspapers of the period carried such advertisements by Mr. Florance, "Surgeon Dentist of London;" Dr. Philip Larus, "Surgeon & Dentist;" Mr. Hornby, "Surgeon Dentist from London;" and Dr. Le Mayeur, "from the City of New York, Dentist."

Very typical of the itinerant physician's methods is the account of Dr. Gra-

²²Purdie & Dixon's *Virginia Gazette*, April 14, 1768.

²³Adequate explanation is still wanting as to why stone in the bladder was so frequent as to justify a whole profession of stone-cutters.

ham, "Oculist and Aurist of Philadelphia," who advertised that he would be at Williamsburg the middle of April 1773 for consultation "in all Disorders of the eye and Appendages, and in every Species of Deafness Those Persons likewise who have been born deaf and dumb will probably be assisted."²⁴ The *Gazette* for April 29, 1773 carried a news item that Doctor Graham had arrived to stay six weeks and that besides seeing patients he would give public lectures on the eye and ear. On May 13, through the same medium, Dr. Graham apologized for being unable to see all who had applied to him on account of the "great Number of pitiable Objects, blind, deaf, &c. who daily crowd for relief from all Parts of the Colony;" and an advertisement of great length in the same issue explained that "his concerns in England will not permit him to remain long in America," and that in order to give the public the benefit of his methods he planned to appoint and instruct in each province a Person to whom from time to time he would communicate the latest discoveries. Only those "regularly bred" in Physick and Surgery might apply, and "A premium will be expected." He reminded his readers that he had studied several years at Edinburgh and other places abroad. On May 20 the Doctor advertised that he would leave Williamsburg on June 15, but would spend a few days in the fall at Alexandria, Fredericksburg, Newcastle, Hobb's Hole, Urbanna, Petersburg, Richmond, Norfolk and Suffolk on his way south from Philadelphia to Charleston. In the Supplement of the same *Gazette* a news item described instances of cures of blindness and deafness by Dr. Graham in Williamsburg and gave several testimonials from persons cured.

Although the itinerants were chiefly dentists, oculists and stone-cutters, other specialists made the rounds and used the papers to announce their arrival. One Samuel Goodman, "just arrived from Philadelphia," announced to the citizens of Richmond an infallible cure for the bite of a mad dog. "My ancestors," he claimed, "for upwards of 150 years did successfully practise the same cures in Great Britain when the ablest Physicians have failed."²⁵

IV.

The practitioners of medicine in Eighteenth Century Virginia fell naturally into three classes: those who had a university education and a medical degree, those who had served apprenticeships, and those who were quacks. The proportion of doctors with degrees to those without them was about one to nine. At the end of the century there were probably five hundred physicians in the

²⁴Purdie & Dixon's *Virginia Gazette*, Jan. 25, 1773.

²⁵*Virginia Gazette & Weekly Advertiser*, May 15, 1788.

state of Virginia. About fifty-five of them held degrees. It is difficult to draw the line between the apprentice-trained physician and the quack. Indeed the doctors with degrees drew no line, but regarded them all as quacks. This was too sweeping an arraignment, for there were many excellent physicians who had only the background of an apprenticeship, natural ability and abundant opportunity for exercising it. On the other hand there were many poorly educated doctors whose bungling, unenlightened practice was the despair of the real physician and the ridicule of the laity. One is forced to the general conclusion that "the rank and file of our physicians were sadly ignorant and untrained. Quick intelligence and little knowledge had brought the profession to 'a lamentable pass. Quackery flourished untrammelled.'"²⁶

It was an age of quackery everywhere. Quacks swarmed throughout the mother country. The high heaped favors upon them, and the low stood in awe of their mystic power, believing every word of their extravagant claims. The new world was not quite so fertile a field for exploitation, the South possibly less than the North. But there were quacks enough. The historian, William Smith, of New York, declared in 1757 that "quacks abound like locusts in Egypt . . . we have no laws to protect the king's subjects from the malpractice of pretenders. Any man at his pleasure sets up for physician, apothecary and chirurgion. No candidates are either examined, licensed or sworn to fair practice."

The same conditions obtained in Virginia. In 1761 the Virginia students studying medicine at Edinburgh, "beholding with inexpressible concern the unguarded state of physic in our native country which lies open to the intrusion of every pretender to the medical art," memorialized the House of Burgesses. They demanded laws to remedy the public evil and asked that no one in the future be allowed to practice medicine without being "properly licensed and honored with a doctor's degree."²⁷ Arthur Lee wrote from Edinburgh to his brother in Virginia, suggesting the registration of diplomas in the county courts as the surest method of preventing irregular practice.²⁸

The Virginia Assembly had already recognized that all was not well with the medical service received in the colony. An act of 1736 stated "that the practice of physic in this colony is most commonly taken up and followed by surgeons, apothecaries or such as have only served apprenticeships to those trades who often prove very unskilful in the art of a Physician." The Act went on to recognize the superior service given the public by those with degrees,

²⁶Mumford: *Narrative of Medicine in America*.

²⁷Bland Papers, p. 19.

²⁸Southern Literary Messenger, v. 29, p. 72.

declaring that "those persons who have studied physic in any university and taken any degree there" should be allowed double the fee of the ordinary run of doctors.

Governor Gooch's reference to the "unskilfulness of practitioners this country affords" expressed the view of the medical profession held by most men of his class, although he himself, on at least one occasion, succumbed to the claims of a quack. The comment on Georgia physicians made by Dr. Archibald D. Alexander, a Virginia doctor who traveled in Georgia in 1802, describes a condition which must have prevailed in Virginia earlier in the Eighteenth Century, though medical standards here had improved at the time he wrote: "It is a charming country for Physicians, there are but few qualified for the practice, but a numerous train of empirics who well deserve this devise, a coat ornamented with three Ducks heads, and the motto Quack, Quack, Quack—I have been solicited by a number of the first Characters in a variety of places to settle in this Country, there are a great many situations where a person might accumulate a large fortune in a short space of time at the practice of Medicine."²⁹

If anyone doubts that quackery existed in colonial Virginia let him read the newspapers of the period. An advertisement in the *Gazette* for January 25, 1739 described a run-away man servant, James Moore, as having "a Piece cut out of his Right Nostril, which is very remarkable; and pretends to be a Doctor." In Rind's *Virginia Gazette* for November 1, 1770 the sheriff of Loudoun County advertised for the capture of William George, "by profession a doctor, and practised as such for more than two years in these parts," who had "run away from his bail" the previous July. The sheriff judged, from notes in George's prayer book, that he was born July 20, 1746 and came from Gloucester, England. He "carried with him some instruments belonging to surgery, which I believe he understands. As he has several fine ruffled shirts . . . no doubt he will endeavour to pass for a Gentleman, being a pretty good scholar." Another advertisement that one encounters as one glances through the papers of these years and that must have caught the eye of many Virginians suffering with stomach-ache reads: "This is to give notice that Mr. Richard Bryan, living in King George County, is most excellent at curing the *Iliack Passion*, or the Dry-Gripes, the cure of which he is dextrous in, to Admiration; for he . . . has often performed the Cure with one Dose, after the Patient had been given out as incurable, by some very eminent Physicians, and never has yet failed of any he took in Hand."³⁰

²⁹N. F. Cabell MS. Collection; in the Virginia State Library.

³⁰Hunter's *Virginia Gazette*, March 27, 1752.

In 1762 appeared one William Coakley with an even more imposing repertoire. His advertisement stated that, having come from the West Indies and "now residing in the town of Norfolk, he Undertakes to cure the following disorders, viz: Cancers, Cankers, Mortifications, Fistulas, Polypusses, Ringworms of all kinds, the Gravel, Dropsy, Dry Gripes, &c. He also practises in every branch of Surgery, Midwifery and Physick." His terms: "No purchase no pay." Mr. Coakley claimed not to "make use of incision in the cure of any of the above."²¹

The curious case of Constant Woodson was continually in the papers. It was she who had been voted a reward of one hundred pounds by the Virginia Assembly in 1767 for discovery of a cancer cure. In March 1768 a testimonial signed by James Kirk appeared in the *Gazette*, declaring that Constant Woodson of Prince Edward County had cured his wife's cancer of the breast after Drs. Fleming and Cabell had failed. Three months later Kirk published a statement that whereas Constant Woodson "hath lately published . . . that she hath cured several women of the cancer, particularly Agnes Kirk . . . lest any person should be imposed upon by the false pretensions of an unskilful physician, I . . . inform the public that . . . Agnes Kirk . . . hath been much worse with that disease since she dealt with her than she ever was before . . . which by two skilful and able physicians is attributed to the improper medicines Mrs. Woodson applied . . ."²²

In 1776 Thomas Johnson of Brunswick County boldly declared himself to be "well known for his abilities in the cure of the Flux, also cures the following disorders" — asthma, any kind of fevers, French Disorder, without salivation, etc., etc., and "believes he can cure the Consumption, if timely applied to."²³

The claims of Johnson and Coakley seem mild compared to those of Dr. Rowan, who appeared in Virginia in 1768 and whose announcement must have filled his rivals with envy: "Dr. Rowan, from London, now at Mr. Robinson's in York . . . Cures the scurvy, leprosy, ulcers, cancers, blotches, evil, old sores, green wounds, piles, fistulas, inside or out, without cutting, also deafness, and all inflammations of the head or eyes; he discharges all rheumatick and gouty pains of the body and nerves, cures fevers, agues, yellow jaundice, scald heads, straightens crooked limbs, cures the headach in a few minutes, cures the venereal with or without physick, discharges worms out of men, women and children, and many other disorders too tedious to be inserted, though incurable to others No cure no money."²⁴

From Norfolk the same year came the announcement of the presence of

²¹Purdie & Dixon's Virginia Gazette, July 18, 1766.

²²Rind's Virginia Gazette, June 16, 1768.

²³Purdie's Virginia Gazette, Supplement, Sept. 13, 1776.

²⁴Purdie & Dixon's Virginia Gazette, April 7, 1768.

"De Lacoudre, French Doctor," who professed to be a "pupil of Doctors Guerin and Morant," members of the Royal Academy of Paris and surgeons to the King of France. He boasted of certificates from King George III and other noted persons and promised to cure "scurvey distempers," cataracts and ulcers. "I profess all sorts of operations in surgery and man midwifery" Persons living too far to come to him "by sending their urine they shall have proper advice, according to their disorders."⁸⁵

The reactions of two different classes of society to these striking advertisements may be seen in two news items. In May 1776 Purdie's *Gazette* carried a sarcastic notice: "Intelligence Extraordinary: Arrived in town the famous doctor H. from G. County, who . . . comes recommended to the first medical post in the army. The doctor, it seems, is a native of New England, and had the honour to be dubbed one of the faculty in some apothecary's shop. Disdaining the assistance of Medical schools or colleges, by dint of natural sagacity, and superiour genius, the doctor has long since, fathomed the depths of that mysterious science, and thinks himself now eminently qualified to be placed at the head of his profession in this colony. N.B. The doctor bleeds, and draws teeth."⁸⁶ The following year a pathetic appeal appeared from a man living in Amherst County, showing that the quacks had their supporters. He advertised for "a Person successful in the cure of bad Cancers The seat of the Cancer is in the Head . . . and has been there three years."⁸⁷

V.

Lord Bacon observed that "in all times in the opinion of the multitude, witches, old women and impostors have had a competition with physicians." This type of credulity has not been confined to the multitude. We expect better things of the educated and enlightened but, as Sir William Osler pointed out, "in all things related to disease credulity remains a permanent fact uninfluenced by civilization or education."

Modern times afford sufficient examples of this credulity, and the Eighteenth Century was necessarily even more gullible. George Washington, though not a brilliant nor highly educated man, enjoyed the reputation of having a level head and a judicious mind. Usually he made use of the best medical talent, yet on several occasions he did not hesitate to employ certain well-advertised impostors.

⁸⁵Purdie & Dixon's *Virginia Gazette*, Sept. 1, 1768.

⁸⁶Purdie's *Virginia Gazette*, May 10, 1776.

⁸⁷Dixon & Hunter's *Virginia Gazette*, June 6, 1777.

Patsy Custis, a member of Washington's household, was a victim of epilepsy. Her attacks of fits had baffled the physicians for years. Finally Washington heard of Mr. J. N. O. Johnson, who claimed to cure fits by a receipt all his own. He was summoned to Mount Vernon in August 1771, and the young lady was placed in his care. Though Washington paid the gentleman "14 pounds Maryland currency" for his services, Patsy made no improvement, and she later died in one of her fits.

On October 14, 1797 Washington noted in his diary: "Christopher set out for Lebanon." The statement was amplified in his cash memorandum book on October 18: "Gave my servant Christopher to bear his expenses to a person in Lebanon Pennsylvania, celebrated for curing persons bitten by mad animals \$25."³⁸ This celebrated person is said to have been Dr. Henry William Stoy.³⁹ Garrison, commenting on the incident, observes that the "visit was to a German hex- and herb-doctor at Lebanon, Pa., to secure treatment for hydrophobia, which probably consisted of an infusion of red chickweed or pimpinell."⁴⁰ The thrifty Christopher, having made the trip to Lebanon and back, returned to his master twelve of the twenty-five dollars. Obviously he did not have hydrophobia.

Governor Robert Gooch, who lamented the "unskilfulness of practitioners in this country," wrote the authorities in England in 1729: "Upon the Bruit of Many Wonderful Cures performed by a Negro Slave in the most inveterate Venereal Distempers, I thought it might be of use to mankind if by any fair Method I could prevail upon him to discover to me the Means by which such Cures were effected." Accordingly, "by good words and a promise of setting him free," in addition to a payment of sixty pounds by the government, the negro was induced to disclose his remedy, "which is no other," wrote the

³⁸Lear gives the name as "Dr. Story." The following letter to him is found in Lear's Letters and Recollections of George Washington, p. 254:

Sir,

Mount Vernon, 17th. Mar., 1798.

Your letter of the 28th. Ulto. came safe but was some time longer than might have been expected, on its way.—

As I think your charge for the prescription & application to Christopher (my servant) who was supposed to be bitten by a mad dog, is a very reasonable one, I send you enclosed a five dollar bank note of Alexandria (having no other paper money by me) without enquiring whether your not having received four dollars before, proceeded from the neglect of the Servant, or any other person.—

Christopher continues to do well, & I believe is now free from apprehension of any bad consequences from the bite.— I shall beg to be informed of your receipt of this letter, being unwilling that you should go unpaid.

I am Sir

Your Very Hble. Servant,
G. Washington.

To Doctr. Story.

³⁸Lebanon Historical Papers, v. 1, p. 336.

³⁹Garrison: History of Medicine, p. 423.

Governor, "than a Decoction of the Root and Barks I have sent over to a Phisitian, that the Colledge may have the opportunity what effect it will have in England ; there is no room to doubt of its being a certain Remedy here and is well worth the Price."⁴¹

A gentleman in Westmoreland County wrote to his brother in Williamsburg in 1772: ". . . the account . . . of the means administered by the Maryland Quack being an infallible Cure for the Dropsy, proves a very true one . . ." This he claimed to know by his own experience, and went on to point out the advantages of the cure: "No nauseous Catharticks or Emeticks, no chymical, caustick or heating Mixtures, no very humiliating regimen; Nothing but a few innocent Simples, collected from the woods and Fields, boiled in hard Cider, and taken three times a Day, with Exercise of Riding, and a light boiled Milk Diet . . . Let no man fear a Dropsy, while Mr. Henry Lowe, of Maryland, lives"⁴²

VI.

The astonishing extent to which the nostrums and cure-alls of the Eighteenth Century caught the popular imagination is difficult to conceive. Not only did neighbor contend verbally with neighbor over the virtue of his particular remedy, but the matter received public notice and was taken into the halls of legislative assemblies. The colonies had before them the pernicious example of the popular favor toward nostrums in the old country. Joshua Ward flourished under royal patronage, and "a vote of thanks from the House of Commons and protection from the interference in his practice from the College of physicians" completed his triumph. Mrs. Mapp, a bone-setter, enjoyed almost equal favor and rode "in a chariot and four with gorgeously liveried servants." The most astonishing example of all was that of Joanna Stephens, who in 1739 succeeded in having her remedy purchased by Parliament. So powerful was the public sentiment behind this purchase that such men as Cheselden, Sharp and Hawkins, though reputable physicians, lent her the weight of their influence. Parliament actually paid five thousand pounds for this valuable receipt, which proved to be a "mixture of egg shells, garden snails, swines' cresses, soap, and such vegetable ingredients as burdock seeds, hips and haws." Though this expensive remedy was designed to cure the stone and the gravel, the stone was actually found after death in the bladders of all her certified cures. The influence of such a remarkable purchase reached even

⁴¹Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 28, p. 306.

⁴²Purdie & Dixon's Virginia Gazette, August 20, 1772.

to the colonies, and the entire front page of Parks's *Virginia Gazette* for September 28, 1739 was devoted to a reprint of the *London Gazette's* description of Mrs. Stephens's nostrum.

In Virginia, too, official gratitude was expressed for the genius which could concoct a successful nostrum. Governor Gooch had set the fashion with his payment of sixty pounds for a negro slave's cure for syphilis. Ten years later Dr. John Tennent offered to divulge his famous remedy for pleurisies and other disorders *pro bono publico*, and the Assembly resolved on December 22, 1739 "that the Sum of One Hundred Pounds be paid Mr. John Tennent for publishing his Discovery of the Use of the Seneca Rattle Snake Root."

A few years later the Assembly had another opportunity to demonstrate its appreciation of medical attainment. On November 14, 1748 Mary Johnson petitioned the House of Burgesses for a reward if she would make known her method of curing cancers. On December 3 a committee of the House reported favorably on the petition, having investigated and found that Mary Johnson had cured William Burrus's cancer in six months, after he had consulted Doctors Comrie, Abney and Wharton of King William County and Dr. Seymour of Gloucester, in vain; and that she had also cured Mary Price of a cancer on the knee, and other persons as well. The House resolved to pay her one hundred pounds. On December 8 the Council agreed to the resolution and the Governor approved it.⁴⁴ The *Virginia Almanack* for 1753 contained, among other receipts, "Mrs. Johnsons Cure for a Cancer."

In 1752 the Burgesses were again appealed to, this time to purchase a cure for dry-gripes. The petition was presented on March 14 by Richard Bryan, who at the same time was busy advertising his cure in the public press. He claimed, "That his Father in his Life-time, discovered a compound Medicine, which, by long Practice, he found effectual in curing the Dry-Gripes; that the Petitioner (to whom only he communicated the Secret of the Compound) has cured many People, who were dangerously ill of that Disorder, and deserted by other Doctors as incurable; That he is willing to divulge the Secret of his Medicine to the Public, for a competent Reward, and praying the Consideration of the House therein."

On March 19 the committee to which Bryan's petition had been referred reported "That they had examined into the Matter thereof, whereupon it appeared, that one Mr. Tutt, of the County of Spotsylvania, being afflicted with that Disorder, and having followed the Prescriptions of two Physicians in vain, applied to the Petitioner and was immediately relieved, and in less than Eight

⁴⁴Journals of the House of Burgesses, v. 1742-49, pp. 303, 314, 318, 329.

and Forty Hours, perfectly cured him; and that three other Persons who had the Dry-Gripes, and were thought to be incurable, had applied to the Petitioner, and found no less Benefit from him . . ." The committee therefore recommended, and the House agreed, "That the Sum of £250 be paid to Richard Bryan, as a reward for making known his Medicine for curing the Dry-Gripes, upon his producing a satisfactory Certificate."⁴⁴

On November 27, 1766 Constant Woodson presented to the House of Burgesses a petition, "setting forth that she has discovered an effectual Remedy for curing Cancers, which she for a valuable Consideration will Communicate to the Publick; and praying such a Reward as the House shall think reasonable . . ." On April 11, 1767 the committee reported favorably, and the House resolved: "That the Sum of £100 be paid out of the Public Money in the Hands of the Treasurer, to the said Constant Woodson, as a Reward for discovering her Method of Curing Cancers upon her producing a Certificate from under the Hands of Doctr Theodorick Bland, Dr. James Feild, Dr. William Black and Dr. Robert Brown, or any two of them who are by this House appointed to make an Experiment of the Efficacy of the Medicine that shall be by the said Constant Woodson to them communicated, of their Approbation thereof, and thereupon the same shall be published in the *Virginia Gazette*."⁴⁵ A year later James Kirk was exposing Constant's "improper remedies."

In the years that followed, other petitions came before the Burgesses, but either from lack of funds or increasing scepticism the later requests were denied. David Burton's petition for a reward for his cancer cure was rejected in June 1770, and four years later a similar fate met the request of Charles Hunt, who claimed to have "discovered what is in his Opinion a remedy for curing the Dropsy, Nervous Cholic, and Hectic fevers, which he would impart for the benefit of the Public on receiving a reasonable reward."⁴⁶

VII.

Agrarian Virginia with its scattered estates and expensive medical service was a field in which medical folk-lore flourished. Newspapers and almanacs constituted a sort of experience meeting where home-concocted preparations, nostrums and unscientific therapy were passed from one individual to another, and the receipts were carefully copied into diaries and letter-books for preservation.

⁴⁴Journals of the House of Burgesses, v. 1752-58, pp. 33, 44.

⁴⁵Journals of the House of Burgesses, v. 1766-69, pp. 42, 125, 128.

⁴⁶Journals of the House of Burgesses, v. 1770-72, pp. 52, 56; v. 1773-76, pp. 88, 94.

For rheumatism, one newspaper advised its readers, "Take scurvy-grass, brook lime, and water cresses," bake in a slow oven and press out one quart of juice. Put two large spoonfuls into half a pint of whey, and "drink in a morning fasting."⁴⁷

For frost-bite, "Rub the part affected with the fat of a dunghill fowl before a fire, morning and evening . . . then grease a piece of flannel with the same fat, with which cover the part . . . This will certainly cure in the course of two days."⁴⁸

For sprain, an infallible cure was to "stupe the sprain with hot brandy and vinegar, then spread honey upon a strip of brown paper, and roll it about the sprain; renew night and morning. It generally cures in a day or two."⁴⁹

For "those struck with apoplexy or palsy" so simple was the advice given in a New York paper that the *Virginia Independent Chronicle* passed it on to its readers. All that was necessary was to put common salt in the mouth of of the unfortunate victims and they might be expected to regain their senses at once.⁵⁰

For consumption Dr. John Spence of Dumfries recommended "Digitalis or Foxglove" in a letter published in the *Columbian Mirror* at Alexandria and reprinted in the *Virginia Argus*.⁵¹ In 1752 a news item acquainted the public with a cheap and easy remedy for curing the dry-gripes: "Take a sufficient Quantity of May-Apple Roots, wash and boil them in clean Water, til the Quintessence of Virtue is received into the Water, then drain off the Water, and put Molasses with it; let the Proportion be one-third Part Molasses, and two-thirds Water, boil it over a gentle Fire, and stir it often, for about two Hours, then cool it and put it into a Bottle, and keep it for Use. Take care not to give too much; give about four Spoonfuls to a Man or Woman, and if it does not work in four Hours, give a Spoonful or two more, and repeat it three Hours after, 'til it does work."⁵² For pleurisy, which from all accounts must have been a very common complaint among early Virginians, Thomson Mason sent to the papers an infallible remedy—even in the worst cases. His treatment started with a dose of tartar emetic. The next day the patient was bled and immediately given pleurisy root (commonly called "Butterfly Weed") pounded fine, in warm water. The medicine was repeated every two hours until the patient recovered — usually in three days, never more than six!⁵³

⁴⁷Virginia Gazette & Weekly Advertiser, Mar. 22, 1789.

⁴⁸Virginia Gazette & Weekly Advertiser, Jan. 8, 1789.

⁴⁹Virginia Gazette & Weekly Advertiser, Nov. 22, 1787.

⁵⁰Virginia Independent Chronicle, Oct. 24, 1787.

⁵¹Virginia Argus, Oct. 21, 1800.

⁵²Virginia Gazette, supplement, Mar. 20, 1752.

⁵³Purdie & Dixon's Virginia Gazette, supplement, Sept. 23, 1773.

As early as 1745 a local doctor, who preferred to remain anonymous, utilized the front page of four successive issues of the *Virginia Gazette* to urge his belief in experimentation with medicines "in use among the vulgar." He praised Bishop Berkeley's *Treatise on Tar Water adapted to diseases frequent in America*. It will be remembered that tar water had the taste but none of the other properties of tar and was about as medicinal as ordinary spring water.

Almanacs have never been noted for their orthodox medical advice, though they are usually generous in the amount of medical information offered their readers. The Eighteenth Century almanacs were no exception. A glance at two of their title-pages shows how necessary they made themselves to the well-being of every householder:

"The Virginia Almanack for the Year of our Lord God 1771 . . . Wherein are contained . . . approved Receipts for the Whooping Cough and Rotten Quinsy, an infallible Cure for the Distemper that has so long raged among the Horned Cattle, a noted Preservative both for Man and Beast, to keep them from Infection, a List of Drugs and Medicines necessary to be kept in every Family in the Country . . . Williamsburg: Printed and Sold by Purdie & Dixon. 1770."⁸⁴

"The Virginia Almanack for the Year of our Lord God 1761 Wherein are contained A Method for preserving Virtues of Lemons and Oranges for Years; Limes in Cookery; A wholsom Liquor made from Indian Corn; Directions how to prepare the Body for Inoculation, in the Small-pox; by observing of which not one in 700 will lose their Lives, whereas, in the common Way of Infection, one dies out of five To which is added an Appendix Williamsburg: Printed and Sold by William Hunter, 1760."⁸⁵

The following extracts show that the almanacs lived up to their title-pages:

"For the Flux: Take one quart of warm water, one quart of Port wine, half a pound of loaf sugar, a small quantity of Cinnamon and logwood Stew for some time take this decoction for drink If a person has the flux very bad take a small quantity of Ipecacuanha"

"For disorders of the Lungs: Take of Liquorice root bruised, two ounces; boil it in a quart of barley-water to a pint and a half. A quarter of a pint may be taken at any time"

"Tooth Powder: Take myrrh, roch allum, dragons blood, and cream of tartar, each half an ounce; and mix them into a very fine powder."⁸⁶

⁸⁴Torrence: Trial Bibliography, No. 368. (A copy of the original almanac is owned by the Library of Congress.)

⁸⁵Torrence: Trial Bibliography, No. 281. (Copy owned by the Virginia Historical Society.)

⁸⁶Virginia Almanack, 1787.

"Certain cure for the Hiccough: Only take a thimble full of brandy, rum, or geneva, when the fit is most violent, which has been found an infallible remedy."⁶⁷

"For a Consumptive Complaint: Take an equal quantity of White Pitch, or rosin, and yellow beeswax, and dissolve them over a fire. The room, in which the fumigation is to be performed, ought to be closely shut up, and the person should walk about to suck in the vapour by degrees"

"For the Dropsy: Take one ounce of Salt Petre, and dissolve it in a pint of cold water, of which take a wine-glass full every morning and evening. About five or six ounces used in this manner will generally perfect a cure."⁶⁸

At a time when patients were purged and bled by the calendar it is not surprising to find the following medical directions accompanying the calendar in the Virginia Almanack for 1787:

- "Jan. Let not blood, and use no Physic, unless there be a necessity: Eat often, and avoid too much sleep.
- Feb. Be sparing in Physick, and let not blood without necessity, and be careful of catching cold.
- Mar. The latter end of this month you may purge and bleed, though not absolutely necessary if you are in perfect health.
- Apr. It is now a good time to cleanse yourself in order to prepare for the summer season. Abstain from much wine, or other strong liquors—they will cause a ferment in your blood, and ruin your constitution.
- May The blood and humours being now in motion, avoid eating salt or stale meats; fat people must avoid excess of liquors.
- June Cooling sallads, such as lettuce, purslane, etc. will prevent too much perspiration, and throw off feverish disorders. Beware of sudden cold after heat.
- July Forbear superfluous drinking. Use cold herbs. Shun boiled salt and strong meats, and abstain from physick.
- Aug. Use moderate diet, forbear to sleep soon after meals, for that brings on head-achs, agues, etc. and take great care of sudden cold after heat.
- Sept. Be not out late of nights, or in foggy weather, and keep out of the damp air Drink not too free
- Oct. Avoid the dew and fogs, and be not out late of night. Take no physic unless there is an absolute necessity for it.
- Nov. The best physick this and the next month is good exercise, warm clothes, and wholesome diet. But if any distempers afflict you, finish your physick this month, and so rest till March.
- Dec. Keep yourself warm by exercise, and be temperate Take no physick, and be careful of catching cold."

⁶⁷Virginia Almanac, 1798.

⁶⁸Virginia Almanac, 1790.

The private diaries and letter-books which have survived from this period show that the medical advice of the almanacs was used and treasured. The letter-books of William Allason, a Scotch merchant who lived first at Tappahannock and later at Falmouth, Virginia, cover the years from 1757 to 1799 and include, along with copies of all his correspondence, at least forty prescriptions for various diseases.⁶⁹ The receipts were copied from Scotch, English and American periodicals or taken down by word of mouth from friends

FOR SALE BY
Meffer, Hoffman and Ruffel,
(At their Medical Stores near the
Market)
A large and general Assortment of
DRUGS AND MEDICINES,
Wholesale and Retail.

DOCT. MEERMAN residing in New-York, desires them to keep a constant Supply of Drugs and Medicines, and to furnish Customers of the Family, and others who may favor them with their orders on reasonable terms, many articles (above our preparation) lower than can be imported.

DR. ALLASON, having attended some years of Medical Education in Europe, which, with an extensive practice here, particularly in Midwifery, induces him to offer it and be known hereafter, that those who favor him with their commands, will find him obedient to his profession.

Japanese Patent Medicines.

Anker's Pills, Sweet Oil, Turbop's Balsam, Dally's Elixir, Godfrey's Cordial, Stoughton's Balsam, Switzer's Drops, And many other Articles.	Dr. P. Ballein of Honey, Switzer's Oil, Dr. Ross's Chlo- roform Compound, Worm Oil, &c.
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

N. S. STEEL SPRING TRUSSES
for Infants and Adults.
 Richmond, July 7. 1799.

and neighbors. From the frequency with which certain diseases occur one learns which were the most dreaded. There is a constant repetition of cures for the flux, for pleurisy and consumption, for stone and gravel, for intermittent fevers, and for cancers; and almost as frequent, for dropsy, gout, scurvy, whooping-cough, and colic, varied by an occasional receipt for yaws, jaundice or hydrophobia. The remedies range from a long course of treatment for pleurisy, including minute instructions as to emetics, bleeding and diet, to simple directions such as, "For Collick: Beat together into a Cake one part of stone Raisins of the Sun, and three parts of Juniper:berries; eat more or less according to the Pain." Or, for jaundice, "Take some hard Cyder in which infuse as much Barbary Bark as to make it pretty strong,

of which take all in a Glassful morning midday & evening for some days;" and for the flux, "Put a large brown toast into three quarts of water, with a drachm of Cochineal, and a drachm of salt of wormwood. Drink it all in as short a time as you conveniently can." Of a receipt for dropsy Allason notes, "Mr. Wray of Lunenburg was cured by this." Perhaps the most fantastic remedy in the collection was one said to be "infallible against the Cramp." It required the patient to enclose between two rags a good quantity of powder of brimstone, which must then be fastened at bed-time to the instep by means of a tape or ribbon. The cramp would certainly disappear by morning.

⁶⁹These manuscripts are in the Archives Department, Virginia State Library.

CHAPTER XI

MEN OF MARK

FORCES were at work in the latter part of the Eighteenth Century which made it difficult for men of parts to escape a political or military career. The new political experiment challenged the imagination of thinking men everywhere. The overt act of rebellion, into which its sponsors were forced, added zeal, seriousness and the necessity for action. The rattling sabre gave zest and point to political oratory and debate, sweeping men from unrelated callings into those more intimately concerned with the great and immediate object facing all patriots. The temptation to be an actor and not merely a passive spectator of these events was irresistible. Ministers like Muhlenberg and physicians like Stephen and Fleming flew to arms. The deflection from medicine of four other physicians is particularly noteworthy. Into politics went Arthur Lee and Walter Jones, into the army went Theodorick Bland and Hugh Mercer, and to all of them their new careers brought honor and enduring fame.

I. HUGH MERCER (1725-1777)

Among the Scots who fought and bled at Culloden in 1745 was Hugh Mercer, a young surgeon but one year out of the medical school of Marischal College.¹ He was a native of Aberdeen and the son of a Scotch minister. At fifteen he began his medical studies at the University, at nineteen he graduated, at twenty, as assistant surgeon, he was following the ill-fated star of the dashing, daring young Charles Edward Stuart. After the disastrous battle of Culloden the Scots dispersed and, as they had done time and time again in similar adversity, fled to their mountain fastnesses.

Hugh Mercer also sought safety in flight, a flight that carried him all the way across the Atlantic. Taking passage in a ship from Leith he landed in Philadelphia in 1746. The staid Quaker town did not long detain the adventurous young Scotch physician. He was soon in Green Castle, the modern Mercersburg, a frontier town where there were danger and hardship a plenty. A young man of spirit and education, trained in medicine in a European

¹A college of Aberdeen University.



HUGH MERCER



college, he naturally found himself swept to the front where leadership was needed. The practice of medicine and pharmacy, both of which he pursued, took little of his time in that vigorous outdoor country. For other phases of frontier life he had both liking and aptitude. The town lay on the border of the wilderness, where marauding Indians under pressure from the French were every year becoming more troublesome. Hugh Mercer was schooled to the life of a soldier, learned the ways of the redskins, the methods of frontier warfare, and the ability to inspire those under him.

With the outbreak of the French and Indian War Mercer was among the first to enlist, not in the medical service but in the line. From that time to the day of his death he was present in the thickest of the fray wherever there was fighting to be done. He was with Braddock in 1755 in the disastrous march on Fort Duquesne. Among those who fell on that ill-fated day, among the many left for dead, among the few who managed to work their way through the wilderness back to their comrades, was Hugh Mercer.

Soon he was in arms again, organizing a company to protect the frontier against the French and Indians. Stationed at Fort McDowell, the modern Bridgeport, he acted as post surgeon as well as captain of infantry. In the latter capacity he seems to have found most to do. In one encounter with the Indians he was severely wounded and again left for dead. Although more than a hundred miles lay between him and his comrades, he successfully made his way back, subsisting on what was to be found in the woods — berries, roots and a rattlesnake. Once he was sorely pressed by the savages and had to find refuge in a hollow tree about which the Indians camped while they discussed the prospects of capturing and scalping the fugitive.

In the summer of 1756 the Delawares rose and overran western Pennsylvania, killing or capturing more than 1,000 people. Colonel John Armstrong at the head of 300 volunteers crossed the Alleghanies, surprised and burned the Indian town of Kittaning and brought the savages to terms. Mercer commanded a detachment in this expedition and was again severely wounded. The young physician-soldier seemed fated for wounds, but his services in defense of the border did not pass unnoticed. The corporation of Philadelphia bestowed on him its thanks and a memorial medal.

Mercer was next — in 1757 — placed in command of the garrison at Shippenburg, was soon promoted to major and later was given command of the province of Pennsylvania west of the Susquehanna. In 1758 he joined General Forbes in his successful expedition against Fort Duquesne, and when the Fort was taken Mercer was left in charge with 200 men. He was thus the first

American to administer the important settlement which in later years was called Pittsburgh. Out of the friendship with Washington which began in this campaign came Mercer's determination to move to Virginia. He took up his residence at Fredericksburg, where Washington's mother lived and where her son often visited. Mercer was frequently at Mount Vernon, and Washington kept a desk in his friend's apothecary shop in Fredericksburg, meeting his friends and transacting his business there.

Fredericksburg was at that time an important market town, carrying on a thriving trade with the other American colonies and with England. According to one writer, "Wagon trains miles in length loaded with grain were frequently seen approaching it from the mountains, merchant ships anchored at its wharf to purchase flour and other products."³

Mercer was thirty-five years old when he put aside the profession of arms and moved to Fredericksburg. He shortly married Isobel Gordon — by whom he had one daughter and four sons — and addressed himself exclusively to medicine. He set up an apothecary shop in a portion of his house and soon became the leading physician of the community. His shop, a one-story frame building at the corner of Main and Amelia Streets, still stands. After several years he moved his residence to another part of the town, keeping his apothecary shop intact. During the last five years of his residence in Fredericksburg he associated himself in the practice of medicine with at least two other physicians. On May 28, 1771 Dr. Ewen Clements and Hugh Mercer advertised that they "this day became Partners in the Practise of Physick and Surgery, and have opened a Shop on the Main Street furnished with a large assortment of Drugs and Medicines . . . just imported from London."⁴ The following year Clements left Fredericksburg, and Mercer formed a partnership with John Julian. An advertisement in 1772 stated that the two proposed to practise medicine and surgery and to import fresh medicines twice a year, "at Their shop in Fredericksburg, next door to Mrs. Julian's tavern."⁴ This partnership was dissolved in February 1776, and in May of the same year Thomas Powell advertised his intention of opening "a large and fresh assortment of Medicines in the shop formerly occupied by Doctor Mercer, where I will attend to practice."⁵

Mercer must have had close contacts with two residents of Fredericksburg whose names are still remembered. They were his brother-in-law, the fiery and patriotic General Weedon, keeper of the Rising Sun Tavern, and Wil-

³Fleming: *Historic Periods of Fredericksburg*.

⁴Purdie & Dixon's *Virginia Gazette*, June 6, 1771.

⁵*Virginia Gazette*, July 9, 1772.

⁶*Alexander Purdie's Virginia Gazette*, May 31, 1776.

liam Paul, who, like Mercer, had probably fought at Culloden. Paul's tailor-shop still stands, marked with a tablet to commemorate the only home in this country of his brother, John Paul Jones, who, tradition says, occupied it after William's death.⁶ Through his membership in Lodge No. 4, Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons, to which Washington also belonged, Mercer came in touch with the leading men of the day; and his contacts were further increased by his being, with Arthur Lee, Thomas Jefferson and John Walker, a Virginia member of the American Philosophical Society.

An English traveler, visiting Fredericksburg before the Revolution, wrote: "I arrived in Fredericksburg and put up at an inn kept by one Weedon I called upon a worthy and intimate friend, Dr. Hugh Mercer, a physician of great eminence and merit, and as a man, possessed of almost every virtue and accomplishment . . . of a just and moderate way of thinking and possessed of liberal sentiments and a generosity of principle very uncommon among those with whom he embarked."⁷

Mercer's fifteen years' residence in Fredericksburg terminated with the outbreak of the Revolution.⁸ In 1775 Fredericksburg was stirred by the news of Lord Dunmore's removal of the colonial stores of gunpowder from the magazine at Williamsburg. In the excitement which followed men rushed to arms, elected officers and clamored for action. "At a meeting of the select committee for the district of this county, the counties of Caroline, Stafford, King George and Spotsylvania, the following officers were elected: Minutemen—Hugh Mercer, Colonel; Mordecai Buckner, Lieutenant-Colonel; Robert Johnson, Major."⁹ Colonel Mercer was for leading his men to Williamsburg but was dissuaded by wiser heads. After this he continued to be active in the capacity of "commander-in-chief of the battalion of minutemen," composed of volunteers from the surrounding counties.

With the actual outbreak of war the Virginia Convention determined to raise three regiments of a thousand men each. The colonelcy of the First Regiment carried with it the position of commander-in-chief of all the forces. The contest was close between Patrick Henry and Mercer. Henry won, and Mercer was elected colonel of the Third Regiment. That he took the outcome in fine spirit is shown by his own words: "Hugh Mercer will serve his adopted country and the cause of Liberty in any rank or station to which he may be assigned." Later he declared, "We are not engaged in a war of ambition, or I

⁶Russell: John Paul Jones, Man of Action, p. 40.

⁷Annals of Medical History, v. 8, p. 145.

⁸That Mercer had had military relations with the Virginia colony previous to the Revolution is evidenced by a bill he submitted to the Burgesses in 1762 and again in 1764 for "medicine and services to the Regiment." (Journal of the House of Burgesses, v. 1761-65, pp. 142, 144, 275.)

⁹Election held September 12, 1775.

should not have been here. Every man should be content to serve in that station in which he can be most useful. For my part, I have but one object in view, and that is, the success of the cause; and God can witness how cheerfully I would lay down my life to secure it."¹⁰

Colonel Mercer was ordered to Williamsburg where we find him zealously engaged in drilling and organizing the raw recruits of the Virginia forces, variously known as Sons of Liberty, Minutemen, Volunteers and Levies. On one occasion a company of insubordinate mountaineer riflemen, commanded by Captain Gibson and satirically called "Gibson's Lambs," ran amuck in the city of Williamsburg, threatening instant death to any officer who should oppose them. Hearing the news, Mercer rushed to the scene of trouble, directed a general parade of the troops, ordered the offenders disarmed and arrested, and then, before the whole army, addressed them upon their duty as citizens and soldiers and upon the certainty of death for military disobedience. Not only was the disorder quickly quelled, but the mutinous company thereafter became an obedient and effective military unit. By his own example "and by the judicious exercise of severity and kindness he succeeded in reducing a mutinous soldiery to complete submission."

On June 6, 1776 Mercer was notified through John Hancock that Congress had appointed him brigadier-general in the armies of the united colonies. In his reply he referred to his military position at the moment: "I was on duty with part of my regiment before Gwinn's Island where Lord Dunmore has taken possession when your instructions reached me."¹¹ He reported to Washington, who at once gave him command of the troops at Paulus Hook and the responsibility of protecting that point from invasion from Staten Island.¹²

On January 2, 1777 he was with Washington at Trenton. On that memorable night the Council of War was held in General Mercer's headquarters. How Washington gave the boastful Cornwallis the slip, passed around his left wing under cover of darkness and appeared at Princeton at dawn is too well known to need amplification.¹³ The vanguard of about 400 men, consisting of the First Virginia Regiment and some Maryland and Delaware troops, was led by Mercer in person. At Stony Brook Bridge the Americans encountered three regiments of British infantry under Colonel Mawhood. The Continentals, posted behind hedges, fired on the advancing British and gave a good account of themselves until the enemy charged with fixed bayonets. Then the Amer-

¹⁰Goolrick: Historic Fredericksburg, pp. 39, 42.

¹¹Goolrick: Historic Fredericksburg, p. 47.

¹²Goolrick: Historic Fredericksburg, p. 49.

¹³The credit for suggesting this manoeuver has been given to Mercer. (Goolrick: Historic Fredericksburg, p. 49.)

icans gave way. The gallant Mercer was unhorsed but refused to surrender. He was taken from the field in a desperate condition, with seven bayonet wounds and numerous blows about the head, and was left within the British lines at the house of a Mrs. Clarke. The good lady and her daughter acted as nurses, and Washington sent Dr. Benjamin Rush, Dr. Archibald Alexander and his nephew, Major George Lewis, to attend him; but he died January 12, 1777. He was buried in Christ Churchyard, Philadelphia, and many years later his body was removed to the Laurel Hill Cemetery, where a monument was erected to his memory.

Far and wide the admirers of Mercer have done their best to keep his memory green. In the annual list of honored alumni of Aberdeen University Mercer is one of the three chosen to represent the profession of arms, the other two being Field Marshal James Keith and Sir James Outram. Counties in Kentucky, New Jersey and Pennsylvania as well as the town of Mercersburg and Mercersburg Academy have been named after him. In Peale's well known painting of the battle of Princeton a prominent position has been assigned to the hero, General Mercer. Monuments to his memory now stand in Philadelphia, Princeton and Fredericksburg. On the last is inscribed:

Sacred to the Memory of
Hugh Mercer
Brigadier General
in the army of
the United States.
He died on the 12 of Jan. 1777
of the wounds he received
on the 2nd of the same month
near Princeton, in New Jersey,
Bravely defending the
Liberties of America.
The Congress of the United States
in testimony of his virtues
and their gratitude
have caused this monument to be erected.¹⁴

II. ARTHUR LEE (1740-1792)

Washington once remarked that he knew no country that had produced a family so distinguished as the Lees. Of the six sons of Thomas Lee, first na-

¹⁴Additional sources used for the facts of Mercer's life were Kelly and Burrage: Dictionary of American Medical Biography, p. 834; Lossing: The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution, pp. 29, 30; personal communication from the Citizens' Guild of Fredericksburg; Campbell: History of Virginia.

tive-born governor of Virginia, Francis Lightfoot was a signer of the Declaration of Independence; Richard Henry was father of the Resolution for American Independence; Thomas Ludwell was a member of Congress; and Arthur, the youngest, was a physician, writer and diplomat. Arthur Lee was born at Stratford on December 20, 1740. His education was in the hands of his oldest brother, Richard Henry, who had himself studied in Europe. Arthur was early sent to Eton. Finishing his course there, he joined his fellow Virginians, Blair, Bland, Gilmer, Corbin Griffin, Tapscott, Bankhead and Feild at Edinburgh.¹⁵

There is every evidence that he pursued the study of medicine diligently. He probably belonged to the Virginia Club, the constitution of which is contained in the Bland papers. That he had a part in the memorandum addressed to the House of Burgesses by these students is shown in his correspondence of 1764, where he speaks of himself as "one who would not willingly suffer the honour of a Physician to be prostituted. This they [his Edinburgh professors] had learned from the memorial I prevailed on my countrymen here to draw up, and themselves to sign with a view to maintain the dignity of the practice of medicine in Virginia."¹⁶ The seriousness with which he took his profession may be gathered from a letter written at the time of his graduation: "The more I apply to the study of medicine, the more arduous, intricate and extensive it appears; and I cannot help applying to a Physician what Cicero has to an Orator — ut omnibus humandatibus disciplinis et virtutibus debeat esse instructissimus,—nor could I think of taking on me the very important charge of preserving health and curing diseases until I have longer endeavoured to do justice to those who may be so good as to employ me."¹⁷

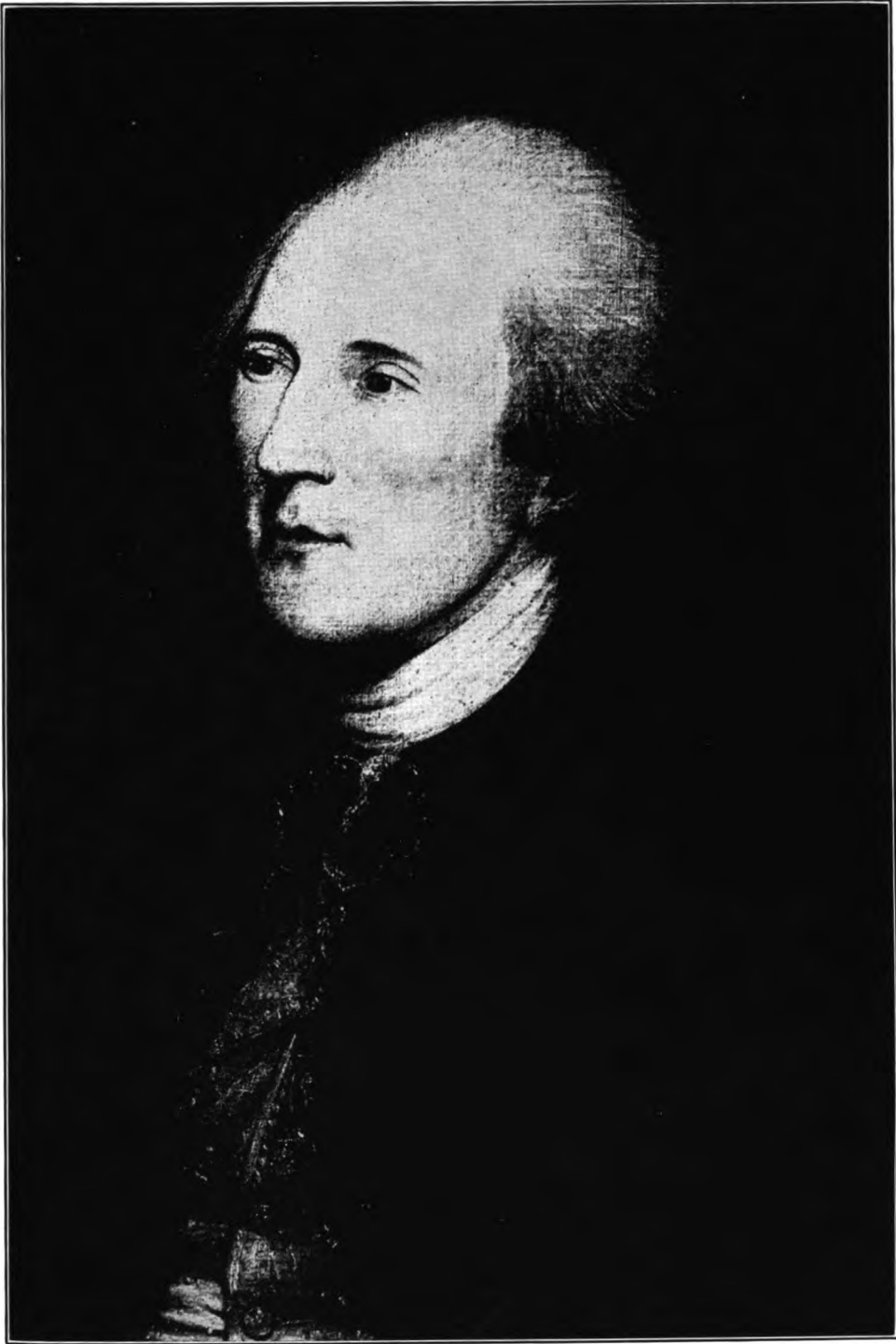
He graduated in 1764, and his diploma bears the names of the most distinguished men of that day: Gregory, Hope, Young, Hunter, Ferguson, Blair, Stewart and the two Robertsons. In his thesis, entitled *De Cortice Peruviana*, he discussed the botanical characteristics and medical virtues of Jesuits' Bark. This won for him a gold medal prize and the publication of his essay by the University. He put aside an ambition to introduce himself to practice with a book on this same subject. "I had once some thoughts of publishing a book on the bark," he admitted later. His interest in botany is further shown by his correspondence with Adanson, the French naturalist, who expressed the hope that he would follow the profession of botanist when he returned to America.

His scientific attainments were early recognized in England. A clipping

¹⁵In December 1763 he wrote his brother, "It is now three years since I left you, in which time my expenses have amounted to £419."

¹⁶Southern Literary Messenger, v. 29, p. 70.

¹⁷Southern Literary Messenger, v. 29, p. 71.



ARTHUR LEE

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from a Virginia newspaper found in a collection kept by John Randolph of Roanoke gives the following news item: "Sept. 26, (1766) London, July 8. Arthur Lee, M. D., of Virginia, a young gent. of great learning and abilities was lately elected a fellow of the Royal Society."¹⁸

After graduation Dr. Lee traveled through Germany and Holland. He returned to America and began the practice of medicine at Williamsburg in 1766, "where, I flatter myself," he wrote, "that the favour and even prejudice of my friends will supply the place of real merit."¹⁹ He had written to his brother while still a student at Edinburgh: "The great end I propose in studying Physic, is to live happily with my much loved friends and be useful to them. 'Tis this pleasing prospect alone that can smooth the rugged path I have to tread, and can render tolerable the painful thought of so long a separation from all that is dear to me, and if the most severe application to study, and unwearied researches after knowledge will answer this view only, I shall look back with pleasure on my past toils and hold them rewarded."²⁰

In Williamsburg he apparently gained considerable reputation and practice. In July 1766 Thomas Jones wrote his brother, Dr. Walter Jones, then a student at Edinburgh: "Mr. Lee arrived here I think about 4 or 5 weeks past, it is thought he will make a great Figure, as soon as he came to Westmorl'd he might have had as many patients as he could attend, but his being there was only by way of visit to his Friends, and then to the Metropolis, where he is to reside."²¹

A year later he gained notoriety by challenging James Mercer to a duel. The columns of the *Virginia Gazette* for several months carried charges and counter charges as to why the duel never took place. Each of the principals accused the other of failing to appear. Two other Williamsburg doctors were involved in the affair—Dr. Corbin Griffin as Lee's second, and William Pasteur as surgeon to Mercer.²² In the same year Lee's name appears on the list of visitors at William and Mary College.

Two years later Lee suddenly gave up medicine. The practice of medicine in Virginia in those days, though it needed just such men as Bland and Lee, demanded stout bodies as well as stout hearts, and neither of these young men survived its buffetings many years. In the case of Lee there was before him the example of his brothers, who were already shining lights in the political arena. The urge to enter the same field was not to be resisted, especially by

¹⁸ *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, v. 16, p. 206.

¹⁹ *Southern Literary Messenger*, v. 29, p. 72.

²⁰ *Southern Literary Messenger*, v. 29, p. 66.

²¹ Jones: Captain Roger Jones, p. 230.

²² Purdie & Dixon's *Virginia Gazette*, May 28, 1767; Rind's *Virginia Gazette*, July 23, 1767.

one able to sense the approaching political crisis. Lee repaired to England in 1768 to study law at the Temple.²³ There he concerned himself chiefly with international law, the municipal laws of England and the British constitution. He did not entirely lose interest in scientific pursuits, however, as a letter written at this time shows: "The study of law, to which I am now applying, admits of little attention to philosophy. However, in the course of the year, we have had before the society, some experiments of Mr. Hewson, in which he has very full discovered the lymphatic system, in a variety of fish, and in some of the amphibii, as in a turtle. He finds too, from experiment and observation, that a sily crust or buff takes place in blood, when the coagulable lymph has the least tenacity, and is least disposed to coagulate; whence the red globules having time to sink through, collect at the bottom, and leave the coagulable lymph so copiously at top, as to exhibit this appearance. That, therefore it is in truth a sign of the tenuity, not of the tenacity of the blood . . . The study of the law pleases me much, but where I shall practise when I have obtain'd a gown, God knows."²⁴

From 1770 to 1775 he practised law in London, making many valuable contacts which aided him not only in obtaining a lucrative law practice but in playing the rôle of political spy. He became the colonial agent for Massachusetts in 1770, serving under Franklin whom he succeeded in 1775. He was also the colonial agent for Virginia. In 1775, too, the Committee of Secret Correspondence of Congress chose him its European agent.²⁵ All this time he was mingling with British society, keeping an ear to the ground for the colonial plans of the ministry. He kept in constant secret correspondence with members of Congress, informed Massachusetts of the plans of the British ministry and warned the Americans of the proposed expedition through the Sound and up the Connecticut River.

He became a vigorous pamphleteer. The *Monitor* essays, which at one time were attributed to Lord Chatham, were very powerful agencies in influencing the course of English political sentiment at this time. They were published in London in 1768, having previously been printed in Virginia. Other writings by him were *The Political Detection: or the Treachery and Tyranny of Administration, both at Home and Abroad* (1770), signed "Junius Americanus;" and *An Appeal to the Justice and Interests of the People of Great Britain in the Present Disputes with America* (1774).²⁶

In 1776 with Franklin and Deane he was appointed on a commission to

²³Tyler: *Cyclopedia of Virginia Biography*, p. 18.

²⁴Bland Papers, pp. 29-30.

²⁵Encyclopedia Britannica: Article on Arthur Lee.

²⁶Encyclopedia Britannica.

negotiate a treaty of alliance and commerce with France. The influence of this commission was later felt in the very important recognition by France of the colonial government. Early in 1777 he went on a mission to Spain, Vienna and Berlin, and in 1778 he signed the treaties with France, although Franklin and Deane had carried on most of the negotiations. He was recalled to this country in 1779 because of his unpopularity at the courts of both France and Spain.

After his return to the United States Lee held a number of important positions. He was one of the commissioners to treat with the Six Nations in 1784. He was elected to the Assembly of Virginia from Prince William County in 1781, and from 1782 to 1785 served in the Continental Congress. From 1785 to 1789 he was one of the three members of the Treasury Board and was called upon to manage intricate financial problems. Upon the adoption of the new federal constitution, which he had bitterly opposed, he retired from public life and settled on his estate near Urbanna, Virginia, expecting to enjoy a quiet rural life. In 1792 he became ill with what was said to be pleurisy and died on December 12. He never married. The American Philosophical Society and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences had made him an honorary member, and Harvard had conferred upon him the degree of LL.D.

While many admired Dr. Lee's scholarship and applauded his ardent patriotism, some, like Benjamin Franklin and Silas Deane, regarded him as jealous, suspicious, malignant and quarrelsome. In fact, at one time the correspondence between Lee and Franklin was so acrimonious that Franklin retorted, "I have omitted answering some of your letters particularly your very angry ones in which you with very magisterial airs schooled and documented me as if I had been one of your domestics."²⁷

Jefferson held similar opinions of him. On the whole, however, he had very strong support in Congress and was affectionately regarded by his family and fellow Virginians as a man of scholarly attainments and unimpeachable loyalty to country and state.²⁸

III. THEODORICK BLAND (1740-1790)

Little has been made of the fact that Theodorick Bland, Jr., described by a well known historian of the Revolution as poet, soldier and legislator, went through a long and thorough medical training in the best universities of Europe and for seven years practised his profession in the colony. His grand-

²⁷ Bigelow: *Life of Benjamin Franklin*, v. 2, p. 425.

²⁸ Additional sources used for the facts of Lee's life were Kelly and Burrage: *Dictionary of American Medical Biography*, pp. 728, 729; Lee: *Life of Arthur Lee*.

father was the little Richard Bland whose cow went to boarding school with him in Henrico County. His family lived in Blandford, a suburb of Petersburg, where the elder Theodorick had large holdings in tobacco warehouses. Theodorick, Jr.'s mother was Frances Bolling, and he was born in 1740.²⁹ At the age of thirteen he was sent to school at Wakefield in Yorkshire, where he remained for five years, from 1753 to 1758.³⁰ Robert Bolling was a fellow school-mate, and the celebrated Mr. John Clarke was the master.³¹ Mr. Clarke, reporting Theodorick's progress, informed his parents that he required "discipline as much as any other young gentleman" and was far from good in composition and Latin. He read Xenophon and Horace, however, and managed to stand second in his class.

In 1759 he began the study of medicine at the Liverpool Infirmary, his father having had considerable correspondence with friends in England as to the best place for him to take up his studies. Oxford was highly recommended because of its physic gardens, physicians and attention to morals and discipline.³² It was admitted that both Edinburgh and Leyden were noted centers of science and possessed the added virtue of being cheaper. It was also admitted that the degree of doctor of physic could not be attained at Oxford in less than fourteen years. These facts evidently decided the matter, for in 1761 Bland transferred to the University of Edinburgh — the favorite university for Virginia students. Bland worked hard, attending classes seven hours a day and at night "revising and recapitulating the work of the preceding day." Numerous medical notes, essays and theses attest the diligence with which he pursued his studies. He was a member of the famous Virginia Club, originated primarily to stimulate interest in anatomy. With his fellow medical students from Virginia he joined in the petition to the Council and House of Burgesses expressing concern over "the present unguarded state of physic" in the Colony. He graduated in 1763 with the thesis *De Coctione Alimentorum in Ventriculo*.

His Edinburgh career was punctuated by at least two important happenings, the arrival of the negro boy, Tom, sent over by his father to wait on him, and a love affair with a Miss Annie Miller from Virginia. A letter home announced the completion of his course in Edinburgh and his plans for post graduate study on the Continent:

²⁹Chamberlayne: Vestry Book and Register of Bristol Parish.

³⁰His schooling at Wakefield for the year 1758 amounted to little more than 56 pounds sterling.

³¹Stanard: Colonial Virginia, Its People and Customs, p. 291.

³²McClurg, in later years, writing to his nephew Dr. McCaw in Edinburgh, warned him against the lewd and immoral atmosphere which prevailed among a large portion of the student body.

"Hon'd Sir: I shall go to London immediately upon having taken up my doctor's degree. From London, with your consent and the approbation of Mr. Bland and Dr. Fothergill, I propose to proceed to Leyden, and should likewise be extremely glad, with the same sanction, to see Paris; as I flatter myself with economy all this may be done with very little increase of expense, and at the same time with the greatest advantage to me in compleating that education I promise myself the inexpressible pleasure of returning to my dear country and parents in two years at most."³³

In 1765 he returned to Virginia, married Miss Martha Daingerfield of the Northern Neck and began the practice of medicine in Petersburg. He was at once elected to the vestry of Bristol Parish, and the vestry book shows that he was one of the doctors employed to treat the poor of the parish. In 1774 he was one of those appointed by the vestry to select a site for a poor house.³⁴ He possessed everything to make a success — social background, wealth, foreign travel and a degree from Europe's leading university. He entered upon his life's work with high hopes, if we may judge from his spirited memorandum to the House of Burgesses pointing out the inferior order of medicine practised in the Colony and urging reform. Seven years later the condition of medical practice in the colony of Virginia had wrought a tremendous change in his point of view, as the following letter to his father indicates: "My experience in the nature and situation of my native country, and the mode of practicing physic therein, would not suffer me to foresee the immense fatigue, labour, toil, and trouble which I was to undergo, in the practice, at the time I made choice 'through your indulgence' of a profession which afforded the most agreeable prospect of amusement for the mind, and of providing for myself on my return, without continuing to be burdensome to my parents. With a constitution weak and infirm from my cradle, I buffeted the winds and faced the weather in all its extremes from the severest cold to the most intense and scorching heat; I exposed myself to every inclemency both by night and by day; and have for near seven years undergone all the distresses, cares and anxieties, which are the constant and unremitting attendants of a conscientious practitioner of physic, and all this in direct opposition to my leading and strongest inclinations to a calm, quiet, and philosophical life in a rural situation, and with a loss of every social and domestic enjoyment; for what enjoyment of time can a man have who is subject to perpetual alarms my resolution to renounce the practice of physic is not the effect of whim or caprice, but of absolute and cogent necessity."³⁵ In 1771 his partnership "in

³³Bland Papers, p. 24.

³⁴Chamberlayne: Vestry Book and Register of Bristol Parish, pp. 202, 243, 244, 245, 254.

³⁵Bland Papers, p. 30.

a medicinal shop" in Petersburg with Dr. William Stark, Jr., was dissolved, and Dr. Stark continued the business alone.⁸⁶

From this time until the outbreak of the Revolution we hear very little of Bland. In 1775 he joined a party of Virginia gentlemen in a raid on the Governor's Palace at Williamsburg which resulted in the removal of 230 flint-locks and 301 swords. With the outbreak of the Revolution the retired physician of Blandford raised at his own expense a regiment of light horse, the First Continental Dragoons. As Colonel of this regiment Bland served throughout most of the war. His cavalry was reconnoitering when Philadelphia was threatened and was in action at the battle of the Brandywine. He was later put in charge of the convention troops, who after their capture at Saratoga were moved to Charlottesville, and was highly commended for his care of these prisoners. He retired from the army in November 1779.

Bland served as a delegate to the Continental Congress from 1780 to 1783. On September 9, 1780 he was added to the Medical Committee of Congress, an important group which shaped the medical policies of the army through many stormy upheavals. He was a member of the Virginia Convention of 1788 and voted for ratification of the constitution. In 1789 he became a member of the new Congress. During this period he was frequently the guest of the President, Washington's diary recording a number of visits from Colonel Bland. He died in New York in 1790, while representing his state in Congress, and was buried in Trinity Churchyard.⁸⁷

In his youth Bland had dabbled a little in versification. The Bland papers contain two of his poems — one a schoolboy translation of Virgil's first *Eclogue*, the other an effusion on the Battle of Lexington, more patriotic than poetic. During the Revolution he wrote violently against the English, and several philippics against Lord Dunmore were the products of his pen. That he was regarded as a man of education, with literary and scientific tastes, may be judged from the fact that he was chosen chairman of the "Virginia Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge," organized in Williamsburg in November 1777 to discuss such subjects as geography, history, philosophy, mathematics and physic. Dr. James McClurg, Dabney Carr, Nathaniel Burwell and the Pages were also members of the society.

In spite of General Henry Lee's assertion that Colonel Bland, though noble, honorable and amiable, "was never intended for the department of Military Intelligence," he seems to have enjoyed Washington's confidence and was employed by him repeatedly in this branch of the service.

⁸⁶Virginia Gazette, March 28, 1771.

⁸⁷His will, dated November 5, 1789, was proved in Prince George County, August 12, 1790. (Prince George County Records, v. 1787-1792, p. 404.)

Thomas Anburey, a British officer, and therefore probably prejudiced, encountered him at Charlottesville. His record of the meeting is amusing: "Having some business with Colonel Bland, of whom I made mention in a former letter, I went to his house just as he had mounted horse, but he, with the politeness which, but in justice to him, I must say, he shews to the British officers, dismounted, and invited me in, and after communicating my business, upon my taking leave of him, notwithstanding his politeness and attention, I could not help smiling at the pomposity, and the great importance he assumes, to make himself appear to us consequential; for to convince us that he was conversant with the French language, having mounted his horse without his sword, he called to a negroe he had purchased from one of the French West-Indian islands, to bring it him, which the fellow did without the scabbard; when the Colonel, in great anger, said to him, *Donney moi, donney moi*, and after great hesitation, *donney moi mon scabbard.*"³⁸

Chastellux left a more serious picture, describing him as a tall, handsome man, "who has been in the West Indies where he acquired French. He is said to be a good soldier, but at present serves his country and serves it well in Congress."³⁹

IV. WALTER JONES (1745-1815)

"The luminary of the Northern Neck," as Walter Jones was styled by his admirers, was born in Northampton County, Virginia, December 18, 1745. His father was Thomas Jones, son of Captain Roger Jones who came to Virginia in the preceding century and died here in 1701. His mother was Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Dr. William Cocks and a niece of the naturalist, Mark Catesby. Walter was the ninth of ten children.⁴⁰ Little is known of his boyhood. In 1758, when he was thirteen years old, his mother wrote her oldest son, Thomas, that "Watt" was "one of the most heedless creatures that ever was born, but I must say that in the main he is a very good Boy." In another letter she added, "He has quick parts a good memory and a glib Tongue."⁴¹

The boy, thus endowed, went like many other Virginia youths to William and Mary College, where in 1760 at the early age of fifteen he was a student. His room-mate was Bathurst Skelton, first husband of Martha Wayles, who

³⁸Anburey: *Travels through the Interior Parts of America*, 1779, p. 353.

³⁹The principal sources of information on Colonel Bland are *The Bland Papers*; Tyler: *Cyclopedia of Virginia Biography*; Slaughter: *History of Bristol Parish*.

⁴⁰Jones: *Captain Roger Jones, Some of his Antecedents and Descendants*, pp. 34, 35, 36.

⁴¹Jones: *Captain Roger Jones, Some of his Antecedents and Descendants*, p. 224.

afterward married Thomas Jefferson.⁴² It was here that his life-long friendship with Jefferson began. It may also have been at this period that he developed views which stamped him as a "Free Thinker" — views which he lived to regret and to renounce. Later in life he embraced the Christian faith and for "the satisfaction and the gratification of his children" wrote a lengthy volume denouncing his former attitude.⁴³

From William and Mary College Jones went to the University of Edinburgh to study medicine. There he did exceptionally well, enjoying the friendship and esteem of many of his professors, especially of Dr. Cullen. In fact he was regarded as "the most shining young gentleman of his profession in Edinburgh and one who would make a great figure where ever he went."⁴⁴ While still a student he felt it his duty to pay particular attention to the study of dysentery. In the colonies this disease was popularly known as Bloody Flux, and its fearful ravages were yearly a matter of concern to the planters everywhere. He made *de Dysentaria* the subject of his final dissertation. Jones graduated on June 12, 1769 but returned to the Scotch capital the following winter for Dr. Cullen's important course on Practice, which was considered too valuable to miss.⁴⁵

His studies over, he returned to Virginia in 1770 and established himself at Hayfield, in Lancaster County. Here he quickly gained a reputation as a physician and a scholar and enjoyed a large practice. In 1773 he married Alice Flood, a daughter of Dr. William Flood. Of their eight children the oldest, General Walter Jones, became a distinguished lawyer of Washington, D. C. A daughter, Elizabeth, married Dr. Ellyson Currie and they had a son, Dr. Ellyson Currie, Jr.⁴⁶

In 1774 Dr. Jones was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. "He was," said a distinguished gentleman who for some time enjoyed his acquaintance but whose name unfortunately has not survived, "for the variety and extent of his learning, the originality and strength of his mind, the sagacity of his observation, one of the most extraordinary men I have ever known. He was an accurate observer of nature and of human character, and seemed to possess intuitively the faculty of discerning the hidden cause of disease and of applying with a promptness and decision peculiar to himself, the appropriate remedies."⁴⁷

⁴²Jones: Captain Roger Jones, Some of his Antecedents and Descendants, p. 46.

⁴³Virginia Historical Collections, v. 10, p. 379.

⁴⁴Kelly and Burrage: Dictionary of American Medical Biography, p. 680.

⁴⁵Jones: Captain Roger Jones, Some of his Antecedents and Descendants, p. 232.

⁴⁶Jones: Captain Roger Jones, Some of his Antecedents and Descendants, p. 106.

⁴⁷Thacher: American Medical Biography, v. 1, p. 344.

The onset of the Revolution, which took so many Virginia doctors into the army, for some reason apparently did not stir Walter Jones from his position in Lancaster County. Congress appointed him Physician General to the Hospital of the Middle Department on April 11, 1777, and there is a general impression that he served in this capacity, but actually he never assumed office. The Journal of Congress, June 23, 1777, records: "A letter of the 20th from Dr. W. Shippen, informing that Dr. Walter Jones, for weighty reasons, cannot accept the honour Congress did of appointing him physician general of the hospitals of the middle department." On July 1 Congress proceeded to elect Benjamin Rush "in the room of Dr. Jones, who declines" ⁴⁸

Mr. Robert Bladen writes to Walter Jones
D.
1789 To hurry attend. Medicines in your illness this year of 1791
E. C. July 23^d 1791.
Walt. Jones

Shortly after the Revolution Dr. Jones wrote to his brother Frederick: "I am in circumstances the least adapted to my natural temper of any creature living. A very growing family, and a very laborious profession, would be sufficient restraint upon a disposition like mine, than which there never was one more averse from what is called care." As executor of the estate and guardian of the children of a relative of his wife's, he had assumed an added responsibility. ⁴⁹

If domestic cares kept him from military duty, Dr. Jones was later able to render marked political service to his country. In 1786 he was one of the five commissioners appointed by the Virginia House of Delegates to meet with commissioners from other states at Annapolis and take steps toward strengthening the Confederation. This meeting was the forerunner of the Federal Convention held at Philadelphia in 1787. For some reason Dr. Jones did not go to Annapolis, ⁵⁰ but in 1788 he was elected to the Constitutional Convention held at Richmond, and Madison, writing to Jefferson in Paris, noted with sat-

⁴⁸Owen: Medical Department of the United States Army. Eckenrode lists Jones as physician general in his List of Virginia soldiers of 1776.

⁴⁹Jones: Captain Roger Jones, Some of His Antecedents and Descendants, p. 239.

⁵⁰Virginia Historical Collections, v. 10, p. 153.

isfaction that Jones, along with Wythe, Marshall, and a majority of those elected to the Convention, could be counted upon as favorable to the new constitution.⁵¹

The political career of Dr. Jones did not properly begin until 1797, when he was elected to the Fifth Congress of the United States during Adams's first term.⁵² It was a period of domestic dissention and foreign alarms, when party spirit ran high and Congress was guilty of much unwise and unpopular legislation. For eleven years Jones served his state in Congress. He was out for the last two years of Adams's administration but was returned with the triumph of the anti-federalists and the election of Jefferson. He remained in Congress until 1811, through the first two years of Madison's administration, long enough to play a part in the legislative acts connected with the Louisiana Purchase, the Lewis-Clarke Expedition and the unpopular Embargo Act which led to the War of 1812. It was during this period that Commodore Preble and Stephen Decatur punished the pirates of northern Africa and made our shipping respected upon the seas. It was a time also when the politically thwarted Aaron Burr murdered Hamilton under the disguise of a duel, plotted insurrection on the Ohio and stirred the Virginia capital in one of the most notable trials ever held there.

Dr. Jones in one of his campaigns for election to Congress ran against General Lee in the Westmoreland district. A biographer of John Randolph, describing the campaign, declared that "in colloquial eloquence and irony, no one could surpass Dr. Jones."⁵³

Of one of the Doctor's political papers Jefferson wrote in 1814 in a letter to Jones: "It is . . . a perfect model of the style of discussion which candor and decency should observe, of the tone which renders difference of opinion even amiable, and a succinct, correct, and dispassionate history of the origin and progress of party among us. It might be incorporated as it stands . . . into the history of the present epoch. . . ."⁵⁴

Walter Jones died at his home on December 31, 1815, aged seventy. A well trained and accomplished physician, a forceful and perspicuous writer, his many gifts made him truly an ornament to the profession of his day.

⁵¹Jones: Captain Roger Jones, *Some of his Antecedents and Descendants*, p. 361.

⁵²Virginia Historical Collections, v. 10, p. 379.

⁵³Jones: Captain Roger Jones, *Some of his Antecedents and Descendants*, p. 46.

⁵⁴Ford: *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, v. 9, p. 446.

CHAPTER XII

DOCTORS OF THE COLONIAL WARS

I.

THE colonial wars in America were fought on many frontiers and for the most part in a discursory and haphazard fashion. Virginia played a part in most of them, often contributing signally to the outcome. Her forces took part in the defense of Georgia's coast against a threatened invasion of the Spanish fleet. In 1740 four hundred Virginians under Governor Gooch sailed for Jamaica, the English rendezvous in the campaign against Carthage. In 1746 she furnished her quota for an invasion of Canada. Virginians fought under Washington at Great Meadows and Fort Necessity, carried off the credit, if there was any credit, at Braddock's defeat, and later, again under Washington, shared with Pennsylvanians the honor of Fort Duquesne. Three thousand Virginians under General Andrew Lewis and Governor Dunmore marched against the Indians in 1774. Lewis's victory at Point Pleasant, where Colonel William Fleming, M. D. commanded a regiment and was wounded, brought the Indians to terms and opened up Kentucky. To all of these military expeditions physicians were naturally attached, but of only a few has a record survived.

Early in 1755 Braddock arrived in Virginia, and on April 14 he met the Governors in convention at Alexandria, where it was decided that he should lead his forces against Fort Duquesne. Two weeks before this Governor Dinwiddie, already arrived in Alexandria, wrote Dr. Anderson, "I am sorry for y'r Loss at the Meadows. I believe there are two Chests of Medicine sent up from W'm'b'g, I suppose one for You and the other for Doct'r Colhoun There are no Medicines to be purchased here, but as there is a Hospital for all the Forces landed here, I doubt not but on Occasion You may be supplied from them"¹

A little later Dinwiddie instructed Colonel Washington that the men were "to be regularly p'd their full Subsistence with't any Deductions, except'g two Pence per Month from each Non-Commission'd Officer and Private Man, for the Surgeon to purchase Medicines. Y's Money to be stopped by the Pay M'r and to be p'd to the Surgeon quarterly"²

¹Brock: Dinwiddie Papers, v. 2, p. 9.

²Brock: Dinwiddie Papers, v. 2, p. 185.

Preparatory to the Sandy Creek Expedition Dinwiddie, writing to Lieutenant William Fleming, February 6, 1756, said: "I refer You to Dr. Gilmer, who writes You by Y's Express, and sends You Medicines, w'ch I hope will be sufficient for y's Expedition; and as You act as Surgeon You must be p'd for y't extra Trouble"³

Of the physicians who were present at Braddock's defeat at least five later attained eminence in the profession: Adam Stephen, James Craik, Hugh Mercer, Thomas Walker and Andrew Robertson. Perhaps the best known physician of the colonial wars was Adam Stephen, whose fame rests on his military rather than on his medical achievements. He was born in Scotland about 1718. For four years he studied at the University of Aberdeen, receiving his M. A. from King's College in 1740, and devoted two additional years to "the different physical classes at Edinburgh." It was said that "Donald Munroe, Gregory and Stephen took away the palm in all the classes of philosophy, mathematics and physic." He passed the examination as naval surgeon and was appointed surgeon's mate on a man-of-war, but discovering the officers and crew in general to be "a parcel of bears" he preferred a berth as surgeon on an army hospital ship in the expedition against Port l'Orient.⁴ Later he was surgeon on a merchantman bound for Virginia and saved the ship from an attack by French privateers. After various other adventures he left the sea, emigrated to Maryland in 1748 and soon after moved to Fredericksburg, Virginia, where he practised until 1754. In that year, at the solicitation of William Fairfax, he entered the service, became senior captain in Colonel Fry's regiment, and raised a company of soldiers in Winchester.⁵ At Fry's death he was elevated to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, fought under Washington at Great Meadows and was seriously wounded at Braddock's defeat.

In 1763 he commanded the Virginia regiment against the Indians in Pontiac's War, and in Dunmore's War he was second-in-command to the governor. Meanwhile, during the peaceful intervals, he served in various civil capacities—as magistrate of Frederick County in 1764 and as high sheriff of Berkeley County in 1772.⁶

An ardent Whig, Stephen was from the beginning in sympathy with the colonies and was in close touch with the Virginia leaders of the Revolution. He was a member of the convention of 1775, accepted service as colonel of a

³Brock: *Dinwiddie Papers*, v. 2, pp. 335, 336.

⁴Manuscript of B. Rush, quoted by Hugh S. Cumming in an unpublished essay on *Medicine in Virginia*, p. 41.

⁵Memoir by Alex. R. Boteler, 1860; reprinted in Norris: *History of the Lower Shenandoah Valley*, p. 332.

⁶Thwaites and Kellogg: *Dunmore's War*, p. 191.

Virginia regiment and in 1776 was made a brigadier-general. After serving at Princeton and Trenton he was promoted, in 1777, to major-general. Horatio Gates and Charles Lee were the only other Virginians to hold this rank. Stephen served with honor at Brandywine, but his military career was soon to be closed. He was sharply censured by Washington and dismissed from the army for being intoxicated during the Battle of Germantown. Washington was severely criticized for this action, especially by Stephen's own command, who were incensed at the dismissal.

Returning to his frontier plantation in what is now West Virginia, Stephen was respected and honored until his death in 1791. In 1778 he laid out the town of Martinsburg on his own land. As a member of the Virginia Constitutional Convention in 1788 he was a strong advocate of the constitution and a vigorous opponent of Patrick Henry's opposition.

Toner⁷ could find no reference to Stephen's being a physician other than a statement in the *New York Magazine*, August 1791, that he was widely known and highly esteemed for his medical talents, his learning and mental endowments. However, doubt on this point is effectively dispelled by a manuscript endorsed in the handwriting of Dr. Rush, "Col. Stephen's life written by himself for B. Rush in 1775," which mentions two very remarkable operations performed by Stephen: "Stephens made himself known by making an incision in the liver of Mrs. Mercer of Stafford County, cleansing and healing the ulcers there, contrary to the opinion of all the faculty employed to cure the lady." Equally remarkable for that day was the feat of "performing the operation for the aneurism on Abraham Hill and restoring to him the use of his arm and hand."⁸ Added testimony to Adam Stephen's medical training is furnished by references to him as "Dr. Stephen" in the county records and by his signed reports on the physical examination of applicants for Revolutionary pensions.⁹

II.

William Fleming's reputation was both military and political. Born in Jedburgh, Scotland, February 18, 1729, he received his early education in Dumfries and his medical training at the University of Edinburgh. Like many others of his day he immediately went into the medical service of the navy. He fought against the Spaniards, was taken prisoner and after a rigorous con-

⁷Washington's Journal, 1754, edited by Toner.

⁸Cumming: *History of Medicine and Surgery in Virginia*, p. 41. (MS.)

⁹Pension Papers, Virginia State Archives, 1788.

finement was released. Soon after this he set sail for Virginia, landing in 1755.¹⁰ He immediately became active in the military enterprises of the colony. "Ensign William Fleming," who acted also as surgeon, is one of those in the "exact list of officers in the Virginia Regiment commanded by the Hon'ble George Washington" in the expedition against the French in 1755.¹¹ He served in the Sandy Creek Expedition of 1756, took part in the Cherokee Expedition of 1760-61, and in 1762 became a captain in Colonel Adam Stephen's regiment, commanding two of the frontier forts.

For the time being he had had enough of fighting. After the peace of 1763 he set up as a physician in Staunton and married Anne, the sister of Colonel William Christian. In 1768 he moved to a plantation called Belmont in what two years later became Botetourt County. He was one of the first justices of the peace of the new county and took an active interest in farming.¹²

When all the Virginia frontier flew to arms in the Indian uprising of 1774, William Fleming, as colonel, promptly raised a regiment of Botetourt militia. Colonel Andrew Lewis, to whom Dunmore had given the general command of all the troops, placed his particular division under the charge of Colonel Fleming, who was regarded as "a skilful surgeon, and a man of culture, whose popularity with his men was unbounded." Under Fleming seven captains led out the Botetourt troops, three hundred and fifty strong. They joined the other troops at Camp Union (Lewisburg, West Virginia).¹³ The expedition, which ended in victory at Point Pleasant on October 10, had serious consequences for Colonel Fleming.

"Col. Fleming was shot with three balls . . . while speaking to the division in a peace of clear ground," wrote Colonel Christian a few days after the battle. "With great coolness and deliberation he stept slowly back and told them not to mind him but to go up and fight. Poor Col. Lewis soon after he reached the camp died & I fear poor Flemming will. I hope and fear for him His loss here is irreparable." A postscript added the next day was more encouraging: "Poor Flemming seems like living today, has some hopes that the ball was far spent and has not gone far through his body if he mends fast he can see to nursing ye wounded soon"¹⁴

Colonel Fleming himself described the battle to his brother-in-law, William Bowyer.¹⁵ "I received three balls," he wrote on October 13. "Two struck my left arm below the Elbow broke both the bones, & I find one of them is lodged

¹⁰Thwaites and Kellogg: *Dunmore's War*, p. 428.

¹¹Virginia Historical Collections, v. 11, p. 214.

¹²Thwaites and Kellogg: *Dunmore's War*, p. 428.

¹³Thwaites and Kellogg: *Dunmore's War*, Introduction, p. xviii.

¹⁴Thwaites and Kellogg: *Dunmore's War*, pp. 265, 266.

¹⁵Thwaites and Kellogg: *Dunmore's War*, p. 254.

in my arm. a third entered my breast about three Inches below my left Nipple and is lodged some where in the Chest. on finding myself effectually disabled I quitted the Field. when I came to be drest, I found my Lungs forced through the wound in my breast, as long as one of my fingers. Watkins Attempted to reduce them ineffectually. he got some part returned but not the whole. being in considerable pain, some time afterwards, I got the whole Returned by the Assistance of one of my Own Attendants. since which I thank the Almighty I have been in a surprizing state of ease. Nor did I ever Know such daingerous wounds, Attended with so little inconvenience, and yet the wounds in my arm are in a bad condition. they do not digest and run but verry little. what will be the consequence as yet I know not”

Colonel Fleming's orderly book, giving a daily account of the expedition, affords interesting reading. Here he describes the progress of his wound. He left camp October 31 on his way home, traveling by canoe and horse. November 10: "all this day I had a fever which increased very much. my wounds enflamed & stopt running, and I had a very bad night but got easier in the morning & marchd about 12 o'Clock" November 11: "had a fever all night which continued all Saturday I got bled in the Arm my wounds were much enflamed the Arm sweld greatly and the most Violent Shooting flying (pains) in my hand fingers & tho I took some Cocho but without much effect" November 12: "My Arm excessivly painfull the feaver very high and verry heartsick. but I thank God I had a pritty good night tho the fever continued all the next day & till towards the Evening." November 13 he was "as mentioned above, but something bettar," and does not mention the wounds any more. On November 22 he "Reach'd home in safety being Just 3 months gone Praise be to God."¹⁶

His wounds disabled him for active service in the Revolution, but he took part in the frontier defense as county lieutenant, served two terms as state senator and in 1780-81 was a member of the Privy Council. For a short while in 1781 he acted as Governor of the state and at the time of Arnold's invasion called out the militia to resist Cornwallis.¹⁷ Twice he acted as state commissioner to settle land claims in Kentucky, where a county was named for him, and he kept a journal of both expeditions — in 1779 and 1782-83.¹⁸ He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1788 and voted for the constitution.

As a physician he practised in several localities. Some of his accounts for

¹⁶Thwaites and Kellogg: *Dunmore's War*, pp. 313-360.

¹⁷Hening: *Statutes at Large*, v. 10, p. 567.

¹⁸Thwaites: *List of MS. Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, pp. 92, 96.

the latter years of his life throw light upon medical practice at that time, upon the type of work such a man as Fleming was called upon to do and the fees he received:

1787

Aug. 26—Drawing tooth for Negro Wench	2	6	
1 journey	10	0	
Assafoetida	1	0	
A dose of Rhubarb to overseer	3	0	
To dressing y'r negroes' Eyes & medicines ..	8	8	0
12 strengthening Powders	12	0	
Medicines for y'r negro fellow	2	8	0
Eye powder & Solution for y'r son	2	0	
Opening a Tumour & Dressing	3	0	0
A journey, 6s. Bleeding, 2s. 6d.	8	6	
A journey — Roanoke	1	5	0
Cordial drops for y'r wench	10	6	
Bleeding, 3s. 6d. Cooling Solution, 2s. ..	5	6	
Open his breast & Extracting pin	2	8	0

1787

Jas. Bryant, Roanoke, Dr.

Feb. 1—To a journey & Dressing his child's arm	3	10	0
Tincture of myrh	6	0	
A journey & Extracting a bone	2	00	0
Digestive powders, 5s. 4d. Linament, 1s. 6d.	6	10	
A journey & Dressing the arm	1	10	0
Tincture myrh, 6s.	6	0	
A journey & extracting bone	1	10	0
Amputating leg & dressing	8	0	0
Y'r assumpsit for daughter-in-law	3	0	
Y'r assumpsit for James Tosh	1	0	0 ¹⁹

A few extracts from his diary (1788) show a busy doctor working day and night for small fees:

"Thompson Sawyers, the fever in the night, 5s. The 5th, to Ingram's fever all night, 4s. The 6th, to Capt. McCorckle's, a little unwell. Do, the 7th and 8th, able to ride. Cor. Sub. for Mr. McCorckle's niece. For his sister, Sp'ts. C. & assafoetide pills. To Hans Meadows, 2s. Mrs. Sheets, 4s. 3d. The 9th, at the Black Smith's, 2s. At James Smith's, 8s.

"Got home. Mrs. Fleming had been delivered of a male child Wednesday night the 8th, between 8 & 9 at night, October 8th, 1788."²⁰

¹⁹Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 5, pp. 260-65.

²⁰Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 5, p. 267.

Dr. Fleming was a trustee of Washington College, possessed one of the largest libraries in western Virginia and was known as a man of literary tastes. He died August 24, 1795, from the after-effects of the wounds he had received at Point Pleasant.

III.

Dr. Thomas Walker was one of Virginia's most versatile citizens at a time when the combination of several professions was not unusual. He was doctor, surveyor, merchant, explorer, soldier, politician and diplomat, and in all rendered worthwhile service. He came of a long line of Walkers who had settled in Tidewater Virginia as early as 1650. He was born in King and Queen County in 1715, the son of Susanna Peachy and Thomas Walker, who is said also to have been a physician. His sister, Mary Peachy Walker, married Dr. George Gilmer, Sr., and the two families were further connected when Dr. Walker's daughter Lucy married her first cousin, Dr. George Gilmer, Jr.²¹

Dr. Walker's first wife, Mildred Thornton, brought him 15,000 acres of Albemarle land on which he built Castle Hill. Of their twelve children one son became a United States senator, another a member of the House. One daughter married Matthew Maury, the ancestor of Matthew Fontaine Maury, and the descendants of Lucy Walker and George Gilmer were numerous and distinguished. Dr. Walker's second wife, Elizabeth, was a cousin of his first, and both were cousins of George Washington.²²

Dr. Walker was educated at William and Mary College and afterwards studied medicine — where, it is uncertain. As a matter of fact there is little in the known facts of his life bearing upon the medical profession. He is said to have practised in Fredericksburg before moving to Albemarle.²³ In 1757 he attended his friend Peter Jefferson in his last illness and became the guardian of Thomas Jefferson, who doubtless owed part of his scientific interest to Dr. Walker's early example.²⁴ Several young Virginians, notably George Gilmer, Jr., and George Conway Taylor, are known to have studied medicine under him, and there must have been others of whom no record remains. He has been credited by at least one authority with having been one of the earliest to trephine bone for suppurative osteomyelitis (1757).²⁵

Medical references in the journal of his expedition to Kentucky are remark-

²¹Introduction to the Journal of Dr. Thomas Walker, pp. 4-27.

²²Journal of Dr. Thomas Walker.

²³Squires: Days of Yesteryear, p. 275.

²⁴Introduction to Journal of Dr. Thomas Walker, pp. 4-27.

²⁵Kelly and Burrage: Dictionary of American Medical Biography, p. 1253, quoting Ashurst: Principles and Practice of Surgery.

ably few. On April 28, 1750 he wrote: "We kept up the River to our Company whom we found all well, but the lame Horse was as bad as we left him and another had been bit in the Nose by a Snake. I rub'd the wounds with Bears oil, and gave him a drench of the same and another of the decoction of Rattle Snake root some time after." On the same day: "Colby Chew and his Horse fell down the Bank. I Bled and gave him Volatile drops, & he soon recovered."²⁶

In 1748 he began to put into practice the profession of surveyor and to combine with it the series of explorations for which he is chiefly famous. In that year he and four friends penetrated into southwest Virginia, now eastern Tennessee. In 1749 he became agent and surveyor for the Loyal Land Company, organized under a royal charter to locate for settlement 800,000 acres in what is now Kentucky, and the following spring he headed an expedition in search of suitable lands for the Company. Walker named the Cumberland Gap, through which he passed, as well as the Cumberland Mountains and River. The exploration, which lasted four months, antedated Daniel Boone's visit by thirteen years and was probably the first exploration of this territory by white men. Certainly it was the first of which a record of observations was made.²⁷ The diary which Dr. Walker kept on this trip, published as *Dr. Thomas Walker's Journal* is an interesting account of exploration and was a valuable source of material for early cartographers and historians. Dr. Walker continued as agent of the Loyal Land Company until 1775. In 1753 he was selected to head an expedition to the Pacific coast, an expedition which never materialized.

Dr. Walker was present at Braddock's defeat, serving as commissary of the Virginia troops with the rank of major from 1755 to the end of the war. On June 3rd, 1758 John Blair, acting Governor of Virginia, wrote Dr. Walker: "I have sent you a Chest of Medicines from Mr. Pasteur's Shop, with Instruments; but cannot yet hear of a Surgeon for you which gives me much concern."²⁸ Evidently the provincials were not as well supplied with medical officers as were the British regulars. Four of the English surgeons in Braddock's expedition later settled in Virginia.

Dr. Walker's political activities were extensive. He was almost continuously in the House of Burgesses from 1758 to 1775, representing the counties of Louisa and Albemarle; and he represented Albemarle in the House of Delegates in 1782. An ardent Whig, he was a member of the Revolutionary Con-

²⁶ Journal of Dr. Thomas Walker, 1749-50.

²⁷ Introduction to Dr. Thomas Walker's Journal. Journal of the House of Burgesses, v. 1758-61, p. 275 n.

²⁸ Journal of the House of Burgesses, 1758-1761, p. 261.

ventions of 1775-6, of the Committee of Safety in 1775, and of the Council of State from 1777 to 1781.²⁹ His work in concluding treaties with the Indians was noteworthy. With General Andrew Lewis he was a Commissioner from Virginia to the Congress of the Six Nations in 1768, resulting in the Treaty of Fort Stanwix by which the Indians relinquished a large territory west of the Alleghanies. As Commissioner he concluded a treaty with the Indians in 1774, after the battle of Point Pleasant, and again served as Indian Commissioner in 1775³⁰. The state made further use of his abilities in 1779, when as Commissioner for Virginia he helped to extend the boundary line between Virginia and North Carolina.³¹

In the intervals of his public service he found time to take an active interest in farming, and not the least of his contributions was the introduction of the pippin into Albemarle County.³² He died November 9, 1794, nearly eighty years old, at Castle Hill. If ever there was a man with many irons in the fire it was Thomas Walker.

IV.

Andrew Robertson, native of Scotland, graduate of the University of Edinburgh, and military surgeon attached to the British army in Flanders, came to America with Braddock in 1755 and took part in the ill-fated expedition against the French and Indians. Shortly afterward he quit the army and settled in Lancaster County, Virginia.

It was not long before he acquired a large practice and assumed an enviable position among the doctors of the colony. Colonial physicians who had been trained abroad were naturally in great demand among young men seeking a medical education in the colony. Dr. Robertson became a teacher of note to whom many young Virginians were apprenticed. His certificate to Cary Henry Hampton, who later became a surgeon in the Revolution, indicates the kind of training this graduate of a famous old world college gave to his apprentices in the new world.

Dr. Robertson is one of the few early colonial doctors who wrote extensively on medical subjects. He is said to have contributed valuable papers to the *London Medical Inquiries and Observations*. He died in 1795.³³

A number of other physicians took part in the colonial military service.

²⁹Thwaites and Kellogg: *Dunmore's War*, p. 242. Stanard: *Colonial Virginia Register*.

³⁰Thwaites and Kellogg: *Dunmore's War*, p. 242.

³¹Introduction to *Journal of Dr. Thomas Walker*.

³²Squires: *Days of Yesteryear*, pp. 275-277.

³³Thacher: *American Medical Biography*, v. 1, p. 74. Dr. J. L. Miller's *Essay on Physicians of the Old South*, in the *Bulletin of the Medical College of Virginia*, 1929.

Thomas Lloyd was surgeon in a company of rangers under Colonel William Preston from 1755 to 1759 and received land bounty from the state for his services.³⁴ Dr. John Murray of Augusta County served as ensign in Captain McClenachan's Company of Independents on the expedition against the Indians in 1764, and his claim to land bounty was presented by his widow in 1779.³⁵ John Stuart is listed as a surgeon receiving £182-10s. in an "Account of the Years Pay paid the Officers of the Virginia Regiment, 1762."³⁶ Dr. Henry Heath of Fredericksburg petitioned the House of Burgesses in 1758, claiming "That he attended the drafted Soldiers at Winchester in their Sickness, by Order of the Commanding Officer 50 Days, for which and his Medicines and Advice, he charges £25, and that he only received £10 10s and praying to be paid the Balance by the Publick." The petition was referred to a committee which on October 2 reported that Dr. Heath should receive £14-10s.³⁷ Drs. John Sutherland and Michael Wallace petitioned the House of Burgesses in 1759 for a reasonable allowance for attending one Isaac Norman, a soldier who had been accidentally shot by an officer of the regiment.³⁸ The House was good enough to give them £6. Dr. William Lynn, a Scotch physician who settled in Fredericksburg before 1745 and died there in 1758, received his commission as captain "of the Independent Company of Foot, composed of the gentlemen Inhabitants of the Town of Fredericksburg," on January 26, 1753 and two years later was raised to major.³⁹ Dr. Lynn was the uncle of General Andrew Lewis.

William Brown, Robert Johnston and Edward Turner served as surgeons and Joseph Donaldson as surgeon's mate in one or another of the colonial wars. Archibald Alexander was a captain in the French and Indian War and a surgeon in the Revolution.⁴⁰

³⁴Crozier: Virginia Colonial Militia, p. 9.

³⁵Crozier: Virginia Colonial Militia, p. 17.

³⁶Virginia Historical Collections, v. 11. p. 217.

³⁷Journals of the House of Burgesses, v. 1758-61, pp. 32, 33.

³⁸Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1758-61, p. 103.

³⁹Crozier: Virginia County Records, v. 1, pp. 16, 163, 171, 516.

⁴⁰Eckenrode: Colonial Soldiers of Virginia, alphabetical list.

CHAPTER XIII

REVOLUTIONARY MEDICINE

I.

ALTHOUGH no Virginian rose to the supreme command of the medical forces of the Revolution to rank with Church, Morgan, Shippen and Cochran, many attained high position, and an impressive number rendered service of one sort or another during the period of that memorable struggle.

In the line there were several physicians of distinction. Adam Stephen, one of Virginia's three major-generals, and Hugh Mercer, a brigadier-general, were physicians. Dr. Theodorick Bland was a colonel of cavalry, and Dr. William Lewis, brother of General Andrew Lewis, was a colonel of infantry. Dr. Arthur Lee rendered notable diplomatic service during the war, and the Commander-in-Chief himself, with the medical knowledge bred of Virginia plantation experience, was often a salutary and determining factor in the medical administration of the army.

From the very beginning medical appointments in the army and provision for the care of the sick were made by two authorities acting independently and often in conflict — the states and the Continental Congress. Congress did not perfect its organization of the medical department of the Continental army until September 30, 1780. The earliest plan of organization, instituted on July 19, 1775, provided for "the establishment of an hospital for an army consisting of 20,000 men," with the following officers and attendants: a director general and chief physician, four surgeons, one apothecary, twenty surgeons' mates, one clerk, two storekeepers, and one nurse to every ten sick.¹ Dr. Benjamin Church was appointed director general, and he was allowed to select the four surgeons and the apothecary. No Virginians occupied positions of high rank under this first organization.

On April 7, 1777 the medical department was reorganized with a director-general under whom, in the hospital department, there were three deputy directors general, an "indeterminate assistant deputy director," four physicians general, four surgeons general, surgeons and surgeons' mates, an apothecary

¹Owen: The Medical Department of the U. S. Army, 1776-1786. (Taken from Journals of the Continental Congress, arranged chronologically.)

general and apothecaries' mates. In the field there was a "physician and surgeon general of the army" — whether there was one for each army is not clear — and of course regimental surgeons and surgeons' mates. In this reorganization Dr. Walter Jones of Virginia was appointed one of the four physicians general, with the title of Physician General of the Hospital in the Middle Department. He declined the appointment "for weighty reasons," and on June 23, 1777 Dr. Benjamin Rush was elected in his place. On the same day Dr. William Brown of Virginia was elected Surgeon General of the Hospital in the Middle Department, the position formerly held by Dr. Rush.³ After the resignation of Dr. Rush on February 6, 1778 Brown was promoted to Physician General and served in that office until his own resignation on July 21, 1780.

On September 30, 1780 a third reorganization of the medical department took place. It provided for "one director of the military hospitals," to have charge of all the hospitals north of North Carolina. Under him there were to be three "chief hospital physicians" and fifteen "hospital physicians," twenty surgeons' mates for the hospitals, one purveyor and one apothecary. In the field there was to be with each army a "chief physician, who shall also be a surgeon," with regimental surgeons and surgeons' mates under him. Under this organization Dr. James Craik of Virginia was appointed one of the three chief hospital physicians. He was promoted March 3, 1781 to be chief physician and surgeon of the army, taking the place of Dr. Cochran, who succeeded Shippen as director general. David Jackson, George Draper and Goodwin Wilson were appointed hospital physicians in Virginia. It was at the time of this reorganization that Dr. William Rickman, who had been Director of Continental Hospitals in Virginia and later Deputy Director of Hospitals for the Southern Department was, by his own request, dropped from the establishment.³ Apparently his place was taken by Dr. David Gould, for on February 6, 1781 Congress ordered the purveyor to pay the officers of the "hospital established in Virginia, under the direction of Dr. Gould, which have accrued since the new arrangement of the medical department; and that Dr. William Rickman, late deputy director, settle and return the accounts of salaries due the officers of the said hospital, prior to that date"⁴

Virginia's contribution to the medical service of the Revolution was not confined to officers of high rank. All told she furnished more than 230 physicians to all branches of the military organization. Of this number 152 physi-

³Owen: The Medical Department of the U. S. Army.

³Owen: The Medical Department of the U. S. Army.

⁴Owen: The Medical Department of the U. S. Army.

cians served in the army with the rank of surgeon and thirty with the rank of surgeon's mate. The rest served as surgeons or mates in the navy and the militia, or in non-medical positions in the various branches of the service.

Until 1783 Virginia supported a navy of her own, independent of the authority of Congress. The *American Congress* was the largest vessel in her fleet. The *Liberty* and the *Patriot* were retained when all her other vessels were disposed of at the close of hostilities. The Virginia navy had a commissioner who received a salary of 30,000 pounds of tobacco a year, and a personnel of about 600 men. Caring for the health of this branch of the service there were thirteen surgeons, thirteen surgeons' mates and a naval hospital at Hampton.⁵

At the outbreak of war the several states recognized the need for surgeons and hospitals as part of their provision for defense. As early as July 1775 an act of the Virginia Assembly provided for raising two regiments with a surgeon and two surgeons' mates to each.⁶ In October 1776 the Assembly authorized the Governor to provide proper hospitals and barracks for the soldiers at public expense and to appoint physicians and a director general of hospitals.⁷ Throughout the war the Governor of Virginia frequently took a hand in medical matters. In 1781 Governor Nelson authorized the requisition of houses in Elizabeth City County for the sick of the French fleet.⁸ In 1782 Colonel Davies complained directly to the Governor of General Muhlenberg's appointment of George Yates as surgeon to the Eighth Regiment, and the Governor interfered and revoked Muhlenberg's appointment.⁹ Surgeon Matthew Pope, criticizing the medical administration in Virginia, humbly submitted to Governor Thomas Jefferson in 1781 his "Proposals for the better regulating & Establishing a Medical Department in this State." He suggested "That there shall be one Surgeon in Chief, whose duty it shall be to attend the main army, wherever posted in time of Invasion, and to make proper provisions for the Sick and Wounded, who shall also be Director General of all the Hospitals, and have the power of appointing the different Surgeons to the Hospitals, Orderlys, Nurses etc., and shall have power to displace all such as neglect their duty, and appoint others. The said Director General shall have the Superintendence and Regulations of all the Hospitals, visiting them as often as occasion may require, pay all accounts appertaining thereto. Shall have power to purchase medicines, and all other necessarys for the support of the said Hospitals, sub-

⁵Holcomb: *A Century with Norfolk Naval Hospital*, pp. 56, 57.

⁶Hening: *Statutes at Large*, v. 9, p. 11.

⁷Hening: *Statutes at Large*, v. 9, pp. 194, 195.

⁸Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 2, p. 523.

⁹Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 3, p. 263.

ject to the controal and directions of the Governor and Council. He shall also have power to sell such Medicines as may become perishable, and all others which may be spared. That the Director General shall keep regular accounts of all the Medicines, Stores, Utensils, etc. belonging to the said Hospitals, and state and make proper returns of them at such periods as the Governor and Council shall direct. by adopting a mode of this sort, general satisfactions would be given to the Officers and Soldiers, the sick and wounded would be properly provided for, and attended to, and if the Director General did his duty, would certainly save the State a very considerable expence which is now daily going on for want of some such appointment.

"That the Chief Surgeon and Director General shall be allowed Shillings hard money, pr. day with forage for Two Horses, and a Ration for himself and Servant."¹⁰

This reorganization, in which Dr. Pope expressed himself as being willing to undertake the duties of Chief Surgeon and Director General, seems never to have materialized.

The militia, which was called out only when local conditions became critical, had its medical attendants who were primarily responsible to the state. Particularly in the early days of the war the sick and wounded were taken care of by individual medical men called into service from the locality where a battle had been fought. It was the numerous bills coming in from these scattered doctors that forced upon Congress the necessity for medical organization. This irregular medical attention prevailed in Virginia throughout the whole Revolutionary period, and there are records of many instances of it. Payments made by the auditor of the state in 1776 included:

"Cash paid John Brodie as Surgeon to the Troops at Hampton	23—00—00."
"Ditto paid Isck. Wills for Doctor Orr for attendance & medicine Ditto	3—00—00."
"Ditto paid Samuel Woodson for Doctor George French for his attendance on Cap't Alexander's Comp'y	16—00—00."
"Ditto paid David Jamison for Pope for Medicine & attendance on the Troops at York	2—05—00."
"Doctor Alexander Skinner for Expenses of the Public Hospital	24—05—01."
"Ditto paid Joseph Jones for Robt Johnson for sundry Medicines to the Army	15—14—00."
"Ditto paid David Griffith 2 Months pay as Surgeon to the Prince William Battalion	30—00—00."

¹⁰Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 1, pp. 452-453.

'Ditto paid James Mercer for Doctor Mortimore Medicine for use Caroline Battalion 19—19—06."
 "Ditto William Pasture for Medicine and Atten'ce to Sick Soldiers 126—04—00."¹¹

The Virginia Committee of Safety in 1776 issued warrants to Drs. Corbin Griffin, John Galt, William Pasteur, James McClurg, John Julian and George Gilmer for medicines, attendance to troops, rugs, horses, and saddles.¹² Dr. N. Slaughter of Portsmouth in 1782 inoculated Colonel Dabney's troops at great inconvenience to his country practice, who were in need of the same service, and so asked the state to remunerate him to the extent of £100-10s.¹³

The numerous complications arising from the overlapping of the two authorities, State and Continental, in the care of the sick and wounded may be illustrated by the case of Dr. William Rickman. In May 1776 Dr. Rickman had been appointed by Congress Director of the Continental Hospital in Virginia, with the further specification that the establishment in Virginia, though on the same basis as to pay and organization, was entirely distinct from the Hospital of the Eastern Department. A little later the Virginia Assembly instructed the Governor to appoint a director general of hospitals in Virginia. This position, also, Rickman appears to have held, although it is possible that Dr. John M. Galt received the appointment. There are a number of references—none, however, contemporary—to Dr. Galt's having been "Surgeon General of Virginia troops" with the duty of supervising the hospitals and the sick in the state.

On April 23, 1777 Dr. James Tilton was sent by Director General Shippen to Dumfries, Virginia, "to take the charge of all continental soldiers that are or shall be inoculated," and the military authorities in Virginia were directed to afford him every assistance.¹⁴ Major-General Schuyler was ordered to hasten the march of the Carolina troops to Dumfries, Colchester and Alexandria for inoculation. Rickman immediately protested to Congress against Shippen's assumption of authority in Virginia, and a resolution of that body upheld him, stating that the military hospital in Virginia "is entirely distinct from, and independent of, the general establishment of hospitals in other states . . . and that Dr. Rickman still continues director of that hospital." Dr. Shippen was accordingly instructed to withdraw the physicians and surgeons he had sent to Virginia.¹⁵

¹¹ State Auditor's Papers; in Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, vols. 26, 27, 28.

¹² Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 8, pp. 77, 78, 95, 150, 197, 217.

¹³ Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 3, p. 35.

¹⁴ Owen: The Medical Department of the U. S. Army, p. 75.

¹⁵ Owen: The Medical Department of the U. S. Army, pp. 84, 85.

The affair, however, did not end here. During the inoculation of Virginia and Carolina regiments that followed, it was reported that "the troops suffered, in general, more in the course of the disease than is usual, and that a number of them did die." Complaints against Dr. Rickman were forwarded to Congress. On December 10, 1777 he was accused of "great neglect in not giving proper attendance to the officers and soldiers under inoculation at Alexandria." Dr. Shippen was ordered to "send immediately a skilled physician to take care of the sick and superintend the inoculation of the soldiers at Alexandria." Three months later Dr. Rickman was acquitted of the charges against him and "directed to repair immediately to his department and resume the exercise of his duty there."¹⁶ The Medical Committee which investigated the case had come to the conclusion that "most of those who were lost, died of a putrid fever," that "the director really had not sufficient assistance," and that one of his aids had "greatly abused the confidence and trust reposed in him by the director."

Dr. Rickman's anomalous position was commented on by Dr. William Brown, who wrote Washington on May 29, 1780 that he "holds a commission of some kind or other for providing hospitals and taking care of the Sick & wounded of the Continental Army in Virginia, tho', I believe, independent of the general hospital establishment made for the army at large."¹⁷

II.

Almost from the beginning the medical department was divided into two camps, antagonistic, resentful, jealous, often at daggers' points. On one side were arrayed the medical officers of the hospital department, on the other those of the line — the regimental surgeons and their mates. The Commander-in-Chief sensed this situation as early as September 1776 and, recognizing its danger, wrote in a message to Congress: "The regimental surgeons are aiming I am persuaded to break up the general hospital and have in numberless instances drawn for medicines, stores, etc., in the most profuse and extravagant manner for private purposes."¹⁸ He recommended that regimental surgeons be appointed by the director general and chief surgeons of the hospital, or at least be subject to them. This antagonism of the regimental surgeons to the hospital department was largely responsible for the failure of Dr. John Morgan as Director General and Chief Physician and brought about his downfall.

¹⁶ Similar conflicts of authority were responsible for other disturbances in the Hospital Department. The Stringer-Morgan dispute and the Morgan-Shippen dispute were of this nature.

¹⁷ Article by Bessie W. Gahn in *The Washington Post*, Oct. 5, 1930.

¹⁸ *American Archives*, 5th Series, v. 2, p. 497.

The Virginia Act of 1775, providing for one surgeon, at ten shillings a day, and two surgeons' mates, at five shillings, for each regiment, specified that the surgeon was to be appointed by the field officer of the regiment, usually the colonel, and the surgeon was to appoint his own mates.¹⁹ This vicious system made the regimental surgeon a strictly political appointee.²⁰ Washington tried to escape from it by advising regular examinations for all regimental surgeons.²¹ The resolution of July 17, 1776 introducing changes in the medical department contained sections requiring a certificate of his "Abilities and knowledge in his business" from every surgeon and mate; and in September a committee advised Congress to recommend to the state legislatures the appointment of "gentlemen in their respective states skilful in physic and surgery, to examine those who offer to serve as surgeons or surgeons' mates in the army and navy." Neither of these measures was adopted, nor were subsequent suggestions, designed to change the basis of appointment of medical officers.

The regimental surgeon certainly did not always represent the best medical talent in the colony. He was often ignorant, frequently resentful of the greater authority delegated to the hospital department, generally averse to discipline and intent upon accomplishing his personal ambitions.²² Washington struck the surgeons a blow from the shoulder when he declared that many of them were "very great rascals, countenancing the men in sham complaints to exempt them from duty, and often receiving bribes to certify indispositions with a view to procure discharges or furloughs."²³

He later took official cognizance of their dereliction in a general order addressed "to regimental surgeons and mates belonging to the army of his Excellency General Washington, now absent with or without, the sick of their respective regiments and brigades, on the west side of the Hudson River."²⁴ James Thacher, the medical historian, who was for a brief period a regimental surgeon in the Virginia line, has left an account of his experience. "Having for a long time served in a hospital department and having no claim to promotion there, I resolved to relinquish that station and accept the appointment of surgeon to the first Virginia State Regiment commanded by Colonel George

¹⁹Hening: Statutes at Large, v. 9, pp. 11, 18, 79.

²⁰James Thacher in his Military Journal records in an interesting way the type of examination given in Massachusetts to candidates for the medical service, declaring that it was to a "considerable degree close and severe which occasioned not a little agitation in our ranks."

²¹Washington's Message to Congress, Sept. 20, 1776; in American Archives, 5th Series, v. 2, p. 497.

²²Army regulations made the medicine chests and instruments of the regimental surgeon subject to inspection by the hospital directors and required surgeons to make weekly returns of the sick and wounded to their superiors in the hospital department. Supplies to regimental medical officers were dealt out from the general hospital stores, and the orders required that the sick so far as possible should be transferred from the regimental to the general hospitals.

²³American Archives, 5th Series, v. 2, p. 497.

²⁴Packard: History of Medicine in the U. S., pp. 306, 307.

Gibson, Nov. 10, 1778." In less than two weeks he noted the lack of discipline, the dissipation of the officers and the practice of giving suppers with music and dancing lasting through half the night. In six months he resigned his commission.

At least one Virginia regimental surgeon found himself in grave trouble and faced a court martial in 1778. "At a G. C. Martial whereof Col'o Vost was President April 6-78 Doctor Sackett²⁵ Surgeons Mate of the 14th Virginia Regiment Tryed first for repeatedly neglecting to Visit & procure necessaries for the Sick of the Regiment 2nd for absenting himself and going to the State of New York without leave, acquitted of the first Charge but found Guilty of the second being a breach of Article 5th 14th Section of the Articles of war & Sentanced to be reprimanded by the Command Officer of the Regiment to which he belongs. The Commander in Chief approves the Sentence and Orders it to take place tomorrow."²⁶

In spite of all that was said in criticism of the medical department and of the doctors who served in the Revolutionary army, as a class they were much imposed upon. When prize money was divided they were discriminated against, when pensions were to be given they were left out, where rank was involved they were forgotten, and when pay day came they often went unpaid. Dr. Matthew Pope observed to Governor Jefferson from Richmond in 1781, "I find myself (after being a slave to the Public from almost the Commencement of the War to the present hour . . .) at last obliged to decline accepting the appointment . . . as Surgeon and Apothecary at this place," having received not a single shilling of pay for six months' service.²⁷ He pointed out that "Many of the servants of the public in the hospital department are suffering for want of pay long since due them."²⁸ In regard to the pay of regimental surgeons Dr. Alexander Skinner, surgeon at the hospital in Suffolk and later in the Virginia Continental line, wrote Brigadier-General Andrew Lewis on May 17, 1776, "Mates are not to be had in this Colony for 25 Dollars p month without Rations or forrage and as to Surgeons, that is men of Education and abilities I think I may confidently Affirm not one in Virginia will think of accepting a(s) truly a pitiable sum . . . One of my mates has allready left me & the other two will undoubtedly Leave me unless the wages are Rais'd. In short sir there are not two Mates & not a single Surgeon in the Service that will continue in it upon the Continental Establishment . . ."²⁹

²⁵This was Dr. James Sackett, born in 1755 at Newtown, L. I., the son of Dr. Joseph Sackett. He joined the 14th Virginia Regiment in 1777, resigned on April 24, 1778 following his court-martial, and later became a surgeon in the navy. (Weygant: *The Sacketts of America*, p. 173.)

²⁶Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 15, p. 422.

²⁷Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 3, p. 41.

²⁸Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 1, p. 452.

²⁹Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 16, p. 43.

On the other hand there is some evidence that not all the medical men were badly treated. Dr. William Brown wrote Washington on May 29, 1780, after a tour of inspection of the sick in Virginia, that the officers in charge of the various hospitals in the state "with nothing to do, have considered themselves as *Sinecures* to all intents and purposes, while they have enjoyed every emolument of office and been furnished at their own houses with much more certain and regular supplies of forage and rations than any officer doing duty in or about camp."²⁰

A still different impression is given by Chastellux, who wrote in 1781: "The Americans . . . are well pleased with their doctors, whom they hold in the highest consideration." The translator of the Marquis's observations went even further, adding in a footnote to this passage: ". . . it is impossible to conceive the estimation in which all the medical men, attached to the army, were held during the war, by people in general, as well as the military . . ."

III.

The Tories constituted a real handicap to the American cause, but the Tory strength was not found in the professions of the ministry, law and medicine. In Virginia, due to the vigilance of the county committees early in the war, Tory sentiment was almost entirely suppressed. As long as Dunmore remained in Virginia waters, Norfolk and the adjoining counties were openly anti-revolutionary, but after Dunmore's departure in July 1776, except for the outbreaks in the western part of the state where the interruption of trade, the worthlessness of money and the high taxes spread considerable dissatisfaction, there was little to fear from loyalism in Virginia.

Among all the Virginia physicians of this period the names of only four were tainted with the charge of disloyalty to the Continental cause. On December 16, 1775 the Virginia Convention, after reappointing the Committee of Safety with Edmund Pendleton at its head, proceeded to hear the case of Dr. Archibald Campbell of Norfolk, who complained that he had been accused of aiding Lord Dunmore but stated that whatever he had done had been done under compulsion. The Convention evidently was not convinced. His petition was referred to a committee, and he was ordered back to his quarters in Williamsburg under guard. Shortly afterward the committee reported that Dr. Campbell had been opposed to taking up arms against the mother country, believing that "a strict adherence to the commercial opposition would produce a redress of grievances." He had taken Dunmore's oath, sent

²⁰Washington Post, October 5, 1930.

his family to Bermuda, and expressed his intention of following them shortly. The committee found that "Archibald Campbell does not appear to have been inimicable to the rights and liberties of America." He was discharged on his promise not to give intelligence or assistance to the enemy.⁸¹ Dr. Campbell was the uncle-in-law of Judge St. George Tucker, who fought at Yorktown on the side of the colonists, and of Dr. Thomas Tudor Tucker, who had charge of the American hospital at the Palace in 1781. A letter of Dr. Tucker to his brother, written December 27, 1775, mentions the arrival of their "Aunt Campbell" in Bermuda — her birth-place as well as that of the Tuckers — and the expected arrival of the Doctor.⁸²

The county committees of safety were active in preventing violations of the "Continental Association." In the Association's articles trade with the enemy had been interdicted. Goods received after a fixed date must be turned over to the committee for sale. On February 7, 1775 Alexander Gordon, a Norfolk physician, was censured for violating the articles of the Association by importing a consignment of medicines and refusing to give them up.⁸³ Among the cases that came before the Convention in 1776 was that of Dr. Gordon, accused of having borne arms against the colony and of activity in Lord Dunmore's behalf. Apparently he was convicted and imprisoned, for on February 14, 1777 the *Gazette* reported that "Colonel Alexander Gordon, late of Norfolk" had been exchanged for an American officer taken prisoner on a British ship near Yorktown. After the war, among the refugees applying for permission to return to the state was the same Dr. Alexander Gordon.⁸⁴ He had lost ten houses, valued at 695 pounds, in the burning of Norfolk in 1776.

Other Tory doctors were Dr. Thomas Hall, who came before the Convention in 1776 for being an ensign in Dunmore's army, and Dr. Middleton, a former surgeon in the Continental army who had accepted protection from the enemy. In 1782 he was refused permission to remain in the state and kept under guard until his departure.⁸⁵

IV.

The most popular work on military diseases at the time of the Revolution was Pringle's *Observations on Diseases of the Army*.⁸⁶ It was probably the

⁸¹ Journal of the Convention, December 1775, p. 82.

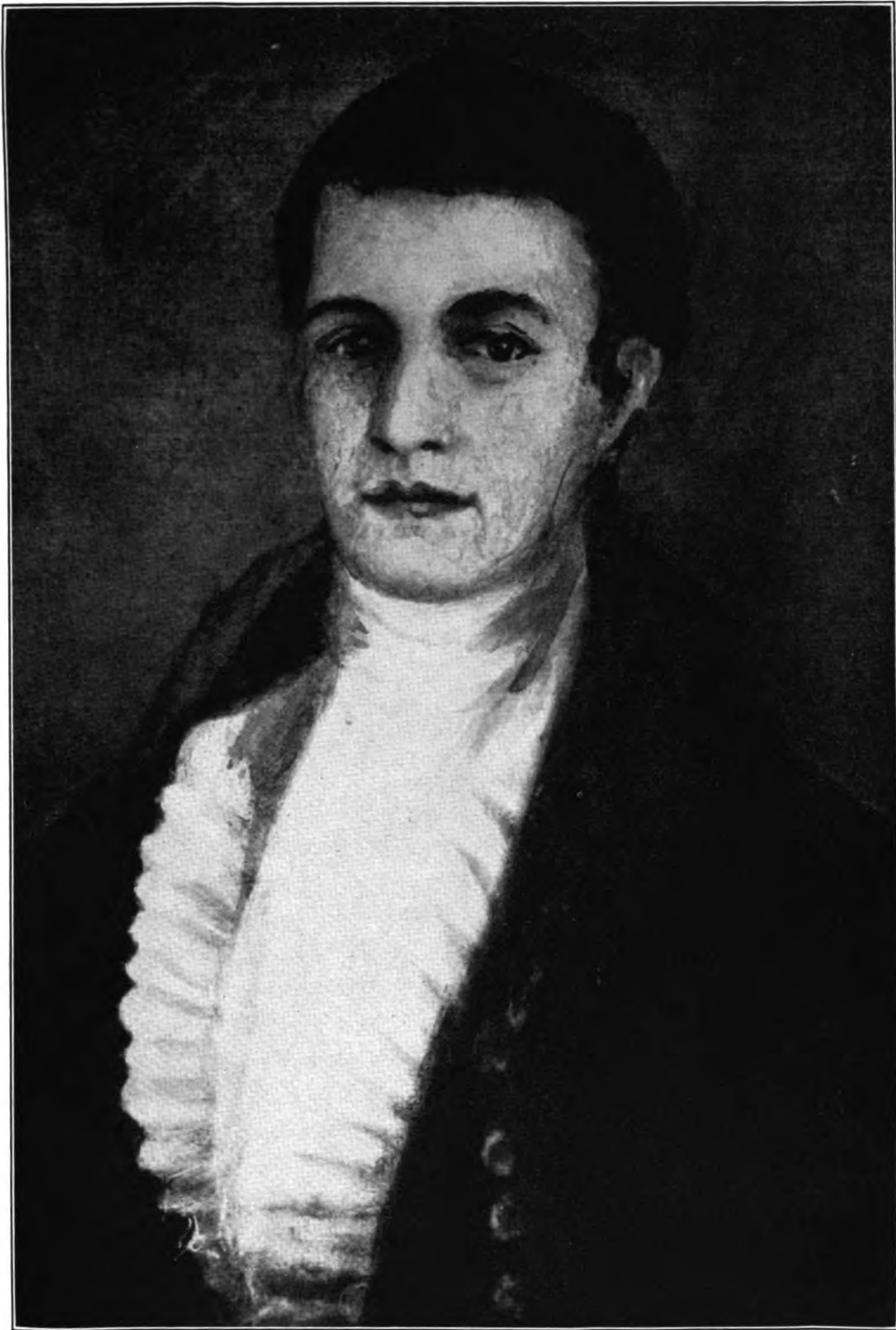
⁸² Tucker Letters, owned by Mr. and Mrs. George Coleman of Williamsburg.

⁸³ Virginia Gazette, Feb. 25, 1775.

⁸⁴ Eckenrode: The Revolution in Virginia, pp. 103, 288.

⁸⁵ Eckenrode: The Revolution in Virginia, p. 288.

⁸⁶ Benjamin Rush, who was Physician General of the Middle Department until his conspiracy against Washington, edited an American edition in 1810.



WILLIAM BROWN



sole medical text book carried by the American army surgeon in the field and doubtless formed a large part of the scanty medical library of the poorly equipped hospitals. Pringle informs us that at the beginning of winter "men being thinly clad get coughs, pleurisies, peripneumonies, from colds." Acute rheumatism and inflammation of the brain he also lists as diseases of the winter. When the troops took the field in the spring there was apt to be a recurrence of some of the inflammatory diseases, such as the "several intermittents and fluxes." June and July were usually healthy months unless the weather was hot and the men had "lain in wet clothes," when dysentery was to be expected. "Remittent fevers and fluxes begin only about the middle or end of August at the time when the days are still hot and when the cool nights bring on dews and fogs. The dysentery declines with the autumn but the remitting fevers continue as long as the encampment and never entirely cease until the frost begins." Pringle also describes the diseases that proceed from foul air and contagion — smallpox, measles, lues venerea and the itch. Bilious disorders, under which he classifies dysentery and hospital fever, he particularly associates with dirty and ill-aired places.³⁷ The American army surgeon probably often thumbed through these pages of Pringle, for all the dire diseases enumerated attacked the Continental troops at one time or another, and, as in most wars, disease rather than bullets was responsible for the great mortality which was calculated as costing no less than 70,000 lives.

When Director General Morgan joined Washington at Cambridge in the fall of 1775, "The principal diseases were autumnal remittents, typhoid fever, and camp dysentery, and in consequence of the universal practice of inoculating for the smallpox, a considerable amount of that disease."³⁸

The surgeons of General Gates's army before Ticonderoga in the summer of 1776 submitted to that General a report declaring that the diseases then most prevalent in camp were "bilious, remitting and intermitting fevers³⁹ with some of the putrid kind; dysenteries, diarrhoeas, with rheumatick complaints." They recommended that the officers be especially vigilant in keeping the regiments clean, "that the necessary vaults be covered twice a day; that every infectious material which tends to putrefy the air be immediately removed from camp."⁴⁰

The same report gave a "catalogue of Medicines most necessary for the army," including calomel, opium, gum guaiacum, camphor, myrrh, Peruvian

³⁷Pringle: *Observations on Diseases of the Army*, pp. 66, 69.

³⁸Toner: *Medical Men of the Revolution*, p. 38.

³⁹Bilious fever, the common remittent fever of summer and autumn, might have been either typhoid or malaria.

⁴⁰Toner: *Medical Men of the Revolution*, p. 38.

bark, Virginia snakeroot, epsom salts, and those old reliables — rhubarb, tartar emetic, ipecac and jalap — without which no Eighteenth Century medicine chest was complete.

Venereal disease has seriously interfered with the efficiency of all armies. An effort to diminish its incidence in the Continental army is reflected in an order of Congress, January 6, 1778, that "the sum of ten dollars shall be paid by every officer, and the sum of four dollars by every soldier, who shall enter, or be sent into any hospital to be cured of the venereal disease; which sums shall be deducted out of their pay . . ." ⁴¹

Soon after the battle of Brandywine a general hospital was established at Princeton, with James Tilton in charge. The usual overcrowding, with the promiscuous mixing of sick and wounded, was followed by an outbreak of jail fever, ⁴² which was attended by a fearful mortality among both sick and wounded, orderlies, nurses and doctors not escaping.

Benjamin Rush declared that "the principal diseases in the hospitals were the typhus gravior and mitior of Dr. Cullen. Men who came into the hospitals with pleurisies or rheumatisms soon lost the types of their original diseases, and suffered, or died, by the above-mentioned states of fever . . . The contagion of this fever was frequently conveyed from the hospital to the camp, by means of blankets and clothes Those black soldiers who had been previously slaves, died in a greater proportion by this fever, or had a much slower recovery from it, than the same number of white soldiers The remedies which appeared to do most service in this disease were vomits of tartar emetic, gentle doses of laxative salts, bark, wine, volatile salts, opium and blisters It was not till the troops of the eastern, middle and southern states met at New York and Ticonderoga, in the year 1776, that the typhus became universal, and spread with such peculiar mortality in the armies of the United States." ⁴³

It was this same disease which occasioned such havoc among the North Carolina and Virginia troops which had been sent to Alexandria for inoculation in the spring of 1777. The committee, in exonerating Director Rickman from blame, recognized that "most of those who were lost, died of a putrid fever." ⁴⁴

⁴¹Owen: Medical Department of the U. S. Army.

⁴²Jail fever, also known as putrid fever, hospital fever and camp fever, is now recognized as typhus, but since at that time no distinction had been made between typhoid and typhus and the etiology of neither disease was known, it is difficult to say which was actually responsible for the mortality.

⁴³Rush: Observations made upon the Diseases which occurred in the Military Hospitals of the U. S. during the Revolution. (Printed in his Medical Inquiries and Observations, 1818, v. 1.)

⁴⁴Typhus gravior or typhoid fever.

Virginia troops in the Revolution fought far from home on all frontiers and constituted, with the exception of the Massachusetts troops, the largest contingent of the Continental army. They were therefore subject to just such diseases as were reported at Ticonderoga in 1776. The effect of disease upon Virginia troops serving outside the state is described by James Tilton in his *Observations on Military Hospitals*. To illustrate "the malignity and mortality" of the dysentery infection at the Bethlehem Hospital he writes: "One of the surgeons asked me if I were acquainted with that fine volunteer regiment of Virginia, commanded, I think, by Col. Gibson. I answered I knew it only by reputation. He then went on to say that forty of that regiment had come to their hospital, and then asked me how many I supposed would ever join the regiment? I guessed a third or a fourth part. He declared solemnly that not three would ever return, that one man had joined his regiment; that another was convalescent and might possibly recover, but that the only remaining one besides, was in the last stage of the colliquative flux and must soon die."⁴⁵

In the south malaria was particularly troublesome. In 1776 Congress ordered the medical committee to forward 300 pounds of Peruvian bark to the Southern Department for the use of the troops.⁴⁶ Thacher, who was with the army of Washington at Yorktown in October 1781, commented that "Our New England troops have now become very sickly; the prevalent diseases are intermittent and remittent fevers, which are very prevalent in this climate during the autumnal months." Benjamin Rush observed that "The southern troops were more sickly than the northern or eastern troops" and that "The southern troops sickened from the want of salt provisions. Their strength and spirits were restored only by means of salted meat. I once saw a private in a Virginia regiment throw away his ration of choice fresh beef, and give a dollar for a pound of salted bacon."⁴⁷

That smallpox was not a more serious disease during the Revolution was largely due to the unusual precautions exercised for its prevention by inoculation. For this wise precautionary measure no one was more responsible than Washington. On March 28, 1777 he wrote Colonel George Baylor: "I must desire that you will inoculate your men as fast as they are enlisted; that while preparations are making for them to take the Field, they may not be retarded on that account. Let them not at any rate be detained for Carabines; but on the other hand, forward them to Camp as fast as a Troop is made up and out

⁴⁵Packard: *History of Medicine in the U. S.*, p. 290.

⁴⁶American Archives, v. 2, p. 1363.

⁴⁷Rush: *Medical Inquiries and Observations*, v. 1, 1818.

of the Small Pox"⁴⁸ Washington's orders to the main army in 1778 and 1779 are full of similar instructions.

Even such precautions were not sufficient to rid the army entirely of smallpox. Smallpox was in the army encamped about Yorktown in 1781. A letter from Washington to James Craik, Physician General, directed that the sick be accommodated in Williamsburg and that a separate hospital for smallpox be provided.⁴⁹ A letter from Edward Hand at the same time from the same place declared that "the British have not less than 1500 men in the hospitals," and that they "have within two weeks put out upwards of 2000 negroes including women and children, many of them infected with small pox."⁵⁰ In 1782 there was an epidemic in Portsmouth, Virginia, and "Some of Colonel Dabney's troops took it and died."⁵¹

There is very little reference to measles and the other exanthemata among Revolutionary troops. It must, however, have been epidemic as in all other wars and have seriously threatened the efficiency of those commands which contracted it.

The French troops who landed at Newport in 1780 were seriously affected with scurvy. At least a third of their army and navy were down with it. Count de Deux-Ponts, writing of his campaign in America, recorded that "Scurvy made frightful ravages with the troops, some of whom died on the passage."⁵² Dr. Craik had been sent by Washington to Newport to prepare the hospitals for the reception of these very French troops. We can imagine how busy he was finding vegetables, citrus fruits and other antiscorbutics for his important charges.

The necessity of providing an adequate diet in order to prevent scurvy was recognized by the authorities, but the task was an almost impossible one before the day of railroads. Congress in November 1776 ordered the Medical Committee to provide "sufficient quantity of antiscorbutics for hospitals in the Northern Army,"⁵³ and in October it had requested the commissary general to see that the troops were "well supplied with Indian Meal and Vegetables."⁵⁴ On August 5, 1777 the Medical Committee of Congress was advised by Washington that the increasing number of sick in the hospitals of the army must be attributed to "want of vinegar, vegetables, and soup."

Besides the more usual and expected diseases, individual soldiers must

⁴⁸Virginia Historical Register, v. 2, p. 144.

⁴⁹Washington Papers, Library of Congress, No. 187 f. 25023.

⁵⁰Force Transcripts: Letters of Edward Hand to Yeates, 1775-1782.

⁵¹Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 3, p. 35.

⁵²Deux-Ponts: My Campaigns in America, p. 91.

⁵³American Archives, 5th Series, v. 3, p. 1592.

⁵⁴American Archives, 5th Series, v. 2, p. 1393.

have developed any number of baffling ailments which tested the powers of the army physicians. One victim has left a record of such an experience. Acute abdominal pain, simulating appendicitis but actually due to the bite of a spider, has been the subject of numerous recent articles in medical literature. In 1781 a French army chaplain, bitten by a spider near Williamsburg, developed alarming pain in the abdomen and was hurried into town. The patient afterwards described the occurrence.⁵⁵ "I have had a dangerous trial of the wonderful subtlety of the poison of a species of spider; it stung me in the forehead as I was going to bed in my tent, but I hardly felt any pain in the spot where the sting had penetrated, and the pimple it occasioned was barely perceptible: however, some shootings in the muscles of my throat on the side next to the wound, prevented me from getting any sleep: in half an hour afterwards I found my belly was swollen, and my body full of dead, heavy pains. I then got up and walked about in the open air, but my pains increasing rapidly, communicated themselves to my back, and at length centered in my stomach; In a short time I could support myself no longer on my legs, and in this condition was carried to Williamsburg, from which we were only a few hundreds of yards distant: here they gave me some volatile alkaline salts, and rubbed the spot where I had been stung; but notwithstanding this, the oppression at my stomach increased, and my pains became more and more violent; bleeding was of little or no service, and I was relieved at last by the simple remedy of warm water, which had I delayed to make use of, I should infallibly have died for want of breath. As the nervous system was only attacked by the poison, it is plain the alkaline salts could but have increased the irritation. I am now recovered, except that I have at times some painful shootings in my nerves, a kind of malady I could hardly give credit to, were I not actually the sufferer."

V.

Not much has been written of the surgery of the Revolution. Except in France surgery in the Eighteenth Century was at a low ebb. The surgeons of the American army probably attempted little in the way of surgical interference. Thacher's *Military Journal* describes how "amputating limbs, trephining skulls, and dressing the most formidable wounds have familiarized my mind to scenes of woe," and Benjamin Rush states that "in gun-shot wounds of the joints, Mr. Ranby's advice of amputating the limb was followed with success,"⁵⁶ but such heroic measures must have been the exception rather than

⁵⁵Robin: *New Travels through North America*, p. 55.

⁵⁶Rush: *Medical Inquiries and Observations*, 1818, v. 1.

the rule. Before the Battle of Long Island in 1776 Director General Morgan had on hand 500 additional bandages and twelve fracture boxes, but he had only two scalpels and advised the use of "a razor for an incision knife" should this become necessary. Equally meagre must have been the equipment of the medical department in Virginia. The Journals of the Continental Congress contain only one reference to surgical instruments supplied to Virginia. On May 11, 1776 it was resolved "that two sets of trepanning instruments be sent to Virginia for the use of the surgeons of the continental troops there." This does not sound like major surgery. As a matter of fact, without anaesthetics (except rum, which was frequently requisitioned by the hospitals), antiseptics or previous training in surgery, the military surgeons in the Revolutionary army treated most of their gunshot wounds with the familiar lint,⁵⁷ bandages and ointment. The ancient method of stuffing wounds with "clouts and rags, balsam, oil or salve" was still in vogue. William Brown's *Pharmacopoeia*, published in 1778, gives sixteen external applications of use in surgery, and Dr. William Rickman's advertisement in the *Gazette* for old linen to make lint and bandages for the Continental Hospital at Williamsburg expressed what must have been the chief surgical need of the time.

Disease and not wounds took a high toll of life in the Revolution. There was comparatively little actual fighting, and the casualties in even the more important battles were impressively few. Dr. Shippen, when he was Director of Hospitals for the Flying Camp, reported to Congress on November 1, 1776 that he had 338 on the sick list of whom only nineteen were wounded, the rest suffering from disease.⁵⁸ Dr. Thacher wrote during the siege of Yorktown: "A cannonade commenced yesterday from the town by which one man was wounded, and I assisted in amputating his leg;" and later, at the height of the battle, "a tremendous and incessant firing is kept up . . . The French had two officers wounded and fifteen men killed or wounded I assisted in amputating a man's thigh Being in the trenches every other night and day I have a fine opportunity of witnessing the sublime and stupendous scene About twelve or fourteen men have been killed or wounded within twenty-four hours." The total casualties during the siege were 300.

The reports of the Virginia doctors who examined disabled veterans applying for pensions after the war⁵⁹ throw light upon the nature of the wounds received and upon their surgical management. The majority of the wounds

⁵⁷A soft flocculent substance made by scraping old linen cloth, used simply or covered with ointment.

⁵⁸American Archives, 5th Series, v. 3, p. 463.

⁵⁹Pension Papers; in the Archives Department, Virginia State Library.

examined were old compound fractures, many of them still draining and extruding fragments of dead bone. There were a few minor head and spine injuries and several cases of blindness. Wounds of the abdomen and chest were significantly lacking. It was rare at that day for a soldier so wounded to survive.

In 1785 Dr. Robert Wellford treated John Spottswood in Fredericksburg for a bullet wound through the thigh and extracted large pieces of bone. The same year Dr. James Currie of Richmond reported of a case that "till nature exfoliates more of the bone, Art cannot avail in confirming a Cure." In 1786 Dr. Cornelius Baldwin of Winchester examined a pensioner and recorded the opinion that the "left leg appears to have been fractured by a musquet shot, that the Limb is remarkably tumified & inflamed, that it exhibits a large fetid Ulcer, that there is but little probability of its ever being healed." A veteran seen by Dr. Hugh Richey of Staunton showed evidence of a bullet's having gone "in & through the os inominatom." In 1787 Dr. William Brown extracted "two pieces of carious bone" from the arm of an ex-soldier. Dr. William Foushee in Richmond examined a case which showed that "a great injury has been received by a Ball passing through the Illium on the left side . . . a very Considerable part of that Bone was taken-away by myself many months after his being wounded [at the Battle of Guilford] that so much of the Bone is lost as to allow a protusion of the large Intestine on that side." In another case he examined, the ball "entered the left side & lodged in or near the Vertebrae & the os Ischium, the Inflammation has been most violent & consequent suppuration, great indeed . . . the Ball he says has never been Extracted." In still another case of Foushee's, in addition to several bullets passing through the left thigh, "the left Hand has become almost totally useless by a ball having passed thro' the left wrist which has formed a perfect ankylosis of the joint." Extensive wounds of another pensioner were reported by Dr. Alexander Humphreys of Staunton in 1788. The patient had been shot by two musket balls, "one, entering the latissimus dorsi (muscle), fractured the last but one of the inferior ribs; the other, entering near the origin of the Vastus externus (muscle) of the left, passed thro' both thighes occasioning an exfoliation of the os femoris, where it entered. The extracting of the pieces of bone & the wound occasioned by the ball, have almost entirely destroyed the extensor muscles." Joseph Kayser, surgeon, in 1788 examined a still more remarkable case: "The wound . . . in his arm has Cut the Vena Cava, and it has been of such a nature as to oblige the Surgeon to screw it up with a Band to prevent the Hemorrhagia untill it has turned to a dangerous mortification, which has ocationed it to burst open to the Bones, the Cicatrix of which has spread all

over the Guard of his arm, and contracted the Elbow joint in such a Manner, as to render the arm exceedingly crooked, stiff and useless . . .”

VI.

Much has been made of the suffering Continental army. The barefoot, ragged soldiers of Washington camped at Valley Forge and crossing the Delaware are familiar objects of sympathy, but the distress of the sick and wounded far exceeded the discomfort of hungry, poorly clad troops on the march or in the field. The sick lacked everything—shelter, food and clothing. The wounded were exposed to contagious diseases that isolation might easily have prevented. There was scarcity of medicines and surgical instruments, for the war had cut off importations from abroad, and at home many of the instrument makers had been converted into manufacturers of arms. There was often a lack of physicians. Overcrowding, filth and mismanagement added to the seriousness of the situation. Most of the mismanagement could be laid at the feet of Congress, which continued to turn a deaf ear to every entreaty of the medical department. Congress was admittedly disorganized, frightened and bankrupt. It was also utterly unfamiliar with the needs of a nation in the throes of war, particularly with the requirements of the medical department.

The extent of the lack of supplies may be gathered from a report of Dr. John Morgan, July 17, 1776. Among the fifteen regiments, “All the instruments were reported to be private property, and amounted to six sets of amputating instruments, two of trepanning ditto, fifteen cases of pocket instruments, seventy-five crooked and six straight needles. Amongst the whole fifteen Surgeons, there were only four scalpels, or incision knives, for dilating wounds, or any other purpose; three pair of forceps for extracting bullets; half a paper and seventy pins; and but few bandages, ligatures, or tourniquets, and as little old linen, lint or tow, but what they had procured from the General Hospital; and only two ounces of sponge in all.”⁶⁰

General Greene wrote Congress in October 1776: “The sick of the army, who are under the care of the regimental Surgeons are in a most wretched situation, the Surgeons being without the least article of Medicine . . .” He said that the general hospital was too small to accommodate more than half the sick and that “hundreds, left without assistance, perished daily.”⁶¹ On January 26, 1778 Washington ordered “A Court of enquiry from the Brigade to sett this Morning at 11 o’clock to enquire into the State and treatment of

⁶⁰Packard: *History of Medicine in the United States*, pp. 298, 299.

⁶¹American Archives, 5th Series, v. 2, p. 973.

the sick belonging to the Brigade, and into the Cause of the great mortality amongst them . . . all the Surgeons in the Brigade will attend . . ."⁶³

The need was probably most serious in the Northern Department where the major battles were fought, the large hospitals maintained and overcrowding was at its worst. Five hundred perished from putrid fever alone in Bethlehem Hospital. But when the fighting was transferred finally to Virginia soil after five or six years of warfare the same cry for help went up from the Virginia surgeons. In 1781 Dr. Goodwin Wilson, one of the hospital surgeons, complained that the general hospital, which he was forced to keep moving from one town to another, was in want of all supplies, "destitute of every article of nourishment except common rations."⁶⁴ James McClurg, surgeon at the marine hospital at Hampton, declared in 1780, "bark, wine and vinegar much wanted . . . Several patients under my care are now suffering from want of them."⁶⁵ Other surgeons voiced similar distress. Charles Mortimer at Fredericksburg in 1781⁶⁶ and George Monroe at Williamsburg in 1782⁶⁷ implored help for the sick and wounded. Robert Smyth, Director of British Hospitals in Virginia in 1782, was bitter in his complaints to the American commissaries for the lack of provisions for the sick under his charge.⁶⁷ Dr. J. Marshall, writing from Green's Store in Amelia County in 1781, advised Colonel William Davies that the sick were greatly distressed for want of shirts. Matthew Pope repeatedly wrote of the need of supplies. In a letter to Colonel George Mutter on August 1, 1780 he said, "I have the pleasure to inform you that Mr. Jameson has once more raised the spirits of this almost expiring Garrison. he tells us we are very shortly to be supplied with clothing, money and Rum . . . Mr. Jameson talks of a cask of Rum — if that cask is not a Hogshead, it will very soon be gone. you will please to consider no Rum has been issued here since last February . . ."⁶⁸ Writing to Governor Jefferson in 1781 he recommended certain measures "which appears to me at this time absolutely necessary . . . the State is daily and hourly imposed upon . . . Necessarys are purchased in Time of Invasion for the sick, at a much higher rate than they might be, and when purchased are often misapplied."⁶⁹ The hardships which the medical department had to undergo are further expressed in a letter from Major Alexander Dick to Colonel Davies, written from Ports-

⁶³Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 14, p. 401.

⁶⁴Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 2, p. 298.

⁶⁵Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 1, p. 377.

⁶⁶William and Mary Quarterly, v. 27, p. 80.

⁶⁷Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 3, p. 39.

⁶⁸Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 3, p. 51.

⁶⁹Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 1, p. 369.

⁷⁰Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 1, p. 452.

mouth in 1782: "I have lost two men entirely throu want of necessaries. For God's Sake Sir don't let us remain in so distrest a state. Prisoners return'd from New York declare their sufferings not equal to those of our Reg't: the well men without provision, without spirits, a number without any cloathing, all without shirts. one Soldier frose on his Post. our Hospitall without Blanketts, without physick or any kind of nourishment, nothing to be had, no one will Credit the Country."¹⁰

Washington wrote urgently in April 1780 to Physician General William Brown, who was then in Virginia: "I am informed that the sick belonging to the troops collected by General Scott at Petersburg are left at that place without surgeons, without accomodations and destitute of every necessary for people under their circumstances. I must request you to make such arrangements as will afford them relief."¹¹

VII.

The medical department of the Revolution owed a great deal to the sympathetic oversight of the Commander-in-Chief. Whether in personal visitations to the hospitals, where he seemed to inspire confidence and respect, in his positive stand in favor of prophylactic inoculation, or in his various army orders concerning the medical department, his influence was always salutary. When the practice of robbing the coffins of dead soldiers, probably for the purpose of dissection, was brought to his attention, he immediately issued an order that "the practice in the future is strictly forbidden by the Commander in Chief." While this order might be considered obstructive to the budding ambition of young anatomists, the position was of course imperative in maintaining the morale of citizens and soldiers.

His attitude is seen in his numerous letters and official communications—his letters to Governor Green of Rhode Island concerning the establishment of hospitals to care for the French; his letter recommending Dr. Cochran to succeed Shippen; his letter to Mr. Ettwein, refusing to interfere with Dr. Shippen's management of the medical department; his vigorous criticism of the regimental surgeons; as well as his spirited communication of 1778 in behalf of the surgeons, who felt that justice had not been done them in the disposition of goods captured from the enemy. In this letter he declared that "as the common guardian of the rights of every man in this army I am constrained to interfere in this matter and to say that by these regulations a manifest injury

¹⁰Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 3, p. 30.

¹¹Washington Post, October 5, 1930.

is intended not only to the gentlemen of the medical line but to the whole staff . . . ”⁷²

The various sanitary orders emanating from headquarters show him keenly sensitive to the welfare of the army. “Frequent complaints are made to me,” he wrote in his orders to the main army in 1778, “that notwithstanding there is three Women who draw Rations in my Company the Men Receive no benefit by Washing from them,—for the future to prevent complaints of this sort Serjeant Grymes will immediately divide the Company into three Squads as may be most agreeable to them and give each Woman a list of those she is obliged to wash for on no pretence whatever is she on an Average to exceed two Dollars pr. Dozen — the Womens just accounts shall be punctually paid at the End of every Month by the men except she chuse to Wait longer”⁷³ The same order continued: “. . . (Notwithstanding repeated Orders enjoining cleanlyness) the smell in some places is intolerable owing to the want of necessaries or the neglect of them The Regimental Q Masters are to see that necessaries where wanted are immediately dug & that fresh earth be thrown into them every morning . . .”⁷⁴

Another order read: “The Sergeants who Conduct the Squads to bathe are to be particularly Carefull that no man remain longer than ten Minutes in the water, & Commanding Officers of Regiments are to Order two windows at least to be made in each Hutt — as the 2 N. Carolina Levenstons & Angles Regs are Sickly the Commanding Officers of those Regiments will apply for Tents to remove their men from their Hutts.”⁷⁵

“The Commander in Chief is inform’d that notwithstanding his Orders the carcasses of dead horses lay in & about Camp. And that the Offil of the Commissarys Stalls, still lay unburned. That much filth &c are spread among the Huts, which are or will be soon adjudged to a state of putrifaction & Occation a sickly Camp The Commanding Officers will immediately see there Respective Incampments cleaned There old vaults filled & New ones dugg once a Week, all filth and Nastyness buried & that fresh earth be put into the Vants every day”⁷⁶

One of the most gracious acts of the war was Washington’s kindness to Dr. Boyes of the English Army. When the *Symetry* with her cargo was seized, the medical library of Dr. Boyes was confiscated. The English surgeon wrote Washington, requesting the return of his books. Washington directed General

⁷²Packard: History of Medicine in the U. S., p. 309.

⁷³Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 19, p. 377.

⁷⁴Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 15, p. 422.

⁷⁵Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 14, p. 35.

⁷⁶Revolutionary Army Orders; in Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 14, p. 403.

Smallwood "that they may be sent up to me that I may return them to the Doctor. I have no other view in doing this than that of showing our enemies that we do not war against the sciences."¹⁷

VIII.

The Revolutionary War was not without its benefits to the medical profession in America. It brought to this country a certain number of well trained French and British surgeons who remained to practise here after the war. Virginia in this way gained Francis Joseph Mettauer and Robert Wellford as citizens. American surgeons learned valuable lessons by watching the French, German and English army surgeons at work. Thacher wrote from Albany in 1777: ". . . the British and Hessian troops are accommodated in the same hospital with our own men, and receive equal care and attention . . . under the management of their own surgeons. I have been present at some of their capital operations, and remarked that the English surgeons perform with skill and dexterity, but the Germans, with a few exceptions, do no credit to their profession. . . ."¹⁸

At Williamsburg Tilton watched the French surgeons, Coste and Borgelli, at work, but apparently did not admire their methods. James Madison was more favorably impressed. Writing to his father from Williamsburg he related: ". . . We had the other day the satisfaction of seeing the greatest respect paid to our University. Dr. Coste the first Physician to the French Army and who is a great favorite of Gen. Chastellux—delivered a Latin Oration upon Medicine in general with application to this country and you will probably soon see it in Print in Philadelphia . . ."¹⁹ The Revolution enabled a vast number of American physicians, by travel, association and experience, to broaden their medical knowledge and to set up better standards of practice when they returned to civil life. The war was followed by the rise of state medical societies and by a very remarkable improvement in the general tone of medical practice throughout the country.

¹⁷Packard: History of Medicine in the United States, p. 310.

¹⁸Thacher's Military Journal, October 24, 1777.

¹⁹Madison Papers, v. 1, 1769-1783.

CHAPTER XIV

HOSPITALS

I.

HOSPITAL management was bad in the Seventeenth Century the world over. It was worse in the Eighteenth. There was the same overcrowding, several patients occupying one bed or pallet, the same absence of ventilation, the same presence of vermin and filth, the same lack of appreciation of the need for isolation of contagious diseases, the same misdirected effort at nursing, the same fatal issue following every attempt at major surgery. The mortality in the general hospitals of the period could not have been less than twenty per cent.¹

In spite of such harrowing conditions the Eighteenth Century, especially in England, was notable for the number of new hospitals built. It was an age of widespread philanthropic feeling, which between 1700 and 1825 expressed itself in the erection of no less than 154 hospitals and dispensaries in the British Isles alone. Guy's, Westminster and the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary were founded in this century. State support was unheard of in those days, and all hospitals were maintained by voluntary contributions from charitable persons. Theoretically they were all free to the poor, but many abuses in the form of restrictions, fees and bribes had crept in.

In this century more than in any other, young Virginians desiring a medical education sought it beyond the seas. The growing wealth and commerce of the colony and the increase in the density of population with its consequent larger medical and sanitary problems afforded at once the means and the urge to seek the best centers of medical education in Europe. Keen observers, such as our students must have been, could not fail to see the wave of enthusiasm throughout England for hospital construction; yet the horrors of the institution as it existed must have been borne in upon them in a way not to be forgotten. Returning home they became largely responsible for the hospital movement that was beginning in America.

American hospitals were, therefore, necessarily imitative, happily of the best and not of the worst of English and French institutions. It is usually stated that prior to 1800 there were five well recognized public hospitals in America — the

¹Garrison: History of Medicine, p. 417.

Pennsylvania Hospital (1751), the Philadelphia Dispensary (1786), the New York Hospital (1791), the New York Dispensary (1773) and Bellevue Hospital (1736).²

In Virginia during this century there were some notable movements toward hospital organization. The first insane asylum in America was established at Williamsburg in 1769, and the act which provided for the first marine hospital was passed in 1780. There were also numbers of inoculation hospitals, pest houses, military hospitals of the French and Indian War and the Revolutionary period, and a few private hospitals, chiefly for surgery.

II. MILITARY HOSPITALS

Although Lord Dunmore early in the Revolution had wrought considerable destruction along the Virginia seacoast, it was 1778 before the British adopted the policy of concentrating their strength upon the southern colonies. Arnold's and Tarleton's raids and Cornwallis's march through Virginia destroyed a good deal of property, but except for Yorktown no important Revolutionary battle was fought in Virginia. Yet Virginia's part in caring for the sick and wounded of the Revolutionary army was not inconsiderable. Virginia contributed more than 5,000 troops to the Continental army during the first year of the war, and considerable reinforcements came from her citizenship each year the war lasted. At the same time she furnished the army with more than 230 medical officers, the majority of whom saw service in hospitals and on the field outside their native state. Sickness wrought more havoc than wounds in the Continental army. From the outset the demands upon the northern hospitals were more than they could meet, and many Virginians were invalided home for hospital treatment. Some hospitals, such as that at Alexandria, probably from the very beginning of the war received patients from outside the state. Toward the end of the war the Virginia hospitals, especially those at Williamsburg, were crowded with sick and wounded.

Early in the struggle for liberty the several colonies, recognizing the need for hospitals and competent surgeons, took individual action to secure them. Before the Battle of Lexington or the Declaration of Independence the delegates of the colony of Virginia had discussed in convention the question of establishing military hospitals at convenient points and had directed the attention of the Continental Convention to this matter.³ In "An Act for making a farther provision for the . . . defence of the country," passed in October

²Garrison: *History of Medicine*, p. 423.

³Toner: *Medical Men of the Revolution*, p. 49.

1776, the Governor and Council of Virginia were authorized to provide proper hospitals and barracks for the soldiers at public expense and to appoint physicians and a director general of hospitals.⁴ Similar independent action was taken by the Massachusetts Committee of Safety, which in June 1775 ordered "that Dr. Isaac Foster be and is hereby directed to take up and improve as a hospital so many houses in Menotomy as he may find necessary for the safety of the sick and wounded of the colony army."⁵

All kinds of buildings were used for hospitals — private houses, colleges and churches. A few large hospitals were constructed outright. Director General Morgan, writing to General Heath in 1776, proposed that quarters be immediately fitted up for a general hospital, simply specifying that it "ought to be floored above so as to make two stories each and to have a stack of chimneys carried up in the middle."⁶ The hospital at Albany was "two stories high having a wing at each end and a piazza in front and above. It contains forty wards capable of accommodating five hundred patients."⁷ In other instances tents or huts constructed much like Indian wigwams were used for hospital purposes.

The organization of the medical department provided for both general and regimental hospitals. The regimental hospital was a small mobile unit under the direction of regimental medical officers and in close contact with the troops. The general hospital was usually some distance from the scene of action, though it might be close to the army. It was officered by surgeons of the hospital department or by physicians commandeered from the immediate neighborhood in which the hospital happened to be. There was a good deal of friction between the two types of organization. Disputes over rank, pay and authority frequently had to be straightened out. Regimental hospitals often without warning dumped their sick and wounded upon the general hospital, to the embarrassment of those in charge and the detriment of the patients. Sometimes cases of contagious disease were heedlessly sent in. General hospitals aggravated the situation at times by unceremoniously appropriating for their own needs the very buildings in use by the regimental hospitals. It was claimed that the regimental surgeons actually sought the disruption of the general hospital.⁸ The spirit of antagonism was so widespread that it became necessary to settle matters with the order that "when a soldier is so sick that it is no longer safe or proper for him to remain in camp, he should be sent

⁴Hening: *Statutes at Large*, v. 9, pp. 194, 195.

⁵*Journal of the Provisional Congress of Massachusetts*, pp. 383-384.

⁶*American Archives*, 5th Series, v. 3, p. 781.

⁷Thacher: *Military Journal*, p. 19.

⁸*American Archives*, 5th Series, v. 2, p. 497.

to the General Hospital. There is no need of Regimental Hospitals without the Camp when there is a General Hospital so near."⁹

Dr. Tilton declared that "it would be shocking to humanity to relate the history of our General Hospital in the years of 1777 and 1778 when it swallowed up at least one-half of our army owing to a fatal tendency in the system to throw all the sick of the army into the general hospital, whence crowds infection, and consequent mortality, too affecting to mention I have no hesitation in declaring it as my opinion that we lost not less than from ten to twenty of camp diseases for one by weapons of the enemy."¹⁰ The fearful mortality that accompanied hospitalization in America at this time received further comment from Dr. Thacher, who wrote, "it has been estimated that the loss of lives in the various armies of the United States during the war is not less than 70,000. The number who died on the horrid prison ships of the enemy cannot be calculated. It is however confidently asserted that no less than 11,000 of our brave soldiers died on board the one called *Jersey Prison Ship* only."¹¹

The earliest effort to provide a hospital in Virginia for the sick and wounded of the Revolutionary War was made on May 21, 1776, when the Virginia Convention appointed Mr. Starke, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Henry, Mr. Blair, Mr. Gilmer, Mr. Randolph and Mr. Travis a committee to inquire for a proper hospital for the reception and accommodation of the sick and wounded soldiers.¹² In the same month the Continental Congress resolved "That a Continental Hospital be established in Virginia and a director to the same immediately appointed". Congress further resolved:

"That the hospital in Virginia be on the same establishment, and the pay of the officers thereof the same, as the hospital established in the Eastern Department:

"That two surgeons, one apothecary, six mates, one clerk, one store keeper, and one nurse¹³ to every ten sick, with laborers occasionally, be allowed to the hospital in Virginia:

"That the director be empowered to nominate the surgeons and the apothecary:

"That the mates be appointed by the surgeons, and that the number of the

⁹American Archives, 4th Series, v. 3, p. 667.

¹⁰Toner: *Medical Men of the Revolution*, p. 77.

¹¹Thacher's *Military Journal*.

¹²American Archives, 4th Series, v. 6, p. 1533.

¹³Nurses for Colonial soldiers were of both sexes. Sarah Strather, Sarah Spotswood, Mary Weatherfoot, John Warrington and James Kerr are all listed as nurses in the accounts of the auditor's office. (State Auditor's Papers, 1776-77; in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, v. 26-30.)

mates be diminished as circumstances will admit; for which reason the pay is fixed by the day, that they may only receive pay for actual service."¹⁴

Dr. James McClurg had applied for the position of director, and ill feeling arose when the appointment went to Dr. William Rickman, who was not a native Virginian. Director Rickman was soon coöperating with the local committee in Williamsburg in the selection of a proper site. A survey was made of the private houses of Williamsburg, and several were considered — Dr. James Carter's, "which is but small yet has many convenient buildings," Mr. James Hubbard's, "which does not contain many rooms but they are commodious and airy," and Mr. John Hatley Norton's, "which is airy and pleasant" — but none was recommended, since the committee did not believe they would furnish an economical or convenient method of handling the sick.¹⁵ The College building was also considered, but it was thought inappropriate "by reason of the many partitions therein" which would "not admit of that thorough passage of air so absolutely necessary for invalids."¹⁶ The choice of the committee finally fell to the Governor's Palace, which was considered "adapted in all respects, without any alterations of consequence, for an hospital, whether considered as to size, situation, plan or necessary offices."¹⁷

The Palace, which stood at the head of Palace Green just off Duke of Gloucester Street, had been begun in 1706 and completed by Governor Spotswood. It was said to have cost over six thousand pounds sterling. The Reverend Hugh Jones remarked of it in 1724, "it is a magnificent structure, furnished, and with beautiful gates, fine gardens, offices, walks, a fine canal and orchard." Adding to its desirability in the committee's estimation was "a public building in the center of the park, which may be taken as an appendage to the Hospital, whither persons laboring under epidemical or infectious disorders may be removed, and the disease thereby prevented from spreading." In spite of these advantages, two weeks after the resolution appropriating the Palace for a public hospital was passed another resolution restored it to its original purpose, and the Governor of Virginia continued to reside there until April 7, 1780.¹⁸

It was then decided that a hospital should be built. On October 4, 1776 the *Virginia Gazette* advertised that "An hospital for the Continental troops in America will be erected near Williamsburg, and will be let to the lowest bidder in front of the Raleigh Tavern. A plan of the same may be seen by applying

¹⁴American Archives, 4th Series, v. 4, p. 1673.

¹⁵American Archives, 4th Series, v. 6, p. 1573.

¹⁶American Archives, 4th Series, v. 6, p. 1573.

¹⁷American Archives, 4th Series, v. 6, p. 1573.

¹⁸Wirt: Life of Patrick Henry, p. 220.

to William Rickman." Where the hospital was to be placed was apparently not decided until five months later, when the Journal of the Council for March 8, 1777 recorded: "It is recommended that the plantation on which the Public Vineyard is, to be purchased as a site for a military hospital."¹⁹ This land was outside of Williamsburg on the Great Road to York, and the hospital which was constructed there was variously referred to as the *Continental*, the *Virginia*, or the *Vineyard* Hospital. When the hospital was built, how large it was or how conducted we do not know, but by May 1779 and probably earlier it was in operation. In the day books and ledgers of the Public Store there is an entry: "For Vineyard Hospital: 1 cask Epsom Salts, 44 hdgs. Jesuit Bark, 4 cases oil."²⁰

Until the Vineyard Hospital was ready for occupation private houses were evidently utilized for the care of the sick. In May 1777 a petition for 500 pounds damages was presented by John Ellis, agent for William Lee, Esquire, of London, setting forth that "several valuable buildings and improvements belonging to the said Lee in the City of Williamsburg have been occupied by the soldiers as barracks and hospitals"²¹ Patrick Galt had petitioned the House of Delegates in November 1776 for compensation for services during February, March and April 1775, when he was physician and surgeon to three companies of the Ninth Regiment of Regulars. He suffered considerable trouble and expense, since "the sick were generally removed to places where they could be best accommodated, having then neither hospital nor covering."²² A Williamsburg advertisement in the *Gazette* for October 24, 1775 read, "Wanted; several hogsheads of vinegar for the Hospital." It no doubt referred to some such temporary quarters, as did another advertisement for nurses for the "Continental Hospital in Williamsburg" in the *Gazette* for July 26, 1776.

It was a common custom all during the war for sick and wounded soldiers to be billeted in private houses, and the state auditor's papers record many payments made to individuals in compensation for board, lodging and care of soldiers. January 1776: "To cash paid Walter Lenox for board and House Rent to sick soldiers. . . .15-19-04." February 1776: "Ditto paid James Diland for Board and necessities to a sick soldier. . . .10-00-00."²³ Physician

¹⁹ Journal of the Council of Colonial Virginia, 1776-77, p. 358.

²⁰ The records of the Public Store which was kept at Williamsburg during the Revolution are preserved in the Archives of the Virginia State Library. For abstracts of these records and for other information concerning Revolutionary hospitals and doctors we are indebted to the Research Department of the Williamsburg Restoration.

²¹ Journal of the House of Delegates, 1777-80, p. 29.

²² Journal of the House of Delegates, 1776, p. 57.

²³ Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 27.

General William Brown suggested to Dr. Rickman in 1780 that "where of necessity any sick must be left on the road to trust them to the care of private persons with proper certificates from the officers leaving them there for the payment of reasonable charges on this account." This he preferred to the plan often adopted of causing whole houses to be vacated by private families and staffed with officers and attendants, when "perhaps there would not be occasion to receive a single patient in the course of a year."²⁴

During the early years of the Revolution there were few sick and wounded to be cared for in Virginia. As late as May 1780 William Brown reported to Washington that at Petersburg "there remained. . . about twenty or thirty sick." By July he reported still fewer, "only eighteen," who had been removed to Chesterfield Court House.²⁵ But when Cornwallis's campaigns in the summer of 1781 resulted in the assembling of large bodies of troops around Yorktown, conditions changed tremendously. James Craik, then Physician General, wrote Washington on September 27 that "we shall not be able to do with less than 600 blankets" for the hospital at Williamsburg, indicating the number of sick and wounded he already had or expected to have soon.²⁶ On October 17 Washington wrote John Blair that "the number of our sick and wounded are increasing so fast that room cannot be found for their Cover and Conveniences."²⁷ On October 23, 1781 Craik reported that "In the hospitals at Williamsburg there are about 400 sick and wounded, at Hanover Town about 200 . . . a great number more of the detachment and the rest of the Army are objects for the hospital if the army moves."²⁸ On October 12, 1781 there were in addition to the Americans 413 French sick and wounded at Williamsburg.²⁹ Since the total number wounded in the battle of Yorktown amounted to 300 (193 French, 107 Americans) it may be surmised that the sick formed the greater part of the hospital population.³⁰ After the surrender the British sick and wounded formed an additional problem. They were said to have had 1,500 in their hospitals in October 1781.³¹

For several months after the Yorktown campaign Williamsburg was crowded with sick and wounded. Three or four hospitals were in operation, and private houses probably were commandeered to take care of the overflow. At the Vineyard Hospital, which seems to have been controlled by both the

²⁴Manuscript in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress. (Printed in an article by Bessie Wilmarth Gahn in the Washington Post, Oct. 5, 1930.)

²⁵Washington Post, Oct. 5, 1930.

²⁶Washington Papers, Library of Congress, No. 185 f. 25835.

²⁷Washington Papers, Library of Congress, No. 186 f. 24971.

²⁸Washington Papers, Library of Congress, No. 186 f. 25034.

²⁹Balch: *Les Francais en Amerique*.

³⁰Washington Papers, Library of Congress, No. 187 f. 25134.

³¹Force Transcripts: Letters of Edward Hand to Yeates, 1775-1782.

state and Continental governments, a few sick and wounded had probably been cared for ever since its establishment, and in the fall of 1781 it was crowded to capacity. Like the other Continental hospitals in the state, it was supervised by Dr. Rickman until his resignation in October 1780. Rickman was apparently succeeded by Dr. David Gould. An order of the Continental Congress refers on February 6, 1781 to the "hospital established in Virginia, under the direction of Dr. Gould . . . since the new arrangement of the medical department."³³ Dr. Gould died July 12, 1781.³⁴ Possibly his successor was Dr. Goodwin Wilson, whom Congress raised to the rank of hospital physician and surgeon on September 20, 1781 and who for some months before that date had been supervising the sick and wounded in hospitals at Beverdam, Hanover and Charlottesville.³⁵ It is possible, too, that James McClurg may at last have received the position which he had solicited at the beginning of the war. He is listed by Eckenrode as "Director of Hospitals," and he may have received the appointment after Gould's death; though perhaps his directorship was in the state rather than in the Continental service.

Besides the director, the hospital of course had surgeons who were in actual charge of its operation. A letter from Dr. William Carter of Williamsburg to Richard Henry Lee gives us the names of two of the medical officers at the Vineyard. On November 25, 1777 Dr. Carter wrote, "I have acted as Surgeon in the Continental Hospital in this State from its first establishment," and he refers to "Dr. Galt, who at first served with me in our Hospital, but since senior surgeon in the Colonial Service." This was John Minson Galt, who after his service with Dr. Carter at the hospital became surgeon to the Fifteenth Virginia Regiment, was taken prisoner at Germantown in 1777 and later is said to have been Surgeon General of the Virginia troops.³⁶

The Palace, which had been selected in 1776 for the Continental hospital but had been turned back to the Governor for his residence, was finally converted into a hospital on the first of July 1781, when the Continental hospitals of Charleston, South Carolina, were removed to Williamsburg and placed under the direction of Dr. Thomas Tudor Tucker by order of the Marquis de la Fayette, later confirmed by Washington.³⁷ After the surrender at Yorktown Dr. James Tilton was left in charge of all the American sick and wounded in Williamsburg, while Washington moved north with the army.

³³Journals of the Continental Congress, Oct. 21, 1780; Feb. 6, 1781.

³⁴Heitman: Historical Register of the Officers of the Continental Army.

³⁵Journals of the Continental Congress, Sept. 20, 1781. Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 2, pp. 112, 186, 298.

³⁶Heitman: Historical Register of the Officers of the Continental Army. Also, information from manuscripts in the possession of Miss Mary M. Galt.

³⁷Owen: History of the Medical Department of the U. S. Army. (Extract from Journals of Congress, Nov. 25, 1782.)

Dr. Tucker, who was in charge at the Palace before and during the busy days of the siege, was not a Virginian, though many ties bound him to the state. He was born in Bermuda in 1744, studied medicine in Edinburgh and practised in Charleston, South Carolina. His brother, St. George, moved to Virginia, married the mother of John Randolph of Roanoke and was a noted jurist. Thomas Tudor Tucker was a frequent visitor at their home in Williamsburg, still known as the Tucker House. His letters to his brother describe vividly his early medical practice in Charleston, his work as physician to the Continental hospital in the Southern Department during the siege of Charleston and his later political life, made notable by his service in Congress and as Treasurer of the United States.³⁷

That so fine a building as the Palace was not altogether suited to hospital purposes may be gathered from a letter of Timothy Pickering to Governor Nelson, dated November 8, 1781, informing him that there were "three large rooms at the Palace destitute of fireplaces; and the sick cannot remain in them unless stoves can be procured."³⁸ A month later a disastrous fire burned the building to the ground. According to the Baron Louis Van Closen's journal, "The fire started at eleven o'clock in the evening at the Governor's House which was used as a hospital for the wounded of the American Army. It was absolutely consumed by the Flames during the night; only one of the unfortunate cripples became the prey of it."³⁹ On December 25 Rochambeau reported to Washington that a fire the night before had destroyed "the Palace, in which was the American Hospital. All the sick were saved." A few days later Washington, replying, begged "his Excellency to accept my warmest acknowledgment for your goodness in accommodating our sick who were deprived of their hospital by the accident."

On March 1, 1782 there were very few sick left in the hospital at Williamsburg. "I should suppose," wrote Washington to Colonel Mentges, "the numbers of sick at this time to be very small, and if the Hospital could be entirely broke up, it would be a pleasing circumstance. Those Convalescents who belong to the Northward might be sent by water to the Head of Elk and those of Virginia to the General Rendevous at Cumberland Old Court House. . . ."⁴⁰

The French hospital which accommodated the American sick after the burning of the Palace was none other than the main buildings of William and Mary College, which had been turned over to the French troops about Septem-

³⁷Dr. Tucker's letters, covering the years from 1768 to 1827, were made available by their owners, Mr. and Mrs. George Coleman, of Williamsburg.

³⁸Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 2, p. 589.

³⁹Baron Louis Van Closen: Journal, 1780-82, v. 2, p. 12.

⁴⁰Abstracts from the original manuscripts, made by the Williamsburg Restoration, Research Department.

ber 15, 1781 and served this purpose until May 1782. That this occupation was not altogether agreeable to the president and faculty may be gathered from a letter from John Blair to Washington written October 15, 1781. "The French Line," he states, "are now in possession of the whole, except the Library, the Apparatus Room, and the Rooms of Mr. Bellini, Professor of Modern Languages, and the only Professor who remains in the College; all this is as great a supply of conveniences as could reasonably be required from one place — but Mr. Bellini has just been with me to inform that the Commissary has demanded of him the keys of an out-building called the Granary and other houses near it, in which is a variety of useful Articles which can be removed nowhere else and which must be lost to the College if this measure be persisted in . . ." ⁴¹ Washington's reply was courteous but firm. "You may be assured that nothing but the absolute necessity should induce me to desire you to occupy the College with its adjoining Buildings for Military Purposes I am persuaded that Mr. Bellini will be ready to give up the house you mention, especially as I observe many of the articles are easily removable and some of the most Lumberesome may be secured abroad." ⁴²

During this occupation the president's house and a portion of the main building were destroyed by fire. Baron Van Closen's journal describes the catastrophe: "In spite of the recommendations made to avoid fires, on the 23rd of November one of the wings of the College, which was used as an hospital for the army (French), was reduced to ashes; fortunately the fire did not reach the main part of the building, and all the wounded officers who were in this wing were taken out of it in time.

"It cost the king 12,000 pounds through an arrangement that Mr. De Rochambeau had made with the president, Mr. Matthiesson, who lost a large part of his library and many very beautiful physics instruments. The inhabitants of Williamsburg are extremely kind towards all the officers of the army. They receive them very well at their houses, and do all that is within their means to entertain them (according to the customs of the region, however)." ⁴³

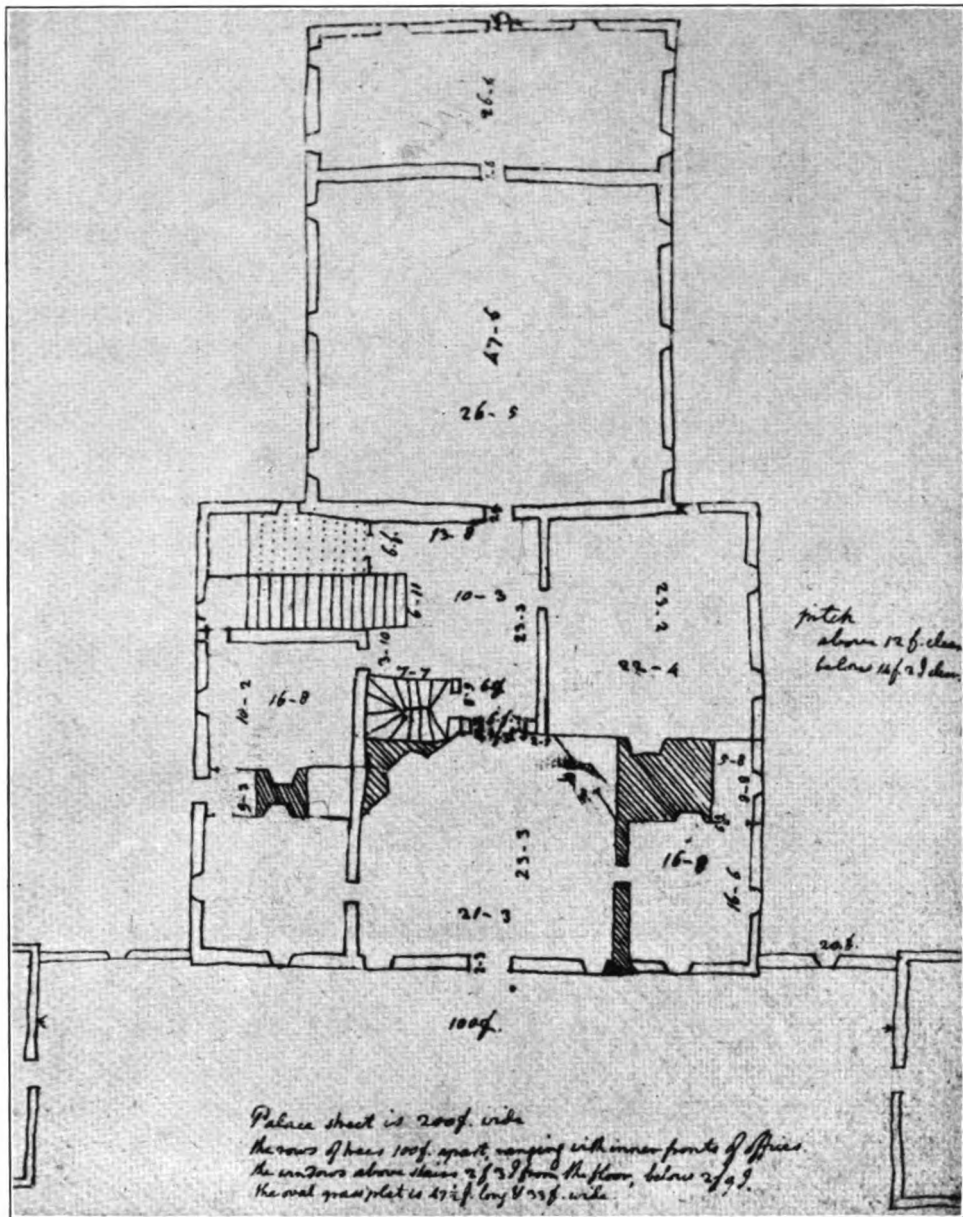
Claude Blanchard, recording the same disaster, wrote that "On November 22nd a pavilion took fire which was used as a hospital for the officers, then amounting to twenty-two, of whom several were severely wounded. We had time to remove them elsewhere without any accident and lost only a few goods. This pavilion was distant only 5 or 6 toises from the large hospital which, fortunately, was not reached." ⁴⁴

⁴¹Washington Papers, Library of Congress, No. 186, f. 24955.

⁴²Washington Papers, Library of Congress, No. 186, f. 24971.

⁴³Baron Louis Van Closen: Journal, v. 2, pp. 1, 12.

⁴⁴Journal of Claude Blanchard, 1780-83, pp. 141-156.



Ground plan of the Palace at Williamsburg used as a Revolutionary hospital



We are indebted to Dr. James Tilton for a description of the French hospital at Williamsburg. He wrote: "Being thus in a French garrison I had some opportunity of observing the French practice and management of their sick. In passing the wards of their hospital, their patients appear very neat and clean, above all examples I have ever seen. Each patient was accommodated with everything necessary even to a night cap. Nevertheless, they were not more successful than we were. Even their wounded, with all the boasted dexterity of the French to aid them, were no more fortunate than ours. I was led to attribute their failure principally to two causes. For ease and convenience, they had contrived a common necessary for their whole hospital, the college, a large building three stories high, by erecting a half hexagon, of common boards, reaching from the roof down to a pit in the earth. From this perpendicular conduit doors opened upon each floor of the hospital; and all manner of filth and excrementitious matters were dropped and thrown down this common sewer into the pit below. This sink of nastiness perfumed the whole house very sensibly and, without doubt, vitiated all the air within the wards. In the next place their practice appeared to me to be very inert. When passing their wards with the prescribing physicians, I observed a great number of their patients in a languid and putrid condition and asked occasionally if the bark would not be proper in such cases? The uniform answer was no, too much inflammation. And when they had attended my round of prescription and saw me frequently prescribing the bark, in febrile cases, and even for the wounded, they lifted up their hands in astonishment. Few or no chemical remedies were employed by them. One of their regimental surgeons declared that he never used opium. Their hospital pharmacopeia consisted chiefly of potions, decoctions and watery drinks, fitted only for inflammatory disorders. All these circumstances considered satisfied my mind, why their ample accommodations gave them no advantage of us, in the result of practice. I was the more surprised as Doctors Coste and Borgelli both appeared to be men of science, well qualified to make research."⁴⁵

In addition to the hospital at Williamsburg the French wounded were cared for in Elizabeth City County. On October 3, 1781 Governor Nelson wrote to Jacob Wray, "To enable you to provide Houses & necessaries for the Sick of the French Fleet, you are hereby empowered to take convenient Houses. . . . and you will call on the Commissioners of Provisions for Elizabeth county, to assist you . . ."⁴⁶

Another hospital in Williamsburg must be mentioned. Craik wrote to Wash-

⁴⁵Lane: Jean-Francois Coste, pp. 8, 9.

⁴⁶Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 2, p. 523.

ington on October 23 from camp near York, "We have a number in the small pox and they are daily increasing, more house room will be wanted in Williamsburg when the army moves." Washington promptly replied, "As many of the sick as can be provided for must be accommodated in Williamsburg; If additional houses are wanted for that purpose the Q. M. G. must provide them, and likewise a separate House, either in or near that place, for the reception of your small pox patients; and if all the sick cannot be accommodated in Williamsburg, I wish you to apply to the Governor to point out some place that will be most convenient for that purpose."⁴⁷ This is the sum of our information about the smallpox hospital which must have been opened at that time.

Though they were not so important, there were a number of Revolutionary hospitals in Virginia besides those in Williamsburg. In fact it appears that it would have been better for the service if there had been fewer. Physician General Brown, on a visit to Virginia in May 1780, wrote Washington that he had advised Dr. Rickman "to keep up one general hospital at Rockyridge only, & that well provided, for the reception of all the Continental sick in Virginia that could conveniently be conveyed to it either from parties on the march or otherwise. . . . This mode I recommend as more regular & likely to answer the end intended, than the enormously expensive one heretofore used of establishing hospitals at almost every trifling post in the State, with all the apparatus of officers, attendants &c."⁴⁸ Rockyridge is the present South Richmond.

One of the earliest hospitals of the war must have been that at Suffolk, with Dr. Alexander Skinner in charge. An item from the expense accounts of the Public Store at Williamsburg reads: "Aug. 14, 1776. To 602 yds. Ozna brig del. to Dr. Skinner at the hospital at Suffolk—45-3-0." Payments made by the state auditor as early as January of that year included: "Cash paid Alexander Skinner for sundries furnished the Public Hospital—7-08-00." In February he received £25-5s.-1d. for "Expenses of the Public Hospital."⁴⁹ This same Dr. Skinner later saw active service as a surgeon in Lee's Legion.

As early as 1777 there were hospitals at Williamsburg, York, Hampton and Portsmouth. On October 1, 1777 the Executive Council ordered that the surgeons of the hospitals at Hampton and Portsmouth should receive the same pay and rations as senior surgeons in the Continental hospitals.⁵⁰ Dr. James McClurg was surgeon to the garrison at Hampton as early as 1776 and in

⁴⁷Washington Papers, Library of Congress, No. 186 f. 25034; No. 187 f. 25024.

⁴⁸Washington Post, Oct. 5, 1930.

⁴⁹Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 27, 28.

⁵⁰Virginia Council Journal, 1777-8, p. 98.

March 1780 was appointed surgeon to the marine hospital there.⁵¹ Across the river was another hospital, in charge of Dr. Matthew Pope, who in 1777 advertised for two surgeons' mates for the hospital at York.⁵² Dr. Corbin Griffin had served there earlier in the war. On May 16, 1777 the *Gazette* published a lengthy and laudatory address from the officers in York garrison to Dr. Griffin regretting his removal as director and physician of the hospital.⁵³ This was followed by a letter of thanks from the aggrieved doctor, who declared he had not been told why he was removed. An address from non-commissioned officers and soldiers similar to that of the officers was also printed. Apparently it was one of the many cases where politics became unfortunately involved with the hospital department. Serving under Dr. Pope until 1781 was Dr. Joseph Hay, who had been surgeon's mate in the hospital in Williamsburg at the beginning of the war and afterwards apothecary in the same hospital.⁵⁴

Mention is made of a hospital at Chesterfield Court House. On July 3, 1780 William Brown wrote Washington that "The best account I can give your Excellency of the state of the other parts of the Hospital Department is, that in the beginning of June there were in Virginia only 18 sick remaining under the care of Dr. Rickman at Chesterfield Courthouse (whither at the requisition of the Governor they had been removed, instead of to Rockyridge, as I had proposed)."

We find scattered references to a number of hospitals which were probably temporary but whose establishment bears out Dr. Brown's criticism of the practice of setting up hospitals "at almost every trifling post in the State." Most of them were the result of the movement of troops into Virginia for the final campaign of 1781. In May of that year Goodwin Wilson, "Surgeon to the General Hospital," established a hospital at Beaver Dam Church in Hanover County "on a high and healthy place," and asked for supplies, especially vinegar, rice and molasses.⁵⁵ On May 31 Dr. Pope, who had then left Yorktown, wrote Governor Jefferson concerning "the General Hospital which at this moment is at Allen's Creek Church in Hanover. Where it may be tomorrow I do not know, as we keep moving with the Army, transporting all our Medicines and Stores with the Hospital . . . have no beds to lay our wounded on."⁵⁶ A month later the Beaver Dam hospital was moved to Charlottesville, and Dr. Wilson again complained of being in want of all supplies.

⁵¹Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 1, p. 380.

⁵²Dixon & Hunters's Virginia Gazette, Aug. 22, 1777.

⁵³Dixon & Hunter's Virginia Gazette, May 16, 1777.

⁵⁴Tyler's Quarterly, v. 2, p. 190.

⁵⁵Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 2, p. 112.

⁵⁶Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 2, p. 137.

"Should an action take place," he wrote to Colonel Davies, "I am confident the wounded must suffer beyond conception."⁵⁷ By August 7 he had been forced to move again, this time back to Hanover Town, bringing with him a number of sick and wounded from Cumberland and "destitute of every article of nourishment except common Rations."⁵⁸

In November Matthew Pope, now acting as surgeon and apothecary at Richmond, wrote: "The wretched situation of the sick and wounded in this State for want of a proper Hospital to receive them compels me to represent their sufferings to you A Temporary Log House has been attempted it remains unfinished and would be insufficient . . . provided it was compleated. At present there are ten men confined in a small room, the roof of which leaks like a Riddle no clothes, no Blankets to cover them at this inclement season of the year. Felons in most countries are more comfortably provided for."⁵⁹ The lack of coöperation of the authorities and their failure even to pay his salary finally led Dr. Pope, in January 1782, to give up his position at Richmond. Dr. William Foushee became his successor.

Dr. Pope's difficulties were similar to those encountered earlier in the war by Dr. George Gilmer. On June 16, 1779 he wrote to Theodorick Bland, probably from Charlottesville:⁶⁰

"Dear Sir: Col. Fontain informs me that there are returned twenty odd sick, several very ill, & requests my attendance, lame and Without a horse am at a loss how to get to the Barracks unless you'll be kind enough to lend me any old horse, which shall be restored at night. The six Barracks for a temporary hospital are not yet fitted up, if it meet with your approbation should prefer six barracks made by the Militia detached from the main Barracks, & shall give direction to the quarter Master accordingly, soon as the sick get collected will procure necessarys or appoint a person for that purpose. If any live it may revive the people. Adieu.
GEORGE GILMER."

On April 22, 1783 Congress resolved, "That the account of Dr. G. Gilmer for pay and rations, be settled . . . and that the purveyor general return to Dr. George Gilmer a quantity of medicine equal to what he expended out of his private stores for the use of the continental hospital under his care."⁶¹ Apparently the hospital at Charlottesville was part of the Continental establishment.

⁵⁷Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 2, p. 186.

⁵⁸Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 2, p. 298.

⁵⁹Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 2, p. 607.

⁶⁰Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 9, p. 299.

⁶¹Journals of the Continental Congress, April 22, 1783.

The hospital at Fredericksburg was probably in operation during the greater part of the war. On June 5, 1776 the Journal of the Virginia Committee of Safety recorded: "The Comm'ee think it prudent to accept the proposition of Dr. John Julian to attend all such sick and furnish medicines at 10s. per day, to be paid only for such time as there shall actually be some persons sick under his care, and that he also be empowered to provide an Hospital and other necessaries proper for such sick"⁶³ Julian, who had practised in Fredericksburg in partnership with Hugh Mercer, apparently provided the hospital. Like many of the state hospitals it was probably taken over by the Continental establishment in 1781, in which year Dr. Julian was requested by General Weedon to serve as director of the "Public Hospital in Fredericksburg" and "to procure a convenient house in the vicinity of the town, to remove the sick and to prevent any pestilential disorders among the inhabitants, and Sir, the patients from drunken and riotous company."⁶⁴ It must have been at this same hospital that Dr. Charles Mortimer acted as physician and surgeon in the last year of the war. He complained of the surgical part of his duties, "for I never did practise in surgery or operate it, being very repugnant to my disposition," and advised securing a house in which surgery could be practised exclusively. Probably his advice was not followed; but at least he was paid for his services, for on March 26, 1783 Congress passed a resolution:

"That Dr. Charles Mortimer's account be settled for pay and rations on the same principle as a junior surgeon, for the term of nine months, during which he appears to have been in the public service:

"That the Director-General in the hospital department, take order for delivering to Dr. Mortimer a quantity of medicines equal to what he expended in the public hospital (at Fredericksburg)."

Still another hospital was at Alexandria. Here Sheubel Pratt acted as surgeon for fifteen months⁶⁴ and Dr. William Rumney was director for some time before the end of the war.⁶⁵ The hospital was the scene of a great mortality among North Carolina and Virginia troops who were ordered there to undergo inoculation under the direction of Dr. Rickman.

After the surrender at Yorktown there continued to be a need for hospitals in Virginia for a few months. Those at Williamsburg were not disbanded until March 1782. In February Dr. George Monroe proposed to Colonel Davies to establish a hospital at Cumberland Court House "on the same plan

⁶³Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 8, p. 188.

⁶⁴William and Mary Quarterly, v. 27, p. 80.

⁶⁵Eckenrode: Calendar of Legislative Petitions, p. 63.

⁶⁶Eckenrode: Calendar of Legislative Petitions, pp. 74, 82.

as Chester, Va."⁶⁶ In January 1782 Major Dick was still complaining of a scarcity of food and supplies for the hospital at Portsmouth.

At Gloucester the British hospital, devoted entirely to the care of the sick and wounded of the enemy, was in operation as late as March 2, 1782. The usual practice was to have captive surgeons care for the wounded British and Hessian soldiers in the American hospitals, side by side with Americans. The hospital at Gloucester, however, was exclusively for the British and was under the charge of Dr. Robert Smyth, whose title was Surgeon and Director of British Hospitals in Virginia. His correspondence with Governor Harrison reveals the same lack of medicines and supplies which had characterized all the American hospitals from the beginning of the war.⁶⁷

III. INOCULATION HOSPITALS

The Rev. Cotton Mather of Boston in 1721 called Dr. Zabdiel Boylston's attention to the method of inoculation against smallpox practised in Turkey. Dr. Boylston at once inoculated his son and two servants and, during the next twelve months, 247 other persons. In spite of heated popular antagonism the practice spread, and Charleston, South Carolina, soon became another noted center of inoculation. It was a time when few escaped smallpox, and the mortality was alarmingly high. The new procedure was said to reduce the mortality from fifteen to two per cent., a saving in life well worth the annoyance of being inoculated. Those who underwent the ordeal developed typical smallpox with its fever, eruption and other discomforts, and of course some died. It was necessary to provide medical and nursing care during such an enforced illness, and strict isolation was imperative. In this way the inoculation hospital came into being. Here the inoculated remained in isolation until the treatment was over. To lighten the tedium of many long days in quarantine it became customary to form groups or classes, who underwent the treatment together. Mrs. Mercy Warren of Plymouth wrote in 1776, "48 persons were inoculated this afternoon & as many will offer Tomorrow. I think it is too many for one Class."⁶⁸ Friends made up congenial parties, and matrimonial alliances are reputed to have grown out of the intimacy of such an arrangement.

There is very little reference to inoculation in the colony of Virginia before 1769, though it was undoubtedly as widely practised here as in other colonies. In 1752, on the front page of Hunter's *Virginia Gazette*, "R. W." advocated

⁶⁶Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 3, p. 75.

⁶⁷Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 3, pp. 51, 83.

⁶⁸Packard: History of Medicine in the United States, p. 85.

inoculation in an article beginning: "As the Smallpox now rages in one of the most populous Towns as well as in other Parts of this Colony I thought it would be a Seasonable time to offer the Public my sentiments."

In 1768 smallpox was epidemic in Williamsburg, and the Common Council declared: "this we owe to the too speedy return of Dr. Smith's patients from inoculation." In Norfolk in August 1768 a riot was provoked because Dr. Archibald Campbell and Dr. John Dalgleish insisted on inoculating patients in Dr. Campbell's house over the protests of the neighbors. An enraged mob burned the house, and the physician had to move his sick patients to the pest house in a thunder storm. Feeling ran high, and the papers were full of violent letters on both sides of the controversy.⁶⁹

The next year the House of Burgesses received a petition of "Sundry inhabitants of the colony setting forth the destructive Tendency of Inoculation with the Smallpox; and therefore praying that no such Practice may be allowed in Virginia." At the same time the citizens of Norfolk presented a petition opposing total prohibition but asking for an act "restraining and regulating the Practice of Inoculation."⁷⁰ The committee which considered these petitions reported on November 18, 1769 against prohibiting the practice, but approved the petition of the inhabitants of the Borough of Norfolk, "that the practice of inoculating the smallpox may be regulated by law."⁷¹ An act was accordingly passed on June 27, 1770, which provided that "Whereas the wanton introduction of the Small-pox into this colony by inoculation, when the same was not necessary, hath, of late years, proved a nuisance to several neighborhoods . . ." anyone who wilfully imported any variolous or infectious matter of the smallpox with the intention of inoculating should be fined a thousand pounds. Those exposed to smallpox might apply to the magistrates for a license to be inoculated, but the magistrates might refuse to grant the license. The fine for inoculating without a license was one hundred pounds.⁷²

The result of this legislation was to stop the practice almost entirely in Virginia. However, there was nothing to prevent physicians outside the state from taking Virginians into their hospitals, and Baltimore and other nearby cities did a thriving inoculation business, to judge from the newspapers of these years. In 1774 Alexander Stenhouse of Baltimore, "knowing that the legislature of your Colony have prohibited Inoculation," through the Virginia newspapers called the attention of the public to his hospital and sought to allay their fear of the use of mercury by stating that he had always been spar-

⁶⁹Purdie & Dixon's Virginia Gazette, Sept. 8, 1768.

⁷⁰Journals of the House of Burgesses, v. 1766-69, p. 203.

⁷¹Journals of the House of Burgesses, v. 1766-69, p. 269.

⁷²Hening: Statutes at Large, v. 8, pp. 371-373.

ing of its employment.⁷³ Henry Stevenson, also of Baltimore, advertised in 1769 that he would inoculate from February 25 to the end of June and that his "customers" would be "carefully and tenderly dealt with." His fee was three pistoles each; 20s. for board and attendance; 15s. for negroes.⁷⁴ John McDonald of Frederick, Maryland and John Cochran of New Brunswick, New Jersey also advertised in Virginia papers. Dr. Cochran's fee was nine dollars, including attendance.⁷⁵ Dr. Gustavus Brown and his nephew, Dr. James Wallace, established an inoculation hospital in Charles County, Maryland and on June 21, 1776 announced its opening in Alexander Purdie's *Virginia Gazette*.

In spite of legal difficulties occasional instances of the practice are encountered in Virginia in these years. In 1771 smallpox broke out in Winchester, and John McDonald and Humphrey Wells were permitted to practise "innoculation." William Gibbs, Isaac Hite and Andrew Waggoner were also permitted to practise; but the justices refused to allow Fielding Lewis, Samuel Washington, Thomas Bryan Martin and other gentlemen to inoculate their families and finally revoked the licenses of Drs. McDonald and Wells.⁷⁶ We find Benjamin Harrison of Berkeley in 1772 stating through the newspapers that "not being able to stop the Progress of the Small pox in my Family I am determined to inoculate immediately" and warning those who had not had smallpox against landing at Berkeley, since he proposed to use the houses at the landing there for his inoculations.⁷⁷ A little later the legislature experienced a change of heart, and the act of 1769 was amended by an act of October 1777, which provided that "Whereas the late discoveries and improvements therein have produced great benefits . . . and the act for regulating the inoculation of the smallpox having been found . . . injurious " anyone might inoculate or be inoculated after obtaining the written consent of a majority of the housekeepers within two miles. Those inoculated or exposed were prohibited from going abroad until they were free of infection and their clothing was cleansed.⁷⁸

After this there was apparently an increase in the inoculating practice in Virginia. James Walker in 1800 gave notice that the "Fall Inoculation" for smallpox would begin September 15 "at my Hospital in the County of Buckingham." Prices: "a guinea for whites, fifteen shillings for blacks."⁷⁹ Drs.

⁷³Purdie & Dixon's *Virginia Gazette*, March 17, 1774.

⁷⁴Rind's *Virginia Gazette*, April 13, 1769.

⁷⁵Purdie & Dixon's *Virginia Gazette*, 1772 and 1773.

⁷⁶Norris: *History of the Lower Shenandoah Valley*, p. 123.

⁷⁷Purdie & Dixon's *Virginia Gazette*, Sept. 24, 1772.

⁷⁸Hening: *Statutes at Large*, v. 9, pp. 371-373.

⁷⁹*Virginia Argus*, Aug. 8, 1800.

William and J. H. Foushee advised the public through the papers that "the magistrates of the County of Henrico having granted a license for the inoculation of smallpox at the house belonging to the estate of John Tabb, Esquire, deceased, (in the vicinity of Richmond) the situation of which is high and airy," they are now ready to receive patients. In the same paper Drs. Cringan and Adams advertised inoculation at the house of Mr. Samuel Coleman.⁸⁰ Dr. Gardiner's hospital for smallpox in Stratton Parish, King and Queen County, was advertised to open March 10, 1779.⁸¹

Yet even the more liberal provisions of the statute of 1777 must have served as a considerable check on the practice of inoculation. Rochefoucauld observed in 1798 that "People are often heard to murmur against this absurd law, yet it is punctually obeyed."⁸² It is undoubtedly true, however, that the inoculation hospitals which were able to operate in spite of the statutes contributed their share toward the growth of institutional care for the sick.

IV. PEST HOUSES

Rochefoucauld, whose caustic comments on his travels through Virginia are often illuminating, observed that "whoever is accidentally attacked by the smallpox is carried to a lonely house in the middle of the woods and there he receives medical assistance." We may be sure that in a time when smallpox was almost universal many occasions arose when such isolation was needed. Every community of any size had its pest house.

How soon the practice of confining smallpox patients in pest houses began in Virginia we do not know. In 1768 the town of Norfolk had such an institution, for Dr. Campbell hurriedly carried his patients there when his house was burned by the mob. That same year the magistrates in Williamsburg "removed those infected with it [smallpox], to one house . . . a constant guard being kept there," and the City Council ruled that the quarantine should last three weeks. Those who had the disease could not appear at large until they had been "cured and freed from the said distemper twenty-one days, at least." In the spring of 1776 Angus McDonald was ordered to place a guard around the house in Winchester "where the small-pox is raging." Soon afterward David Kennedy was paid £69-8s.-5d. for his trouble and expense in preventing the spread of the disease, besides £7-17s.-6d. for "allowance."⁸³

In 1790 a quarantine was established at the mouth of Hazel Run outside

⁸⁰The Examiner, Oct. 7, 1800.

⁸¹Purdie & Dixon's Virginia Gazette, March 6, 1779.

⁸²Rochefoucauld: Travels, v. 3, pp. 79, 80.

⁸³Norris: History of the Lower Shenandoah Valley, pp. 123, 124.

of Fredericksburg, and a hospital was located nearby at Sligo. These measures were adopted against smallpox epidemics spreading from Philadelphia. Drs. Brooke and Ker volunteered their services at the hospital free, for sailors or citizens. The quarantine and their offer were repeated in 1792. No cases of the disease occurred, however, in Fredericksburg.⁸⁴

Smallpox was a problem in the French and Indian War, and isolation hospitals were in use at that time. Dr. Hugh Mercer on November 28, 1764 petitioned the House of Burgesses for a refund of money spent by him in 1762 for "a chest of Medicines & Sundry other medicines delivered in Doses for the Use of the Small pox and Regimental Hospitals." Dr. Mercer claimed he had supplied the regiment with medicines amounting to £176-5s.-6d. during a time when there was much sickness and many cases of smallpox among the soldiers. The Burgesses, by the way, cut Dr. Mercer's bill in half.⁸⁵

In the Revolutionary armies smallpox played a large rôle, but its ravages were generally controlled by the judicious use of inoculation. The contagious nature of the disease was recognized, and numerous isolation hospitals were maintained.⁸⁶

As a result of the yellow fever epidemic of 1800 the establishment of hospitals for contagious diseases was advocated — one at Jordan's Point and another at Richmond. Apparently Richmond had no pest house at that time.

V. THE FIRST MARINE HOSPITAL IN AMERICA

With the phenomenal growth of the English Colonies in America and the rapid expansion of our maritime trade a considerable number of American citizens were soon to be counted among the sailors and seamen on the river boats and seagoing vessels that were plying our waters in increasing numbers. In 1801 it was estimated that not less than 3,000 American sailors entered the port of New Orleans alone. The social and health problems of sailors in port became increasingly serious. Without money, friends or family, careless, indifferent to health, reckless in danger, exposed to hardships, accidents and climatic changes and often suffering from dietary deficiencies and from epidemic and indigenous diseases peculiar to their ports of call, the aged and sick sailors in American ports in the Eighteenth Century presented a pitiable spectacle. There was no organization or recognized agency to whom they might appeal. The plight of the sailors finally aroused the nation to action in 1798. Congress then provided for the establishment of a marine hospital service to

⁸⁴Quinn: History of Fredericksburg, p. 66.

⁸⁵Journals of the House of Burgesses, v. 1761-1765, pp. 142, 273.

⁸⁶Toner: Medical Men of the Revolution, p. 22.

be paid for from a tax of twenty cents a month on all seamen employed on vessels of the United States engaged in foreign or domestic trade. The first marine hospital established by this act was purchased from the State of Virginia by the government in 1800 and was located at Ferry Point, Norfolk County.

Virginia had early recognized the need for a marine hospital. Before 1705 Lieutenant-Governor Alexander Spotswood had "urgently recommended that a hospital with every convenience obtainable in those times should be built as a part of the fort at Point Comfort for the use of sailors needing medical or surgical attention." On April 15, 1708 the Council ordered "that a house be hyred for the accomodation of the sick men belonging to her Majesty's Ship the *Garland* and that the Rent of the said house be paid out of her Majestys Revenue of two Shils per hogshead and it is recommended to Collo William Wilson to provide a house accordingly."⁸⁷

However, it was not until 1780 that steps were taken to establish a permanent marine hospital. In that year the Commonwealth of Virginia by act of its Assembly provided for the establishment of a hospital for sick and disabled seamen by a direct tax on sailors and mariners.⁸⁸ Nothing more was done until 1787, when another act provided that "whereas the tax imposed on seamen hath produced a fund sufficient for the purpose of erecting a hospital" the Governor be authorized to appoint seven commissioners to erect a hospital at Washington, Norfolk County.⁸⁹ Work on the hospital was accordingly started, but from the beginning its funds were inadequate.⁹⁰ In 1790 the Assembly authorized the sale of the building. Apparently no purchaser was found, for in 1794 a tax of thirty cents for the support of the hospital was levied on every sailor who entered the ports of the state.⁹¹ In spite of the tax the finances of the institution remained in a deplorable condition, and in the same year James Taylor, Sr. wrote the Governor on behalf of the Commissioners, urging prompt action by the Assembly to meet the deficiency in funds which had prevented the completion of the work and had made it impossible for the commissioners to keep their contract with the builder.⁹² Even then, apparently, the funds were not forthcoming, for an act of 1798 offered to cede the building to the United States for a marine hospital if the federal government would pay the balance still due the contractor. In 1800 the gov-

⁸⁷Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, v. 3, p. 170.

⁸⁸Hening: Statutes at Large, v. 10, p. 385.

⁸⁹Hening: Statutes at Large, v. 12, p. 494.

⁹⁰Hening: Statutes at Large, v. 13, p. 158.

⁹¹Hening: Statutes at Large, v. 14, p. 307.

⁹²Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 7, p. 393.

ernment accepted the hospital on the conditions proposed by Virginia, and it became the first federal institution of its kind in this country.⁹³

This hospital was operated by the United States government until the War between the States, when the Confederates took it over and used it as a barracks. At the evacuation of Norfolk it fell into Federal hands and was converted by them into an army hospital. It continued to serve this purpose until the fall of 1862. After that the building appears to have remained in disuse until 1875. In that year, under an act of Congress of 1866 which provided for the sale of all marine hospitals whose admission rate had fallen below twenty cases per annum, it was sold by the Secretary of the Treasury to Mr. Albert T. Nichols for \$15,600. Still later it became the property of the Ryland Institute; then passed into the hands of Mr. Paul Garrett, maker of Virginia Dare Wine, and finally came into the possession of the Imperial Tobacco Company. The building is still standing, though subsequent alterations have greatly changed its physical appearance.⁹⁴

After its transfer to the federal government in 1800 the first medical officer to have charge of the hospital was George Balfour, the first surgeon of the United States Navy.⁹⁵ He was born in Little England, Virginia, in 1771 and entered the army in 1792, serving with the Third Infantry and Second Sub-legion. He was transferred to the navy in 1798, and in 1801 Robert Smith, Secretary of the Navy, ordered him as "Senior Surgeon of the Navy" to take charge of the hospital at Norfolk. Balfour resigned from the service in 1804, entered private practice in Norfolk and died there in 1830. His grave stone in St. John's Churchyard, Hampton, states that he "braved the perils of the West under the gallant Wayne, who at a subsequent period, on Presque Isle, breathed his last in his arms."⁹⁶ Truxton, Captain of the *Constellation*, called Balfour "my old friend and faithful Physician and Surgeon." Dr. Balfour was succeeded by Dr. Philip Barraud, who besides directing the hospital practised and conducted a medicine shop at 21 Main Street, Norfolk.

From its early beginning at Ferry Point, Virginia, the marine hospital movement has expanded until today there are twenty-six first class marine hospitals in the United States, caring annually for nearly 400,000 patients. Although the celebrated Greenwich Hospital in England was established at an earlier

⁹³Hening: Statutes at Large, v. 15, p. 93. Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 9, p. 132.

⁹⁴Information, including copies of deeds, furnished by Dr. S. L. Christian, Medical Officer in charge of the Marine Hospital at Norfolk, 1930.

⁹⁵At the close of the Revolution the Confederation sold all its 47 ships of war, and until 1785 it could not boast a single war vessel. In 1798 the navy was revived. 34 surgeons and 49 surgeons' mates were appointed. The first appointment was that of George Balfour to the *Constellation*, May 9, 1798. Balfour thus became senior surgeon of the navy. (Holcomb: A Century with Norfolk Naval Hospital, pp. 56-68, 111.)

⁹⁶Holcomb: A Century with Norfolk Naval Hospital, p. 67.

date, it was essentially a military institution designed to serve the Royal Navy exclusively. The Ferry Point institution not only was the oldest marine hospital in this country but marks the beginning by the United States government of a service whose efficiency and organization have been admired and copied on two continents.

VI. THE HOSPITAL FOR THE INSANE AT WILLIAMSBURG

Before the Revolutionary War the relief of the poor and the custody of the pauper insane in Virginia were under the vestries of the established church. There was no general or special hospital to care for them. The insane were accordingly either left at large or placed in almshouses, or, more often, in jail, as their demeanor demanded. The need for more suitable care of these unfortunate people was brought to the attention of the Burgesses in April 1767, when they were requested by Governor Fauquier to take steps for the establishment of a hospital "for the reception of persons who are so unhappy as to be deprived of their reason."⁹⁷ Though the question came before the House, no action was taken until November 15, 1769, when a committee was instructed to prepare a bill "to make Provision for the Support and Maintenance of Ideots, Lunatics, and other persons of unsound Minds."⁹⁸

At that time there were four lunatics in Williamsburg in the public jail. Lord Botetourt was now Governor, and at his request William Byrd, the third of that name, a member of the House, wrote to Philadelphia to ask if the University of Pennsylvania Hospital, which was giving some attention to the care of the insane, would receive the four from Virginia. The reply was favorable. The Burgesses agreed to pay the patients' expenses to Philadelphia and sent a message to the Governor thanking him for his "kind and humane Attention to the Piteous Situation of the four Unhappy People who are disordered in their Senses and now confined in the Public Gaol of this Colony."⁹⁹

The act to care for the insane, as it was finally passed by the Burgesses on June 27, 1770, took cognizance of the fact that "several persons of insane and disordered minds have been frequently found wandering in different parts of this colony" and that no certain provision had been "yet made either towards effecting a cure of those whose cases are not become quite desperate, nor for restraining others who may be dangerous to society." It further provided for the appointment of trustees who were to establish a public hospital, buy land

⁹⁷Journals of the House of Burgesses, v. 1766-69, p. 131.

⁹⁸Journals of the House of Burgesses, v. 1766-69, p. 259.

⁹⁹Journals of the House of Burgesses, v. 1766-69, pp. 303, 305, 310.

"not exceeding four acres, the most healthful in situation that can be procured," erect buildings, employ keepers, nurses and guards and call in physicians and surgeons. Patients were to be committed to the hospital on warrants from the county magistrates. A commission of three magistrates was to examine the person, take evidence in writing and order his transfer to Williamsburg if a majority judged him insane. No provision was made for the inclusion of a physician on this commission. Patients were to be discharged from the hospital only by the authority of the trustees. Those who could afford to do so were to pay an allowance to the hospital for their support.¹⁰⁰

Many familiar names are found among the early trustees of the hospital: Thomas Nelson, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence and Governor of Virginia; Peyton Randolph, President of the first Continental Congress; George Wythe, signer of the Declaration of Independence and professor of law at William and Mary College; Benjamin Waller, Honorable John Blair, William Nelson, John Randolph, Dudley Digges and John Tazewell.

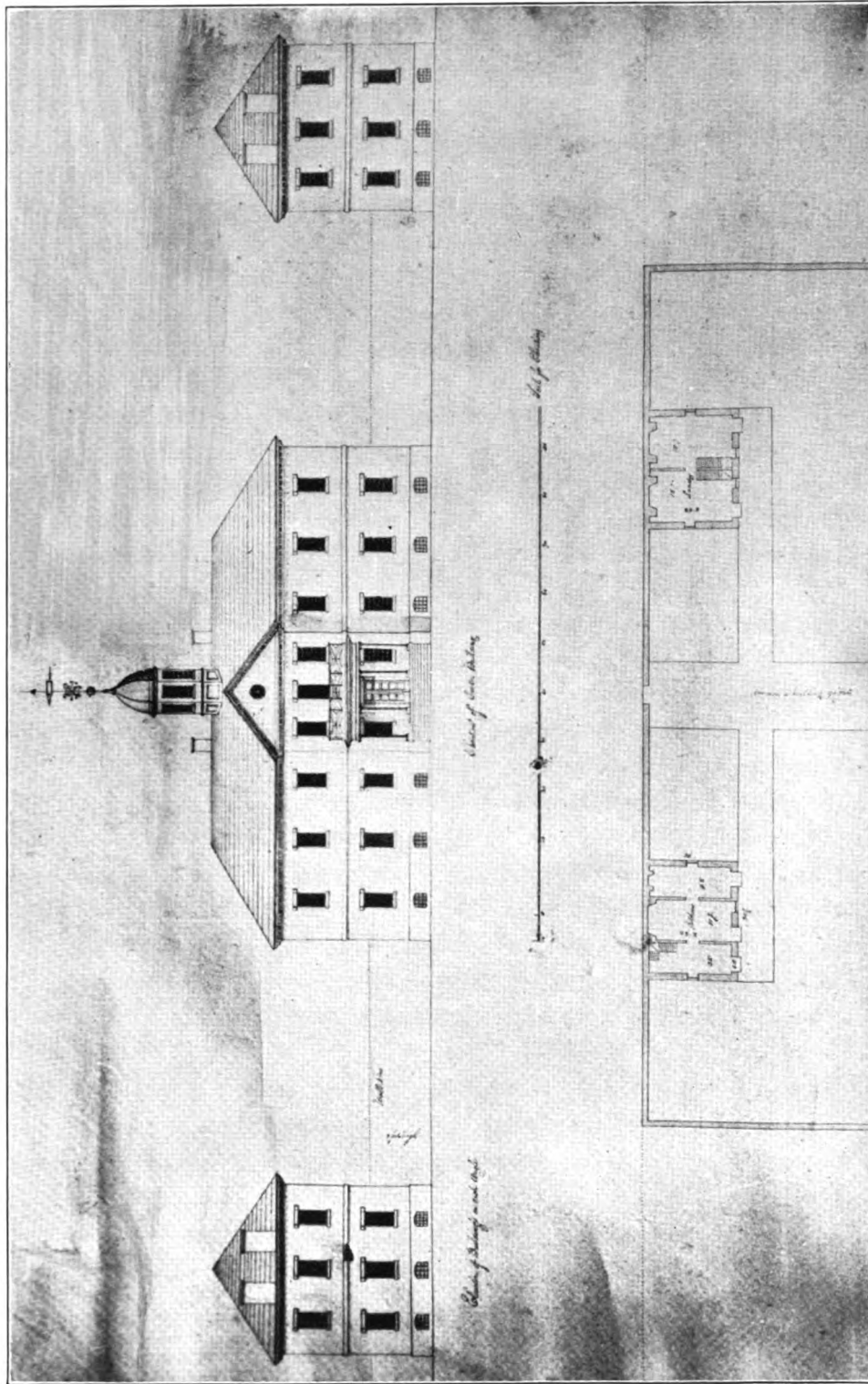
The trustees purchased eight lots in Williamsburg from Thomas Walker. Two thousand pounds had been appropriated in 1770 and 1772 by the legislature, and following the plan and specifications of Robert Smith of Philadelphia a two-story building with twenty-four rooms was erected. The dimensions were one hundred by thirty-two feet and two inches. Benjamin Powell was the "undertaker" and furnished all the materials except those imported from England, among which were the stone steps, grates, iron work and locks. An extract from the specifications reads:

"The plans consist of a Hall for a staircase, behind there is the Keeper's apartments, and 12 other Rooms, chiefly for the reception of mad people. The stairs begin near the front Door and lands on passage in the second story, the second story has 12 Rooms the same dimensions as those in the first story, and a Room over the keeper's apartment which serve the managers of the Hospital to meet or may be divided, which will make two other Rooms for Patients.

"If there should be occasion for Fire to warm the common Rooms there may be stoves fixed in the Partition between two rooms, with the Mouth open to the Passage, by which means they make fires and the mad People cannot come at them. They should be fixed about two foot above the floor for fear of the patients falling against the stoves.

"The Bricklayers must order it so that the chimneys come out in the Roof

¹⁰⁰ Journals of the House of Burgesses, v. 1770-72, pp. 100, 102. Hening: Statutes at Large, v. 8, p. 378.



Floor and elevation plans for the first Hospital for Idiots and Lunatics at Williamsburg



at equal distance from the middle, otherwise they will have a very ill effect. This may be easily done."¹⁰¹

Within, the building was fitted out as madhouses always had been, with cells and chains. There was a wooden-floored bathroom with black iron tub—an innovation no doubt, but we can be sure it was not used for the hot baths so successfully employed today in quieting the maniac.

In 1773 the building was completed, and on September 13 the trustees advertised in the *Gazette* that "the hospital will be ready by the twelfth of next month for the reception of such idiots, lunatics, and persons of unsound minds as may be sent thereto."¹⁰²

St. George Tucker gave the following description of it in 1795: "The hospital for lunatics is calculated to accommodate between twenty and thirty patients in separate rooms or cells. They have, I believe, never been filled at the same time; the house is neatly kept, and the patients well attended; but convalescents have not sufficient room for free air, and exercise, without danger of making their escape."¹⁰³

The trustees in September 1787 prescribed as the daily diet for each lunatic: "Breakfast—Water gruel, mush and molasses, or rice, with bread, butter and salt, or milk; Four days in the week they shall be allowed one pound of fresh meat with bread, or half a pound of bacon occasionally, and a sufficient quantity of broth for dinner, besides vegetables and one quart of small beer each day. The remaining three days they shall be allowed rice, mush, milk-pottage, with mollasses or butter, or bread and cheese; Supper — They shall be allowed any of the articles which are given for their breakfast, but general regulations may be dispensed with as to provisions, whenever the peculiar circumstance of any patient may in the opinion of the physician, render it necessary."¹⁰⁴ There is no record of the medical treatment of the insane at Williamsburg, but undoubtedly the old reliance on chains and confinement in cells prevailed here as elsewhere.

Among other provisions made by the trustees at the time of the opening of the hospital was the allowance of twenty shillings to sheriffs for summoning justices and witnesses needed in the examination of the insane. For transportation to the hospital a further allowance of five pounds of tobacco per mile for the patient and three pounds of tobacco for each guard was made. For the support of the patients the General Assembly provided in 1770 an annual

¹⁰¹131st Annual Report of the Eastern State Hospital of Virginia, p. 11.

¹⁰²Purdie & Dixon's Virginia Gazette, Sept. 23, 1773.

¹⁰³William and Mary Quarterly, v. 2, p. 14.

¹⁰⁴131st Annual Report of the Eastern State Hospital of Virginia, p. 14.

allowance to each inmate of twenty-five pounds sterling. In 1779 this was increased to fifty pounds.¹⁰⁵

The first two patients admitted to the institution were from Hanover and New Kent Counties. From October 12, 1773 to November 3, 1779 thirty-six admissions — fourteen males and twenty-two females — were recorded. During this period twelve were discharged and six died. At the turn of the century there were in the hospital fifty-one male and twenty-nine female patients.¹⁰⁶

The right of the negro race to institutional care was early recognized in Virginia. In 1774 a free mulatto woman was found to be a "person of insane and disordered mind" and was ordered admitted to the hospital. The Williamsburg asylum from its beginning received free negroes and was the first institution of its kind in this country to which negroes were admitted. In 1841 the legislature granted the petition to allow the asylum to receive insane slaves as patients.¹⁰⁷ Dr. Galt said in 1846, "Few colored applicants have been refused for want of room, and those in charge of this asylum have had the privilege of ministering to the wants of all classes of persons laboring under the great calamity of an insane mind, irrespective of color and social position."

No account of the asylum would be complete without mention of the Galts, who for three generations, covering nearly a century, were intimately connected with it. The first keeper of the hospital was James Galt, who served from 1773 until his death in 1800, at a salary of one hundred pounds. His wife, who acted as matron, received twenty-five pounds.¹⁰⁸ He was not a physician, nor was his son William T. Galt, who succeeded him.¹⁰⁹

From the beginning the professional care of patients was in the hands of a visiting physician. Dr. John de Sequeyra was the first to hold this position. When he resigned in 1795, after twenty years of service, two visiting physicians were appointed — Dr. John Minson Galt, brother of the keeper, and Dr. Philip Barraud. The salary was fifty pounds a year until it was doubled in 1800. Dr. Barraud resigned in 1799. Dr. Galt continued his connection with the institution until his death in 1808.¹¹⁰ In that year he was succeeded by his son Dr. Alexander Dickie Galt, whose excellent professional training at home and abroad well fitted him for distinguished service. He was physician to the asylum until 1841, when the position of superintendent was created, absorbing

¹⁰⁵ Hening: Statutes at Large, v. 8, p. 378; v. 10, p. 204. William Nelson, one of the first directors of the hospital, who died soon after its opening, in his will left one hundred pounds for the relief of insane patients committed to the institution. (131st Annual Report of the Eastern State Hospital of Virginia, p. 13.)

¹⁰⁶ 131st Annual Report of the Eastern State Hospital of Virginia, p. 13.

¹⁰⁷ 131st Annual Report of the Eastern State Hospital of Virginia, p. 17.

¹⁰⁸ Journal of the House of Burgesses, v. 1770-1772, p. 269.

¹⁰⁹ 131st Annual Report of the Eastern State Hospital of Virginia, pp. 17, 18.

¹¹⁰ 131st Annual Report of the Eastern State Hospital of Virginia, pp. 17, 18.

the functions of keeper and visiting physicians. Dr. Galt then became acting superintendent until his son completed his medical studies in Philadelphia and took over the position to which he had been appointed.¹¹¹ Immediately upon graduation in March of that year Dr. John Minson Galt II became superintendent and ably directed the institution until his death in 1862. The father had instituted the humane care of the insane at a time when Pinel's innovations were still generally viewed with scepticism. He studied his cases with care and kept notes on their progress and treatment. The son followed the same principles and compiled his father's records in a work entitled *Galt's Practice of Medicine*, 1845. At this time the assistant superintendent of the asylum was Dr. John Galt Williamson, a cousin, who had been brought up by Dr. Alexander Dickie Galt.

On the Board of Directors of the asylum several physicians served from time to time — Dr. John de Sequeyra from 1774 to 1796, Dr. William Pasteur for a month in 1790, Dr. John Minson Galt from 1799 to 1808, Dr. Philip Barraud from 1798 to 1800, and Dr. Alexander Dickie Galt, who acted also as President of the Board, from 1822 to 1841.¹¹²

A series of disastrous fires has wiped out all trace of the old buildings. The original structure stood intact until 1876. Fire in that year destroyed the building in which were the chapel, amusement hall, store-room, kitchen, bakery and dining room. In 1885 a more disastrous fire destroyed the original central building, with both its wings, as well as a building known as the "white house." In 1902 a third fire destroyed the "tower building."¹¹³

The Eastern State Hospital has been the official title of the old hospital for the insane since 1894. Before that it was known as the Eastern Lunatic Asylum, a title adopted in 1841. That it had had other less euphonious names — at least in popular speech — is not to be doubted, for on the walls of the library at the College of William and Mary hangs a map of the city of Williamsburg made in 1780, on which the hospital is designated "The Mad House or Bedlam."

VII. PRIVATE HOSPITALS

The enormous multiplication of private hospitals in recent years in this country as well as in this state may be variously explained. Improvement in the art of surgery, the development and expansion of the nursing profession, growth in population, increase in wealth, a hospital-minded public, improve-

¹¹¹ 131st Annual Report of the Eastern State Hospital of Virginia, pp. 17, 18. Galt Papers.

¹¹² 131st Annual Report of the Eastern State Hospital of Virginia.

¹¹³ Hurd: Institutional Care of the Insane in the United States and Canada, v. 3, p. 703.

ment in hospital construction, have all had a part in this increase. As few of these factors obtained in the Eighteenth Century it is surprising to find that even before the Revolution there are records of at least two private hospitals in Virginia, a fact which argues well for the excellence of the surgery practised here at that time. These early hospitals must have been plain wooden structures offering shelter, sustenance and crude nursing, but little more in the way of comforts.

One of the early private hospitals in Virginia was conducted by Colonel Jesse Brown, said to have been "an accomplished surgeon whose death was universally regretted." Our knowledge of his hospital is limited to mention made of it in Purdie & Dixon's *Virginia Gazette* for January 3, 1771, where an advertisement stated that Dr. Brown's son, Dr. Samuel Brown, had moved to Southampton County and proposed to continue the operation of his father's hospital and to practise surgery there.

Dr. William Cabell, who died in 1774, conducted a hospital near his home in Amherst County and made a specialty of surgery, attaining considerable reputation as an amputator of arms and legs.

CHAPTER XV

WASHINGTON'S PHYSICIANS, DISEASES AND DEATH

I.

THERE was an astonishing amount of coming and going at Mount Vernon. The home of the Washingtons was a caravansary to a multitude of friends and acquaintances, and Washington's diary reads like the register of a colonial hotel. Among those who came on missions high and low, to stay to meals and to linger overnight, were many physicians. The diary records no less than sixty-seven.

Some of Washington's closest friends were physicians. Dr. David Stuart of Fairfax County was one of his intimates. When nineteen years old and a student at William and Mary, Stuart had delivered an oration in commemoration of the founders of the college, on the anniversary of its foundation.¹ He graduated in 1777 and in 1783 married the widow of John Parke Custis, Mrs. Washington's son. He and his wife were frequent guests at Mount Vernon, and Washington became much attached to him. The diary witnesses their pleasant interchange of courtesies: "August 15, 1772, sowed about a table-spoon full of the Buffaloe and Kentucke Clover sent me by Doctr Stuart."

Stuart lived first at Hope Park and later at Ossian Hall, Fairfax County. Active in politics, he represented his county in the Virginia Assembly with Colonel Simms in 1785 and with Colonel Mason in 1786 and 1787. In 1788, again with Colonel Simms, he was elected without opposition to the Virginia Convention; and in 1798 he was chosen a Presidential Elector, receiving 216 votes from the freeholders of his county. Washington appointed him one of the first commissioners of the District of Columbia, and in 1791 he and Daniel Carroll of Maryland established the boundary line and "fixed the metes and bounds of the District."² It was Dr. Stuart, Irving tells us, who during the fight over the assumption of the state debts advised Washington that the south was afraid of collusion between the east and the north to obtain financial control of the union. He also conveyed to Washington the dissatisfaction felt in Virginia over the formality of the etiquette that surrounded the person of the chief magistrate.³ Washington apparently forgave these Jeffersonian

¹A copy of this oration is preserved in the John Carter Brown Library.

²Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 33, p. 154.

³Irving: Life of Washington, v. 5, pp. 56, 68.

suspicions. In his will he bequeathed to Stuart "my large shaving and dressing table, and my telescope."

One of Washington's earliest medical friends was the Reverend Charles Green, who, like many other divines of his day, combined medicine and theology. He was a neighbor of the Washingtons and was frequently at Mount Vernon, sometimes socially, sometimes professionally. Born in 1710, the son of Moor Green of Monmouth, England, he received his B.A. and M.A. at one of the English universities and studied medicine before becoming an ordained minister in the established church.⁴ As early as 1736 he had been "recommended to the Right Honourable Thomas, Lord Fairfax, for his presentation of the said Green to the Lord Bishop of London for his ordination," and on August 19 of that year he was "received into, and entertained as Minister" by the vestry of Truro Parish, Virginia, to "be provided for as the laws of this colony direct."⁵ For nearly three decades he remained the minister of Pohick Church, in which Washington was a vestryman. He became, besides, a large landowner, and he evidently continued to practise medicine. In numerous deeds recorded in the county he is described as "Doctor of Physic and Clerk of Truro Parish." At his death in 1765 he left 3,000 acres of land in Fairfax, Prince William and Loudoun Counties to his wife, advising her to return to Ireland, where he had relatives.

As a physician, he had attended both Washington and Mrs. Washington. Washington wrote in his diary for 1760:

"Friday 4th . . . Mrs. Washington seemg. to be very ill wrote to Mr. Green this afternoon desiring his Company to visit her in the Mornng."

"Saturday 5th. Mrs. Washington appeard to be something better. Mr. Green however came to see her at 11 oclock and in an hour Mrs. Fairfax arrivd. Mr. Green prescribd the needful, and just as we were going to Dinnr. Capt. Walter Stuart appeard with Doctr. Laurie."

A year later George Fairfax wrote to Washington, "I am sorry to find that you were in such a bad state of health, and that neither Mr. Green's nor Mr. Hamilton's prescriptions had the desired effect But I hope a bad state of health will not oblige you to cross the horrible Ocean, tho' if better advice should be really necessary the sooner it is taken the better"⁶

Dr. James Laurie or Lowrey, as it was sometimes spelled, was an Alexandria physician who treated Washington's negroes on a salary basis, receiving for this service fifteen pounds a year.⁷ The following entries in Washington's

⁴Goodwin: Colonial Church in Virginia.

⁵Slaughter: History of Truro Parish, p. 13 ff.

⁶Neill: The Fairfaxes of England and America, p. 125.

⁷Fitzpatrick: George Washington Diaries, v. 1, p. 108.

diary illustrate how large landowners frequently attempted home treatment for minor illnesses among their slaves but, when nonplused, finally sent for the doctor:

"1760. Monday 4th Breechy's pains Inceasd and he appeard extremely ill all the day, in Suspense whether to send for Doctr. Laurie or not. Visited my Plantations and found two Negroes sick at Williamson's Quarter, viz. Greg and Lucy; orderd them to be Blooded."

"Tuesday 5th. Breech[y]'s Pain Inceasg. and he appearing worse in other Respects inducd me to send for Dr. Laurie."

"Wednesday 6th. The Dr. sent his Servant down with things to Breechy, Grig came here this afternoon, worse"

"Thursday, 7th. Doctr. Laurie's Man⁸ attended the sick this day also."

On April 9, 1760 Washington wrote: "Doctr. Laurie came here, I may add Drunk." The next day, notwithstanding, the diary continued, "Mrs. Washington was blooded by Doctr. Laurie, who stayd all Night."

Laurie, like the rest of Washington's doctors and friends, came often and stayed long. Washington occasionally returned the visit. At a ball given by the doctor at Alexandria Washington was amused at the scantiness of food and drink and dubbed the affair the "Bread and Butter Ball." His name does not appear in the diaries after 1760. Possibly his official duties had become too exacting: at the election of town officials held in 1761 Dr. Laurie was chosen the first Recorder of Alexandria.⁹

Dr. William Rumney was another Alexandria physician. He came to this country from England in 1763, and in 1765 was employed by the vestry of Christ Church to attend the poor of the parish. Soon afterward Washington engaged him at a fixed annual salary to give medical attention to the servants on his various farms.¹⁰ From 1768 until 1775, when Washington left Mount Vernon for the army, Rumney was one of his most frequent visitors. Hardly a month passed without some such notation as, "Doctr. Rumney dind and spent the evening." "Doctr. Rumney dind and lodgd here." "At home with Doctr. Rumney." In 1768 Washington made the following entries:

"Mar. 3, returned home much disorderd by a Lax, Griping and violent straining."

"4. At Home, worse with the above complaints. Sent for Doctr. Rumney who came in the afternn."

"5. Very bad the Doctr. staying with me."

"6. Something better. Doctr. still here, and Mr. Ramsay came to see me."

"7. Rather better. Doctr. went home after breakfast."

"10. Mending still. Rid out"

⁹Evidently the doctor's apprentice.

¹⁰Maryland Gazette, Dec. 1761.

¹¹Fitzpatrick: George Washington Diaries, v. 1, p. 245.

"June 14. Sent for Doctr. Rumney to Patcy Custis who was seized with fitts."¹¹

The doctor's visits to Mount Vernon were not all professional. In the midst of recording the various comings and lodgings and dinings Washington noted on February 18, 1769: "Went a hunting with Doctr. Rumney. Started a fox, or rather 2 or 3, and caught none. Dogs must got after Deer and never joint." In September 1770 an entry reads, "Doctor Rumney here sick." As a rule, the doctor seems to have combined business with pleasure. In 1775 Washington wrote:

"Jan. 23, Doctr. Rumney came here in the Afternoon."

"24, Doctr. Rumney visited the Sick, returnd to Dinner and stayed all Night."

"25, Doctr. Rumney visited the Sick and returnd to Dinner. I went a hunting. Found a fox but did not kill it."

After Washington's return to Mount Vernon in 1783 there are only two or three references to Doctor Rumney, and after 1788 no mention is made of him at all. He had served in several capacities during the Revolution. The translator of the *Travels* of the Marquis de Chastellux observed in a footnote to some remarks of the Marquis on American physicians, "My old friend Rumney . . . had served more than one campaign as colonel, doctor, and surgeon in the army; he is held in the highest esteem, and is on terms of the greatest friendship with General Washington, at whose house I spent some days with him."¹² The official records show that he was for at least three years a surgeon in the Virginia Continental line and that for some time before the end of the war he was director of the hospital in Alexandria.¹³

Several doctors by the name of Brown were contemporaries and friends of Washington. Dr. Gustavus Richard Brown (1749-1804) of Port Tobacco, Maryland, son of the immigrant Dr. Gustavus Brown, was with Washington at his death. His nephew, Dr. William Brown (1752-1792), lived at Alexandria, served in the Revolution as Physician General of the Continental Hospital for the Middle Department and wrote the first American pharmacopoeia. He was frequently at Mount Vernon. His brother, Dr. Gustavus Brown (1744-1801) of Maryland, was the fourth physician called to the death bed of Washington. The hastily written summons of the three consultants was handed him at midnight, but before he could reach Mount Vernon he was halted at Long Bridge by the sad news of the patient's death. Washington's diary for 1785 and 1786 contains several references to a Dr. Brown, not stating

¹¹Patsy died suddenly, several years later, in one of these fits.

¹²Chastellux: *Travels through North America*, p. 43.

¹³Eckenrode: *Calendar of Legislative Petitions*, pp. 74, 82.

which one was meant. He was summoned in emergencies to care for the sick on the estate, and took part in the social life at Mount Vernon.

II.

James Craik was the sort of man Washington liked — one of the few taken into the circle of his intimate friends. Many came and went at Mount Vernon and many claimed friendship with Washington, but few were really intimate with that reserved, dignified, Virginia gentleman. Craik was modest, tractable, efficient, fond of the great out-doors and in many ways a man after Washington's own heart. How otherwise would he have called him, in his will, "my compatriot in arms and old and intimate friend?" James Thacher, who served under Craik at Yorktown, receiving surgical instruments from his hands before the battle with instructions to remain near La Fayette and to pay first attention to him in case he should be wounded, declared that the doctor's professional merits were of the highest order, that "his character was truly estimable and that his memory is precious to all who had the happiness and the honor of his acquaintance."¹⁴

Craik was one of the many Scotch physicians who emigrated to this country in the Eighteenth Century. He landed in Virginia in 1751 at the age of twenty. He had been born in 1731 on the estate of Arbigland in the "parish of Kirkbean, Stewartry of Kirkcudbright on the north shore of Solway Firth in the Southwest Country,"¹⁵ the country which had produced Burns and John Knox, Robert Bruce and William Wallace. His father, Robert Craik, a member of Parliament, had a gardener, John Paul, whose son also migrated to Virginia, took the name of John Paul Jones and became "the wrathful Achilles of the Ocean" and "the founder of the American Navy."¹⁶

James Craik, said to have been an illegitimate son, but acknowledged and protected by his father,¹⁷ was prepared for the medical service of the British army, taking both his academic and medical training at the University of Edinburgh. In 1751 he set sail for the West Indies as an army surgeon, but he soon resigned his commission, moved to Virginia and began practice at Norfolk. 1754 found him in the frontier Virginia settlement of Winchester. In that year the French and Indian War became a matter of serious concern for the colonies. For the frontier settlements the days that followed were full of

¹⁴Thacher: *American Medical Biography*, p. 239.

¹⁵Russell: *John Paul Jones, Man of Action*.

¹⁶It has been maintained that John Paul Jones was the illegitimate son of the Earl of Selkirk, and Jones himself is said to have believed this at one time.

¹⁷De Koven: *Life and Letters of John Paul Jones*, v. 1, p. 7.

alarm, uncertainty and military activity. In Winchester the Virginia Provincial Regiment was organized, and Craik joined it as surgeon. He soon found himself one of the little army of four hundred, marching under the command of Colonel Fry and later of George Washington to the head of the Ohio. He was at Great Meadows when the English engaged and captured the small French force sent to oppose them. He was at Fort Necessity during those anxious days when the little group of English despairingly awaited reinforcements and finally yielded to the superior forces of the French under de Villiers. Craik acted as ensign, lieutenant and surgeon in this campaign. Here he and Washington began their long friendship.

In the following year Craik was with Braddock in the ill-starred advance against Fort Duquesne, fell back with the retreating British, cured Washington of a fever by administering James's Powders, and treated the fatal wounds of the proud and stubborn Braddock. He was one of those who in 1755 received thirty pounds from the Virginia Assembly "for gallant and meritorious service in battle."

From 1755 to 1758 Washington was in command of the frontier forces, with headquarters at Winchester. Craik was the surgeon, holding this position until the capture of Fort Duquesne, when he seized the favorable opportunity to retire from the army. He purchased a plantation at Port Tobacco, Maryland, set up to practise medicine, built a mansion and in 1760 brought there as his wife, Marianne Ewell, whose great-nephew became General Ewell of the Confederate Army. The mansion was described by Craik's grandson, David Jennifer, in 1849 as being, even then, one of the largest and most comfortable and agreeable residences in the country.¹⁸

In 1770 and again in 1784 he joined Washington in two adventurous trips to the Ohio River to inspect the territory subject to military claims. Such excursions delighted the hardy, woods-loving Washington, and the fact that Craik was his sole white companion bespeaks their kindred natures. Across the country they journeyed on horseback to Pittsburgh, then down the river in a canoe with two Indian guides as far as the Big Kanawha. On the earlier trip they encountered the old Indian who had witnessed Washington's miraculous escapes from French and Indian bullets at the Battle of the Monongahela and who now prophesied that the Great Spirit would protect him and that he would become "the founder of a mighty nation."

In 1774, having returned to his medical practice, Craik began to take an active interest in the stirring events that were everywhere leading up to the

¹⁸Richmond Times Dispatch, Oct. 1928.

Revolution. He entered the army as surgeon, and in 1777 the Commander-in-Chief offered him his choice of two positions — that of "senior physician and surgeon of the hospital with pay of \$4 and six rations per day and forage for one horse" or that of Assistant Director-General of the Hospital of the Middle Department with "pay of \$3 and six rations per day and two horses and travelling expenses." He accepted the latter position and thereafter served close to his friend until the end of the war. It was Craik who in 1778 warned Washington of the plan of the "Conway Cabal" to make Gates Commander-in-Chief. "Notwithstanding your unwearied diligence," he wrote on January 6, "and the unparalleled sacrifice of domestic happiness and ease of mind which you have made for the good of your country, yet you are not wanting in secret enemies, who would rob you of the great and truly deserved esteem your country has for you The morning I left camp, I was informed that a strong faction was forming against you in the new Board of War, and in the Congress The method they are taking is by holding General Gates up to the people."¹⁹

Craik attended General Mercer at the Battle of Princeton, dressed the wound of La Fayette at Brandywine and was in command of the hospitals in the final campaign at Yorktown. When the French under Rochambeau landed at Newport, Craik successfully organized hospitals for the care of their sick and wounded. In 1781, after Shippen was court-martialed, the choice of a successor lay between Craik, Brown and Cochran. Washington advocated Craik, but Congress chose Cochran. Craik was then selected to fill the next highest position, that of Chief Physician and Surgeon of the Army.²⁰ He held that rank until he was mustered out in 1783. In 1782 the University of Pennsylvania conferred upon him the honorary degree of M.D.

When peace was made, Craik at Washington's suggestion took up his residence in Alexandria, Virginia. He became a constant visitor at Mount Vernon and frequently cared for the sick there. Washington wrote his manager on May 24, 1795, "Let Doctr Craik, if he has not already done it, examine the case of Cooper Jack and prescribe the needful for him."²¹ His letters contain many similar requests. In 1798, when Washington was summoned from his retirement to command the army in the threatened war with France, he made it a condition of his acceptance that he should name his principal assistants. Craik was appointed Physician General and was commissioned without opposition. He held the position until 1800, receiving the pay of a lieutenant-colonel without rank.

¹⁹Irving: *Life of Washington*, v. 3, p. 347.

²⁰Journals of the Continental Congress, Mar. 3, 1781.

²¹Conway: *George Washington and Mount Vernon*, p. 187.

Craik was the first physician summoned to Washington's deathbed. His friend's death was a severe blow. "It seemed as if the bonds of my nature were rent asunder and that the pillars of my country's happiness had fallen to the ground," he wrote.

Toward the end of his long life the doctor was described as a "stout hale and cheery old man." He gave up his practice in Alexandria and retired to his nearby estate, Vaucluse. Here he died on February 6, 1814, in his eighty-fourth year, and was buried in the graveyard of the old Presbyterian meeting house on South Fairfax Street. The tambour secretary which Washington left him in his will is now at Mount Vernon, returned there by the Craik family. There is a tablet to his memory in the churchyard and a granite monument in the city of Alexandria. His son, George Washington Craik, studied medicine but abandoned it to become Washington's private secretary.

III.

A quaint three-story brick house stands on the south side of Queen's Street, Alexandria. A bronze marker declares it to have been the home of Elisha Cullen Dick (1750-1825), consulting physician in Washington's last illness. Though Dick is chiefly remembered for having stopped the bedroom clock when Washington died, he was in his day the outstanding practitioner of Alexandria. He was also the person who introduced freemasonry into Alexandria, and he conducted the Masonic service at Washington's burial. In 1793, when "the city of Philadelphia, the Grenades and the Island of Tobago were infected with the Plague or other infectious Disease," Governor Henry Lee appointed Dr. Dick superintendent of quarantine at Alexandria,²² and later he became health officer and a member of the local Board of Health—a responsible position at a time when that town was a seaport of importance. His career included, besides, both political and military experience. In the summer of 1794 he commanded a cavalry company in the suppression of the whiskey insurrection in Pennsylvania, and in 1804 he became Mayor of Alexandria, serving several terms.

Elisha Dick was the son of Archibald Dick, a wealthy Pennsylvania farmer of influence and culture, who had been one of the real benefactors of the Pennsylvania Hospital in 1771, who was assistant deputy quarter-master general in the Revolution, and who had left a will manumitting his slaves. Elisha received an excellent education in the classics, and after studying medicine under Benjamin Rush and William Shippen he graduated from the University

²²Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 6, p. 648.

of Pennsylvania on March 21, 1782. He had inherited his half of his father's estate early in life, and he selected Charleston, South Carolina, as the place in which he would practise medicine. Stopping over in Alexandria on the way, he was persuaded to remain there.

Although Dick is said to have written extensively upon medical subjects, only two of his treatises remain: *Yellow Fever at Alexandria*²³ and *Facts and Observations Relative to the Disease Cynanche or Group*.²⁴ An autographed letter of his on the *Treatment of Enterocolitis called Cholera of Infants*, addressed to James Hooe of Prince William County, is still preserved in the library of the Surgeon General at Washington.

There is every evidence that Dr. Dick was a successful physician whose services were greatly in demand. Nevertheless, one occasion when he was summoned to Mount Vernon was responsible for a not very flattering entry in Washington's diary: "Sunday, February 6, 1785. Doctr. Brown was sent for to Frank (waiter in the House), who had been seized in the Night with a bleeding of the Mouth from an Orifice made by a Doctr. Dick, who some days before attempted in vain to extract a broken tooth, and coming about 11 o'clock stayed to Dinner and returned afterwards."

In 1799 Dr. Dick was again summoned to Mount Vernon, this time to find Washington *in extremis*, attended by his friend, Dr. Craik. Dr. Brown arrived soon after, and the three made frantic efforts to save their illustrious patient. What they did and why they did it was later explained in a written statement to the *Alexandria Times*, signed by Drs. Craik and Dick.

"Messrs. J. and D. Westcott,

"Presuming that some account of the late illness and death of General Washington will be generally interesting, and particularly so to the professors and practitioners of medicine throughout America, we request you to publish the following statement.

James Craik, Elisha C. Dick."

The statement was as follows:

"Some time in the night of Friday, the 13th inst., having been exposed to rain on the preceding day, General Washington was attacked with an inflammatory affection of the upper part of the windpipe, called in technical language, cynanche trachealis. The disease commenced with a violent ague, accompanied with some pain in the upper and fore part of the throat, a sense of stricture in the same part, a cough, and a difficult rather than painful deglutition, which were soon succeeded by fever and a quick and laborious respiration. The necessity of blood-letting suggesting itself to the General, he procured a bleeder in the neighborhood, who took from the arm in the night, twelve or

²³Medical Repository, 1803, v. 1.

²⁴Philadelphia Medical and Physical Journal, v. 3, p. 242.

fourteen ounces of blood; he would not by any means be prevailed upon by the family to send for the attending physician till the following morning, who arrived at Mount Vernon at eleven o'clock on Saturday morning. Discovering the case to be highly alarming, and foreseeing the fatal tendency of the disease, two consulting physicians were immediately sent for, who arrived, one at half past three and the other at four in the afternoon. In the interim were employed two copious bleedings; a blister was applied to the part affected, two moderate doses of calomel were given, an injection was administered which operated on the lower intestines, but all without any perceptible advantage, the respiration becoming still more difficult and distressing. Upon the arrival of the first of the consulting physicians, it was agreed, as there were yet no signs of accumulation in the bronchial vessels of the lungs, to try the result of another bleeding, when about thirty-two ounces were drawn, without the smallest apparent alleviation of the disease. Vapours of vinegar and water were frequently inhaled, ten grains of calomel were given, succeeded by repeated doses of emetic tartar, amounting in all to five or six grains, with no other effect than a copious discharge from the bowels. The powers of life seemed now manifestly yielding to the force of the disorder. Blisters were applied to the extremities, together with a cataplasm of bran and vinegar to the throat. Speaking, which was painful from the beginning, now became almost impracticable, respiration grew more and more contracted and imperfect, till half after eleven o'clock on Saturday night, when, retaining the full possession of his intellect, he expired without a struggle.

"He was fully impressed at the beginning of his complaint as well as through every succeeding stage of it, that its conclusion would be fatal, submitting to the several exertions made for his recovery, rather as a duty than from any expectation of their efficacy. He considered the operation of death upon his system as coeval with the disease; and several hours before his decease, after repeated efforts to be understood, succeeded in expressing a desire that he be permitted to die without interruption.

"During the short period of his illness he economized his time in the arrangement of such few concerns as required his attention, with the utmost serenity, and anticipated his approaching dissolution with every demonstration of that equanimity for which his whole life had been so uniformly and singularly conspicuous."²⁵

The statement was signed by "James Craik, Attending Physician," and "Elisha C. Dick, Consulting Physician."

Dr. Brown, in a letter written to Dr. Craik a few weeks after Washington's death, recorded his own impressions of the disease which ended so valuable a life, and at the same time spoke highly of Dr. Dick:

"Sir, I have lately met Dr. Dick again, in consultation, and the high opinion I formed of him, when we were in conference at Mount Vernon last month,

²⁵Wells: Last Illness and Death of Washington.

concerning the situation of our illustrious friend, has been confirmed.

"You remember how, by his clear reasoning and evident knowledge of the causes of certain symptoms, after his examination of the General, he assured us that it was not really quincy, which we supposed it to be, but a violent inflammation of the membranes of the throat, which it had almost closed, and which, if not immediately arrested, would result in death.

"You must remember he was averse to bleeding the General, and I have often thought that if we had acted according to his suggestion when he said, 'he needs all his strength — bleeding will diminish it', and taken no more blood from him, our good friend might have been alive now. But we were governed by the best light we had; we thought we were right, and so we are justified.

"Dr. Dick is a most sensible man. He uses his common sense instead of the books as his guide in his profession, and he is no bigot. He says our professional practice needs great reform, and that can be brought about only by each individual becoming a practical reformer himself. He is disposed to put up his lancet forever and turn nurse instead of Doctor, for he says one good nurse is more likely to assist nature in making a cure than ten Doctors will by his pills and lancet."²⁸

Dr. Dick married Hannah Harman of Pennsylvania. One of their three sons, Archibald Dick, graduated in medicine from the University of Pennsylvania in 1805. Dr. Dick died at Cottage Hill, Fairfax County, in 1825, and was buried in the Quaker burying-ground on Queen's Street, Alexandria. Neither stone nor marker exists to show where he lies. A portrait of him by St. Memin is preserved in the Corcoran Art Gallery and another portrait is in the library of the Surgeon General. His pistols are in the Masonic Museum at Alexandria — the same pistols which he threw into the river when he gave up the Church of England and became a Hicksite Quaker. Their preservation is due to a bystander who dived into the river and rescued them.

IV.

Washington in his own person exemplified the diseases to which his contemporaries were subject and also their attitude toward illness and physicians. We are apt to think of him as a tall stalwart man who knew nothing of sickness till the day of his death and to consider that fatal malady as altogether unnecessary, perhaps chargeable to blundering physicians and the too zealous use of the lancet. James Thacher, who admired Washington extravagantly, was once called upon to conduct him through a hospital ward on a tour of inspection. To him at that time Washington appeared "remarkably tall, full

²⁸Lossing: *The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution*, v. 2, p. 506.

six feet, erect and well proportioned. The strength and proportion of his joints and muscles appear to be commensurate with the preëminent powers of his mind. The serenity of his countenance, and majestic gracefulness of his deportment, impart a strong impression of that dignity and grandeur which are his peculiar characteristics, and no one can stand in his presence without feeling the ascendancy of his mind, and associating with his countenance the idea of wisdom, philanthropy, magnanimity, and patriotism. There is a fine symmetry in the features of his face, indicative of a benign and dignified spirit. His nose is strait, and his eyes inclined to be blue. He wears his hair in a becoming cue, and from his forehead it is turned back and powdered in a manner which adds to the military air of his appearance. He displays a native gravity, but devoid of all appearance of ostentation."²⁷ His limbs were "long, large and sinewy, his frame was of equal breadth from shoulder to hips." Dr. Dick, who measured him immediately after death, reported to Colonel Lear that the body was six feet, three and one half inches in length and one foot nine inches across the shoulders.

As a matter of fact, though large and sinewy, Washington was not the robust man he was popularly thought to be. He had a bad inheritance. His paternal forefathers were short lived, and there was a marked tendency to pulmonary disease among his ancestors. His half-brother, Lawrence, a victim of pulmonary tuberculosis, was accompanied by Washington to the Barbadoes in search of health and medical advice in 1751 and later died at Mount Vernon. Washington, himself, was supposed not to have escaped the same malady. George Washington Parke Custis wrote that "his chest though broad and expansive was not prominent but rather hollowed in the center. He had suffered from a pulmonary infection in early life from which he never entirely recovered." He was subject to colds, and he remarked to Colonel Lear the night before he died, "You know I never take anything for a cold. Let it go as it came."²⁸ Such a cold came near proving his undoing in 1790, soon after the removal of the capital from New York to Philadelphia. In his diary for that year he wrote: "May, Sunday the ninth. Indisposed with a bad cold, and at home all day writing letters on private business." Later he added, "A severe illness with which I was seized the 10 of this month and which left me in a convalescent state for several weeks after the violence of it had passed and little inclination to do more than what duty to the public required at my hands, occasioned the suspension of this diary." The "severe illness" which almost proved fatal was probably pneumonia.

²⁷Thacher: Military Journal, p. 152.

²⁸Lear: Letters and Recollections of George Washington, p. 130.

A writer in the *London Chronicle* described Washington as having a face "rather long and marked with small pox." Soon after his arrival in the Barbadoes in 1751 he contracted that disease. On the seventeenth of November he noted in his diary: "was strongly attacked with the small pox: sent for Dr. Lanahan whose attendance was very constant until my recovery and going out which was not till Thursday the 12 of December."

Wells, who has written interestingly of Washington's diseases, thinks he must have had measles because he remained immune when Mr. Green was attending Mrs. Washington for that disease in 1760, although many others of the "family" at Mount Vernon came down with it.²⁹ Wells also points out that he had "a very violent attack of pleurisy which reduced me very low" before he was twenty-three years of age; that during Braddock's campaign he was seized with a contagious fever which lasted from June 19 to June 23, when he was relieved "by the General's ordering a physician to give me Dr. James powder one of the most excellent medicines in the world. It gave me immediate relief and removed my fever and complaints in four days." He was several times seized with dysentery, once having to keep to the house for about a week under Dr. Rumney's care. This complaint had sent him to Williamsburg in search of medical advice when he first met the widow, Martha Custis. He was repeatedly indisposed with fever and must have suffered from chronic malaria. At least this was the opinion of Dr. Craik, who dosed him effectively with cinchona bark. Washington himself recorded in 1786 that he "took 8 doses of the red bark today" and on the following day "kept close to the house . . . being my fit day in course, least any exposure might bring it on. Happily missed it."

A malignant tumor of the thigh, called anthrax at the time but really a carbuncle, threatened his life scarcely six weeks after he had become president. He was much concerned about himself, and the country at large was greatly alarmed. For three weeks a chain barred the street in front of his house, that the fevered patient might be spared the noisy traffic below, while Dr. Samuel Bard, one of New York's most eminent physicians, did all that surgical knowledge could accomplish for his relief. At length, stretched painfully out in his coach, he was able to take the air again.

Besides these diseases Washington had other troubles. He was constantly attended by dentists. His expense ledgers show repeated visits to Williamsburg on account of his teeth. Having lost one tooth after another he was ultimately brought to the necessity of wearing complete sets of false teeth. He held the highest opinion of John Greenwood of Connecticut, whose admirable

²⁹Wells: *Last Illness and Death of Washington*.

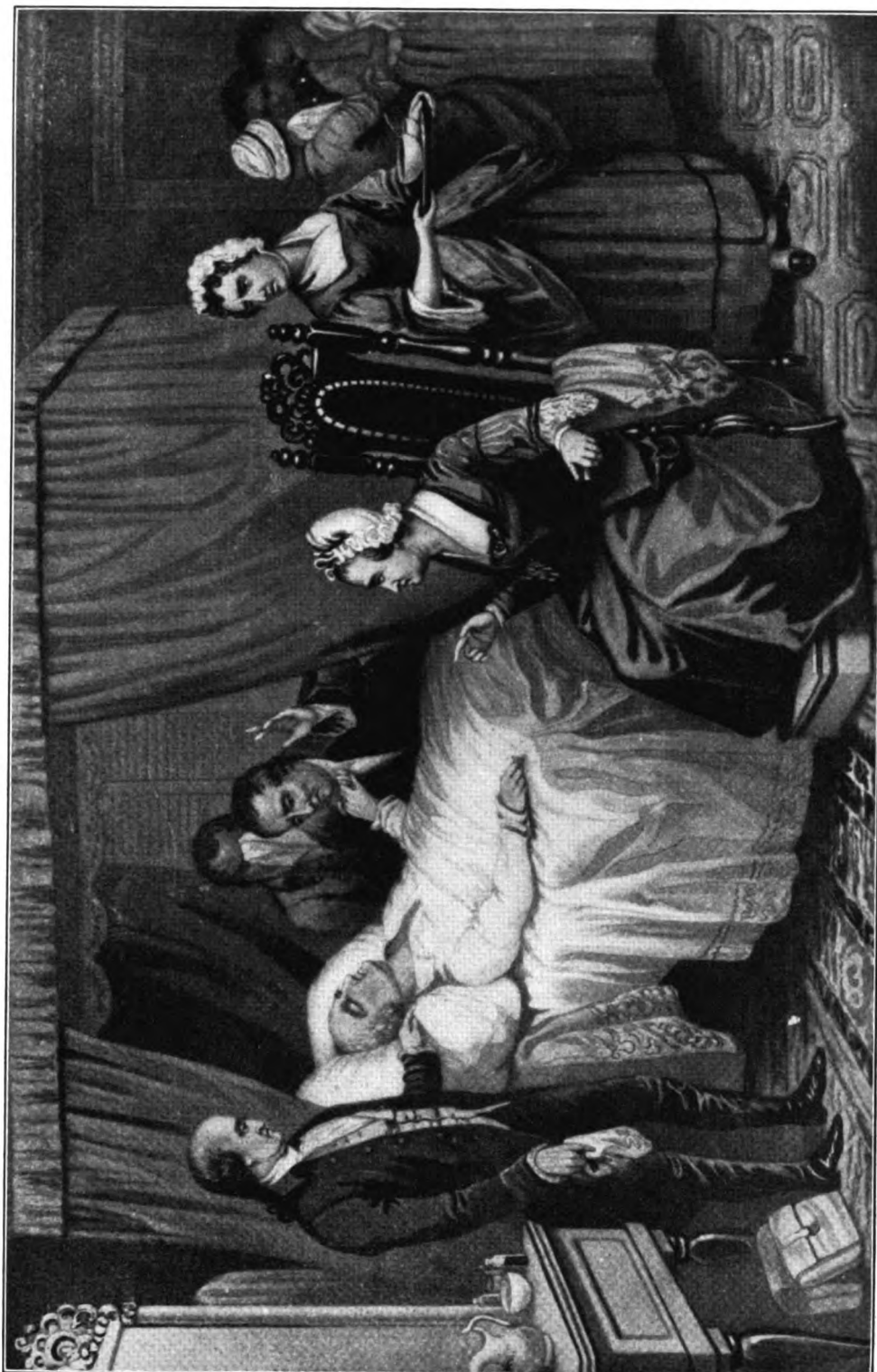
set of teeth gave him great satisfaction. As a matter of fact Washington had two sets. One was buried with him, and the other is preserved in the museum of the dental college in Baltimore.

At the age of forty-six Washington began to use eyeglasses. The visitor to Mount Vernon today can see several pairs of his spectacles. In 1786 he referred to himself as becoming both blind and gray. Toward the end of his life he also became quite deaf, so much so that those who were with him after 1793 believed that he heard but little of the conversation around him.

V.

Washington's death was unexpected, attended by circumstances extremely unusual and followed by a wave of calumny that spent its fury chiefly upon the medical profession. Some said he died of diphtheria, some of quinsey. His attending physicians called the disease *cynanche trachealis*. Washington's lay biographers have taken pleasure in adding up the ounces of blood which were let and have attributed his death to exsanguination from repeated phlebotomies. Cocksurenness on this point is well represented by the writings of Ford, who declared that "there can scarcely be a doubt that the treatment of his last illness by the doctors was little less than murder."

Wells, who has ably weighed all the evidence, has come to the physicians' defense in a thoroughly convincing argument. He discusses the possibilities of acute laryngitis, quinsey, laryngeal diphtheria and inflammatory oedema of the larynx, showing that the latter was unquestionably the cause of Washington's death. He points out that whereas we have a better understanding of the disease today, possessing as we do the technique of laryngeal examination and the knowledge that the streptococcus is the etiological factor, Eighteenth Century medical knowledge gave a very fair description of it under the designation, *cynanche trachealis*. William Cullen's *First Lines of the Practice of Physick*, a standard text book of the day, described the disease as "an inflammation of the glottis, larynx or upper part of the trachea known by a peculiar croaking sound in the voice, by difficult respiration with a sense of straightening about the larynx, and by an attending pyrexia and frequently produces such an obstruction of air as suffocates and thereby proves suddenly fatal." In their treatment of Washington his doctors followed the accepted rules laid down by the best authorities of that day. As bleeding was then practised, the amount of blood withdrawn was not unusual. From the nature of the illness death was a foregone conclusion. The vigorous therapy



The deathbed of George Washington



resorted to by his physicians may have hastened Washington's death, but it could in no way have caused it.

The statement which appeared afterward, over the signatures of James Craik and Elisha Dick, in both the *Alexandria Times* and the *Medical Repository*, described the disease as an inflammatory affection of the upper part of the windpipe, called in technical language *cynanche trachealis*. This statement, with the fuller account in the diary of Colonel Tobias Lear, Washington's secretary, gives a clear picture of the onset and progress of the fatal illness.

Thursday, December 12, 1799 is described in Washington's diary as: "Morning Cloudy. Wind at No. Et. and Mer. 33. A large circle round the Moon last Night. About 10 o'clock it began to snow, soon after to Hail, and then to a settled cold Rain. Mer. 28 at Night." Lear records that it was a very bad day, with rain, hail, snow and cold wind.²⁰ The General rode out to his farms about ten o'clock in the morning and did not return until past three. Since dinner had been waiting for him an hour, he came to the table without changing his dress. Though his great coat had kept his body warm his neck was observed to be wet, and snow was clinging to his hair. That night he retired well as usual. The next day a heavy snow confined him to the house during the morning. It was observed that he had taken cold and was complaining of a sore throat. The weather cleared in the afternoon, and he imprudently went out to mark trees which were subsequently to be cut down between the house and the river. By nightfall his hoarseness had increased, but he made light of it and read aloud from the papers as the family sat around the fire in the evening.

A little after two on Saturday morning Mrs. Washington was awakened by her husband, who declared he was very ill and had an ague. He would not suffer her to call a servant until daybreak, however. Colonel Lear, who was then summoned, realized the seriousness of the General's condition and dispatched a servant for Dr. Craik, at the same time obeying Washington's request to call Rawlins, the overseer, to bleed him. In the meantime a mixture of molasses, vinegar and butter was tried, but "he could not swallow a drop." Washington at this time could hardly speak and was breathing with difficulty. Other measures failing, his feet were bathed in warm water, and "salvolatila" was applied externally to his neck. It was past eight o'clock when Dr. Craik arrived. Cyrus, another servant, had been dispatched for Dr. Gustavus Richard Brown of Port Tobacco. Craik examined the patient, blistered his throat with cantharides and ordered an enema, an inhalation of vinegar and hot water, and a gargle of vinegar and sage tea, the latter almost suffocating the patient. He also let blood twice without effect. About three o'clock

²⁰Lear's Diary; in his Letters and Recollections of George Washington, p. 129 ff.

Dr. Elisha Dick of Alexandria, who had also been summoned, arrived, and Dr. Brown came soon after.

The three physicians immediately went into consultation, agreed that there were no signs of pulmonary congestion and determined upon a fourth phlebotomy. This time thirty-two ounces of blood were drawn without producing "any symptoms of fainting." Up to this time the symptoms had been a chill, fever, cough, pain in the throat, sense of stricture, painful speech, quick and labored respiration. In addition to the remedies enumerated, the patient had been given three doses of calomel, the last of which had been no less than ten grains, and several doses of tartar emetic, amounting in all to five or six grains. After this, although a few other measures were resorted to — vinegar to the throat, cataplasms of bran to the extremities — an atmosphere of despair pervaded the sick room.

Washington accepted his approaching death with resignation. "I find I am going," he said to Lear, "my breath cannot last long. I believed from the first that the disorder would prove fatal." Later in the day he told Dr. Craik, "Doctor, I die hard; but I am not afraid to go; I believed from my first attack that I should not survive it; my breath cannot last long." After nightfall he breathed a little easier. Dr. Craik was sitting by the fire when the change came. The patient, sensing it, felt his own pulse and while he was doing so it ceased to beat. Dr. Craik, who had come over to the bed, "put his hands over his eyes and he expired without a struggle or sigh." Dr. Dick stopped the clock. The hour was a little after ten.

CHAPTER XVI

TOWNS AND TOWN DOCTORS

AT THE beginning of the Eighteenth Century there were only two towns in Virginia — Hampton and Jamestown. Neither had more than a few hundred inhabitants. Williamsburg, founded in 1632 under the name of "Middle Plantation," was not incorporated as a city until 1722, although the capital was moved there from Jamestown in 1698. By 1800 there were Hampton, Yorktown, Williamsburg, Norfolk, Petersburg, Richmond, Fredericksburg, Alexandria, Winchester, Staunton and Lynchburg.¹ Though the population of the colony had increased from 75,000 in 1700 to 880,200 in 1800² the towns showed but little of this phenomenal growth. In fact by the end of the century not many more than 30,000 people were to be found in all the towns together — about one in thirty of the total population. One writer declared that rich Virginians preferred to live in the country. De Warville noted that "the towns of Virginia are small. This may be said even of Richmond its capital." Thomas Jefferson probably spoke for his generation of Virginians when he said, "I view great cities as pestilential to the morals, the health and the liberties of man."³

We have records of about 700 physicians who lived in the colony of Virginia in the Eighteenth Century. Of this number 176 lived in the towns above mentioned — approximately one out of every four. The physicians' business, like that of the tradespeople, prospered best in populous communities, and business after all determined their residence.

I. THE THREE CAPITALS.

JAMESTOWN.

For a hundred years Jamestown remained the capital of the colony and tried to maintain the dignity expected of Virginia's largest town. A naturally poor situation, the determination of the colonists not to live there and frequent devastation by fires conspired against her, and in spite of repeated crown

¹At the end of the Eighteenth Century the population of Richmond was 6,000, Norfolk 6,000, Alexandria 5,000, Petersburg 3,000, Winchester 3,000, Yorktown, 3,600, Fredericksburg 2,000, Williamsburg 1,200, Lynchburg 1,000, Staunton, 800.

²United States Census, 1910.

³Ford: Writings of Thomas Jefferson, v. 7, p. 459.

orders "to rebuild and enlarge Jamestown" the beginning of the Eighteenth Century found the place almost deserted. Culpeper in 1683 declared that "nothing but profit and advantage" could ever make it a city, and neither of these characterized the locality.⁴ In 1697 Dr. Blair reported that there were "twenty or thirty houses at Jamestown."⁵ In 1716 John Fontaine saw there only "a Church, a Court House, and three or four brick houses."⁶ In 1724 the Reverend Hugh Jones described it as "an abundance of rubbish with three or four inhabited houses,"⁷ and in 1781, when Dr. Thacher visited the place, there were only two houses still standing.⁸

The best known doctors of Seventeenth Century Virginia lived at Jamestown, but with the decay of the old capital in the Eighteenth Century medicine there was completely effaced. With the exception of Dr. Archibald Blair there is no record of a single doctor being connected with the town after 1700.

WILLIAMSBURG

The Eighteenth Century capital of Virginia was Williamsburg. Although it never became a large town — at its best numbering no more than 2,000 inhabitants — it attained a prominence, a gaiety, a culture that made it the pride of all Virginians of that century. Schoepf said in 1783: "The place . . . commends itself to the traveller by a particularly cheerful and stately appearance One may count this among the handsomer towns of America, even if not among the larger, the number of the houses being only about 230."⁹ Isaac Weld in 1796 wrote, "the society in it is thought to be more extensive and more genteel at the same time than what is to be met with in any other place of its size in America. No manufactories are carried on here and scarcely any trade."¹⁰

Life at Williamsburg was many sided. At the Palace the Governor often entertained with a formality and pomp befitting royalty. The capitol building was the headquarters of the Council and Burgesses — for the most part representing the blood and wealth of Virginia. These men maintained in most instances establishments in Williamsburg, though they lived on distant country estates. There were the taverns, especially the Raleigh Tavern, to which travelers from all over the country resorted. There was Bruton Church to

⁴McDonald Papers: Culpeper's Report, v. 6, p. 165.

⁵Tyler: The Cradle of the Republic, p. 76.

⁶Maury: Memoirs of a Huguenot Family, p. 271.

⁷Jones: Present State of Virginia, p. 25.

⁸Tyler: The Cradle of the Republic, quoting Thacher's Journal, p. 83.

⁹Schoepf: Travels in the Confederation, v. 2, p. 78.

¹⁰Morrison: Travels in Virginia in Revolutionary Times, p. 97.

which on Sunday many elegant ladies and gentlemen came in carriages and on horseback. There was the College of William and Mary, at first emphasizing its schools of divinity and later being reorganized into a university, teaching medicine and law in addition to the arts, with its Presidents Blair and Madison, its Professors Small, Wythe and McClurg, its students, Jefferson, Marshall and Monroe. There were the shopkeepers, the merchants, the pharmacists, the lawyers and the doctors, all prospering in the gay little colonial capital. The doctors were influential men, many of them with reputations extending all over the colony, capable of drawing such men as Washington from Mount Vernon to Williamsburg for consultation and treatment.

So much has been left of the old town and so admirable has been the work of restoration that the visitor hardly need exercise his imagination to find himself back in the Williamsburg of the Eighteenth Century. There it is — the same old streets and greens, houses, college, cottonwood trees, box and wisteria. Nor will the medical visitor with antiquarian interests be disappointed. The Raleigh Tavern has been reconstructed and stands just as it was when it was first built by Dr. Archibald Blair before 1735, as it was when Colonel Chiswell and Dr. George Gilmer bought it in 1752 for £700 of Virginia currency, as it was when the Phi Beta Kappa Fraternity was organized there and when the Burgesses, dissolved by Lord Dunmore, repaired there to adopt resolutions against the use of tea and other English commodities.

Archibald Blair was the brother of Commissary James Blair. His wife was Sarah, "late the wife of Mr. Bartho. Fowler deceased attorney General of this Colony."¹¹ He had come to Virginia from Scotland and was a member of the House of Burgesses for Jamestown in 1718 and for James City County in 1730.¹² His daughter married Dr. George Gilmer, Sr., and his grandson, James Blair, received his M. D. at Edinburgh. In 1708 at a meeting of the Council, "On consideration of the acct of Dorctor Archibald Blair It is ordered that there be paid him Seven pounds Sterling out of her Majtys Revenue of 2s per hogshead for medicines and attendance to severall Prisoners in the public Goal."¹³ Dr. Blair died in 1736.

The next owner of the inn was Dr. George Gilmer, Sr. He was born near Edinburgh in 1700, studied medicine at the University of Edinburgh and went up to London to practise with Dr. Ridgeway, whose daughter he married. He came to Virginia in 1731, took up his residence in Williamsburg, began practice, and ultimately became mayor. He plied the triple vocations of phy-

¹¹Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, v. 2, p. 421.

¹²Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 4, p. 161.

¹³Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, v. 3, p. 203.

sician, surgeon and druggist. His advertisements of "all manner of Chymical and Galenical" medicines are to be seen in the *Gazette* for the year 1737, as well as his heated denial of rumors about his death and unpaid bills. In 1751 his shop was described as "nigh the Court-House, the Corner of Palace Street." He was much beloved in the colony. He married three times, each time the daughter of a physician. His second wife was Mary Peachy Walker, sister of Dr. Thomas Walker, the explorer. His third was Harrison Blair, the daughter of Dr. Archibald Blair. He died in 1757. His son, Dr. George Gilmer, Jr., occupied an even more eminent position in the colony. William Wirt declared that besides "his eminence as a physician" he was "a very good linguist — a master of botany and the chemistry of his day — had a store of very correct general science — was a man of superior taste in the fine arts — and to crown the whole had an elevated and a noble spirit, and was in his manners and conversation a most accomplished gentleman."¹⁴ He was born at Williamsburg in 1743, studied at the college there, began medicine under his uncle, Dr. Thomas Walker of Albemarle, went to Edinburgh to complete his education and graduated there in medicine in 1761. He succeeded his father in Williamsburg, advertising his intention of pursuing "with the practice of Medicine, the art of Midwifery," as well as the sale of drugs. Later he moved to Pen Park in Albemarle and married his first cousin, Lucy Walker, by whom he had ten children. One of his sons, Francis Walker Gilmer, was the first professor of law at the University of Virginia. Another was Dr. George Gilmer III, and a third son, Harmer, received his M. D. at the University of Pennsylvania but died soon after. During the Revolution Dr. Gilmer was in active service. He was an ardent patriot and a firm friend of Thomas Jefferson, serving as a member of the House of Burgesses in 1774 and as an alternate of Jefferson in the Convention which met in Williamsburg in 1775. When Lord Dunmore seized the colony's powder he organized a company of volunteers and marched to Williamsburg. His wife was no less patriotic, and there are several stories of her courage and devotion.

Dr. Gilmer was a gifted orator, and the Gilmer Papers¹⁵ contain a number of his patriotic addresses and circulars relating to early events of the Revolution. One of the papers is called, "Proposition of Dr. George Gilmer to Raise Independent Companies of Volunteers." A letter from Dr. Gilmer to "James and Donald Webster, Druggists and Chemists, London," shows him a spirited patriot: "Contrary to my opinion of what is right, I enclose you a bill of Exchange to the amount of my account with you, and must observe your

¹⁴Trent: *English Culture in Virginia*, p. 28.

¹⁵Virginia Historical Collections, v. 6.



1. THOMAS TUDOR TUCKER. 2. THEODORICK BLAND. 3. ELISHA CULLEN DICK.
4. THOMAS SEMMES. 5. ROBERT CARTER. 6. JAMES TILTON.

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charges were extravagant beyond all bounds We wish Union and peace on Constitutional principles, but will not yield or surrender one jot of our Natural or acquired rights, and I remain a declared enemy to all Sons of Corruption."¹⁶

On Nicholson Street near the Palace Green stands the Tucker House, a rambling frame structure. The property has an interesting history. Here in 1721 stood the old theatre built by William Levingston, who also put up a bowling green near by. From Levingston the property passed to Dr. Archibald Blair, who in 1735 conveyed it to his son-in-law, Dr. George Gilmer, Sr., for £155. Here Dr. Gilmer had his drug store and residence. "It is probable that portion of the old residence now standing on these lots was the original residence of William Levingston."¹⁷

The visitor to Bruton Church is attracted by the quaint wording of the tablet to Dr. William Cocke:

MDCCLII

Inscribed to the Memory of

Doctor WILLIAM COCKE,

An English Physician, Born of reputable Parents,

MDCLXXII

at *Sudberry* in SUFFOLK,

and educated at *Queen's College*, CAMBRIDGE.

He was learned and polite,

of undisputed Skill in his profession,
of unbounded Generosity in his practice:
which multitudes, yet alive, can testify.

He was, many Years, of the Council
and Secretary of State, for this Colony

In the Reign of QUEEN ANNE & of KING GEORGE

He died Suddenly, sitting a Judge upon the Bench
of the General Court, in the Capitol:

MDCCXX

His Hon: Friend, ALEXⁿ. SPOTSWOOD Esqr. then Gov^r

with the principal Gentlemen of the Country,
attended his Funeral,

and, weeping, saw the Corps Interred
at the West side of the Alter,
in this Church.

¹⁶Virginia Historical Collections, v. 6, pp. 71-140.

¹⁷Tyler: Williamsburg, the Old Colonial Capital, p. 226.

William Cocke was born in Sudbury, Suffolk County, England, and had been educated at Queen's College, Cambridge, receiving his M. B. in 1693. He married Elizabeth Catesby, a native of Sudbury and a sister of the naturalist, Mark Catesby. Dr. Cocke was Secretary of State of the colony at the time of his death in 1720. His daughter, Elizabeth, was the mother of Dr. Walter Jones. His grand-daughter, Susanna Waring, married Dr. John Taliaferro Lewis of Culpeper.¹⁸

A tombstone in Bruton Churchyard bears an epitaph to Margaret Brown, wife of "Dr. John Brown of Williamsburg." She died in 1720. Dr. Brown, who was from Cold Stream, England, came to the colony early in the Eighteenth Century. He was highly thought of in his day, but the only record of his medical skill which remains is the brief statement that he cured George Hume of the flux in 1723.¹⁹ After his first wife's death he married Mildred Washington and died shortly afterwards, on September 24, 1726.

On York Street in East Williamsburg is the wistaria-covered house of Robert Nicolson, built between 1751 and 1753. "As we passed through the town," wrote Lieutenant William Feltman in his Journal in 1781,²⁰ "Dr. Nicholson very politely asked us to walk with him to his house; we were very elegantly entertained with a good dinner, a glass of good spirits, and Madiera wine." The doctor was the son of the builder of the house. In 1776 he had left his studies at William and Mary to take part in the Revolution. Before 1779, however, he managed to study medicine and in that year advertised the opening of a shop for the practice of physic and surgery in Williamsburg. Like Nelson, Dr. Nicolson placed his whole private fortune at the disposition of the state. Years after, the Virginia records showed large sums of money appropriated to reimburse him for medicine furnished to Revolutionary soldiers. Long after his death the national government paid to his estate more than \$4,000 in a belated attempt to make good his personal outlay in the Revolutionary War. Dr. Nicolson's wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Dudley Digges. After the war they lived at Yorktown, and the inventory of his estate was filed there in 1800. He died at Hot Springs, August 15, 1798.²¹ The value of his furniture was placed at \$5,000. The county records give an inventory of his medicines and the names of his seven servants, valued at \$308.²²

¹⁸Clarke: *Old King William Homes and Families*, p. 76.

¹⁹*William and Mary Quarterly*, v. 6, p. 253.

²⁰*Journal of William Feltman, 1781-82*, p. 24.

²¹The practice of medicine in the Nicolson family extends through five generations to the present Dr. William Perrin Nicolson, Jr., of Atlanta, Georgia. His father, Dr. William Perrin Nicolson, 1857-1928, was the son of Dr. George Dudley Nicolson, 1794-1875, who was the son of Dr. Robert Nicolson of the Revolution.

²²*News Leader*, June 1929.

The Saunders House on the west side of Palace Street is a brick structure—"three rooms beside the garret." It was built by Dr. Kenneth McKenzie and was his residence in 1751. When Governor Dinwiddie arrived from England the Palace was undergoing repairs, and this house was secured from Dr. McKenzie for the temporary residence of the Governor. McKenzie, like many of his confreres, advertised and sold medicines. He and his cousin, also Dr. Kenneth McKenzie, of Surry County had the misfortune of repeatedly losing their horses, several times having to advertise for their return. In 1751 two horses strayed from "Doctor McKenzie's on Cypress Swamp in Surry County." Dr. McKenzie of Williamsburg asked that they be returned "either to me, in Williamsburg, or to Dr. McKenzie in Surry."²³ Dr. McKenzie of Williamsburg married Joanna Tyler, the great-aunt of President John Tyler. He died in 1755, leaving a good library and an estate valued at £438-13s.-7d. In his will he specified that a "skeleton and injected child" be left to Dr. James Carter. Dr. Carter, Dr. McKenzie of Surry and Dr. George Riddell were his executors.²⁴ His son, Dr. William McKenzie, born in 1746, studied medicine under Dr. David Black of Blandford, near Petersburg.

The Galt house, now to be seen on the Duke of Gloucester Street, formerly occupied a site on the grounds of the Eastern State Hospital. It is a little frame structure of a story and a half, with three rooms on the first floor, and was the home of James Galt, the first keeper of the insane asylum, and a prominent Mason, the first treasurer of Lodge No. 9.

Opposite the old colonial capitol at the east end of Duke of Gloucester Street is the Vest House, which during the Revolution was the home of James's brother, Dr. John Minson Galt, physician to the asylum. It is the largest brick residence in Williamsburg. Dr. Galt was born October 17, 1744, the son of Samuel Galt of Londonderry, Ireland, who had migrated to the colony in 1735 and married the widow Cleland. He first studied at William and Mary College, went to Edinburgh for medicine and pursued the study of his profession in Paris. After this he is said to have been employed as surgeon to the Hudson Bay Company. By 1769 he was back in Williamsburg. The *Gazette* on April 6 of that year announced: "This evening Doctor John Minson Galt, of this city, was married to Miss Judith Craig, eldest daughter of Mr. Alexander Craig. The mutual affection and similarity of disposition in this agreeable pair, afford the strongest assurance of their enjoying the highest felicity in the nuptial state." A few months later Dr. Galt advertised his intention of "opening shop at the Brick House, opposite the Coffee House, when he gets his utensils

²³Hunter's Virginia Gazette, May 30, 1751.

²⁴William and Mary Quarterly, v. 8, p. 16.

fixed." He would also, he stated, carry imported drugs, and "as this is his first importation, everything may be depended upon as entirely fresh."²⁵ He became a vestryman of Bruton Church and in 1775 formed a partnership with Dr. William Pasteur. He served on the Committee of Safety for Williamsburg, and during the war he was surgeon to the Continental Hospital at Williamsburg and later to the Fifteenth Virginia Regiment. He was at the battle of Yorktown and is said to have been at one time Surgeon General of Virginia. His connection with the lunatic asylum began in 1795, when he became visiting physician, serving until his death in 1808. "He was a man of great ability and an old fashioned Federalist."²⁶ Another brother, Patrick Galt, was also a devoted patriot. With James Monroe and other young men in Williamsburg he took part in having the arms returned from the Governor's Palace to the powder horn after the flight of Lord Dunmore. He was surgeon to the Ninth Virginia Regiment until his death in 1777.

Dr. John Minson Galt had two sons who were physicians: William C. Galt of Louisville and Alexander D. Galt of Williamsburg, who succeeded his father as physician at the Hospital. Dr. Philip Syng Physick of Philadelphia called Alexander Galt "a great man, whose sphere should not be cramped by practising in a little village." His son, John Minson Galt II, was also a physician, the third generation of the family to serve as physician at the Hospital. The Galt family, which ran so strongly to medicine and which has always been associated with Williamsburg, produced no less than thirteen physicians, two keepers of the insane asylum and one apothecary, all descended from the immigrant, Samuel Galt. William T. Galt, besides serving as mayor of the town, succeeded his father, James, as keeper of the asylum, and was in turn succeeded by his brother Dickie. James Galt's third son was Alexander Galt, an apothecary of Norfolk. Dr. Samuel Galt II, born 1763, a grandson of Samuel Galt by his first wife, was educated in London and practised medicine on the Eastern Shore until his death in 1796.

Williamsburg was a cosmopolitan town. Besides English and Scotch physicians there were other nationalities represented in the profession. Dr. John de Sequeyra is reputed to have been one of the educated Italians who came to this country with Philip Mazzei,²⁷ but since Mazzei did not come until 1773 and Sequeyra's name appears in the Journals of the House of Burgesses of 1767 this connection seems doubtful. In this earliest reference to him the House orders "Dr. John de Sequeyra, a physician, and Mr. William Pasteur, a surgeon, to go immediately to York" and "enquire into the state of the said Pride's

²⁵ Virginia Gazette, September 21, 1769.

²⁶ Galt Papers. Extracts furnished by Miss Mary Galt.

²⁷ Tyler: Williamsburg, the Old Colonial Capital, p. 224.

health and make a report of the same to the house." The physicians found Mr. Pride, who had been declared by Dr. Matthew Pope of York too sick to attend a hearing, in pretty good health except that "he was much troubled with nervous Disorders," and the House forthwith ordered its serjeant-at-arms to bring him to Williamsburg. For their services the physician and surgeon received £3-4s.-6d. and £2, respectively.²⁸ In 1773 Dr. Sequeyra became the first visiting physician to the hospital for the insane, and from 1774 until his death in 1796 he was on the Board of Directors of the institution. An oil painting recently discovered between Williamsburg and Richmond has written on its back: "Dr. Seccari, an Italian, was family physician to my grandfather Philip Ludwell Grymes. He first introduced into Williamsburg the custom of eating tomatoes. Until then considered more of a flower than a vegetable. Signed E. Randolph Braxton."²⁹ Allowing for the informal methods of spelling proper names in that day, it seems almost certain that the Dr. Seccari of the portrait was also the Dr. de Sequeyra — his name also appears as Sequeyra, de Siqueyra, Sequeyrea, de Sequera — of the Lunatic Hospital; and was, besides, the Dr. Siccary who is listed in James Thacher's *American Medical Biography* (1828) as one of Virginia's most eminent physicians, and who is mentioned by Jefferson as having first introduced the tomato. Philip Ludwell Grymes was a student at William and Mary in 1759. This makes his dates correspond with those of Dr. de Sequeyra.

Dr. Lewis Contesse lived and practised in Williamsburg during the first quarter of the Eighteenth Century. He was born in France and in 1725 patented 800 acres of land in Henrico County. President John Tyler was his great-grandson.³⁰

From Switzerland came Dr. Jean Pasteur, a native of Genevois. He arrived in 1700 in the French Huguenot colony and straightway began the practice of surgery, barbering and wigmaking in Williamsburg. Of his several children, James became rector of St. Bride's Church, Norfolk, and William became a physician. William Pasteur, the only son of his father's second marriage, was born about 1737-39. His father died in 1741, his mother in 1746, and Commissary Dawson, of William and Mary, was appointed his guardian. In 1752 he was apprenticed to Dr. George Gilmer and by 1759 he had opened his own apothecary shop and was practising in Williamsburg. He married

²⁸ Journals of the House of Burgesses, v. 1766-69, pp. 99, 100, 110.

²⁹ Bishop Meade gives the following Grymes genealogy: John Grymes (1693-1748) married Lucy Ludwell. Philip Grymes, son of the above, married Mary Randolph in 1742. Philip Ludwell Grymes, son of Philip and Mary, married (1) Miss Randolph, daughter of the John Randolph who went to England at the beginning of the Revolution, and (2) Miss Wormeley.

³⁰ Virginia Historical Collections, v. 5, p. 14.

Elizabeth, the daughter of William Stith, President of William and Mary. He was a justice of the peace for York County and alderman of Williamsburg in 1773, and in 1775 he became mayor of Williamsburg. It was while he occupied this exalted position that Lord Dunmore made his raid upon the powder magazine. In testifying later, Pasteur stated that while treating a patient at the Palace he met the Governor, who threatened to reduce the town to ashes, and that he had felt it his duty to communicate the threats to the House. Dr. Pasteur served in the Revolution as surgeon, probably in the Williamsburg hospitals. He was well thought of as a doctor in Williamsburg. In 1775 he formed a partnership with John Minson Galt, the announcement of the partnership explaining that "John M. Galt shall pay his particular attention to Surgery, but will be advised and assisted by W. Pasteur in all difficult cases."³¹ Pasteur became a director of the Lunatic Hospital in 1790 but resigned after one month, probably on account of ill health as he died the next year. He left plantations and negroes in Goochland and York Counties as well as houses and lots in Williamsburg.³²

Another eminent physician of Williamsburg was George Nicholas. He came from England, having been born and educated there, and settled in Williamsburg before 1722. In that year he married Elizabeth, widow of Nathaniel Burwell and daughter of Robert Carter of Corotoman, who in his will in 1726 left ten pounds to Dr. Nicholas "to buy him mourning."³³ In 1728 Nicholas applied for a grant of 400 acres in Hanover County and in 1729 for 3,000 acres in Spotsylvania, both petitions being granted by the Council.³⁴ In 1730 he was chosen a Burgess to represent the College. His son, Robert Carter Nicholas, was distinguished as Treasurer of Virginia at the time of the Revolution.

In 1737 Dr. Henry Potter of Williamsburg pointed out in the *Gazette* that "from June 1734 to June 1737 I have had as many Patients as any one Man of my Profession ever had in this Colony . . . and . . . as much success." It is fair to say that this indulgence in braggadocio on the part of Dr. Potter was occasioned by ill treatment from certain people of the "meaner rank," who because of small unpaid debts sought court orders against him to

³¹Dixon & Hunter's Virginia Gazette, April 15, 1775.

³²Dr. Alexander Gordon of Norfolk on July 2, 1772 advertised in Purdie & Dixon's Gazette: "William Pasteur, my apprentice, having absented himself, I hereby forewarn all Persons from harbouring or entertaining him." In the Gazette for July 30, William Pasteur, then at Halifax, repudiates Dr. Gordon's charge that he is still his apprentice, and says he left with Dr. Gordon's consent after having been constantly subjected to scurrilous language and ill treatment. This William Pasteur was probably a distant kinsman of the Williamsburg family.

³³Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 6, p. 2.

³⁴Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 33, p. 24.

attach his goods. It seems that Dr. Potter was born for trouble. In the same year he was offering a reward for the capture of thieves who robbed his wine cellar, and a few years later his petition to the Burgesses for remuneration for attending and furnishing medicines to sick soldiers "during their stay in Virginia" was rejected. In 1738 he announced his intention of going to England and advertised his household goods for sale and his house for rent. His wife was Hannah Grymes, daughter of John Grymes of Middlesex. Shortly before his death he moved to Spotsylvania County, where he died in his forty-sixth year. He is buried at Christ Church, Middlesex County. Parks's *Virginia Gazette* for April 10-17, 1746, which advertised his estate for sale, announced that "An account of the Medicines and Utensils of the Shop and a Catalogue of the Books will be printed next week, and given gratis, by the Printer hereof."

There were two Carters who practised medicine in Williamsburg in this century, James and William. They were brothers, sons of John Carter, the public gaoler of Williamsburg, and his wife, Thomasine. The elder was Dr. James Carter, who was practising and advertising drugs for sale as early as 1751, rendered a bill to the Custis estate in 1760 and was in the militia during the Revolution. In 1771 he bought Dr. Andrew Anderson's shop in Williamsburg, and later he and his brother probably practised together for a few years. In 1779 William advertised that the partnership was dissolved and that he had bought his brother's half of the shop. James appears frequently in the York County records. In 1769 he bought four lots on Scotland Street, Williamsburg, and the tax list for 1783 shows him the owner of six slaves and three horses. He died about 1800. A James Carter was recommended by William R. Fleming to the Governor as surgeon in the army mobilized to quell the Whiskey Rebellion in 1794.⁸⁵

Dr. William Carter was born in Virginia in 1732 and was living on Palace Street, Williamsburg, in 1767. In 1771 he moved to Gloucester, but at the outbreak of the Revolution he had returned to Williamsburg and he served throughout the war as surgeon in the Continental hospital there. At the same time he practised medicine in the town. Before 1786 he moved to Richmond and opened a shop "opposite the Eagle Tavern." He married three times. A deed in 1772 gives his wife's name as Rebecca. In 1775 the *Gazette* announced his marriage to Molly Wray; and still later he married Charlotte, the daughter of Dr. William Foushee. He died in 1799, aged sixty-seven, and his tomb-

⁸⁵Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 7, p. 149; v. 8, appendix. Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 7, p. 311. Extracts from York County Will Book, 1741; Deed Books, No. 5, 6, 7, 8; James City County Tax Book, 1787-1861.

stone is in St. John's Churchyard, Richmond. His son, William, was also a doctor.

Peter Hay was a prominent physician of Williamsburg. He is mentioned in Dr. James Blair's diary. He was practising as early as 1746, and died in 1766.³⁶ Anthony Hay, who bought the Raleigh Tavern in 1767, was probably his son. Anthony's son, Joseph, served in the Revolution as surgeon's mate, apothecary and finally as surgeon at the hospital in Williamsburg. Dr. John Amson was practising in Williamsburg in 1751 and owned the lots on Scotland Street which were later bought by Dr. William Carter.³⁷ Dr. Thomas Wharton died in Williamsburg in 1746, and Dr. Kenneth McKenzie was one of his executors. It was advertised that "The Shop Utensils, belonging to the Estate of the late Dr. Thomas Wharton, are to be sold reasonably."³⁸

One Dr. Spencer advertised in 1745 that he would begin "a Course of Experimental Philosophy on Wednesday next Catalogues of the Experiments may be had gratis, at his house in Williamsburg, where the course is to be performed."³⁹

Another physician who practised in Williamsburg in this period was Robert Davidson, who died in 1738, "practitioner of Physick and Mayor of this city . . . a kind, good-natur'd Man, always ready to give his Advice and Assistance to the Poor, and endow'd with many other good Qualities which obtained him the Love and Esteem of his acquaintances."⁴⁰ The first mention of Dr. Andrew Anderson is in 1758, when he acted as executor of Dr. Mungo Roy's estate. Ten years later he bought William Biers's apothecary shop in Williamsburg. He returned from a trip to London on the *Reward* in 1769 and promptly advertised himself as "surgeon and man-midwife" with fresh supplies of drugs for sale.⁴¹ In 1771 he sold his shop to Dr. James Carter and moved to New Kent. Here in 1774 he married his second wife, Miss Betsy Burnet, "an agreeable young lady with a handsome fortune." He died in 1776. His son, Dr. George Anderson, is mentioned in 1771 in letters from William Allason of Falmouth, his agent in collecting certain rents.

The list of Williamsburg practitioners is lengthened by the names of William Biers; Robert Innis; James McClurg, who later moved to Richmond; George Pitt, who was practising about 1757-75 and whose apothecary shop is still standing; James Russell, who in 1794 became Health Officer in Rich-

³⁶ William and Mary Quarterly, v. 7, pp. 53, 135.

³⁷ William and Mary Quarterly, v. 7, p. 137.

³⁸ Parks's Virginia Gazette, May 8-15, 1746.

³⁹ Parks's Virginia Gazette, Nov. 14-21, 1745.

⁴⁰ Parks's Virginia Gazette, Jan. 26-Feb. 2, 1738.

⁴¹ Rind's Virginia Gazette, Aug. 17, 1769.

mond; John Serjanton; George Riddell; and Philip Barraud, who moved to Norfolk. The partners, Beall and Norton, were pharmacists but may have practised medicine as well.

RICHMOND

Richmond by an act of the Assembly became an incorporated town in 1742, though five years earlier Colonel Byrd had advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* that there "had been laid off by Major William Mayo a town called Richmond with streets sixty-five feet wide." The town occupied a salubrious situation on the hills at the falls of the James River, where the villages of Shockoe and Rocky Ridge (Manchester) were already attracting settlers. The town was largely made up of thrifty tradesmen who found dealing with the farmers of the back country profitable business. By 1765 exports of the town in tobacco, wheat and corn were considerable, and by 1775 the population numbered 2,000. In 1779 the capital was moved from Williamsburg — a transfer that brought with it educated and professional classes that until now had been notably lacking. Chastellux in 1782 observed that before 1779 Richmond "was not a very important town . . . the houses are in general of wood and are irregularly scattered. A recent census gives the number as 280 and the population about 2,000." The houses in the old area were indeed mostly of wood, one or two stories and dormer, with heavy shutters and log chimneys. After it became the capital it began to take on new dress. Jefferson was appealed to in France for a design after which to pattern the capitol, and this building, modeled after the *Maison Carrée*, was completed by 1792. Other substantial buildings went up. The first citizens of Virginia took up their residence there—Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, Edmund Randolph, William Henry Harrison and John Marshall. Academy Square, with its theatre and prospective university, the library which advertised days on which to "draw books," the pontoon bridge across the river, the James River and Kanawha Canal, and the four newspapers, all testified to the growth and preëminence of the new capital, which in 1782 had been incorporated a city. Benedict Arnold marched up Main Street in 1781. Later Washington and La Fayette were visitors, and the Constitutional Convention met there in 1788. By 1800 the population was 5,735.

The place evidently impressed foreign travelers, because the crusty Rochefoucauld had nothing disparaging to say of it in 1796, and Dr. Thomas Coke in 1791, writing his impressions, said of it, "I preached in Richmond in the

Capitol where the Assembly sits, to the most dressy congregation I ever saw in America."⁴³

For the first thirty years of its life the rough though thriving frontier town did not attract the better type of physician, but when it became the capital several very well known doctors took up their residence there — two in particular soon became politically as well as professionally important.

Rochefoucauld, commenting upon Richmond physicians in 1796, observed that "Doctor Maclue [McClurg], a native of Scotland, a physician of high repute, and a well informed man" and "Doctor Foulchie [Foushee], with whom the affairs of one of my friends brought me acquainted" were among the "persons with whom I was most frequently in company in Richmond."⁴⁴ Anburey, a British officer, was also impressed with Dr. Foushee, but for quite another reason. ". . . . I was shewn a gentleman of the town, a Mr. Fauchee, a surgeon and apothecary, who had the misfortune to have one of his eyes gouged out; it was happily in time replaced, and there were hopes he would recover the use of it. I shall relate the way the accident happened, to show the ferociousness of the lower class in this country: this gentleman was at play in the billiard-room, where there were a number of gentlemen, and several of our officers; a low fellow who pretends to gentility, came in, and in the course of play, some words arose, in which he first wantonly abused, and afterward would insist on fighting Mr. Fauchee, desiring at the same time, to know upon what terms he would fight, as the lower sort have various modes: Mr. Fauchee declined any, saying, that he was totally ignorant as to boxing, but the other calling himself a gentleman, he would meet him in a gentleman-like manner; he had scarcely uttered these words, before the other flew at him, and in an instant turned his eye out of the socket, and while it hung upon his cheek, the fellow was barbarous enough to endeavour to pluck it entirely out, but was prevented This most barbarous custom, which a savage would blush at being accused of, is peculiar to the lower class of people in this province; at one time it was so prevalent, that the Governor and Assembly were obliged to pass a law which made it criminal, and that law is now in force, but the rabble are such a lawless set, especially those in the back woods, that they are little restrained by any laws the State can pass I have seen a fellow, reckoned a great adept in gouging, who constantly kept the nails of both his thumbs and second fingers very long and pointed; nay, to prevent their breaking or splitting, in the execution of his

⁴³Morrison: *Travels in Virginia in Revolutionary Times*, p. 78.

⁴⁴Rochefoucauld: *Travels through the United States of North America*, v. 3, p. 119.



WILLIAM FOUSHEE

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diabolical intentions, he hardened them every evening in a candle."⁴⁴ Chastellux's translator, commenting on the Marquis's account of Virginia, agreed with Anburey that "to Bite and goudge" was not an uncommon practice in Virginia at that time.

Dr. Foushee, the victim of this harrowing experience, came of a Huguenot family. He was born in Virginia on the Northern Neck, October 26, 1749, was educated at Edinburgh and first practised in Norfolk, being taken into partnership with Drs. John Ramsay and James Taylor in 1774. In 1780 he and Dr. Taylor were named executors of Dr. Ramsay's estate, and it was about this time that he moved to Richmond, where he soon became an outstanding figure. He had served during the Revolution as physician and surgeon, and in January 1782 he succeeded Dr. Pope as "Surgeon and apothecary" to the soldiers at Richmond. The position carried a salary of twenty shillings a day, and Colonel Davies, notifying the governor of Dr. Pope's resignation and pointing out the immediate need of a successor "as the sick are suffering for want of proper attention," suggested that "perhaps Some of the Medical Gentlemen of the town will undertake this business."⁴⁵ Foushee received land bounty for his Revolutionary service. From 1786 to 1790 he examined great numbers of pension applicants, and his signed statements describing their physical condition are preserved among the Pension Papers in the State Library.

Virginians of this period were politically minded, and it is not to be wondered at that many physicians were swept by the popular trend into the political arena. Public service was popular, honorable and had its rewards, and medicine at that time offered a certain amount of leisure that made the pursuit of politics possible. Foushee became Richmond's first mayor in 1782, and while in office wrote the Governor urging the creation of a city watch to protect citizens against the frequent depredations of robbers. He served in the House of Delegates off and on from 1791 to 1804 and was a member of the Privy Council of Virginia from 1799 to 1806. He was on the committees which welcomed Washington to Richmond in 1784 and Jefferson in 1809. He was a subscriber to Monsieur de Beaurepaire's Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1786; a member of the Amicable Society, a charitable organization formed by leading citizens of the town in 1788; and, succeeding Edmund Randolph, he was president from 1789 to 1818 of the James River Navigation Company, which was projected by Washington and built the James River and Kanawha Canal — the first canal started in this country.⁴⁶ He helped draw up resolu-

⁴⁴Anburey: *Travels Through the Interior Parts of America*, pp. 309, 311.

⁴⁵Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 3, p. 42.

⁴⁶Mordecai: *Richmond in By-gone Days*, pp. 205, 298.

tions after the incident of the *Chesapeake* and the *Leopard*, and with other notables was a trustee of the Richmond Academy established by legislative act in 1803.⁴⁷ Edmund Randolph observed to Madison in 1796 that "Dr. Foushee was extremely active and influential."

In spite of his active political and military life he found time to attend to his medical practice. He and Dr. John H. Foushee were among the few to inoculate in Virginia at this time. In 1799 they announced that the magistrates of Henrico County had granted them a license to inoculate for smallpox at a house outside the city limits formerly belonging to J. Tabb, at reasonable rates and on conditions which they would make known in advance.

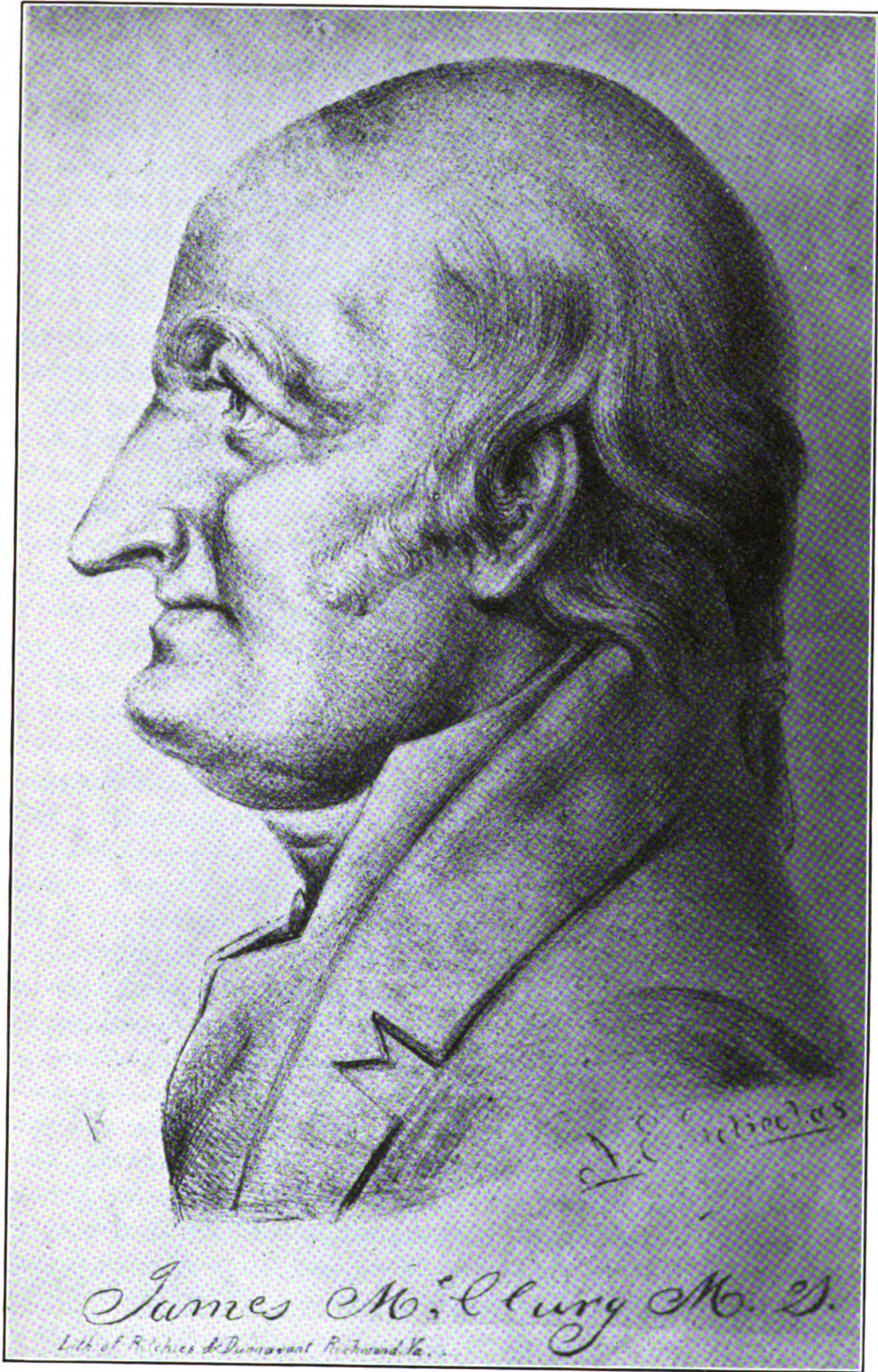
Dr. Foushee lived on Main Street near the present post office. In 1799 he advised "those who apply to him in the way of his profession (Physick) that his charges are as formerly, i.e. a visit in town in the day five shillings; an emetic, two shillings, sixpence; either in commodities that he needs or in tobacco at 20 shillings per hundred weight or money." In 1822 he became the second president of the Medical Society of Virginia. Death claimed him August 21, 1824, when he was seventy-three years old. His memory is preserved today in one of Richmond's well known streets, which formerly passed through his fine garden in what was then the northwest limit of the city. His son, Dr. William Foushee, Jr., practised medicine until his death February 7, 1835, aged fifty.

John H. Foushee, also a physician, studied at William and Mary College in 1795, and in 1802 was recommended to the Governor for the position of quarantine officer at Richmond.

James McClurg was a man of wealth and professional prominence. He was the son of Dr. Walter McClurg, an English army surgeon living at Hampton, Virginia, who was physician at the Hampton smallpox hospital and served as surgeon in the Virginia state navy during the Revolution. James was born at Hampton in 1747. As a boy (1762) he went to William and Mary College, where Jefferson was then studying. There he acquired a reputation as a scholar and was distinguished for his high attainments in classical learning. ". . . . at that period this department of literature was taught by able professors from the English universities, and cultivated with as much ardor and success as in any other part of this country."⁴⁸ At the age of seventeen, with his sister, he was sent to Europe in the hope that a feeble constitution would be strengthened by a sea voyage and his developing mind improved by foreign travel. Shortly after this he decided upon the medical profession as a career

⁴⁷Christian: Richmond, Her Past and Present, p. 58.

⁴⁸Thacher: American Medical Biography, v. 1, p. 379.



JAMES McCLURG



and took up his residence at the University of Edinburgh, where he won the friendship of such men as Cullen and Black. He graduated in 1770 with a thesis entitled *De Calore*, which was regarded as both profound and original. James Madison, President of William and Mary, observed to a friend at Princeton that "Dr. McClurg, of our city [Williamsburg] was educated at this college. After completing the usual course here, he studied physic at Edinburgh; was a favorite pupil of the celebrated Black; and gained much applause by his treatise *De Calore*. Indeed, I have lately seen in the *Annals de Chimie*, I think, for the year 1800, the confession that Dr. McClurg first started the idea concerning heat, which the French philosophers have since pursued with so much success."⁴⁹

After graduating in medicine McClurg pursued his studies in Paris and Great Britain, settling for a while in London. It was there (1772) that he wrote his celebrated essay entitled *Experiments Upon the Human Bile and Reflections on the Biliary Secretion*. This work, produced when he was only twenty-six years old, was looked upon with much favor and was subsequently translated into a number of foreign languages. Thacher in 1828 declared it "a work which at once established his character as a man of talents and a learned physician, and still maintains a high reputation, as well for acuteness and accuracy of investigation, as for a purity and classical elegance of style, seldom attained by writers on professional or scientific subjects."⁵⁰

The work was introduced by an essay on medical reasoning in which he pointed out that medical science had been subject to change from the earliest times — fortunately progressive — and that the quarrel between the dogmatists and empirics is an ancient quarrel, a rational outgrowth of progress. He then attempted to show that the battle of the schools had been salutary, that in fact there was something of truth and value on both sides, a belief which convinced him of the general usefulness of theories. Having established this thesis, he proceeded to introduce a new theory of his own. He had just emerged from the Edinburgh school of medicine, at that time a hot bed of theories and schools of thought whose influence stretched around the world. It was quite natural that a pupil of Brown or Cullen should take pride in evolving a new theory, and nothing was more calculated to give him prestige in his profession in the colony of Virginia than to have been the author of a theory in an age peculiarly deferential to this type of intellectual exercise. The work itself was based on experiments in which, among other things, the effect of heat and of acid upon the bile and in turn of the bile upon muscle and fat was tried. The experimenter concluded that bile was formed from

⁴⁹Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 21, p. 323.

⁵⁰Thacher: American Medical Biography, v. 1, p. 380.

blood in the liver, blood which was advancing towards putrefaction, that its functions were anti-putrefactive, anti-fermentative, and neutralizing to gastric acidity. He noted a sweet taste in bile — due, he thought, to a sugar which was analogous to milk sugar. From this point on theory ran away with fact. He argued that if bile is formed from putrefactive blood and if heat putrefies blood, hot countries should be conducive to liver disease and that malaria, marshes, badly ventilated ships and rooms, which hasten degeneration of the blood, should also be conducive to liver disease. The treatment of patients subject to such unfortunate hematogenous disturbances was a natural corollary of this theory. He recommended the removal of the patient from an environment that would promote putrefactive changes in the blood, free purgation to assist nature in throwing off "this enlarged secretion" of bile, the wearing around the body of camphor and other antiseptics to ward off the noxious influence of the atmosphere, and finally the use of quinine because of its tonic effect. It is not difficult to understand how such a theory at such a time carried the day. Couched in fine English, ornamented by frequent classical quotations and conveying all the persuasion of a syllogistic argument, it was irresistible. Looking upon it with modern eyes one wishes that the experimental method which had been used so successfully by Harvey had not been thus prostituted by a theorist who thought more of proving his point than of establishing facts beyond peradventure of a doubt.⁶¹

Heralded by a theory, McClurg returned to Virginia in 1773 and set up in Williamsburg, then the capital of the colony. His contemporaries in medicine there were Dr. John Minson Galt, Drs. James and William Carter, William Pasteur and others. For ten years McClurg made his residence in Williamsburg. At the end of that period he had acquired considerable reputation. His taxable property in 1783 was recorded as five slaves, two horses and two head of cattle. Among the inhabitants of Williamsburg who suffered great losses in 1781 from the British invasion was Dr. McClurg, who among other things lost all his slaves.⁶²

In 1779 he married Miss Elizabeth Selden of Hampton. The same year he was appointed Professor of Anatomy and Medicine when that chair was first created at William and Mary College. It was in fact the second such chair established in the United States, the first being in Philadelphia. Other faculty members were James Madison, President of the College and Professor of

⁶¹Dr. McClurg does not appear to have written for publication after his return to America, except the poem "The Belles of Williamsburg," penned in 1777 and printed in the *Richmond Standard*, July 16, 1788.

⁶²William and Mary Quarterly, v. 23, p. 133. Tyler: Williamsburg, the Old Colonial Capital, p. 82.

Natural Philosophy and Mathematics; George Wythe, Professor of Law; Robert Andrews, Professor of Moral Philosophy, the Laws of Nature and the Fine Arts; and Charles Bellini, Professor of Modern Languages.⁵³ McClurg's appointment came in the reorganization effected when Mr. Jefferson became a member of the Board of Visitors, the chairs of Medicine and Law superseding the former chair of Divinity. John Brown, a student in the college in 1779, wrote: "William and Mary has undergone a very considerable Revolution; the Visitors met on the 4th Instant & form'd it into a University, annull'd the old Statutes, abolish'd the Grammar School Each of these Professors have an Annuity of eight Hogsheads of Tobacco."⁵⁴ The chair of Medicine was discontinued in 1783. Shortly after this President James Madison, writing to Mr. Jefferson, lamented the neglect of the College by the Visitors and the small attention paid to science since Dr. McClurg's resignation from the faculty: "The Professorship of Chemistry . . . has not been actually abolished; but after Dr. McClurg left us, two professorships of Humanity were instituted in its stead."⁵⁵ How much teaching Dr. McClurg did is not known.

While still at Williamsburg McClurg joined the Revolutionary army. In April 1776 he wrote to his friend Thomas Jefferson: "It is believed here, that a Physician will be appointed to the Continental Troops in this colony; an office I desire exceedingly, as it wd. gratify at the same time my passion for improvement in the profession I am destined to, & my zeal to do my country some service. In this time of general activity, I do not like to be an idle spectator; & I know not any post wch. wd. suit me so well."⁵⁶ The young physician did not secure the position he sought. The explanation appears in Burk: "The appointment of Dr. Rickman as Physician and Director-General to the Continental Hospital in the Colony, has created much prejudice against Col. [Benjamin] Harrison, because that appointment was ascribed to his influence, and Dr. McClurg, a native, and regular bred Physician of eminent abilities, strongly recommended by the Committee of Safety and General Lee, had by that means remained unemployed."⁵⁷ After four years McClurg again writes to Jefferson: (October 10, 1780) "As I have served the State as Surgeon to Sailors and Soldiers ever since June 1776 . . . I hope and expect that your Excellency and the Honourable Council will consider me and fix my pay on the first footing of ten shillings old money or Fifty pounds of Tobacco pr day."⁵⁸ To which Commissary George Mutter replied, after advising him

⁵³William and Mary Quarterly, v. 4, p. 241.

⁵⁴William and Mary Quarterly, v. 9, p. 22.

⁵⁵William and Mary Quarterly, v. 5, p. 93.

⁵⁶William and Mary Quarterly, v. 6, p. 336.

⁵⁷Burk: The History of Virginia, v. 4, p. 155.

⁵⁸Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 1, p. 377.

that he had been appointed a surgeon in the navy with his station at Hampton, "You are to draw the same pay & rations of naval surgeons and enjoy the same privileges."⁶⁰ After this he received better recognition, and the end of the war found him "Superintendent and Inspector of Hospitals in Virginia."⁶⁰

In 1783 he took up his residence at the new capital at Richmond. His home was at first at Tenth and Bank Streets and later a large brick structure at the northeast corner of Sixth and Grace Streets. From this time on his life was full of political as well as professional activity. His daughter Elizabeth married Attorney General John Wickham, whose home on Clay Street is now the Valentine Museum. McClurg was frequently elected to positions of public trust. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention that met at Philadelphia in 1787, aligned himself with Madison and is said to have made two speeches. Later he returned to Virginia and canvassed the state in support of the constitution. He was a member of the Privy Council in 1786 and 1787. He was also considered for a cabinet position, a letter from Jefferson to Madison in 1793 stating that among those being considered to succeed the writer as Secretary of State were Rutledge, Livingstone and McClurg, "the last least."⁶¹ He was an exception to the general run of doctors in that he did not possess or employ surgical instruments and did not own an apothecary shop. This early resolution to woo only one branch of medical science was adhered to through life: "With respect to myself, I can assure you that the profits of my profession do not support my family, and that I must, if I had no other dependence, live very indifferently. This however is partly owing to my not uniting the apothecary's and the surgeon's business with the physician's as is common in this country; and to my not being adept in another necessary qualification of a doctor, viz., *dunning*."⁶² Yet in the training of the physician he thought there should be no separation of the sciences. "He considered every branch of science as kindred and capable of mutual illustration. 'The sciences', says he, 'like the graces, march hand in hand, and nothing would be more vain than an attempt to pursue any one of them separately.' He warmly opposed the separation of physic and surgery as unnatural, and insisted that it would be for the advantage of both to unite them: yet he does admit, as far as simple dexterity is concerned, the chirurgical art has been improved by the separation. 'We expect,' says he, 'that the surgeon should be acquainted with the powers of the machine, and be able to tell, *quid ferat, atque faciat natura*."

⁶⁰Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 1, p. 388.

⁶¹Kelly and Burrage: Dictionary of American Medical Biography, p. 775; and notes given Dr. McCaw Tompkins by E. V. Valentine.

⁶²Ford: Writings of Thomas Jefferson, v. 6, p. 439.

⁶³McCaw: A Memoir of James McClurg, M.D., p. 7.

And thus, his art is so strictly connected with medicine as to justify the remark of Petit; and though it may be useful to practise them separately, they should certainly be studied together.'"⁶³

In 1797 yellow fever was raging in Norfolk, and McClurg, who was mayor of Richmond at that time, forwarded to the Governor resolutions adopted by the Common Hall asking executive aid in preventing the spread to Richmond of the "dangerous and contagious fever." He was again mayor in 1800 and 1803. More and more he became a consulting physician and as age crept upon him settled down to the quiet enjoyment of books and friends. A member of the Cincinnati, a Mason, on the council of Quesnay's abortive academy, first president of the Medical Society of Virginia (1820), he continued a man of prominence whom his friends delighted to honor until July 9, 1823. In this his seventy-seventh year, an accident caused by the running away of the horses of his carriage brought his career to an end. In old St. John's Churchyard in Richmond he is buried. Over his grave an inscription in stone tells of the high estimate of his contemporaries.

Thacher tells us that "In private life his habits were studious and sedentary. Though well acquainted with the modern history of medical science, his attention, after he had passed the meridian of life, was more generally directed to the study of polite literature. Averse to mixing in crowds, his conversation and acquaintance were sought after and cultivated by most of the eminent men who in his time have done honor to Virginia; and he took pleasure in improved and intelligent society, where he was always distinguished by the simple dignity and amenity of his manners, the extent of his knowledge, the solidity of his understanding, and the brilliancy of his wit; never obtrusive and always controlled by taste and good breeding."⁶⁴

The second number of the *Philadelphia Journal of the Medical and Physical Sciences*, 1820, carrying his article on *Reasoning in Medicine*, was dedicated to him in the following words by the editor, Nathaniel Chapman:

To
James Maclurg, M. D. &c. &c.
of Richmond, Virginia,
who,
to the widest range of professional knowledge,
unites
in an eminent degree, the accomplishments of a

⁶³Thacher: *American Medical Biography*, p. 382.

⁶⁴Thacher: *American Medical Biography*, p. 381.

polite scholar, and eloquent writer,
 this
 attempt to promote the cultivation and diffusion
 of medical literature
 in the United States,
 is inscribed,
 as well on account of the profound veneration which I entertain
 for his character and attainments, as from the ambition,
 that my undertaking should appear under the
 auspices of an
 illustrious citizen
 of my native state.

James Drew McCaw was the son of Dr. James McCaw, a Scotch surgeon from Wigtonshire who had come to Virginia in 1765 and settled near Norfolk. He was sent to Edinburgh and graduated in medicine with a thesis on acute rheumatic fever in 1792. Two years earlier his uncle, Dr. McClurg, had written: "James is at an age when a right or wrong direction of his conduct must very much influence the success of his future life. If he discovers a sufficient degree of prudence now, he can hardly want it hereafter. I observe that his affection for his native soil attracts him strongly to Virginia. This country has not, since the revolution, been favourable to his profession. It may however grow better, if by good government and tranquility the people are allowed to emerge from the distresses occasioned first by their extravagance and then by the war."⁶⁵

McCaw returned to Virginia and practised in Richmond until his death in 1842. In 1799 Major John Pryor wrote of him that he "is a nephew of McClurg's and a Man of great abilities and getting into great practice particularly as a Surgeon and to be brief I think him one of the greatest men in his profession in America. He has the best modern collection of books in this place & is a member of the Richmond Literary Society & can command the renting these Books." Major Pryor adds "he is a firm friend of his country and no Democrat."⁶⁶

In 1800 Dr. McCaw through the medium of the newspaper "begs leave to inform the public" that he has moved to Mr. J. Stewart's house on Shockoe Hill, but "for the convenience of his Patients has taken Rooms near Mr. Myers Compting-room, which he has furnished with Medicine, and where he

⁶⁵McCaw: A Memoir of James McClurg, M.D., p. 7.

⁶⁶William and Mary Quarterly, v .4, p. 109.

will attend during the day."⁶⁷ Later he lived and practised with his uncle Dr. James McClurg at the corner of Sixth and Grace Streets. His son, William R. McCaw, and his grandson, James Brown McCaw, were both physicians.

Dr. James Currie was both before and after the Revolution one of Richmond's leading physicians. He was born at Annandale, Scotland, in 1745, and came to Virginia as a young man. Thacher in his *American Medical Biography* states that "Dr. Currie of Richmond practised through his life with great reputation. He seemed to possess intuitively the faculty of distinguishing the character of disease and of discovering the remedy." Thacher is also authority for the statement that he studied in Edinburgh. In 1799 Currie's friend, Dr. James McClurg, made a sworn statement that Dr. Currie had in his possession "such ample testimonials from a British University as proved him to be a physician regularly educated."

A letter from Richard Adams of Williamsburg on May 15, 1772, to his brother in London introduces Dr. Currie, then on a trip to England, and shows him to have been a contradiction to the proverb that a physician knows nothing of business. "You'll receive this per Doct'r James Currie, one of our townsmen who is esteemed there as an honest industrious man and a good physician, and has practiced for two or three years with great success & made money, he is proprietor of Baines Tenem't & land lord to our friend Mr. Coutts he goes over on business to make but short stay in England & then to return, he applyed to me to be made known to you as he has no acquaintance in London" ⁶⁸ Before leaving Richmond he announced in the papers that his partnership with Ludwick Warrock would continue, and that Warrock would take care of the shop in his absence. He lived on "Broad Road near Tenth Street" opposite the present City Hall. On January 1, 1779 he advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* "That his fees for the practice of Physick, from the beginning of the year would be at the old rates (before the exorbitant prices of medicine as well as every necessity of life made it equitable to raise them) payable in tobacco at 20 shillings per hundred weight or in money equivalent to tobacco."⁶⁹ In 1793 he submitted a bill for five pounds to the state of Virginia "for examining in concert with Dr. Read, the uterus of Angelia, now under sentence of Death, to ascertain her pregnancy, by command of his Excellency, the Governor."⁷⁰ The historian Mordecai speaks of him a little caustically, as being less amiable and more strict in collecting his fees than

⁶⁷ Richmond Examiner, Oct. 17, 1800, v. 1, No. 196.

⁶⁸ Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 22, p. 391.

⁶⁹ Dixon & Nicolson's Gazette, Feb. 12, 1779.

⁷⁰ Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 6, p. 373.

Dr. Foushee, but admits that he had a large and lucrative practice. He was on terms of friendship with Jefferson, who wrote him a long letter from Paris in 1786, discussing the merits of the new Encyclopedia, of which he had secured a set for Dr. Currie, and giving him bits of scientific news from the continent: "I send by this conveyance designs for the Capitol. They are simple and sublime . . . For some time past nothing has come out here worth sending you The Abbe Rochon has lately applied the metal called Platina to the purpose of making the specula of telescopes One Hoffman practises here a pleasing method of engraving, such as would be useful to any gentleman. . . ." The letter ends with, "I charge you always with my affectionate respects to the families at Tuckahoe and Amptill and to McClurg whose indolence is the only bar to our correspondence without intermediaries" In 1789 Currie married Mrs. Ingles of Princess Anne. He died on April 23, 1807 and is buried in St. John's Churchyard.

James Currie (1756-1805), author of *Medical Reports on the Effects of Water in Febrile Diseases* and a native of Scotland, was a relative of Dr. James Currie of Richmond. Like his cousin he came to Virginia as a young man. He worked in a commercial position first at Cabin Point and later at Richmond, where he lived with Dr. Currie. During the Revolution he suffered many hardships, being twice 'drafted into the army and forced to pay large fines to escape. He also contracted fever and dysentery. Returning to England in 1777, he studied medicine at Edinburgh and Glasgow and intended at first to return to Virginia but settled at Liverpool instead. His published reports on fever went through many editions and brought him fame. He also published a *Life of Burns* and was a Fellow of the Royal Society. While in Virginia he published in Pinkney's *Virginia Gazette* some articles on the political situation. Long before Brand, Currie used cold baths in the treatment of typhoid fever, employing the clinical thermometer to check his results. Douches of sea water were poured over the patient in such frequency and at such temperature as the patient's fever demanded. Weir Mitchell thought Currie's book displayed "absolute genius." He died in 1805.

Dr. Archibald Currie of Richmond advertised in 1791 certain medical books for sale and in 1800 announced that after great expense and study he was offering to "the Faculty" his "electrical Machine for Medical Purposes," designed to treat paralysis, blindness, deafness and apparently any disease that hitherto had been thought incurable. He confessed to long experience in the

"Ford: Writings of Thomas Jefferson, v. 4, p. 131.

science of electricity, amiably offered to follow the advice of "the Faculty" and assured the public that his charges were reasonable.

John Brockenbrough, Jr., son of Dr. John Brockenbrough of Tappahannock, graduated from Edinburgh in 1795. He settled in Richmond and until his death was one of her most prominent citizens and physicians. His career more properly belongs to the next century, as does that of another Edinburgh graduate, the third of Richmond's medical mayors, John Adams, after whom Adams Street is named.

In November 1788 Dr. Alexander Skinner was buried in Richmond, which had been his home since the close of the war. He was laid to rest with military honors, his fellow members of the Cincinnati attending in a body. Dr. Skinner was born in Maryland in 1743. He entered the Revolution as surgeon in the Virginia Continental line. He was in charge of an early military hospital in Suffolk in 1776 and at that time wrote Brigadier General Andrew Lewis declaring that twenty-five dollars a month without rations or forage was too little for a surgeon's mate and that surgeons of education and ability who were greatly in demand would not think of accepting the pitiful sum offered them by the "Continental establishment." From 1780 to 1783 he served in Light Horse Harry Lee's Battalion.

Lee, in his *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department*, comments on his surgeon: "Such was doctor Skinner's unvarying objection to Irvin's⁷⁸ custom of risking his life, whenever he was with the corps going into action, that . . . he saw with pleasure that his prediction, often communicated to Irvin. . . . was at length realized, when Irvin was brought in wounded; and he would not dress his wound, although from his station he had the right of preference, until he had finished all the privates. . . ." Dr. Skinner "considered it very arrogant in a surgeon (whose province it was to take care of the sick and wounded) to be aping the demeanor and duty of a commissioned officer" He had "an utter aversion to the noise and turmoil of battle. It stunned and stupefied him." But he was not a coward, for Lee says he had no hesitation in fighting duels.⁷⁹

One of the earliest lot owners in Richmond was a Swiss physician, Dr. Samuel Tschiffeley, who ingratiated himself with the gentry of the community and established a reputation for himself as a chemist. In 1738 William Byrd wrote to John Bartram in Philadelphia: "This kisses your hand by my friend, Dr. Schiffely, a Swiss gentleman, who is bound to Philadelphia to try if he can prevail with any of his countrymen to come and settle upon my land at

⁷⁸Irvin was a surgeon from South Carolina.

⁷⁹Lee: *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department*, pp. 260, 268.

Roanoke a man of skill in his profession; has been a great traveller, and has a great knowledge in Chemistry and Surgery."⁷⁴ The same year the Doctor himself was advertising his chemical qualifications: "Gentlemen who have any sort of Metals or Oars that they want to know the Value of, may have them try'd and their true Value shewn to them by plain Demonstration, if they apply to Dr. Tschiffely, Chemist, and Practitioner in Physick, at Richmond, in Henrico County."⁷⁵ The next year he was further recommended to Bartram by Isham Randolph as ". . . my friend and acquaintance Dr. Schiffely, who I believe to be a proficient in the art of Chemistry. I take him to be a very honest gentleman."⁷⁶ He was evidently held in high regard by these leading Virginians.

Dr. Andrew Leiper was born in 1717, studied medicine in Philadelphia, returned to practise in Richmond, and became the medical instructor of William Henry Harrison, later President of the United States.⁷⁷ He lived at Eighteenth and Franklin Streets and died on October 17, 1798, at the ripe old age of eighty-one. His tombstone in St. John's Churchyard has inscribed upon it: "In memory of the domestic worth and professional merit of Dr. Andrew Leiper." At the time of his death he was quarantine physician at the port of Richmond, and his death was apparently due either to yellow fever or to over-exertion in his effort to combat the epidemic. His executors submitted a memorial to the Governor setting forth his faithful services, and George Nicholson, superintendent of quarantine, certified that Dr. Leiper "administered to those unfortunate men who died, every assistance and attention in his power at the risk of his own life."⁷⁸ Samuel Mulford testified that "There were twelve persons afflicted with the prevailing fever [yellow fever], ten of which died; that it generally took Dr. Leiper between three and four hours of time both morning and evening, and several times attended in the night; that he often had to visit on board twelve or fourteen vessels each day. I likewise certify that to relieve those that were ill he often assisted in cleansing and nourishing, and endeavouring by his example to put confidence in those who were to wait on them in his absence." The sick were described as being "in a state of Filth past description" before Dr. Leiper's arrival.⁷⁹

Other physicians who practised in Richmond during this period were "William Wills chirurgion," whose house, fifty feet long and two stories high,

⁷⁴Darlington: Memorials of John Bartram and Humphrey Marshall, p. 314.

⁷⁵Virginia Historical Register, v. 6, p. 149.

⁷⁶Darlington: Memorials of John Bartram and Humphrey Marshall, p. 317.

⁷⁷Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 35, p. 92. History of Henrico Parish, p. 467.

⁷⁸Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 8, pp. 529, 530.

⁷⁹Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 8, pp. 529, 530.

was sold in "Richmond Town" on his death in 1770;⁸⁰ George Martin, 1787, who practised all branches of medicine and claimed to have studied extensively in Europe; Dr. Bohannon, who in 1811 pursued the "Practice of Medicine, Surgery and Midwifery" in an office "over Ryan and Wilkins' Auction Store" and announced in the papers that he would "attend and furnish medicine for the Poor gratis;"⁸¹ Samuel Nivins, whose partnership with Warwick was announced in 1776;⁸² Dr. Prentis, found treating yellow fever in Richmond in 1793;⁸³ Dr. Trent who "resided in the house formerly occupied by his preceptor the late Dr. A. Leiper," and who announced through the papers that he was "resisting the temptation to visit Europe while offering his services to the people of Richmond and the neighboring counties;"⁸⁴ Dr. Robert Brown, who was appointed by the House of Burgesses in 1767 on a committee to determine the efficacy of a cancer cure, who advertised medicine for sale at his shop in Richmond in 1772, and who was paid in 1776 for furnishing medicine to the army; James Russell, who in 1771 was in charge of Dr. James Carter's apothecary shop in Williamsburg, served as surgeon in the navy during the Revolution, and in 1794, with Dr. John K. Read, was acting as health officer in Richmond during a smallpox epidemic; and Alexander B. Strachan, who was selling drugs in 1771 and died in 1789.⁸⁵ Still others were Dr. Gibson, who lived "near the capitol;" James Francis Conand, "surgeon Doctor near the Bridge;" William and Thomas Carter, "doctors and surgeons;" Dr. John Powell, 1779, and Dr. John Cringan, "much esteemed," who lived on Eighth Street and died in November 1808.⁸⁶ He is mentioned by Mordecai as one of Richmond's five leading doctors in 1800. He taught Dr. John Adams, who subsequently became his partner. His son, Dr. John Cringan, Jr., died March 3, 1801 at the early age of twenty-seven and is buried in St. John's Churchyard.

II. OTHER TOWNS

NORFOLK

Of all the Virginia towns Norfolk was the largest and wealthiest. Incorporated as a town in 1736, it grew rapidly until Dunmore burnt it in 1776. At that time its population was 6,000. For a year after the destruction not a soul

⁸⁰Rind's Virginia Gazette, Mar. 10, 1768.

⁸¹The Enquirer, (Richmond) Dec. 31, 1811.

⁸²Dixon & Hunter's Virginia Gazette, 1766.

⁸³Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 6, p. 595.

⁸⁴Richmond Examiner, v. 2, No. 196, Oct. 17, 1800.

⁸⁵Virginia Gazette, June 20, 1771; February 26, 1789.

⁸⁶Virginia Gazette, Nov. 8, 1808.

was to be seen there, but by 1790 its population was 3,000 and by 1800 it had again reached 6,000. Crowded in between the La Fayette and Elizabeth Rivers, its position was extremely favorable for trade and commerce. Among its citizens were many Scotch traders "who were not well disposed to the American cause." Colonel Byrd remarked of it in 1728 that "the two cardinal virtues that make a place thrive — industry and frugality — are to be seen here in perfection." The harbors were filled with vessels, commerce was flourishing and money plentiful, but culture was at a low ebb. Old St. Paul's, built in 1739, is the sole architectural survival of that century. A writer in 1785 remarked that "it has been an Elegant large Town before it was destroyed, chiefly built of brick, but now rebuilding mostly with wood."⁸⁷ Rochefoucauld, who visited it in 1796, declared it "one of the ugliest, most irregular and most filthy towns that can anywhere be found. The houses are low and unsightly, almost all constructed of wood The streets are unpaved: the town is surrounded by swamps: the nastiness and stench which prevail in it are excessive, and add to the natural insalubrity of the situation, and of the climate which is extremely hot."⁸⁸ If we can believe this somewhat slanderous writer, "diseases are habitual at Norfolk in summer and autumn, and . . . malignant epidemics are there frequent. Last year the yellow fever is said to have carried off there five hundred persons from a population of four thousand. Three hundred died at the time the distemper prevailed; the others fell victims to its consequences. . . ."⁸⁹ From this account the need for physicians in Norfolk must have been often acute, and no doubt the town was well supplied.

Of Norfolk physicians very little record has been left. Several whom we do know about fared rather badly at the hands of her citizens. Dr. Archibald Campbell, whose wife was an aunt of the Tuckers and who joined with St. George in urging Tudor Tucker to move to Virginia in 1772, was practising in Norfolk before 1750, and in 1751 advertised "simple drugs of all sorts" for sale.⁹⁰ One of his fellow practitioners was John Dalgleish. The two will be remembered as having been the objects of mob violence in August 1768 when their inoculation of patients against smallpox at Dr. Campbell's house led to the burning of the house and the enforced transfer of their patients to the pest house. Dr. Campbell was a justice of the peace for Norfolk County in 1749 and was employed by the vestry of Elizabeth River Parish in 1750. During the Revolution he was one of the few Virginia physicians accused of Tory sympathies.

⁸⁷Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 23, p. 408.

⁸⁸Rochefoucauld: Travels through the United States of North America, v. 3, p. 11.

⁸⁹Rochefoucauld: Travels through the United States of North America, v. 3, p. 12.

⁹⁰Hunter's Virginia Gazette, Oct. 31, 1751.

Dr. John Dalgleish was a specialist in smallpox, advertised a method of inoculation all his own, claimed to be an adept in the obstetric art and advised his pregnant patients that they could be inoculated without danger. His death was reported in the *Virginia Gazette* for October 3, 1771, which called him "an honest man as well as a skilful Physician." Dr. Alexander Dalgleish of Gloucester County, who died in 1770, was probably the brother mentioned by Dr. John as having been associated with him in practice at one time.⁹¹

Dr. Alexander Gordon was another physician with Tory sympathies. He married Sarah Alexander in 1764 and was one of those subscribing to Blackstone's *Commentaries* in 1771.⁹² His conduct during the Revolution subjected him to censure by the Norfolk Committee of Safety on February 7, 1775,⁹³ and two years later he was held as a prisoner of war.⁹⁴

An early Norfolk physician was Dr. George Ramsay. He was one of that considerable number of Virginians entitled to the use of arms, and his will, signed in 1756 and filed in Norfolk County, displays a wax seal adorned with arms and crest.⁹⁵ His son, John, followed in his father's footsteps and became a physician. By 1756 he was employed by the vestry of Elizabeth River Parish, the record stating that "Dr. John Ramsay came into the vestry and agreed to attend and administer physick, etc. to all the poor belonging to this Parish, within two miles of the Borough of Norfolk, and if he crosses the ferry, his ferriages to be paid, for the sum of £20 per year . . ." The same year a new poorhouse was ordered built by the vestry, the old one having been burned. Three years later more liberal terms were agreed upon, and it was specified "that for the future he is not obliged to administer medicine, nor attend, any sick but those at the Poor House for the Sallery formerly agreed on."⁹⁶

Dr. Ramsay married Mary Hutchings in 1757⁹⁷ and in 1766 entered a partnership with Dr. James Taylor.⁹⁸ A few years later the firm advertised for an apprentice in surgery and pharmacy — "a sober lad of 15 or 16 years of age If he is provided with Bed, Board and Washing a fee will be expected."⁹⁹ It was not long before the lad had made himself indispensable and the partnership announced: "our Healths being so much impaired as to render us incapable of giving the Attendance we would wish we have taken Mr.

⁹¹ *Virginia Gazette*, Nov. 17, 1768.

⁹² William and Mary Quarterly, second series, v. 1, p. 183.

⁹³ Dixon & Hunter's *Virginia Gazette*, Feb. 25, 1775.

⁹⁴ Dixon & Hunter's *Virginia Gazette*, Feb. 14, 1777.

⁹⁵ Crozier: *Virginia Heraldica*, p. 57.

⁹⁶ Stewart: *History of Norfolk County, Virginia*, pp. 198, 199.

⁹⁷ Crozier: *Virginia County Records*, v. 6, p. 164.

⁹⁸ *Virginia Gazette*, Dec. 4, 1766.

⁹⁹ Purdie & Dixon's *Virginia Gazette*, July 2, 1772.

William Foushee into Partnership."¹⁰⁰ George Balfour and Jonathan Calvert, who later served as a surgeon in the state navy, were at one time pupils of Drs. Ramsay and Taylor. Dr. Ramsay himself served in the Revolution as a surgeon, and in the burning of Norfolk in 1776 sustained the loss of considerable property, when ten houses belonging to him, valued at 1506 pounds sterling, were destroyed.¹⁰¹ The executors of his will, which was probated in Norfolk County on July 13, 1780, were Drs. James Taylor and William Foushee.

The Dr. James Ramsay practising in Norfolk towards the end of the century was probably Dr. Ramsay's son. He was a student at William and Mary in 1777, and if, as seems also probable, he was the James Ramsay mentioned by John Leigh in his essay on opium as being from Virginia, he was studying in Edinburgh in 1785. It will be recalled that this James Ramsay not only assisted Leigh in some of his experiments, but actually carried out several of them on himself. In 1787 he married Mrs. Margaret Boush¹⁰² and in 1794 became mayor of Norfolk. In 1795 he was one of several Norfolk doctors who signed a report to the Governor dealing with the epidemic of yellow fever then raging¹⁰³

Dr. James Taylor, the other member of the firm of Ramsay and Taylor, was long a prominent figure in Norfolk. After Dr. Ramsay's death he entered into partnership with Dr. Lewis Hansford, and their names appear among those who signed the yellow fever report of 1795. Dr. Taylor was intimately connected with the various outbreaks of yellow fever in Norfolk. In an article on bilious fever in the first volume of the *Philadelphia Medical and Physical Journal* he described the epidemic as it occurred in that city in 1772. In 1805 he was appointed superintendent of quarantine in Norfolk and was charged chiefly with the responsibility of preventing the spread of yellow fever.¹⁰⁴ With Dr. Hansford and Dr. Alexander Whitehead he was an active supporter of the *Medical Record*, published in Philadelphia. He was president of the commissioners in charge of the Marine Hospital, and in 1794 he wrote the Governor urging prompt action by the General Assembly to prevent the failure of the "Hospital for sick and disabled seamen erected in the neighborhood of this Town."¹⁰⁵ In the burning of Norfolk Dr. Taylor also lost heavily—thirteen of his houses, valued at £2,805, were consumed in the fire.¹⁰⁶

Other doctors in Norfolk during this century were William Hunter, who

¹⁰⁰ Purdie & Dixon's Virginia Gazette, March 31, 1774.

¹⁰¹ Stewart: History of Norfolk County, p. 367.

¹⁰² Virginia Gazette, July 12, 1787.

¹⁰³ Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 8, p. 289.

¹⁰⁴ Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 9, p. 460.

¹⁰⁵ Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 7, p. 393.

¹⁰⁶ Stewart: History of Norfolk County, Virginia, p. 364.

sued in 1702 "for a cure Don on Tho: Ewell ye Sun in Law;"¹⁰⁷ Fernandez, a Portuguese physician and consultant;¹⁰⁸ William Happer who resigned from the Common Council in 1742 because his practice consumed all his time;¹⁰⁹ Robert Craik, who died in 1754, aged thirty-five; Charles Mayle, whose marriage bond to Lydia Nash is dated March 28, 1765; the partners, Perry and O'Grady, who signed the yellow fever report in 1795; and John Shepherd, who died in 1773, leaving two horses, a negro boy, furniture, medicines, shop fixtures, valuable books and surgical instruments.¹¹⁰ There are also several men of whom little is known besides the fact of their having served as surgeons in the Revolution: John Applewhaite who died in 1800; William Johnson (Johnston) who died in Elizabeth City County in 1809; Augustine Slaughter, who died in 1814; Miles King, who died in 1815; Hugh Martin; Joseph S. Pell; and Andrew Ray, who served in George Rogers Clark's regiment and was a charter member of the Cincinnati.¹¹¹

Dr. Cary H. Hansford is reputed to have been a descendant of Thomas Hansford, who was hanged for the part he played in Bacon's Rebellion.¹¹² For three years he was a Revolutionary soldier, serving as surgeon's mate and surgeon in the Virginia navy. His death occurred in Norfolk on October 29, 1801, at the age of forty-two. Probably a near kinsman of his was Dr. Lewis Hansford who was associated in practice with Dr. James Taylor. His name repeatedly occurs in connection with the epidemics of yellow fever in Norfolk, where he became port physician in 1805. He died before 1817.¹¹³

We learn of another Norfolk physician in a letter written there by Dr. Thomas Tudor Tucker in 1799: "I had the pleasure, of finding our friend Dr. Gilchrist in this place, to which he returned from the eastern shore a few days ago . . . he has again contract'd a pretty severe cold, which probably may not go off during the winter, unless he could take more precautions against it than he is likely to use in this Town. I think he wou'd be better with his friends in Williamsburg, and have advised him to go there. . . ." ¹¹⁴ Dr. John Gilchrist, to whom the letter evidently refers, died two years later, bequeathing all his medical books to Dr. Philip Barraud.¹¹⁵

Dr. Barraud was the son of Daniel Cary Barraud and Catherine Curle. He

¹⁰⁷Lower Norfolk Antiquary, v. 2, p. 63.

¹⁰⁸American Medical Recorder, 1819, p. 366.

¹⁰⁹Stewart: History of Norfolk County, Virginia, p. 287.

¹¹⁰Dixon & Hunter's Virginia Gazette, Sept. 9, 1773.

¹¹¹Stewart: History of Norfolk County, Virginia, pp. 52-55. Burgess: Virginia Soldiers of 1776, pp. 720, 920.

¹¹²Tyler's Quarterly, v. 2, p. 358.

¹¹³Burgess: Virginia Soldiers of 1776, p. 564.

¹¹⁴Tucker Manuscripts.

¹¹⁵Tyler's Quarterly, v. 1, p. 71.

was born in 1757 and joined the Revolutionary forces while still a youth. After the war he is said to have supplemented his medical education by study at the University of Edinburgh. Returning to this country he married on July 23, 1783, Anne Hansford, a sister of Dr. Cary H. Hansford. He first practised medicine in Williamsburg. There he served on the Board of Visitors of William and Mary College in 1791 and was visiting physician at the asylum for four years and a member of the Board of Directors for one year.¹¹⁶ He moved to Norfolk in 1799 and for thirty years practised there and in the surrounding counties. A friend observed of him when he was an old man that "his sprightliness and vivacity were astonishing and amusing."¹¹⁷ He died November 26, 1830.¹¹⁸ His son, John Taylor Barraud, studied medicine and practised in Norfolk.

The medical history of Virginia has been enriched by the McCaws. The first of that name to settle in the colony was James McCaw, a Scotch surgeon who arrived in 1765. He married Elizabeth Brough, a half sister of Dr. James McClurg. For ten years Dr. McCaw practised medicine and dispensed drugs in Norfolk. At the outbreak of the Revolution, a loyalist in his sympathies, he attached himself to Lord Dunmore, served for a while as captain of militia and later with his family sailed for the more hospitable shores of Great Britain never to return to the state. Duty evidently prompted re-enlistment in His Majesty's service, for in 1779 he landed in New York from a supply ship sent over to Sir Henry Clinton. Shortly afterward death overtook him. Naturally enough his son James Drew McCaw came back with his mother to live in Virginia and settled in Richmond.¹¹⁹

The record of Norfolk physicians would be incomplete without an account of Dr. John K. Read, mayor of the town and Grand Master of Virginia Masons. He was a versatile and gifted man whose life is particularly interesting because of his relations with two important Americans. He was the nephew by marriage of Benjamin Franklin, his father being James Read, the brother of Deborah Read, Franklin's wife. John K. Read was born in Philadelphia in 1746, moved to Virginia and settled in Hanover County at a place called "The Grove." It was during his residence there that he became a friend of John Paul Jones, who had come to live in Fredericksburg seeking "calm contemplation and poetic ease" after his withdrawal from the English navy. Their meeting may have been due to their being Masons, for Jones had been ad-

¹¹⁶ 131st Annual Report of the Eastern State Hospital.

¹¹⁷ Tucker Letters owned by Mr. and Mrs. George C. Coleman of Williamsburg, Virginia.

¹¹⁸ Richmond Whig, Dec. 6, 1830.

¹¹⁹ Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 22, pp. 160-172.

mitted to the Masonic Lodge at Kirkcudbright, Scotland, before coming to Virginia. It was a time when Masonic influence was powerful in Virginia—so powerful that even Washington was accused of selecting his generals exclusively from the Masonic ranks.

It was at "The Grove" that Jones spent at least a part of his mysterious exile.¹²⁰ Years afterward Read wrote to him: "Shall I tell you I had my fears that my friend had forgot me? — but those fears were momentary and gave place to other feelings when I reflected on the many sentimental hours which (solitary enough) passed between us at the Grove."¹²¹ In 1779 Jones wrote to Franklin: "I can mention a person whom I very much esteem and who has always expressed great Obligation to you, I mean Doctor John K. Read."¹²² It was Read who introduced Jones to the Washingtons, Lees and Dandrignes, and notably to Miss Dandridge, aged nineteen. Thereby hangs a tale. Years later in France Mademoiselle de Manon asked the gallant Commodore if he had ever been wounded. "Never on the sea, Mademoiselle," he responded, "but on land I have been bled by arrows never launched by the English." A letter from Dr. Read to Jones in 1778 perhaps identifies some of these mysterious arrows: "You tell me you are under some expectation of purchasing a Virginia estate, but some more agreeable idea will call you off and deprive us of you. Miss Dandridge is no more, that is, she a few months ago gave herself into the arms of Patrick Henry."¹²³

Dr. Read, himself, married early. In 1773, after his first wife's death, he married Frances Payne, a widow, and moved to her farm in the adjacent county of Goochland. In October 1775 the *Gazette* carried his advertisement of drugs for sale there. He was an active soldier during the Revolutionary War. In 1776 the Committee of Safety appointed him surgeon of the First Minute Battalion, and during that year he was busy supplying medicine and services to soldiers at Manchester and Norfolk.¹²⁴

After the war he settled in Richmond, where he published in 1791 *Abiman Rezon*, a book of Masonic rules.¹²⁵ He established a shop which he called "Apothecaries Hall," advertising in 1793 an extensive supply of fresh drugs for sale.¹²⁶ In 1794 he acted as health officer at Richmond during a smallpox epidemic.¹²⁷

¹²⁰ South Atlantic Quarterly, v. xvii, 1917.

¹²¹ Russell: John Paul Jones, Man of Action, p. 43.

¹²² Russell: John Paul Jones, Man of Action, p. 127.

¹²³ Russell: John Paul Jones, Man of Action, p. 45.

¹²⁴ Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 8.

¹²⁵ Russell: John Paul Jones, Man of Action, p. 41.

¹²⁶ Virginia Gazette, June 10, 1793.

¹²⁷ Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 7.

In 1796 he married his third wife, Mrs. Helen Calvert Maxwell, and removed to Norfolk. There he served as port physician for the years 1798, 1799, and 1803, and the public records for these years contain frequent reports of his inspections of incoming ships.¹²⁸ During the yellow fever epidemic of 1803 he visited 179 vessels in sixty-six days. He was alderman of Norfolk from 1796 to 1799, mayor from 1799 to 1800, and alderman again from 1800 to 1802.¹²⁹ During this time he practised medicine. In 1800 he advertised the opening of a "new Medicinal Store" adjoining his dwelling house "on the Main Street, near the market."¹³⁰

His tombstone in St. Paul's Churchyard, Norfolk, records that he "came to reside in this Borough about the year 1796, Where he practised physic with distinguished reputation Served the Corporation as Alderman and Mayor with uncommon ability. Died the 10th day of February, 1805, in the 59th year of his age."¹³¹ Martha Read Banks, one of his two daughters, had died the year before, and his eldest son, Dr. John K. Read, Jr., died at Goochland Court House about two weeks after his father. Another son was at the time a captive in Tripoli, having taken part in the expedition against the pirates.¹³²

Dr. Read's will, proved in Norfolk, April 23, 1805, contains an interesting item: "It is my wish that my Shop and the business thereof should continue to be carried on by Doct Mortimer during the term agreed on by the articles of Copartnership between us . . . But if on my death it should not be the choice of Doctor Mortimer to continue the business of the Shop, then it is my will and desire that the Medicines and furniture of the Shop be sold by my Executors immediately on the same terms as I sold one half of them to Doct Mortimer. . . ." A Dr. Charles Mortimer signed a report on yellow fever in Norfolk in 1795. He must have been Read's partner and was very probably the same Dr. Charles Mortimer who had practised in Fredericksburg from 1771 to 1787.

YORKTOWN

Before the siege and surrender of Cornwallis Yorktown was a place of considerable importance. The customs house established in 1715 witnesses its position as a port of call for seagoing vessels, and the fine old houses belonging to Nelsons, Moores and Spotswoods attest the standing of some of

¹²⁸ Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 8 and 9.

¹²⁹ Lower Norfolk County Antiquary, v. 1, pp. 35, 119; v. 2, pp. 28-31.

¹³⁰ Richmond Examiner, Dec. 9, 1800.

¹³¹ Lower Norfolk County Antiquary, v. 3, p. 46.

¹³² Richmond Enquirer, March 5, 1805.

her first citizens. Laid off in 1691 by Lawrence Smith as a shire town it supported by 1775 a population estimated at 3,600.

Of Yorktown physicians we know little. The death of Dr. John Payras is recorded there as early as 1752. Perhaps its most distinguished physician was Corbin Griffin, son of Leroy Griffin and Mary Bertram, whose father had been a French refugee. Dr. Griffin was born in Lancaster County, studied at William and Mary College and graduated in medicine from the University of Edinburgh in 1765. In 1772 Dr. Griffin advertised his "houses and lots, and a large well-furnished medicinal shop in Yorktown" for sale. He may have moved to Williamsburg, for his name appears in the Williamsburg tax list as the owner of a large amount of personal property in 1783. After that he returned to Yorktown. His practice was interrupted by the Revolution in which he took an early and active part, serving on the York Committee of Safety in 1775-6 and as surgeon in the state navy and in the hospital at Yorktown. Both during and after the war he held various political offices. He served in the House of Delegates in 1776, was a member of the State Senate in 1779¹³³ and an alderman of Yorktown in 1787. He married Mary, daughter of Colonel Edmund Berkeley of Middlesex County, and had ten children. His son married a first cousin, Mary, daughter of Judge Cyrus Griffin, last president of the Continental Congress. Dr. Griffin died September 1, 1814.¹³⁴

Another practitioner at Yorktown was Matthew Pope, an Englishman by birth. He was physician to Governor Francis Fauquier, the *Gazette* reporting in 1767 that "his honor the Governor, who for some considerable time past has labored under a very painful and dangerous disorder, is now quite recovered under the care of Dr. Matthew Pope at York." But in less than a year the same newspaper carried an announcement of the death of the Governor, aged sixty-five, "after a tedious illness." During the Revolution Pope served as naval officer at Yorktown, in charge of the hospital there, and later as a regimental surgeon and as surgeon and apothecary at Richmond. His voluminous correspondence with the authorities during the war has been preserved in the Calendar of State Papers. He finally resigned from military service in 1782 because, he said, "it is out of my power to continue longer without being totally ruined."¹³⁵ He married Betty, daughter of General Nelson. He was alderman of Yorktown in 1787, mayor in 1788 and recorder in 1790 and 1791.¹³⁶ He died February 1, 1792, leaving a large estate including property in England.¹³⁷

¹³³ Register of the General Assembly of Virginia, 1776-1918.

¹³⁴ Kelly and Burrage: Dictionary of American Medical Biography, p. 499.

¹³⁵ Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 3, p. 41.

¹³⁶ Tyler's Quarterly, v. 9, p. 96.

¹³⁷ Burgess: Virginia Soldiers of 1776, p. 321.

Dr. Augustine Smith of Yorktown was graduated in medicine from Edinburgh in 1787. He was educated at the expense of General Nelson, whose will requested that Smith should not "be called upon to repay one shilling I have expended on his maintenance and education."¹³⁸ He was physician to the General's daughter, Betty, who married Dr. Pope, and he witnessed her will in 1796. Dr. Pope had bequeathed him his surgical instruments.¹³⁹ Dr. Smith is listed by Eckenrode as a surgeon's mate in the Revolution. Perhaps he served in that capacity under Dr. Pope before going to Edinburgh. He married Alice, daughter of Governor Page, and died in 1805.

Contemporary physicians in Yorktown were George Riddell, who sold drugs there in 1751 but later moved to Williamsburg; Dr. Benjamin Catton, who died in 1768; Robert Nicolson, who moved there from Williamsburg after the war; William Reynolds, who was practising in 1777; and Thomas Powell, who gave the "present situation of York" as his reason for moving his family and his shop to Fredericksburg in 1776.

RAPPAHANNOCK DOCTORS

The principal towns on the Rappahannock River were Hobb's Hole (Tappahannock) and Urbanna. In 1796 there were one hundred houses at Hobb's Hole. Here lived Dr. John Brockenbrough, Sr., born in 1744, the son of Colonel William Brockenbrough of Richmond County and the father of Dr. John Brockenbrough, who became a distinguished citizen of Richmond.¹⁴⁰ He was one of the signers of the Westmoreland protest against the Stamp Act in 1764; served as a justice of Essex County, and is said to have been a surgeon in the navy during the Revolution.¹⁴¹ In 1769 he was searching for an "apprentice to an apothecary shop" and a little later advertised "capital drugs and Medicines" just imported.¹⁴² His death occurred on November 20, 1804 "at his seat on the banks of the Tappahannock . . . aged 60 years." He had practised with success for thirty-seven years and died of a "violent pleurisy." "Remarkable penetration in discriminating between the different shades of disease" and "great promptness and decision in the application of his remedies" were ascribed to him by those who knew him.¹⁴³

At Hobb's Hole there lived also two physicians who were devoted friends, Dr. Mungo Roy and Dr. Paul Micou. Dr. Micou, a Huguenot refugee, was

¹³⁸ William and Mary Quarterly, v. 2, p. 14.

¹³⁹ Burgess: Virginia Soldiers of 1776, p. 321.

¹⁴⁰ William and Mary Quarterly, v. 11, p. 125.

¹⁴¹ Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 5, p. 448.

¹⁴² Rind's Virginia Gazette, June 29, 1769.

¹⁴³ Richmond Enquirer, Dec. 1, 1804.

born in France in 1658, fled to England and then to Virginia. As early as 1693 he was practising in Richmond County.¹⁴⁴ Later he became a large land owner in Essex County, where from 1700 to 1720 he served as justice of the peace. Like many early physicians his activities were not confined to medicine. He was often referred to as "Paul Micou, Mercht," and owned slaves and plantations in Spotsylvania and King George as well as in Essex.¹⁴⁵ His wife was Margent Roy, and the two families were further connected by the marriages of Dr. Roy's daughter, Jean, to Paul Micou, Jr., and of Mungo Roy, Jr. to Catherine Micou — probably a grand-daughter of Dr. Micou. Dr. Micou's daughter, Mary, married Colonel Joshua Fry.¹⁴⁶ Dr. Micou's will specified: "I give to my friend Dr. Mungo Roy all my physick books and a gold ring." His tombstone at old Port Micou on the Rappahannock is of black marble, with the inscription "Here lies the body of Paul Micou who departed this life the 23rd of May, 1736, in the seventy-eighth year of his age."¹⁴⁷

Dr. Mungo Roy died about twenty years later. His will was probated September 19, 1758 and is still preserved in Essex County. He left a large estate, including a number of slaves and several tracts of land in Orange and Essex, to his children. To his son James he bequeathed "all my medicines, books of physick and anatomy and instruments of surgery."¹⁴⁸

Dr. John Clements, who owned an estate of nine hundred acres and forty slaves in Essex County, died in 1768. He and Dr. Ewen Clements, who "quitting his business in Fredericksburg" moved to Hobb's Hole in 1772 and died there in 1774, must have been nearly related, as the same executor, Pitman Clements, acted for both.¹⁴⁹ Dr. Thomas B. W. Gray, whose *Account of the Epidemic Fever which prevailed in . . . the Northern Neck* appeared in the *American Medical Recorder* in 1819, lived at Hobb's Hole, but he more properly belongs to the next century.

Our knowledge of Urbanna physicians is limited to William Lewis, under whom Dr. Richmond Lewis studied,¹⁵⁰ and to Dr. John Mitchell, referred to in another chapter.

PETERSBURG

Petersburg is twenty-three miles south of Richmond. The early history of the two towns exhibits interesting parallels. Both were the product of William

¹⁴⁴Richmond County Records.

¹⁴⁵Crozier: Virginia County Records, v. 1, p. 99.

¹⁴⁶Slaughter: Memoir of Colonel Joshua Fry, pp. 16, 17, 42.

¹⁴⁷Meade: Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia, v. 2, p. 179.

¹⁴⁸Information furnished by Mr. T. Catesby Jones of New York.

¹⁴⁹Virginia Gazette, Jan. 5, 1769; Oct. 27, 1774.

¹⁵⁰Hayden: Virginia Genealogies, p. 380.

Byrd's brain, both were planted at the falls of a river, three towns¹⁵¹ constituted the nucleus of each, and at the end of the century each had approximately the same population. The advantages which the town upon the James gained over the town upon the Appomattox were due largely to the good fortune which soon made it the capital of the state, attracting there much of the talent that had formerly made Williamsburg the center of fashion, education and politics. Petersburg in 1783 was a dusty, unpaved little town, of which Dr. Schoepf disparagingly remarked: "This town has a very unhealthy situation, its inhabitants seldom reach a great age, and have always to contend with intermittent fevers and their grievous sequelae, but notwithstanding the place is larger than Richmond, the number of houses being reckoned at 300."¹⁵² By the end of the century, however, with hardly more than 3,000 inhabitants, it could boast two newspapers — *The Intelligencer* and *The Republican* — a large export trade in tobacco, a collector of the port and many fine estates within easy driving distance. One traveler at least, approaching by the lofty bridge over the Appomattox, recorded that "in Blandford, the charming pretty town of Blandford, in a beautiful plain on the river brink, on a very pleasant and beautiful spot I found a very excellent ordinary at Boyd's."¹⁵³

Philip Slaughter says that in Petersburg "The medical men who figured in the last century were Doctors Goldie and Thompson, McCartie, Bland, Hall and Shore, whose shop still stands a monument to his memory."¹⁵⁴ Dr. John Shore graduated from Edinburgh in 1778 and shortly after his return to Petersburg formed a partnership with Dr. Isaac Hall. In 1783 he was mayor of the town. Of him the *Petersburg Intelligencer* reported "On Sunday morning a duel was fought near this town between Dr. S . . . and Colonel J. J On the first discharge Dr. Sh . . received a ball in the right arm. After discharging nine shots the second interfered which terminated the affair in an amicable and honorable manner."¹⁵⁵ His opponent in the duel was Colonel Joseph Jones. In 1802 Dr. Shore was Collector of the Port of Petersburg and Bermuda Hundred. He died in Nottoway County on October 14, 1811.

Petersburg was notable for the high quality of her physicians during this century. In some instances the practice of medicine ran through several generations of a family, and as there were frequent intermarriages the un-

¹⁵¹The three towns from which Petersburg sprung were Pocohontas, Blandford and Petersburg.

¹⁵²Schoepf: *Travels in the Confederation*, v. 2, p. 72.

¹⁵³Smyth: *A Tour in the United States of America*. Morrison: *Travels in Virginia in Revolutionary Times*, p. 14.

¹⁵⁴Slaughter: *History of Bristol Parish*, p. 84.

¹⁵⁵*Petersburg Intelligencer*, Sept. 29, 1786.

ravelling of the complicated relationships between the various practising physicians of the town becomes a problem for the genealogist.

The vestry book of Bristol Parish furnishes most of the information we have about the earlier physicians. James Thompson's name occurs frequently between 1729 and 1742, undertaking cures for the poor of the parish and sometimes even providing for burial when the promised cure failed. Over thirty years later Drs. James and John Thompson were practising and selling drugs "at their shops in Petersburg." They were probably sons of the earlier James. Dr. John Thompson became one of the town's leading physicians in the last quarter of the century.¹⁸⁶

Another parish physician was Alexander Jameson, who lived at Blandford and died in 1766, leaving a large estate — several houses and lots, a library, negroes and horses.¹⁸⁷ Robert Goldie practised for the vestry in 1750. William Torbern had a shop in Petersburg in 1762, his practice extending into the surrounding counties as well.

David Black was a Scotchman who settled at Blandford. In 1772 he advertised for a "Young man who has been bred in an Apothecary's Shop and understands the Composition of Medicines."¹⁸⁸ In October of that year he married Miss Nancy McKenzie, daughter of Dr. Kenneth McKenzie of Williamsburg; and her brother William later studied medicine under Dr. Black. Dr. Black's inventory, filed November 6, 1781,¹⁸⁹ shows a very large estate, including a library of about 225 volumes, many of them medical.

Another early physician who evidently prospered in his profession was Ebenezer Campbell. He died at Blandford in 1752. The *Gazette* advertised on August 14 that his "choice assortment of medicines and chirurgic instruments, with a valuable collection of books on physic, surgery and various other subjects, together with sundry valuable horses, liquors, etc" were for sale, and might be seen "at his shop in Blandford."

With Dr. John Ravenscroft one becomes involved in the complicated series of marriages which linked together the physicians in the Stark, Feild, Gilliam, Walker and Strachan families. Dr. Ravenscroft married Rebecca, daughter of Dr. William Stark and his wife, Mary Bolling;¹⁹⁰ their son, Dr. John Ravenscroft, Jr., was born about 1748, graduated at Edinburgh in 1770 and made his home in Scotland, though his son, John Stark Ravenscroft, returned to America and became Bishop of North Carolina.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁶ Virginia Gazette, Aug. 6, 1772; March 25, 1775.

¹⁸⁷ Virginia Gazette, July 18, 1766.

¹⁸⁸ Virginia Gazette, May 7, 1772.

¹⁸⁹ Prince George County Records, v. 1787-92, p. 283.

¹⁹⁰ William and Mary Quarterly, v. 18, p. 214.

¹⁹¹ Torrence: Trial Bibliography.

The first Dr. William Stark, who married Mary Bolling in 1727, lived at one time in York County, where he was a justice in 1732, but he later moved to a 350-acre estate in Prince George County, called Broadways. His will was probated in 1755. William and Bolling Stark, his two sons, both became physicians.¹⁶³ William, Jr., inherited Broadways from his father and practised in Petersburg in partnership with Dr. Theodorick Bland. The partnership was dissolved in 1771, and Dr. Stark advertised that he would continue the "medicinal shop" alone and would practise physic "on the most moderate terms."¹⁶³ He was probably the same William Stark who served as a surgeon in the Revolution, and he left three sons, all of whom studied medicine: William (3rd), Bolling and Robert Bolling.¹⁶⁴ Bolling Stark, son of Dr. William Stark, Sr., was born in 1733. He became a partner in the apothecary business with Alexander Glas Strachan & Co. in Petersburg, the partnership being dissolved in 1775. It seems probable that he was the same Bolling Stark who represented Dinwiddie County in the House of Burgesses in 1769-71, in the Convention of 1776 and in the House of Delegates in 1776-1777, and who represented Prince George County in the House in 1780-81.¹⁶⁵ Notice of his death appeared in the *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, January 30, 1788. His nephew, the younger Bolling, son of Dr. William Stark, Jr., graduated in medicine at Edinburgh in 1799 and died unmarried, July 10, 1810.¹⁶⁶ William Stark (3rd) also died unmarried. The third son of William Jr., Robert Bolling Stark, was born in 1781, married in 1812 and died March 2, 1839. His son, Powhatan Bolling Stark, carried the study of medicine into the fourth generation of the family.

The medical career of the Feilds is quite as remarkable. James Feild is the first physician in the family of whom we know anything. The vestry book of Bristol Parish shows him practising there from 1764 until his death in 1788, and in 1767 he was sufficiently well known to be appointed by the House of Burgesses on a committee to examine the efficacy of a reputed cancer cure. He is said to have studied at Edinburgh, and it was probably while there that he met and married Margaret, daughter of John Schaw, an Edinburgh merchant. Early in 1771 he was advertising in the *Virginia Gazette* that his medicines and shop utensils in Petersburg were to be sold "preparatory to a trip to Great Britain." It was probably his father-in-law's death which caused the

¹⁶³William and Mary Quarterly, v. 4, pp. 270, 371.

¹⁶⁴Virginia Gazette, March 28, 1771.

¹⁶⁵William and Mary Quarterly, v. 4, p. 271.

¹⁶⁶Stanard: The Colonial Virginia Register. Swem: Register of the General Assembly of Virginia.

¹⁶⁷William and Mary Quarterly, v. 4, p. 270.

trip, for in November of that year he and his wife were in Edinburgh and signed marriage articles settling certain rights to property which she had just inherited from her father.¹⁶⁷ They returned to Petersburg, and in 1780 he was one of five leading physicians of the town who published a joint statement of their terms for medical treatment.¹⁶⁸ Dr. Feild's will was signed November 21, 1788 and was witnessed by Dr. Alexander Glas Strachan, who had married Dr. Feild's daughter, Sarah, and by Dr. James S. Gilliam. His estate was a large one, including thirty negroes, six horses, "volums of books," and a great deal of furniture and silver.¹⁶⁹

Alexander Schaw Feild, who received his M. D. at Edinburgh in 1789, was almost certainly a son of Dr. James Feild. The more celebrated Dr. Richard Feild, son of Theophilus Feild, was born in 1767, graduated in medicine at Edinburgh in 1790 and practised in Petersburg from that time until his death May 23, 1829. His talents won him an honorary membership in the Philadelphia Medical Society in 1817, and the editor of the *Philadelphia Journal of the Medical and Physical Sciences* quoted him as "one of the most learned, experienced and authoritative physicians."¹⁷⁰ His interests extended to botany and agriculture, which he practised on his estate in Brunswick County, and to politics and journalism as well. He was president of the Agricultural Society of Petersburg and published several agricultural articles.¹⁷¹ As a member of the electoral college he helped to elect Jefferson and Madison to the presidency, and he was senior editor of the *Richmond Whig* at the time of his death.¹⁷² Dr. Feild married first, Nancy, daughter of Andrew Meade of Brunswick County, and second, Sarah Edmunds. His son, Richard, likewise studied medicine.¹⁷³

Another member of this family, possibly a second son of Dr. Richard Feild, was Dr. John Feild, who practised in Brunswick County, married Mary Bolling and had a son, Hume Feild, who was born in 1829 and practised medicine with his father.

Alexander Glas Strachan, whose second wife was Dr. James Feild's daughter, Sarah, was born July 29, 1749 on the Strachan estates at Luscar, near Edinburgh and was educated at the University there, coming to America soon afterward.¹⁷⁴ As early as 1772 he had settled near Petersburg and was ad-

¹⁶⁷ Prince George County Records, v. 1787-92, pp. 237-241.

¹⁶⁸ Virginia Gazette, March 18, 1780.

¹⁶⁹ Prince George County Records, v. 1787-92, p. 463.

¹⁷⁰ American Medical Recorder, v. 1, p. 307. *Philadelphia Journal of the Medical and Physical Sciences*, v. 6, p. 209.

¹⁷¹ N. F. Cabell Manuscript Collection on the History of Agriculture in Virginia.

¹⁷² *Richmond Whig*, May 1829.

¹⁷³ *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, v. 36, pp. 251, 252.

¹⁷⁴ Crozier: *Virginia Heraldica*, p. 112.

vertising for a "young man capable of conducting an Apothecary's shop." Apparently he found the young man in the person of James McCarty, for in 1773 the firm of "Alex. G. Strachan & Co.," with Bolling Stark as one of the partners and James McCarty as apothecary and surgeon, was engaging in practice and selling drugs in Petersburg.¹⁷⁵ He was a vestryman of Bristol Parish in 1785 and was highly thought of in his profession. Of his eight children—four sons and four daughters—at least one studied medicine. John Blackwood Strachan graduated at Edinburgh in 1809 and married Rebecca Bolling, whose aunt, Anne Bolling, was the wife of Dr. John Shore. In this way Dr. Strachan, who was already related to the Feilds, was connected by marriage with the Shores and Starks.

James Skelton Gilliam, who in 1787 married Mary, daughter of Theophilus Feild, was born in 1763 at Montallo, Prince George County, the son of Robert Gilliam and Lucy Skelton. He studied at William and Mary and received his M. D. in 1786 at Edinburgh. Returning to Petersburg to practise, he acquired an enviable reputation throughout the south. He died March 28, 1814, leaving five sons and four daughters. At least three of the sons became physicians—John, James Skelton and Theophilus Feild.¹⁷⁶

Isaac Hall, son of Edward Hall, and a descendant, through his mother, of Archibald Stuart, was another Petersburg doctor who received his medical training at Edinburgh. Graduating in 1771, he returned to America and in 1779 formed a partnership with Dr. John Shore. The will of Theodorick Bland in 1790 made him a trustee of a piece of land upon which Colonel Bland hoped to have a school established. In 1791 he served as sheriff of Prince George County.¹⁷⁷

Toward the end of the century Petersburg was again represented at Edinburgh. Dr. Robert Walker, a nephew of the elder Dr. John Ravenscroft, received his M. D. in 1787 and after study in London and Paris returned to his native town to practise. He died January 31, 1830. His fee book, running from 1794 to 1829, is in the possession of the Virginia Historical Society. His brother, David Walker, also went to Edinburgh, graduated in 1796, married Dorothea Grammar, and practised in Petersburg until his death in 1820.¹⁷⁸

MANAKIN TOWN

In 1700 Virginia became an asylum for five hundred Huguenot refugees. The influence of these French settlers is still to be traced in such names as

¹⁷⁵Virginia Gazette, July 1, 1773.

¹⁷⁶Slaughter: History of Bristol Parish, p. 175. Tyler's Quarterly, v. 2, p. 294.

¹⁷⁷Prince George County Records, v. 1787-92, p. 566.

¹⁷⁸Slaughter: History of Bristol Parish.



ROBERT WALKER

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Fontaine, Michaux, Dupuy, Munford, Maupin, Maury and Boisseau. Daniel Coxe, physician to Queen Anne and a holder of large grants of Virginia territory, was influential in directing the Huguenot migration to Virginia. Led by the Marquis de la Muce, Richburg, De Joux and Louis Latane, these settlers were located at an old Indian encampment just above Richmond, known as Manakin Town. A parish was laid off, land was given them to cultivate and they were exempted from taxation.

Among these settlers were two physicians. In a petition to Governor Nicholson shortly after 1700 the citizens of Manakin Town asked "That Monsieur La-Sosee, physician to ye said Colony, be ordered to returne again thither and carry back with him all ye medicines and instruments that ye Colony had entrusted him with."¹⁷⁹ The more important man was Stephen Chastain. He and his wife are listed among those who came in the first immigration. In 1725 "died Martha. . . wife of Monsieur Estienne Chastain, aged about fifty two or three years." Their granddaughter Marie Magdalaine married James Powell Cocke. Dr. Chastain between 1714 and 1730 became a large patentee of lands in Henrico and Goochland Counties. His will was proved August 21, 1739. Michel, in his travels through Virginia in 1701-2, observed of Manakin Town that "the captain or head of the place is a surgeon by profession, named Chaltin [Chastain] who had long resided at Ifferton [Yverdon] Switzerland."

FREDERICKSBURG

Fredericksburg was an important Eighteenth Century town. Sprawling in the foothills at the falls of the Rappahannock, halfway between Richmond and Alexandria, it seemed well located. A fort, garrisoned by a force of two hundred and fifty men, was erected there as early as 1679. In 1681 two hundred and fifty families joined the occupants of the fort. In 1710 twelve German families were settled at Germanna, eighteen miles away, by Governor Spotswood to work his iron mines. When the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe passed through Fredericksburg in 1715 it was just a little village with irregular, straggling streets and indifferent houses, populated chiefly by traders and trappers. Speaking of Fredericksburg in 1723 after a visit on his return trip from seeing Governor Spotswood at Germanna, Colonel Byrd says: "Besides Col Willis, who is the top man of the place, there are only one merchant, one tailor, a smith, and an ordinary keeper; though I must not forget Mrs. Levi-stone, who acts here in the double capacity of a doctress and coffee woman,

¹⁷⁹ Virginia Historical Collections, v. 5, p. 59.

and were this a populous city, she is qualified to exercise two other callings. . . ."¹⁸⁰ By 1727 it was chartered a town and authorized to have two fairs a year. Ocean-going ships soon began to tie up at the Fredericksburg wharfs, a ferry to Falmouth across the Rappahannock in Stafford County bound the two towns together in 1748 and trade poured in from the west. Troops rendezvoused here, business increased, taverns set up, substantial citizens moved in and before the Revolution the town was booming.

Just outside the town was Ferry Farm, where Washington spent most of his boyhood, going to school to Mr. Marye at St. George's Church in Fredericksburg. The little town during this century had a number of distinguished citizens. It claimed John Paul Jones¹⁸¹ and Sir Lewis Littlepage, who won honors and decorations abroad as have few other Americans. It was the home of Mary, the mother of Washington, of Colonel Fielding Lewis, of James Monroe and of the propagandist keeper of the Rising Sun Tavern, General George Weedon. Hardly less famous were its doctors. General Hugh Mercer, the hero of Princeton, was one of its first citizens before he dropped his practice at the call to arms. As a young man Dr. Thomas Walker, the explorer, practised there.¹⁸²

Robert Wellford was an English doctor of good training, kind feelings and strong convictions. Opportunity knocked first at his door when as a young physician he successfully treated Viscount Strangford, who fractured his thigh in a fall from his horse near Ware, the home of Dr. Wellford in Hertfordshire, England. The Viscount's friendship, thus won, enabled Wellford to realize his ambition to join the British forces, then sailing for America. In 1776, aged twenty-three, he embarked with the army of Sir William Howe as surgeon in the First Regiment of Royal Grenadiers.

The British, in possession of Philadelphia, placed the Tory surgeon, Dr. Gordon, in charge of the health of the American prisoners. He was soon thoroughly despised for his neglect and mistreatment of his charges. Washington's complaints and threats of reprisal to Howe caused a shake-up in the British medical service in Philadelphia. Surgeon Wellford, young as he was, succeeded to Gordon's post and at once won his way into the hearts of the Americans by his skill and fairness, although at the same time he antagonized the Tory group within his own forces. As a result he resigned from the army in 1778 and attempted to do private practice in Philadelphia. Meanwhile, however, he had formed a friendship with Colonel John Spotswood, whose life he

¹⁸⁰ Byrd's Progress to the Mines. Slaughter: History of St. George's Parish in the County of Spotsylvania, p. 17.

¹⁸¹ Quinn: History of Fredericksburg, p. 265.

¹⁸² Squires: Days of Yesteryear, p. 275.



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1. First Marine Hospital. 2. Hugh Mercer's Apothecary Shop. 3. Bond's Drug Store.
4. Charles Mortimer's house, Fredericksburg. 5. The home of James
McClurg and James McCaw, Richmond.

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had saved as a prisoner, and the upshot of this friendship was Wellford's determination to establish himself in Fredericksburg, Virginia, Spotswood's home. This he did in 1781, armed with letters of introduction to Charles Washington, Fielding Lewis and William Fitzhugh from no less a person than George Washington himself. To this kindness he referred in after years in a letter to the President: "Robert Wellford can never forget a most respectful regard for the President, nor can he relinquish but with memory itself his gratitude for the introductory letters (to the notice and friendship of Col. Fielding Lewis, Mr. Fitzhugh of Chatham, and other respectable characters) which settled him in life, and from which has resulted a practice in surgery and medicine which now enables him to support an amiable wife, two lovely daughters, and the means of educating six sons. . . ." ¹⁸³ Washington's regard for Wellford was voiced in a letter in 1778 which spoke of his "great humanity, care and tenderness to the sick and wounded of our army in captivity." ¹⁸⁴ Dr. Wellford's "amiable wife" was Catherine Yates Thornton, daughter of Bartholomew Yates of Gloucester and widow of John Thornton of Stafford.

When the Whiskey Rebellion led Washington to dispatch an army into Pennsylvania in 1794, Dr. Wellford joined the Virginia troops as surgeon of cavalry. President Washington himself met the troops and accompanied them part of the way on their march. By his order, on October 22, 1794, the medical care of all the forces was given to Wellford, who in his diary for that date states quite simply, "I was appointed surgeon general to the army." The same diary, kept all during this period, recounts the fevers — intermittent, remittent and bilious — the diarrheas and other troubles that beset the troops in the field.

When Washington died Dr. Wellford rashly wrote and allowed to be published his views of the medical treatment the distinguished man had received in his brief illness. He expressed the conviction that grave errors had been committed, that the patient had been bled unmercifully and that Dr. Rush's theories were the cause of the mischief.

From the time he moved to Fredericksburg his fortune, his practice and his family grew. Dr. Beverley R. Wellford, his son, after studying medicine under him, helped him in his extensive practice through the counties of Stafford, King George, Spotsylvania and Caroline, where his unusual ability was appreciated and his services were widely in demand. In his latter years he renounced the Episcopal Church in favor of the Presbyterian when the evangelical preaching of the popular young Samuel B. Wilson disturbed many old religious alliances. ¹⁸⁵

¹⁸³ Conway: *George Washington and Mount Vernon*, p. lxxxvi.

¹⁸⁴ Conway: *George Washington and Mount Vernon*, p. lxxxvi.

¹⁸⁵ Gewehr: *The Great Awakening in Virginia, 1740-1790*.

Curiously enough the lives of several Virginia physicians are entwined with that of John Paul Jones. John K. Read befriended him, James Craik was the son of Jones's father's employer, and Laurence Brooke served under him as surgeon on the *Ranger* and the *Bon Homme Richard*.

Laurence Brooke and his brother, Robert, who was later Governor of Virginia, were sons of Richard Brooke and Ann Hay Taliaferro. Laurence was born about 1758 at Smithfield on the Rappahannock, four miles below Fredericksburg. With his brother, Robert, he was sent to Edinburgh to study, he taking medicine while his brother studied law. About 1778 he was studying in Paris. He looked up Dr. Franklin and secured the appointment as surgeon to the *Ranger* and the *Bon Homme Richard*.

For more than a year Brooke shared the fortunes of the famous Commodore and was by his side in his many brilliant sea fights. When the *Bon Homme Richard* was going into action against the *Serapis*, Dr. Brooke "prepared the cockpit for the wounded but came out on the quarter deck and remained there so long smoking quietly that Jones had to order him below." In the thick of the battle Brooke was hard at work — how hard may be judged from the sixty-seven dead and 106 wounded out of the 340 effectives. Below deck he worked with saw and knife on the limbs of the quivering men. Matthew Pease, the middle aged merchant from Philadelphia who commanded the quarter deck guns, fell with a hole in his head. He was immediately carried below to Dr. Brooke, who trephined his skull and returned him to his guns. The next day, after the *Serapis* had struck her colors, Brooke and Dr. Bannatyne of the English ship labored day and night over the 250 wounded who were now crowded on to the *Serapis* as she slowly made her way to the Dutch coast.

The youthful Dr. Brooke made an impression on John Adams when the latter had tea on the *Bon Homme Richard* with her dilettante Commodore and crew, for he wrote in his diary: "he [Dr. Brooke] seems to be well acquainted with philosophical experiments. He had much to say about phlogiston, fixed air, gas &c. Finding he had ideas of these things I led him to talk of the ascent of vapors in the atmosphere and I found he had considered this subject This Dr. Brooke is a gentleman of family whose father has a great fortune and good character in Virginia."¹⁸⁶

After one year's service under Jones, Brooke went back to Paris for three more years of medical work. By 1783 he had returned to Fredericksburg, where he practised for twenty years, dying there about 1803.

Dr. Charles Mortimer was not only the first mayor of Fredericksburg and a

¹⁸⁶Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 19, p. 322.

man of wealth but a physician whose services were valued by Mary Washington whose deathbed he attended. He was long a familiar figure in Fredericksburg, seated on his comfortable veranda on lower Main Street behind an ivy-covered wall. At the foot of his terraces his own tobacco ships, just returned with English cargoes, swung at anchor. In the old house many famous banquets were given, none more famous than the historic dinner of 1784 with Miss Maria Mortimer, aged sixteen, as hostess, and Washington, La Fayette, Count d'Estang and Rochambeau among the guests. Dr. Mortimer was a vestryman of St. George's Church. He was a kind man, whose errands of mercy carried him far into the back country for small fees or no fee at all. He could be adamant when occasion demanded, resolutely resisting the prying curiosity of the more elite among his patients. In his diary in 1771 Colonel Landon Carter mentions calling on Dr. Mortimer and quarrelling with him for not disclosing the contents of his prescriptions. The quarrel was not serious, however, for the Colonel was soon sending for him again.¹⁸⁷

An earlier physician of Fredericksburg was William Lynn, son of the Laird of Loch Lynn, Scotland. He emigrated to Virginia and the earliest reference to him is in 1743 when he purchased lot No. 22 in Fredericksburg.¹⁸⁸ In 1746 he was advertising drugs for sale there. On January 26, 1753 he was commissioned "Captain of the Independent Company of Foot composed of the Gentlemen Inhabitants of Fredericksburg."¹⁸⁹ Two years later "William Lynn Gent" received the commission of major. He died in 1758, bequeathing "his plantation and several additional tracts in Culpeper County; house and lot on the Hill in Fredericksburg, and tenements and garden in ditto; land in Orange County; and two tracts in Prince William County"¹⁹⁰ — not an inconsiderable accumulation for a physician in those early days. His will, of which Colonel Fielding Lewis was executor, mentions his nephews, Thomas, Andrew, William and Charles Lewis. They were the sons of Margaret Lynn and John Lewis, and all four had distinguished military careers.

Elisha Hall was born in 1754, married Caroline Carter, daughter of Charles Carter of Cleve, and practised medicine in Fredericksburg, where he was listed among those capable of military duty in 1785. He was one of Mary Washington's physicians in her later years. A short time before her death he wrote Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia in regard to what appeared to be a cancer of the breast. Dr. Rush's reply was dated July 6, 1789: "The respectable age and character of your venerable patient lead me to regret that it is not in my

¹⁸⁷ William and Mary Quarterly, v. 13, p. 159.

¹⁸⁸ Crozier: Virginia County Records, v. 1, pp. 163, 171.

¹⁸⁹ Crozier: Virginia County Records, v. 1, p. 516.

¹⁹⁰ Crozier: Virginia County Records, v. 1, p. 16.

power to suggest a remedy for the cure of the disorder you have described in her breast. I know nothing of the root you mention, found in Carolina and Georgia, but, from a variety of inquiries and experiments, I am disposed to believe that there does not exist in the vegetable kingdom an antidote to cancers. All the *supposed* vegetable remedies I have heard of are compounds of some mineral caustics. The arsenic is the most powerful of any of them. It is the basis of Dr. Martin's powder. I have used it in many cases with success but have failed in some. From your account of Mrs. Washington's breast I am afraid no great good can be expected from the use of it. Perhaps it may cleanse it, and thereby retard its spreading. You may try it diluted in water. Continue the application of opium and camphor, and wash it frequently with a decoction of red clover. Give anodynes, when necessary, and support the system with bark and wine. Under this treatment she may live comfortably many years and finally die of old age."¹⁹¹

Dr. Hall's brother, Dr. John Hall, was a man of considerable property, said to have been a surgeon on the staff of Washington. He died in Philadelphia in 1801. Other physicians of Fredericksburg during this period were Ewen Clements, a partner of Hugh Mercer; Thomas Powell, who moved up from Yorktown in 1776 and occupied Dr. Mercer's old shop; Dr. Hand, 1785; Dr. Gills; and Dr. James Carmichael, who was the first of a long line of Carmichael physicians and a vestryman of St. George's Church. He is found treating yellow fever in 1800.

Henry Heath, who married the sister of Dr. William Marye, petitioned the House of Burgesses in 1758 for payment for his services for "drafted Soldiers at Winchester in their Sickness by Order the Commanding Officer 50 Days, for which and his Medicines and his Advice he charged 25 pounds."¹⁹² In 1768 he advertised his intention of publishing a book "to give a description of the following acute diseases," apoplexy, quinsy, nervous and eruptive fevers, and smallpox, as well as "what steps in medicine to give till such time some gentleman of the profession may be consulted."¹⁹³ His will was filed in 1771. He left a large library.

Dr. John Sutherland petitioned the House of Burgesses in 1759 for a reasonable allowance for attending "One Isaac Norman a Soldier who had been accidentally shot by an Officer of the Regiment."¹⁹⁴ He left a considerable number of books when his will was filed in 1763.

John Julian, son of Charles Julian, was a partner of Hugh Mercer's from

¹⁹¹ Quinn: History of Fredericksburg, Virginia, p. 152.

¹⁹² Journal of the House of Burgesses, v. 1758, p. 32.

¹⁹³ Rind's Virginia Gazette, April 21, 1768.

¹⁹⁴ Journal of the House of Burgesses, v. 1758, p. 103.

1772 to 1776 and served as surgeon in the Virginia Continental line throughout the war. He was requested by General Weedon in 1781 to serve as director of the public hospital in Fredericksburg and to "procure a convenient house in the vicinity of the town, to remove the sick and to prevent any pestilential disorders." He died in 1787.

Dr. George French was a surgeon in the Revolution. In 1780 he was one of the four Fredericksburg doctors who published their terms of payment, and in 1783 the tax lists for the county show that he owned five slaves.¹⁹⁶ In 1803 he was treating yellow fever patients in the epidemic of that year, and in 1818 an article by him on *Three Cases of Cystirrhoea* appeared in the first volume of the *American Medical Recorder*. Dr. French was at one time mayor of Fredericksburg and acted as president at a public dinner there in honor of General William Eaton, head of the American expeditionary force to Tripoli. Dr. Halkerston at one time lived in Fredericksburg and later moved to Maryland. He gave lodging to Washington when his chair broke down in Port Tobacco April 16, 1760.¹⁹⁶

Dr. David Corbin Ker graduated in medicine from Edinburgh in 1792 with a thesis *de Hypochondriasi*. With George Washington, James Mercer and other public spirited gentlemen he contributed money to the premiums which were offered in Virginia after 1759 to encourage the wine and silk industries. When smallpox threatened Fredericksburg in 1790, with Dr. Brooke he agreed to attend the sick at the smallpox hospital at Sligo without charge whether the victims were sailors or citizens. He was politically prominent throughout his life, acting as mayor of Fredericksburg from 1800 to 1801.¹⁹⁷

ALEXANDRIA

Established in 1749, incorporated in 1779, Alexandria was a town of 4,971 inhabitants by 1800. Beginning with nine streets and two public buildings it boasted before the end of the century a town hall, court house, Presbyterian Meeting House, Christ Church and such famous taverns as Gadsby's, Lamb's, Catt's, the Indian Queen, the Red Lion and the Royal George, where the mail stage coming down the King's Highway from Philadelphia stopped to change horses. It early outlawed the hazardous log chimney and was distinguished as a town built chiefly of brick. It was in 1796 "beyond all comparison the handsomest town in Virginia and is indeed among the first in the United States," according to the critical Rochefoucauld. Parson Weems called it "a thriving

¹⁹⁶ Virginia Gazette, Feb. 19, 1780. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 4, p. 293.

¹⁹⁷ Fitzpatrick: George Washington Diaries, v. 1, p. 156.

¹⁹⁸ Quinn: History of Fredericksburg, pp. 46, 66, 231.

town on the waters of the Potomac." In fact, to the observer of that day, it was "commodious for trade and navigation and greatly tends to the ease and advantage of the frontier inhabitants." Here Braddock summoned the Governors of five colonies to meet him before his disastrous campaign against the French. Accessible to the prosperous Northern Neck with its great estates, Mount Vernon, Belvoir, Wakefield, Stratford and Arlington, the town naturally attracted the best medical talent. Here lived most of the physicians with whom Washington was on intimate terms and who served that gentleman's large family in many emergencies — William Brown and, within easy reach of his compatriot in arms at Mount Vernon, the old Revolutionary hero, James Craik; on the north side of Prince Street, Dr. Elisha Cullen Dick and, nearby, Dr. David Stuart, Dr. William Rumney, and Dr. James Laurie.

William Rumney was the first physician appointed by the vestry of Christ Church to care for the poor. That was in 1765. Other physicians who served under the vestry were Dr. Alexander (probably one of the family of Alexanders after whom the town was named), Dr. Smith, Dr. Stephen, Dr. Townsend and in 1778 Dr. Robert Lindsay. The latter's contract with the vestry to cure William Graham at 100 per cent. on his medicines had not been closed by 1784, when the doctor was still drawing pay for the case.

The list of Alexandria doctors includes also William Ramsay, who lived there in 1766 and served as surgeon's mate in the Revolution; John Hanna, who combined medicine with the ministry; William Wedderburn; William Washington; Thomas Semmes; B. H. Hall; Stephen Cook, 1750; and Elisha de Butts.

The rise of Alexandria was synchronous with the decline of Dumfries, some twenty miles to the south. In its heyday Dumfries had been a place of some importance. Dr. James Craik lived there at one time. Dr. George Graham, a native of England, educated at the University of Edinburgh, settled there in the early part of the century and was "a man of high reputation and large practice."¹⁹⁸ The Reverend Mason L. Weems, who had in early life studied medicine at Edinburgh but later laid aside the lancet to put on the cloth, also made his home at Dumfries.

Among other Virginia towns, smaller and of less importance, was Warrenton, the home of Gustavus Brown Horner, who was born in Charles County, Maryland, and studied medicine under Dr. William Brown of Alexandria. Entering the Continental army as a private at fifteen years of age he rose to the rank of surgeon's mate. La Fayette, on his visit to the United States in

¹⁹⁸ Thacher: *American Medical Biography*, v. 1, p. 73.

1825, enquired for him — "the young man who had sat by him, while wounded, through the night after the battle of the Brandywine." An extensive practice in medicine and a wide reputation as a surgeon made Dr. Horner's life in Fauquier a busy one. He served in the state legislature and for many years was a presidential elector. He died on January 24, 1815 and was buried at Clermont, the home of Captain James Scott, father of his wife, Frances Harrison Scott.¹⁹⁹

Hampton was the home of John Brodie, Revolutionary surgeon, and of Walter McClurg, father of the celebrated James. At Portsmouth lived Dr. James Blamire, who died in 1806, and Dr. Joseph Harding, who was born and educated in England. He came to Virginia in 1760, married Mary Happer of Norfolk County and settled in Portsmouth in 1770, becoming the leading physician in that section. He died there in 1819, aged eighty-four.²⁰⁰

VALLEY TOWNS

In the slow development of urban life in Virginia that part of the state west of the Blue Ridge was naturally the last to be affected, but by the end of the century the Valley could boast of several flourishing towns. It is recorded that in 1752 "James Wood, Gentleman, had laid off 26 lots of ½ acres each at the Court House in Frederick County with streets and sold the same." This was the beginning of Winchester. As early as 1756 the town had a tavern, at which Washington was a guest, and later Edward McGuire's inn became famous and was the scene of the "Winchester Dancing Assemblies."²⁰¹ In 1779 Anburey reported that "Winchester is an irregular built town, containing between three and four hundred houses . . ." In 1787 the town launched its first newspaper.²⁰² Castiglioni in 1786 said that "for commerce" it "is one of the most important towns of Virginia." The chief traffic was in wheat, flour and hemp, sold at Baltimore and Philadelphia.²⁰³ In 1796 Isaac Weld declared it "is the largest town in the United States on the western side of the Blue Mountains. The houses are estimated at 350."²⁰⁴ Rochefoucauld in the same year observed: "Upwards of thirty well-stocked stores, or shops, have been opened at Winchester. The town contains ten or twelve inns, large and small, which are often full. In the course of last year upwards

¹⁹⁹ Hayden: *Virginia Genealogies*, pp. 186, 187.

²⁰⁰ William and Mary Quarterly, v. 8, p. 174.

²⁰¹ Norris: *History of the Lower Shenandoah Valley*, p. 151.

²⁰² Norris: *History of the Lower Shenandoah Valley*, p. 156.

²⁰³ Morrison: *Travels in Virginia in Revolutionary Times*, p. 69. (Quoting Castiglioni's *Travels in the United States of North America*.)

²⁰⁴ Weld: *Travels through the States of North America, etc.*, in Morrison: *Travels in Virginia in Revolutionary Times*, p. 109.

of 4,000 persons passed through the place, going to settle in Tennessee or Kentucky."³⁰⁵ Captain Bayard was enchanted with the valley, particularly with Winchester, its fine old tavern and its church-going people. He found here a famous carriage works and other manufactures that led him to hazard the prophesy that some day the town would become a large manufacturing community.³⁰⁶

Our knowledge of the physicians who practised in this prosperous town is limited to less than ten names. One of the earliest is Dr. Daniel Hart, who died there before 1750. His ledger shows a charge against Frederick Parish for four pounds for "salivating John Higgins" in 1747. Colonel James Wood, founder of the town, was Dr. Hart's executor. Another early practitioner was Will Elimus Ghink, who is called "doctor" in a list of soldiers recruited from Winchester in 1758.³⁰⁷ By 1771 the town had two physicians — John McDonald and Humphrey Wells, who were permitted to practise inoculation in the smallpox epidemic of that year.³⁰⁸

After the Revolution several physicians who had served as surgeons during the war made their homes in Winchester. Of these the best known was Dr. Cornelius Baldwin, who enlisted in the army in 1777 at an early age, served as surgeon to the Fourth, Eighth, and Twelfth Virginia Continental Regiments, was taken prisoner at Charleston and received 6,000 acres of land bounty from the state. He was a charter member of the Cincinnati. At Winchester he acquired a large practice, one of his patients being Lord Fairfax, who is said by one authority to have died at Dr. Baldwin's house.³⁰⁹ He was active in the social life of the town, appearing in 1787 as a sponsor of the "Dancing Assemblies." Dr. Baldwin died in 1827. In 1784 he had married Mary Briscoe, and two of their sons married two of the daughters of Dr. Robert Mackey, another Winchester physician.³¹⁰

Dr. Mackey served in the Revolution as surgeon to the Eleventh Virginia Continental Regiment and, like Dr. Baldwin, settled at the close of the war in Winchester, where in 1782 he was listed as a lot owner. In 1786 he became a trustee of Winchester Academy and by 1788 his property in the town included six horses and five slaves. He died in 1815.³¹¹

A less creditable practitioner was Dr. James Medlicott, a native of Dublin,

³⁰⁵ Rochefoucauld: *Travels through the United States of North America, etc.*, in Morrison: *Travels in Virginia in Revolutionary Times*, p. 122.

³⁰⁶ Bayard: *A Journey into the Interior of the United States, etc.*, in Morrison, pp. 85-89.

³⁰⁷ Hening: *Statutes at Large*, v. 7, p. 215.

³⁰⁸ Norris: *History of the Lower Shenandoah Valley*, p. 123.

³⁰⁹ *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, v. 34, p. 360.

³¹⁰ Norris: *History of the Lower Shenandoah Valley*, p. 154.

³¹¹ Morton: *Story of Winchester*, pp. 232, 266, 272. Greene: *Winchester, Virginia*, p. 38.

who appears in the list of Winchester property owners in 1788. In 1790, while drunk, he killed William Hefferman and was sentenced to be hung for murder. Leading citizens of Winchester and the surrounding counties petitioned the Governor for his pardon, claiming that he had been abused and attacked by his victim. But the pardon was denied and he was duly executed November 26, 1790. This was the first execution in Winchester.²¹²

Dr. Joseph Savage lived in Frederick County and practised in Winchester. He acted as surgeon's mate in the war and later as surgeon to the Second Virginia Regiment, was taken prisoner at Charleston and received land bounty for his service. He died in 1815, leaving two sons and five daughters.²¹³

Dr. Philip Klipstine also practised in Winchester after the Revolution. He appears in the tax list for 1788 as the owner of one horse,²¹⁴ as does Godfrey Miller,²¹⁵ apothecary, who was probably the only person in the town following that calling during this period.

Dr. Robert Dunbar, whose article on *The Malignant Fever, with Black-Vomiting, which prevailed at Winchester in 1804*, appeared in the *Medical Repository* in 1805, belongs to the next century, as does William Henry Deadrick (1773-1858) of Winchester, who is credited by Garrison with "the successful excision of part of the lower jaw" in 1810.²¹⁶

Staunton was laid off by William Beverley in 1750, had twenty houses by 1753 and became a town in 1761. The first settlers were principally Irish. In 1796 it contained "200 dwellings, mostly built of stone, together with a church."²¹⁷ For forty years it was the seat of Rockbridge County, the gathering place for pioneer settlers in the surrounding territory and the chief gateway to Kentucky. Its trade was chiefly with the back country. Rochefoucauld after a visit there declared: "This country is not free from bilious fevers in the autumn, yet they are less frequent than in the low country. Four physicians are established in this small town whose practice is very extensive." He found there also a newspaper and 800 inhabitants, one fourth of whom were negroes.²¹⁸

Perhaps the leading practitioner of the town was Dr. Alexander Humphreys, who married Mary, daughter of the Reverend John Brown of Rockbridge County and who was appointed by the county court in 1787 and 1788 to examine applicants for Revolutionary pensions. His reports on these pensioners

²¹² Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 5, p. 209.

²¹³ Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 3, p. 385. Burgess: *Soldiers of 1776*, p. 1358.

²¹⁴ Morton: *Story of Winchester*, p. 266.

²¹⁵ Miller's apothecary shop is still in operation and is the oldest in Winchester.

²¹⁶ Garrison: *History of Medicine*, p. 538.

²¹⁷ Weld: *Travels through the States of North America*, in Morrison: *Travels in Virginia in Revolutionary Times*, p. 109.

²¹⁸ Rochefoucauld: *Travels through the United States of North America*, v. 3, p. 188.

are preserved in the Archives Department of the State Library. Dr. Humphrey's reputation as a surgeon and consultant extended beyond his own county and led a number of Virginia youths to study medicine under him. Among these was Dr. Andrew Kean, who himself won a distinguished reputation in the next century. Dr. Kean in a letter dated April 1, 1795, mentions a Dr. McIntosh as also of Staunton.

From the pension applications we learn the names of two other Staunton physicians of this period. Valentine Harman served as surgeon to the Augusta County militia during the Revolution and in 1785 was living at Staunton and examining pension applicants as part of his practice. Hugh Richey examined two applicants in 1786. He was apparently a Frenchman — possibly a surgeon who came over with the French army — for he signed himself "Chirurgien et M. D.," wrote the dates on the pension applications in French and several times lapsed into French phrases.

William Fleming, of military and political fame, practised for a short time in Staunton, but most of his practice belongs to the period of his residence in Botetourt County.

Lexington when it was established in 1777 was a miniature town, "thirteen hundred feet in length and nine hundred feet in width."²¹⁹ Isaac Weld visited it in 1796 and noted that it was "a neat little place that did contain about 100 houses, a courthouse and goal, but the greater part was destroyed by fire just before I got there."²²⁰ Liberty Hall Academy, which later became Washington College, was located about a mile from Lexington until 1802 when it was moved inside the town boundaries. The first resident physician is said to have been Dr. Samuel L. Campbell, "an eccentric gentleman of fine sense" who was born in 1766, studied medicine in Philadelphia, married the sister of the Reverend Archibald Alexander and began practice about 1790. He was active in the affairs of Washington College and wrote a *Memoir of the Battle of Point Pleasant*, which appeared as an appendix to the *History of Virginia* written by his nephew, Charles Campbell. He died in 1840.²²¹

Before Dr. Campbell the only medical advice obtainable in Lexington appears to have been supplied by one who signed himself "William Chenie, Surgeon & pharmacapillist." In spite of this high-sounding title, his handwriting and spelling indicate a man of little education. He was appointed by the Rockbridge County Court in 1787 to examine several applicants for pen-

²¹⁹Kercheval: *History of the Valley of Virginia*, p. 178.

²²⁰Weld: *Travels through the States of North America*, in Morrison: *Travels in Virginia in Revolutionary Times*, p. 109.

²²¹Morton: *History of Rockbridge County*.

sions and today in the Virginia State Library his illiterate diagnoses may be seen.

"Two physicians and four inn-keepers constitute the principal population of Keyser-Town," wrote Rochefoucauld of another Valley settlement. "One of the physicians is also master of an inn; the other, a German by birth, formerly employed in the Dutch service at Batavia and the Cape of Good Hope in the hospitals, enjoys, it is said, some reputation in the country. We were told that people frequently come forty miles to consult him. His name is Dr. Hall; we saw him; he seems to possess more knowledge than physicians generally do in this country; but this distinction is no peculiar ground of praise. This doctor, who arrived in America fourteen years ago, has successively resided in the state of New-York, Jersey, and different parts of Virginia."²²³

Francis Taylor's diary gives a clue to still another Valley doctor. On August 19, 1787 he wrote: "Sent some of my urine to C. Taylor to carry with him to the Dutch Doctor in Shenandoah." A week later, "C. Taylor got home last night from Dr. Neaves and brought some directions for my disorder, which the Doctor says is the gravel in the Kidneys, his charge was 2/6."

²²³Rochefoucauld: *Travels through the United States of North America*, v. 3, p. 186.

CHAPTER XVII

COUNTRY DOCTORS

I.

DURING the hundred years from 1700 to 1800 the population of Virginia increased almost twelvefold, from about 75,000 at the beginning of the century to 880,200 at the end of the century.¹ The most rapid gains were made after 1750. It is fair to say also that about one-half of the population was negro. In 1700 there were twenty-three counties in the colony. The falls of the rivers still constituted the limit of westward expansion, though already, of course, scattered settlements were advancing toward the mountains. Tidewater Virginia, fairly densely populated, was the scene of substantial homes, well worked plantations, fair roads and water communication. With the exception of Stafford County, which was in middle Virginia, all the twenty-three counties of which Virginia was then formed lay in this area. The Tidewater counties were: Charles City, Elizabeth City, James City, Henrico, Isle of Wight, Nansemond, Northampton, Warwick, York, Northumberland, Lancaster, Gloucester, Surry, Westmoreland, New Kent, Accomac, Middlesex, King and Queen, Norfolk, Princess Anne, Essex and Richmond.²

This period witnessed the immigration into Virginia of the Huguenots, amounting to one thousand souls. They came about 1700 and were settled at Manakin Town just above Richmond. In 1714 and 1720 German Lutherans were settled by Governor Spotswood at Germanna just west of Fredericksburg. In 1732 Germans coming down the valley from Pennsylvania settled in Winchester. In 1735 William Byrd's Helvetian settlement of Swiss immigrants was made in the neighborhood of the Dan River. About the same time Scotch Irish, settling in the lower Shenandoah Valley, became the nucleus of the sturdy population of Augusta, Rockbridge and neighboring counties.

By 1754 the population of the colony had swelled to 284,000. There were now forty-nine counties, two of which, Augusta and Frederick, were in the Valley, and one, Hampshire, beyond the Alleghanies. The Piedmont section

¹U. S. Census, 1910.

²Robinson: *Virginia Counties*.

was well occupied, and the Valley was beginning to be settled. The rising tide of population had swept into what is now known as Middle Virginia, embracing the counties of Fairfax, Prince William, Stafford, Spotsylvania, Caroline, Louisa, Fluvanna, Goochland, Hanover, Henrico, Powhatan, Buckingham, Cumberland, Chesterfield, Amelia, Nottoway, Dinwiddie, Campbell, Prince Edward, Charlotte, Lunenburg, Brunswick, Mecklenburg, Halifax and Pittsylvania. The Piedmont section was next settled, and before the end of the century the counties of Loudoun, Fauquier, Culpeper, Madison, Orange, Albemarle, Amherst, Bedford, Franklin and Henry were formed.

By 1775 the population had increased to 550,000. There were then fifty-seven counties and the Valley was pretty well occupied. This region before the end of the century was divided into the counties of Frederick, Rockingham, Rockbridge, Augusta, Botetourt and Wythe. Kentucky with its nine counties was ceded to the Union in 1790. By 1800 there were ninety-one counties embracing the territory now occupied by the states of Virginia and West Virginia.

During this hundred years of rapid expansion the colony of Virginia remained almost exclusively an agricultural community. The counties and county governments with their companion politico-religious organizations, the parishes,³ were the real political units. There were no cities and only a few small towns.⁴ The formation of counties lagged during the first two decades of the century, but after that hardly a year passed without the addition of a new one, and during the last two or three decades when Kentucky and West Virginia were being settled counties were formed at the rate of two a year. The life of colonial Virginia was the life of the country, and the country doctor enjoyed a respect and patronage not exceeded by his urban colleague.

II. ROADS AND CONVEYANCES

The modern doctor, sitting in his office consulting with patients who come to him for the slightest symptom indicative of disease, had no counterpart in the Eighteenth Century. At that time the sick waited until disease was well established before sending for the doctor, and consequently when the emergency arose the summons was hasty, requiring hard driving at inconvenient hours. It is impossible to think of the colonial doctor without associating him with travel, roads and methods of conveyance.

In Seventeenth Century Virginia roads were little better than bridle paths, in spite of county surveyors, laws, orders and indictments. "Until after the

³There were thirty-four parishes in 1702.

⁴Richmond was still a village, though chartered a "city" in 1784.

middle of the Eighteenth Century there were but few roads save bridle paths and such as there were became impassable in rainy weather . . . It was often necessary for the traveller to swim across a stream."⁵ Though Parliament passed the Post Office Act in 1718 it was 1738 before Postmaster General Spotswood was able to get the mails running over Virginia roads. Even then it took one week to go by stage from Williamsburg to Philadelphia, and postage was so prohibitive that one may be sure the postmen of that day did not carry heavy pouches.⁶ Thomas Anburey, writing of the road between Richmond and Charlottesville in 1779, complained that ". . . you can scarcely conceive the difficulty in finding the proper roads. . . .; when one is bad, they make another in a different direction; added to which, the planters, sans ceremonie, turn a road to suit their own convenience, and render it more commodious to their plantation: if perchance you meet an inhabitant and enquire your way, his directions are, if possible, more perplexing than the roads themselves; for he tells you to keep the right hand path, then you'll come to an old field, you are to cross that, and then you'll come to the fence of such a one's plantation, then keep that fence, and you'll come to a road that has three forkskeep the right hand fork for about half a mile, and then you'll come to a creek; after you cross that creek, you must turn to the left, and then you'll come to a tobacco house; after you have passed that, you'll come to another road that forks, keep the right hand fork, and then you'll come to Mr such a one's ordinary, and he will direct you. . . ."⁷

The Marquis de Chastellux traveling between Louisa and Charlottesville a year later saw few habitations and was "at times greatly perplexed to choose among the different roads, which crossed each other. "The difficulty of finding the road in many parts of America," he said, "is not to be conceived except by those strangers who have travelled in that country. The roads, which are through the woods, not being kept in repair, as soon as one is in bad order, another is made in the same manner, that is, merely by felling the trees, and the whole interior parts are so covered, that without a compass it is impossible to have the least idea of the course you are steering. . . ."⁸

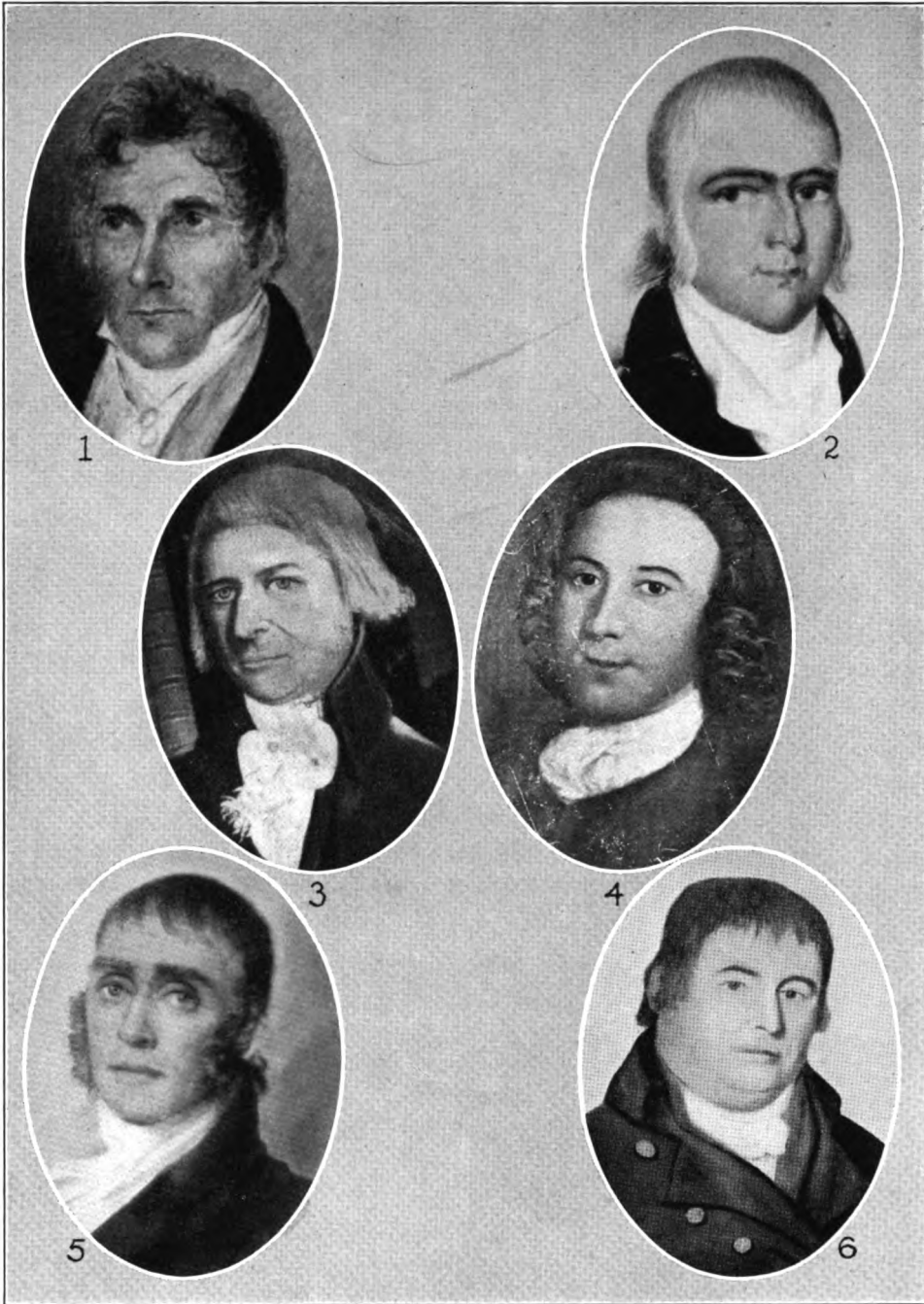
Although the highways were bad, considerable improvement must have been made over the preceding century, if we can judge from the striking increase in vehicular transportation. In the preceding century we know of no

⁵Fiske: *Old Virginia and her Neighbors*, v. 2, p. 215.

⁶It cost nine pence a mile to send a single sheet for the first eight miles and another four and one half pence if the distance was greater. "This in modern values meant an outlay of about six shillings for the length of the first eight miles." (Bruce: *Virginia Plutarch*, v. 1, p. 125.)

⁷Anburey: *Travels Through the Interior Parts of America*.

⁸Chastellux: *Travels through North America*, p. 225.



1. CARY HENRY HAMPTON. 2. ALEXANDER DICKIE GALT. 3. ROBERT WELLFORD.
4. MICHAEL WALLACE. 5. JESSEE BENNETT. 6. GUSTAVUS BROWN HORNER.



physician who so much as owned a vehicle. Lord Adam Gordon in 1764 commenting on the number of vehicles said, "you may include from this their roads are extremely good."⁹ Hugh Jones as early as 1722 wrote in his *Present State of Virginia*: "most people of any note in Williamsburg have a coach, chariot, Berlin or chaise." A traveler whose account was published in the *London Magazine* in 1746 said that in Yorktown, "Almost every considerable man keeps an equipage. . .," and in Williamsburg he was struck "by the prodigious Number of Coaches that crowd the deep sandy Streets of this little City." A Yorktown merchant wrote in 1753: "You will not believe it when I tell you that there are sundry chariots now in the country which cost 200 guineas and one that cost 260."¹⁰ In 1773 in Northumberland County alone sixty individuals paid the vehicle tax. In Elizabeth City County, 1775, there were fifty-nine "two wheel chairs" and six "chariots." In Charlotte County in 1776 there were thirteen "riding chairs." In Northampton County in 1776 there were ninety-two owners of "chears" paying a total vehicle tax of £118.¹¹ In Isle of Wight County in 1778 nineteen persons owned two wheel carriages.¹² Among the effects of Dr. David Black were a double chair and harness worth £20 and a cart and harness valued at £6.¹³

This evidence of the growing opulence of the colony and of at least some passable roads of course applied chiefly to the thickly populated seacoast counties and to the capital at Williamsburg. Throughout most of the counties bridgeless streams had to be crossed and a bridle path led to the doors of most of Virginia's citizens. Over such highways the colonial doctor made his way in neither Berlin, chaise nor chariot, but on horseback. With him he carried a full equipment in instruments and drugs tucked away in the commodious saddle bags which distinguished the physician of pioneer America as much as did the gold headed cane his brother on the fashionable streets of London.

III. PARISH MEDICINE

Something of the power and the functions of the vestry has been previously pointed out — how the colony was divided into parishes to which were delegated responsibilities, social and political, often paralleling those of the counties themselves, and how in the absence of any other system the care of the poor of each parish devolved upon the vestry, who employed paid physicians

⁹Stanard: *Colonial Virginia Its People and Customs*, p. 131.

¹⁰Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 24, pp. 108-111.

¹¹Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 26, p. 152.

¹²William and Mary Quarterly, v. 25, 1916-1917, p. 169.

¹³Prince George County Records, v. 1787-92, p. 283.

of their own choosing to board and treat the sick and often to bury the dead. The parish records, which are much more complete for the Eighteenth than for the Seventeenth Century, have a wealth of material for a study of this type of medical practice. The vestry book of Christ Church Parish contains references to no less than twenty-six physicians, seventeen of them in the Eighteenth Century. In 1708 this vestry ordered that John Gibbs "be Allowed Ye next levy Seven hundred pounds of Tobaccoes provided he make a perfect Cure of Christopher Kelshaw's Legg. If no Cure to be Allowed nothing."¹⁴ In 1717 the same Gibbs received "for keeping Cha; MckCarty 6 months. . . . 1200" (pounds tobacco),¹⁵ and Dr. Baker was paid "for a visit to Fran: Horne. . . . 00-200" (pounds tobacco).¹⁶ Other physicians mentioned are Dr. Lomax, Nathaniel Juice, Dr. Crannavett, Dr. Thornton, Dr. Lewis Tompkins, Dr. Wallford, Mark Bannerman, James Boyd, John Mitchell, Dr. Bird, Dr. Symmer, Dr. John Reade, Dr. Strachey, Dr. Fercharson and Dr. Spratt.

The entries in the vestry book of St. Peter's, New Kent County, are equally interesting. In 1711 the vestry "Ordered that the Church wardens Agree with some Doctor to Cure Mary Wild of her Ailement, & if she think herself able to undergo a Course of phisic, the Church wardens are to agree with ye Doctor for ye same." In 1744 they paid "To George Taylor for keeping Catherine Taylor in Child bed. . . . 400" (pounds tobacco), and "To Sarah Broker as part of her fee for bringing Cath. Taylor to bed. . . . 30"; in 1745 "To Sarah Broker for curing Jo'n Moone's Leg & Washing the surplice. . . . 459;" "To Hannah Pearson for curing Amey Binns. . . . 300;" "To Hannah Pearson for curing Andrew Farney's Leg. . . . 300;" "To 5 lb to Capt. Doran for Salivating Eliz'th Taylor a 14 P. . . . 715,"¹⁷ Other physicians mentioned in this vestry book were Dr. William Comrie and Dr. Arnott.

Truro Parish records are continuous from 1732 to 1785, when the civil functions of the vestries were transferred by law to the overseers of the poor. Here are mentioned in 1745 Dr. Robinson, who for physic and attendance on the poor received 1,200 pounds of tobacco, and Dr. Daniel Hart, who for similar service received 3,880 pounds. Other doctors mentioned are John Hunter, 1748, Dr. Cockburn, 1765, Dr. James Nisbett, 1767, Dr. Stuart, 1785, and Peter Wagener, 1771.

The entries in the records of Bristol Parish from 1720 to 1789 afford an excellent insight into the relation of the physicians to the vestries and their joint

¹⁴Chamberlayne: Christ Church Vestry Book, p. 113.

¹⁵Chamberlayne: Christ Church Vestry Book, p. 160.

¹⁶Chamberlayne: Christ Church Vestry Book, p. 124.

¹⁷Vestry Book, St. Peter's Parish.

care of the sick among the poor of the parish. These entries are given in detail in Appendix II.

The Cumberland Parish vestry book (Lunenburg County) records that at a meeting of the vestry on November 7, 1754 Benjamin Clements was paid £5-10s. "for doctoring J and Mary Brown" and £4 "for doctoring M. Young."¹⁸ On December 5, 1757 Dr. Crawford was paid £1-12s. "for Medisons given Nancy Keney."¹⁹ There are three references to Dr. Joseph Dodson. On November 29, 1758 he was paid £5 "for his Accot for curing Elizabeth Taylor," on November 12, 1759 £6-10s., and on November 3, 1760 £3 "for curing Agatha Dodd."²⁰ Dr. Clack Courtney's account of £6-10s. was paid on November 12, 1759.²¹ On November 15, 1775 Dr. Walter Bennett was paid for "attending Geo. Simmons" £20, and on February 26, 1776 £2-10s.²² One woman was paid for medical services. At a meeting held November 28, 1769 the vestry "Allowed Mrs. Mourning Hix for cureing Joel Gunter. . . . 4-00-0."²³

IV. TIDEWATER PHYSICIANS

Of all the sections of Virginia, Tidewater was best supplied with physicians. To begin with there was the old county of Gloucester. Here lived the two Thomas Claytons. One graduated in medicine at Edinburgh in 1758. When his estate was settled in 1787 there were advertised "15 choice Virginia born slaves belonging to the estate of Dr. Thomas Clayton, dec'd." The other Thomas Clayton was born in 1701 and was the son of John Clayton of "Walton-on-Thames, Surry, Gent.," who became Attorney General of Virginia. This Thomas Clayton was the brother of John Clayton, the naturalist. He was a collegier at Eton, 1717-19, and was admitted a pensioner at Pembroke College in 1720. He took the M. B. degree at Cambridge in 1726, pursued his medical studies in London and returned to Virginia in 1728 to marry Isabella Lewis of Warner Hall. His brief career ended in 1739. His death is recorded in a quaint Latin epitaph still to be seen on his tombstone at Warner Hall:

Hic subter sitae sunt reliquiae D.
Thomas Clayton M. B. Johannis Clayton
Arm. filii natu minimi Aulae pembrochianae
Cantabrigiensis olim Alumni qui studio
et labore professionis fractus postquam

¹⁸Bell: Cumberland Parish Vestry Book, 1746-1816, p. 344.

¹⁹Bell: Cumberland Parish Vestry Book, p. 359.

²⁰Bell: Cumberland Parish Vestry Book, pp. 362, 372, 376.

²¹Bell: Cumberland Parish Vestry Book, p. 372.

²²Bell: Cumberland Parish Vestry Book, p. 436.

²³Bell: Cumberland Parish Vestry Book, p. 413.

aetatis suae annum XXXVIII attigisset XVII
 die Octobris anno nostra salutis a Christo
 MDCCXXXIX pie et suaviter in Domino
 obdormivit cujus vidua Isabella pientissima
 hoc marmor pro munere extremo uberibus
 cum lachrymis devotissime posuit
 Magnificas nullas cernes hic stare columnas
 saxa mec artificis vivere jussa manu
 Pyramides celsa, Lector, nec surgere mole
 illis in campis Isidis arte pares,
 Scilicet hanc speciem titulorum quaerat inanem
 famam qui melius conciliare nequit.*

Dr. Alexander Dalglish, probably a brother of the Dr. John Dalglish who suffered with Dr. Archibald Campbell the indignities of mob violence at Norfolk in 1768, died in Gloucester in 1770. His unique obituary recounts the story of his life:

"On the 24th of September, 1770,
 died,
 Alexander Dalglish, Physician,
 in Gloucester.

In his youth he was comely in person, gentle in manners,
 and attentive to instruction.

In the dawn of manhood he entered on practice:

Regard for his patients, and striking success, put him early in the road to fame.

By the rich he was respected for his skill,
 by the poor for his benevolence.

His prospect for felicity in a married state, with a comely
 sweet tempered young fair,

being stopt by the whims of a capricious old maid,
 by the death of one friend, and the removal of another,
 he casually fell in with a new set of companions:

Alas! these were lovers of ardent spirits,
 the bane of everything manly.

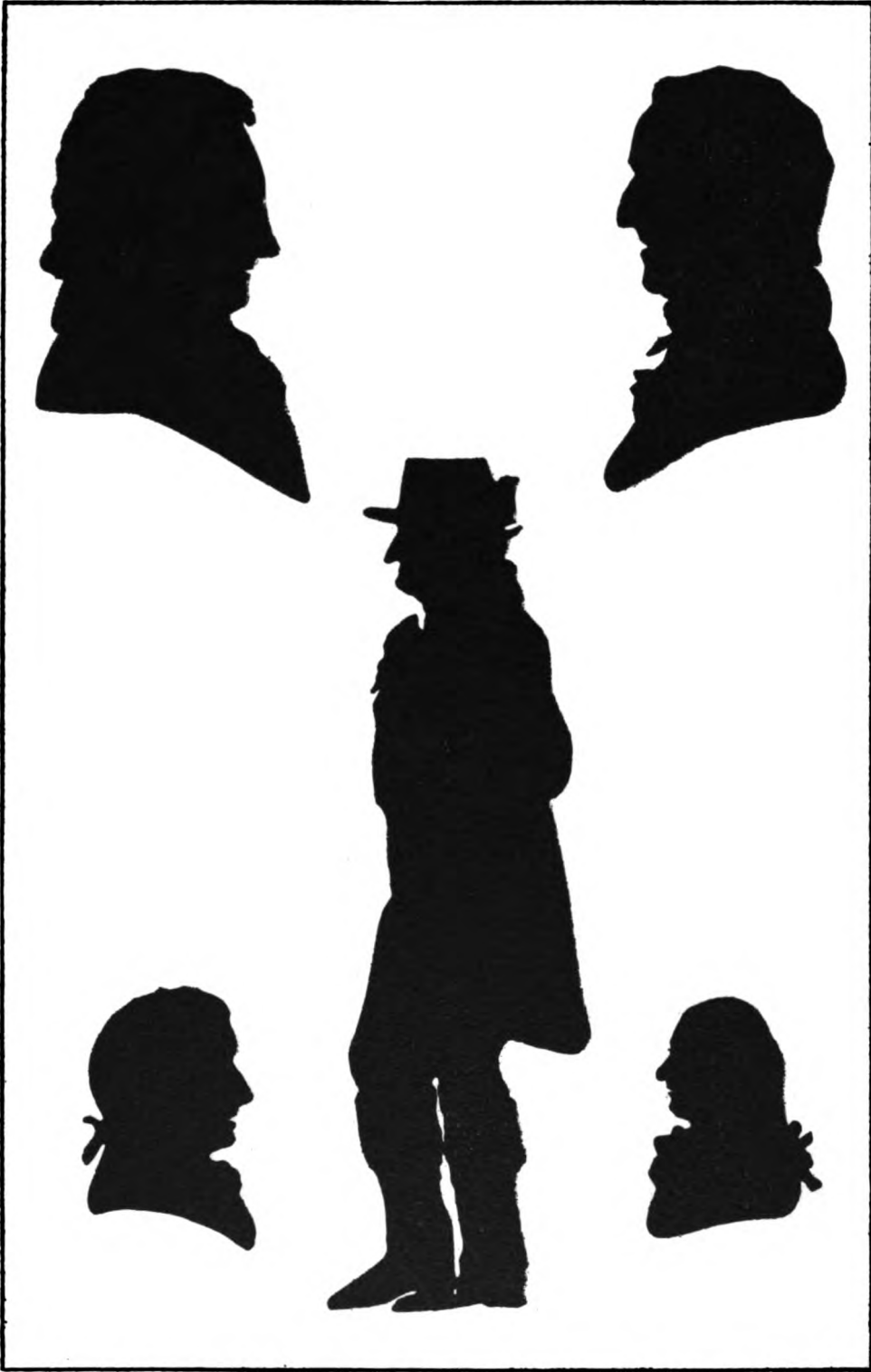
When he found himself irretrievably fettered,
 and could no longer aid his fellow creatures,

.....

With Christian fortitude he waited for death,
 and gave him his hand without reluctance.

Short as his time has been on earth;
 if giving to the poor is lending to the Lord,
 he has laid up much treasure in Heaven.

*William and Mary Quarterly, second series, v. 8, p. 140.



*Upper left: HENRY ROSE. Center: JAMES McCLURG. Upper right: WALTER JONES.
Lower left: JESSEE BENNETT. Lower right: GUSTAVUS R. BROWN.*



Let his untimely death enforce this lesson:
 Young people beware of ardent spirits;
 assuredly they are more distressing
 than the loss of friends, or favourite fair."²⁵

Dr. Charles Tomkies of Gloucester County was granted thirty-eight acres of land in Gloucester in 1723. He was for many years a justice of the county, and in his obituary in 1737 he was described as "skilfull in his Profession, just and honest, and very well beloved." He left two sons, Charles and Francis, and three daughters.²⁶

John Symmer was probably the "Dr. Symor" consulted by Colonel James Gordon in 1760 and also the "Dr. Symmer" who was employed by Christ Church on sundry occasions between 1743 and 1761. His wife's name was Elizabeth and the birth of a child is recorded in 1752 in the parish register. He died in Gloucester County in 1767 and left a large estate including ninety-six slaves, 500 acres of land, books, medicines and horses.²⁷

Dr. William Marshall of Gloucester County was the nephew of Dr. William Marye and is said to have graduated in medicine at Edinburgh. He died in 1796.²⁸

In Lancaster County during this century we find Mark Atkins distinguished as "chirurgeon" of Christ Church Parish. His death occurred in 1720.²⁹ Here also practised Ferrell Lemoine, who was born and educated in France, migrating first to the West Indies and thence to Virginia. Most of his life was spent in Lancaster County, where he died in 1833 at the age of seventy-seven.³⁰

Robert Sneed and Patrick Galt were both of Accomac County.³¹ Sneed served as surgeon in the state navy during the Revolution, and Galt as surgeon to the Ninth Virginia Continental Regiment. Death came to him in line of duty at Morristown in 1777. He was a brother of James and John Minson Galt of Williamsburg.³²

In Charles City County lived William Hunt, believed to be a kinsman of Nathaniel Bacon's follower of the same name. He was a Frenchman and doctor of physic, who "removed to America. . . . and settled at Kesmons [Kennon's?] warehouse on James River, Charles City County" and "inter-

²⁵Virginia Gazette, Sept. 27, 1770.

²⁶Crozier: Virginia County Records, v. 3, p. 57; v. 9, p. 47.

²⁷Virginia Gazette, Dec. 5, 1767.

²⁸Virginia Historical Collections, v. 5, p. 186.

²⁹William and Mary Quarterly, v. 18, p. 247.

³⁰Jordan: Unpublished essay on Medicine and Surgery in Virginia.

³¹Eckenrode: List of Virginia Revolutionary Soldiers. Burgess: Virginia Soldiers of 1776.

³²Burgess: Virginia Soldiers of 1776, p. 142. Eckenrode: Calendar of Legislative Petitions, p. 7. Galt family papers.

married with Tabitha . . .” Their daughter was born in 1695.³³ Cary Happer Haslet, who died about 1757 and left a considerable estate in slaves, cattle and furniture, lived in Charles City County.³⁴ In 1772 James Day Ridley was practising in this county.³⁵

In 1700 the York County records state that Mrs. Mary Seal, formerly the wife of Dr. Power, was granted judgment against the estate of Richard Dunbar “for physical means, etc., by her administered in the time of his sickness.”³⁶ They also record that the wife of Dr. John Wythe filed an account of his estate in 1712, and much later in the century they often mention Dr. James Carter, who also figured in Williamsburg. Dr. Charles Brown lived in York County. An advertisement after his death in 1738 announced for sale his valuable collection of books on natural philosophy and physic and hoped that “the Gentlemen of the Faculty” would take advantage of the opportunity to buy, as the books formed “the finest and most copious Collection that was ever exposed to Sale in this Colony.”³⁷ Frederick Bryan of York had studied at William and Mary in 1777 and had been an apprentice to Dr. J. M. Galt in 1778. He died in 1789.³⁸ Thomas Cheeseman also practised in York, served as surgeon in the navy aboard the *Dragon*, the *Tattar* and the *Patriot*, and died in 1779.³⁹

In Isle of Wight we know only of John T. Trezevant, born in South Carolina in 1758 of Huguenot descent. He served in the Revolution as surgeon in the Second Virginia Continental Regiment and was taken prisoner at Charleston in 1780. After the war he settled in Virginia in Isle of Wight County and died in 1816.⁴⁰

In Nansemond we encounter Samuel Brown and Anthony Stafford. The former was granted 250 acres in Isle of Wight County in 1711 but apparently continued his residence in Nansemond;⁴¹ the latter was living in the county in 1738.⁴²

In Northampton practised Samuel Higginson, “Chirurgion,” whose will was probated in 1703, and John Boyer, “Chirurgion,” whose will was probated in 1713.⁴³ William Chowning, surgeon’s mate in the state navy during

³³ Tyler’s Quarterly, v. 2, p. 277.

³⁴ Charles City County Records, v. 1766-74, p. 399.

³⁵ Charles City County Records, v. 1766-74, p. 504.

³⁶ Tyler’s Quarterly, v. 12, p. 314.

³⁷ Parks’s Virginia Gazette, June 16-23, 1738.

³⁸ William and Mary Quarterly, v. 7, p. 129.

³⁹ Eckenrode: List of Virginia Revolutionary Soldiers.

⁴⁰ Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 5, p. 449; v. 24, p. 107. Heitman: Historical Register.

⁴¹ Crozier: Virginia County Records, v. 7, p. 73.

⁴² Virginia Gazette, July 28, 1738.

⁴³ Crozier: Virginia County Records, v. 6, p. 293.

the Revolution, serving aboard the *Tartar* in 1779 and 1780, was probably also from Northampton.⁴⁴ More is known of John Tankard, who was born at Hampton in 1752. He studied at William and Mary, pursued medicine under John M. Galt of Williamsburg and was a surgeon in La Fayette's division in the Revolution. He joined Philip Barraud at Edinburgh after the war and is supposed to have taken a degree, though he is not on the official list. Returning to Virginia, he settled at Bellehaven, Northampton County, where he practised until his death on April 24, 1836, aged eighty-four.⁴⁵ In Northampton also lived John Boissard, surgeon in the Revolution and husband first of Esther Robins (1789), second of Nancy Kendall (1798).⁴⁶

Our knowledge of Warwick doctors is limited to Robert Philipson who died there in 1746.⁴⁷

Joseph McAdam, father and son, lived on Coan River in Northumberland County. The elder was married in 1744 to Sarah Anne Gaskins and died in 1788.⁴⁸ Both served in the Revolution, the father as surgeon and the son as surgeon's mate.⁴⁹ Mottram Ball was born at Coan, Northumberland County in 1767 and was educated at Edinburgh and Glasgow. He practised in Northumberland until the burning of his property by the British in 1814, when he moved to Fairfax County and attained considerable eminence in his profession. He died at his estate, Woodbury, on August 23, 1842.⁵⁰

Among the well known physicians of Westmoreland during this period were the James Bankheads, senior and junior. The father was born in Scotland, emigrated to Virginia and on August 20, 1738 married Ellinor Monroe, the aunt of President James Monroe. Of their six children three sons, James, William and John became physicians. The elder Bankhead died in 1788.⁵¹ James, Jr., who is said to have studied at Edinburgh in 1761, died in 1785 and his will was proved in Westmoreland County on June 28.⁵²

Thomas Landrum, son of Parson Landrum of King George, was brought up near Leedstown, practised for a time at Port Royal and later moved to Westmoreland. He served as surgeon's mate aboard the *Tartar* and the *Tempest* during the Revolution and died in Westmoreland County in 1811, leaving six children.⁵³ Robert Rose was a surgeon in the Revolution, serving in the Sixth

⁴⁴Burgess: Virginia Soldiers of 1776.

⁴⁵Fitzhugh: Life of Dr. John Tankard.

⁴⁶Crozier: Virginia County Records, v. 7, pp. 40, 41.

⁴⁷Virginia Gazette, May 8, 1746.

⁴⁸William and Mary Quarterly, v. 11, p. 280.

⁴⁹Eckenrode: Virginia Revolutionary Soldiers. Burgess: Virginia Soldiers of 1776, p. 834.

⁵⁰Hayden: Virginia Genealogies, p. 136.

⁵¹William and Mary Quarterly, v. 14, p. 287. Hayden: Virginia Genealogies, p. 448. Douglas Register, p. 353.

⁵²Fothergill: Westmoreland County Wills, p. 181.

⁵³Burgess: Virginia Soldiers of 1776, p. 923.

Battalion under General Andrew Lewis in 1776 and later with the First Continental Dragoons and Baylor's Dragoons. He was a charter member of the Virginia Society of the Cincinnati, practised in Westmoreland County and died there in 1793.⁵⁴ George Steptoe graduated in medicine at Edinburgh in 1767 and lived at Windsor in Westmoreland County. His will was probated May 27, 1784.⁵⁵

Dr. John Worden's will was proved in Westmoreland County October 31, 1716.⁵⁶ Dr. William Flood, brother of Dr. Nicholas Flood, lived on an estate called Kinsail in Westmoreland County and combined the pleasure of horse-racing with the duties of his practice. His will was proved June 27, 1775.⁵⁷ His daughter, Alice, married Dr. Walter Jones, an Edinburgh graduate and one of the most distinguished physicians of his day in the colony. Dr. Jones lived at various times in both Westmoreland and Lancaster Counties and probably also owned land in Northumberland, which he represented in the Virginia Convention of 1788.

Of Westmoreland also was William Spence, who graduated at Glasgow in 1780 with a thesis on *Opium* dedicated in the following words to his former preceptor, Dr. Thomas Thompson, another Westmoreland physician: "Viro optimo, Thomae Thompson, rem Chirurgicam in comitatu Westmoriae, apud Virginienses exercenti, vitrico et Tutori suo fideli, ob amorem, quo se semper prosecutus est, vere paternum; et consilia quae tempestive dare dignatus, amica."⁵⁸

In New Kent County lived Thomas Arnott, employed by St. Peter's vestry in 1740. When he died in 1746, the "land and plantation whereon he dwelt, in New Kent County, on the Pamunkey River," including 600 acres and a good dwelling house with two brick chimneys, was advertised for sale.⁵⁹ Robert Burbage, whose marriage to Mary King in 1711 is recorded in the register of St. Peter's Parish, also practised in this county.⁶⁰ Here William Halyburton and Thomas Chrystie were practising and examining pension applicants in 1786 and 1789.

Middlesex County claimed a Dr. Baker who was employed by the vestry of Christ Church from 1709 to 1711. The vestry book also mentions a Dr. Thornton as practising for the parish between the years 1711 and 1714; Dr.

⁵⁴Burgess: Virginia Soldiers of 1776, p. 1141.

⁵⁵Fothergill: Westmoreland County Wills, p. 178.

⁵⁶Fothergill: Westmoreland County Wills, p. 59.

⁵⁷Fothergill: Westmoreland County Wills, p. 172. William and Mary Quarterly, v. 11, p. 128.

⁵⁸This thesis with several others dating from this century is in the collection of Dr. J. L. Miller of Thomas, W. Va.

⁵⁹Virginia Gazette, Aug. 21, 1746.

⁶⁰Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 5, p. 451.

Lewis Tompkins between 1715 and 1726; Dr. Edward Wallford, 1717 to 1719; and Dr. John Gibbs, 1708 to 1721. Dr. Mark Bannerman, who married Catherine Baker in 1724, was employed by the vestry from 1724 to 1726. He appears to have died in 1728. Other physicians who served under this vestry were Dr. Crannavett in 1709, Dr. Bird in 1751, Dr. Philip Fercharson in 1761, and Dr. Robert Spratt from 1765 to 1767. Dr. Spratt died in 1794. In Middlesex also lived John McNikal, who, when he wrote his will in 1776, styled himself "Surgeon of the Musket Man of War." He survived the war, serving three years in the state navy, and his will was proved in 1785.⁶¹ Isaac Giles, "Practitioner in Physick," witnessed the will of a patient in Middlesex in 1721.⁶²

Alexander Reade, whose will was proved in Middlesex on January 1, 1760, must have been one of the leading men in the county. His will directed that his "physical Books, medicines, Shop Utensils, &c, be sold." He left a very large estate in Virginia besides "houses in the Town of Bedford, in Bedfordshire, Great Britain." Ralph Wormeley and Christopher Robinson were his executors and the guardians of his sons, who he desired should be sent to college at William and Mary and "brought up to such Professions as are most suitable to their genius."⁶³

Doctors of King and Queen County were Robert Baylor, who was born about 1728 and died about 1761;⁶⁴ James Boyd, who was employed by Christ Church vestry in 1730 and who died in 1737;⁶⁵ John Strachey, who was born of good family in England about 1709, married Elizabeth Vernon, served in a medical capacity the vestry of Christ Church in 1752, and died in 1756;⁶⁶ Henry Todd, who was granted 130 acres in the county in 1784;⁶⁷ James Walker, who was born March 7, 1692 and married Anne Hill in 1743;⁶⁸ and Anthony Gardner, who was granted twenty-five acres in the county in 1792 and who in 1779 had advertised his "Hospital for the Smallpox" at Stratton Major Parish.⁶⁹ Joseph W. Lee was examining pension applicants in the county from 1786 to 1789.

In Princess Anne County Richard Bolton sued in 1704 for collection of a fee for curing John Bonney "of the paines of the limbs," only to have his

⁶¹Middlesex County Will Book, 1772-87, p. 326.

⁶²Middlesex County Will Book, 1721.

⁶³Middlesex County Will Book, 1760-72, pp. 1, 4, 217.

⁶⁴Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 25, p. 321.

⁶⁵Virginia Gazette, Feb. 10, 1737.

⁶⁶William and Mary Quarterly, v. 5, p. 7. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 18, p. 81.

⁶⁷Crozier: Virginia County Records, v. 7, p. 145.

⁶⁸Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 27, p. 376.

⁶⁹Virginia Gazette, Mar. 5, 1779. Crozier: Virginia County Records, v. 7, p. 146.

suit dismissed when Bonney declared that he owed nothing since he was not cured.⁷⁰ Thomas Kemp of Princess Anne County was surgeon's mate in the Revolution. John Lyon served in the navy aboard the *Revenge* and the *Hero*. He was born in Nansemond but lived at Kempsville in Princess Anne County. He married a Mrs. Jackson and died in 1795.⁷¹

Christopher Wright, "Practitioner of Physick, Surgery and Midwifery," was a son of William Wright of Nansemond. He moved to Princess Anne County and was employed by the vestry of Lynnhaven Parish between 1751 and 1760. He qualified as captain of militia in 1756 and was a surveyor of roads and a processioner in the county, as well as one of the county's Committee of Safety in 1775. He was a large landowner and a man of means. His will was proved May 12, 1785. His son, John Edward, also studied medicine, but died young.⁷²

Thomas Ritchie, founder of the Richmond *Enquirer* was born in Tappahannock, Essex County, on November 5, 1778. Before taking up teaching in Fredericksburg and opening a bookstore in Richmond he attended medical lectures in Philadelphia. He married a daughter of Dr. Foushee of Richmond.⁷³ A prominent physician of Essex County was Alexander Parker, who was born in 1690, became sheriff of Essex County in 1732 and was mentioned in the ledgers of the Dumfries merchant, Daniel Payne, in 1758-1761.⁷⁴ Moore Fauntleroy, born November 1743, studied at Aberdeen and Edinburgh and practised in Essex County. He died at Charleston, South Carolina, in 1802.⁷⁵

Perhaps the most distinguished Essex County physician was Dr. Alexander Somervail, 1758-1833. He was born in Scotland and is said to have studied medicine at Edinburgh. He has received credit for being one of the first to recognize typhoid fever, clearly differentiating it from malaria with which it had formerly been confused. He was a brother-in-law of Dr. John Baynham of Caroline and contributed several papers to medical literature. *The Medical Topography and Diseases of a Section of Virginia*, and *Cases Illustrative of the Use of the Muriate of Lime in Palsy from Diseased Vertebrae* appeared in the *Philadelphia Journal of the Medical and Physical Sciences* in 1823. He was a man of high moral character, noted for his charity as well as for his skill as a physician.⁷⁶

In Richmond County during this century lived Dr. William Bruce, whose books and medicines, amounting to 1,638 pounds of tobacco, were attached in

⁷⁰Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 2, p. 334.

⁷¹Burgess: Virginia Soldiers of 1776, p. 954.

⁷²Lower Norfolk County Antiquary, v. 1, pp. 4, 46, 124, 125-137; v. 2, p. 124.

⁷³Tyler: Cyclopedia of Virginia Biography.

⁷⁴Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 6, p. 87.

⁷⁵Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 1, p. 7.

⁷⁶Kelly and Burrage: Dictionary of American Medical Biography, p. 1142.

1729 by Dr. James Black in payment of a debt.⁷⁷ Dr. John Belfield of Richmond County was the grandson of Dr. Joseph Belfield, an English physician who died in Virginia in 1738.⁷⁸ Dr. George Fauntleroy lived near the Court House and died in 1770, when his medicines, books and shop utensils were advertised for sale.⁷⁹ John Yates Chinn, born February 2, 1770, was a graduate of St. George's and St. Thomas's Hospitals, London, in 1792. He became a justice of Richmond County in 1799 and died July 19, 1826.⁸⁰

Nicholas Flood, if we can judge from the diaries of Colonel James Gordon and Colonel Landon Carter, was an eminent practitioner and consultant in Richmond County. He married Dr. Walter Jones's sister, Elizabeth, and his niece, Alice, daughter of Dr. William Flood, married Dr. Jones himself. Notice of his death appeared in the *Gazette* on April 19, 1776, though his will was not proved until two years later. His "solar microscope, magick lantern, surgeon's instruments, shop utensils," etc. were advertised for sale.⁸¹ David Dungan examined pension applicants in Richmond County in 1792.

In King William we encounter Nicholas Gillint who owned four hundred acres there in 1720;⁸² William Presley Claiborne, who was a grandson of Augustine Claiborne of Windsor, Sussex County, and who died at the Island of Teneriffe in 1807;⁸³ and William Comrie, who was employed by the vestry of St. Peter's, New Kent, in 1733, but who lived in King William County in 1739.⁸⁴

The physicians of Prince George include David Parker, whose will was proved January 14, 1717/18;⁸⁵ John Hamersley, who owned 200 acres in "Westopher Parish" in 1718;⁸⁶ William Worsham, employed by Bristol Parish vestry in 1727; and Joshua Irby, similarly employed in 1720. In 1719 Irby bought 101 acres of land from Peter Jones.⁸⁷ Robert Goldie was employed by Bristol Parish vestry in 1750 and 1751. Abraham Bywater practised in the county in 1759 and 1760.⁸⁸ Dr. James Tyrie's death in 1764 was attributed to poisoning by a negro slave, who later hanged herself in the county jail.⁸⁹ Joseph Diggs was a member of the county Committee of Safety in 1776.

⁷⁷ Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 10, p. 216.

⁷⁸ Hayden: Virginia Genealogies, p. 13.

⁷⁹ Virginia Gazette, Sept. 20, 1770.

⁸⁰ Hayden: Virginia Genealogies, p. 120.

⁸¹ Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 5, p. 193.

⁸² Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 25, p. 67.

⁸³ Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 1, p. 322. Tyler's Quarterly, v. 5, p. 127.

⁸⁴ Virginia Gazette, June 8, 1739.

⁸⁵ Prince George County Records, v. 1713-28, p. 208.

⁸⁶ Prince George County Records, p. 253.

⁸⁷ Prince George County Records, v. 1713-28, p. 209.

⁸⁸ Prince George County Records, v. 1759-60, pp. 104, 161.

⁸⁹ Journals of the House of Burgesses, v. 1758-61, p. 33; v. 1761-65, p. 237.

In King George County one of the physicians in the first half of the century was Richard Bryan, who received £250 from the General Assembly in 1752 for making public a secret cure for "the Dry-Gripes."⁹⁰ In his petition he claimed to have learned the secret from his father, who may have been the "Dr. Richard Bryant" mentioned in the will of William Fitzhugh in 1700 as owning 200 acres in "Paspetanzy."

Thomas Turner was granted thirty-five acres in King George County in 1731.⁹¹ There was also Walter Williamson, a native of Scotland, who about 1750 married Mildred, daughter of John Washington.⁹² Michael Wallace, son-in-law of Dr. Gustavus Brown, was another King George County physician, but he more properly belongs to the town of Falmouth.

We find Colonel Jesse Brown practising surgery in Southampton County and dying there December 3, 1770, at the age of sixty-one, "universally regretted."⁹³ Samuel Brown, his son, advertised in March 1771 his intention of keeping up "the Hospital and the Practice of Surgery & Physic as it was conducted by his father, the late Colonel Jesse Brown." A Dr. Holmes was examining pension applicants in Southampton County in the year 1788. He may have been David Holmes, who served as surgeon in the Revolution.

In Sussex there is the bare record of John Hay, whose death on April 27, 1760 is recorded in the register of Albemarle Parish.⁹⁴

Dr. Patrick Adams died in Surry County in 1768 and left a large estate, including a valuable library, medicines, "shop bottles and surgeon's instruments," negroes and horses.⁹⁵ Another Surry physician was Dr. Kenneth McKenzie, a cousin of the Williamsburg doctor of the same name. He died about 1769.⁹⁶

V. MIDDLE VIRGINIA PHYSICIANS

In Stafford in 1700 we encounter Matthew Jackson.⁹⁷ Valentine Peyton was born there in 1756, studied medicine in Scotland, probably at Glasgow, served as a surgeon in the Revolution and later taught school and followed his profession. He died in 1802.⁹⁸ Peter Wagener, an Englishman, became clerk of the Stafford County Court and was one of the original trustees of the town

⁹⁰Journals of the House of Burgesses, v. 1752-58, pp. 33, 99. Virginia Gazette, Mar. 27, 1752.

⁹¹Crozier: Virginia County Records, v. 9, p. 102.

⁹²Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 22, p. 24.

⁹³Virginia Gazette, Jan. 3, 1771.

⁹⁴Tyler's Quarterly, v. 7, p. 178.

⁹⁵Virginia Gazette, Dec. 1, 1768; Mar. 1, 1770.

⁹⁶Virginia Gazette, May 30, 1751. William and Mary Quarterly, v. 8, p. 16.

⁹⁷Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 2, p. 36.

⁹⁸Hayden: Virginia Genealogies, p. 516. Heitman: Historical Register.

of Colchester, which was laid out in 1754 on his land. He married a sister of Speaker Robinson, was vestryman of Truro in 1771 and died in 1774.⁹⁹

We find Arthur Hopkins living in Goochland before 1766.¹⁰⁰ George Draper of Prince William served as junior surgeon in the general hospital from 1777 to 1780 and as physician and surgeon from 1780 to 1782.¹⁰¹

John Claiborne lived in Brunswick. He was born in 1777, received his M.D. at the University of Pennsylvania in 1799 and married Tempe Hill. He was a member of Congress from 1803 until his death, October 9, 1808.¹⁰² Dr. Richard Feild owned an estate in Brunswick, where he died in 1829, but he practised chiefly in Petersburg.

In Henrico Gearard Ellyson was practising midwifery in 1753. He was probably a descendant of Dr. Robert Ellyson, a noted figure in the preceding century.¹⁰³ Frequent mention is made of Dr. John Bowman in the county records between 1706 and 1711. Thomas Osburn died here about 1707.¹⁰⁴ William Irby was practising in the county in 1708, and a Dr. Woodson is mentioned in 1753 in the settlement of an estate.

Caroline claimed one of Virginia's most distinguished surgeons, William Baynham, as well as his father, Dr. John Baynham. Here also lived John Bankhead. He was born in Westmoreland County in 1760, the son of Dr. James Bankhead, and graduated at William and Mary in 1775, later studying medicine at Edinburgh. During the Revolution he organized a company for the defense of Williamsburg. He married Mary Warner Lewis, sister of Dr. John T. Lewis. He died in 1836. His son, William, born in 1795, also studied medicine.¹⁰⁵

Robert Farish, surgeon's mate in the First Continental Artillery in 1777 and hospital mate in 1780-1781, lived in St. Margaret's Parish, Caroline County, and died in 1790.¹⁰⁶ George Todd was practising in Caroline in 1770,¹⁰⁷ and William Johnston's death was recorded there in 1778.¹⁰⁸

Among the physicians of Hanover was Carter Burwell Berkeley of Edgewood. He was born in 1768, graduated at the University of Edinburgh in 1793 and died in 1839.¹⁰⁹ Ezekiel Gilbert of Bull Hill, Hanover County, advertised

⁹⁹Slaughter: History of Truro Parish, pp. 110, 111.

¹⁰⁰Crozier: Virginia County Records, v. 6, p. 286.

¹⁰¹Calendar of State Papers, v. 3, p. 165. Eckenrode: Virginia Revolutionary Soldiers.

¹⁰²Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 2, p. 425.

¹⁰³Henrico County Records, v. 1750-67, p. 277. Tyler's Quarterly, v. 10, p. 32.

¹⁰⁴Henrico County Records, v. 1706-09, p. 57.

¹⁰⁵Hayden: Virginia Genealogies, p. 448.

¹⁰⁶Burgess: Virginia Soldiers of 1776.

¹⁰⁷Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 35, pp. 40, 41.

¹⁰⁸Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 20, p. 422.

¹⁰⁹Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 35, pp. 40, 41.

in 1773 his intention of practising physic and surgery "in their various branches."¹¹⁰

Thomas Hinde was one of that important group of Virginia physicians who came to the colony in His Majesty's navy between 1757 and 1759.¹¹¹ In 1765 he settled in Virginia, living in Hanover County, where his son, Thomas Spottswood Hinde, was born in 1785. In 1797 they moved to Kentucky. Dr. Hinde served as surgeon in the Revolution, taking the side of the colonies.

Collin Riddick served as a surgeon in the Revolution. He married Jane Wylie Beverley in 1797 and practised in Hanover County.¹¹² John Walker died in 1774 and his shop utensils, surgeon's and midwifery instruments, medicines and books were advertised for sale "at his shop in Hanover Town."¹¹³

Robert Honyman, 1752-1824, was a Revolutionary soldier. He was born in Scotland, studied medicine at the University of Edinburgh, served in the British navy and in 1774 emigrated to Virginia. He was an interesting and eccentric man, reputed to be a profound student, who at the age of sixty took up the study of Italian. An item of his will reads, "I also give and bequeath to my son my thermometer, my diploma of doctor of physic, and also a human rib which will be found in a small trunk in my chest with my earnest request that he will carefully keep the said rib which is of James V, King of Scotland and transmit it carefully to his descendants." He died in 1824, leaving a large fortune. He is said to have written and published numerous articles.¹¹⁴

In Dinwiddie County Dr. C. Manlove owned property which in 1782 included one servant and fourteen slaves.¹¹⁵ There was also Dr. Claiborne Vaughan, whose son, also named Claiborne, served as surgeon's mate in the Revolution and was murdered soon after the war.¹¹⁶ Dr. Robert Mackey, who owned property in Dinwiddie in 1782 was probably the physician of that name who settled in Winchester after the Revolution. Probably the most distinguished physician of the county was James Greenway, who practised medicine, collected a large *hortus siccus*, wrote for medical journals and died in 1793.

In Buckingham James Walker, who received his M.D. at the University of Pennsylvania in 1797, was inoculating at his hospital in 1800.¹¹⁷ In Mecklenburg, James McCann, a surgeon in the Revolution, practised. Here also lived

¹¹⁰Virginia Gazette, July 29, 1773.

¹¹¹Thwaites: List of the MS. Collections of the Wisconsin Historical Society, p. 31.

¹¹²Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 18, p. 111.

¹¹³Virginia Gazette, Mar. 10, 1774; May 13, 1775.

¹¹⁴Kelly and Burrage: Dictionary of American Medical Biography, p. 591.

¹¹⁵William and Mary Quarterly, v. 26, p. 250.

¹¹⁶Burgess: Virginia Soldiers of 1776, p. 820.

¹¹⁷Virginia Argus, Aug. 8, 1800.

Ludowick Brodie, who served in the Revolution and who in 1788 examined pension applicants at the request of the county court. Andrew Todd performed a similar service in Louisa.

In Prince Edward there was Francis Joseph Mettauer from Sulzbach, upper Alsace, who came to this country as surgeon to the French troops under Rochambeau and settled in Prince Edward County with his brother John Peter, also a surgeon. He acquired a reputation in the colony which led James Jones and others to study under him. His will, disposing of a rather large estate and freeing some of his slaves, was recorded in Prince Edward County on January 20, 1812. One of his sons, John Peter, born in 1787, became one of the great surgeons of the next century.¹¹⁸

In Lunenburg we find Benjamin Clements, in 1754; Joseph Dobson, 1758-1760; Clack Courtney, 1759; one Crawford, 1757, all employed by the vestry of Cumberland Parish.¹¹⁹ Here also lived from 1759 to 1795, James Craig, who was both parson and physician.

Walter Bennett was born in England in 1745 and educated in London, where he acted as apprentice and assistant to various surgeons, apothecaries, chemists and anatomists. He became surgeon of a ship bound for Jamaica, later settling in Maryland and finally in Virginia. He married Jennie Wyatt of Caroline in 1769 and was employed by Cumberland Parish, Lunenburg County, from 1774 to 1776. During the Revolution he was surgeon to the Second Battalion.¹²⁰

Clark Sanford, "practitioner of Physic residing at Lunenburg Court house," in 1787 examined several pension applicants, among them Tscherner de Graf-fenreidt, who had been wounded at Buford's Defeat "in seventeen parts of his Body with Sword Ball & Bayonet."

In Amelia practised James Jones, who studied under Francis Joseph Mettauer of Prince Edward and Dr. Rush of Philadelphia and received his doctor's degree at Edinburgh in 1796, dedicating his thesis to Dr. John Patterson of Virginia.¹²¹ Later he was one of ten leading Amelia citizens who, as trustees, petitioned the legislature for the incorporation of a proposed "Jefferson College." In 1817 he was elected an honorary member of the Philadelphia Medical Society.¹²² William Meriwether was equally distinguished. Born in Virginia but educated in England, he settled in Amelia and became a pioneer in

¹¹⁸William and Mary Quarterly, second series, v. 8, article by Dr. J. D. Eggleston.

¹¹⁹Bell: History of Cumberland Parish, pp. 362, 372, 376.

¹²⁰Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 19, p. 88.

¹²¹The thesis is in the library of Hampden-Sydney College.

¹²²William and Mary Quarterly, second series, v. 8. Eckenrode: Calendar of Legislative Petitions, p. 100. American Medical Recorder, v. 1.

agriculture, to which he made several contributions. He died October 4, 1818, aged fifty-six. His daughter married Dr. Joseph B. Anderson.¹²³

In Chesterfield lived William Day, who died in 1749. William McKenzie was born April 10, 1746, the son of Dr. Kenneth McKenzie of Williamsburg. He was at William and Mary, apparently in the grammar school, as early as 1755 and later studied under Dr. David Black of Petersburg. He practised in Chesterfield County and was a surgeon in the Revolution.¹²⁴ Dr. Jordan Anderson died "at his seat in Chesterfield County" in 1805, in his eighty-fourth year. Though not "regularly bred to the Faculty," he was said to have acquired skill in both physic and surgery.¹²⁵

In Cumberland there was Benjamin Parker, a native of Massachusetts, who graduated from Harvard in 1782 and later received his medical degree at Dartmouth. He enjoys the distinction of being the only Dartmouth graduate known to have practised in Virginia in this century. In Cumberland also practised William Wilkinson, who died there in 1805, at Caira.¹²⁶ Dr. Walter Warfield, a surgeon in the Revolution and a charter member of the Virginia Society of the Cincinnati, practised in Cumberland County after the war. He was a man of considerable wealth. After 1800 he moved to Kentucky and died there about 1826.¹²⁷

George Hunter, surgeon in the state navy on the sloop *Congress*, died in 1776 and is buried at Cherry Point, Virginia. His will is recorded in Halifax County.¹²⁸

VI. PIEDMONT PHYSICIANS

In Fauquier there was Samuel Boyd, Revolutionary surgeon. Here also, in the later years of his life, Chandler Peyton of Gordonsdale practised. Born about 1769 — possibly in King William County where he was deputy sheriff in 1792 — he studied medicine in Philadelphia, probably under Dr. Rush. His death occurred in July 1827.¹²⁹

In Amherst County Dr. Walter King Cole inherited large tracts of land from his father, who lived in England. Dr. Cole attended William and Mary in 1766 and during the Revolution served as surgeon in the state navy and in the

¹²³ N. F. Cabell MS. Collection on the History of Agriculture, Virginia State Library.

¹²⁴ William and Mary Quarterly, v. 8, p. 16. Crozier: Virginia County Records, v. 10, p. 14.

¹²⁵ Virginia Gazette, Nov. 9, 1805.

¹²⁶ Burgess: Virginia Soldiers of 1776, p. 1320.

¹²⁷ Pension Papers and Bounty Warrant Applications, Archives Department, Virginia State Library.

¹²⁸ Burgess: Virginia Soldiers of 1776, p. 1320.

¹²⁹ Hayden: Virginia Genealogies, p. 538.

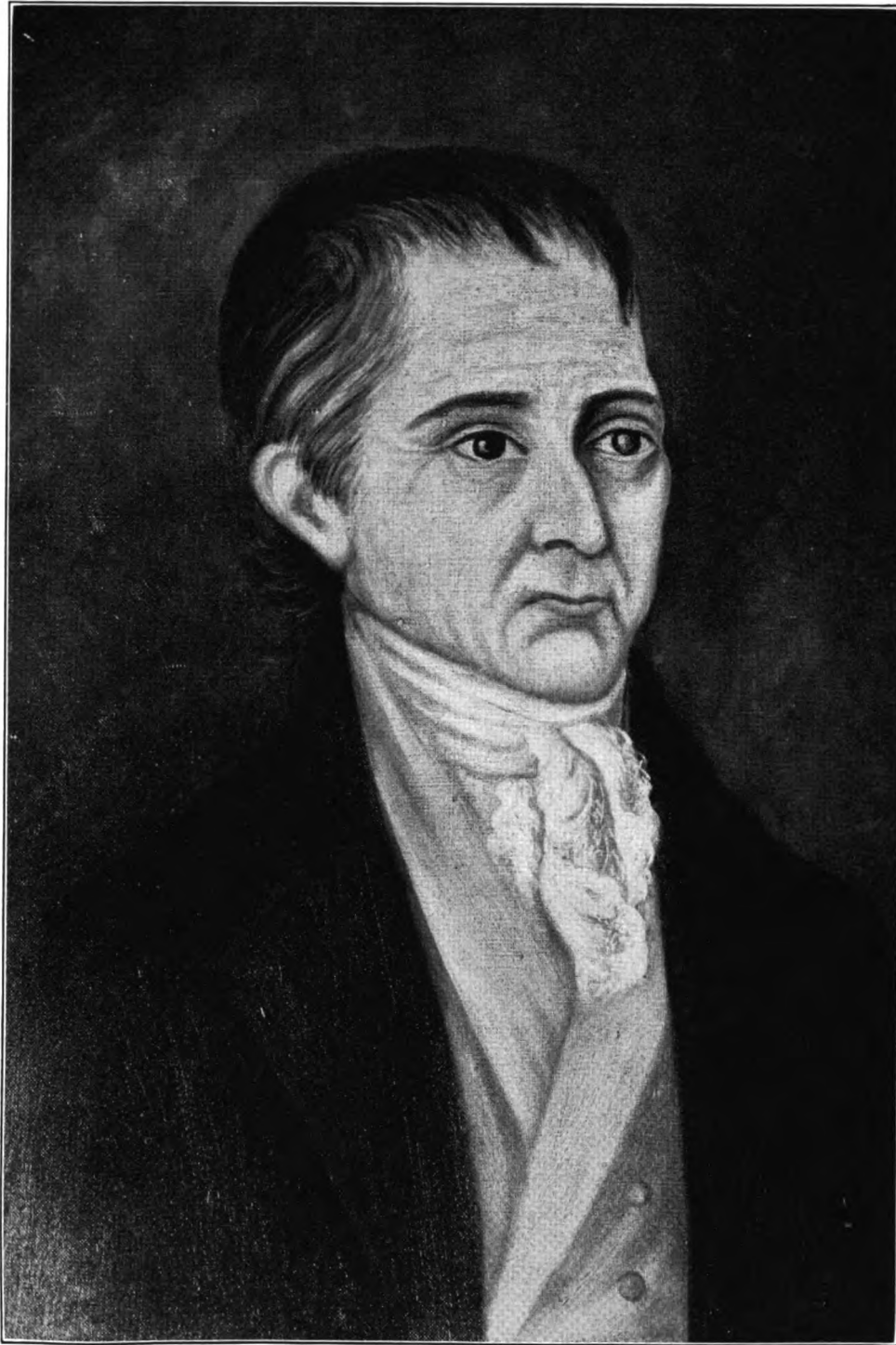
hospital department under Dr. Rickman. In 1785 he petitioned for compensation for property confiscated during the war as belonging to a British subject, evidently part of his father's estates. He died February 7, 1794, leaving a son, Samuel.¹²⁰ Edmund Wilson of Amherst petitioned on November 24, 1777 for payment of £24-14s.-10d. spent by him in caring for four sick Continental soldiers, and his petition was granted.¹²¹

In what is now Nelson but was from 1761 to 1808 part of Amherst and before that of Albemarle, lived William Cabell, born at Warminster, England, in 1699. He is said to have been a graduate of the Royal College of Medicine and Surgery in London. After practising in London and serving in the British navy he settled in Virginia about 1723 and soon became identified with the western expansion of the colony. He was living in Henrico in 1726 and was deputy sheriff of the county. About this time he married Elizabeth Burks, reputed descendant of Opecanough's daughter, Nicketti. In 1728 and 1729 we find him at Licking-Hole Creek in the newly created Goochland County, acting in the dual capacity of justice and coroner. From 1730 to 1734 he was busy exploring the country west of the mouth of Rockfish River, now Nelson and Amherst Counties, and was the first Englishman to locate land for settlement in this wild mountain region. The years from 1735 to 1741 he spent in England. Upon his return he settled on his new lands extending twenty miles along the James, built two dwelling houses, a mill and a warehouse, and called his place Warminster. The estate is now in Nelson County but was then part of Albemarle. In 1744, with Peter Jefferson and Joshua Fry, he was a justice of Albemarle. Later he became coroner and assistant surveyor. By 1753 he had acquired 26,000 acres of land. He was an interesting frontiersman, described as "ready to turn his hand and mind to whatever turned up, dispensing justice, surveying lands, amputating a limb, curing a wound, physicking his neighbor, bartering or fighting with Indians, or what not."¹²² Importing his medicines, he dispensed them in his own apothecary shop, along with medical products concocted from native plants. His materia medica included Turlington's Balsam, Bateman's Drops, Stoughton's Bitters and Anderson's Pills. He frequently prescribed rhubarb but used very little calomel. Near his home he conducted a private hospital where he performed major operations, patients paying for board and necessities but usually not remunerating the doctor unless cured. Charges for cures ranged from five to one hundred pounds. If the

¹²⁰ Eckenrode: Virginia Revolutionary Soldiers. Eckenrode: Calendar of Legislative Petitions, p. 110.

¹²¹ Eckenrode: Calendar of Legislative Petitions, p. 108.

¹²² Brown: The Cabells and Their Kin, p. 21, ff.



WILLIAM CABELL

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patient died, Dr. Cabell's artisans supplied the coffin and buried him. An item in his account book reads: "To coffin, sheet and interment, £2-11s.-6d." This remarkable man, whose sayings were long quoted in the neighborhood, died April 2, 1774 "after a long and tedious illness" and is buried at the present Liberty Hall estate.

In Bedford County Dr. Bennett Moseley, who died in 1811, practised medicine, as did his son Henry after him.¹³³

In Loudoun there was Wilson Cary Selden, who was born about 1761. He became an apprentice of his brother-in-law, Dr. James McClurg, was surgeon's mate at the marine hospital at Hampton in 1779 and surgeon to a Virginia artillery regiment in 1780. Captured at sea while on a voyage for his health, he was imprisoned at Antigua until the close of the war. After the Revolution he settled in Loudoun, devoting himself to farming and practice. In 1793 he was a member of the General Assembly. He died at Exeter, March 14, 1835.¹³⁴

The physicians of Culpeper included Andrew Craig, 1734; Thomas Howison, 1734; and James Gibbs, before 1755, all of whom were in the employment of the vestry.¹³⁵ John Taliaferro Lewis of Mulberry Green is said to have studied at Edinburgh. In 1782 he married Susanna Waring, a granddaughter of Dr. William Cocke.¹³⁶ George Yates, who served as surgeon's mate in the Revolution and whose appointment as surgeon to the Eighth Virginia Regiment was protested by Colonel Davies, lived in the county and his will was proved there on June 16, 1788.¹³⁷

In Albemarle we encounter Giles Alligree in 1764¹³⁸ and James Hopkins in 1769.¹³⁹ The latter recommended horse-back riding as a "Sovereign Remedy for Consumption." Dr. McLean practised there in 1799 and is probably the "L. McLain, Gent., Surg." who was appointed by the court to examine a pensioner in Fluvanna in 1788.¹⁴⁰ Better known was John Walker of Belvoir, who several times represented the county in the House of Burgesses, Thomas Walker, the explorer, and George Gilmer, Jr., who practised in this county after first making a reputation in Williamsburg.

In Orange County we find the names of Thomas Barbour, 1786;¹⁴¹ W. Shepherd, 1798; John Willis, who died April 1, 1811; and Charles Taylor.

¹³³ Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 5, p. 207.

¹³⁴ Tyler: Cyclopaedia of Virginia Biography, v. 2, p. 357. Burgess: Virginia Soldiers of 1776, p. 1326.

¹³⁵ Green: Notes on Culpeper County, p. 111.

¹³⁶ Clarke: Old King William Homes and Families, p. 76.

¹³⁷ Burgess: Virginia Soldiers of 1776, p. 879.

¹³⁸ Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 33, p. 36.

¹³⁹ Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 23, p. 377.

¹⁴⁰ Richmond Examiner, Dec. 24, 1799.

¹⁴¹ Green: Notes on Culpeper County, p. 33.

Taylor was a cousin, neighbor and family physician of President James Madison. He was a Revolutionary surgeon and received land bounty at the end of the war. The diary of his brother, Francis Taylor, covering the years 1786 to 1799, makes frequent mention of the doctor and affords an excellent picture of medical practice at that time.

VII. VALLEY PHYSICIANS

A pioneer settler of Frederick County was Robert White, born in Scotland in 1688, a graduate of Edinburgh, who entered the British navy and later settled in Delaware, moving to Virginia in 1735. His home was near North Mountain, where he died in 1752, aged sixty-four, leaving three sons, one of whom served in the first Continental Congress and in the Virginia Convention of 1788.¹⁴³ In Frederick lived Dr. Samuel Taylor, who was born near Dover, Delaware, studied under Dr. Craik of Alexandria and also at Philadelphia and settled at Berryville, Virginia. He was a surgeon in the War of 1812. He married Catherine, daughter of Dr. Robert Mackey of Winchester.¹⁴⁴ James Ware, Jr., "one of the finest looking men to be found anywhere," was born in Gloucester County March 13, 1741, practised in Caroline and then in Frederick County. He moved to Kentucky in 1791.¹⁴⁵ Here also lived John D. Orr, who is said to have studied at the University of Edinburgh. He practised in Alexandria before moving to Frederick County, where he died May 24, 1816, aged forty-four. Joseph Savage, also of Frederick, was a surgeon in the Second Virginia Regiment in the Revolution, was taken prisoner at Charleston in 1780, received land bounty for his services, and died in 1815.¹⁴⁶ Humphrey Fullerton, a native of Frederick County where his will was proved December 4, 1781, was a surgeon in the hospital department from 1776 to 1781 and received land grants amounting to six thousand acres.¹⁴⁷

A physician by the name of Berkeley, living near Winchester, was murdered by his slaves and robbed of a large sum of money in 1818. Three of the slaves were convicted and executed at Winchester.¹⁴⁷

In Botetourt practised Colonel William Fleming (1729-1795), illustrious as a physician, soldier and acting governor of Virginia. Here J. W. Wood was appointed to examine a pension applicant in 1788.

¹⁴³Norris: History of the Lower Shenandoah Valley, p. 565.

¹⁴⁴Norris: History of the Lower Shenandoah Valley, p. 576.

¹⁴⁵Hayden: Virginia Genealogies, p. 41.

¹⁴⁶Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 3, p. 385. Burgess: Virginia Soldiers of 1776, v. 1358.

¹⁴⁷Heitman: Historical Register. Burgess: Virginia Soldiers of 1776, p. 1108.

¹⁴⁸Kercheval: History of the Valley of Virginia, p. 315.

In Augusta lived Dr. John Murray, who served as an ensign in Captain McClenachan's Company of Independents on an expedition against the Indians in 1764 and who died before 1779;¹⁴⁸ John Griffin, a Revolutionary surgeon who was examining pension applicants in 1786; George Parker who was a servant to Samuel McChesney until 1773;¹⁴⁹ and Archibald Alexander, surgeon in the Revolution. He was attached to the Tenth Virginia Regiment from 1779 to 1780 and left five sons and one daughter. His will was filed in 1780.

In Shenandoah County from 1787 to 1789 Drs. George Keller and Absalom Bainbridge were frequently requested by the court to examine pension applicants, as was Dr. Thomas Hoff in Montgomery County.

In Rockbridge County lived Dr. Samuel Brown (1759-1830), son of the Reverend John Brown, first resident minister in that county. He graduated in medicine from Aberdeen University and settled in Kentucky, organizing one of the first medical societies there. His sister, Mary, married Dr. Alexander Humphreys of Staunton.¹⁵⁰ In Rockbridge, also, lived Dr. Patrick Vance, member of the first grand jury of the county in 1778.¹⁵¹

VIII. TRANS-ALLEGHANY PHYSICIANS

In Bath on the Jackson River, which was named for him, lived William Jackson, and there he died in 1750.¹⁵²

In Berkeley County, which later became a part of West Virginia, lived Robert Henry. He started practice there in 1785 and was called by one of his contemporaries "a man of integrity and truth and of considerable ability in his profession."¹⁵³ He was appointed by the county court to examine applicants for Revolutionary pensions in 1786 and was still practising in the county in 1792. Here also lived Edward Tiffin, who gave medical testimony in a murder case in 1792.¹⁵⁴

John Briscoe was active in the building of the first Episcopal church in the Valley of Virginia. It is known as Mill Creek Church and forms a part of the parish of Winchester.¹⁵⁵ Dr. Briscoe was born in 1717 and moved to the vicinity of Shepherdstown in 1733. He was one of the early settlers of the

¹⁴⁸ Crozier: *Virginia Colonial Militia*, p. 17.

¹⁴⁹ Augusta County Order Book, 1773.

¹⁵⁰ Morton: *History of Rockbridge County*, p. 247.

¹⁵¹ Morton: *History of Rockbridge County*, p. 82.

¹⁵² Morton: *Annals of Bath County*, p. 40.

¹⁵³ *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, v. 5, pp. 492, 496.

¹⁵⁴ *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, v. 5, pp. 492, 496.

¹⁵⁵ Norris: *History of the Lower Shenandoah Valley*, p. 52.

Valley, and his family was long prominent there. In the Revolution he was active in organizing the militia and served as surgeon to a company. He was one of the first justices of Berkeley County in 1772. In 1780 he bought Piedmont, near Charlestown, and died there December 7, 1788.¹⁵⁶

Dr. William McMeekin, who had served in the Revolution as surgeon to the Fourth Virginia Continental Regiment, was a friend of James Rumsey's and was one of those on board Rumsey's steam boat at its first public trial, December 3, 1787, at Shepherdstown. He assisted Rumsey in attending to the machinery. Washington was interested in the invention, and on March 15, 1785 he wrote the Honorable Hugh Williamson, member of Congress from Virginia, that "Mr. McMeekin's explanation of the movements of Rumsey's boat is consonant to my ideas and warranted by the principles upon which it acts. . . ."¹⁵⁷ Hugh Scott and Charles Greer were examining pension applicants for the court in Berkeley County after the war. Greer had served as surgeon in the Revolution and had been taken prisoner at Brandywine.¹⁵⁸

Other physicians in the western counties who were appointed to examine pensioners were Andrew McKinley, Basil Duke and John Toms Slater in Fayette County; A. Baird, B. Johnson and Joshua Hurd in Ohio County; Joseph Keyser in Greenbrier; and James Irwin and John Snyder in Hardy County.

In Jefferson County lived Dr. John McCormick, who came to this country from Ireland and settled in the Valley between the years 1730 and 1740. An old stone house that was built and owned by him near Summit Point, Jefferson County, bears the date 1740. He was a graduate of the University of Dublin and was highly educated. His valuable medical library was sold at his death to Dr. Cramer, the leading physician of Charlestown, who had also come over from Ireland but at a much later date. Dr. McCormick took up a large grant of land which was subsequently divided among his seven sons. It is said to have been one of the first tracts surveyed by young George Washington. One of Washington's field books, entitled "A Journal of my Journey over the Mountains, began Friday the 11th of March, 1747-8," gives lists of surveys which he made in the Shenandoah Valley for Lord Fairfax. The lists include: "Dr. James [sic] McCormick patented land on Bullskin, adjoined Capt. George Johnstone's August 28, 1750." Dr. McCormick acted as chain carrier in the survey of Captain Marquis Calmes land the same year.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶Dandridge: Historic Shepherdstown.

¹⁵⁷Norris: History of the Lower Shenandoah Valley, pp. 406, 407, 414.

¹⁵⁸Heitman: Historical Register.

¹⁵⁹Norris: History of the Lower Shenandoah Valley, pp. 66, 627, 630.

IX. PARSON PHYSICIANS

The parson physicians of Virginia in the Eighteenth Century form an interesting group. Several of them took orders after they had studied medicine. Others reversed the process. During the Revolution a few of them, recognizing the need for more medical services, ministered to the body as well as to the soul.

John Lyth was born at Newton Pickering in Yorkshire, England, received his B. A. at Clare College, Cambridge in 1756, and in 1763 was licensed as a minister for Virginia, obtaining the King's Bounty of £20 to pay the expenses of his voyage. It seems probable that his early years in this country were devoted to teaching.

He rapidly won the confidence of the people of his community, and in 1775 he was present as a delegate to the legislature of Transylvania (Kentucky). As evidence of the fact that he did not altogether desert the cloth it is said that he held the first religious service in Kentucky. In 1776 Lyth enlisted as chaplain to the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment in its expedition against the Cherokee Indians, but since there were more chaplains than physicians available he quickly volunteered as surgeon of the regiment. On January 13, 1778 he was killed by Indians. His will was probated in Washington County, Virginia.¹⁰⁰

David Griffith was a native of New York City. He was educated partly there and partly in England, obtaining his M.D. degree in London. About 1763 he returned to New York, where he practised medicine until a decision to enter the ministry again carried him to London. He was ordained there in 1770 and returned first to New Jersey as a missionary but later accepted the charge of Shelburne Parish, Loudoun County, Virginia. There he continued until the events of 1776 carried him into the army as both surgeon and chaplain of the Third Virginia Regiment. He remained with the army until 1780. After the war, as minister of Christ Church, Alexandria, he had Washington as parishioner and friend and was often at Mount Vernon. He was chosen Bishop of Virginia in 1786, but resigned for lack of funds to go to England for ordination. In 1789 he became president of the General Convention of the Episcopal Church and died on August 3 of that year, while attending a meeting of the Convention in Philadelphia.¹⁰¹

Nathaniel Manning graduated from Princeton College in 1762, studied medicine in Philadelphia and practised in New Jersey. Deciding to enter the ministry he was licensed for Virginia in 1772 and received the King's Bounty.

¹⁰⁰G. M. Brydon: personal communication. Alumni Cantabrigienses. Heitman: Historical Register.

¹⁰¹Heitman: Historical Register. Goodwin: The Colonial Church in Virginia, p. 275.

From 1772 to 1774, and probably later, he was minister of Hampshire Parish in the sparsely settled mountainous country near Berkeley and Shenandoah.¹⁶³

James Craig "united the practice of medicine with the duties of the ministry Whether it was from the necessity of obtaining a support for his family, or from charity to the poor, I cannot say," comments Bishop Meade. He was a student of divinity in 1757 and two years later became minister to Cumberland Parish, Lunenburg County. There on an unusually large glebe he prospered and operated a mill of his own, which during the Revolution became a public storehouse. It was from this mill that Tarleton, knowing Craig's zeal in the American cause, had all the barrels of flour rolled into the mill pond. Craig remained minister of Cumberland Parish for thirty-six years, until his death in 1795."¹⁶⁴

Joseph Doddridge was born in Pennsylvania in 1768 and died in Virginia in November 1826.¹⁶⁴ He first came to Virginia in 1787 as a Wesleyan Methodist missionary, but later went back to Philadelphia where he was ordained an Episcopal minister in 1792 and also studied medicine under Benjamin Rush. Returning to Virginia he settled at Wellsburg and was said to be the first Episcopal minister who "adventured into the Wilderness Regions of Western Virginia and Eastern Ohio." Here he found abundant opportunity to combine the practice of medicine with his clerical duties. He has left "a view of the state of society, manners, customs, etc. of the early settlers of the western country," called *Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars of the Western Parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania*, from 1763 to 1783,¹⁶⁵ in which he gives a vivid account of the cruelty and barbarism, the hardships and privations, that characterized life in the Valley when the Indian was a desperate enemy of the pioneering white man. In a chapter on medicine he states that the children of the frontier suffered chiefly from croup and worms. Croup (diphtheria) was extremely fatal. The juice of roasted onions was a supposed cure. For the worms large doses of common salt, scrapings of pewter spoons or sulphate of iron were given. The itch, a common frontier disease, was usually cured by lard and brimstone. Rheumatism was prevalent and a natural sequel to a life of exposure. The oil of geese, wolves, bears and pole cats was a favorite remedy. Malaria occurred and was treated chiefly by sweating. Pleurisy was the only disease which demanded bleeding. Accidents were frequent. For burns, poultices of slippery elm and Indian meal were used. For snake bite, besides

¹⁶³ Goodwin: *The Colonial Church in Virginia*. Meade: *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia*, v. 2, p. 309.

¹⁶⁴ Meade: *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia*, v. 1, p. 484.

¹⁶⁵ Meade: *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia*, v. 2, p. 239.

¹⁶⁶ Reprinted in part in Kercheval: *History of the Valley of Virginia*, pp. 185-301.

cupping and sucking the wound, deep incisions were made and a number of native plants employed for poultices. To gunshot wounds poultices of slippery elm bark and flaxseed were applied.

The Reverend Charles Green, M.D., the first regular rector of Truro Parish and a large land owner, was Mrs. Washington's personal physician. John Hanna, pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Alexandria, another parson physician, was a native of Ireland and graduated from Princeton in 1755. He continued his medical practice in Alexandria and died there November 4, 1801 at the age of seventy.¹⁶⁶

John Poage Campbell was born in Augusta County in 1767 and moved to Kentucky with his father in 1781. He had an excellent grammar school education under several masters, eventually settling down to the study of medicine. From this course he was diverted by a call to the ministry. In 1791 he graduated from Hampden-Sydney College and later studied theology under William Graham at Liberty Hall. Returning to Kentucky in 1795 he was forced to combine the practice of medicine with his preaching. He wrote extensively, his *Letters to a Gentleman at the Bar* being a criticism of the theories of Erasmus Darwin. He died in 1814.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁶ Jordan: MS. Essay on the Medical and Surgical History of Virginia, p. 62.

¹⁶⁷ Morrison: College of Hampden-Sydney, Dictionary of Biography, p. 87. Tyler: Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography, p. 292.

CHAPTER XVIII

MEDICAL LEGISLATION

NO LESS than twenty-eight bills dealing with medicine were considered by the Virginia Assembly during the Eighteenth Century. Even a casual reading of these acts affords a surprising insight into the state of medicine in this period, while a comparison of them with those of the preceding century shows how far the profession had advanced in service and public confidence. The language of the bills had become much more restrained. There may still have been "avaritious and gripeing practitioners of phisick and chirurgery," but the bills do not mention them. A new word, "surgeon," supplants the obsolete "chirurgeon," and recognition is given the growing speciality of midwifery, now being slowly taken over by the doctors themselves. Acts dealing with quarantine, inoculation and the care of the indigent sick show the much more constructive temper of legislation. The public, however, was still conscious of wide variations in the quality of available medical service and sensitive to the high cost of medical attention.

The earliest bill of the century in any way related to medicine was an "Act for registering Births, Christnings, and Burials," passed by the Assembly in November 1713. It refers to a similar act of March 23, 1662, which "hath for a long time been disused." The act required parents and masters to give notice of births to the minister or clerk of the parish; and the master or mistress of every house to give notice of deaths. The minister of each parish was required to keep a register of the births and deaths.¹ Shortly after this the Burgesses gave their attention to "making better provision for the poor." An act of February 1727 provided that poor persons should be returned to the parish where they were last legally settled, "But if such poor person be so sick or disabled, that he or she cannot be so removed. . . . the church wardens of the parish where such sick person shall be, shall. . . . provide for him or her, at the charge of the said parish." The money thus spent was to be refunded by the parish where the poor persons belonged.²

An important act of 1748 provided for the care of sick servants and slaves, declaring that "if any servant shall be sick, or lame, and so become useless or chargeable, his or her master or owner shall maintain such servant, until

¹Hening: Statutes at Large, v. 4, pp. 42, 43.

²Hening: Statutes at Large, v. 4, p. 211.

his or her whole time of service shall be expired. . . .," and that if any master shall "put away" a sick servant under pretense of freedom, and the servant becomes chargeable to the parish, the master must pay ten pounds to the churchwardens of the parish and also be liable to the churchwardens at common law, for damages.³

Frequently during this century epidemic contagious diseases entered the colony on seafaring vessels or crossed her borders by land travel. This problem the Virginia law makers attacked on several occasions, establishing quarantines and framing laws designed to protect the public health.

An act, passed as early as 1722, required ships coming from places infected with plague to perform quarantine. "Whereas several places in Europe, are and for some time past have been, infected with the plague; For preventing that infection from being brought into this dominion, by persons or merchandizes coming from such places, by obliging all persons concerned, to perform their quarantine. . . ." it was enacted that during the present infection, and in all future times, all ships coming to Virginia from countries infected with the plague must perform quarantine in such manner and for such time as the Governor, with consent of Council, should from time to time direct; and that no one might enter or leave such ship without a license, nor should any goods be landed.⁴

In 1767 quarantine bills were enacted against jail fever and smallpox. "An Act to compel ships importing convicts or servants infected with gaol fever or small-pox to perform quarantine" extended to these ships the same rules laid down in the Act of 1722 for vessels coming from places infected with plague.⁵

In 1772 the subject of quarantine was again before the Burgesses. The act of 1766 was amended to compel quarantine for ships bringing in slaves, as well as convicts and servants, infected with jail fever and smallpox, and the penalties were increased. Ten years later the governor was empowered to order quarantine of vessels from foreign ports by proclamation. In 1792 he was authorized to appoint persons in each port to see that the quarantine was performed. A year later an act extended quarantine to those coming by land from infected places, and in 1795 the governor was authorized to establish suitable places for performance of quarantine and to erect houses thereon.⁶

Throughout the later years of the century the governor was busy proclaiming quarantines against yellow fever and smallpox. In 1793 a gubernatorial

³Hening: Statutes at Large, v. 5, p. 550.

⁴Hening: Statutes at Large, v. 4, pp. 99, 100. The earliest quarantine act was passed by Massachusetts in 1648 and the second by South Carolina in 1698.

⁵Hening: Statutes at Large, v. 8, p. 260.

⁶Hening: Statutes at Large, v. 8, p. 537; v. 11, p. 329; v. 14, pp. 177, 236, 369.

proclamation read: "Whereas I have received information that the city of Philadelphia, the Grenades, and the Island of Tobago, are infected with the Plague or other infectious Disease, and it is probable the same may be brought into this Commonwealth, I therefore thought fit. . . . to direct that all vessels coming from either of the aforesaid places do make their quarantine at the Anchorage Grounds off Craney Island, near the mouth of Elizabeth River, for the space of twenty days; and. . . . require that. . . . all persons coming, or Goods imported in such vessels, come not on shore. . . . And also, that no person go on board any vessel ordered to perform quarantine, without license first had and obtained in writing, under the hand of Thomas Newton in the town of Norfolk."⁷

In 1794 a proclamation by the lieutenant-governor ordered that "Whereas, I have received information that a pestilentious or contagious disease prevails in the West Indies, and it is probable that the same may be brought into this Commonwealth by vessels arriving from the port of New Orleans on the Mississippi, or from the ports situated on the Spanish Main. . . ." the Superintendents of Quarantine at the several ports of entry should be particularly vigilant, demanding a declaration of health from all vessels and requiring them to perform quarantine if they thought it necessary.⁸

An epidemic of smallpox attributed to inoculation in 1768 in Williamsburg, an inoculation riot in Norfolk, and petitions in 1769 from anti-inoculationists, foreshadowed an important act dealing with this practice.

In 1769 the House of Burgesses requested Mr. Patrick Henry and Mr. Richard Henry Lee to prepare a bill to regulate the practice of physicians and surgeons, but the bill was apparently never brought in.⁹ The same Assembly passed a notorious act to "regulate the inoculation of the Small-Pox within this colony." It provided that "Whereas the wanton introduction of the Small-Pox into this colony by inoculation, when the same was not necessary, hath, of late years, proved a nuisance to several neighborhoods. . . ." anyone who wilfully imported any variolous or infectious matter of the smallpox with the intention of inoculating should be fined a thousand pounds. Anyone exposed to smallpox might apply to the magistrates for a license to be inoculated. Magistrates might refuse to grant a license. The fine for inoculation without license was a hundred pounds.¹⁰

This act became law in June 1770. An attempt to amend it was made in

⁷Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 6, p. 537.

⁸Calendar of Virginia State Papers, v. 7.

⁹Journals of the House of Burgesses, v. 1766-69, p. 314.

¹⁰Journals of the House of Burgesses, v. 1770-72, p. 100. Hening: Statutes at Large, v. 8, pp. 371-373.

1774, and it was actually amended in 1777. The act of 1777 reads: "Whereasthe late discoveries and improvements therein have produced great benefits. . . .and the act for regulating the inoculation of the smallpox having been found. . . .injurious" anyone might inoculate or be inoculated after obtaining the written consent of a majority of housekeepers within two miles. Those inoculated or exposed were prohibited from going abroad until free of infection and their clothing cleansed.¹¹ In 1792 the acts regulating inoculation were combined, with slight amendments.¹²

The first fee bill passed by any of the colonies was enacted by the Virginia Burgesses in September 1736. It sought to remedy the abuses of excessive fees and "unreasonable prices" for medicines. It clearly recognized the difference between surgeons and apothecaries who had only been through apprenticeships and "those persons who have studied physic in any university and taken a degree therein."

"An Act for regulating the Fees and Accounts of the Practicers in Phisic.

"I. Whereas the practice of phisic in this colony, is most commonly taken up and followed, by surgeons, apothecaries, or such as have only served apprenticeships to those trades, who often prove very unskilful in the art of a phisician; and yet do demand excessive fees, and exact unreasonable prices for the medicines which they administer, and do too often, for the sake of making up long and expensive bills, load their patients with greater quantities thereof, than are necessary or useful, concealing all their compositions, as well to prevent the discovery of their practice, as of the true value of what they administer: which is become a grievance, dangerous and intolerable, as well to the poorer sort of people, as others, & doth require the most effectual remedy that the nature of the thing will admit:

"II. *Be it therefore enacted, by the Lieutenant-Governor, Council, and Burgesses, of the present General Assembly, and it is hereby enacted, by the authority of the same,* That from and after the passing of this act, no practitioner in phisic, in any action or suit whatsoever, hereafter to be commenced in any court of record in this colony, shall recover, for visiting any sick person, more than the rates hereafter mentioned: that is to say,

"Surgeons and apothecaries, who have served an apprenticeship to those trades, shall be allowed,

	£	s	d
For every visit, and prescription, in town, or within five miles, ..	00	5	00
For every mile, above five, and under ten,	00	1	00
For a visit, of ten miles,	00	10	00
And for every mile, above ten,	00	00	06

¹¹Hening: Statutes at Large, v. 9, pp. 371-373.
¹²Hening: Statutes at Large, v. 14, pp. 139-142.

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With an allowance for all ferriages on their journeys.

"To Surgeons, For a Simple fracture, and the cure thereof, . . . 02 - 00 - 00
For a compound fracture, and the cure thereof, 04 - 00 - 00

"But those persons who have studied phisic in any university,
and taken any degree therein, shall be allowed,
For every visit, and prescription, in any town, or within five miles 00 - 10 - 00
If above five miles, for every mile more, under ten, 00 - 1 - 00
For a visit, if not above ten miles, 1 - 00 - 00
And, for every mile, above ten, 00 - 1 - 00
With an allowance of ferriages, as before.

"III. And to the end the true value of the medicines administered by any practicer in phisic, may be better known, and judged of, *Be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid,* That whenever any pills, bolus, portion, draught, electuary, decoction, or any medicines, in any form whatsoever, shall be administred to any sick person, the person administring the same shall, at the same time, deliver his bill, expressing every particular thing made up therein; or if the medicine administred, be a simple, or compound, directed in the *dispensatories*, the true name thereof shall be expressed in the same bill, together with the quantities and prices, in both cases. And in failure thereof, such practicer, or any apothecary, making up the prescription of another, shall be nonsuited, in any action or suit hereafter commenced, which shall be grounded upon such bill or bills: Nor shall any book, or account, of any practicer in phisic or any apothecary, be permitted to be given in evidence, before a court; unless the articles therein contained, be charged according to the directions of this act.

"IV. *And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid,* That this act shall continue and be in force, for and during two years, next after the passing thereof, and from thence to the end of the next session of assembly."¹³

In 1748 a similar bill was before the Burgesses. It was designed to regulate practitioners "in Physic, Chirurgery and Pharmacy," to settle their fees and to grant them certain privileges and immunities. It passed the second reading and was referred to a committee, but there is no record of further action upon it.¹⁴ Again in 1761 a "Bill For regulating the Fees and Charges of Persons practising Physick, Surgery and Midwifery, in this Colony" was introduced in the House of Burgesses, amended, and passed the second reading, but died when the House was prorogued, November 14, 1761.¹⁵ A year later another fee bill was introduced, but after passing the second reading was defeated. Both of these bills were sponsored by Landon Carter and Richard Henry Lee.¹⁶

¹³Hening: Statutes at Large, v. 4, pp. 507, 510.

¹⁴Journals of the House of Burgesses, v. 1742-49, pp. 324, 326.

¹⁵Journals of the House of Burgesses, v. 1761-65, pp. 7, 20.

¹⁶Journals of the House of Burgesses, v. 1761-65, pp. 78, 91, 92.

The earliest physicians' license tax was imposed in 1786. In that year a tax of five pounds was levied on every practising physician, surgeon and apothecary in the state. It was repealed in 1790.¹⁷

In 1765 Arthur Lee, then a student of medicine in Edinburgh and probably the mouthpiece of the young Virginians studying there, wrote his brother some suggestions for a medical practice act. "I was just now thinking," he says, "that irregular practice for the future might be prevented by a very simple method; that is, by making an Act, that for the future, every man who settles in the Colony as a Physician, shall, previous to his Practice, present his Diploma to the Speaker, or to the Assembly, and receive from them a Certificate, to be registered in the County Court, where he is to practice. That all persons undertaking to order medicine to sick people, without being so qualified, shall subject themselves to a prosecution and penalty."¹⁸

What the medical students at Edinburgh thought of the state of medicine in Virginia at this time is embodied in their petition to the House of Burgesses: "To the Honorable Council of Virginia and House of Burgesses, the humble petition of the students of physic in the University of Edinburgh, from the colony of Virginia, showing: That we, your humble petitioners, being unanimously resolved to pursue our studies with such vigor and assiduity as shall most probably qualify us to practise with success the salutary art of healing, and entitle us to those honors in medicine, which are conferred on those only whose proficiency in the art appears to merit them; and beholding with inexpressible concern the present unguarded state of physic in our native country, which lies open to the intrusion of every pretender to the medicinal art, who may there practise not less to the dishonor of medicine itself, than the destruction of mankind — are moved by these considerations humbly to petition that the honorable the council of Virginia and house of Burgesses, will, agreeably to their distinguished regard for the people's welfare, enact such wholesome laws as shall to their wisdom appear most proper to remedy this public evil, and prevent any one for the future from professedly practising medicine who has not received a public testimony of his abilities, by being properly licensed and honored with a doctor's degree.

"Your petitioners humbly conceive that such laws will not only most effectually conduce to the preservation of the health, (a point of the most interesting, inestimable and tender import to every individual), but further to be a public and highly laudable encouragement to those students from the colony of Virginia, who are now, and may be hereafter engaged in the study of medi-

¹⁷Hening: Statutes at Large, v. 12, p. 285; v. 13, p. 114.

¹⁸Southern Literary Messenger, v. 29, p. 72.

cine, to pursue it with the perseverance, industry and address, which alone can entitle them to a prospect of success. Such attention to the cultivation of each particular branch of science we humbly imagine to be eminently worthy of the regard of the fathers and protectors of our country. Thus sweet heaven shall bless our happy country, and breathe its kindly influence on her rulers, for which, as in duty bound, your petitioners will ever pray."¹⁹

In 1748 the colony was concerned over the administration of drugs by negroes. A section of an act for the better government of negroes and mulattoes was designed to control this practice:

"III. And whereas many negroes, under pretence of practising physic, have prepared and exhibited poisonous medicines, by which many persons have been murdered, and others have languished under long and tedious indispositions, and it will be difficult to detect such pernicious and dangerous practices, if they should be permitted to exhibit any sort of medicines, *Be it therefore further enacted, by the authority aforesaid,* That if any negroe, or other slave, shall prepare, exhibit, or administer any medicine whatsoever, he, or she so offending, shall be adjudged guilty of felony, and suffer death without benefit of clergy.

"IV. Provided always, That if it shall appear to the court before which such slave shall be tried, that the medicine was not prepared, exhibited, or administered, with an ill intent, nor attended with any bad consequences, such slave shall have the benefit of clergy.

"V. Provided also, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to extend to any slave or slaves administering medicines, by his, or her master's or mistress's order, in his, or her family, or the family of another, with the mutual consent of the owner of such slave, and the master or mistress of such family."²⁰

The final medical bill of the century was an act of December 1792 providing the death penalty for any negro or slave who "shall prepare, exhibit, or administer any medicine whatsoever." But, if at the trial it appeared the medicine was prepared with no ill intent and had no bad consequence, the slave was to be acquitted. The provisions of the act were not to be interpreted to prevent any slave from administering medicines by his master's order in the family of the master or of any other, with consent of the owner of the slave and the master of the other family.²¹

¹⁹Bland Papers, p. 19.

²⁰Hening: Statutes at Large, v. 6, p. 105.

²¹Hening: Statutes at Large, v. 14, p. 125.

APPENDIX I

VIRGINIA REVOLUTIONARY DOCTORS — ARMY

<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Sources</i>
Alexander, Archibald	surg. 10th V.R.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Alexander, George Dent	surg. cont. (Fairfax Co.)	Eckenrode; Burgess
Applethwaite, John	mate 9th V.R.	Eckenrode
Baldwin, Cornelius	surg. 4th, 8th, 12th V.R.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Barraud (Barrand), Philip	surg.	Eckenrode; files
Bennett, Walter	surg. 2nd Batt.	Eckenrode
Berry, Michael		Jordan
Berry, Nathaniel	surg. 1st V.R.	Eckenrode
Berry, Nicholas	surg. 1st V.S.R.	Eckenrode
Bland, Theodorick	surg.	Eckenrode
Bland, Thomas	surg.	files
Boisnard, John	surg.	Eckenrode
Boyd, Samuel	surg.	Eckenrode
Briscoe, John	surg. militia	Hist. Shepherdstown
Brockenbrough, John	surg.	files
Brody (Broadie), John	surg.	Eckenrode; files
Brodie, Ludowick	surg. mil. & 2nd V.S.R.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Brown, Daniel	surg. 11th, 14th V.R.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Brown, John J.	mate	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Brown, Joseph	surg. cont.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Brown, Robert	surg.	files
Brown, William (Alexandria)	surg. & phys. gen.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Brown, William	surg. Rockbridge militia	Eckenrode
Brownley (Brownlee), John	mate & surg. cont.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Bull, Ezekiel	surg.	Jordan
Bull, John	surg.	Eckenrode
Carter, James	surg.	files
Carter, Thomas Neale	surg. & mate, state line	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Carter, William (Sr.)	surg. cont.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.; Burgess
Clark, William	surg.	Eckenrode
Clarke, John	surg.	Eckenrode
Clements, Mace	surg. 11th, 15th V.R.; mate 7th V.R.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

- Eckenrode:* H. J. Eckenrode: List of Virginia Revolutionary Soldiers.
Burgess: L. A. Burgess: Virginia Soldiers of 1776.
Va. Mag.: List of Revolutionary Soldiers in Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 16.
Files: Miscellaneous sources in biographical file.
Jordan: Unpublished Essay on the History of Medicine and Surgery in Virginia.
Cal. Legis. Petitions: Calendar of Legislative Petitions, edited by Eckenrode.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Sources</i>
Cobb, William	apothecary	Eckenrode
Cole, Walter King	surg. 1st V.S.R.	Eckenrode; Jordan
Colhoun,	surg.	Eckenrode
Conan, Francis	surg.	Eckenrode
Conan, James Francis	surg.	Eckenrode
Conan, John	surg.	Eckenrode
Conand,	surg.	Eckenrode
Cook, Steven	surg. (quarter master?)	files; Eckenrode
Cooley, Samuel	surg.	Eckenrode
Courtney, Philip	surg. 1st, 10th V.R.	Eckenrode
Courts, John	surg. 2nd V.R.	Eckenrode
Craik, James	surg. cont. & phys. gen.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Crampton, Basil	surg. 11th V.R.	Eckenrode; Jordan
Crunden, Ralph Edward	mate & surg. cont. line	Eckenrode; Burgess
Crute, John	mate, 11th, 15th V.R.	Eckenrode
Culbertson, Samuel	surg. 12th V.R.	Eckenrode
Davis (Davies), Joseph	surg. 7th, 11th, 15th V.R.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
De Benneville, Daniel	surg. 13th V.R.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Dixon, Anthony Tucker	surg. cont. line	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.; Burgess
Doherty,	surg. 1st V.R. & mate	Eckenrode
Draper, George	surg. cont. line (Pr. Wm. Co.)	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Duff, Edward	surg. 5th, 6th, 9th V.R.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Evans, George	surg. cont. line	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Evans, Thomas	surg.	Eckenrode; Jordan
Farish, Robert	mate, cont. line	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Forbes, David	surg.	Eckenrode
Foushee, William	phys. & surg.	Eckenrode; Jordan
French, George	surg.	Eckenrode; files
Fullerton, Humphrey	surg. cont. line	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Galt, James	lt. Williamsburg mil.	Eckenrode
Galt, John Minson	surg. cont. line	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Galt, Patrick	surg. 9th V.R.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.; Burgess
Gay, Samuel	surg. cont. line & mate 12th V.R.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.; Burgess
Gilder, Reuben	surg.	Eckenrode
Gilmore (Gilmer), George	surg.	Eckenrode; files
Glasscock, George	surg. (lt. Richmond Co. mil.?)	Jordan; Eckenrode
Gould, David	surg. state & cont. line	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Graham, Stephen	mate	Eckenrode
Graham, William	mate 2nd V.R.	Eckenrode
Green, Charles	surg. cont. line	Va. Mag.
Greer (Grear), Charles	surg. state & cont. line & mate 4th, 8th, 12th V.R.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Gregory, Charles	& surg. navy	Eckenrode
Griffith (Griffin), David	mate 14th V.R. surg. & chap. cont. line	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Hall, John	surg.	files

<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Sources</i>
Hall, Robert	surg.	Tyler's Quarterly
Hamilton, James	mate	Eckenrode
Hamm (Harman), Valentine	surg. Augusta mil.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Hampton, Cary Henry	surg.	files
Harris, Samuel	surg.	Eckenrode
Hart, George	surg.	Eckenrode
Hay, Joseph	mate, surg. & apothecary	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Haynes, Joseph	surg.	Eckenrode
Hedengran (Hedingran), Peter	surg.	Eckenrode
Heimberger, Frederick }	surg. 1st N.C. Reg.	Eckenrode
Humberg, Frederick } ¹	mate, 8th V.R.	Eckenrode
Hinde, Thomas	surg.	Eckenrode
Holmes, David	surg. 7th V.R.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Honyman, Robert		Eckenrode
Horner, Gustavus Brown		files
Irvine, Matthew	surg. cont. line	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Jackson, David	mate, 4th V.R.	Eckenrode
Jenkins, Thomas	mate, Amelia batt. & surg.	Eckenrode
Johnson, Robert	surg.	files
Johnson (Johnston), Wm.	mate, cont. line	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Jones, Walter	phys. general	Eckenrode; files
Julian, John	surg. cont. line	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Kemale, John	surg.	Eckenrode
Kemp, Thomas	mate, state line	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
King, Miles	mate, 1st V.R.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.; Burgess
Knight, John	mate, 7th V.R.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.; Burgess
Lajournade, Alexander	mate	Jordan
Land, Charles	mate, 3rd V.R.	Eckenrode
Leigh, John	mate	Eckenrode
Lewis, William	colonel, cont. line	Tyler: Cyc. of Va. Biog.
Lind, Arthur	surg., lt. & capt.	Eckenrode; files
Lyth, John	chap. & surg. 13th V.R.	Eckenrode; Jordan
McAdam (McAdams), Joseph	mate & surg.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.; Burgess
McCann (McCan), James	surg.	Eckenrode
McCarter, Charles	surg. 11th V.R. & 4th Pa.R.	Eckenrode
McCaw, James	surg.	Eckenrode
McClurg, James	surg. state & direc. hosp.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
MacHenry, Col.	surg.	files
McKenzie, William	surg.	Eckenrode
McMechen (McMahon), Wm.	surg. cont. line	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Mackay (Macky, Mackey), Robt.	surg. 11th V.R.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Marshall, J.	surg.	files
Martin, Hugh	surg. (mate)	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Martin, James	surg.	Eckenrode

¹Probably same person.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Sources</i>
Martin, John	surg.	files
Martin, Joseph	surg.	files
Mercer, Hugh	general	files
Middleton, Alexander	surg.	Eckenrode
Middleton, Basil G.	surg. 5th, 9th, 11th V.R.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Monro (Monroe, Munroe), George	surg. & mate, 6th V.R.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Mortimer, Charles	surg.	files
Nicholson, Robert	surg. state line	Eckenrode; Burgess
Orr, Overton, Thomas	surg. state line	Va. Mag. Jordan
Pasteur, William	surg.	Eckenrode; Burgess
Pelham, William	mate & surg. cont. line	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.; Burgess
Peyton, Valentine	surg. cont. line, 3rd V.R.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Pointer, William	surg.	Eckenrode
Pope, Matthew	surg. state line	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.; Burgess
Powell, Thomas	surg.	Eckenrode; Burgess
Pratt, Sheubel (Shuball)	surg. cont. line	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Quinlan, Joseph	surg. cont. line, mate 3rd V.R.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Ramsay (Ramsey), John	surg. cont. line, 1st V.R.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Ramsay (Ramsey), William	surg. & mate	Eckenrode; Jordan
Ranney, John	surg. Va. militia	Heitman
Ranney, Stephen	surg. 4th, 8th, 12th V.R.	Eckenrode
Ray (Rey), Andrew	surg. state line	Eckenrode; Burgess; Va. Mag.
Read (Reade, Reid), John K.	surg.	Eckenrode; files
Rickman (Richman), Williams	surg. & direc. hosp.	Eckenrode; Burgess; files
Riddick, Collin	surg.	Eckenrode
Ridley, (Thomas?)	mate (& capt.?)	Eckenrode
Roach, Nicholas		Jordan
Roberts, John	surg, 1st, 2nd, 6th, 10th, 14th V. R.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.; Burgess
Roberts, Thomas	surg. 3rd, 10th, V.R.	Eckenrode
Rork (Rourk), Charles	surg.	Eckenrode
Rose, Robert	surg. cont. line, 6th V.R.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Rumney, William	surg. cont. line	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Russell, Philip M.	mate	Eckenrode
Russell, William		Jordan
Rush, Leonard	surg.	Jordan
Sackett, James	mate, 14th V.R.	Eckenrode; files
Savage, Joseph	surg. & mate, 2nd V.R.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Seigle, Frederick	surg. cont. line	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Shaults, Martin	surg.	Eckenrode
Shell, Nicholas	surg.	Historic Shepherdstown
Skinner, Alexander	surg. 1st V.R.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Slaughter, Alexander	surg.	Eckenrode
Slaughter, Augustin	surg. 5th, 7th V.R.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.; Burgess

<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Sources</i>
Smith, Augustine	mate	Eckenrode
Smith, Nathan	mate, cont. line, 6th V.R.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.; Burgess
Smith, Samuel	surg. cont. line	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Smith, William	mate, 10th V.R.	Jordan
Spencer, Joseph	surg.	Jordan
Spencer, John	mate, 14th V.R.	Jordan
Starke, Joseph	surg.	Eckenrode
Starke, William	surg.	Eckenrode
Stewart (Stuart), Lewis	mate, 5th, 7th V.R.	Eckenrode
Stephen, Adam	major-general	files
Stephens, John	surg.	files
Tankard, John	surg.	Eckenrode; files
Taylor, Charles	surg. cont. line	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Taylor, Christopher	surg. (probably from Penn.)	Eckenrode
Tennent, John	surg.	Eckenrode
Trezvant, John	surg. (Isle of Wight), 2nd V.R.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Trimble, James	surg. & mate	Eckenrode
Troutwine, George Jacob	mate, 11th V.R.	Jordan; Heitman
Tucker, Thomas Tudor	surg.	files
Tunison, Garrett	surg. cont. line	Eckenrode; Burgess
Vaughan, Claiborne	mate, 1st, 2nd, 6th, 10th, 14th V.R.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.; Burgess
Van Ingen, D.	surg. state line	Jordan
Wallace, Hugh	surg.	Eckenrode
Wallace, James	surg. 2nd V.R.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Warfield, Walter	surg. cont. line	Eckenrode; Burgess; files
Williams, James	surg.	Eckenrode
Wight, J.	mate, 13th V.R.	Jordan
Wilson, Goodwin	surg.	files
Wedderburn, William	mate	Cal. Legis. Petitions
Wedderburn,	surg. hospital	Cal. Legis. Petitions
Yates, George	mate, cont. line	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.; Burgess

VIRGINIA REVOLUTIONARY DOCTORS — NAVY

<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Sources</i>
Bartlett, Philip	surg.	Eckenrode; Jordan
Banks, James	mate	Va. Mag.
Bell, William Smith	surg.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Britain, John	mate	Va. Mag.
Brown, David	surg.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Brooke, Lawrence	surg.	Burgess; files
Carter, William	surg.	Va. Mag.
Calvert, Jonathan	surg. (also mate state line)	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Campbell, Archibald	surg. (also lt. & ensign)	Eckenrode

<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Sources</i>
Chapin (Chaplain), Benjaminsurg.	surg.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Chaplin, John	surg.	Jordan
Cheeseman, Thomas	surg. (York Co.)	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Chowning, William	surg. & mate	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Christie (Chrystie), Thomas	surg. (also cont. line)	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Christie, William	surg.	Va. Mag.
Dobson, Robert	mate	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Ferguson, Robert	mate	Eckenrode
Foster, Peter	mate	Eckenrode
Gibson, John	mate	Va. Mag.
Griffin, Corbin	surg.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Hansford, Cary	mate & surg.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.; Burgess
Harris, Simon	surg.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.; Burgess
Harrison, Joseph	surg.	Eckenrode
Hunter, George	surg.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Jennings, John	mate	Va. Mag.
Johnston, William	surg.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.; Burgess
Landrum, Thomas	mate	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.; Burgess
Livingstone, Justice	surg.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Lyell, Fenwick	surg.	Eckenrode
Lyon (Lyons), John	mate & surg.	Eckenrode; Burgess; Va. Mag.
McClurg, Walter	surg.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
McNicholl (McNickle, McNichal), John	surg.	Eckenrode; Burgess; Va. Mag.
Marshall, Jenifer	mate	Va. Mag.
Murray, David	mate	Va. Mag.
Pell, Joseph S.	surg.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.; Burgess
Pell, Simon	surg.	Eckenrode
Pills, Joseph ^a	surg.	Eckenrode
Pitt (Pitts), John	surg.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.; Burgess
Reynolds, John	surg.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Riddell (Riddle), George	surg.	Eckenrode
Roe, Nicholas	mate	Eckenrode
Roe, William	mate	Burgess; Va. Mag.
Russell, James	surg.	Va. Mag.
Selden, Wilson Cary	surg. navy & state	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.; Jordan
Sharpless, John	surg.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
Snead (Sneed), Robert	surg.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.; Burgess
Swope (Swoope), John	surg.	Eckenrode; Va. Mag.
White, William S.	mate (also surg.?)	Eckenrode; Burgess; Va. Mag.

^aProbably same as Joseph S. Pell.

APPENDIX II

DOCTORS AND MEDICAL ENTRIES IN RECORDS OF BRISTOL PARISH

(From "Bristol Parish, 1720-89," by C. G. Chamberlayne)

"Whereas John Ellis son of John Ellis Junior by Accident had his Legg brook his father being at the time A Trading with Indians it was then ordered by the Vestry that John West should take care of the aforesaid Ellis & Employ a Doctor to Cure the same. The father of the said Lad returning & refusing to pay the Doctors demands The said Docter refusing to do any more to the cure, but leaving him in a lame Condition and his legg perishing. Upon Complaint Tis ordered By this Vestry That Major Robert Bolling now being Church-warden take care of the foresaid Lad & Agree with some Doctor to cure the same And his Agreement to be allowed by the Parish on the Account of John Ellis, Junior, Father of the foresaid Lad." (1720)

"To Doctr Joss Irby for Ellis his son tendance & cure. . . . 2,000 160." (1720)

"Upon the pett. of Margaret Butler And she appearing to this vestry declaring that she being disabled by Sickness is not Able to help her selfe; Tis ordrd by this Vestry that ye s'd Marga Butler live with Rich. Butler untill the Vestry can Agree with A Docter to cure her if possible he can the fores'd Rich. Butler to be allow by ye P'ish for the time she lives with him at ye rate of Eight Pds of Tobb. per month, & he to find her diet, lodging, & washing for the time." (1725)

"It is ordered that the Sd. Church Wearden supply Tho Watkins with such Necessaries he thinks Convenient and also to employ a Docter to Cure him of the desease he now labours under." (1727)

"To Wm. Worsham for Cureing Tho Watkins, 00,490 039." (1727)

"Peter plantine being Much Burnt by an accident and he being poor and aged Not able to pay for his Cure Mary hall is ord'ed to Take Care of the sd plantine and to do her Endeavour to Cure him and She to bring in her acmt att the laying The Next parrish leavy." (1728)

"Jacob Butler Being in the Parrish afflicted with Soares and sickness So that he is not able to Support himself in this his Necessity the Church Warthens are hereby ordred to agree With Doctr James Thompson for his Cure on the Best Terms They Can and to Bring in his acmt at the laying the nex p'ish levy." (1729)

"To Doctr Thompson 1,260 100." (1729)

"To Doctr Thompson for Mclain 700 28."
To Do for Kemp & Thacker 2,000 80." (1731)

"Order'd that Doctr Thompson be pd 425 Tobo for his care and Buriall of Arthur Mclain and that the Collector charge the same to his accompt." (1732)

"That the Church Wardens employ a Doctr for the Cure of George Brown and to agree for his maintenance," (1734)

"To Dr. James Thompson for Jos Barry, 12
To Do for Mary Allen, 17 11." (1742)

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"To Doctr Robert Goldie for Poxen	4	6	8."	(1750)
"To Robert Goldie	4	6	8."	(1751)
"To Doctr Hunter for Maurice Hawks	5	0	0."	(1754)
"To Doctor Jams Feild for keeping Jean Jones....	6	1	3."	(1764)
"To Paid Doctr Jameson Acct agt the Parish for ann West as pr Rect,	6	19	4½."	(1762)
"To pd Dr James Feild by order of Vestry of ye 1st Dec. 1764 as pr Rect,	26	14	10."	
"To paid Patt Bird for attending Edmond Browder and his wife, Poor people of this Parish, on sufference & ordered by Robert Bolling Esqr late Church Warden, & Doctor James Field, who attended the sd Browder was Called upon by Robt Bolling Esqr, & my Self, who said, They Desirved 40/	2	0	0."	(1769)
"To Doctr James McCartie, for Attending of Elisha Lester as pr Acct,	10	14	3."	(1773)
"To Doctr James McCartie for attending Elisha Lester	2	9	7½."	(1774)
"To Doctr Theok Bland for Copying List of Tithes, (40 Lbs. Tobo.)"				(1774)
"Ordered that the Revd Mr. Harrison the C. Warden's Robt Bolling Doctr Theok Bland, or any three of them, be appointed for the Parish of Bristol, to Agree with the Vestry of Brandon Parish, in Order to Purchase a Place To Erect a Poor House for the use of Bristol and Brandon Parish's." (1774)				
"To Cash pd Doctr Bland for attending Robt Elder..	8	1	9."	(1772)
"To pd Doctr James McCartie per Order of Vestry..	10	14	3."	(1774)
"James McCartie	2	9	7½."	(1775)
"To Doctr Theok Bland for Copying 2 lists of Tithes for 1775, 40 lbs @ 2d		6	8."	(1775)
"To Doctr McCartie & Co as per Acct		10	9."	(1777)
"Ordered, That, John Burwell be Appointed a Vestryman in the room of Peter Jones, Removed. & Dr. James Field in the Room of Wm. Brown Decd, & that the above gen- tlemen be Served with a Copy by the Clerk." (1777)				
"Ordered, That James Field and Robt Skipwith Gentlemen, be Appointed Church Warden's the Ensueing Year." (1778)				
"To Doctr James Greenway for John Pettipool,	33	11	9."	(1778)

APPENDIX III

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF FRANCIS TAYLOR, OF ORANGE COUNTY, VA.¹

Vol. 1 (1786)

- Jan. 1 "Doctr Taylor³ set off for Caroline."
 2 "Dined at Mr. E. Taylor's in company with Colo. Madison."
 12 "Charles Taylor returned home from Caroline."
 13 "Continued unwell in morning, went to Brother Charles's . . ."
 30 "Dined at Colo. Madisons . . . Colo. Madison Jr. got home from Richmond at 9 o'clock at night." (The latter was Jas. Madison, President of the United States.)
- April 8 "Very unwell, took salts."
 9 "Continue ill, took another dose of Salts."
 10 "John Taylor had a return of Ague & fever."
 17 "I walked to C. Taylor's & gave him a mem to get me some medicine etc."
 June 20 "Cousin Jn Taylor unwell, had return of Ague & fever last week."
 23 "Heard that negro Frank was bit by a snake last night . . . and went to Chs Taylor. I went to see him, he was bit on the ankle his foot & leg much swelled and said he could not walk, applications of salt & dough & weed were made. I staid till evening when he said he was easier and could walk tho' still swelled."
 25 "Frank ret'd from C. Taylors, much mended, the bite only sore, place not much swelled."
- July 5 "Not well took Salts, better in Evening."
 9 "Very unwell in evening & all night, violent headache & fever."
 21 "had Headache & fever. Dined at C. Taylor's."
 24 "C. Taylor was sent for & bled E. Pendleton."
 25 "E. Pendleton was delivered of a Son last night. Mrs. Gaines & Mrs. James were with her, who say it was a seven months child."
- August 9 "News of my brother Edmd Taylor's death of the Cholic."
 October 9 "I mixed 8 Pennyw' Ipecac, 2 pw Rhubarb, 2 pw' Salpetre & 2 or 3 pw' magnesia with Castile Soap, wch made 90 pills began to take them."
 Dec. 20 "Sam Overton much disordered in his mind & has been unwell 10 days, took a vomit"

Vol. 2 (1787)

- Jan. 23 "Had the tooth ach violently."
 Feb. 3 "My face swelled with sore tooth & Gum boil."
 4 ". . . Face swelled & Gums sore."
 5 "Slept very little Gumboil very painful & face swelled much."
 6 "Ch. Taylor came to see the Children both being unwell"
 "My Gumboil very painful broke about 11 o'clock"
 7 "C. Taylor came again to see the Children I have been griped all day . . ."
 17 "Molly scalded her hand . . . sent to get linseed oil . . ."

¹MS. in Archives Department of Virginia State Library.

³Charles Taylor, brother of the diarist.

- 19 "Frank sick, gave him dose of salts."
 Mar. 5 "took some Rhubarb this morning & think myself somewhat better."
 6 "I continue unwell."
 Mar. 15 "Had Candles brought from C. Taylors, they were made there 17 dozen . . ."
 17 "Last night the Wolves howled about 7 & 9 o'clock near the fence by
 Plant Patch."
 April 30 "Left off Flannel Jackett."
 May 21 "Took Salts."
 June 8 "Negro Judy an old woman of G. Taylors died."
 29 "My father complained of being unwell"
 30 "Sent to Chs Taylor who brought him a dose of Aloes . . ."
 July 1 "My father continues ill."
 2 "My father still sick."
 4 "Went to Courthouse — my father wanted limes — none there."
 7 ". . . . my father is better today
 Betty died — after a long sickness."
 25 "Luck took a vomit."
 26 "Luck took a purge."
 29 "The Negroes had a funeral over Old Judy & Betty" (who had died on
 June 8 and July 7).
 Aug. 1 "Mr. Dickinson very sick & took a Vomit."
 2 "Mr. Dickinson better."
 "H. Taylor came for C. Taylor to go & Set his daughters Collar bone,
 broke accidentally."
 19 "Sent some of my urine to C. Taylor to carry with him to the Dutch Doctor
 in Shenandoah."
 26 "C. Taylor got home last night from Dr. Neaves & brought some directions
 for my disorder, which the Doctor says is the gravel in the Kidneys,
 his charge was 2/6."
 Sept. 18 "Very sore and unwell."
 26 "C. Taylor came in morning and bled G. Catlett."
 Oct. 1 "Recd a letter from Capt Johny Scott with a prescription for the Stone &
 Gravel. I got the herb arsesmart & made a strong decoction as directed."
 2 "Last night took arsesmt decoction, but do not find any effect yet."
 Nov. 2 "Began to wear Flannel waistcoat."
 10 "I had a chill and afterwards a very high fever which cont'd with headach
 all night
 11 "Still high fever & so unwell did not go to Church."
 12 "In better health, but still feverish."
 13 "Rode to Hansfords [tavern] in evening."
 Dec. 3 "C. Taylor's wife & Miss M. Conway were here and Cut out Negroes
 Clothes . . ."
 21 "Very unwell at night."
 23 "My health better and had a great sweat last night."
- Vol. 3 (1788)
 Mar. 4 "Negro Milley had Granny Venus with her last night, but not delivered
 this morning
 Milley delivered of a boy afternoon
 C. Taylor went by from Majr Moore's who had a negro man Caesar
 died today."
 24 "Slept very little last night, had headache & high fever, and continue very

- unwell today Went to Election of delegates for Convention." (This was the Constitutional Convention, and James Madison was elected).
- Mar. 25 ".health better today."
- April 7 "very ill all day — Headach & fever."
 8 "continue ill."
 9 "health better."
 "fever & headach ret'd violently at night."
 10 "Dined at J. Taylor's my health a little mended."
 18 "I had a headache."
 19 "Continue feverish & unwell."
- May 23 "C. Taylor had a daughter born the 21st."
- June 6 "C Taylor's wife had a convulsion fit"
- Aug. 3 "C. Taylor told us he had been last night to see Jane Burnley & that she died abt day."
 4 "Capt Burnley came by . . . he had been to the Doctors, that his daughter Lucy was sick."
 5 "Capt. Burnley's daughter Jane was buried."
 10 "Capt. Burnley's daughter very ill & died before we returned from Church, of the Quinsey."
 13 "Moses brought here sick, I think of the pleurisy. Got J. Clark to bleed him."
 14 "Moses continues very ill. I gave him 25 grains of Ipecac, but understand it operated downwards. Also gave Milley the same quantity for vomit, I gave her last Monday a dose of Salts. She complains of a pain in the head for about a week."
 "J. Taylor & Jo. Clark were here to look at Moses, the former thinks he ought not to be vomited."
 15 "Moses continues sick. Milley has got well."
 16 "Robt Taylor & family . . . afraid of their children getting the Quinsey which they suppose John Glassel has, who is at Uncle Taylors."
 19 "S. Daniel (Moses) better
 I gave a vomit to Davy this morning — he has complained of a lax for several days."
 21 "Set Moses to getting rails for Yard,"
- Sept. 5 ". . . was taken with a very cold Chill last night & have high fever all day with Soreness & headach. Took 11 grains Ipecac in morning. did not vomit — afternoon 25 grains Rhubarb."
 6 "Rode to Courthouse with G. T. from thence to Mr. T. Bell's & dined."
- Nov. 28 "C. Taylor called here & gave some Gum Arabic & nitre for G. Taylor to take."
- Vol. 4 (1789)
- Jan. 15 ". . . a Negro child belonging to Hub'd Taylor died last night of the Whooping Cough."
 16 "Hear that another of H. Taylor's negro children died last night of the whooping cough."
- Mar. 6 "C. Taylor had been to the overseers & cut a toe of a child of Rachels off which had got hurt last week."
 8. "Some negro children very sick and took physick."
- April 18 "my horse threw me on the hard ground, which sprained my thumb, and hrt my back much — after some time I sent for the Doctor to bleed me"

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- June 30 "G. C. T. went to C. Taylors & got bled for his cold."
 July 28 "I have been much pained with the piles for a week.
 C. Taylor called . . . He then Lanced my piles which gave me much ease."
 29 "My father was very ill and had C. Taylor to administer a Clyster after
 wch he was easier."
 Aug. 7 "Piles continue on me."
 Nov. 1 "Frank sick."
 3 "Gave Frank Jallap."

Vol. 5 (1790)

- June 26 "I went with the boys . . . to dig Snakeroot, got very Little . . ."
 July 1 ". . . . I am very unwell today. Took Asthmart tea."
 12 "Sent for C. Taylor to look at the cut in Frank's thigh from which he is
 very lame."
 Sept. 25 ". . . at Hydes Store I bought a pair of Spectacles . . ."
 Oct. 5 "F. S. Taylor, who has the ague and fever, took a vomit;"
 Nov. 18 "Heard Bro. Charles's wife very unwell and two of his negroes danger-
 ously ill. People are very sickly in general."
 21 "Charles Taylor's slave Will died last night."
 23 "A Traveller was here last night, bought a Shoulder of bacon & paid a
 bad dollar. I went . . . in pursuit of him, overtook him . . . & he plead
 ignorance of its being bad, returned a good one, & let him go on."
 24 "C. Taylor's Fanny died."
 26 "Negro Rachel died."
 Dec. 1 "Rachel's young child died this morning." (born Nov. 19)
 22 "My father was very unwell last night. High fever & I believe St. Anthony's
 fire."
 26 "C. Taylor bought me [in Richmond] some Medicine amounting to
 6/7½ . . ."
 27 "Went to Court. Saw Dr. Gilmer, who came to visit Capt. Wood, who
 is dangerously ill."
 31 "Capt. Jos. Wood died the 29th."

Vol. 6 (1791)

- Feb. 6 "F. S. Taylor very unwell, complains of a palpitation — he went to C.
 Taylors & got bled and returned."
 7 "F. S. Taylor took a vomit, & was much better . . ."
 20 "Hear that Jo Clark Jr. died of Measles . . ."
 Mar. 9 "Heard that Chas Porter died yesterday — his death was caused by drawing
 a tooth which turned to a mortification."
 May 22 "J. Taylor Jr. returned last night from Majr Hites where he had the
 Small pox."
 31 "R. Taylor . . . said his youngest child has very sore eyes & was going
 to C. Taylor's."
 June 28 "I had a violent ague followed by high fever in last night and am very
 unwell today, took 25 grains Ipecacuanha &c."
 June 30 "G. C. T. complains of a Lax. I am better . . ."
 July 13 "Jas. Taylor was here — to get some Turlington — said his son Gibson was
 taken with coughing & vomiting."
 Aug. 25 "G. C. Taylor went to Doctr. Walkers to study with M. F. Walker." (George
 Conway Taylor, step-brother of the diarist, was about 21 at this time. He
 studied medicine under Dr. Thomas Walker of Castle Hill.)

Vol. 7 (1792)

- Jan. 30 "R. Taylor at C. Taylors for something for his children, who have the Whooping Cough."
- Feb. 2 "Mrs. James came here last night to Eliza's house, where my father's Sary had come to lie in — Sary delivered of a Boy this morning — Mrs. James came to the house and breakfasted & then was sent home."
- Mar. 9 "C. Taylor's . . . children have the whooping cough."
26 "Mr. Everitt a Young Gent studying Physick with Doct. Gilmer came home with us"
- April 16 "Having been more unwell two or three days past than usual, I took a dose of Rhubarb & Ipecac."
17 "I took Salts today."
20 "My father took some Aloe Pills last night and seems much better"
28 "I was taken very unwell before breakfast with a chilly shivering ague, which lasted about two hours and was followed by a burning fever which continued all day. I took sundry medicines & sweated copiously, and was very weak, & think never was more sick in my life C. Taylor called here I asked him if bleeding would be proper for me, but he advised me to defer it."
29 "My fever continues, but something abated"
30 "My health is much better today"
May 25 ". had high fever at night."
26 ". a little better"
- June 25 ". . . very unwell, having a fever, etc."
29 ". . . . was taken after breakfast with a chillness which cont'd about 2 hours without shaking, after it I had high fever &c — took a large dose of Cream of Tartar & a little Salt Petre — about 3 o'clock took Dose Salts — got somewhat easy at night."
- July 6 "My father brought me some Medicine Mr. Howard bo't for me at Philadelphia."
18 "Took a dose of Salts this morning — last night Aloe pills."
21 "More unwell than usual took a dose of Salts, but continued very ill all day."
22 ". . . illness a little abated."
- Aug. 27 ". . . very unwell last night with Cholic & had high fever today."
29 "Thompson Taylor came here in the evening — has the ague & fever."
- Sept. 3 "Thompson Taylor having missed his Agues set out this morning to Caroline"
27 "I had last night a cold fit which lasted two hours and was succeeded by a high fever & headach, which continued today."
- Oct. 3 "My father was taken very ill his complaint a suppression of urine, which caused excessive pain. Sent for C. Taylor, who directed Clysters, wch never operated to effect till towards morning. C. Taylor sat up most of the night."
6 "My father rather more unwell today took some pills &c sent by C. Taylor."
12 "My father continues unwell"
21 "My father in more pain today . . . Chas Taylor was here . . . Frank slept in the room to attend on my father."
- Nov. 4 "My father died about 4 o'clock afternoon in his 82nd year . . . We sent for Capt. Burnley who assisted in laying out and dressing the corps"
6 "My father's body being in a coffin was carried to James Taylors on his

- chair carriage and deposited in a grave in the Graveyard Brothers James, Reuben & George, Capt. Burnley, Roger Bell & myself were all the white persons present"
- 7 "I wrote tickets last night to request attendance at my father's burial at J. Taylors on Friday the 9th inst."
- 8 "Killed a Wether and sent half of it to J. Taylors also a Gammon & Midling of Bacon, for G. Taylors burying — J. Taylor was here and had for the same purpose, about a Gallon of my wine & about a Gallon Peach brandy."
- 9 ". . . . went to the Burying . . . Majr Moore read the service— about the conclusion the Rev'd Mr. Maury came there— a respectable company were present, about half of them dined there."

Vol. 8 (1794) (1793 is missing)

- Jan. 1 "I had the toothache last night violently in one of my fore teeth."
 11 "I opened the Bottle of Castor Oil and took a Dose of it, having been unwell for several days."
 21 "Had taken a purge of Castor oil in morning— I took about 20 grains Ipecac."
 Feb. 11 "I took 20 grains Ipecac & 20 Grs Jallap and staid at home."
 17 "Was unwell, took Castor Oil."
 April 17 "very unwell, violent headache. Swelled jaw and fever."
 18 ". . . . took a dose of Aloe pills last night, & Castor oil this morning."
 Aug. 17 "Dicky had a slight ague."
 22 "Ben Taylor had the Ague & fever."
 Dec. 9 "C. Taylor bought a box Anderson's pills for me . . ."

Vol. 9 (1795)

- Feb. 10 ". . . very unwell, taken in the night, I believe, with Bilious colic . . ."
 11 ". . . . feel better."
 May 5 "Took Ipecac 15 & Jallap 25 Grains, worked me. . . ."
 Sept. 3 "Let F. S. Taylor have 4/ to get Anderson's pills for me at Norfolk. . . ."
 Nov. 19 "Davy complains of Pain in his side & breast— I gave him 24 grains Jallap & 8 of Ipecac."

Vol. 10 (1796)

- Feb. 9 "I have been taking Jerusalem Oak, or worm seed, three days, but have discharged no worms."
 C Taylor's 6th daughter born.
 April 2 "Taken ill this morning with a Chilliness a very high fever followed . . ."
 3 "Somewhat better— took 20 Grains Jallap & 15 grs Ipecacuanha."
 Nov. 16 "C. Taylor came to see Sary's young child."

Vol. 11 (1797)

- Jan. 7 "C. Taylor sent for, to see a sick negro girl— hear she died before he got there"
 Mar. 19 "I sent for C. Taylor to see Sary's child— He. . . directed Castor Oil. . . wch I understood operated well."
 21 "Sary's child continues sick. Sent for Doct Taylor to see it."
 "I took 20 grains of Ipecac & 20 of Jallap."

- 22 "C. Taylor was here to see Sary's child."
 23 "Sary's child continues very ill. C. Taylor came to see it and gave a dose of Calomel — it had fits."
 24 "Sary's child died."
 April 25 "Moses taken very unwell, gave him a Purge of Jallap & John Bickers bled him. C. Taylor sick & could not come."
 June 23 ". . . . a negro of Col. Barbour's has the Small pox . . ."
 July 11 "Gave C. Taylor memo to get medicine &c at Fredericksburg . . ."
 "Took Ipecac & Jallap . . ."
 17 "C. Taylor sent me . . . sundry medicines amounting to 10/4½ . . ."
 Aug. 19 "I was unwell. Took dose Salts. Sore throat, mouth and fever continued . . ."
 20 "Headach, sore throat, mouth etc. — went to C. Taylor's to dinner."
 27 "Walked to C. Taylor's — he drew a tooth for me it was the farthest in my jaw & some bone came with the tooth."
 Sept. 3 "I paid Venus 10/ for delivering Sary of a male child."
 Nov. 9 "C. Taylor . . . went to look at Sary . . . at night sent her some drops."
 13 "Gave Sary a dose of Castor Oil."
 Dec. 7 "Sent for C. Taylor to see Sary who complains. The Doctor thinks her complaint Hysterical"
 10 "C. Taylor came to see Sary who continues unwell"
 30 "Sary complained of being worse — I sent for C. Taylor, he did not come but sent some medicine."

(Note in back of this volume, not in the diarist's handwriting: "Mrs. Gaines—sister of Judge Pendleton—acted as midwife . . .")

Vol. 12 (1798)

- Jan. 2 "C. Taylor came to visit Sary. . . . I gave Sary 20 Grains Jallap 5 of Ipecac & 15 of Ginger which operated as a puke & purge."
 7 "Gave Sary a purge — C. Taylor was here to see her."
 9 "Sary says she is worse — gave her two doses of Bark & Rhubarb. 20 Bark 5 Rhubarb. C. Taylor. . . . gave Sary 30 drops Turlington at night. . . ."
 11 "Sary continues ill"
 23 "Sary complains of being very weak and poorly"
 April 13 "Went to . . . C. Taylor's, who had been very ill & had Doctr W. Shepherd with him"
 17 "I continue unwell — 5 weeks since I was taken ill." (He complained of sore throat & mouth.)
 23 "Very unwell — fever & heavy."
 Aug. 1 "I went to C. Taylors, got him to draw the roots of two of my jaw teeth, one of them hard to extract."
 21 "I was taken in the morning with a violent pain about the region of my bladder &c. Sent for C. Taylor who bled me, I took Sundry medicines . . . but continued in much pain."
 22 "Took dose of Salts — was better after."
 Sept. 16 "Sary had her child christened Ben. C. Taylors son christened at same time."
 24 ". bought Andersons pills & a book of Pedlars"

Vol. 13 (1799)

- Jan. 24 "Sary was delivered . . . of a male child. Aunt Taylors Venus was with her."
 Mar. 20 "Hannah unwell, Frank went & brought Venus, after having several Convulsion fits Hannah was delivered of a female child . . . & continued very ill."

- 21 "Hannah had many fits . . . sent to C. Taylor, who came about mid-night . . ."
- 22 "Hannah continues very ill, but had fewer fits . . ."
- 23 "C. Taylor walked here . . . to see Hannah . . ."
- 24 "C. Taylor came . . . to see Hannah."
- 25 "C. Taylor came . . . Hannah . . . a little mended . . ."
- 26 "Hannah continues very ill . . ."
- 27 "C. Taylor came after breakfast to see Hannah.
C. Taylor came over in the evening to see Hannah . . ."
- 28 "C. Taylor came Hannah better."
- April 21 "Hannah's child . . . died about noon. C. Taylor saw it and supposed it had got hurt, probably by the carelessness of its mother."
- May 10 "I went to C. Taylors — he drew the only remains of four of my upper fore teeth, which makes my mouth very sore . . ."
- 14 ". . . feverish in evening."
- 15 ". . . headach all night and this morning — I took some pills last night and a dose of salts this evening . . ."
- Aug. 8 "I was very unwell last night, high fever. felt Chinchas in bed . . ."
"Had Bedsteads taken down Scalded &c"
- 10 "I continue unwell — my mouth sore inside."
- 15 "I was very unwell fevers & Sore mouth &c"
- 18 "I was unwell sore mouth griped &c"
- Sept. 7 "I have been very unwell for many weeks took this morning 18 Grains Ipecac & 30 grains Jallap — did not work very much"
- Oct. 10 "I am very unwell much griped. took Salts, Castor oil and other things, which did not remove a violent cramp and pains below my stomach . . ."
- 11 "I am still very unwell, Griping or cramp at intervals
I took 12 grs. Ipecac & 24 Jallap being much cramped or Griped below my stomach Physick purged a little . . ."
- 13 "I think Turlingtons balsam taken last night and today has been beneficial . . ."
- 14 "I was in much pain last night"
- 15 "Saw C. Taylor in the road — He brought me some medicine in evening which gave me some relief."
- 16 "The medicine gave me considerable relief . . . C. Taylor came over to see me I grew worse at night."
- 21 "Continue very sore & severe pains in my bowels
J. Taylor brought me a box of Hamiltons Worm Lozenges which T. Barbour brought from Fred'g for me."
- 22 ". feel easier today than for two or three weeks . . . took extract bark."
- 24 ". extremely unwell last night, very high fever, headach . . . very weak & sore today."
- 26 "I am a little mended — still in much pain . . . I rode to General Muster at Courthouse."
(Continues to feel unwell, but apparently rides and walks about nevertheless.)
- Nov. 9 "I drank a great deal of new cyder, which appeared to purge and relieve my pain in the day."
- 10 "More unwell than was yesterday—"
- 11 ". . . very ill last night and so today — Took a dose Salts early — they did not work well; about 10 o'clock took Castor Oil which purged — I am . . much griped & cramped in my abdomen."

- 13 "I took Laudanum last night which relieved my pain, very drowsy."
 - 15 ". . . very unwell . . . grow very weak."
 - 16 ". I feel easier & walked to J. Taylors which fatigued me"
 - 17 ". . . continue full of Pain & weak."
 - 18 "C. Taylor sent his son Charles with Jallap pills, &c."
 - 23 ". in pain all day"
- (This is the last entry in the diary. The diarist died soon after.)

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